

# Songs of an Orange

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A study into the image of Prince William III of Orange in early modern songs as an expression of and contribution to a public opinion in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic

**Master Thesis**

*RMA Modern History 1500-2000*

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# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
Public opinion	6
Songs	7
Methodology	9
<b>1 Prince William III of Orange</b>	<b>11</b>
William's rise to power	11
A strategic marriage	12
King and Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland	13
William's propaganda machine	14
A patriotic, providential and Orangistic discourse	15
<b>2 Songs as an expression of public opinion</b>	<b>17</b>
Songbooks	17
Rhetoric and stylistic devices	21
"Za maeckt vreught aen alle kant"	24
An expression of public opinion	26
<b>3 The ultimate Dutch hero</b>	<b>29</b>
Defender of freedom	29
Defender of the true Protestant faith	34
An Orangistic discourse	36
<i>Imagery of William's Orange lineage</i>	37
<i>Symbols of monarchy</i>	40
<i>Conclusion</i>	41
A patriotic discourse	42
<i>A patriotic rhetoric</i>	42
<i>William's bond with the Dutch Republic</i>	45
<i>Classical exempla</i>	46
<i>Conclusion</i>	48

A religious narrative	48
<i>Biblical exempla</i>	50
William's image in early modern Dutch songs	51
<b>4 Across the border</b>	<b>53</b>
Brave Orange	53
The Protestant prince	55
A confessional discourse	57
<i>The 'popish plot'</i>	58
<i>Symbolism of an orange</i>	63
William's Dutch and English image	66
<b>5 More than words</b>	<b>67</b>
William's sound	68
<i>Patriotic tunes</i>	70
<i>Other associations</i>	73
The importance of the choice of tune	75
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>81</b>
Appendix A – Full texts of songs of difficult access	81
<i>Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688)</i>	81
<i>'Groot Brittanjen in Ordre [...]'</i> (1688)	83
<i>'Klaaglied'</i> (1702)	86
<i>'Lijkzang [...]'</i> (1702)	87
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>91</b>
Primary sources	91
<i>Songbooks</i>	91
<i>Dutch songs</i>	92
<i>English ballads</i>	95
Secondary literature	97

“Of all literary genres, the song is the most social”. With these words prof. dr. Frits van Oostrom, University Professor in Dutch historical literature, characterized the song culture in the early modern Low Countries at the presentation of the project *Dutch Songs On Line* in February 2014. DSOL has digitalized 50,000 song texts predating 1900, making them available through the website of the Nederlandse Liederbank or Dutch Song Database, the online database that contains approximately 170,000 songs in the vernacular from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The project illustrates the popularity of singing as a communal activity in the Dutch Republic in general and of the songs and songbooks in particular. In taverns, at the marketplace and at the dinner table people sang about daily events, love tangles, satirical anecdotes and scandalous stories. Because of its oral transmission and dissemination, the importance of the Dutch vocal tradition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was probably even greater than can be calculated on the basis of print numbers.<sup>1</sup>

In the early modern period, songs were an important means of communication. Due to their low cost, oral delivery in the vernacular and easy accessibility they were able to reach all layers of society. Songs often commented on current events and were able to present a serious message in a simple and comical way. Their public character, with the streets as their platform, made them ideal tools in influencing public opinion. Although they had little objective news value and presented a selective and one-sided representation and evaluation of events, the way songs construed their message by means of both textual as well as non-textual elements does tell us something about the ideas and opinions of the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic in the early modern period.

At the heart of this thesis are the general people’s views on Prince William III of Orange (1650-1702). Image-building unquestionably was of great importance to the members of the House of Orange in the seventeenth century. In order to justify and legitimize their position of power, various public information channels were employed to convey an image of the stadtholder as the ‘pater patriae’, defending the freedom and religion of the Dutch Republic at the risk of his own life. This process did not only consist of top down propaganda strategies but occurred bottom up as well. The image-building of Prince William III of Orange was no exception. The part William played during the disaster year of 1672, his rise to power as well as the several wars he fought against the Catholic French King Louis XIV made him into a national hero. His marriage to his first cousin Mary Stuart (1662-1694), niece of King Charles II of England, in 1677 sparked public interest as well. William’s invasion of England in 1688 and subsequent accession to the throne as King of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1689 marked the biggest propaganda campaign of his lifetime.<sup>2</sup>

In this thesis I will study the image of William III as expressed in early modern songs in order to determine how these songs, as mass media ‘avant la lettre’ and as a direct reaction on historical events, voiced public opinion. The central question in this research is therefore as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> For general information on the early modern Dutch song culture, see: L.P. Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw. Het mechanisme van de contrafactuur* (Amsterdam 1991) and L.P. Grijp (ed.), *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 2001). For general information on Dutch songbooks, see: N. Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven* (Amsterdam 2009).

<sup>2</sup> M.H. Wieldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel. De beeldvorming van Oranjestadhouders en hun vrouwen in preken, 1584-1795* (dissertation VU 2014) 10-5; S. Craft-Giepmans e.a. (ed.), *Stadhouders in beeld. Beeldvorming van de stadhouders van Oranje-Nassau in contemporaine grafiek 1570-1700, Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum, 2006*; D. Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum 2013) 131-2.

How do early modern songs represent Prince William III of Orange and in what way can these songs be understood as an expression of and/or a contribution to public opinion?

## Public opinion

In order to answer this question, the difficult concept of public opinion needs to be considered first. How can the term 'public opinion' be understood? One influential answer was given by the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas (1929). His idea of public opinion is closely tied to his concept of the public sphere, the domain in society in which politically and economically interested citizens are able to freely express their views. According to Habermas, public opinion is the result of a structural exchange of ideas based on a rational and critical debate between well-informed and independently minded citizens about matters of public interest. In this view, accessible printed media such as the newspaper are an important prerequisite for the existence of public opinion. These conditions were only met in early eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>3</sup>

Since its publication, Habermas' theory has been subject to numerous critiques. Most important to this research is the objection to the fact that public opinion as envisaged by Habermas could not have existed in the early modern period. In presenting a different interpretation of public opinion, historians attempted to place the concept further back in time. They pointed to the fact that well before 1700, people of all layers of society gathered and circulated information about current events and the world they lived in. People chatted and shared information in the streets, in cafes, at church or the marketplace. In this way, well-educated citizens as well as the common people had access to and actively participated in informal communication channels based on face-to-face contacts. Authorities sought to influence this public sphere as well. Furthermore, public opinion is not only created and influenced by rational argumentation. Other more persuasive means of communication able to trigger the emotions of the general public contribute to the opinion-forming process as well. With these aspects taken into account, a public opinion can be identified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

Another criticism on Habermas concerns his fixation on newspapers and journals as the defining media of the public sphere. In locating a public opinion in the early modern period, historians pointed to the role of other media such as pamphlets.<sup>5</sup> Roeland Harms for example found that, in spite of the fact that a neutral platform for rational-critical debate did not exist, pamphlets did increase the provision of information and the active participation of the general public in a debate on matters of public interest.<sup>6</sup>

On the issue of pamphlets, the historians Asa Briggs and Peter Burke coined the concept of a temporal public sphere. They interpreted the boom in pamphlet production during times of (political) crisis as a sign of the absence of a structural public opinion in the early modern period.<sup>7</sup> Other

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<sup>3</sup> J. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (1962); A.C. van Dixhoorn, *De stem des volks: publieke opinie, opinieonderzoek en democratie* (The Hague 2006) 19-21; J. van Eijnatten, *Van dorpsplein tot cyberspace: een cultuurgeschiedenis van de communicatie* (Amsterdam 2014) 452-3.

<sup>4</sup> Van Dixhoorn, *De stem des volks* (The Hague 2006) 17-8, 21-8; Van Eijnatten, *Van dorpsplein tot cyberspace*, 454, 457-8.

<sup>5</sup> Harline has written the first standard work on pamphlets in the Dutch Republic: C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic* (1987).

<sup>6</sup> R. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2011) 23-6, 256.

<sup>7</sup> A. Briggs and P. Burke, *A Social History of the Media. From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge 2005).

historians such as Michel Reinders elaborated on this view. Although Reinders recognizes the existence of a public opinion in the Dutch Republic, he underscores its expanding and contracting role over time.<sup>8</sup> Others attempted to disprove this concept of temporality. In their opinion, the importance of printed media in the development of public opinion has been overstated. In early modern times, oral communication was as important as printed media. A decrease in the publication of pamphlets after a period of crisis should not be interpreted as the disappearance of public opinion. Other types of media simply continued to carry out the same message.<sup>9</sup>

This thesis will study early modern songs as an expression of this informal but structural public opinion in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. This use of different source material ties in with recent studies, two of which will be mentioned here. Firstly, Matthijs Wieldraaijer studied sermons on the deaths of the Dutch stadtholders and their wives in order to ascertain their contribution to the representation of the Orange Stadholderate. He states that preachers actively participated in the dissemination of the heroic myth surrounding the members of the House of Orange. Sermons were an important means of communication in the early modern period and had a great influence on public opinion. They were accessible and comprehensible to large parts of the population and were delivered with regularity. Elaborating on the stadtholders' virtues and achievements, preachers reinforced the image of the Oranges and legitimized their position of power. In this way preachers were of great importance as opinion leaders.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, Donald Haks studied a range of media such as pamphlets, sermons, woodcuts, poems and songs in order to determine the degree of public support for the wars of the Dutch Republic against France between 1672 and 1713. Haks states that Dutch authorities were very aware of the importance of public opinion in creating support for a war. The public itself was well-informed of events and interested in the outcome and actively participated in this war publicity.<sup>11</sup>

## Songs

As a means of communication, songs were ideal in reaching all layers of society. Although the text of a song was transmitted in writing, the tune to which they were sung was mainly transmitted orally. This oral dissemination made the song accessible even to illiterate and semi-literate people. The reuse of extant tunes moreover made knowledge of music notation unnecessary and the new song text easier to remember. Furthermore, the act of singing points to the active participation of the ballad audience. The public was aware of current events and was interested enough to be singing about them during their leisure time. The social component of singing is of importance as well since the opinion-shaping process often takes place in a social setting where people could publicly voice their own opinions or be convinced by someone else's view. Debate was also to be found within the songs themselves. Some songs clearly reacted to a previous one about the same topic or were written in the form of a dialogue.

The message of a song was not made up by rational argumentation but rather by persuasive means able to trigger the emotions of the ballad audience. Textual connotations, rhetoric and the use of symbolism were not only employed to represent something or someone in a certain way, the

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<sup>8</sup> M.H.P. Reinders, *Printed pandemonium. The power of the public and the market for popular printed publications in the early modern Dutch Republic* (dissertation Erasmus University Rotterdam 2008) 24-5, 246.

<sup>9</sup> Van Eijnatten, *Van dorpsplein tot cyberspace*, 457; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, 117.

<sup>10</sup> Wieldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 14-6, 403.

<sup>11</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede 1672-1713*, 300-2.

representation itself was imbued with significance as well. Haks for example demonstrates the importance of a rhetoric of freedom, fatherland and unity that symbolised the values of the Dutch Republic in early modern Dutch war songs.<sup>12</sup>

In this construction of a message in songs the contrafact technique, i.e. the mechanism of borrowing extant tunes for new texts, is of great importance. In his study into this phenomenon, Louis Grijp states that often the choice of tune was not arbitrary.<sup>13</sup> Writers of songs deliberately chose an existing tune that was associated with a specific mood, theme or topic to provide the text with an underlying sentiment. Lijntje Pronk devoted a large part of her study into the message of English political broadside ballads to this choice of tune. According to Pronk, "[...] awareness of the associations of tunes and of their use for earlier songs is crucial for a proper understanding of broadside ballads."<sup>14</sup> The repeated use of a tune for a specific theme reinforced its associations. In this way, melodies could reinforce the message of the song text by adding an extra layer of meaning. A tune direction moreover often served as a clue to the interpretation of a song. Furthermore, the public must have been familiar with the tradition of using extant tunes and therefore with its associations since a brief tune indication was often sufficient to recall the intended melody.<sup>15</sup> The reuse of tunes was thus an important factor in the representation of events or image-building of an important figure.

The question of who exactly construed this message remains open for debate. Do songs really reflect public opinion or rather the manipulation of this opinion by opinion makers? This question is difficult to answer because both the writer and the intended audience of a song are often hard to trace. In the early modern period, public opinion cannot be seen as completely isolated from the top down influence of the authorities. However, the term propaganda understood as the monopolisation of communication channels does not apply to this period. The managing and influencing of collective ideas in the public sphere is a more appropriate description.<sup>16</sup> Although authorities had a sizable influence on the media, public communication ran through various information channels with mutual interaction.<sup>17</sup> As one of the mass media of the seventeenth century, songs certainly were a useful means of influencing public opinion. However, even if we would regard every one of them as a product of propaganda, this still reflects the existence of a public worth influencing and a public sphere in which these views could be transmitted. Public support for their administration was very important to the early modern authorities. This issue also touches upon Peter Burke's comment about modern historians not having direct access to early modern popular culture. Texts are often greatly influenced by so-called mediators such as the songwriter and the composer or publisher of a songbook. Therefore, in Burke's view, they cannot be seen as a direct expression of the ideas of the common people. This thesis thus may tell us more about the producers than about the consumers of songs.<sup>18</sup> However, songwriters and publishers were to a great extent driven by commercial motives. Considering to make a song into a success,

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<sup>12</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede 1672-1713*, 143-5.

<sup>13</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 40.

<sup>14</sup> L.L.C. Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad in the second half of the seventeenth century* (dissertation University of Leiden 2008) 111.

<sup>15</sup> Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad*, 9, 45, 48, 76-82, 111; Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede 1672-1713*, 137-9.

<sup>16</sup> Van Eijnatten, *Van dorpsplein tot cyberspace*, 186-7.

<sup>17</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede 1672-1713*, 296.

<sup>18</sup> P. Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (2009) 67-70.



they must have been sensitive to the taste and opinion of the ballad audience. These will at least partially have determined the message of a song.<sup>19</sup>

## Methodology

In order to answer the research question ‘How do early modern songs represent Prince William III of Orange and in what way can these songs be understood as an expression of public opinion?’, this thesis will study the songs that were written on account of three important events in William’s life: his marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677, the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 and William’s death in 1702. Especially the marriage and the invasion of England must have sparked great interest in the Dutch Republic. The obituary songs will most likely look back on William’s greatest achievements and will therefore present an encompassing image of the Prince of Orange as well. The emphasis of research will be on songs written in the vernacular. However, since this thesis deals with an important transnational topic, attention will also be paid to the English songs written about the Glorious Revolution. In early modern England a similar tradition of songs dealing with current events existed. This thesis will thus consist of a diachronic analysis of Dutch songs about all three selected events and a synchronic comparison between Dutch and English songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution. This comparison is mainly aimed at a better understanding of William’s representation in the Dutch Republic by putting it in perspective.

With the help of the online database of the Nederlandse Liederbank and the Knuttel collection of pamphlets at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, I have gathered a total of twenty-six Dutch song texts. Using the online databases of Early English Books Online (EEBO) and the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) of the University of California, I have also collected a number of twenty-six English songs about the events of 1688-9. I want to find out how these songs functioned as a means of communication, in what way William III is represented, what means are used to achieve this image and how this representation can be interpreted. Although political themes cannot be completely avoided, especially because of the inclusion of songs about 1688-9, the focus of this research will be on the representation of William’s persona instead of his actions in the political arena or in wartime.

The body of this research will be a textual analysis of the primary source material. This literary-historical approach will include a study of the use of rhetoric, symbolism and other textual means of persuasion and representation. However, to restrict the analysis of songs to their textual content is to cut away part of their message. When citations of song texts are given, these will be in the language the song was written in, in order to maintain most of the original meaning. Following Grijp and Pronk, this research will therefore include a study into the choice of a tune. To this end, the database of the Liederbank provides listings of songs that were written to the same tune as the song in question.

This research raises the difficult issue of whether a text was meant to be sung. Especially in the case of songs published as part of a pamphlet, this is not always clear. A song is ideally recognized by three features: music notation, a tune indication and a title containing an indication of the song-genre. Most songs do not contain any music notation and suffice with a brief tune direction such as ‘To be sung to the tune of’. Other songs are marked as ‘lied’ or ‘liedeken’, which in the seventeenth century normally implied a sung performance. However, not all song texts provide such clear clues. In case of doubt, several textual features point to a song: an irregular strophic form, a

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<sup>19</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede 1672-1713*, 145.

divergent metre, a chorus in form of recurring lines of text, and repetitions or abbreviations to this effect. Other evidence can be found in the fact that the first line of text is used as a tune indication in a different source. The text itself can also refer to music in general or singing in particular. A divergent typography such as the use of different fonts and italics or a layout in paragraphs are indicators as well.<sup>20</sup> In this regard the Liederbank can be of help. This database enables a search based on the strophic form of a text in order to find a contrafact and therefore provide a greater probability that a text is actually a song. Nevertheless, some cases of doubt will always remain. In this research, I have included all texts that, on the basis of the above-mentioned features, are most likely to be a ballad.

The first chapter of this thesis will provide a historical background to the main events raised in this paper, i.e. William's marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677 and the Glorious Revolution in 1688-9. Attention will also be paid to William's representation in other types of early modern media and to the importance of his propaganda campaign in 1688. The second chapter will discuss the way songs functioned as a means of mass communication and how they were able to express and shape a public opinion about Prince William III. The third chapter consists of a textual analysis of William's image as expressed in Dutch songs about the three selected events in his life. This chapter will explore the main representational themes and the discourses in which William's image is interpreted. The fourth chapter will compare William's representation in Dutch and English songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution. The fifth and final chapter of this thesis deals with the importance of the choice of tune to the message of songs about William III.

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<sup>20</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 34, 41-45; J.A. Vrieler, *Het poëtisch accent. Drie literaire genres in zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse pamfletten* (dissertation University of Utrecht 2007) 110; L.P. Grijp en H. Meeus, 'Muziek op het toneel van de Gouden Eeuw. Eerste vruchten van een Vlaams-Nederlands samenwerkingsproject', in: W. Abrahamse, A.C.G. Fleurkens, M. Meijer-Drees (ed.), *Kort tijt-verdrijf: opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca. 1550)* (Amsterdam 1996) 119-23.

## Prince William III of Orange

In order to put this thesis in its historical context and understand the way William's persona is represented in early modern Dutch songs, this chapter will provide the necessary background information on the Prince of Orange's endeavours in the second half of the seventeenth century. Instead of presenting a complete biography of William III, the events in his life that take centre stage in this thesis will be considered, i.e. his marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677 and his invasion of England in 1688.<sup>21</sup> In addition William's main propaganda strategies and his representation in various other early modern media will be discussed. As will become evident, important themes in his life were his continuing battle against the Catholic and expansionist French King Louis XIV, his relationship with England and his primary focus on European interests.

### William's rise to power

A story about William III would be incomplete without allowing at least a few words about the events leading up to the period that is at the heart of this thesis. Above all attention should be paid to the 'disaster year' of 1672. This year marked a period of war and havoc in the Dutch Republic but at the same time created great opportunities for William. From his personal perspective, 1672 might instead be called his 'lucky year' in which William was able to win back his family's offices, titles and political influence he was deprived of at birth.

Eight days before William was born on the 4<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> of November 1650<sup>22</sup>, his father Prince William II died and the Dutch Republic fell into a vacuum of power known as the First Stadtholderless Period (1650-1672). The Dutch regents took advantage of the situation to do away with the office of stadtholder, especially in light of recent events during which William II had attempted a military coup and imprisoned a number of Amsterdam regents who opposed him. During the Stadtholderless Period Grand Pensionary of Holland Johan de Witt (1625-1672) acted as head of state in the United Provinces. Notwithstanding the Orangist party's efforts to restore William II's position to the young William III, De Witt and his political allies tried hard to prevent his elevation to the office of stadtholder. With the Perpetual Edict of 1667 the States of Holland abolished the office in the province of Holland altogether and declared it to be incompatible with the office of Captain General. The provinces of Zeeland, Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelderland followed Holland's suit.<sup>23</sup>

Ultimately it was the threat France posed to the political freedom and Protestant religion of the Dutch Republic that provided William with the stepping stone to advance himself politically. De Witt's neutral stance towards France met with increasing discontent from the Dutch people. Opposing Louis XIV would provide William with the opportunity to gain a lot of personal prestige. Appealing to the general public, he began to present himself as the Republic's leader and emphasized the threat of the French. When in June 1672 the Dutch Republic was indeed invaded by

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<sup>21</sup> Luc Panhuysen is currently working on a new biography of William III.

<sup>22</sup> During William's lifetime both the Julian calendar (in Britain) as well as the Gregorian calendar (in the Dutch Republic) were in use. In this thesis both dates will be cited.

<sup>23</sup> W. Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III: een politieke biografie* (2001) 23-32.

the armies of France, assisted by the English fleet and the bishops of Münster and Cologne, William was appointed Captain-General of the Dutch States Army, initially only for a single campaign. The fact that William had been right in his warning about French aggression made the Dutch people turn against De Witt and align themselves with the Prince of Orange. His military prowess on the battlefield moreover made William into a national hero and patriot who was prepared to die in a ditch for his fatherland.<sup>24</sup> Pro Orange popular support mounted and provided the momentum for the Orangists to depose De Witt and demand William's elevation to stadtholder. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1672 he was appointed stadtholder of the province of Holland.<sup>25</sup>

In this way the disaster year ended with the defeat of the French invading troops and with an important political success for William. The office of stadtholder in the Dutch Republic was restored and the war had given him the reputation as a defender of freedom and the True Reformed Faith. William symbolized unity, liberty and the Protestant religion. In his rise to power the importance of the public's reverence for William should not be underestimated.<sup>26</sup> In the following years the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel followed Holland's example in William's appointment as hereditary stadtholder. In the next years he consolidated his political dominance as head of state. A peace treaty ended the war between the United Provinces and England in 1674. The next two decades of William's administration would be dominated by his continuing battle against France.

## A strategic marriage

Born from the union of an Orange father and a Stuart mother, William had close familial ties to England. In his ongoing struggle against the expansionist and Catholic King Louis XIV, it was imperative to turn English foreign policy in William's favour and ensure British support in the war against France. To this end William decided to strengthen the ties between the Dutch Republic and England. An important step in this process was his plan to marry his first cousin Mary Stuart (1662-1694), daughter of James Stuart (1633-1701) who was the brother of King Charles II of England (1630-1685). Mary was a strong candidate for the inheritance of the British throne. The prospect of one day becoming King of England thus most probably played an important role in William's choice of bride.<sup>27</sup>

The marriage plans weren't greeted with much enthusiasm by Mary's father and uncle. James rather married his daughter to the French dauphin and King Charles II was preoccupied with ensuring peace between France and the Dutch Republic. Charles ultimately came around with the hope of future peace negotiations between the two countries.<sup>28</sup> In the Dutch Republic the marriage couldn't count on much support from the republican regents either. They feared for a continuation of the war with France when William would be sure of English support and dreaded the possible Catholic influence of his uncles James and Charles. Moreover, the union was seen as indicative of William's future plans to pursue a royal position in the United Provinces.<sup>29</sup> Notwithstanding these objections, on the 4<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> of November 1677 Prince William III and Mary Stuart got married. The

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<sup>24</sup> T. Claydon, *William III. Profiles in power* (2002) 17-8.

<sup>25</sup> Claydon, *William III*, 11-2, 16; Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 75, 84-5.

<sup>26</sup> E. Hamilton, *Williams's Mary: a biography of Mary II* (New York 1972) 55.

<sup>27</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 140; L. Jardine, *Going Dutch: how England plundered Holland's glory* (London 2008) 63-4.

<sup>28</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Hamilton, *Williams's Mary*, 55-6; Claydon, *William III*, 23-4.

marriage would direct the Republic's focus onto the British Isles and clear the way for William to become more directly involved in English affairs.

## King and Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland

In November 1688 William arrived at the English coast at Torbay. He brought with him a fleet consisting of roughly five hundred ships carrying 40.000 troops of which 21.000 were made up by the actual invasion forces. The events known as the Glorious Revolution resulted in the flight of King James II and ultimately the coronation of William and Mary as joint rulers of England in 1689.<sup>30</sup> Why did William decide to embark upon such a risky and daring enterprise?

When Charles II died in 1685 his brother James Stuart succeeded him as king. Despite his promise to keep the religious and constitutional affairs of England intact, his reigning years were defined by a continuing struggle with Parliament for political supremacy. In addition, James introduced a politics of tolerance towards the English Catholics, being a converted Catholic himself. These developments gave William and others in the Dutch Republic cause for concern.<sup>31</sup> When in 1688 James' wife Mary of Modena (1658-1718) gave birth to a healthy Prince James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), Mary Stuart's inheritance of the English throne was put in jeopardy. She would have reversed James' pro-Catholic policies and restored England's Protestantism. Now the birth of a Catholic heir to the throne put that future at risk.<sup>32</sup>

James' pro-French foreign policy and speculation of an Anglo-French coalition worried William even more. England had to be transformed into an effective counterweight to Louis XIV. Thus the main reason for William to invade England in 1688 was not to restore the liberty and religion of the English people, but rather to save the Dutch Republic and the rest of the European continent from a similar peril.<sup>33</sup> Historians agree that in this decision the threat of French 'popery and slavery' weighed heavier than William's potential inheritance of the British throne. Although his dynastic and political ambitions certainly overlapped, the safety of the Dutch Republic and continental Europe was at the heart of the Prince of Orange's interests.<sup>34</sup>

Initially there was great popular enthusiasm for William's presence in England. In London his arrival was greeted enthusiastically by a great crowd of people holding oranges and women wearing ribbons of the prince's colours in their hair.<sup>35</sup> However, despite William's efforts to present himself as a liberator and avoid the idea of a foreign military occupation, the continuing presence of Orange's armed troops caused unrest with the English people.<sup>36</sup> Members of the political classes in their turn were divided about how to proceed and in 1689 a Convention of English lords assembled to decide on the matter. Many of them had only agreed to support William III in order to put an end to James' pro-Catholic policies and absolute rule. These 'reluctant revolutionaries' finally allowed William and

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<sup>30</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 191-5, 201-5.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, 173-6, 180-1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 190; Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 187.

<sup>33</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 185, 191; Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 37; J. Israel, (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (1991) 23, 120; H. Trevor-Roper, 'Epilogue: the Glorious Revolution', in: J. Israel, (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (1991) 484-6.

<sup>34</sup> Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 64-6, 79; Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 190, 199; Claydon, *William III*, 10, 32-5.

<sup>35</sup> Hamilton, *William's Mary*, 201.

<sup>36</sup> Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 23.

Mary to be crowned because they were the best guarantee for a peaceful future for England.<sup>37</sup> A change of regime was simply preferable to public unrest or civil war. For William, it was of paramount importance that the Convention Parliament would declare him king to avoid a reputation as a usurper. In February William and Mary were jointly offered the crown and were presented with the Declaration of Rights in which the ousting of James was justified and the powers of the English Parliament reaffirmed. The parliamentary monarchy in England had been restored.<sup>38</sup>

In the Dutch Republic both the political classes as well as the general public were enthusiastic about the recent events. The invasion was interpreted as a crucial enterprise that would ensure the survival of a Dutch nation independent from France. Although some critics feared the expanding power of the Prince of Orange, real Dutch domestic opposition to the invasion was minimal.<sup>39</sup>

The remaining years of his reign as King of England, Ireland and Scotland however brought little to temper the tide of William's unpopularity in England. Apart from the fact that the English began to perceive him as a foreign occupier, William's continuing continental priorities made them like him even less.<sup>40</sup> The fact that William did not enjoy being in the public eye and decided to live at the distant Hampton Court instead of central London did not help his popularity either. His wife Mary was a lot more loved and proved to be of importance in dispelling the fear among the English people that the crown had fallen into the hands of a foreigner.<sup>41</sup> Her death in 1694 was a blow to both William as well as the English nation.

William died on the 8<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> of March in 1702 due to a pulmonary fever contracted after a fall from a horse. The ward of the state, deprived from his family's offices and titles, had regained the office of stadtholder and eventually even sat on the throne of England. To a great extent these achievements were due to William's own merit in war and politics. However, the way he managed to influence Dutch and English public opinion to his advantage was of great importance in accomplishing these feats as well.<sup>42</sup>

## William's propaganda machine

The banner of the frigate sailing William to the English shore in 1688 carried the motto 'Pro religione et libertate' or 'For liberty and the [Protestant] religion'.<sup>43</sup> These words effectively sum up his propagandistic portrayal as the saviour of the English freedom and faith. During the Glorious Revolution William and his allies made cunning use of the media in order to influence English, and Dutch, public opinion to make the expedition look like a liberation instead of a hostile invasion.<sup>44</sup>

To illustrate William's propaganda strategies most historians point to the pamphlet titled 'Declaration of His Highness William Henry, By the Grace of God Prince of Orange, etc. Of the Reasons Inducing him to appear in Armes in the Kingdome of England'. This manifesto was crucial during the first phase of the Glorious Revolution. It was kept secret until the last possible moment, released on the eve of the invasion and distributed with the greatest care and planning in England

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<sup>37</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 202.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, 205-6; Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 26; Claydon, *William III*, 28-9; Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, 132.

<sup>39</sup> Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, 38-40.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, 42; Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 234; Claydon, *William III*, 43.

<sup>41</sup> Claydon, *William III*, 44-5.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, 18-9, 23, 25.

<sup>43</sup> Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 10-1.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, 20; Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, 121; Wieldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 84.

and all over the European continent.<sup>45</sup> In this declaration William expounded his motives of coming to England. He made no mention of his actual plans to draw England into an alliance against France but instead emphasized his domestic political ambitions. The text mainly argued how King James II had conspired against the freedom of the English nation. The restoration of a lawful administration and the assembly of a free parliament could only be accomplished by an external intervention.<sup>46</sup> In addition, the declaration called the legitimacy of the new-born prince into question and gratefully exploited the rumours of the warming-pan theory that the prince was not born by the queen but had been smuggled into her bed.<sup>47</sup> As a final excuse William cited the invitation signed by the so-called 'immortal seven', a group of notable Englishmen that asked for William's help in saving the English nation and religion.<sup>48</sup>

After the first deciding moments of the invasion however, the text quickly lost its potency as an effective propaganda tool. For one thing, the document (understandably) refrained from mentioning William's desire to ascend the English throne. Furthermore, again with good reason at the time, it proposed a set of controls on monarchical power. This became a serious problem when William wanted to take the invasion a step further and claim the throne for himself.<sup>49</sup> To win the hearts and minds of the English people, he needed a different approach. A new propaganda strategy replaced the emphasis on a legal and constitutional rhetoric with a Protestant and providential language. The Prince of Orange's invasion was presented as ordered by God. The divine approval of events and the promotion of William as a godly prince not only legitimized his presence in England but provided a call for a religious reformation as well.<sup>50</sup> This propaganda strategy proved effective in this next phase of William's intervention.

The outlook of his propaganda strategies is reflected in the way William III is represented in various types of early modern media. The results of a number of studies into the representation of the Prince of Orange will be considered next.

## A patriotic, providential and Orangistic discourse

In this overview of William's representation in early modern Dutch media, three studies are given prominence: Stern's examination of the Orangist language employed in pamphlets, poetry and visual imagery, Wieldraaijer's study into the image-building of the Oranges in sermons and finally Haks' research of early modern war songs. In these media a more or less homogeneous image of the Prince of Orange emerges, consisting of a few recurring themes. William III is represented as the saviour of the Dutch Republic, of England and often even of the whole of continental Europe. He fended off the threat of both despotism and Catholicism and is seen as the champion of the Protestant religion.<sup>51</sup> His actions on the battlefield against a foreign enemy enhanced his image as a brave military leader as well. These characterizations provided William with an influential heroic status. The language and

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<sup>45</sup> Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 29-31; T. Claydon, *William III and the godly revolution* (Cambridge 1996) 24; Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, 13-6.

<sup>46</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 198; Claydon, *William III and the godly revolution*, 25-6.

<sup>47</sup> Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 191.

<sup>49</sup> Claydon, *William III and the godly revolution*, 26-7.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 31, 48-52.

<sup>51</sup> Wieldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 12, 66, 97; J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650-75* (Manchester, New York 2010) 6-7; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, 131-2.

imagery used to reinforce this heroic image were employed both to defend and promote the existence of the stadtholderate and to advocate and legitimize William's endeavours. It is often difficult to separate the representation of his office from that of his persona.<sup>52</sup>

The image of William III as expressed in these media was interpreted in a couple of discourses. To start with, the bond with his fatherland is often emphasized. William embodied the Republic's values of freedom and unity and therefore acted as a powerful symbol of the United Provinces. He successfully opposed a common enemy that threatened the Republic's liberty and united the Dutch people against the States party. The use of a patriotic rhetoric reinforced his portrayal as the Father of the Dutch nation.<sup>53</sup> Next to this patriotic discourse, a providential language was employed. William was not only depicted as the defender of his fatherland but of its faith as well. He was seen as the instrument of God who delivered the Dutch and English from evil. In this way he was portrayed as Europe's Redeemer. The fact that his heroic status was God-given meant that William gained a saintlike reputation.<sup>54</sup> His divine right to rule was further illustrated by the use of Biblical comparisons.<sup>55</sup> The providential language employed in William's representation was to a large extent related to his Orange identity. The Orange family's battle against Spain gave its members a providential claim to be the godly champions of European Protestantism.<sup>56</sup> In this Orangistic discourse William was often compared to his Orange ancestors. His familial bond with charismatic heroes inextricably linked with the identity of the Dutch Republic provided William with an important legitimization of his rule. He stood in a long historical tradition of military virtues, a quest for freedom and the protection of the Protestant faith.<sup>57</sup> The emphasis on his Orange lineage found expression in the use of imagery symbolising resurrection and regeneration such as the phoenix.<sup>58</sup> William's personal virtuousness was part of his image as well. The virtues most identified with William were wisdom, prowess, firmness and zeal. He was a wise ruler and a brave military leader dauntless in battle. Comparisons were made to heroes from classical history such as Hercules, Achilles or Caesar. William risked his own life to save the Dutch Republic and England from the threats of arbitrary government and Catholicism and put his life at the service of his fatherland. This selflessness was perceived as William's greatest quality.<sup>59</sup>

Although these representations of the Prince of Orange show a great overlap with the propaganda strategies employed by William and his allies, not all the above-mentioned media were part of his propaganda machine. Especially in the case of songs and sermons, William's heroic portrayal must at least partly have been the product of an actively participating audience.<sup>60</sup> In the chapters that follow this thesis will examine to what extent these patriotic, providential and Orangistic discourses and William's personality cult played a role in his representation in songs about his marriage, his invasion of England and his death or whether other representative themes can be found.

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<sup>52</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 37.

<sup>53</sup> I.H. Vroomen, *Taal van de Republiek. Het gebruik van vaderlandretoriek in Nederlandse pamfletten, 1618-1672* (dissertation Erasmus University Rotterdam 2012) 170, 197, 200; Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 74-6; Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 6-7, 124-5.

<sup>54</sup> Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 81, 107; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, 131; Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 144.

<sup>55</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, 133; Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 109.

<sup>56</sup> Claydon, *William III*, 10-1, 18-21; Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 82.

<sup>57</sup> Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 118-9; Vroomen, *Taal van de Republiek*, 196.

<sup>58</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 74-9.

<sup>59</sup> Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 109, 124; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, 131-4, 170.

<sup>60</sup> Wioldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel*, 66; Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 5, 51.



## Songs as an expression of public opinion

Before this thesis will go into the representation of William III in songs about the three selected events in his life, first the way early modern Dutch songs functioned as an important means of communication will be considered. This chapter will discuss the most significant media songs were published in, the narrative point of view used to describe the song's topic, the public songs address and the purpose for which the songs are written. Whereas the ensuing chapters will discuss the actual message of the songs, i.e. the image of William they convey, here the focus will be on the way these factors contributed to the construction of this message. By doing so, this chapter will try to demonstrate how early modern songs were able to express and shape public opinion about Prince William III of Orange.

### Songbooks

In the early modern period songs were printed in different ways. Initially they were distributed on the streets as separate leaflets. Because these single pieces of paper are perishable most of the song texts that are handed down to us are those that are printed as part of other types of media. For example, the following three songs discussed in this thesis are part of a pamphlet: 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre, door de goede voorsorge van [...] Wilhem Henrik, prince van Orange' (1689), 'Klaaglied' (1702) and 'Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannische majesteit Wilhem de III' (1702). The incorporation of a ballad made a pamphlet more appealing to the public. Furthermore, the song could function as a confirmation of the pamphlet's message.<sup>61</sup> In their turn songs could benefit from the popularity and availability of these tracts to large parts of early modern Dutch society. Twenty-two of the twenty-six song texts that are at the heart of this thesis appeared in another type of media, the songbook. A songbook can be defined as a printed collection of songs in the vernacular, in some cases combined with poetry and often with a tune indication instead of music notation. In this way songbooks recorded and conserved the current oral tradition and musical repertoire in print.<sup>62</sup> During the seventeenth century, many hundreds of songbooks were printed in the Dutch Republic, ranging from luxuriously bound and illustrated editions to cheap pocket-size booklets.<sup>63</sup>

What does the fact that these songs are collected in songbooks tell us about their popularity and circulation and the ballad audience? The fact that the songs are collected at all is in itself a sign of their popularity. It goes without saying that editors and publishers wanted to make profit and therefore chose songs that would sell well. Moreover, many of the songs studied in this thesis appear

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<sup>61</sup> J. Vrieler, *Het poëtisch accent. Drie literaire genres in zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse pamfletten* (dissertation University of Utrecht 2007) 160-2.

<sup>62</sup> Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven*, 11-5.

<sup>63</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 48; Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven*, 13; Although its content has been criticized as incomplete and inaccurate, most literature still refers to the songbook bibliography of Scheurleer, listing a total of 4.547 songbooks published up to the year 1800: D.F. Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche liedboeken: lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken*. Reprint of the 1912-23 editions (Utrecht 1977).

in more than one songbook. A sign that the songs about William III were in fact in high demand is the late publication date of the songbook in which the songs in question are collected. Some were even published as late as the 1740s. Although the songs themselves probably already circulated at the time of the event they describe, the fact that these songs about current events were still collected many years after the event they describe took place points to their enduring popularity. The majority of the songbooks featuring in this thesis was, as far as we know of, never reprinted which may point to their low popularity. Of most of these songbooks, up to three copies have survived. There are a few peaks: *De nieuwe vermaakelyke gaare-keuken* has seven copies, *Den Hollandszen Praat-Vaars Nieuwjaars-Gift* ten and *A. Péls Méngelzangen* even counted twenty-seven copies of the 1717 edition. However, the number of surviving copies may not be of great relevance here. We have to assume that a large number of song collections has been lost over time, especially in the case of the cheapest popular prints which will have had most difficulty to stand the test of time. Moreover, these are non-durable consumer goods that were probably used on a daily basis. The less copies that are handed down to us, the more popular these songbooks might have been.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that since the oral dissemination of songs could naturally not be recorded, these data only tell part of the story of a song's popularity.

From studying the editions and copies of songbooks that are handed down to us the popularity of the songs studied in this thesis appears to be limited. In order to get a better understanding of the usage of songbooks, this chapter will look at their price point, their buyers and their further content. As difficult as tracing the popularity of songbooks is the identification of the actual buyers and users of these song collections. Most of the songbooks studied in this thesis are published in Amsterdam, the centre of cultural life and literary production in the Dutch Republic. However, this does not mean that these songbooks did not circulate beyond the province of Holland. A study into the geographical dispersion and numbers of circulating issues of print is a research subject in itself. Since this question merely is a sidestep from the actual topic of this thesis, it will suffice to reference the existing secondary literature.

Apart from the songbooks themselves, other sources have been studied to trace the use of songbooks, including inventories and catalogues of early modern booksellers or private parties, pictorial sources showing musical references and autobiographical sources such as diaries and testimonies. One of the self-evident problems in this kind of research is the lack of inventories of possessions of the common man. However, studies into these above-mentioned sources have shed some light on the subject.<sup>65</sup> During the seventeenth century most songbooks cost under five 'stuivers' and were printed in a small 'octavo oblong', or rectangular size. By way of comparison, an average skilled worker earned about twenty stuivers a day. Unskilled labourers most probably made anything between ten and twenty stuivers for a day's work.<sup>66</sup> The majority of early modern songbooks was thus affordable to the common man. The more luxurious songbooks, printed in a

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<sup>64</sup> J. Houtsma, 'Oude en nieuwe liedjes. Over de overlevering van populaire liederen in de zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in: *Neerlandistiek.nl* 9.3 (2009) 24; L.P. Grijp, 'Voer voor zanggrage kropjes: wie zongen uit de liedboekjes in de Gouden Eeuw?', in: T. Bijvoet (ed.), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd: over lezers en leescultuur* (Nijmegen 1996) 119; Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 48.

<sup>65</sup> See: Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven*; Grijp, 'Voer voor zanggrage kropjes: wie zongen uit de liedboekjes in de Gouden Eeuw?'

<sup>66</sup> Grijp, 'Voer voor zanggrage kropjes: wie zongen uit de liedboekjes in de Gouden Eeuw?', 98-103. Grijp derived these numbers from a study into the inventories of the seventeenth-century book-seller Laurensz.

large 'quarto oblong' size, cost between one-and-a-half and two guilders and were thus a more exclusive product for the elite.<sup>67</sup>

Although these results are based on inventories from the middle of the seventeenth century, we can assume that this trend more or less continued until the end of the century. Louis Grijp pointed to the fact that in the course of the seventeenth century, songbooks targeted an ever broader audience.<sup>68</sup> If anything, cheap songbooks thus became even more accessible to large groups in Dutch society. The majority of the song collections studied in this thesis are printed in an 'octavo oblong' size which suggests that they fell in the cheapest segment. *Den Italiaenischen Quacksalver* is even half that size, a 'sedecimo oblong'. Most of these song collections contain simple illustrations and none provide music notation apart from *A. Péls Méngelzangen*. The majority of songbooks containing the studied songs on William III was thus affordable and therefore accessible to large portions of early modern Dutch society.

The content of the songbooks themselves is informative as to their use as well. With the help of the online database of the Liederbank we know exactly in which songbooks the songs about William are collected.<sup>69</sup> In this way we can find out what other kinds of songs are part of such collections. Ten of the fifteen songbooks provide a wide range of topics such as farces, wedding songs, drinking songs or spiritual and contemplative songs. Love songs enjoyed the greatest popularity, dealing with varying topics such as desire, a first love, an unwanted pregnancy, sex, prostitution, jealousy, deceit or virginity. This topical diversity was a deliberate feature of most of the early modern song collections. The idea was that its buyers should have something to choose from. As a result, the songs about William's endeavours can most often be found among amorous and scabrous songs that have nothing to do with politics or the Orange family whatsoever. Instead of a thematic analogy, rather the sentiment of the songs in question seems to have been a deciding factor in compiling a songbook. Songs written on occasion of William's marriage to Mary Stuart and his invasion of England tend to appear in song collections in which the other songs deal with joyful topics as well. The illustrious titles these songbooks carry hint to their highly amusing purpose: *Het Soes-dijcker Nachtegaeltje* (1678+), *Den Hollandszen Praat-Vaars Nieuwjaars-Gift* (1745-50), or *Cupidoos Maegde-Kruyt, Rokende uyt een Virgijnis-Pijpje de znaeck- en smakelijkste geuren, en vermakelijkste Rijm-Gezangen* (1685). Songs about William's death are often collected in songbooks with a more melancholic outlook, although these often contain a number of entertaining songs as well.

Only four of the song collections clearly specialize in songs about history, politics and the Orange family: the two editions of the *Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijk lied-boeck* from 1695 and 1703 containing six songs about the Glorious Revolution, *Het Oranje Vreugde-maal* (1747) including two songs on William's coronation and the *Triomf van Nederlandt* (1734) containing two songs about his death.<sup>70</sup> This latter song collection moreover is presented as a sequel to the *Geuzenliedboek*, the

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<sup>67</sup> L.P. Grijp, 'Muziek en literatuur in de Gouden Eeuw', in: *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 2001) 245.

<sup>68</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 38.

<sup>69</sup> For a complete overview of the songbooks studied in this thesis, see the bibliography.

<sup>70</sup> The full titles of these songbooks read: *Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijk lied-boeck, versien met verscheyden lof en triumphgesangen, op de uytsteekende helden-daden van [...] William en Maria, koning en koninginne van Engeland* (Amsterdam 1695). *Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijk lied-boeck, versien met verscheyden lof en triumphgesangen ... alsmede eenige hedendaegsche in gebruyk zijnde amoureuse liederen* (Amsterdam 1703). *Triomf van Nederlandt, Of Vervolg op het Eerste Tweede en Derde deel van het Geuse Liedboek, Waar in begrepen is den Oorspronk en Voortgank van den laatsten Oorlog, mitsgaders de glorieuse Overwinningen waar*

famous song collection from the end of the sixteenth century with multiple editions that contains patriotic songs on the heroic actions of the Beggars written on occasion of the Dutch revolt against Spain. Indeed *Triomf van Nederlandt* contains the largest number of songs about the victories and deaths of members of the Orange family. The prologue of this songbook points to its patriotic content: “Ziet Liefhebbers van Gezangen / Hier 's voldaan uw groot verlangen / Zing nu op verheeven trant / Eens de Glorie van Neêrlant [...]”<sup>71</sup> However, even the songbooks specializing in songs about the Oranges often prove to be more diverse. The foreword of *Het Oranje Vreugde-maal* for example captures its content in the following way:

[...] waar in gy zult vinde hoe dat de Faam, de Roem en Daaden van zijn Doorlugtige Voorzaten uyt-galmt, waar uyt gy dan nu dagelijks weer nieuwe reden vind om met dit vrolijke Gezelschap, op een en dezelve Toon te weer-galmen ter eeren van de *Oranje-spruyt*, ook zult gy daar in vinde aardige Vryerye, Drink-liederen en wat iets meer is [...].<sup>72</sup>

Apparently the Oranges were simply one of the many topics the inhabitants of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic sang about during their leisure time.

The early modern songbook tradition was strongly intertwined with the Republic’s theatre culture. The use of melodies was similar and plays often gave occasion to the appearance of new song collections.<sup>73</sup> A songbook that clearly specializes in that particular field is *A. Péls Méngelzangen, eerste deel. De tweede druk verbéterd* (1717). This collection mainly contains “[...] Gezangen uit gespeelde en ongespeelde Treur-, Bly-, Klucht-, en Zinnespélen getrokken [...]”<sup>74</sup> The three songs about William’s coronation that are collected in this songbook were in fact part of the 1689 play titled ‘De Krooninge van haare Majesteiten Wilhem Hendrik, en Maria Stuart, tot Koning, en Koninginne van Engeland, Vrankryk, en Yrland’. Whether these songs were known to and sung by a broad ballad audience outside of the theatre is difficult to assess. Recent research showed that the songbook was mainly published as a way to provide music notation for the plays of the art society that Pels was a member of. Only a few of these songs were popular with a broader audience.<sup>75</sup>

The popularity of the songs on William III collected in songbooks is thus difficult to determine. The number of editions of most of the songbooks featuring in this thesis is limited, as are the surviving copies of those editions. However, these data provide an incomplete picture of the use of songs about William since especially the cheapest and most often used prints will not have survived. Furthermore, the affordability of most of the studied songbooks and the kind of songs they include point to the fact that they were aimed at a broad ballad audience. Their inexpensiveness made them highly accessible to large parts of Dutch society as well. Even years after the event they described took place, songs were collected in songbooks and thus apparently still in high demand. A couple of the songs about William’s marriage to Mary Stuart, his Glorious Revolution in England and

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*mee Nederland in den zelven heeft gezegepraalt: Alle te zamen gestelt op aangename Vooijsen. Ook is hier by gevoegt Dirk Ravesteins Glorie van Nederlandt. Nooit voor deze meer Gedrukt. Vive le Geus* (’s-Gravenhage 1734). *Het Oranje Vreugde-Maal Opgedisch in de Gaare keuken van de Gekroonde B. Ter gelegenheid van de Verheffing van zijne Hoogheid* (Amsterdam 1747).

<sup>71</sup> Prologue of *Triomf van Nederlandt* (1734).

<sup>72</sup> Prologue of *Het Oranje Vreugde-Maal* (1747).

<sup>73</sup> Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven*, 101.

<sup>74</sup> Prologue of *A. Péls Méngelzangen, eerste deel. De tweede druk verbéterd* (Amsterdam 1717).

<sup>75</sup> M. Warris, *Pels’ Mengelzangen* (1717). *Over de plaats van de Mengelzangen binnen de Nederlandse liedtraditie* (MA-thesis University of Utrecht 2013) 42.

his death are part of collections that specialize in the history of the Orange family. It is important to notice however that the majority of songs about William III studied in this thesis is not part of songbooks with a strong political content. Rather they are collected in songbooks that offer a wide range of mostly entertaining and often scabrous topics. Songs about William's life achievements were apparently seen as fit to be sung during people's leisure time and were part of their daily lives.

## Rhetoric and stylistic devices

Most early modern songs are anonymous. Information on the writer of the original text is often lost to time. Because of their oral dissemination many song texts probably evolved over time as well. Often different versions of the same song circulated in the Republic. The only four songs studied in this thesis of which the author's name has been preserved are written by playwrights. 'Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannische majesteit Wilhem de III' (1702) was written by the poet and playwright Dirk Buysero and three songs about William's coronation, i.e. 'Wie durft de grootste Koning tergen / Die Immer 't Aardryk zag?', 'Laat ons de groote Koning looven / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft' and 'Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken / De Hemel danken' were written by Thomas Arendsz as part of the above-mentioned theatre play. Although the majority of songs studied in this thesis are anonymous, the narrative point of view of the songs provides some information on the perspective from which the songs are written.

An important part of the narrative point of view is the use of a character voice. The majority of the songs uses a character voice that represents the Dutch Republic as a whole. Most describe the event in question from the perspective of a first person plural and talk about 'onsen Prins', 'ons held' or 'onsen land'. In this way, the song text engages the ballad audience with its message. The fact that the text was sung is of great importance because the singer identified him- or herself with the perspective provided in the song. At first glance the ballad 'Verlaet gy my, verheven Ziel' about William's departure to England departs from this general rule. In this song, written in the first person singular, the writer misses the Prince of Orange dearly as if he were his lover. Indeed the original of this song is a love ballad about a girl saying goodbye to the man she loves.<sup>76</sup> The adapted song about William III employs a form of initial borrowing, i.e. only the first couple of sentences of the opening verse are copied.<sup>77</sup> Even in this case however the narrator can easily be seen to represent the Dutch Republic as a whole. The United Provinces need William for their well-being and deplore the fact that he is sailing away to England:

Myn Prins, die my veel waarder zyt,  
Dan al des Waerelds goude Kroonen,  
Ik raak, met u, myn leven kwyt.  
Is dit myn ted're Min beloonen?<sup>78</sup>

A couple of songs are written from the perspective of, often fictional characters having a conversation. 'Lijkzang' for example features seven characters: the river Thames, an Englishman, a

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<sup>76</sup> 'Een droevigh Afscheyd van twee jonge lieden die malkander seer beminde', *Verliefde, of Klagende Minnaer. Versien met verscheyde nieuwe Vryagien, klagende en [...]* (1698) 76.

<sup>77</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 77.

<sup>78</sup> Second stanza of 'Verlaet gy my, verheven Ziel, / Kiest gy, voor 't Pluim-Bed, woeste Baaren', *HPraatvaar1750* ([1745/1750 ca.]) 159.

Dutchman, a citizen of The Hague, a crypt keeper, the character 'Glory' and a water nymph. They all applaud William for what he has done for both the Dutch Republic and England. Each character has some lines of its own interspersed with parts that are to be sung together. The three theatre songs about William and Mary's coronation are all written from the perspective of different characters. In the first, the three furies Pride, Deceit and Flattery agitate the already furious French virgin to take revenge on the Prince of Orange.<sup>79</sup> The second song features two water nymphs and a group of field nymphs and shepherds that celebrate William's accession to the throne of England.<sup>80</sup> The third ballad is presented as sung by a group of William's English subjects rejoicing in their new king.<sup>81</sup> 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren, sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyt Willem Hendrick Prince van Orangien quamen noodigen' is written as a dialogue between the characters of William III and England.<sup>82</sup> The English beseech the prince to come and rescue their church. William is then overcome with pity and agrees to come to their aid. This format of presenting fictional or real characters with lines of text makes the message of a song more direct and personal. In singing the song text, people had to some extent identify with its point of view. Because of the activity of singing, the intended ballad audience actually becomes the narrator of the text, representing the whole of the Dutch Republic interpreted as all the supporters of William III of Orange.

However, the majority of the songs directly addresses its ballad audience in the second person. In the case of the songs about William's marriage the first sentences of the songs already make clear which audience is targeted. Opening phrases such as "Verblijft u ghy Batavieren", "Verheugt u nu vereende Landen" and "Liefhebbers van Oranje, Beminders van ons Land" all address a patriotic public.<sup>83</sup> The songs about the Glorious Revolution similarly address the Republic as a whole, often emphasizing the unity of the provinces: "Sa laet ons dan met reverentie, Vreugde maken door onse Proventie", "Op Hollands Volk vereende Nederlanden" and "tSa maeckt nu vreught Vereenighde Provincien".<sup>84</sup> The obituary songs moreover call upon the whole of the Netherlands to mourn as well: "Treur! Neerland Treur, bekleed u in den rouw" and "Staat stil gy Volck der seven leden".<sup>85</sup> The next chapter will discuss the way in which the Dutch Republic is represented as a patriotic nation in more detail.

A couple of songs take the idea of addressing the Dutch Republic as a whole a step further by citing different groups in society. Young and old, rich and poor, everyone has a part in the experience of the event in question. On the occasion of William's marriage for example, both citizens and the nobility, both young and old are rejoicing: "In Steden en Slooten / Danst nu vry eens om / Ghy

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<sup>79</sup> 'Wie durft de grootste Koning tergen / Die Immer 't Aardryk zag?', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 6.

<sup>80</sup> 'Laat ons de groote Koning looven, / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 17.

<sup>81</sup> 'Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken, / De Hemel danken', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 24.

<sup>82</sup> 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren, sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyt Willem Hendrick Prince van Orangien quamen noodigen, om haer te verlossen uyt de slaverny des Pausdoms', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>83</sup> In order: 'Vreughde-Liedt, op 't Houwelick van sijn Hoogheydt den Prince van Oranje, met Maria, Oudste Dochter van de Hertogh van Jorck', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78, 'Vreugde-sangh, op de Declarasy van sijn Koningl. Hoogheydt den Heere Prince van Oranje, met Maria Prinsesse', *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4, and 'Echt-Basuyn, op het Huwelijck van sijn Konincklijcke Hoogheyt, den Heere Prince van Oranje, met Maria Leadiae Stuaerts, &c.', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 62.

<sup>84</sup> In order: 'Een Loffelijck Liedt, hoedanigh ons Edel Prins van Oranjen in Engelant voor haren Koningh is aengenomen, en sijn Edel Princes voor Coningin, die alle beyde den 21 April, 1689. sijn gekroont', *KonLb1703* (1703) 23, and 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>85</sup> In order: 'Klaaglied' in *Treur-digt Jop de dood van den alderdoorlugtigsten vorst Willem de Derde*, Knuttel 14677 (1702), and 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

kleynten ende Grooten / De Prins is bruygom".<sup>86</sup> After William's death even the children are mourning the Republic's loss: "Ja self de kinren op de straten / Riepen die tijt/ Nu rust den Konink van Brittanjen / In eeuwigheyt".<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the Glorious Revolution sparks joy among all layers of society:

De Lantman, Borger, en de Vrouwen, selfs de Kind'ren,  
Als uyt gelaten, hem toe-juychen wellekom,  
Gesegent in Gods Naam hy sal de dwang verhind'ren,  
So roept 't gemene Volk en 't hooge Edeldom.<sup>88</sup>

De Lords en Grootte Heeren,  
Den Adel, Borger, Boer,  
t'Zaam lustig dommineeren,  
Yder een is in roer [...].<sup>89</sup>

Sa roept Victorie t'allen kant,  
Wy Borgers, Boer en Heer,  
Al door het gantsche Nederlant [...].<sup>90</sup>

In addition to addressing all the layers in Dutch society, the songs emphasize the topicality and urgency of the event they describe. The story's time-frame is often put in the historical present, a stylistic device to make a story more vivid. In this way the experience of the event takes prominence and can be constantly relived. The use of the present tense thus reinforces the idea that the song was written moments after the event it described. Whether this was in fact the case is hard to assess and also not that significant to the purpose of this thesis. What is important is that the songs were at least deliberately written *as if* the event they describe just took place. The song on William's crossing of the English Channel for example is written from the perspective of a sailor while he is on one of the ships sailing towards England in 1688.<sup>91</sup> The above-mentioned format of a dialogue such as the one between Prince William and England reinforces the topicality of the song as well. Moreover, to underline the fact that something is happening right now, many songs use the phrase 'nu' or 'nu ter tijt'. This time-framing of the song's message provides the ballad with a feeling of urgency and places the singing public in the middle of the experience of current events.

The way the perspective of a song is put forward has an important effect on the way the song's message comes across. The use of the narrative point of view, the way the singing public is addressed and the time-framing of the song's story all make the ballad audience more engaged with

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<sup>86</sup> First stanza of 'Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt, ter eeren het aensienelijcke houwelijck, van sijn Konincklijcke hoogheydt', *SdNachttegaaltje1679* ([1678+]) 76.

<sup>87</sup> Eleventh stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>88</sup> Thirteenth stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre, door de goede voorsorge van [...] Wilhem Henrik, prince van Orange', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>89</sup> Eighth stanza of 'Victorie-Lied, op de Krooning van den Prins en Prinsesse van Oranje, tot Koning en Koningin van Engeland, Schotland, Vrankrijk en Yrland', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>90</sup> First stanza of 'Een heerlijk Victorie Lied, van het verkiesen van sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyt en Prince van Orangie, voor Coningh van Engelant, Schotlant en Yrlant, en sijn Gemalin voor Coninginne', *KonLb1703* (1703) 26.

<sup>91</sup> Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?).

the song text. The (inter)active format of songs is of great importance as well. Phrases like ‘wij’ and ‘onse Prins’ are given extra importance during the activity of singing. Because a ballad can be repeated time and again, while maintaining that sense of personal experience and urgency, the experience of events can be constantly revived.

### “Za maect vreught aen alle kant”<sup>92</sup>

The function of most seventeenth-century literature and poetry is defined as ‘ter lering en vermaak’, or to learn and to delight. In the case of the songs studied in this thesis I would like to add a third use, i.e. to incite. Although the songs present an informing picture of recent events featuring William III, the facts clearly take a back seat in comparison to the expression of emotional reactions to these events. The factual part of the song is mainly used to explain why a certain emotional response is justified. This inciting function of songs has a lot to do with their format. Music in general has the ability to move people and the activity of singing reinforces the inciting message. A song moreover is ideally suited for the incorporation of rousing choruses full of imagery and rhetoric.

An important means for inciting these reactions with the ballad audience is the use of the imperative mood. The songs written on occasion of the marriage between William and Mary for example urge the public to show their joy:

Verblijt u ghy Batavieren,  
Maect vreughden om en d’om,  
Kroont nu met Lauwerieren,  
Den Prins d’Oranjen Blom.<sup>93</sup>

Ghy Joffers en heeren,  
Treckt aen de beste kleeren,  
Verwellekomt u Vorst en Heer,  
Met d’aldergrootste eer [...].<sup>94</sup>

The songs about William’s invasion of England and his subsequent coronation as King of England, Scotland and Ireland similarly incite the public to be happy: “Roept nu victorie voor gewis / Door ’t heel Christen Gebied / Dat onsen Prins nu Coningh is [...]”.<sup>95</sup> One song about the Glorious Revolution calls upon feelings of revenge and hatred for the French enemy as well:

Valt nu met dien Helt te gader,  
Op Vrankrijk heel streng en straf,  
En geeft nu dien vals Verrader,  
Zijn verdiende loon en straf [...].<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Opening phrase of ‘Viva Oranje, Hoe dat sijn Koninglijcke Hoogheydt den Heere Prince van Oranjen loffelijck is ontfangen geweest van de Protestantse, binnen Torbay aen 't Landt komende’, *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>93</sup> First stanza of ‘Vreughde-Liedt’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78.

<sup>94</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt’, *SdNachtegaaltje1679* ([1678+]) 76.

<sup>95</sup> Tenth stanza of ‘Een heerlijck Victorie Lied’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 26.

<sup>96</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘Een Nieuw Lied, aan sijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 24.



When William dies in 1702, the songs urge the Dutch Republic and England to mourn their loss: “Treurt Engelandt, treurt nou wilt u in rou beklede / Treurt Schot en Ier, treurt Nederlandt nou mede [...]” and “Staat stil gy Volck der seven leden / Bekleet u al in rouw gewaat [...]”.<sup>97</sup>

Another means of inciting the song’s singing public is the use of spurring words such as ‘sa’ or ‘t’sa’, roughly translated as ‘come on!’. A large number of the joyful song on William’s marriage and his Glorious Revolution use this phrase to emphasize the expressed excitement: “Sa roept dan al viva / Met vreugden sa sa / Viva ons Oranjen spruyt / Met sijn Eedel Bruyt”, “t’Sa maeckt nu vreught Vereenighde Provincien”, “t’Sa Nederlant / Victorie brant” and “Za wil Victorie Branden”.<sup>98</sup> In a similar way, the closing verse of ‘Vreugde-sangh’ about William’s union with Mary repeatedly uses the exclamation ‘viva’ meaning ‘long live’ or ‘hurrah’:

Roept dan Viva, Viva Getrouwe,  
Uyt een verheven held're Borst,  
Viva O Edel Helt Nassouwe,  
Viva onsen Oranjen Vorst [...].<sup>99</sup>

The chorus of ‘Echt-Basuyn’ serves a similar rousing purpose:

Vol van min, viva vol van min, ha, ha,  
Ha, ha, ha, ha, vol van min,  
Als sijn Hert en sin.<sup>100</sup>

A next means of arousing passions in the ballad audience is by highlighting the described responses. The following citation from a song celebrating William’s marriage illustrates this imagery of joy:

Dit maeckt de herten vol in vreughden,  
Door gands Londen des Koninghs Stad  
De Santeen vlogen met verheughden  
De Klocken Ronckten boven dat,  
Saghmen ontsteken vreughde Vieren  
Geheel in 't ront,  
Trommels, Schalmeyen, tierelieren,  
't Canon dat ronckt.<sup>101</sup>

Often musical references are used to describe the general merriment, as is the case in songs on the occasion of the invasion of England: “Slaat Trommelen, blaast Trompetten / Schiet nu Kanonnen af /

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<sup>97</sup> In order: first stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III. Koning van Groot-Brittanjen, Prins van Oranjen, Erf-Stadthouder en Capiteyn Generael der Vereenigde Nederlanden. Godzalig in den Heer Ontslapen tot Kensington op den 19. Maart 1702. Oud 51. Jaar vier Maande 5. Dag’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15, and the first stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>98</sup> In order: seventh stanza of ‘Vreughde-Liedt’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78, seventh stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28, first stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet in Engelandt, Schotlant en Yrlant’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27, and the first stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>99</sup> Thirteenth stanza of ‘Vreugde-sangh’, *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4.

<sup>100</sup> Thirteenth stanza of ‘Echt-Basuyn’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 62.

<sup>101</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Vreugde-sangh’, *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4.

Doet kraaken de Musquetten / Al tot Oranjens Lof<sup>102</sup> and “Maect nu goet sier / Gy Batavier/ Laet Bas, Fiolen klincken / Maeckt soet geluyt / Op Harp en Fluyt / Wilt de gesontheyt drincken”.<sup>103</sup> In a similar vein, the obituary songs picture the sadness in the Dutch Republic by emphasizing its mourning: “De weergadeloose smert, komt ons Hart beklemmen / Het bloet door schrik in onse adere stremmen” and “Wee ons! De zond heeft ons dees ramp bereid / Laat als uit kranen nu d’Oogen Tranen / Om zijn Majesteit”.<sup>104</sup>

## An expression of public opinion

This chapter discussed a number of inherent qualities and external characteristics of early modern songs that to a great extent contribute to the song as an important instrument in the expression and shaping of public opinion. Songs as mass media ‘avant la lettre’ are able to reach large numbers of people of all layers of society. Despite the difficulties in tracing the actual sales figures and geographical circulation of songs, leaflets and songbooks, there is overwhelming evidence that singing was a popular activity in the Dutch Republic in which many people participated. Originally printed as cheap separate leaflets and disseminated on the streets, the majority of songs about William III studied in this thesis is collected in songbooks. Some collections specialize in the history of the Orange family but most arrange the songs about William’s marriage, Glorious Revolution and death among entertaining songs on all kinds of topics. Most of these songbooks are affordable and therefore accessible to broad layers of seventeenth century Dutch society. The musical element of the song as a literary format moreover is of great importance to the functioning of the ballad as a means of mass communication. The activity of singing points to the active participation of the common people in the message of songs. Elements such as the character voice and the narrative time engages the ballad audience with the song text in a way that other types of early modern media might not be able to.

What kind of public opinion do these early modern Dutch songs express? Although the songs to some extent are informative about current events, the description of the experience of that event seems to be more important. In this way, the songs about William III are not the result of an exchange of ideas based on a rational and critical debate between well-informed and independently minded citizens. Instead, these songs are a persuasive means of communication. Their purpose is to incite people to express a certain emotional reaction about events concerning William III. They are written as if they are a product of the whole of the Republic and they directly address that Republic at large as well. As a result, the ballad audience is actively engaged with the Orangist message of the song. Furthermore, songs are part of seventeenth century daily life and as such express an informal public opinion based on face-to-face contacts. The majority of songs about William III collected in songbooks are arranged among love and drinking songs and are seen as fit to be sung during people’s leisure time. Lastly, the early modern songs studied in this thesis seem to disprove the concept of a temporal public opinion in the early modern period. Songs did not only express this public opinion during times of political crises but covered periods of relative peace as well. The song as an instrument of oral communication thus continuously carries out a message of support for William III.

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<sup>102</sup> Eleventh stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>103</sup> Third stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>104</sup> In order: third stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15, and the second stanza of ‘Klaaglied’, *Knuttel 14677* (1702).

Moreover, these songs are not only sung at the moment of the event they describe. Songs about current events featuring William III are still collected and published years after that specific event took place. One possible explanation is the fact that the songs provide much more than a simple description of what happened which quickly would have lost its relevance. Instead, the common people's experience of the events takes centre stage in songs. As a result these songs fit into a tradition of patriotism and love for the Oranges that constantly could be revived. The next chapter will discuss this point in more detail.

The fact that songs about William III are accessible to a large public and express an informal and persuasive public opinion does not automatically mean that people believed their message. Singing songs in the early modern period can very well have been an expression of collective behaviour driven by group dynamics similar to for example the present-day anti-Semitic choruses sung during soccer matches. Yet surely singing a song is something different than passively reading a text. If nothing else, the act of singing points to an active participation of the ballad audience. This point also touches upon the question of the song as a means for distributing propagandistic material about the Oranges. In light of the abilities of early modern songs to express and influence people's emotions and opinions, songs are ideal means of propaganda. As has already been mentioned in the introduction of this thesis however, the existence of propaganda does not necessarily exclude the existence of public opinion. In the early modern period they most probably went hand in hand. Even if early modern public opinion is to a great extent manipulated by external actors, songs are still used to express and shape that opinion.

This chapter has shown how the factors of the media songs were published in, the narrative point of view that was used to describe the song's topic, the singing public and lastly the purpose for which songs were written, contributed to the construction of an image of William III in Dutch songs. The next chapters will turn to the actual representation of the Prince of Orange in early modern songs.



## The ultimate Dutch hero

Having established that an actively participating ballad audience from among all layers of Dutch society existed, this thesis will now turn to the actual message of early modern Dutch songs about the Prince of Orange. William's image building in other early modern media has already briefly been discussed in the first chapter. These studies into William's representation in pamphlets, poetry, visual imagery, sermons and war songs identify a number of recurring themes and discourses in which this image of the Prince of Orange is given meaning and importance. These sources represent a more or less homogenous heroic image of William III as narrated in patriotic, Orangistic and providential discourses. This chapter will study William's representation in early modern Dutch songs on his marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677, the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688-9 and his death in 1702. A textual analysis of these songs will consider the techniques that are used to create and reinforce a certain image of the Prince of Orange. Furthermore this chapter will discuss how the representation of William III can be interpreted and explained by examining to what extent these above-mentioned discourses play a role in his representation in songs and whether other representative themes can be found. Attention will also be paid to possible differences in representation between the three selected events in William's life and to the question whether his image changed over the course of these occasions. Ultimately this chapter will assess how this image building in songs can be understood as an expression of the views of people in the Dutch Republic about Prince William III. In this way this thesis will return to the question of how songs, as a direct reaction to historical events, are able to voice public opinion in the early modern period.

## Defender of freedom

'Helt der helden', 'den Held verheven', 'manhaftige held' and 'ons dappere Oorlogs-held'. These are only a few examples of the many ways William's heroic status was cited in early modern Dutch songs. Some events in his life seem to be better suited for this emphasis on the prince's heroism. The songs about William's marriage to Mary Stuart for example do not overtly advertise this point. The Glorious Revolution, in contrast, provided the ideal occasion to accentuate the heroic status of Prince William. The songs written on occasion of the invasion of England provide many different descriptions on the hero William.<sup>105</sup> William's death likewise made for an ideal moment to reflect on his heroic life achievements. The obituary songs mention his heroic status even more often than the songs about

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<sup>105</sup> William's heroic status is especially evident in the songs about the Glorious Revolution: 'Ziele Sucht Gedae aen onse Godt, om vergevinge van onse sonden, en Zeegen over de Scheers-vloot soo te Water als te Lande', *KonLb1695* (1695) 12, 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689), 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49, 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien', *KonLb1703* (1703) 24, 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17, 'Een heerlijk Victorie Lied', *KonLb1703* (1703) 26, 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28, 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27, 'Liedeken (Men drinckt den wijn / in schaduw van Oranjen)', *HsAntwSB 636783* (1696) 188, Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?).

1688-9 and describe William as “Gods held” and “Heldt der aller Helden”.<sup>106</sup> What made William III worthy of such a heroic image in early modern Dutch songs?

First and foremost, a large majority of the songs portray William as the ultimate defender of the Republic’s freedom. His quest for Dutch liberty is the most important theme in most song texts. The act of defending the country’s freedom naturally becomes even more important when it involves defeating a foreign enemy encroaching upon this liberty. As a result William is often represented as the safeguard of the Dutch Republic’s future from the French threat. The importance of this theme in early modern Dutch songs is evident from the fact that all three selected events are narrated as part of this struggle for freedom, even if they do not necessarily have much to do with wars or enemies. Four of the five songs about William’s marriage to Mary Stuart for example describe the union not only as a happy and joyful occasion but refer to the importance of the marital bond for the future of the Dutch Republic as well. The songs interpret the event as an important step towards peace on the European continent. ‘Vreughde-Liedt’ for example foresees peace with France as a result of the union of the Orange stadtholder and the niece of the King of England:

Hy [William III] brenghet sijn Liefste mee,  
Die ons haest den Vree  
Sal maken met Vrankrijck,  
Door dit Houwelijck.<sup>107</sup>

Another marriage song describes the marriage of William and Mary in similar terms:

Dit [the marriage] klinckt Louys vreemt in zijn ooren,  
Want dit gaet niet wel na sijn sin,  
Godt wil geven dat wy hier dooren,  
Verkrijgen Vrede en met min,  
Buygen de Herten van de groote,  
Op dat in rust,  
Leven ons mede Bontgenote,  
En d' Oorlogh Blust.<sup>108</sup>

In spite of the wishes of the French King Louis XIV, the marital bond will further peace in Europe. According to the chorus of ‘Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen’ the marriage is “In spijt Bourbon / Nu, nu, daelt sijn luyster bron.”<sup>109</sup> Bourbon, i.e. Louis XIV, is not at all happy about the union between the Dutch Republic and England because it will put his power position in Europe at stake. Not only is the event itself described in political terms, two of the songs about the marriage refer to William’s successful campaigns against the enemy in the past as well. In this way the marriage is placed in the context of an ongoing battle against France. ‘Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt’ describes how William went on many campaigns against the enemy: “De Prins van Oranje / Die menigh Campanje /

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<sup>106</sup> In order: twenty-third stanza of ‘Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannische majesteit Wilhem de III’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702) and the second stanza of ‘Droevige Rouw-klachten, Ofte Engelandts en Hollandts Tranen, over de Doodt van den Doorluchtigsten Vorst Wilhelmus de III Koning van Groot Brittanjen, en Prins van Oranje, &c. Die in zijn 52ste Jaer op den 19 Maert 1702 is overleden’, *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

<sup>107</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘Vreughde-Liedt’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78.

<sup>108</sup> Twelfth stanza of ‘Vreugde-sangh’, *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4.

<sup>109</sup> Chorus of ‘Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50.

Tot uwer eeren heeft gedaen / Op den Fransman te verslaen [...]”.<sup>110</sup> The song titled ‘Vreugde-sangh’ emphasizes William’s successful tactics against his enemies in general by speaking of “[...] onsen prins die sijn Vijanden / Haer waen en meeningh gants verdooft.”<sup>111</sup> The songs written on occasion of the union of William and Mary in this way do not only express joy about the marriage but present the consequences of this event in a politically charged context of the ongoing threat of France, the path towards peace and the role of William III as the safeguard of the Dutch Republic in general and of Dutch freedom in particular. The singing public was apparently aware of the complexity of a royal marriage and its political and international consequences and voiced their opinion of the event in a rhetoric of politics, war and freedom.

An occasion better suited for this kind of military narrative is the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9. Although this event was of much greater influence on the English nation than on the Dutch, the songs about the invasion of England provide strong images of William III as the defender of Dutch liberty. In this way, many songs present an interpretation of the event from a Dutch perspective. Most songs represent at least in part William’s importance to Dutch freedom. Especially the songs concerning his crossing of the English Channel explain the Prince of Orange’s departure as another battle in the defence of Dutch liberty. One song even puts this point as strongly as follows: “Den Prins gaet heen / Voor ons vrijheijt vechten [...]”.<sup>112</sup> Most songs however emphasize William’s general importance to the Dutch Republic in past, present and future. For example, often William’s endeavour in England is represented as beneficial to the Dutch Republic’s future well-being. The Dutch will triumph and prosper as a result of his coronation as King of England as much as the English will:

Wilt nu geneugt hanteeren,  
Neerland al gelijk,  
Wy zullen Triumpheren,  
T’Zaam met ’t Britze Rijk.<sup>113</sup>

Many songs refer to William’s defence of Dutch freedom in the past. Especially William’s role as the saviour of the Dutch Republic at the end of the disaster year of 1672 is often explicitly or implicitly referred to: “De kloeke Mavors daden / Blijft eeuwig in gedagt / Die ons door Godts genaden / In vryheyd heeft gebragt.”<sup>114</sup> Another song provides a similar reference: “Hoe wort zijn daet nu over al gepresen / Om dat hy yder vryheyd geeft.”<sup>115</sup> He is clearly known for his quest for liberty; wherever he goes, William brings people their freedom. By narrating the Glorious Revolution in terms of the Dutch battle against its French enemy, the events of 1688-9 are put in a long tradition of this quest for liberty. It is a story with Prince William III as its main protagonist. Not only has William proven to be freedom’s defender in the past, he will surely keep doing this in the future:

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<sup>110</sup> Second stanza of ‘Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt’, *SdNachtegaaltje1679* ([1678+]) 76.

<sup>111</sup> First stanza of ‘Vreugde-sangh’, *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4.

<sup>112</sup> First stanza of ‘Liedeken (Men drinckt den wijn / in schaduw van Oranjen)’, *HsAntwSB 636783* (1696) 188.

<sup>113</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>114</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>115</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

Die ons sal behouden en bewaren,  
Tegens al de France Leger-scharen,  
En die altijdt onse Nederlanden,  
Sal beschermen met sijn vroomen handen.<sup>116</sup>

This notion of freedom is contrasted by the repetitive mention of the enemy. Freedom indeed gains much of its meaning by contrasting it to a factor threatening its existence. Songs on the Glorious Revolution thus not only represent William as a defender of Dutch freedom but also as the vanquisher of its main enemy: “Roept nu vivat! D’Oranje / Die ’s Vyands Magt verdooft.”<sup>117</sup> Other songs about the invasion of England, such as the following ballad concerning William’s departure, portray the event as a battle against ‘our enemy’:

Daer gaet dan onse Heldt der Helde,  
Over de zee met groot geweld,  
Hy soeckt ons vyand te verslaen,  
Om ons allegaer by te staen [...].<sup>118</sup>

Apparently it was clear who this enemy was. Many songs refer more directly to the French threat. For example, the song ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’ describes how William is crowned as King of England “tot spijt van Louis de Bourbon”, i.e. against the wishes of Louis XIV.<sup>119</sup> As a result the proud French monarch loses heart: “Den trotsen Frans / Siet nu geen kans / Maer geeft de moet verloren / Om dat Nassouw / Sijn Edel vrou / Coningin is verkoren.”<sup>120</sup> A drinking song moreover toasts to the near defeat of the French enemy:

Wegh frans ghewas,  
Men kan u wel ontberen  
En sonder u wel teren  
Eij noch een glas [...].<sup>121</sup>

Especially in songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution, Prince William III is thus portrayed as the ultimate saviour of the Dutch Republic in general and defender of Dutch freedom in particular. The songs about his marriage make this image an important part of the description of the event as well and clearly voice an opinion about the importance of the union between the Dutch Republic and England. In the eyes of the Dutch, William is the guarantee for the existence and continuation of freedom. Up to this point early modern Dutch songs have referred to this liberty in general terms without giving a clear definition. Explicit references to religious freedom are mostly absent in the songs we have seen so far. Because of the emphasis on the French war threat, this liberty can best be understood as the right to self-determination and political autonomy without interference from others. This notion of freedom as political independence is inextricably linked with the image of

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<sup>116</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Een Loffelijck Liedt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 23.

<sup>117</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>118</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt’, *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>119</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>120</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>121</sup> Third stanza of ‘Liedeken (Men drinckt den wijn / in schaduw van Oranjen)’, *HsAntwSB 636783* (1696) 188.



William and is repeatedly used as the dominant representative theme in early modern Dutch songs. It is remarkable that William is not more explicitly represented as the saviour of the Dutch Protestant religion. After all, France was as much a Catholic danger as a threat to the Republic's political independence. Apparently the political image of William is of more importance to his heroic status in early modern Dutch songs. Possibly the political independence of Dutch cities and provinces was interpreted as a condition for the further freedom of conscience, or the personal and spiritual freedom of all Dutch people. The one would certainly follow from the other.<sup>122</sup> The absence of a more religious image of the prince could also be the result of the way William's image was built during the events of the 'disaster year' 1672. His defeat of the invading troops might have made the William's representation in subsequent poetry and literature more about the defence of the nation's borders against hostile threats than about the defence of religion. Still it is remarkable that this image is not a more prominent part of the representative theme of William III in early modern Dutch songs.

In order to reinforce Williams's heroic status some of the songs represent it as transboundary and international. In the course of the three selected events in this thesis, his fame is rising. Whereas in the marriage songs William's heroic status is still exclusively Dutch, over the course of the Glorious Revolution William's reputation crosses the channel into English territory. In the songs celebrating his coronation, William is represented as being known on every coast and of being important to the whole of Europe and in some cases even beyond: "Want Fame zal verzenden / Zijn Naam aan yders Kust / Tot aan des Waerelds Enden / Ziet nu dan Vreedem rust".<sup>123</sup> Another songs identifies these different coasts in more detail:

Nu sal de Faem sijn Helden naem versenden,  
By Moor en Indiaen,  
By Tarter Turck en aen des Werelts enden,  
Oock by den Persiaen [...].<sup>124</sup>

William's death triggered even bolder statements about his worldwide glory. As long as the earth exists, William's celebrity status will spread across the world:

De schelle Faam, Vol moed op 's Helds onsterffelijke naam,  
Zal 's Konings lof de wereld doen verbreijen, Zoo lang die over end zal staan.<sup>125</sup>

The obituary songs describe the mourning of William's death as a European-wide phenomenon. 'Lijkzang' calls upon the whole of Europe to mourn: "Europe trek het rouw kleed aan".<sup>126</sup> 'Droevige

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<sup>122</sup> W.R.E. Velema, 'Het Nederlandse vrijheidsbegrip. Ter inleiding', in: E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, W.R.E. Velema (ed.), *Vrijheid. Een geschiedenis van de vijftiende tot de twintigste eeuw. Reeks Nederlandse Begripsgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam 1999) 1-2, 6; M. van Gelderen, 'De Nederlandse Opstand (1555-1610): van "vrijheden" naar "oude vrijheid" en de "vrijheid der conscientien"', in: Haitsma Mulier (ed.), *Vrijheid*, 42-3.

<sup>123</sup> Eleventh stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49. Similar terms can be found in the songs 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27, and 'Laat ons de groote Koning looven, / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 17.

<sup>124</sup> Ninth stanza of 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>125</sup> First and second stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>126</sup> First stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

Rouwklachten' describes the sorrow that will affect people all over Europe: "Die droef heyt die sal geve / Dat gants Europa beve".<sup>127</sup> Every corner of the world has heard of William's heroic deeds.

## Defender of the true Protestant faith

The songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution support the transnational importance of the event. After all, during his lifetime William III did not only attain a leading position in the Dutch Republic but entered the international arena as well. His heroic status represented in songs is thus partly defined by his importance to the English nation. Whereas the songs concerning William's departure to England still very much represent this event in terms of fighting in defence of the Dutch Republic's freedom, the songs about his arrival and subsequent coronation represent William not only as the safeguard of Dutch political independence but as the saviour of the Protestant religion in England as well. The politically charged concept of freedom is then complemented with a religious component. William is the one "Die ons allegaer komt ontfermen / Om ons Religie te Beschermen" and as a result of his actions "Den Protestant / Sal triumphant / In Engelandt, weer floreeren".<sup>128</sup> Often church and state are described as two inseparable elements:

[William] Heeft Englands Regt en Wetten,  
En Godes Waare Kerk,  
In Vryheid weer doen zetten,  
Vast als een Rotz of Zerk.<sup>129</sup>

Sijn dapperheyt,  
En kloeck beleyt,  
Stelt Eng'lants recht en Wetten,  
En Godes Kerck,  
Weer vast en sterck [...].<sup>130</sup>

William's image as defender of the true Protestant faith however is only evident where England is concerned. The theme of political liberty of the Republic still remains predominant. A song in which both differing images of William III are clearly expressed is the ballad titled 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren, sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyt Willem Hendrick Prince van Orangien quamen noodigen, om haer te verlossen uyt de slaverny des Pausdoms'. In this song, written as a dialogue between Prince William and England, the differing English and Dutch perspectives on the events of 1688-9 become clear through the use of these character voices. In the opening verse of the ballad England beseeches the Prince of Orange to come and rescue them from the Catholic threat:

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<sup>127</sup> First stanza of 'Droevige Rouw-klachten', *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

<sup>128</sup> In order: eleventh stanza of 'Viva Oranje', *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64, and the fourth stanza of 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>129</sup> Seventh stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>130</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

Komt doorluchtigh vorst, d'Edel Heldt Nassouwen,  
Wilt ons Kerck herbouwen,  
Pylaer van Godes huys,  
Jck stel op u naest Godt, heldt mijn vertrouwen,  
Komt helpt ons van al het Rooms gespuys [...].<sup>131</sup>

William's response to this request incorporates both his intention to fight for the true faith in England as well as his indispensability to his fatherland: "Ik sal voor 't waer geloov en voor Godes eere / Wagen mijn bloedt teere / En voor 't Vaderlandt [...]"<sup>132</sup> When William asks for the States' permission for his intervention in England, the States reply:

Ontsiet ghy niet ô Heldt, storm noch snee vlagen,  
Voor ons vryheydt noch geen zware slagen,  
Wy sullen Volck en Vloot,  
Voor ons Vryheyt groot,  
mee wagen.<sup>133</sup>

From the Dutch perspective, William's departure is thus interpreted as for the good of the Dutch Republic's liberty. Although the image of William as saviour of the Protestant religion in England is clearly expressed, the story is still narrated in the theme of William's image as defender of the Republic's freedom. The same applies to the songs about the prince's death in 1702. In describing this loss William is represented as both the saviour of political liberty as well as the saviour of the Protestant religion. The obituary songs do provide the most evident images of William as the defender of the faith. For example, William is "Een beschermer vant Geloof en Protestantse Wette" and "Het hoofd der ware Protestant".<sup>134</sup> However, these terms seem to be closely related with the Prince of Orange's demise. A possible explanation for this use of superlatives in William's obituary songs is the Orangistic objective of these songs. William died childless which meant that the House of Orange-Nassau couldn't bring forward a new Stadtholder. Most Dutch provinces refrained from appointing a successor and the Second Stadtholderless Period (1702-1747) ensued. As a result of the disappearance of the office of Stadtholder the check on the republican regents' influence had gone and the Orangist position of power was put at risk. After William's death the main priority of the Orangists was thus to convince the Dutch people of the importance of an Orange at the head of the Dutch state. By glorifying William III in these songs, they thus might have tried to secure their own positions.

However, these strong terms are exceptions even in the obituary songs. Instead the rhetoric of defending freedom against an enemy is still frequently employed. In 'Droevige Rouw-klachten' for example William is remembered as the one "Die voor ons Vryheit voor en na / Altijt zijn leven stelden [...]"<sup>135</sup> Another obituary ballad refers to the Prince of Orange as the one "Die voor ons Lant en staet

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<sup>131</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>132</sup> Twelfth stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>133</sup> Eleventh stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>134</sup> In order: sixth stanza of 'Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15, and the eighth stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>135</sup> Second stanza of 'Droevige Rouw-klachten', *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

/ Altijt waakten vroeg en laat [...]”.<sup>136</sup> References to William’s heroic deeds in the past include the mention of his soul being “bezielt met [...] dwingelandenhaat”.<sup>137</sup> His decision to go to England was prompted by the despotic tendencies of King James II: “Bedekte dwingelandy dwingt hem het harnas aan”.<sup>138</sup> During his reign William always guarded the well-being of the Dutch Republic and banned all dangers and misery from the country: “Om alle onheil uit het land / Met uw onverwonne hand / Tot ons welstand steeds te weeren.”<sup>139</sup> His policies and bravery made sure that nothing could harm the United Provinces: “U zoo heeft in staat gestelt / Dat nog Spaans, nog Frans geweld / Hollands moed, en magt kan deeren.”<sup>140</sup> William’s image as safeguard of the Dutch Republic is often portrayed by calling him a “dierbaer pande” against a foreign threat.<sup>141</sup> The Prince of Orange was “’s Rijks steun, en toeverlaat” and “Gants Neerlands stut, en hope”.<sup>142</sup> This rhetoric is further illustrated by the two following citations from obituary songs. William III was:

Ons borg en Barier: beschermer van ons walle,  
 Ons Steunsel en ons hoop,  
 Ons toevlucht ende loop.<sup>143</sup>

Weent, om ’t verlies van u genote trouw,  
 U Beschermer, u Rader, u kind’reu haar Vader,  
 U Man, u Troost, u Helper uit de nood,  
 U Eer, u Luister [...].<sup>144</sup>

It is evident that William’s image as defender of freedom is the most important part of his heroic representation in early modern Dutch songs. Although the songs on the Glorious Revolution and William’s death often provide both a Dutch and an English perspective on events, the predominant representative theme remains William’s image as the defender of the (political) liberty of the Dutch Republic.

## An Orangistic discourse

The above-mentioned dominant narrative of liberty in the representation of Prince William III is given further meaning and importance by its incorporation in an Orangistic context. William III was not the only Prince of Orange to symbolise the values of the Dutch Republic. Driving out the enemy, restoring freedom and defending the Protestant faith are things other members of the Orange family were known for as well, starting with William I of Orange and his actions during the Dutch Revolt. During this battle for independence from Spain, the concept of freedom gained a lot of prominence. When at the end of the Revolt the United Provinces became an independent state, the notion of freedom

<sup>136</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

<sup>137</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>138</sup> Third stanza of ‘Groot Brittanjen in ordre’, *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>139</sup> Eighteenth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>140</sup> Twenty-fifth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>141</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Droevige Rouw-klachten’, *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49, and the eighth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

<sup>142</sup> Tenth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>143</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

<sup>144</sup> First stanza of ‘Klaaglied’, *Knuttel 14677* (1702).

was imbued with new meaning. The new Dutch Republic came to embody freedom understood as the singular notion of protection against the interference of external actors. Whereas the concept was previously understood as the existence of multiple rights and privileges, now it meant the right to political self-determination and personal freedom.<sup>145</sup> During the First Stadtholderless Period (1650-1672) prior to William's rise to power, the presence of an Orange monarch was seen as incompatible with the republican form of government. Propagated mainly by the States of Holland, a radical anti-monarchic notion of freedom came into existence. The idea was that a political role for the Prince of Orange would pose a threat to the freedom of the Dutch Republic. This period, known as 'ware vrijheid', came to an end when William saved the United Provinces from the invading French armies in 1672 and restored Dutch freedom.<sup>146</sup> His elevation to the position of hereditary stadtholder was accompanied by the restoration of the concept of freedom understood as not only compatible to but even dependent on a powerful political position of a member of the Orange family. William's inextricable link with the concept of freedom thus places him within a long tradition of other fighters for national independence and champions of peace. This chapter will now turn to the Orangistic imagery and rhetoric provided in songs to put further emphasis on William's Orange lineage.

### Imagery of William's Orange lineage

References to William's Orange ancestry often consist of comparisons of the Prince of Orange to the heroic deeds of his Orange forefathers. Particularly the songs about the Glorious Revolution in England often refer to William as a descendant of the famous Orange family. As a result of this lineage the prince possesses the same character traits and ideals of these past heroes of the nation. For example, William is "d'Oranjen Spruyt die zijn voorouders daden / Volvoert uyt liefde puur" and he is "Geteelt en uyt des Keyzers stam gesprooten / En uyt een Konincklijck geslacht".<sup>147</sup> This emphasis on William's lineage incorporates references to his noble bloodline as well: William has royal blood running through his veins. He is represented as being of "'s Konings bloet" and his arrival in England is described as the coming of the "Oranje bloedt".<sup>148</sup> One song describes William's blood as imperial: "Dat Edelmoedig Bloed van Keyzers afgerekend / Beroerden, en de Vorst zijn dapp're puls-aar sloeg [...]".<sup>149</sup> Other songs go into more detail about what his Orange forefathers have meant to the Dutch Republic in the past:

Hy is van een doorluchte stam gesproten,  
S'hebben onverdrooten,  
't Edel bloedt gewaegt,  
Wanneer dat Nederlandt wiert overgoten [...].<sup>150</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Velema, 'Het Nederlandse vrijheidsbegrip', in: Haitsma Mulier, *Vrijheid*, 5-8; Van Gelderen, 'De Nederlandse Opstand (1555-1610)', in: Haitsma Mulier (ed.), *Vrijheid*, 27-42.

<sup>146</sup> Velema, 'Het Nederlandse vrijheidsbegrip', in: Haitsma Mulier, *Vrijheid*, 7; H. Duits, "'De Vryheid, wiens waardy geen mensch te recht bevat". "Vrijheid" op het Nederlands toneel tussen 1570 en 1700', in: Haitsma Mulier, *Vrijheid*, 117-23; G.O. van de Klashorst, 'De "ware vrijheid", 1650-1672', in: Haitsma Mulier, *Vrijheid*, 183.

<sup>147</sup> Second stanza of 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>148</sup> In order: first stanza of 'Vreughde-Liedt', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78, and the tenth stanza of 'Viva Oranje', *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>149</sup> Second stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>150</sup> Third stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

William's forefathers risked their noble lives in the defence of the Dutch religion and state. They were true shields of the church and the nation, appointed by God:

Ach machtigh vorst, Godt heeft u voorouders,  
Als Herders en op-bouwers  
van sijn Kerck gestelt,  
Sy waren lichten, schilden en behouders,  
S'treedden voor gods waerheyt in het velt,  
Was haer herte lust, als sy met haer knechten  
Voor godes eer en vryheyt mochten vechten,  
En Godes Kerck en Landt,  
Jn een vrije stant,  
Te rechten.<sup>151</sup>

In this way William is portrayed as part of a long family tradition of national heroes that risked their lives to defend the freedom and religion of the Dutch Republic. William is the "Oranjen Spruyt", or offspring of this heroic bloodline.<sup>152</sup> The family tree as a symbol of the genealogy of the Oranges plays an important role in the representation of William III. Often the imagery of the orange tree is used as an allegory in the representation of William's life achievements. The orange tree provided a powerful symbol that was widely used to represent previous members of the Orange family as well.<sup>153</sup> The growing and fruit bearing tree symbolizes life, prosperity and development. The tree's canopy of leaves moreover provided shade and shelter under which the Republic could quite literally prosper. The sprout of an orange tree in this way represents the promise of a fruitful future, not only for the Orange family but for the Dutch Republic as a whole as well.<sup>154</sup> The fate of the Dutch state was in this way represented as inextricably linked with the fortunes of the Orange family. As his forefathers, William III was strongly associated with the security and well-being of the Republic. This imagery is particularly often used in the songs concerning William's Glorious Revolution overseas. One of these songs portrays his arrival at the English coast in 1688 as the planting of the orange tree:

Vijf dagen waren [waeren] wij in zee,  
Daer sijnen wij Godt lof gekomen,  
Tot torbaj al op de ree,  
Daer onsen prins doen sonder schroomen,  
Met sijn krijs volck ginck aen landt,  
Daer hij oranje heeft geplandt.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>152</sup> The term 'oranjen Spruyt' is evident in: 'Vreughde-Liedt', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78, 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49, 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27, 'Een Loffelijck Liedt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 23, 'Een heerlijk Victorie Lied', *KonLb1703* (1703) 26, and 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>153</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 62.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibidem*, 46, 62.

<sup>155</sup> Eighteenth stanza of the manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?).

During the subsequent invasion of England, William is portrayed as a branch of this Orange tree that is growing and flourishing as time goes on: “Dat gy den Oranjen Tack siet groeyen / God laet hem in eer en deugden bloeyen.”<sup>156</sup> William is also referred to as the fruit of the orange tree. One song uses the symbol of an orange apple to depict the Prince of Orange. The taste and smell of the fruit is used to exemplify France’s reaction to the invasion of England. Although the smell of the apple in itself is sweet, the French find it sour-tasting:

Vranckrijck staet ver stelt van dese saken,  
Die altijd getracht heeft om te smaken,  
Den Oranjen Appel soet van geure,  
Maer hy valt den Fransman al te seure.<sup>157</sup>

When in 1702 William dies childless, the tree imagery is easily adapted to fit this unhappy occasion. Whereas during his lifetime the flourishing sprouts of the orange tree were emphasized, bringing good fortune to all residing in its shadow, now the trunk of the orange tree is broken: “Maer neen nu is d’Oranje Stam / Geheel en al gebrooke.”<sup>158</sup> In this way the absence of a successor and the ensuing Second Stadtholderless Period is illustrated. Another song talks about the Orange tree being plucked empty: “Den Oranjen Stam die is op hede / Gans afgeplukt.”<sup>159</sup> A third song describes William’s passing as the cutting down of the tree:

Den Britsen Konink doot, wie kant vergeeten,  
Den Oranje Stam eylaes om veer gesmeeten,  
Waer door ons Neerlant schreyt,  
Dat den Boom ten neder leyt [...].<sup>160</sup>

An image that is not often found in the corpus of early modern Dutch songs about William III studied in this thesis is that of the phoenix rising from the ashes. This image of regeneration and resurrection was widely used in poetry and literature in relation to William III, especially in the context of his birth in 1650 after the death of his father and his restoration to the office of Stadtholder in 1672. The disaster year in particular was marked by a flood of phoenix imagery, linking William as part of the Orange family to the fate of the Dutch Republic.<sup>161</sup> However, only one of the songs studied in this thesis employs the image of the phoenix in the representation of William III: “Hier legt de Fenix uit den as, Van die Oranje Zon die zoo vroeg onder was [...]”.<sup>162</sup> A possible explanation for the absence of this imagery in the songs about the three selected events studied in this thesis concerns a lack of relevance. Whereas his rise to power in 1672 provided a logical moment for the use of regeneration imagery, the occasions of William’s marriage, his Glorious Revolution and his death had less to do with resurrection. These events in contrast lend themselves better for imagery that represented growth and prosperity as we have seen in the use of the orange tree.

<sup>156</sup> Second stanza of ‘Een Loffelijck Liedt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 23.

<sup>157</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘Een Loffelijck Liedt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 23.

<sup>158</sup> Eleventh stanza of ‘Droevige Rouw-klachten’, *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

<sup>159</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>160</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

<sup>161</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 62-3, 75, 77-8.

<sup>162</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

## Symbols of monarchy

The office of stadtholder was a special position in the Dutch Republic. In effect the stadtholderate was a kind of monarchy within a republic. To symbolize William's unique and central position as stadtholder with monarchic allure in a republican state, the early modern Dutch songs employ monarchic imagery that was also used in the portrayal of previous Orange stadtholders. One of these symbols of monarchy is the sun. Sun imagery symbolized the rising fortunes of the Oranges in general and of William III in particular.<sup>163</sup> The sun could drive away mist and darkness and was therefore an ideal image in the portrayal of William as the expeller of the French enemy. The sun not only dispelled evil shadows, its powerful beams were able to let things grow. As was the case with the imagery of the orange tree, William is represented as an important condition for the well-being and good fortunes of the Dutch state. The sun further symbolises harmony and provided William with an image of peacemaker and born leader, able to unite his people. Moreover, the sun is the centre around which all the planets revolve. Not surprisingly, sun imagery is widely used in early modern poetry and literature published during William's advancement around 1672.<sup>164</sup> In the case of the songs studied in this thesis, especially the songs written on occasion of William's marriage in 1677 represent the Prince of Orange as a brilliant sun. The chorus of the ballad titled 'Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen' for example describes the union as follows:

Nu, nu, sal d'Oranje son,  
Schieten stralen uyt,  
By de britse spruyt,  
In spijt bourbon,  
Nu, nu, daelt sijn luyster bron.<sup>165</sup>

William is depicted as the radiating sun whose beams will obscure the glory of the French King Louis XIV. The union between the Republic and England is interpreted as a move against the French enemy. Again Willem is portrayed as the safeguard of the security and well-being of all. A song about the Glorious Revolution uses similar sun imagery to describe William's coronation as King of England. The ballad portrays William as the rising sun shining across the horizon, illuminating the world: "Nu men ons Vorst ziet klimmen / Zijn heldere Horizont / Scheynd boven onze Kimmen / De heele Wereld rond".<sup>166</sup> The coronation kindles light and hope, both for the Dutch Republic and the rest of the world. The songs written on account of William's death in 1702 employ sun imagery as well, again adapted to the occasion. Reminiscent of the broken orange tree, the light of the sun is now obscured: "Die [William III] altijt voor ons Landen en Staaten / Uyt blink gelijk de heldere Son / Die glans die is ons weggenomen".<sup>167</sup> Similar is the depiction of William as a star that no longer fills the night with light: "Laat ons zijn droeve dood beweenen / Die schoone Star is uit gescheenen".<sup>168</sup>

Comparable to this sun imagery is the use of the flower as a symbol of growth, youth and prosperity. Two songs about the Glorious Revolution and one on his marriage depict William as the

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<sup>163</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 42-44.

<sup>164</sup> Ibidem, 42.

<sup>165</sup> Chorus of 'Oranjens verheerlikte staet', *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>166</sup> Ninth stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>167</sup> Tenth stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>168</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).



“schoon Oranjen Blom”, “Koninklijke Bloem” or “jonge oranje blom”.<sup>169</sup> The flower provides an image similar to that of the sun and the orange tree. These images all provide references to natural forces and sources of life, growth, prosperity and renewal. In portraying William as the life blood of the Dutch Republic, all three images provide powerful symbols of William as the condition for the well-being of the Dutch state, its freedom and its people.

Another means of representing William III in monarchic terms is the recurrent mention of William crowned with a laurel wreath. The symbol of the laurel wreath is in both classical and Christian traditions associated with victory and eternity. Instead of referencing his position as King of England, the use of this imagery signals a more general homage to William. Indeed even before his invasion of England, William is depicted with this honorary tribute: “Kroont nu met Lauwerieren / Den Prins d’Oranjen Blom”.<sup>170</sup> A song written on occasion of William’s coronation uses a similar image of the laurel wreath: “Wilt nu met vreugt / Ons Prins zijn hooft versieren ‘d’Oranje Spruyt / Vlegt Mirrhe kruyt / Met Palm en Lauwerieren [...]”.<sup>171</sup> William is constantly addressed in royal terms as well. This again seems to have little to do with the fact that he is crowned as King of England in 1689 and more with his royal status in the Dutch Republic. Although William is sometimes called “den Konink van drie Rycken”, “Britsen Konink”, and “Hooft der Britten”<sup>172</sup>, the majority of songs reference to William as an Orange monarch: “onze Vorst”, “Onsen Prins”, “onse Majesteyt” and “ons Konink”. Moreover, the songs written on occasion of his marriage already address him in these royal terms. This emphasis on Williams unique position in the Dutch Republic places him within the family tradition of the Oranges. William’s representation as stadtholder with monarchic allure is thus an important part of the Orangistic discourse in early modern Dutch songs.

## Conclusion

In her study into Orangistic imagery and rhetoric between 1650 and 1675, Jill Stern describes the power of the Orangistic discourse in the following terms: “The greatest strength of the language of Orangism lay perhaps [...] in the ability of that language to provide at key moments in the history of the Republic a mode of interpreting the experience of the nation and speaking to the nation’s aspirations.”<sup>173</sup> In the case of the use of an Orangistic language in the songs studied in this thesis, the experience of William’s marriage, the Glorious Revolution and his death are interpreted in the context of the nation’s desire for freedom. This language of freedom united all layers of Dutch society and spoke to the nation’s memories of the past and ideals for the future. The path to freedom was inextricably linked with the presence of a member of the Orange family at the head of the Dutch state. The use of an Orangistic discourse and its imagery and rhetoric in early modern Dutch songs shows that this mode of interpretation is provided for all sorts of historical events relating to the Prince of Orange. It can also be found in an event of less consequence to the Dutch Republic itself such as William’s marriage to Mary Stuart and his Glorious Revolution. Furthermore,

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<sup>169</sup> In order: third stanza of ‘Viva Oranje’, *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64, sixth stanza of ‘Verlaat gy my, verheven Ziel’, *HPraatvaar1750* ([1745/1750 ca.]) 159, and the third stanza of ‘Vreughde-Liedt’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78.

<sup>170</sup> First stanza of ‘Vreughde-Liedt’, *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78.

<sup>171</sup> Second stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>172</sup> In order: eleventh stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17, fifth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15, and the sixth stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>173</sup> Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image*, 206-7.

not only did this Orangistic language provide hope and comfort in times of crises, trouble and desperation, it was also confirmed during periods of relative peace and political triumphs.

## A patriotic discourse

William's importance to Dutch liberty is not only expressed as part of his Orange lineage but interpreted as a result of his bond with the fatherland as well. His representation in songs is reinforced with the use of a patriotic rhetoric in which William's link with the Dutch Republic is emphasized. William is portrayed as embodying the Republic's values of freedom and unity and therefore serves as a powerful symbol of the United Provinces as a whole. Furthermore, William successfully opposed an enemy that threatened his fatherland and its freedom. In this way the songs place William in another discourse linked to freedom: a republican tradition. The concepts of the fatherland, Dutch freedom and the Reformed faith became closely tied during the Dutch Revolt. This period of fighting for independence from a foreign occupier added a new dimension to old feelings of national belonging. The existence of a common arch-enemy moreover added extra weight to these patriotic feelings.<sup>174</sup> In order to assess the use of this patriotic discourse in early modern Dutch songs about William III, this chapter will examine how a patriotic rhetoric added extra meaning and importance to William's persona.

## A patriotic rhetoric

Before this chapter will go into William's personal bond with the fatherland, first attention will be paid to what this Dutch national awareness consisted of. Most songs are not very explicit in their description of the United Provinces; often they suffice with 'ons land' or 'onsen state'. The use of the term 'our' does point to the Dutch people's identification with and appropriation to the Dutch Republic which in itself reflects part of their patriotism. For example, an obituary song refers to "ons Landen en Staaten".<sup>175</sup> The overtly patriotic term 'vaderland' is used only a limited amount of times. One song about William's marriage describes how the union is "Tot een heyl voor 't Vaderlandt".<sup>176</sup> A song concerning William's passage to England, written from the perspective of a sailor aboard one of the ships, mentions that the ship's captain Carel van de Putte is vice-admiral of the province of Zeeland "ter eere van ons vaderlandt".<sup>177</sup> Another ballad about the Glorious Revolution interprets William's departure to England as a defence of the true faith "en voor 't Vaderlandt".<sup>178</sup> A possible explanation for the absence of a more frequent mentioning of the term 'fatherland' is that the events studied in this thesis do not lend themselves for this kind of rhetoric particularly well. In the case of William's marriage, his invasion of England and his death, the safety of the Dutch Republic was never at stake as was the case in songs about for example military conflicts. As an illustration to this point, in his study into war songs written between 1672 and 1713 Donald Haks found that the term 'fatherland' is indeed frequently used.

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<sup>174</sup> N.C.F. van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland: een geschiedenis van de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940. Reeks Nederlandse Begripsgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam 1999) 2; G. de Bruin, 'Het begrip 'vaderland' in de pamfletliteratuur ten tijde van de Republiek, 1600-1750', in: Sas (ed.), *Vaderland*, 146-7.

<sup>175</sup> Tenth stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>176</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50.

<sup>177</sup> Twelfth stanza of the manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?).

<sup>178</sup> Twelfth stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

Despite this limited use of the term fatherland, the studied corpus of songs does express a national awareness in other ways. Most often the songs talk about ‘Nederland’ when the Dutch Republic is concerned. The songs about the Glorious Revolution call upon the “Neerlantse Jeugt” to be happy about William’s coronation in England.<sup>179</sup> “Neerlander al gelijk” is overjoyed about the occasion and “Al door ons gantsche Nederlandt” people celebrate.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, William will always defend “onse Nederlanden”.<sup>181</sup> When William dies in 1702 “Gans Nederlant dat was verschrikt” and the occasion was one “Waer door ons Neerlant schreyt”.<sup>182</sup> Other songs describe the Dutch state as a conglomerate of different provinces and thus interpret the Republic as the union of different provinces. For example, the French enemy had to flee “Tot vreugd voor onzen Staaten / En ons Vereende Land”.<sup>183</sup> Another song about the Glorious Revolution rouses all “Vereenighde Provincien” to show their delight.<sup>184</sup> One of the obituary songs refers most explicitly to the seven united provinces of the Republic by calling upon “gy Volck der seven leden” to give thought to the passing of the Prince of Orange.<sup>185</sup> Often the province of Holland seems to serve as a pars pro toto for the Dutch Republic. The song ‘Ziele Sucht’ for example asks God to keep the territory of Holland safe: “Behoed doch Heer ons Hollands dal”.<sup>186</sup> In ‘Een heerlijk Victorie Lied’ people “door ’t heel Hollands gebiedt” bid God for his aid in safely transporting Queen Mary overseas.<sup>187</sup> At his deathbed William asks the noblemen present “Om Hollant trouw’lijk by te staen”.<sup>188</sup> The title of this obituary song refers to “Hollandts Tranen” in its description of the mourning of the Dutch people. Another ballad describes how the presence of William will make sure “Dat nog Spaans, nog Frans geweld / Hollands moed, en magt kan deeren.”<sup>189</sup> Evidently different terms are employed in the portrayal of the Dutch fatherland in early modern songs about William III. Whether they all refer to the same geographical territory of the Dutch Republic is unclear. The obituary song ‘Lijkzang’ seems to provide a possible explanation for the use of these different terms. In this ballad William is described as “Hollands stut, en troost, en hope / Haagse Mars, en Neerlands min”.<sup>190</sup> The province of Holland in this way represents the Dutch Republic as a sovereign political entity. The city of The Hague is used to portray the Republic’s administration and mainly cares for William’s military prowess in the defence of the Republic. Lastly the Netherlands seems to refer to the whole of the Dutch people with love for the prince.

Apart from the terminology used to describe the Dutch Republic, the way the Dutch people are portrayed as part of this nation is of importance in the patriotic rhetoric of songs as well. Especially their willingness to fight for the safety of their country is emphasized. The Dutch bravely defend the freedom of their fatherland. For example, to help the Prince of Orange succeed in his

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<sup>179</sup> Second stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>180</sup> In order: ninth stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49, and the first stanza of ‘Viva Oranje’, *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>181</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Een Loffelijck Liedt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 23.

<sup>182</sup> In order: third stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17, and the fifth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

<sup>183</sup> Second stanza of ‘Victorie-Lied’, *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>184</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>185</sup> First stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

<sup>186</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt’, *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>187</sup> Second stanza of ‘Een heerlijk Victorie Lied’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 26.

<sup>188</sup> Eleventh stanza of ‘Droevige Rouw-klachten’, *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

<sup>189</sup> Twenty-fifth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>190</sup> Fifteenth stanza of ‘Lijkzang’, *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

invasion of England, a number of thirty thousand people from many different provinces come to William's aid and "willen met Oranjen vechten"<sup>191</sup>:

[...] Met ootmoet en veel reverentie  
al uyt veel verscheyde Provincie  
Om sijn Hoogheyt by te staen,  
Dat sy 't Geweer gaen nemen aen.<sup>192</sup>

Another song about the Glorious Revolution similarly refers to the Dutch' courageous aid to William III during his military campaigns. According to the ballad especially the faithfulness of the Hollanders and the cleverness of the Zeelanders will prove to be of much help:

Maar wy zijn ook overvloedig,  
Vol courasie en vol moed,  
Want wy Hollanders trouw,  
En de Zeeuwe zeer gou,  
Gelijkerhand, Vegten faljant  
Voor het Huys van Nassouw [...].<sup>193</sup>

This bravery of the Dutch people is clearly a deciding factor in being a true patriot. Their courage and love for their freedom is further emphasized by the comparison of the Dutch to other famous patriots in history. Although one might expect numerous references to the Beggars of the Dutch Revolt, remarkably only one song refers to the Dutch people as of "'t Geuze-bloed".<sup>194</sup> More often a comparison is made to the Batavian people that revolted against the Romans in 69-70 A.D. During the Dutch Revolt this myth that the Dutch are from Batavian ancestry became particularly popular because it provided an ancient provenance of Dutch political freedom. Furthermore the Batavians' thirst for freedom and their reputation as brave independent fighters for their personal rights and privileges made them ideal models for the Dutch to compare themselves to.<sup>195</sup> The songs about William's marriage address the Dutch people as "u ghy Batavieren" and "Op op Batavieren".<sup>196</sup> A ballad about the Glorious Revolution describes the Dutch people as "Ras kloecke Bataviers" and an obituary song addresses the "Hollantse Bataviere" to mourn William's passing.<sup>197</sup> The character traits most associated with patriotism are loyalty to the crown and bravery in defence the fatherland:

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<sup>191</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Viva Oranje', *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>192</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Viva Oranje', *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>193</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien', *KonLb1703* (1703) 24.

<sup>194</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>195</sup> Van Gelderen, 'De Nederlandse Opstand (1555-1610)', in: Haitsma Mulier (ed.), *Vrijheid*, 39-40; M. Spies, "'Vrijheid, vrijheid": poëzie als propaganda, 1565-1665', in: Haitsma Mulier (ed.), *Vrijheid*, 77.

<sup>196</sup> In order: first stanza of 'Vreughde-Liedt', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78, and the first stanza of 'Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt', *SdNachtegaaltje1679* ([1678+]) 76.

<sup>197</sup> In order: first stanza of 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28, and the second stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17.

t'Za Hollandsche Batavieren,  
Strijd kloekmoedig voor ons Land  
Laat Kanon en Wimpels zwieren  
Doet zijn Hoogheyd trouw bystand [...].<sup>198</sup>

The patriotic rhetoric evident in the early modern Dutch songs thus consists of the portrayal of a patriotic and freedom loving nation, willing to fight for its ideals. The concept of the fatherland is further reinforced by contrasting it to the image of a foreign enemy threatening its values.

### William's bond with the Dutch Republic

As part of the patriotic rhetoric evident in early modern Dutch songs, William's persona is narrated in a patriotic language as well. Not only are the Dutch represented as a patriotic people, William himself is portrayed as the ultimate patriot, fighting for their ideals. William is the 'pater patriae': "de Vader van ons Landt" or "de vader van alle lands vader".<sup>199</sup> William rescues England as a father that soothes his children: "Dat den Prins komt als een Vader / Om sijn Kinders in rust en vree / Te stellen doet Oranje mee".<sup>200</sup> Two songs refer to William as a Batavian. A song about the Glorious Revolution addresses the prince as "Beroemde Nederlandse / Ras kloeke Batavier".<sup>201</sup> A marriage song wishes "Dat de batavier en brit / Spruyten moet in 't derde lit".<sup>202</sup>

This patriotic image of William III is further expressed by highlighting his personal virtues. Songs about all three selected events describe more or less the same positive character traits of Prince William III: his bravery and self-sacrifice in the service of the people of the Dutch Republic. Altruistic self-sacrifice in the service of the fatherland is seen as the ultimate patriotic virtue. Bravery moreover is an important heroic virtue and typical Dutch trait.<sup>203</sup> William's courage is the quality that is emphasized most in the songs concerning all three events studied in this thesis. William was "een Vorst die noyt en schrikte" and a "Manhaftige Held valjant".<sup>204</sup> The Prince of Orange knows no fear and bravely takes up arms and plunges himself into the violence of war:

Een Vorst die noyt en vreesde Oorlogs-Wapen,  
Schroomde noyt Vyants geweld:  
Maer kloekmoedig in het Velt,  
Hoe bitter dat het scheen,  
Hy trok daer moedig heen.<sup>205</sup>

William bravely fought many battles in order to defend the Dutch Republic. His courage is thus committed to the defence of others:

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<sup>198</sup> Tenth stanza of 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien', *KonLb1703* (1703) 24.

<sup>199</sup> In order: eighth stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17, and the sixth stanza of 'Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt', *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>200</sup> Seventh stanza of 'Viva Oranje', *ItKwakzalver1694* (1694) 64.

<sup>201</sup> First stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>202</sup> Ninth stanza of 'Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50.

<sup>203</sup> M. Meijer Drees, "'Vechten voor het vaderland" in de literatuur, 1650-1750', in: Van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland*, 116, 135.

<sup>204</sup> In order: ninth stanza of 'Op het droevig Afsterven', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17, and the first stanza of 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien', *KonLb1703* (1703) 24.

<sup>205</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15.

Den grooten lof viva Prins van Oranjen,  
Dien dapp'ren Oorlogs Helt,  
Die voor ons vocht kloeckmoedigh in campanjen,  
So dat hy hout het Velt [...].<sup>206</sup>

William put his own life at risk for the good of his country. He fought many campaigns against France “in 't prijckel van sijn Leven / Tot eer van het Landt”.<sup>207</sup> He crossed the channel to England with a similar altruistic motive: “Den Held verheven / Sal nu gaen geven / Sijn lijf en bloed ten besten gaen”.<sup>208</sup> The dialogue song between England and William III puts his self-sacrificing motive in William's own words: “Jck wil voor u mijn edel bloed gaen wagen”.<sup>209</sup> His willingness to risk his own life is evident in the following citation as well, slightly reminiscent of the fifth stanza of the Dutch national anthem the ‘Wilhelmus’:

Die [William III] voor ons waegt sijn vleys en bloedt,  
En voor ons druck en tegenspoet,  
Sijn leven stelden.<sup>210</sup>

William's bravery and selflessness feature most prominently in the early modern Dutch songs. In this way the Prince of Orange serves as an example of his fatherland. He is “den beste van ons Land” and “puyckste van ons Landt”.<sup>211</sup> Other virtues are less prominently represented. For example, some of the songs emphasize the peacefulness of William's Glorious Revolution in England. The invasion was “sonder groot geweld” and William himself “sochte geen bloet”.<sup>212</sup> William is further portrayed as wise, friendly, untiring, pious, and virtuous.<sup>213</sup>

These character traits of William III cannot be treated in isolation from their patriotic context. They gain most of their meaning because William puts them to use in defence of the fatherland. In this way William's heroic status is closely tied to the Dutch national awareness. He is depicted as an example of patriotic virtuousness that all Dutch people should follow. Cultivating and reinforcing feelings of patriotism is thus an important purpose in early modern songs about William III.

### Classical exempla

In order to reinforce William's image as the patriotic Dutch hero, the songs compare him to figures from Classical times and Greek mythology. Especially the songs about the Glorious Revolution

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<sup>206</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>207</sup> Second stanza of ‘Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt’, *SdNachtegaaltje1679* ([1678+]) 76.

<sup>208</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt’, *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>209</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>210</sup> First stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28. To compare: ‘Wilhelmus’, stanza 5: “Mijn Edel Bloet ghewaecht”.

<sup>211</sup> Sixth and ninth stanza of ‘Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt’, *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>212</sup> In order: fourth stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28, and the fifth stanza of ‘Oranjens verheerlikte staet’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 27.

<sup>213</sup> William's wisdom is mentioned in the ninth stanza of ‘Op het droevig Afsterven’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17. His friendliness is mentioned in the ninth stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28. His piety is mentioned in the ninth stanza of ‘Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III’, *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15. William's general virtuousness is described in the third stanza of ‘Laat ons de groote Koning looven, / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft’, *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 17, and in the first stanza of ‘Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken, / De Hemel danken’, *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 24.

emphasize correlations between the Prince and some of the greatest military general and statesmen of antiquity. These comparisons to victorious military and political leaders enhance William's status as General of the Dutch military forces and as stadtholder of the Dutch provinces. For example, William's military prowess is emphasized by comparing him to Mars, the mythological God of war: "De kloeke Mavors daden / Blijft eeuwig in gedagt".<sup>214</sup> William is also referred to as "Dien dapperen Hanibal".<sup>215</sup> Hannibal was an important opponent of the Roman Empire and fought against its absolute rule. This comparison thus highlights William's role in saving the Dutch people from foreign oppression. In the same song William is compared to another military leader in order to emphasize his capacities in war and battle: the Roman statesman Scipio Africanus: "Ons Schipio deed buygen / Dien Franse Phaeton".<sup>216</sup> In this case William's actions against the French enemy are most clearly referenced. The mythological character of Phaeton, son of the sun god Apollo, most probably refers to Sun King Louis XIV. One day Phaeton wanted to ride his father's sun chariot. Unable to control the carriage and endangering the earth, Zeus killed him with one of his thunderbolts. In a way William is thus portrayed as fending off the French military forces that endangered the well-being of the Dutch Republic.

Comparisons to these men of great military standing also serve to emphasize William's capacity to be a leader to his people. One of the songs compare him to the Roman dictator, statesman and general Julius Caesar: "Trok Caesar derwaarts om den Britten te verheeren".<sup>217</sup> William crossed the English Channel to rule over the English people. Comparisons to Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, moreover exemplify William's reign as king of three kingdoms, i.e. England Scotland and Ireland. Alexander conquered the whole of the Persian empire and expanded his rule into Asia and northeast Africa. William is described as "Den tweeden Alexander".<sup>218</sup> In one of the songs about his death, the character of the crypt keeper describes how William is even greater than Alexander the Great:

Vreemdeling die vroed, en schrande,  
 By de aloudheid zoekt het graf,  
 Van den Grooten Alezander,  
 Staak uw zoeken, en verander,  
 Snijd uw weet, en reijszugt af,  
 Hier legt meer dan Alexander.<sup>219</sup>

These comparisons to classical heroes reinforce William's image as a patriotic hero, great military general and born leader. References to Roman statesmen such as Scipio Africanus moreover implicitly relate the Dutch Republic with the republican tradition of ancient Rome as well. The concepts of freedom and unity that in Classical times were equated with these great leaders are now associated with the ultimate patriot Prince William III.

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<sup>214</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>215</sup> Third stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>216</sup> Second stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>217</sup> Seventh stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>218</sup> Third stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>219</sup> Eleventh stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

## Conclusion

In the patriotic discourse evident in early modern Dutch songs, William is represented as embodying the republican ideals and therefore acted as a powerful symbol of the United Provinces as a whole. Obviously this patriotic rhetoric in the representation of William III fits in well with the Orangistic language discussed previously. Indeed William's Orange forefathers were linked with the concepts of freedom and fatherland as well. The emphasis on William's bravery and self-sacrifice moreover put him in a long tradition of defending the Dutch nation and its people. The Orangistic and patriotic discourses evident in the early modern Dutch songs are thus closely linked and cannot be discussed in isolation from each other, nor can one be appointed as superior. Both languages act together in the representation of William as a brave Dutch patriot.

## A religious narrative

Although the Orangistic and patriotic discourses are most prominent in the representation of William's image as defender of the freedom of the Dutch Republic in Dutch songs, a religious context can be identified as well. This religious framework however is of less importance to the interpretation of the songs about William III than the Orangistic and patriotic discourses. The narrative mainly acts in support of these dominant discourses.

William's image in songs often consists of the portrayal of the Prince of Orange with God on his side. In some songs written on occasion of the invasion of England a confessional context can be discerned. Some of the songs describe the events of 1688-9 in terms of a strife between Protestantism and Catholicism represented as the dichotomy of good versus evil. According to one of the songs, the English have fallen victim to the vicious Jesuits: "Is de Jesuyten nu tot proey gegeven / Daer men dorst na mensen bloet als dranck".<sup>220</sup> Father Petre, a Jesuit and close advisor on religious matters to the Catholic King James II, is to be feared as well: "Voor Pater Peters moeten wy vreesen / Met sijn Jesuwijten, o droeve klacht".<sup>221</sup> The evil nature of the Catholic religion is portrayed as a great danger to the Protestant faith: "Dien Jesuwijt die langh socht t'overrompelen / De Protestantsche leer [...]".<sup>222</sup> The ballad titled 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien' devotes most attention to the description of this religious enemy. One of the verses describes how the Catholics are dissenters of the true faith and worship false gods:

Waarom gaat gy rebelleren,  
Tegens Godt en zijn Gebod,  
En haar stom Afgoden eeren,  
En houd met Godts Woord de spot [...].<sup>223</sup>

In one of the songs studied in this thesis a providential language can be identified that describes the event in question as if happening through divine intervention. The ballad titled 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre' portrays William as the instrument of God's work. William is "gepraamt [forced] by Goddelijke

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<sup>220</sup> Second stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>221</sup> Seventh stanza of 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren', *KonLb1703* (1703) 17.

<sup>222</sup> Third stanza of 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

<sup>223</sup> Eighth stanza of 'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke Majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien', *KonLb1703* (1703) 24.



Orak'len".<sup>224</sup> William is guided by God: "Hy [God] staat sijn werk-tuig ook met heil ter regterhand."<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, God is portrayed as the true saviour of England: "Weet God kan 't zien, en u verbrijnselen tot scherven / Sijn Volk te dwingen, is sijn oogs-bal aangeraakt".<sup>226</sup>

The use of both a confessional and a providential language in the early modern Dutch songs studied in this thesis however is very sporadic. Only these few exceptions employ this kind of narrative as the most important context in which William's image is interpreted. Most songs describe the event in question in a more general religious language of God aiding William's life endeavours. In the songs about all three selected events, God's help is called upon to guide the Prince of Orange. One of the songs written on occasion of William's marriage employs this narrative to describe the union not only as an earthly but as a heavenly joy as well. The marriage invokes both "Aerdsche vreught, en Saligheyt".<sup>227</sup> In this way the song emphasizes God's approval for the event: "Gods zegen, als regen / Die bestraelt u Echten bandt" and "t Gewemel, der Hemel / Druckt zij[n] Zegen in u [Mary's] schoot / Door u Prinslijck bed genoot".<sup>228</sup> One song concerning William's crossing of the English Channel invokes God to grant the prince and his fleet a safe journey and help them to prevail: "God geev' Oranje de overhandt".<sup>229</sup> Another song concerning William's departure to England in 1688 appeals to God to accompany William on his journey and to keep him safe from all evils, whether of the roaring seas or of the enemy:

Almogend God, wilt hem geleiden  
En, hoe of Zee of Vyand tierd,  
Voor ramp en ongeval bevreiden,  
Verzeld hem met u Geest [...].<sup>230</sup>

William restored the Dutch Republic's freedom and was crowned King of England "Door Godts hulp en Zegen".<sup>231</sup> He is the best gift ever handed to England: "Hy is het waardst geschenk van boven / Dat Britt'land ooit genooten heft".<sup>232</sup> In another song William's English subjects thank the heavens for his intervention: "Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken / De Hemel danken".<sup>233</sup>

William's obituary songs take this religious narrative a step further and describe the Prince of Orange's death as a heavenly coronation. William is portrayed as if crowned by God himself:

Hy sal noch grooter Konigh zijn, In den Hemel hier boven,  
Daer sal geen Dood, geen hels Fenijn, Hem van 't leven berooven,  
Hy sal genieten daer tot loon, Geen aerdse, maer een Hemels Kroon,  
Voor al zijn trouwighede, Die hy over al dede.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>225</sup> Ninth stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>226</sup> Twenty-sixth stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>227</sup> Tenth stanza of 'Oranjens Minne-vreught binnen Londen', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50.

<sup>228</sup> Sixth and fifth stanza of 'Oranjens Minne-vreught binnen Londen', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50.

<sup>229</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt', *KonLb1695* (1695) 12.

<sup>230</sup> Seventh stanza of 'Verlaat gy my, verheven Ziel', *HPraatvaar1750* ([1745/1750 ca.]) 159.

<sup>231</sup> Tenth stanza of 'Victorie-Lied', *OrVreugdemaal1747* (1747) 49.

<sup>232</sup> First and sixth stanza of 'Laat ons de groote Koning looven, / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 17.

<sup>233</sup> First stanza of 'Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken, / De Hemel danken', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 24.

<sup>234</sup> Sixth stanza of 'Droevige Rouw-klachten', *HaJonker1717* (1717) 49.

Another ballad concerning William's passing describes the event in similar terms:

Zet dezen Held een Kroon op 't hooft, Die goud, en diamant verdooft,  
Een ander roeme op Stam, en Wapen, Gods Held ziet voor zijn deugt en dapperheid,  
De Kroone der onsterfelijkheid, O zalig lot! Voor hem geschapen.  
Wie wagt iets meer uit 's hemels schoot? Dus erft men 't leven uit de dood.<sup>235</sup>

William is thus granted eternal life in heaven because of his heroic deeds on earth. There is no better comfort for the mourners than this final homage to the Dutch hero: "Als dat we o Held op 's hemels troon / U wenschen Gods Genadekroon".<sup>236</sup>

### Biblical exempla

As part of the religious narrative in early modern Dutch songs about William, comparisons are made between the prince and certain Biblical figures. Especially the songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution and the Prince of Orange's death emphasize a likeness of William to these figures from the Old Testament. For example, one of the obituary songs draws a parallel between William and the prophet Elijah. This ballad therefore describes William's passing in terms of an ascension into heaven. The song further makes a reference to Pentecost by speaking of William's spirit pouring out onto his followers:

Nu zienw' hem, als Elisa, Eliam,  
Doe 't Onweer, opwaarts, hem ten Hemel nam,  
Ag! Dat zijn Geest, ook op zijn volgers quam.<sup>237</sup>

In this way William is portrayed as an influential prophet and spiritual redeemer of the Dutch people. After his death his spirit will further guide his followers on earth. Other songs that make comparisons between William and a Biblical figure reinforce William's image as leader of his people. Joshua and Gideon often serve as a model for William's image as saviour from oppression and restorer of freedom. Joshua was the ruler of Israel and conquered and divided the land of Canaan. Similar to Joshua's actions for the Israelites, William strives to bring freedom and religious stability to the English nation:

Dog onsen Josua zoekt sulx niet, maar 't bevord'ren  
Van vrijheyd voor het volk, en vastheyd voor de Kerk,  
Om so het gantsche Rijk te brengen binnen de ord're.  
Daar 't uytgewrikt wierd: dit 's sijn enkel oogmerk.<sup>238</sup>

Just as Joshua was appointed by God to perform a divine mission, William was sent by God to free the Dutch and English people from oppression: "Dien Josua, dien man van Godt gesonden / Helpt ons uyt druk en ly".<sup>239</sup> According to the Old Testament, Gideon moreover freed the Israelites from the

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<sup>235</sup> Twenty-third stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>236</sup> Seventeenth stanza of 'Lijkzang', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

<sup>237</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Klaaglied', *Knuttel 14677* (1702).

<sup>238</sup> Eighth stanza of 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre', *Knuttel 13265* (1689).

<sup>239</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt', *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

threat of the Midianite and Amalekite people. Similar to Gideon, William fights for the rights and privileges of his people, with God at his side: “Dien Gideon die voor ons heeft gestreden / Door hulp en segen van den Heer”.<sup>240</sup> The Biblical comparisons evident in Dutch songs do not only serve as symbolical references to William’s image as a religious redeemer but they reinforce William’s representation as political liberator of both the Dutch and English people as well. By emphasizing the likeness of the Prince of Orange to these great leaders, William is portrayed as much in a religious as in a political context. In this way these comparisons mainly serve to reinforce the patriotic and Orangistic discourse evident in early modern Dutch songs about William. William’s image as defender of freedom is still predominant, now supported by the fact that God is on his side.

## William’s image in early modern Dutch songs

In the Dutch songs studied in this thesis William is predominantly represented as a monarch and patriot heroically fighting for Dutch political independence and personal freedom. Moreover he is portrayed as fighting against the French enemy with God on his side. His role as saviour of the true Protestant faith is less emphasized and mainly serves to represent William’s importance to England during the Glorious Revolution. From a Dutch perspective William will always be the safeguard of the political and personal freedom of the Dutch Republic. This political notion of freedom is inextricably linked with the image of William and is repeatedly used as the dominant representative theme in early modern Dutch songs. As an important condition for the existence and preservation of their liberty, William’s heroism is represented as indispensable for the well-being of the Dutch Republic and its people.

William’s image in Dutch songs remains more or less consistent across the three selected events studied in this thesis. Even a happy occasion such as William’s marriage to Mary Stuart in 1677 is narrated in terms of the continuing battle against the French. Some events however seem to be better suited for a certain portrayal of the Prince of Orange. Songs about the Glorious Revolution in 1688-9 generally represent the most potent image of William as a hero for both the Dutch and the English nation. William’s death in 1702 provided the opportune moment to reflect back on all of his great life achievements. An important reason for the overall consistency of William’s image in the songs studied in this chapter is the fact that throughout all three events the Dutch perspective on William remains dominant. Even the songs about the Glorious Revolution, an event of much greater influence on the English nation than on the Dutch, still provide strong images of William as the defender of Dutch liberty. Furthermore, representations of William as the saviour of the Protestant faith in England are always accompanied by a portrayal of his importance to the Dutch Republic.

The image of the Prince of Orange in Dutch songs is not isolated but incorporated within two larger narratives. William’s importance to the freedom of the Dutch Republic is reinforced by the emphasis on his Orange lineage and his bond with the fatherland. The Orangistic discourse evident in songs portrays William as a descendent of the famous Orange family whose members all embodied similar ideals and defended the Dutch nation and its people. In addition William’s image is narrated in a discourse in which the prince is portrayed as the ultimate patriot and as part of an overall patriotic Dutch nation. These two discourses are closely related and do not exclude each other’s existence. The Orangistic imagery and a patriotic rhetoric work together in order to provide an image of William III as the safeguard of a free and independent Dutch Republic.

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<sup>240</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt’, *KonLb1703* (1703) 28.

Only a minority of the studied Dutch songs employs a confessional or providential language in the representation of William III. Instead of emphasizing the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism or portraying William as God's instrument, most of the songs simply refer to William as having God by his side. This general religious narrative supports the two above-mentioned dominant discourses. Most Dutch songs about William III emphasize the ongoing battle and opposition between the Dutch Republic and France rather than the dichotomy of the Protestants versus the Catholics. Similarly the dominant concept of freedom as expressed in Dutch songs is politically instead of religiously charged.

Consistency in William's representation in Dutch songs is not only evident in his image as champion of Dutch liberty but in the use of narrative discourses as well. Across the three events studied in this thesis, the patriotic discourse in which William's image is narrated overall remains the same. The Orangistic imagery is easily adapted to fit the occasion. For example, whereas the orange tree is depicted as in the prime of its life during William's marriage and Glorious Revolution, its trunk is broken when the prince passes away. Similarly the sun climbs over the horizon when William gets married but stops shining when he dies. The religious narrative in its turn is most dominant in the songs concerning William's death, describing the prince's ascension to heaven.

This chapter has demonstrated that early modern Dutch songs voice a clear and consistent public opinion about William III and incorporate that image in historical narratives. Furthermore, William's image together with its employed language are confirmed in both times of crisis and periods of peace and triumph. Since singing was a popular activity, the presentation of events in songs must to a great degree have appealed to the thoughts and feelings of the ballad audience in the Dutch Republic. The freedom and safety of the Dutch fatherland had become less self-evident to the inhabitants of the United Provinces since the French invasion of 1672. According to the songs they clearly longed for the return of liberty and peace. These concepts were strongly associated with the Prince of Orange. The songs fit William III into the historical patriotic and Orangistic traditions that strongly tie him to the well-being of the Dutch people. Early modern Dutch songs thus do not necessarily provide innovative insights on events or characters but rather pass on general opinions and perspectives. The song as a medium could constantly revive this image. As such, songs were ideal means of early modern propaganda. When the content of the songs about the Glorious Revolution is compared to the propaganda strategies employed to legitimize the invasion, however, their outlooks do not perfectly fit. The songs are unlikely to have been a crucial part of either the old or the new propaganda approach used in other early modern media, as discussed in chapter one, since they neither emphasize a legal and constitutional rhetoric nor express a dominant providential language. Moreover, there is no evidence that Prince William III commissioned the writing or dissemination of these songs. Instead of being employed as a means of propaganda, the songs studied in this thesis are more likely to have originated spontaneously from within the Orangistic movement as an expression of or contribution to the Dutch people's views on William III. Even more importantly they convey and reinforce feelings of Dutch patriotism and love for the Oranges, both embodied by the Dutch stadtholder and King of England, Scotland and Ireland.

## Across the border

The Dutch Republic was not the only country where William played an important role. The Glorious Revolution had radical consequences for the people across the English Channel. Therefore this chapter will study the songs about the Glorious Revolution as they were written, published and sung in seventeenth century England where a similar tradition of broadside ballads existed.<sup>241</sup> This chapter will provide a textual analysis of the English songs concerning William's arrival in England and his subsequent coronation as King of England. In this way this chapter will study to what extent William's image in early modern English songs differed from the representation of the Prince of Orange in Dutch songs. Attention will also be given to the main discourse in which William's image in England can be interpreted. This synchronic comparison will aid a further interpretation of William's representation in early modern Dutch songs since it will assess how the context of a nation influences the way the image of William is given shape and meaning. Certain elements in his image might be typically Dutch, other may be a common trait in both the Dutch Republic and across the border.

## Brave Orange

The previous chapter has discussed the inextricable link expressed in Dutch songs between the welfare of the Dutch Republic and William III. In the case of the English songs about the Prince of Orange William's importance to the prosperity of England is given central prominence. Literally referring to William as a hero however is something typically Dutch: only one English song calls the prince a "brave Hero".<sup>242</sup> The English ballads however do emphasize the fact that William's intervention in England safeguarded England's future. The songs provide an image of William as a "true King" and refer to the prince as "good king William".<sup>243</sup> William came to England's aid and is called "The Nations Defender" and "Englands Defender at time of need".<sup>244</sup> The English people should not be afraid "since that brave orange defends our cause / He is come over and will protect us".<sup>245</sup>

What then is in need of William's protection in England according to the English songs? Some songs emphasize the prince's actions against arbitrary government. William is portrayed as the

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<sup>241</sup> Lijntje Pronk studied the tradition of political broadside ballads in England: L.L.C. Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad in the second half of the seventeenth century* (dissertation Leiden University 2008).

<sup>242</sup> Fourth stanza of 'The Civil Orange: Or, The United hearts of England, Being the Courageous Protestant Boys Resolutions against the Enemies of the Church and State', *Early English Books Online* (1689).

<sup>243</sup> In order: first stanza of 'The Loyal Bumper: or, England's Comfort Being A Health to King William and Queen Mary, and the Prince of Denmark', *EEBO* (1689) and the fourth stanza of 'Great Brittain's Joys Completed, Or, London: Triumph in the Proclaiming of the Great Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Of this Instant February: to the great satisfaction of the Subjects', *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (1689).

<sup>244</sup> In order: first stanza of 'The Subjects Satisfaction, Being a New Song of the Proclaiming King William and Queen Mary the 13<sup>th</sup>. of this instant February, to the great joy and comfort of the whole kingdom', *EEBO* (1689) and the seventh stanza of 'A Third Touch of the Times', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>245</sup> First stanza of 'A Third Touch of the Times', *EBBA* (1688).

saviour of the just laws of England: “For the brave Orange [...] will our just Laws restore again”.<sup>246</sup> Another ballad emphasizes that William did not seek personal glory but only had the English people’s rights and liberties in mind: “He came not to reign / But our Rights to maintain”.<sup>247</sup> In some instances William’s importance to England is put in terms of him saving the parliamentary administration of the English nation. King James II abused his power to limit the power of the English Parliament. William promised to restore this free administrative body: “And now a free Parliament’s that we do crave / For the Prince and the Nobles they say we shall have”.<sup>248</sup> By the assembly of a free Parliament William will be beneficial to the whole of the English people: “Brave Orange he does a Free Parliament call / In order to give satisfaction to all”.<sup>249</sup> The song titled ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory’ refers to William’s support to the so-called ‘Magna Carta’ or The Great Charter of the Liberties, a constitutional document first drawn up in 1215 in defence of personal liberties and church rights. The political myth of Magna Carta became a powerful symbol of English liberty and consequently discussion around it was revived during the Glorious Revolution. In this particular ballad, William’s intervention is interpreted as in accordance with this medieval charter. Williams “stands for Magna Charta”: “The Prince of orange and his Train / Are not landed here in vain / But our Freedoms will maintain”.<sup>250</sup> His role in the protection of the constitutional rights of the English citizens is thus a part of the Prince of Orange’s image in English ballads.

However, more often William is represented not only as the defender against arbitrary government but as the saviour of the Protestant church as well. For example, William is “to be the church and the nations defender”.<sup>251</sup> As a result of his intervention “Great Britain may flourish both in Church and State”.<sup>252</sup> Both the true English church and the nation’s administrative powers are restored by the Prince of Orange: “God grant him long life the true Church to maintain / and true Government be in England again”.<sup>253</sup> Another citation points to the same use of a combination of church and state, or of laws and religion: “Now our Rights and Privileges, and our religion he will maintain”.<sup>254</sup> In short William came to England “to settle Religion and State”.<sup>255</sup>

William’s bravery plays an important part in his representation in early modern English ballads. The phrases most often used to refer to William are “brave orange”, “Gallant Prince” or “Valliant Prince”.<sup>256</sup> William’s intervention is in this way portrayed as a risky and dangerous feat for

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<sup>246</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>247</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Great Britains Delight, Or, A Health to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>248</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘A Full Description of these Times; Or The Prince of Orange’s March from Exeter to London; And Father Peters and the rest of the Jesuites put to flight’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>249</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>250</sup> Second and third stanza of ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory; And the Downfall of the Priests & Jesuites’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>251</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘Great Britains Joys Completed’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>252</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>253</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘A Full Description of these Times’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>254</sup> First stanza of ‘The Kingdoms Joy for the Proclaiming King William and his Royal Consort Queen Mary In the throne of England’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>255</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Subjects Satisfaction’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>256</sup> The phrase ‘Brave (prince of) Orange’ is evident in the following ballads: ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689), ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory’, *EEBO* (1689), ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688), ‘The Downfall of Popery; Or, the Distressed Jesuits in Flight’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘The Prince’s Triumph: Or The Subjects Happiness, In a Protestant King’, *EEBO* (1689), ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph, Or, The Downfall of the Distressed Jesuits’, *EBBA* (1688), ‘A Full Description of these Times’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘Popery Routed: Or, Father Petres’s Farewel to London City’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘The Protestant’s Jubile: or A Farwel to Popery. Being an Excellent Cordial to Chear a Protestant’s Heart: Made of the Juice of an Orange’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘The Protestant Delight, Or An Health To His

the prince personally. William could not stand to watch the English rights and liberties being trampled and jeopardised his own safety to rescue that of others: “Orange’s Stomach you see will not bear it / that our Rights and his shall be lost / But like a generous Noble Spirit / comes to defend us, tho’ much to his Cost”.<sup>257</sup> The portrayal of William risking his own life and fortunes in order to save the British nation and true religion is very common. For example, William “wenter’d his Life in this Nations defence”.<sup>258</sup> His willingness to sacrifice his life for his ideals and principles is thus something both the English and the Dutch highly value. “He loved us so, that to end our strife / He ventured fortune, nay, hazarded life [...]”.<sup>259</sup> Another song emphasizes the fact that William wasn’t forced to intervene but came to England’s aid of his own accord: “He that might have liv’d at ease / Cross’d the raging roaring seas / for religions liberties / in protestant protection.”<sup>260</sup> The dangerous crossing of the English Channel features in another song as well. William is said to have “never feared the storms of the ocean”.<sup>261</sup> Another quality recognized in the Prince of Orange is his ability to peacefully conquer his enemies: “He draws no sword, yet conquereth all”.<sup>262</sup>

The image of William’s bravery and self-sacrifice in defence of the English people as a whole, their state and their religion is reminiscent of the way the prince is portrayed in the Dutch songs. Even though the English ballads represent him with great reverence, they do not portray William as one of their own. For example, William is continuously addressed as the ‘Dutch prince’ or as ‘Orange’. This is remarkable since William’s Stuart lineage, reinforced by his marriage to his niece Mary Stuart, provided him with a legitimate claim to the English throne. Although he is referred to as the true King of England, his Dutch identity remains dominant in his portrayal in the English songs about the Glorious Revolution. As a result, notwithstanding his great importance to England, William III is still considered an outsider.

## The Protestant prince

The general image the English songs provide of William III is as the nation’s and church’s defender. William came to England in 1688 “to save and secure our Religion this day”.<sup>263</sup> Or as another song puts it: “[...] His intentions are just; he does not intend / To spoil our goods, but religion defend.”<sup>264</sup> The majority of English songs however use stronger terms and represent William as the saviour of the true Protestant faith. For example, William is often called the “protestant prince”.<sup>265</sup> This phrase is especially evident in the songs titled ‘Great Britains Delight’ and ‘Civil Orange’ that end every verse with it. In other songs William is called the “true Protestant King”<sup>266</sup> or “our Faiths great

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Highness the Prince of Orange, and the rest of the Royal Family’, *EBBA* (1689) and ‘The Kingdoms Joy’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>257</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>258</sup> First stanza of ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>259</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689). Similar terms are used in the third stanza of ‘The Kingdoms Joy’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>260</sup> Ninth stanza of ‘The Courtly Triumph, or, An Excellent New Song upon the Coronation of K. William and Q. Mary, Which was Splendidly Celebrated on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Of April, 1689’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>261</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘Great Britains Joys Completed’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>262</sup> First stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>263</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘A Full Description of these Times’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>264</sup> Second stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>265</sup> The term “protestant prince” is evident in the following songs: ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689), ‘Great Britains Delight’, *EBBA* (1689) and ‘The Protestant Delight’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>266</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘The Subjects Satisfaction’, *EEBO* (1689).

Defender".<sup>267</sup> This strong religious image of William III does not only consist of a portrayal of the true religion he defends but is reinforced by his actions against those that threaten it as well. William's image is thus defined by him expelling the Catholic threat and its main exponents of the Catholic faith. William advanced the Protestant cause in England by delivering the nation from the oppression of 'popery': "The Brave Prince of Orange has been our best friend / And Routed all Popery out of the Land".<sup>268</sup> The chorus of the ballad 'The Protestants Sweet Orange' describes William's importance to England in similar terms: "Now orange drives Popery out of the town / For debauching our Nation he'll pluck the Whore down."<sup>269</sup> In this way William saved the lives of the English people: "He was our preservation / we our lives and fortunes owe / to him who did that now'r o'rethrow / and laid the cross and miter low / which so disturb'd our nation".<sup>270</sup> Similarly William "deliver'd us from Fear / Of Popish Usurpation".<sup>271</sup> A ballad in celebration of William's coronation as King of England portrays him as a protective guard against the Catholic abuse of the nation:

Now he is our Crowned King,  
Under whose protecting wing  
Ev'ry soul may sweetly sing,  
Without romes molestation.<sup>272</sup>

Another song refers to the Catholic rituals of worship in its portrayal of William's actions against the Catholic oppression: "Now Orange is on Brittain's shore [...] / We shall have no Masses more".<sup>273</sup> Every Protestant soul can now breathe a sigh of relief and practice their own faith in peace again:

When popery had all the Nation o're run,  
And set up their Idols all over the Land,  
'Twas the Brave Orange that trampled 'em down,  
And gave us our Rites again with his own hand.<sup>274</sup>

The song titled 'The Protestants Jubile' describes what would have happened if William had not come to intervene. 'Popery' would have taken over the nation and both English laws and religion, represented by the clerical headgear of the mitre, would have been corrupted:

If he had not come, we had all been undone,  
Our nation with popery was over-run  
Our laws had been lost, our religion run down  
The priests would have rul'd both Mitre and Crown.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> First stanza of 'The Protestant Court of England: or the Joyful Coronation of K. William III. and Q. Mary II', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>268</sup> First stanza of 'A Full Description of these Times', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>269</sup> First stanza of 'The Protestants Sweet Orange, Or, Sower Sawce for Popery', *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>270</sup> First stanza of 'Englands Triumph, Or, The Kingdoms Joy for the proclaiming of King William, and His Royal Consort, Queen Mary, in the Throne of England, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Of this instant February, 1688', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>271</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Popery Routed', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>272</sup> Third stanza of 'The Courtly Triumph', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>273</sup> First stanza of 'The Prince of Orange's Triumph', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>274</sup> Second stanza of 'The Protestant Delight', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>275</sup> Fourth stanza of 'The Protestant's Jubile', *EBBA* (1689).



Especially the Jesuits are targeted as the prime excess of the Catholic faith William successfully expelled from the English nation: “The Prince of Orange Heavens bless / who came on this Voyage O / The Jesuits to dispossess [...]”.<sup>276</sup> In his defence of the true Gospel of Christ, William will ensure that both the Pope and the Jesuits will never interfere again in English matters:

He'l have no Idolitry us'd in this Land,  
For the Gospel of Christ he will ever more stand,  
Let Pop and the Jesuits stay all at Rome,  
He will not allow them in England to come.<sup>277</sup>

Early modern English songs thus portray William as the saviour of the English people and their Protestant religion from the threats of the Catholic faith and its main exponents the Jesuits. The strong religious terms employed in these citations above already point to the fact that William's English image is not treated as an isolated issue but as part of a larger confessional conflict in England. Next this chapter will turn to the importance of this religious narrative in English songs and examine the confessional discourse evident in the representation of William III in further detail.

## A confessional discourse

The representation of William III and his role during the events of 1688-9 in England are narrated in a strong religious language. In some cases songs employ a providential language and portray William as the instrument of God. One song praises God for what has happened and thanks William as “the Instrument of this great Work”.<sup>278</sup> The Prince of Orange is portrayed as sent and guided by heaven: “No Man can withstand him, his power is great / Heaven hath sent him to settle our State [...]”<sup>279</sup> and “Heaven protects him, and guideth his hand”.<sup>280</sup> The chorus of the ballad titled ‘The Kingdoms Joy for the Proclaiming King William and his Royal Consort Queen Mary In the throne of England’ similarly reads: “Heaven has chose him / let none then oppose him / but bless him with peace to the end of his reign”.<sup>281</sup> Another reference to the providential character of the Glorious Revolution is the following description of both William and Mary:

The true Fame of Christendom,  
Is William and mary,  
Who by providence is crown'd.<sup>282</sup>

The use of this providential language in English songs however is limited. Instead of emphasizing God's guidance in the matter, most English ballads provide a heavily anti-Catholic context in the representation of William III. The Catholic threat to the well-being of the English nation is the main context in which William's image as rescuer of England is narrated. In the majority of English songs

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<sup>276</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange's Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>277</sup> Second stanza of ‘A Full Description of these Times’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>278</sup> Twelfth stanza of ‘Great Britains Delight’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>279</sup> Second stanza of ‘The Protestant's Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>280</sup> First stanza of ‘The Protestant's Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>281</sup> Chorus of ‘The Kingdoms Joy’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>282</sup> First stanza of ‘The Courtly Triumph’, *EBBA* (1689).

moreover this dichotomy between the two opposing religions is given much greater emphasis than the personal portrayal of William. The representation of the Prince of Orange often takes a back seat in comparison to the description of the struggle against 'popery'. Often the subtitle of a song already hints to this interpretation of events. Ballads carry titles such as 'The Downfall of Popery, or, The Distressed Jesuits in Flight', 'Englands happiness reviv'd, A farwell to popery', 'The Prince of Oranges Glory; And the Downfal of the Priests & Jesuites' and 'The Civil Orange: Or, The United hearts of England, Being the Courageous Protestant *Boys* Resolutions against the Enemies of the Church and State'.<sup>283</sup>

This emphasis on the religious strife in the representation of William III is a clear break with the way Dutch songs portray William's persona. Indeed the events of 1688-9 had different backgrounds and consequences in both countries. From a Dutch perspective, the fact that 'our' prince and stadtholder became King of England only reinforces his heroic status at home. In the United Provinces William is strongly associated with the country's continuing battle for freedom, not only because of his own patriotic actions in the past but because of his Orange lineage as well. In contrast, England regards William as a necessary intervention in an ongoing confessional struggle that for a long time had the nation in its grip. It is therefore natural that the English songs about William III put less emphasis on the representation of William's persona and provide a stronger image of the religious background and effects of his intervention. This chapter will now turn to the way the English ballads about the Glorious Revolution portray this confessional context of William's intervention.

### The 'popish plot'

In the Western Equinoctial,  
Two Religions stood awhile,  
But the Balance gave distinction,  
lest one the other should beguile.  
But the one on false foundation,  
Brought dishonour and disgrace,  
And babylons abomination,  
Must no longer here take place.<sup>284</sup>

This citation from the song titled 'Englands Happiness Reviv'd' provides a clear example of the confessional discourse in which William's image is narrated. The background of the Glorious Revolution is portrayed as the dichotomy of Catholicism versus Protestantism. The story of these two conflicting confessions is reinforced by the way the image of the Catholic threat is portrayed. The terms used to describe this religious enemy include "vile Papists"<sup>285</sup>, "Superstitious Scent"<sup>286</sup>, "Popish

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<sup>283</sup> The 'Protestant boys' is an honorary title for Irish Protestants that became especially widely used in the so-called Orange Order, a Protestant fraternal organization in Northern Ireland. Although the society was established in the eighteenth century, its roots lie in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century division between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland. The organization is named after King-Stadtholder William III.

<sup>284</sup> Eighth stanza of 'Englands Happiness Reviv'd; Or, A Farwell to Popery', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>285</sup> Seventh stanza of 'The Kingdoms Joy', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>286</sup> Eighth stanza of 'Popery Routed', *EBBA* (1689).

Tyranny”<sup>287</sup> and “Romish Whore”.<sup>288</sup> In another song, the Friars and Jesuits are described as “an ill Weed”.<sup>289</sup> The stereotype of the enemy of a true religion, i.e. the devil or the Antichrist, is evident in the English songs as well. When William arrives in England to restore the true faith “The Pope and the Devil together flee”.<sup>290</sup> Another ballad describes how “Our Friars and Devils / And such kind of Evils [...]” are backed against the wall.<sup>291</sup> Similarly William kept the English people safe from “Rome’s Rav’nous Paws”.<sup>292</sup> Some English songs refer to the Catholics in general and to the Jesuits in particular as the “babilonish whore” or “the Whore of Babilon”.<sup>293</sup> The whore of Babylon is a Biblical allegory for the city collaborating with the Antichrist. The Catholics in this way are represented as a diabolical enemy of the Protestant faith.

As part of the confessional discourse evident in early modern English songs, the Catholic practices of worship are condemned. For example, the Catholics are represented with their “gaudy processions” and “shamming pretences”.<sup>294</sup> In a similar way the Catholic mass is ridiculed as total nonsense and, on top of that, as a dangerous activity:

But now we’ll take care  
Of their Catholick snare,  
And scorn both the Priest and his Wafer;  
And as for their Mass,  
‘Tis a Fart of my Ass,  
Common-prayers are abundantly safer [...].<sup>295</sup>

Catholic ‘idolatry’ is condemned as well. Their worship of an ‘idol’ as a representation of God should be punished: “therefore their wooden gods they burn’d / and trinkets into ashes turn’d”.<sup>296</sup> The Jesuits are in a rage because of “their beads and crucifix they lost”.<sup>297</sup> The relics and idols as excesses of the Catholic worship should be destroyed:

Let popery now be forgotten,  
Their Relicks are quit out of door,  
Their Images now lie a Rotting,  
Which they formerly used to Adore [...].<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Thirteenth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>288</sup> First stanza of ‘Popery Routed’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>289</sup> Third stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange VVelcome to London’, *EEBO* (1688).

<sup>290</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>291</sup> Tenth stanza of ‘The Famous Orange: Or, an Excellent Antidote against Romish Poison’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>292</sup> Twelfth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>293</sup> In order: ninth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688) and the fourth stanza of ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>294</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘A New Song. On King William & Queen Mary’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>295</sup> Second stanza of ‘The Protestants Sweet Orange, Or, Sower Sawce for Popery’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>296</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>297</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange’s Triumph’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>298</sup> First stanza of ‘The Prince's Triumph’, *EEBO* (1689). Similar terms are evident in the tenth stanza of ‘The Downfall of Popery; Or, the Distressed Jesuits in Flight’, *EBBA* (1689).

In this way the Catholic practices of worship serve as symbols of the evil faith as a whole. Their rituals are symbolic to the way the Jesuits perverted the Church of England: “The Clergy of England they [Jesuits] abus’d / Wh[i]le they their Mass and Trinkets us’d”.<sup>299</sup>

The way the Catholic enemy is portrayed in early modern English songs reflects more than just a hatred of Catholics but is reminiscent of the so-called ‘popish plot’. This idea of an elaborate Catholic conspiracy to assassinate King Charles III and replace him with his Catholic brother James caused a lot of hysteria and upheaval around 1681. The Jesuits were seen as the masterminds of this plan to overturn English Protestantism and kill its believers. Catholic tyranny over both church and state would then ensue, turning England into a slave of a despotic Catholic monarch such as Louis XIV. Evidently this conspiracy theory was still relevant enough to be employed in songs about the events of 1688-9. For example, the songs often refer to the Catholics’ foul play. The Catholic religion in itself is a deceitful faith that frightens its believers with the awful spectre of purgatory: “Let Priestcraft be damn’d / and their policies shamm’d / e’re we will believe the false story / preach’d up by dull fools / who impose upon souls / to believe there is a Purgatory[...]”.<sup>300</sup> In another song the Catholic priests and Jesuits are called “treacherous enemies”.<sup>301</sup> Other citations such as the following seem to refer to the ‘popish plot’ itself: “We’ll purge out all popery quite / which plots to this nation did bring”<sup>302</sup> and “they still are inventing and forging of Lyes / against our Bible and clergy likewise”.<sup>303</sup> William will “punish our Foes for their underhand Tricks”<sup>304</sup> and as a result Rome will never again “send their priests to fool us”.<sup>305</sup> William’s image in this way is incorporated in this confessional language: “By Jesuits we had been betray’d / Had not the Vailant Prince come to our Aid”.<sup>306</sup> William rescued the English from “all the damn’d Conspiracies / Of Rome’s Assassination”.<sup>307</sup>

In reference to the Catholic conspiracy against the Protestant faith, the songs portray the Catholics as a great threat to the state and church of England. The fear of popery taking over control of England is expressed in citations such as “When popery had all the Nation o’re run”<sup>308</sup> and “Our nation with popery was over-run”.<sup>309</sup> Often Rome, as the world centre of the Catholic faith, is portrayed as the evil genius sending out its messengers and spies. A couple of songs speak of the ‘agents of Rome’ when referring to these enemies: “the Pope and his Agents strove of late / To overthrow both our Church and State”.<sup>310</sup> Another song employs similar terms in its description of the threat posed to England: “down with the pope and all his faction / who did endeavour the lands decay”.<sup>311</sup> In order to exemplify the threat of the Catholics, one ballad describes the horrible situation in England during the rule of King James II:

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<sup>299</sup> Second stanza of ‘The Downfall of Popery’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>300</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Protestants Sweet Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>301</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>302</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘The Subjects Satisfaction’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>303</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Prince of Orange Welcome to London’, *EEBO* (1688).

<sup>304</sup> Third stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>305</sup> Second stanza of ‘Englands Triumph’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>306</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘The Downfall of Popery’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>307</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘Popery Routed’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>308</sup> Second stanza of ‘The Protestant Delight’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>309</sup> Fourth stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>310</sup> First stanza of ‘The Downfall of Popery’, *EBBA*(1689). Similar terms can be found in ‘The Civil Orange’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>311</sup> Third stanza of ‘Great Brittain’s Joys Completed’, *EBBA* (1689).

When vile pop'ry rul'd the Throne,  
 And nought without a priest was done,  
 Those pimps to th' whore of Babylon,  
 Who love to raise sedition,  
 Our bishops clap'd into the tower,  
 And we expecting ev'ry hour,  
 When rome should all our land devour,  
 How bad was our condition.<sup>312</sup>

Not only the safety and well-being of the English crown and church is threatened, the Protestant people are in mortal danger as well: "We know if they could but a full Conquest make / We certainly soon should be brought to the stake".<sup>313</sup> The cruelty and aggressiveness of the Catholics is further portrayed in the following citation: "Pray what can such Religion be, Which does delight in Massacre?".<sup>314</sup> The bloodlust of the English Catholics is evident: "He [the pope] thirst so after Protestant blood".<sup>315</sup> Past actions are proof of this: "According to what they have done heretofore / They [the papists] clearly thirst after true Protestant Gore".<sup>316</sup> The Catholic oppression of the English people in general and of the Protestant faith in particular is in some instances described in terms of slavery. When the Jesuits were in power while James II occupied the English throne "[the English] Subjects were slav'd by a priest-riden sway".<sup>317</sup> Again this bondage originates from the centre of all Catholic worship, i.e. Rome: "[...] By his [William's] care and great assistance / Now we have broke the Romish Chain".<sup>318</sup> William rescued "a Nation enslav'd" and "redeem'd us all from slav'ry".<sup>319</sup>

In many of the studied early modern English songs about William III the Jesuit threat is embodied by Father Petre (1631-1699), a Jesuit and close advisor on religious matters to the Catholic King James II while he was in power. As an exponent of the Catholics in England Father Petre was very unpopular with the Protestant people. During the period in which the 'popish plot' brought distress across the English nation he was in fact imprisoned for suspected complicity in the conspiracy. At the end of James' reign Father Petre was blamed as complicit to the king's bad policies. He soon fled the country after James was deposed and stayed with the former king in exile in France. The English ballads about the Glorious Revolution often refer to Father Petre's flight. He is portrayed as one of the villains conspiring against England: "And Old Father Peters he was one / Desir'd to see us Overthrown [...]".<sup>320</sup> He is about to meet his deserved end: "Penal Laws will now meet with you".<sup>321</sup>

Part of the confessional discourse in English songs is made up of Protestant feelings of resentment and vindictiveness. According to the English ballads, for their crimes against the English nation and religion the Jesuits deserve the capital punishment. William's role in the Glorious

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<sup>312</sup> Third stanza of 'Englands Triumph', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>313</sup> Sixth stanza of 'The Civil Orange', *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>314</sup> Third stanza of 'The Downfall of Popery', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>315</sup> Seventh stanza of 'The Downfall of Popery', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>316</sup> Sixth stanza of 'The Civil Orange', *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>317</sup> Second stanza of 'The Kingdoms Joy', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>318</sup> Fourth stanza of 'The Kingdoms Joy', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>319</sup> In order: first stanza of 'The Famous Orange', *EBBA* (1689), and the fourth stanza of 'Englands Triumph', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>320</sup> Eighth stanza of 'The Downfall of Popery', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>321</sup> Third stanza of 'A Third Touch of the Times', *EBBA* (1688).

Revolution in this way is described as part of “paying the Papists in their own Coyn”.<sup>322</sup> Often a religious terminology of punishment is employed:

Now they [Romans] must to Purgatory,  
To be purged of their Sins,  
Father Petres shall go before them,  
[to] make room to let them in [...].<sup>323</sup>

Another ballad describes how the Jesuits “shall sink in the Quick-Sands / And Hell shall them all swallow”.<sup>324</sup> Other less Biblical forms of capital punishment are described as well. The song titled ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’ would like all those that are against the true faith to be beheaded:

Let Orange live long, and conquer his Foes,  
To make us all happy, and vanquish all those,  
That hate our religion, and bow to a stock,  
And make ‘em bow, to an Ax and a Block.<sup>325</sup>

According to another song the priests “shall dye in a Rope” if they continue to vex the English people.<sup>326</sup> The ballad titled ‘A Third Touch of the Times’ justifies its call for capital punishment by pointing out that the Catholics had envisaged a similar fate for the Protestants:

For now you Villains you’re even Confounded,  
Tho’you design’d for to cut our Throats,  
Now by Seas you are quite surrounded,  
Whilst the stout Hollanders stops your Boats,  
O you will sadly now be hanged,  
For the base mischiefs done by you,  
And at last you shall all be hanged,  
So we’ll rid of a Cursed Crew.<sup>327</sup>

The other side of the dichotomy of good versus evil is emphasized as well. In contrast to the exponents of the evil Catholic religion, the Protestants are represented as the believers of the true faith. The songs often talk about the “true-hearted protestants” or the “good Protestants”.<sup>328</sup> The ballad titled ‘Great Britains Delight’ moreover is advertised as a “protestant song”.<sup>329</sup> William’s intervention helped to “maintain the Protestant cause”<sup>330</sup> and as a result “[...] The true church has a

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<sup>322</sup> Fifth stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>323</sup> Second stanza of ‘Englands Happiness Reviv’d’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>324</sup> First stanza of ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>325</sup> Eighth stanza of ‘The Protestant’s Jubile’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>326</sup> First stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>327</sup> Second stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>328</sup> In order: second stanza of ‘Great Britains Joys Completed’, *EBBA* (1689) and the sixth stanza of ‘A Third Touch of the Times’, *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>329</sup> Thirteenth stanza of ‘Great Britains Delight’, *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>330</sup> Sixth stanza of ‘The Subjects Satisfaction’, *EEBO* (1689).

perfect protection / by William our King who the sceptre sways".<sup>331</sup> The English songs dub the Glorious Revolution "this great Alteration" and "a Glorious Cause".<sup>332</sup> The Catholics that have no love for either the church or nation of England are contrasted to the true patriotic Protestant: "Let Patriots guard the Throne, let papists all go down".<sup>333</sup> Another ballad describes the situation as a strife between "Brave English boys [...] which Loves your Country, Religion, and Laws [...]" and "your blood-sucking Enemies".<sup>334</sup> Similarly the true gospel of Christ will flourish now that William has vanquished the enemy. Now popery is expelled from the nation "the gospel in splendour shall shine".<sup>335</sup> The ballad titled 'A Full Description of these Times' provides a summary of the positive consequences of William's intervention in England. The laws and the economy of England are fixed but above all, its true religion is restored:

When the laws are well settled, and peace does remain,  
 In England we shall have brave trading again,  
 Our religion's secur'd, and the Church is set free,  
 It will be a great comfort for all men to see,  
 That the Gospel may flourish and have its full course,  
 And not be indangered by the French Force,  
 And the true Church of England to stand its own ground,  
 That the Gospel of Christ may have its full sound.<sup>336</sup>

### Symbolism of an orange

In the portrayal of the Prince of Orange in English songs, often the fruit of an orange is used as a symbolic reference to William III. Four out of the six songs that employ this symbolism are written to the same tune of 'The Pudding &.'. Evidently this was a popular strand in the representation of the Prince of Orange. The use of this imagery in English songs differs from the portrayal of the orange tree in Dutch songs. As a reference to his Orange lineage, the Dutch songs represent William as a growing and flourishing tree providing shelter under which the Dutch Republic can prosper. Only once does an English song refer to William's arrival in England as the planting of the orange tree: "[...] had not the nobles of our nation / on this Cure cast a smile / and brought Orange o'er the ocean / to be planted in our Isle".<sup>337</sup> Instead the imagery of the orange fruit is employed, depicted as a medicine against popery. In this way the English songs use the symbolism of William as an orange as part of the dominant confessional discourse. For example, the subtitle of the ballad titled 'The Famous Orange' reads 'An excellent antidote against Romish Poison'. It goes on to say that "Providence sent you a med'cine at last, in an Orange".<sup>338</sup> Another ballad, titled 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange', explains this scarce quality of William as follows:

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<sup>331</sup> Third stanza of 'Great Brittain's Joys Completed', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>332</sup> In order: eighth stanza of 'The Courtly Triumph', *EBBA* (1689) and the twelfth stanza of 'The Prince of Orange's Triumph', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>333</sup> Third stanza of 'A New Song. On King William & Queen Mary', *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>334</sup> First stanza of 'A Third Touch of the Times', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>335</sup> Thirteenth stanza of 'Great Brittain's Delight', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>336</sup> Ninth stanza of 'A Full Description of these Times', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>337</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Englands Happiness Reviv'd', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>338</sup> Nineteenth stanza of 'The Famous Orange', *EBBA* (1689).

[...] But there is nothing  
That can e'er do so well,  
The Poyson of Popery quite to expel,  
As an Orange.<sup>339</sup>

Another way to symbolize William's campaign against the enemies of the true English religion is referring to the sour taste of the orange fruit. For example, the full title of the song 'The Protestants Sweet Orange' reads 'The Protestants Sweet Orange Or, Sower Sawce for Popery'. William might carry out hard measures but in the end he will be beneficial to all: "Orange is bitter in the tasting / but for Health is very good".<sup>340</sup> Father Petre plays a role in the employment of the orange symbolism as well. The Jesuit fled the country for the safety of France because he "[...] cannot endure the sharp taste of an Orange."<sup>341</sup> Another ballad plays into the fruit's smell, taste and skin:

The smell of the Orange offendeth the pope,  
and will send him, e're long, to satan, we hope  
France, the good Orange full sowre will find  
the juice may stand by, he'll choak'd with the rind.<sup>342</sup>

The pope cannot stand the smell of the orange, symbolizing the great distress the Catholic cause is in because of William's arrival in England. France moreover finds the taste of the orange too sour, a reference to William's coming victory over his enemy. Furthermore, the orange's juice doesn't even have to do its work since Louis XIV will already have choked on its peel. William's defeat of the French will thus be easy.

Whereas the effects of the orange fruit are detrimental to the Catholic cause in England, it has great health benefits for the Protestants: "For protestant stomach there's nothing so good, as an Orange".<sup>343</sup> Moreover, the subtitle of the ballad 'The Protestant's Jubile' reads 'Being an excellent cordial to chear a protestant's heart: made of the juice of an orange'. The depiction of the health qualities of orange juice to 'each healthy man', as expressed in the following citation, is used to symbolize William's positive influence on the English Protestant nation:

Its Cordial Juice,  
Does much Vigour produce:  
I may well recommend it to every Mans use,  
Tho' some it quite chills,  
And with fear almost kills,  
Yet certain each healthy Man benefit feels  
By an Orange.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Fifth stanza of 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange; Or, Popery purged and expelled out of the Nation', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>340</sup> Fifth stanza of 'Englands Happiness Reviv'd', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>341</sup> Sixth stanza of 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>342</sup> Seventh stanza of 'The Protestant's Jubile', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>343</sup> Eighteenth stanza of 'The Famous Orange', *EBBA* (1689).

<sup>344</sup> Second stanza of 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange', *EBBA* (1688).



The songs that practice this symbolism of the orange fruit often contain very similar verses. Especially the texts of the two songs titled 'A New Song of an Orange' and 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange' are almost interchangeable, with the exception of a few variations. The ballad 'Good people I pray, Throw the Orange away', written by the satirical poet Matthew Prior, is clearly meant as a reaction to 'A New Song of an Orange'. For example, the first verse of the original song reads:

Good people come buy,  
The Fruit that I cry,  
That now is in season, tho' Winter is nigh,  
'Twill do you all good,  
And sweeten your Blood,  
I'm sure it will please you when once understood  
'Tis an Orange.<sup>345</sup>

Here, William is depicted as the last hope for England and beneficial to all. Matthew Prior wrote a contrafactum to this ballad and adopted the song's melody as well as its strophic form and some of its literary elements. The literary imitation is especially evident in the first lines of text. The appeal to all good people to buy the orange is now adapted to an incitement to throw the fruit in the garbage:

Good people I pray,  
Throw the orange away,  
'Tis a very sower Fruit, and was first bought in play  
When good Judith Wilk<sup>346</sup>  
In her pocket brought Milk,  
And with Cushings and Warming-pans labour'd to bilk  
This same Orange.<sup>347</sup>

The literary borrowing in Prior's adaptation of 'A New Song of an Orange' is thus mainly initial, in other words only the first lines of text of the opening verse are imitated.<sup>348</sup> It is a clear example of a so-called 'tegenlied' or countersong, written to substitute or even overthrow the content of its model. In this verse for example a reference is made to the warming-pan theory circulating after the birth of the infant Prince of Wales. The song in this way hints to the reason of William's departure to England in 1688 as making sure that this imposter of Catholic blood would never sit on the throne of England. The symbolism of the orange fruit in the representation of William III thus facilitates a lot of metaphorical references to the Prince of Orange, interpreted as part of the confessional discourse evident in early modern English songs.

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<sup>345</sup> First stanza of 'The Rare Vertue of an Orange', *EBBA* (1688).

<sup>346</sup> Judith Wilk was the midwife of the Prince of Wales.

<sup>347</sup> First stanza of 'Good people I pray/ Throw the Orange away' (1688), in: H.B. Wright and M.K. Spears (ed.) *The literary works of Matthew Prior* (Oxford 1959) 70-1.

<sup>348</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 57-60, 75-85.

## William's Dutch and English image

This chapter about the English songs written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution shows an image of William III that is different from the one discussed in the previous chapter. Although both English and Dutch songs link William inextricably to the well-being of the nation in question, the interpretation of his role varies greatly on account of his bond with either the Dutch Republic or England. Whereas the majority of Dutch songs studied in this thesis portray William as the liberator of the United Provinces as a politically independent state, in contrast most English songs represent him as the saviour of the true Protestant faith. Neither William's English nor his Dutch image are isolated but part of a larger narrative in which his representation is interpreted. In the case of the Dutch songs, William's image is narrated in an Orangistic and patriotic discourse that both mainly emphasize the ongoing battle for Dutch freedom against France. The English ballads in contrast provide a strong confessional discourse in their representation of the Prince of Orange and accentuate the religious strife in England between Catholicism and Protestantism. This difference in discourse is among others evident in the use of the symbolism of the orange tree and its fruit in the depiction of William III.

In English songs this confessional discourse is often more prominent than the actual representation of William. The prince might have helped to dispel the Catholic threat, in English ballads he is 'only' part of the ongoing confessional strife. As a result the songs pay little detailed attention to William in their description of the events of 1688-9 and instead emphasize the religious background and effects of his intervention. William's presence in England is certainly necessary but only consists of a brief encounter. Despite his coronation as King of England in 1689, the songs keep emphasizing William's Orange lineage instead of his Stuart roots and as a result portray William as an outsider to the English nation. Furthermore, most songs seem to present an image of a strong English people that, with William's push in the right direction, is able to handle the final defeat of popery by itself.

The synchronic comparison between the English and Dutch songs about the Glorious Revolution sheds light on the typically Dutch elements in the portrayal of William III in early modern songs. The Dutch Republic clearly has a long relationship with the Prince of Orange. His strong bond with the fatherland is not only portrayed as a result of his patriotic actions in 1672 but is reinforced by an emphasis on his Orange lineage as well. Orangistic and patriotic rhetoric and imagery made William part of important historical traditions in the defence of Dutch freedom. Whereas William's English image is subordinate to the service of the confessional discourse, instead the Orangistic and patriotic discourses in Dutch songs serve the purpose of reinforcing William's Dutch image. Furthermore, Dutch songs portray William as 'our' patriotic hero. The Dutch nation and its people are dependent on him in the preservation of their freedom. Dutch songs put a lot more emphasis on William's bravery and self-sacrifice as his most important virtues. The fact that he is willing to give his life in the service of the fatherland and in the pursuit of his ideals make him into the ultimate patriot. William embodies the values of the Dutch Republic and defends them when they are under attack. In Dutch songs William's heroic image thus encompasses a bond with his fatherland that the English ballads clearly lack.

## More than words

A study into the image of William III in songs would be incomplete without paying attention to the fact that songs had a specific sound. Writers of early modern songs had a great repertoire of existing melodies to choose from. Their choice of tune could simply be rooted in the melody's popularity, making the new song text easy to sing and sell.<sup>349</sup> Working with extant tunes also presented an easy solution for the writers of songs themselves who often only possessed literary instead of musical skills.<sup>350</sup> This chapter however will follow on the supposed link between the text and tune of early modern songs. In his study into the contrafact technique in the Dutch song culture of the seventeenth century, Louis Grijp argues that the borrowing of a certain melody often is not an arbitrary choice. Factors such as tradition and connotation probably play an important role in this process.<sup>351</sup> Moreover, in her study into the English political ballad, Lijntje Pronk states that "For the majority of political songs, the tune seems to have served as a comment on the political situation discussed in the ballad in a way that contributes significantly to the meaning of the ballad text".<sup>352</sup> A tune was chosen to convey a general mood supportive of the interpretation of the song text or to reinforce the ballad's message by adding an extra layer of meaning. While singing the new text to an extant melody, the ballad audience would be able to recall the sentiment of the other songs written to that same tune. The repeated use of a particular tune for a specific topic further strengthened these associations.<sup>353</sup>

Next to the textual content of an early modern ballad, non-verbal elements are thus at work in the creation of an image of the Prince of Orange. A thorough analysis of William's representation in songs written on occasion of the three selected events in his life should therefore not only consist of a textual analysis but of a study into the choice of tune as well. This chapter will provide such a study into the influence of this choice on the meaning and interpretation of the image of William III. In order to interpret the importance of this choice to the songs' message about the Prince of Orange, other songs written to the melody in question will be examined. With the help of the online database of the Nederlandse Liederbank the reuse of extant melodies for the majority of songs studied in this thesis can be identified.<sup>354</sup> Because of the main focus of this thesis on early modern Dutch songs, this chapter will limit its discussion of the choice of tune to the songs about William written in the Dutch Republic. Pronk's research of the use of melody in English political ballads will serve as a useful comparison and will be referred to where necessary.

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<sup>349</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 138.

<sup>350</sup> Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, 24.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibidem*, 40-1.

<sup>352</sup> Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad*, 86.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibidem*, 82, 86.

<sup>354</sup> In the case of the following six Dutch songs, no tune indication is given: Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?), 'Groot Brittanjen in ordre, door de goede voorsorge van [...] Wilhem Henrik, prince van Orange', *Knuttel 13265* (1689), 'Wie durft de grootste Koning tergen / Die Immer 't Aardryk zag?', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 6, 'Laat ons de groote Koning looven, / Die ons de milde Hemel geeft', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 17, 'Laat ons te zaam met blyde klanken, / De Hemel danken', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 24, and 'Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannische majesteit Wilhem de III', *Knuttel 14694* (1702).

## William's sound

Of the total of twenty-six early modern Dutch songs studied in this thesis, twenty songs are provided with a tune direction that reads 'Op de voys', 'Stemme' or 'Toon', followed by the title of the melody. On the next pages an overview is given of the tunes that are used in the songs about William III as well as information on the amount of times these tunes appear in the Liederbank. Based on this information, to some extent their popularity can be assessed.<sup>355</sup> It is evident that both highly popular and less well-known tunes are selected for the songs about William III. Especially the songs about William's death are written to well-liked melodies, the tunes of the songs about the Glorious Revolution have a wider range of use, and the songs on William's marriage are most likely written to the least popular tunes. Three songs are written to tunes that appear more than a hundred times in the online database: the tune 'Ay schoone Nymph aensiet een magtig Koning' of the ballad 'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt' is used 102 times, the tune 'k Weet niet waar ik my bergen zal' of the song 'Verlaat gy my, verheven ziel' is used 121 times and the tune 'O Engelant wat droef heyt groot, etc' of the song titled 'Droevige Rouw-klachten' is used 177 times. About half of the songs concerning William's life achievements are thus written to popular tunes. The other half is sung to less prominent melodies. Eleven songs are written to a tune that can be found less than twenty times in the Liederbank, eight of which feature less than ten times.

Because of the great diversity in the kind of songs written to a certain melody, an intended link between text and tune is not always easy to identify. Often a tune is used in seemingly various sorts of songs such as love songs, spiritual or contemplative songs and elegies. The fact that far from all of the songs about William are written to highly popular tunes moreover might call into question the ballad audience's capability to make the connection between the new text and its extant melody. The choice of a well-known tune meanwhile might simply be rooted in the tune's popularity. Nevertheless, as will become evident below, in the application of both popular and less well-known tunes a possible connection between the text of a ballad and its sound can be identified. Because of the associations it could evoke with the ballad audience, the tune is an important part of the representation of Prince William III.

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<sup>355</sup> The amount of times a tune appears in the Liederbank does not equate the number of different song texts written to this tune. Instead multiple copies of the same ballad are incorporated in this number.

## The Borrowing of Tunes in Songs about Prince William III

	<b>Tune direction; Standard name of the tune</b>	<b>All songs to this tune</b>
<i>William's marriage</i>		
'Echt-Basuyn, op het Huwelijck [...]'	'Sa laet ons Triompheren' 'Kom laat ons triomferen'	4
'Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt [...]'	'Sa Sa, in Compangie, &c.'	4
'Vreugde-sangh [...]'	'Een Schip dat &.' 'Een schip dat zonder roer moet zweven'	45
'Vreughde-Liedt, op 't Houwelick [...]'	'Als 't Begint' 'Verblijd y gy Batavieren'	12
'Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen'	'Lief, Lief, siet na my eens om' 'Beminde Clarinde'	9
<i>William's Glorious Revolution</i>		
'Een Nieuw Lied, aan zijn Koninklyke [...]'	'Als Oranje in Campanje'	2
'Victorie-Lied, op de Krooning [...]'	'Maastrigt gy schoone' 'Maastricht gij schone stad'	36
'Men drinckt den wijn [...]'	'Alsoo t' begint. Ettcha.' 'Rigaudon 1 de Galatée'	20
'Ziele Sucht Gedaen aen onse Godt [...]'	'Troosje mijn Lief &c.'	5
'Viva Oranje [...]'	'Nederlanders, &c.' 'Lille Lille gardes-te bien'	5
'Verlaat gy my, verheven Ziel'	'k Weet niet waar ik my bergen zal' 'Tranquilles coeurs'	9 121
'Oranjens verheerlikte staet [...]'	'Moeder myn'	1
'Een Loffelijck Liedt [...]'	'Van 't Lollepotje'	13
'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse [...]'	'Hemels Opper-Voogt of Aldersoetste Lam' 'Dartel Venus' wicht'	18
'Een heerlijk Victorie Lied [...]'	'De Hont achter de Haes'	3
'Wilhelmus kloeck beleyt in Engelandt'	'Ay schoone Nimph aensiet een magtig Koning' 'Ach schoonste nimf aanzie'	102
<i>William's death</i>		
'Droevige Rouw-klachten'	'O Engelant wat droef heyt groot, &c.' 'O Holland schoon gij leeft in vrede'	177
'Het ontydig Afsterven van William [...]'	'De Herder Piramis' 'Van de herder Pyramus en Thisbe'	24

'Op het droevig Afsterven [...]'	'Hoe draait het Rad van Avonturen' 'Een schip dat zonder roer moet zweven'	45
'Klaaglied'	'Repicavan' 'Repicaban'	94

*Note: not all the songs studied in this thesis contain a tune direction. Only the songs that do are recorded in this table.*

### Patriotic tunes

The melodies used in the songs studied in this thesis often evoke patriotic associations with the Prince of Orange. In this way his patriotic image that is already evident in the song text is reinforced. An example of a tune that provides connotations with a specific patriotic hero is the melody of 'Sa, Sa, in Compangie, etc' that the song titled 'Een Nieuw Bruylofts-Liedt' is written to. This tune is also used for a ballad in praise of General Cornelis Tromp (1629-1691). The song 'Een Nieu Liedt, tot Lof en Eer van d' Ed: Manhaftigen Admiraal Cornelis Tromp' (1678) is a paean on the Lieutenant Admiral General of the Dutch Navy and on his service in the Anglo-Dutch Wars. The way the ballad portrays Tromp as a brave warrior who is willing to risk his life in the service of his fatherland is reminiscent of the image the marriage song presents of William III:

Hy [Tromp] achten geen leven,  
Maer wil alles geven,  
Ten dienste van Eer ende Landt,  
Sijn roem en sla geen brandt,  
Van nijdigheyt doven,  
Tot geender tijdt,  
Soo kimpt de glory boven,  
Die dapper strijdt.<sup>356</sup>

Another ballad in which the tune serves a patriotic purpose is the song titled 'Men drinckt den wijn / in schaduw van Oranjen'. Although the reciprocal tune direction reads 'Alsoo 't begint, etc', the tune that is referenced is actually 'Rigaudon 1 de Galatée', an air from Lully's *Acis et Galatée*. Four of the twenty times this tune features in the *Liederenbank* it is used in the song 'Een nieuw Lied, over de tegenwoordige toerusting van de Oorlogh' (1694).<sup>357</sup> The Dutch ballad audience thus most probably was aware of the origin of the tune. Because of its use in this ballad, the tune is associated with two specific political events, i.e. the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) and Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678). The battle song praises both General Tromp and Prince William III for their campaigns against the English and French. Tromp for example is glorified because of his efforts to defeat "De Lely-haen / En de Engelsche krachten".<sup>358</sup> William moreover is portrayed as the brave hero commanding his

<sup>356</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Een Nieu Liedt, tot Lof en Eer van d' Ed: Manhaftigen Admiraal Cornelis Tromp', *Het Nieuwe Gevondene Makrollitje, Ofte Clioos hernieuwe Cyter. Bestaende in Oorlogs, [...]* (1678) 3.

<sup>357</sup> These late dates of songs refer to the publication date of the songbook the ballad in question is collected in. The songs themselves most probably already circulated earlier.

<sup>358</sup> Ninth stanza of 'Een nieuw Lied, over de tegenwoordige toerusting van de Oorlogh', *Den Italiaenschen Quacksalver, Ofte de Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Jan Potazy. Versien [...]* (1694) 54.

armed forces, similar to the way his combativeness is described in 'Men drinckt den wijn / in schaduw van Oranjen':

Ons Prins dien Held  
Komt met sijn Oorloghs machten,  
Om te toonen nieuwe krachten,  
Dapper in het Veld [...].<sup>359</sup>

The use of this tune in a song about the Glorious Revolution could have made the ballad audience recall the actions of these brave and patriotic heroes in the defence of the United Provinces from its enemies. William's image is therefore reinforced with a sense of triumph over an adversary. The choice of tune in the song 'Een nieuw Liedt, hoe de Engelse, Schotten, Yren, sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyt Willem Hendrick Prince van Orangien quamen noodigen' serves a similar purpose. This ballad might have reinforced William's patriotic image as a result of the tune 'Dartel Venus' wicht'. The connotations with another song written to this tune, i.e. 't'Samen-Spraeck tusschen den Heere Prince van Oranje en den Grave Tromp' (1678), clearly reinforce William's representation as defender of the Dutch Republic. In this dialogue between General Tromp and Prince William III they praise each other for their heroic deeds in fighting both the English and the French. William for example states that Tromp "voor 't Vaderlant stelt sijn helde leven" and Tromp in his turn calls William "Hoofd der Batavieren" and praises his "dapperheydt" and "Edelmoedigheydt".<sup>360</sup>

Connotations with anti-French sentiments are even more prominent in the choice of tune in songs about the Glorious Revolution. The ballad 'Viva Oranje' for example is written to the tune of 'Nederlanders, etc', also known as 'Lille Lille gardes-tu bien'. A song to this same melody is titled 'Sa Nederlanders komt ten strijt, / Eer dat ghy word u Steden quijt' (1672) of which three contemporary copies can be found in the Liederbank. This battle song calls upon the Dutch people to fight bravely against the French threat: "Sa Hollanders hand aen hand / Slaen wy de Fransman uyt ons Land".<sup>361</sup> The tune is also used in the song titled 'Zamenspreeking tusschen de Koninck van Vrankrijk en Amsterdam' (1746). In this dialogue between King Louis XIV and a woman as an allegory on the city of Amsterdam, France is trying to win the love of the Dutch city. Amsterdam however finds the French king arrogant and dangerous and refuses his request:

Wilt vry weer na Vrankrijk gaan,  
Want uw Persoon staat my niet aan,  
Met dreygen en hoogmoedig spreekken,  
En zult gy mijne Maagt niet breeken.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Fourth stanza of 'Een nieuw Lied, over de tegenwoordige toerusting van de Oorlogh', *Den Italiaenschen Quacksalver, Ofte de Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Jan Potazy. Versien [...]* (1694) 54.

<sup>360</sup> Twelfth, ninth and eighteenth stanza of 't'Samen-Spraeck tusschen den Heere Prince van Oranje en den Grave Tromp', *Het Nieuwe Gevondene Makrolletje, Ofte Clioos hernieuwe Cyter. Bestaende in Oorlogs, [...]* (1678) 47.

<sup>361</sup> Eleventh stanza of 'Sa Nederlanders komt ten strijt, / Eer dat ghy word u Steden quijt', *Het Haerlems Leeuwerckje in-houdende veel aerdige nieuwe liedekens, met veel nieuwe [...]* (1672) 135.

<sup>362</sup> Twenty-second stanza of 'Zamenspreeking tusschen de Koninck van Vrankrijk en Amsterdam', *De nieuwe vermaakelyke gaare-keuken van de gekroonde A. Zingende en kwelende verscheyde aardige en boertige liederen en ernstige gezangen [...]* (1746) 15.

The past use of this tune in songs emphasizing the threat of France to the well-being of the Dutch Republic probably evoked these associations when the melody was reused in 'Viva Oranje'. In the case of this particular ballad about the Glorious Revolution these connotations are remarkable because the song text addresses William's role as the saviour of the English religion more than his importance to the United Provinces. As a result of this choice of tune the song is thus still associated with William's protective role of the Republic's freedom against the French enemy, an interpretation evident in the majority of Dutch song texts concerning the invasion of England.

The tunes of songs about the Glorious Revolution not only reinforce the image of William III as a patriotic defender of the Dutch Republic, they provide associations with a defenceless United Provinces in need of William's protection as well. In a couple of songs, the tunes are also used in songs that employ the iconography of the virgin of Holland or of a specific Dutch city. The virgin is associated with femininity, chastity and fragility and embodied both the Dutch Republic and its freedom, in need of protection by a brave patriotic hero.<sup>363</sup> The tune of the ballad 'Victorie-Lied' for example is written to the tune of 'Maastrigt gy Schoone Stad' that is also used as the melody of the song 'De koning van Frankryk en de stad Maestricht' (1673) of which five copies have survived. This ballad deals with the French siege of the city of Maastricht in 1673 and narrates this event in a dialogue between King Louis XIV and a woman as an allegory on Maastricht. In contrast to the above-mentioned female figure representing Amsterdam, the woman portraying Maastricht is a lot less able to defend herself. Maastricht is being harassed by the French king. At first he tries to gain her acceptance by the use of flattery but when she refuses to give in, he turns to more radical means of persuasion:

Ik [Louis XIV] zal u [Maastricht] dan verkrachten,  
 En nemen met geweld!  
 Ziet daer, mijn legermachten  
 Zijn voor uw deur gesteld.  
 Ik zal, met vier battryen,  
 Gedurig dag en nacht  
 Zoo vueriglijk u vryen,  
 Tot dat gy zyt verkracht.<sup>364</sup>

The siege of Maastricht is narrated as the rape of the virgin of the city, representing its loss of freedom when the French took the city. Because of these connotations the tune not only reinforces the anti-French sentiment already evident in the text of 'Victorie-Lied', it emphasizes the Republic's dependence on William for its safety and prosperity as well. This association with the Dutch dependency on the Prince of Orange is evident in other tunes as well. The above-mentioned tune of 'Dartel Venus' wicht' for example is also used in the song titled 't'Samen-spraeck tusschen de Hollandtsche Maeght en den Prins van Oranjen' (1675). This ballad consists of a dialogue between the virgin of Holland and Prince William III. Holland calls for William's aid in the defence of her freedom: "Den Vyant tracht mijn Maeghdom te verkrachten / En te krencken al mijn roem en eer /

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<sup>363</sup> M.B. Smits-Veldt, "'Het vaderland" bij Hollandse rederijkers, circa 1580-1625: grondgebied en identiteit', in: Van Sas (ed.) *Vaderland*, 94; Meijer Drees, "'Vechten voor het vaderland" in de literatuur, 1650-1750', in: Van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland*, 124, 126.

<sup>364</sup> Ninth stanza of 'De koning van Frankryk en de stad Maestricht (Ao 1673)', *Oude Vlaemsche liederen ten deele met de melodieën, uitgegeven door [...]* (1848) 103.



Ach helpt u teere Maeght!”<sup>365</sup> William replies that he will protect Holland to the best of his abilities: “Weest gerust mijn Bruydt / Jck sal u beschermen / Met mijn stale armen / Als een Prince goet [...]”.<sup>366</sup> In this particular ballad, the iconography of the Dutch garden as a representation of the Dutch Republic is employed as well. The virgin of Holland asks William “Sult ghy in Campanjen / Treden voor mijn Thuyn?” to which William replies “Jck sal uwen Thuyn / Weder doen verciere / Met de reyne dieren / Die zijn uyt gejaeght [...]”.<sup>367</sup>

The chosen tune in songs about William III thus reinforces the textual image of William as a patriotic freedom fighter as well as the representation of the Dutch Republic’s dependency on the Prince of Orange for its well-being. The use of extant tunes in Dutch songs, especially those about the Glorious Revolution, in this way is closely linked to the dominant discourse in the Dutch song texts, i.e. the Orangistic and patriotic discourses. By way of comparison, let’s take a brief look at the findings in Pronk’s study into the choice of tune in English political ballads. For example, many of the English songs about the coronation of William and Mary in 1689 are written to the tune of ‘Hark the Thundering Cannons Roar’.<sup>368</sup> This tune was previously used in songs about the Turkish defeat in Vienna in 1683 and therefore became associated with the victory of Christendom over its enemy. The tune was later employed in the coronation ballads on King James II where it referred to the triumph of good over evil in general and his military triumph of the Monmouth rebellion in 1685 in particular. When the tune was reused in songs about the coronation of William and Mary, it came to celebrate the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism and the preservation of the English state and church.<sup>369</sup> The choice of tune in English songs about William’s Glorious Revolution is thus linked to the dominant discourse evident in their song texts as well. The tune of ‘Hark the Thundering Cannons Roar’ associated William’s coronation as King of England to the confessional dichotomy of Catholicism versus Protestantism as good versus evil.

### Other associations

Not all of the tunes in the Dutch songs about William III provide such clear reinforcements of his image and the discourse in which his representation is interpreted. Often the melody associates a more general mood to the representation of William and its description of the event in question. This is especially evident in the songs about William’s death. The obituary song ‘Droevige Rouw-Klachten’ for example is written to the tune ‘O Engelant wat droef heyt groot, etc’. The choice of this tune for a ballad about William’s death most probably evoked connotations with a song about the passing of

<sup>365</sup> First stanza of ‘t’Samen-spraeck tusschen de Hollandtsche Maeght en den Prins van Oranjen’, *Het Prince Liet-Boeck. Of Trompet des Oorlogs. Waer in verhaelt werdt alle de [...]* (1675) 14.

<sup>366</sup> Seventh stanza of ‘t’Samen-spraeck tusschen de Hollandtsche Maeght en den Prins van Oranjen’, *Het Prince Liet-Boeck. Of Trompet des Oorlogs. Waer in verhaelt werdt alle de [...]* (1675) 14.

<sup>367</sup> Fifth and eighth stanza of ‘t’Samen-spraeck tusschen de Hollandtsche Maeght en den Prins van Oranjen’, *Het Prince Liet-Boeck. Of Trompet des Oorlogs. Waer in verhaelt werdt alle de [...]* (1675) 14; Smits-Veldt, “‘Het vaderland’ bij Hollandse rederijkers, circa 1580-1625: grondgebied en identiteit”, in: Van Sas (ed.) *Vaderland*, 94; Meijer Drees, “‘Vechten voor het vaderland’ in de literatuur, 1650-1750”, in: Van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland*, 121.

<sup>368</sup> The following English songs studied in chapter four are written to the tune of ‘Hark the Thundering Cannons Roar’: ‘The Courtly Triumph, or, An Excellent New Song upon the Coronation of K. William and Q. Mary, Which was Splendidly Celebrated on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Of April, 1689’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘Englands Triumph, Or, The Kingdoms Joy for the proclaiming of King William, and His Royal Consort, Queen Mary, in the Throne of England, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Of this instant Frebruary, 1688’, *EBBA* (1689), ‘Popery Routed: Or, Father Petres’s Farewel to London City’, *EBBA* (1689) and ‘The Prince of Oranges Glory; And the Downfal of the Priests & Jesuites’, *EEBO* (1689).

<sup>369</sup> Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad*, 86-99.

Queen Mary Stuart.<sup>370</sup> ‘Het Ontydig afsterven’ moreover is written to the tune of ‘De herder Piramis’ which is derived from the song about the tragic love story of Pyramus and Thisbe. Six copies of this ballad have survived.<sup>371</sup> This association with the loss of love might have influenced the interpretation of this particular obituary ballad about William III. In one of the songs about the Glorious Revolution, i.e. ‘Verlaet gy my, verheven ziel’, a similar sentiment is conveyed by the choice of tune. This atypical ballad about William’s invasion of England is written from the perspective of a woman saying goodbye to the man she loves. The ballad is actually an adaptation of the song titled ‘Een droevigh Afscheyd van twee jonge lieden die malkander seer beminde’ (1698) written to the same tune of ‘Tranquilles coeurs’. Seven copies of this song can be found in the Liederbank. Again the ballad audience was thus most probably aware of the tune’s associations. In the ballad about the invasion of England, it is the Dutch Republic that is saying farewell to the Prince of Orange. The ballad on William thus not only borrowed the melody of ‘Een droevigh Afscheyd’, it reused some of its literary aspects as well.

However, often a direct link between a tune and a text is difficult to find. There are simply many songs that have little or nothing to do with their melodic model. The following final examples of less obvious connexions between tunes and texts are thus subject to speculation. The songs about his marriage to Mary Stuart are often written to tunes associated with love songs or drinking songs. Writing songs about William’s marriage to tunes associated with love and overall happiness might have reinforced the joyful sentiment of the event of 1677 and in this way provided a context in which the new song text should be interpreted. This point is evident in for example the choice of melody in the song ‘Oranjens Minne-vreugt’. The tune of ‘Lief, Lief, siet na my eens om’, also known as ‘Beminde Clarinde’, is derived from the love song titled ‘Minne-Sangh’ of which five copies have survived.<sup>372</sup> The songs about William’s invasion of England are often written to tunes associated with love as well. Although at first sight no link is evident between text and tune, in these cases the choice of tune should not be taken too literally. Following Pronk, the use of the celebratory tone of a love song in a ballad about the Glorious Revolution might point to a broader interpretation of love as a celebration of triumph.<sup>373</sup> For example, the tune ‘Van ‘t Lollepotje’ to which the song ‘Een Loffelijck Liedt’ is written, is mainly used in love songs such as ‘tSamen-spraeck tusschen een Minnaer en sijn Beminden’ (1677). The choice of a tune associated with love in a song text about a military event such as the Glorious Revolution thus imbues the text with a general sense of celebration and victory.

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<sup>370</sup> ‘Engelands Tranen, en Rouwklachten over de dood van MARIA STUART, Koninginne van Groot-Brittanje: Oud 32 jaren 7 maenden, en 26 dagen: Is geboren den 10 May 1662. Met Koning WILLIAM getrouwt den 14 Maert 1678. Tot Koningin geproclameert den 23 February 1689’, *De Nieuwe Vermeerderde GROENLANTSE WALVISCH-VANGHST, Ofte Amsterdamse Y-STROOM, [...]* (1719) 35.

<sup>371</sup> ‘Het droevig Beklag, van den Herder Piramus, die door liefde om zyn Herderin Thisbe, zich selven doorsteken heeft, en hoe dat de Herderin hem dood vindende leggen, haar met zyn eygen dege ook het leven benam’, *Collectie Nijhoff. Verzameling van volks- en straatliedjes* (1700 ca.) 595.

<sup>372</sup> ‘Minne-Sangh’, *Het Soes-dijcker Nachtegaeltje, Singht en Queelt Met de Herders en Herderinnetjes, [...]* (1678) 36.

<sup>373</sup> Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad*, 100-1.

## The importance of the choice of tune

This chapter has attempted to provide an interpretation of the choice of tune in early modern Dutch songs about William III. On the basis of this study into the use of extant tunes, it is possible to conclude that the melody in a significant way reinforced the textual message of a song. The tune's influence on the creation of an image of William III is first of all evident in its associations with love, celebration, triumph and grief. Often the borrowing of a melody can be explained by its connotations with a general mood or sentiment instead of a direct thematic analogy. However, the choice of tune reinforces William's heroic image as a patriot and defender of Dutch freedom as well. The songs about the events of 1688-9 in particular are written to tunes strongly associated with Dutch patriotism. Reminiscent of the way William is portrayed in the song texts, the tunes often evoke connotations with other patriotic heroes such as General Tromp and the ongoing struggle against the English and French enemy. Both the text and the tune of songs about William celebrate his bravery, heroism and importance in the historical battle for Dutch freedom. Furthermore, William's importance to the well-being of the Dutch Republic is not only reinforced by a choice of a tune that associates him with a patriotic past. Often a melody is chosen evoked connotations with other songs to the same tune in which the Republic's dependency on William III is emphasized, especially from the years 1672 and following. In this way William's importance to the prosperity of his fatherland, already evident in the song texts, is reinforced. The choice of tune in Dutch songs fits into the dominant discourse in which William's image is interpreted, i.e. an Orangistic and patriotic language. Finally, the choice of melody suits the different events. The tunes chosen for the songs about William's marriage often provide associations with love or celebrations of triumph. The melodies used in the songs about the Glorious Revolution are closely linked to anti-French sentiments, memories of patriotic heroes, battles against enemies of the United Provinces and in a more general way feelings of desire and hope. William's obituary songs in their turn are often written to tunes associated with religious or contemplative topics such as mortality and death.

This examination of the significance of the choice of tune also contributes to an understanding of the early modern ballad as an expression of or contribution to public opinion in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic. The fact that the melodies of songs about William III are most probably intentionally chosen to convey certain associations with the text to reinforce its image of the Prince of Orange, indicates that the way a song communicated a message was well thought out. If the opinion expressed in a ballad text was of no importance, it wouldn't have mattered to what kind of tune it was written. Instead of being an arbitrary selection, the choice of a melody was a deliberate one. Moreover, the functioning of the system of brief tune directions points to the ballad audience's extensive familiarity with existing tunes.<sup>374</sup> This awareness of the other songs written to a certain melody means that the public must have been able to identify and comprehend the undertone when a certain tune was reused. Although the choice of tune might have been rooted as much in its popularity as in its connotations, the associations a melody evokes are an important part of a song's message about William III.

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<sup>374</sup> Pronk, *The English political broadside ballad*, 78.



## *Conclusion*

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This thesis has followed two closely related strands of research, the one being the image of Prince William III of Orange as expressed in early modern songs about three important events in his life, the other following the premise that the early modern ballad expressed or even contributed to a seventeenth century public opinion in the Dutch Republic. The study into the song as a mass medium able to voice public opinion presented insights into William's representation and vice-versa. First of all, this thesis has shed light on the functioning of a song as a mass medium 'avant la lettre'. The majority of songs about William are collected in songbooks that were affordable and therefore accessible to broad layers of Dutch society. Due to their oral dissemination, songs were able to reach semi-literate and illiterate people as well. There is overwhelming evidence that in the seventeenth century singing was a popular activity in which the ballad audience actively participated. As such, singing was part of early modern daily life and people's leisure time. This will not have been any different in the case of songs about William III. The songs' narrative point of view, the public they address and the inciting purpose they serve moreover actively engage the public with their message. Most importantly, an early modern political ballad is not just a tabloid aimed simply at the entertainment of the Dutch public. Instead the song is an important instrument in the expression and shaping of public opinion. In a way it is a walking and talking newspaper that reflects on social and political current events. The early modern songs studied in this thesis certainly do not provide a factual or rational description of their topic. Rather they are a persuasive means of communication aimed at inciting a reaction or emotion in the ballad audience. Furthermore they express an informal public opinion based on face-to-face contacts. The studied songs express this public opinion not only in times of political crisis but during periods of relative peace and stability as well. Thus, when types of communication other than newspapers or pamphlets are taken into account, a structural instead of a temporal public sphere can be identified in the seventeenth century in which people's experiences of certain events could be constantly revived.

Songs were able to convey a message to broad layers of the seventeenth century Dutch society, in the case of this thesis an image of Prince William III. Both the text and the tune of a ballad contributed to this representation of the Prince of Orange. Early modern songs do not consist of a straightforward text. With the use of symbolism, imagery and rhetoric the song text constructs its message about William III. Songs not only voice a clear and consistent public opinion about the Prince of Orange, they incorporate his image in large historical narratives as well. Equally the tunes to which early modern songs are written are not simply vehicles that accompany the text. Instead the melody of a ballad can be of great importance in the shaping of its message. The choice of tune influences the way William's image is presented by providing general associations or adding an extra layer of meaning. The fact that a tune was often deliberately chosen to reinforce the message of a song text indicates the significance of the ballad in voicing and shaping public opinion. Ballad writers thought about the way the tune could complement the message of a song. The functioning of the system of tune directions moreover points to the ballad audience's familiarity with extant tunes and their connotations. In short, an understanding of William's image as expressed in songs is incomplete without paying attention to the choice of tune.

Throughout this thesis comments have been made about the song as a possible means of propaganda. Although its accessibility, popularity and persuasive nature make the early modern ballad into an ideal tool to influence the collective ideas in Dutch society, a number of factors contradict the idea of the song as a straightforward propaganda device. First of all, early modern

authorities did not monopolise all communication channels. Rather than being the product of top down manipulation, songs at least in part voiced the general people's views on and experiences of current events. Moreover, propaganda does not necessarily exclude public opinion. Even if songs were used as propaganda tools, this still reflects the existence of a public worth influencing and a public sphere in which these views could be transmitted. Furthermore, the analysis of Dutch songs about William's Glorious Revolution indicates that their content does not fit the profile of the propaganda strategies employed to legitimize the invasion of England. The songs express neither a constitutional nor a providential rhetoric. Instead of being a crucial component of William's propaganda machine, the songs studied in this thesis are more likely to have been part of the Dutch Orangistic and patriotic traditions.

Having established how songs can be understood as an expression of public opinion, we will now turn to the other part of the central research question of this thesis, i.e. how do early modern songs represent Prince William III of Orange? William is predominantly portrayed as a Dutch monarch heroically fighting for Dutch political independence and personal freedom with God on his side. His heroic status is largely derived from his lifelong battle against the French enemy. As such, William is presented as an indispensable condition for the existence and preservation of the liberty and well-being of the Dutch Republic and its people. As a result of this perspective on William's image in Dutch songs, his representation remains practically consistent across the three selected events studied in this thesis. Although some events are better suited for a particular portrayal than others, overall the songs express a clear and consistent image of the Prince of Orange. Even when the Glorious Revolution is concerned, William is still portrayed in the above-mentioned terms. The tunes of the songs reinforce William's heroic image as ultimate patriot and defender of Dutch freedom. The melody's influence on the creation of an image of William III is first of all evident in its associations with love, celebration and triumph. Reminiscent of the way William is portrayed in the texts, the tunes often evoke connotations with other songs about patriotic heroes and the ongoing struggle against enemies encroaching upon Dutch liberty and independence. Both the text and the tune of songs about William III thus celebrate his bravery, heroism and importance to the Dutch Republic. Early modern songs do not present William's image as an isolated topic but rather interpret it as part of a larger historical narrative. In their representation of William III in both text and tune, songs convey and reinforce feelings of Dutch patriotism and love for the Orange family. Songs effectively build on the notions of freedom and the fatherland and explicitly and implicitly link William with concepts, virtues and ideals that are of central importance to the United Provinces. The portrayal of William's significance to the freedom of the Dutch Republic is thus reinforced by the emphasis on his Orange lineage as well as his patriotic character.

William's image in Dutch songs differs from his representation across the border. William's image in English ballads written on occasion of the Glorious Revolution mainly consists of his portrayal as the Protestant prince and saviour of the true Protestant faith in England. As in the Dutch songs, William's English image is part of a larger narrative. In English ballads the confessional strife between Catholicism and Protestantism provides the context in which William's presence is interpreted. The description of the evils of the Catholic faith, its exponents and its practices of worship often gains prominence over the representation of William himself. Despite his help in dispelling the Jesuit threat, William is only part of the ongoing confessional strife that has the English nation in its grip. These differences in William's Dutch and English image and in the discourses his image is interpreted in can be explained by the differing stories William is part of. From a Dutch perspective, William defends the Dutch political and personal freedom from the threat of France.

From an English perspective, the Prince of Orange saves the Protestant faith and expels the Catholic and Jesuit enemy from the country. The central struggle presented in the Dutch and English songs thus differs. The synchronic comparison between the English and Dutch songs shed light on the elements in the portrayal of William III that are typically Dutch. In contrast to England, the Dutch Republic has a long relationship with the Prince of Orange. William's strong bond with the fatherland is not only portrayed as a result of his patriotic actions in 1672 but is reinforced by the emphasis on his Orange lineage as well. Orangistic and patriotic rhetoric and imagery connect William to the historical battle for Dutch freedom.

This thesis has demonstrated that early modern songs as an expression of and contribution to a seventeenth century public opinion are a worthy topic of research. Songs voice a clear and consistent image of Prince William III of Orange reinforcing the Dutch people's views on William's central importance to the Dutch Republic's past, present and future. The significance of the tune in conveying the message of a song has been brought to the fore as well. In this sense, this research has contributed to the study into the Dutch song culture as an important field of research in cultural history. The early modern ballad provides an insight into the experience of current events in the seventeenth-century. In addition, this thesis has put the possibilities facilitated by the online database of the Nederlandse Liederenbank into practice and as a result has demonstrated the advantages of this research tool. The analysis of the texts and tunes of early modern songs moreover has proven to yield results that correspond to the outcome of studies into other historical sources such as pamphlets and sermons. Instead of being an insignificant pastime, the song provides a bottom up perspective on past events and important historical figures. This study can thus be seen as an incentive for further comparative research into the message of a song and the way this message is constructed.





## Appendix A - Full texts of songs of difficult access

### Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688)

*[incomplete]*

12

Ons oper hoeft die schijp regeert,  
Sijnen naem muegt gij wel wete,  
Hij wort van veel mensen geeert,  
Carel vander Putte geheete,  
Hij is vijsadmijrael van Zeelandt,  
Ter eere van ons vaderlandt.

13

Uijt last van onsen vijsadmijrael,  
Hebben wij ons anckers ge[?]onden,  
Voort sal ick u doen verhael,  
Waer datten wij ons vloot doen vonden,  
Het was in 't g[...] van goeree,  
Daer wij vertuijden doen oock mee.

14

Wij hadden daer niet langh geweest,  
Of onsen Prins is mee daer gekomen,  
In onse vloot, heel blij van geest,  
Heeft hij voor 't laest afscheijt genomen,  
En daer mee soo scheijt hij van de wal,  
[...] Godt dien helt bewaeren sal.

15

Ons generael was soo men seijt,  
Selfs uijt Engelandt gekomen,  
Die dit werck met een goet beleidjt,  
Met onse prins heeft aengenomen,  
Edunaert Herre[...]it genaemt,  
Een oorelooghs helt seer wijt befamt.

16

Na dat de order in de vloot,  
Aen jeder een was uijt gegeven,  
Schoot onse generael een schoot,  
En liet de blauwe vlagge streve,  
Wij steten doen ons ree in kruijs  
En hadden vorts ons ankers tuijs.

17

De achste van de maen het was,  
Als wij sijn in zee gekomen,  
Wij hebben doen onse koers doen ras,  
Al na de engelse kust genomen,  
[...] hoop de heer ons sal bijstaen,  
Want het wort om sijn woort gedaen.

18

Vijf dagen waeren waeren wij in zee,  
Doen sijnen wij Godt lof gekomen,  
Tot Torbaj al op de ree,  
Daer onsen prins doen sonder schroomen,  
Met sijn krijs volck ginck aen landt,  
Daer hij oranje heeft geplandt.

19

Daer gaet dien vromen helt nu heen,  
Bidt dat den heer hem wilt bewaren,  
En haer haest helpen uijt den geweene,  
Die hier sitten in groot beswaeren,  
Bidt godt den heer vrij wij gij sijt,  
Want het gaet in den laesten tijt.

20

Orlof dan vrienden wie gij sijt,  
Ick raedt altemael ten leste,  
Den tijt eijst langer geen respijt,  
Ick bidde u wacht niet op het leste,  
Maer bekert u doch tot den heer,  
Den tijt en leijt geen uijtstel meer.

21

Gelijck men uijt godts woorden klaer,  
Kan leesen dat de laeste tijden,  
Veel oorlooghs verdruckinge swaer,  
Hier op sal staen aen allen sijden,  
Dat de vader sal den soon,  
Om het geloof soeken te dooen.

22

Hier scheid ick uijt dit liet,  
Terwijl ick op het schip moet blijven,  
En niet wat op het landt geschiet,  
Soo kan ick u geen nieuws meer schrijven,  
Maer het ander sal volgen ras,  
Wijt huys komen al op het pas.

## 'Groot Brittanjen in Ordre, Door de goede voorsorge van sijn Koninklijke Hoogheyd Willem Henrik, Prince van Orange' (1688)

*PSALM 78: vers 8,9.*

*Maer Godt is richter: hy vernedert desen, ende verhooght genen.*

*Vvant in des Heeren hant is een beker, ende de wijn is beroert, vol van mengelinghe, ende hy schenckt daer uyt; doch alle godloose der aerden sullen sijne droesemen uytsuygende drincken.*

De Geesten uytgenood, gedagvaard om de zegen  
Vol vreugt te kraijen uyt; mijn zang-lust volgt dien trant:  
Oranjens helden aart, op nieuws ten top gestegen,  
Schaft stoffen om vry uyt te reyen hand aan hand.

Dat Edelmoedig bloed van Keysers afgerekend,  
Beroerden, en de Vorst sijn dapp're puls-aar sloeg,  
Doen 't opregt Eng'land quam al sugtende en al smekend  
Betreuren, 't onheyl dat steeds spoelden voor de boeg.

Sijn yver rees voor 't regt, om 't onregt te doen schricken,  
Bedeekte dwinglandy dwingt hem het harnas aan,  
Na dat hy eerst de saak in 't Heyligdom ging wicken,  
Riep hem den Hemel toe, ay! Wilt niet langer staan.

Het samm'len is verlies, de saak roept u in 't wapen,  
De goede steunsels van gants Eng'land lijden last;  
Dreigt nabuurs Huis de brand, so is ontijdig 't slapen,  
Grijp moet Heldhaftig Vorst, de voorsorg aen u past.

De Velt-heer dus gepraamt door Goddelijke Orak'len,  
En marde langer niet, maar maakt de Vlote klaar,  
En vlijtig uytgevoert, de last van toe te tak'len,  
So blaast men de optogt, schoon 't in 't haglijxt is van 't jaar.

De Krijgs-magt en Matroos sig t'samen dapper toonen,  
In 't dobb'len op de rug van 't swalpent pekel vogt:  
De wind in 't Oost Noord Oost, met dik gezwolle konen,  
Zig haast te barsten blaast, tot vordring van de togt.

Trok Caesar derwaars om den Brittoen te verheeren,  
En als een Perel te doen glinst'ren aen de Kroon  
Van Rome, ging de Sax versogt om af te keeren  
Der buuren moedwil, doen verloor den Brit den Troon.

Dog onsen Josua zoekt sulx niet, maar 't bevord'ren  
Van vrijheyd voor het volk, en vastheyd voor de Kerk,  
Om so het gantsche Rijk te brengen binnen de ord're.  
Daar 't uytgewrikt wierd: dit 's sijn enkel oogemerk.

Een kerk Orkaan, gemengd met dwang en Roomse donders,  
En Trentse blixemen, rees over Engeland,  
Maar God ter juister tijd wil werken wat bysonders,

Hy staat sijn werk-tuig ook met heil ter regterhand.  
God doet sijn Raad bestaan, hoe seer de Mensche woelen,  
Gaf 's Heere mond de last, sijn hand sal 't voeren uyt,  
Hy ziet van boven op het vals en boos krioelen  
Der wormen: maer al 't woen aan 's Hemels zet-paal stuit.

Europa sloeg het oog, en dagt, ik zie de Britten,  
Tans ademloos, en door gewetens dwang verheerd,  
Het onregt en 't geweld ter hooger Rijk-stoel sitten,  
Maer God dagt anders, des de saak wiert dus gekeerd.

Oranje regts en slinks beloert van bittre Vorsten,  
Set nogtans onverschrikt de stevens Westwaarts aan,  
En veylig voet aan Land: de vreugd scheen uytgeborsten,  
De Britse landaart schreeuwd van blijdschap overlaan.

De Lantman, Borger, en de Vrouwen, selfs de Kind'ren,  
Als uyt gelaten, hem toe-juychen wellekom,  
Gesegent in Gods Naam hy sal de dwang verhind'ren,  
So roept 't gemene Volk en 't hooge Edeldom.

De slooten, grendelen, van Slote, Sterktens, Steden,  
Tans springen op, elk ruymt, op 't hooren van 't gerugt,  
De Temp'len vol gepropt ter aandagt op sijn reden,  
So berst de vreugt'er uyt, en vliegt in de open lugt.

Van rond om vloeyen toe met voorraad aan te halen,  
Sy bieden blijdelijk haar Wapens, Lijf en Goet:  
't Gerugt al om verspreyd, selfs weergalmd in de salen  
Des Konings, die verschrikt en beefd in banger moet.

Hy beefd in banger moet en wringd sig in veel bogten,  
Sijn gunstelingen staan bedremmeld en benard,  
De Roomse geest'lijken (die Kerk en Land gedrogten)  
Tans knagen radeloos van spijt hun eygen hard.

Wat raad, als God de raad der valsheyd wil verbreken?  
Wat kragt als God de riem van wree geweldenaars  
Verslapt? Als hy beroert, wie sal dan Vrede spreken?  
't Is vrugteloo, al schreeud de ondult sig blaauw en paars.

De Veld-heer Heer in 't Veld, trekt voort sijn Oorlogs benden,  
Leeft op geen Krijgs-wijs toe, een geesel voor den Boer,  
't Voegt niet voor 't Land te staan en 't Land al om te schenden  
Die 't Land tot ordre brengt en set het niet in roer.

Geen Goud of bloed-dorst gord de Vorst in 't nodig wapen,  
't is maar tot schrik voor die in wrede wrevel moet,  
De Vrijheyd en het Regt verkragten, en geschapen  
Zijn om Gods Heyligdom te trapp'len met de voet.

Wie hier toe 't Sweerd aangord, en regt de trotse Standaard,  
Is 's Lands en zijn party: die wagt hy voor de punt:  
Maar die Kerkx welstant mind, en liefd zijn eygen land-aard,  
Vry buyten vrese zijn, 't is op haar niet gemunt.

Gans Eng'land schud dan 't hoofd, in 't West, in 't Zuid, in 't Noorden,  
Elk roep, mijn hart en tong moet vry zijn van de dwang,  
Lang leefd, lang leefd dien Held, die hier om 't Land inboorden:  
't Was tijdig, want de slag verwagten wy eerlang:

De slag, die droeve slag, so schendig al gebrouwen,  
Word af gekeert: als 't Rijk een vrije Rijx-raad heeft,  
So isser hoop om Kerk en Regt in stant te houwen:  
Wij roemen Gods Naam, die die goede hoope geeft.

De dwinglandy mag vry de bloed-gordijnen schuyven,  
Haar list-rol heeft gedaan, op 't schandelijk Tonneel,  
Men ziet tans hulpeloos de aanstokers 't Rijk uyt stuyven,  
Elk vreesd vergelding te ontfangen om de keel.

De Koning siet sig naakt ontbloomt van Raad en Troupen,  
Sijn kans mislukt, des kiest hy heymelijk de vlugt.  
De Prins zijn goede naam word heerijk uyt-geroepen;  
De Rijx Stad juygt hem toe, elk maakt een bly gerugt.

De trotse Lily sag 't Godvrugtig werk aanveerden,  
En schimpte: Wat wil dog 't amegtig volkje doen?  
Dog wreed-aard, siet het zijn geen Ruyteren of Peerden,  
Maar Gods hand die 't bestierd, en lagt om al u weên,

En lagt om al u woên, u kopp'len tot verderven,  
En of g'u digt verschanst, en in 't bedrog verstaakt,  
Weet God kan 't zien, en u verbrijselen tot scherven,  
Sijn Volk te dwingen, is zijn oogs-bal aangeraakt.

Het godloos toeleg leed Gods hand niet uyt te voeren,  
Hy laat de boosheyd wel een loop in wrevel doen,  
Maar dray-boomtse op sijn tyd, God wil en sal beroeren,  
Sijn haters, schoonse een wijl verstrecken voor sijn roen.

De opregte zien 't en juychen Gode haren Heyland,  
En zingen sijnen naam ten roem in nedrigheyt.  
De Wereld staat verbaast op 't keere van dit Eyland.  
De booze krimpen, nu God selfs sijn saak bepleyt.

**'Klaag lied' in Treur-digt /op de dood van den alderdoorlugtigsten vorst Willem de Derde (1702)**

Stemme: Repicavan

Treur! Neêrland Treur, bekleed u in den rouw,  
Die u bedrukt, gelyk een Weduw Vrouw,  
Weent, om 't verlies van u genote trouw:  
U Beschermer, u Rader, u kind'ren haar Vader,  
U Man, u Troost, u Helper uit de nood:  
U Eer, u Luister, leid heel in 't duister,  
Met dees Konings dood.

Hoe hangt de Roos, en Distelbloem haar hoofd:  
Hoe is de Harp, haar zoete klank verdooft:  
't Oranje in 't swart, van al zijn glans berooft:  
O! de Kroon onzer alle, van 't hoofd is gevalle,  
Wee ons! De zond heeft ons dees ramp bereid:  
Laat als uit kranen, nu d'Oogen Tranen,  
Om zijn Majesteit.

O! Gulde Tijd, doe Wilhem aan zijn zy,  
Op Eng'lands Throon, had Koningin Mary:  
Die Vreugd is weg, en als een droom voorby:  
Maar 't gedenken, doet 't herte, nog bloede van smerte:  
Waarom o! dood? Niet liefst van kant gemaakt?  
Gods Kerk-verstoorders? En zielen moorders,  
Die Gods Eedt verzaakt?

Nu zienw' hem, als Elisa, Eliam,  
Doe 't Onweer, opwaarts, hem ten Hemel nam:  
Ag! Dat zijn Geest, ook op zijn volgers quam.  
Hoor de Zugten, en Beden, O! God van beneden,  
Help en verlost u volk, het schreit 'er om:  
Slaat Dwijngelanders, Keert Moord en Branders,  
Van u Heiligdom.

**'Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannissche majesteit Wilhem de III. &c. Met Musicale Stemmen en Instrumenten gehouden' (1702)**

**De Teems**

*Met akkompangiemment van 5 Instrumenten*

Europe trek' het rouw kleed aan,  
De groote Wilhem is verscheijen.  
Die zoo veel doodsgevaar heeft uytgestaan,  
Voelt zig in 't end ten grave leijen.  
De Schelle Faam  
Vol moed op 's Helds onsterffelijke naam,  
Zal 's Konings lof de wereld door verbreijen,  
Zoo lang de over end zal staan.

**Te zamen**

De Schelle Faam  
Vol moed op 's Helds onsterffelijke naam,  
Zal 's Konings lof de wereld door verbreijen,  
Zoo lang de over end zal staan.

**Hagenaar**

Hoe! Is dat glansrijk ligt verdweenen,  
Dat zig bepaalde met de zon?

**Hollander**

Wie of zijn Majesteit verwon?

**Teems**

*Met instrumenten.*

De doodt, die niets ontzag voor heenen,  
De doodt, die 't al verwinnen kon,  
Zag zijne Star thans uit gescheenen.  
Hier legt de Fenix uit den as,  
Van die Oranje Zon die zoo vroeg onder was.  
Ô Tijd, hoe snel gaat gy met 's werelds glori heenen?

**Glori**

Hy was mijn waardste Zoon 's Rijks steun, en toeverlaat,  
Bezielt met oorlogsdeugt, en dwingelandenhaat.  
Laat ons zijn droeve dood beweenen,  
Die schoone Star is uit gescheenen.

**Te zamen**

Laat ons zijn droeve dood beweenen,  
Die schoone Star is uit gescheenen.

**Teems**

Dit is geen Held van d'ouden tijd,  
Waar af de Faam zoo breed, en wijd

De Lof-trompet heeft opgesteeken.  
Maar Wilhem Henrik die door afgunst haat en nijt,  
En door alle eeuwen weet te breeken:  
Op welkers onverzoenbre doodt,  
De Zonnen zelf zijn oogen sloot.

*Met Violen*

Laat ons 's Helds Lijkstasie eeren,  
En ten zoen van mijn gemeent',  
Met zijn asch het graf vermeeren  
Van het Koninklijk gebeent'.

**Hollander**

Rust daar ô glori van Oranje,  
Gants Neerlands stut, en hope, uit Keiserlijken Stam,  
Die Vrankrijk beven deed, en Spanje,  
Maar die ons God te vroeg ontnam.  
Rust daar ô glori van Oranje,  
Die 't Land alle ongeval ontnam.

**Grafbewaarder**

Vreemdeling die vroed, en schrander,  
By de aloudheid zoekt het graf  
Van den Grooten Alexander,  
Staak uw zoeken, en verander,  
Snijd uw weet, en reijszugt af,  
Hier legt meer dan Alexander.

**Teems**

Al wie kloekmoedig heeft gestreden,  
Daar 't hemelheir den trommel roert,  
Wort in den hoogsten troon gevoert,  
Gelijk Held Wilhem van beneden.

**Te zamen**

Al wie kloekmoedig heeft gestreden,  
Daar 't hemelheir den trommel roert,  
Wort in den hoogsten troon gevoert,  
Gelijk Held Wilhem van beneden.

*Symphonia*

**Engelander**

Hoe zwaar komt ons zijn dood te treffen,  
Nog graf nog uitvaart zal den naam zoo hoog verheffen  
Des grooten Wilhems, als zijne oorlogs dapperheid,  
Die door 't heel al heeft uitgebreid.

*Symphonia*



**Vyvernimf***Air*

Glori van 't befaamt Europe,  
Hollands stut, en troost, en hope,  
Haagse Mars, en Neerlands min,  
Volgtge dus uw Koningin?  
Die op al ons bitter schreijen,  
U ten rijkstroon ziet geleijen,  
Daar zij op de wil van God,  
Gunt uw ziel een beter Lot.

*Symphonia*

Ware Held, die in de deugden  
Steeds u kuisse geest verheugden,  
Neemt na 't leven dese Wooning  
Aan van Christus uwen Koning.

**Hollander**

Dat troost, hoe zeer de rouw ons gaat ter harten,  
Geen balsem, die zoo zeer kan helen onze smarten,  
Als dat we ô Held op 's hemels troon,  
U wenschen Gods Genadekroon.

**Teems**

Voor uw Loffelijk Regeeren,  
Om alle onheil uit het Land,  
Met uw onverwonne hand,  
Tot ons welstand steeds te weeren,  
Zingen wy eeuw in eeuw uit,  
Op uw Jaar-Feest dit geluit.

*Met Trompetten*

Vlegt Oranje met Laurieren,  
Om het graf van desen Held,  
Die drie Rijken heeft herstelt,  
Op het heerlijkst te Sieren.

**Te zamen**

Vlegt Oranje met Laurieren,  
Om het graf van desen Held,  
Die drie Rijken heeft herstelt,  
Op het heerlijkst te Sieren.

*Symphonia***Hollander**

Laat ons droeve tranen storten,  
Maar ons leven nooit verkorten,  
Schoon het Lijf ten grave vaart,  
Deugd blijft eeuwig, en vermaart.

### **Te zamen**

Laat ons droeve tranen storten,  
Maar ons leven nooit verkorten,  
Schoon het Lijf ten grave vaart,  
Deugd blijft eeuwig, en vermaart.

### *Symphonia*

### **Glori**

Zet dezen Held een Kroon op 't hoofd,  
Die goud, en diamant verdooft.  
Een ander roeme op Stam, en Wapen,  
Gods Held ziet voor zijn deugt en dapperheid,  
De Kroone der onsterfelijkheid,  
Ô zaling lot! Voor hem geschapen.  
Wie wagt iets meer uit 's hemels schoot?  
Dus erft men 't leven uit de dood.

### **Te zamen**

Wie wagt iets meer uit 's hemels schoot?  
Dus erft men 't leven uit de dood.

### *Met instrumenten*

### **Teems**

Hoe zeer 's Helds dood u drukt, en haar geweld,  
Mooft gy wel den Vorst ter eeren  
Na zijn sterven triomfeeren,  
Daar zijn beleid,  
En dapperheid  
U zoo heeft in staat gestelt,  
Dat nog Spaand, nog Frans geweld,  
Hollands moed, en magt kan deeren.

### *Met Trompetten*

Zingt dan nu den Vorst ter eeren,  
Die des vijands hoogmoed blust,  
Eer hij gaat ter zielen rust.

### **Te zamen**

Zingen wij den Vorst ter eeren,  
Die des vijands hoogmoed blust,  
Eer hij gaat ter zielen rust.

## Primary sources

### Songbooks

The following songbooks are chronologically ordered and available through the database of the Nederlandse Liederbank by typing in the first couple of words of the title in the search box 'sources'.

*Uytertse Hylickmaeckers, Vol Soetigheydt, Ofte Amsterdamse Kermiskoeck, Opgedist voor de Genoode Kermis Gasten en aerdige Sangers ende Sangeressen* (Amsterdam 1677+).

*Het Soes-dijcker Nachtegaeltje, Singht en Queelt Met de Herders en Herderinnetjes, de nieuwste, raerste Amoureuse Liedekens, Vryagie, en andere Snaeckery* (Amsterdam 1678+).

*Het Nieuw Amsterdams Minne-Beekje Of het Thee Geselschap Der Haagse Jufferen: Opgedist met Nieuwe rare Voysjes* (Amsterdam 1679+).

*Het Nieuwe Princesse Liedt-Boeck Of het Haeghse Spelde-kussentje, Bestoocken met schoone Nieuwe Luyeren, Kapproen ende Kraecke-beentjes, midtsgaders Het Amsterdams Volewycks-Schuytje* (Amsterdam 1682).

*CUPIDOOS Maegde-Kruyt, Rokende uyt een Virgijnis-Pijpje de znaeck- en smakelijkste geuren, en vermakelijkste Rijm-Gezangen. Al-om doorspeckt met koddige Nieuwigheden. [illustratie] Hey! koopt mijn Maegde-kruyt, het helpje voorseker; Spijt Jan en Alleman, of eenig Apotheker* (Antwerpen 1685).

*Arendsz, Thomas, De Krooninge van haare Majesteiten Wilhem Hendrik, en Maria Stuart, tot Koning, en Koninginne van Engeland, Vrankryk, en Yrland* (1689).

*Den Italiaenschen Quacksalver, Ofte de Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Jan Potazy. Versien zijnde, ende Verkoopende alderhande Nieuwe, en om de Lever opschuddende Medicamenten. Zijnde een versamelingh van de Nieuwste en Aengenaemste Liederen. Als mede Herders Sangen, Minnaers-klagten, en Zeemans-deuntjes. Alles op de Nieuwste en Aengenaemste Voysen. Zijnde noch nooyt voor desen, soo Gedruckt geweest* (Amsterdam 1694).

*Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijk lied-boeck, versien met verscheyden lof en triumphgesangen, op de uytsteekende helden-daden van [...] William en Maria, koning en koninginne van Engelant* (Amsterdam 1695).

*Het Mengelmoes off De Versamelingh van veele hedendaegsche nieuwe dinghen Met Een deel nieuwghemaecte Liedekens noyt voor desen in druck gheweest Beneffens De translatie off oversettinghe des boeckx gheintituleert De heereycke ende vrolycke poeterye van desen tydt Vermeedert [sic] Met de dood van Lagachrist off Anders met de doodt van den Koninck van Ethiopien* (Antwerpen 1696).

*Nieuw vermeerdert konincklijk lied-boeck, versien met verscheyden lof en triumphgesangen ... alsmede eenige hedendaegsche in gebruyk zijnde amoureuse liederen* (Amsterdam 1703).

*Péls Méngelzangen, eerste deel. De tweede druk verbeterd. [A. Péls Méngelzangen, tweede deel, Nooit gedrukt]* (Amsterdam 1717).

*De Nieuwe vermeerderde Haagse Joncker, Of 't Amsterdamse Salet Juffertje, Singende alderhande nieuwe Oorlogs Liedtjes, Herders en Herderins Minne-klagten, Mey Lietjes, Matroose gesangen, en andere Snakerye. Alle op de nieuwste Voyse die nu gesongen werde. Noyt voor desen meer soo gedrukt* (Amsterdam 1717).

*TRIOMF VAN NEDERLANDT, Of Vervolg op het Eerste Tweede en Derde deel van het GEUSE LIEDBOEK, Waar in begrepen is den Oorspronk en Voortgank van den laatsten Oorlog, mitsgaders de glorieuse Overwinningen waar mee Nederland in den zelve heeft gezegenpraalt: Alle te zamen gestelt op aangenaame Vooijsen. Ook is hier by gevoegt Dirk Ravesteins GLORIE VAN NEDERLANDT. Nooit voor deze meer Gedrukt. Vive le Geus ('s-Gravenhage 1734).*

*Den Hollandszen Praat-Vaars Nieuwjaars-Gift, aan het bevalligen Stichtsze Jufferschap* (Amsterdam 1745-50).

*De nieuwe vermaakelyke gaare-keuken van de gekroonde A. Zingende en kwelende verscheyde aardige en boertige liederen en ernstige gezangen. Alle op bekende voyzen. Noyt in deze order zo gedrukt* (Amsterdam 1746-7).

*Het Oranje VREUGDE-MAAL Opgedischt in de Gaare keuken van de Gekroonde B. Ter gelegenheyd van de Verheffing van zijne HOOGHEID* (Amsterdam 1747).

## Dutch songs

The following songs are chronologically ordered. The majority of the songs can be found in the Nederlandse Liederbank by typing in the first couple of words in the search box 'all words' (of the song). The source code at the end of the title is the abbreviation of the songbook that the particular song is collected in. When a song is collected in multiple songbooks, the songbook with the earliest publication date is denoted. When available, a DBNL link to the full text is provided as well. In the event that a song is not easily accessible online, a copy of the full text is given in Appendix A.

'Vreughde-Liedt, op 't Houwelick van sijn Hoogheydt den Prince van Oranje, met Maria, Oudste Dochter van de Hertogh van Jorck', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 78. Available online: [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01\\_01/ uyt001uyte01\\_01\\_0040.php# uyt001uyte01\\_0036](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01_01/ uyt001uyte01_01_0040.php# uyt001uyte01_0036).

'Echt-Basuyn, op het Huwelijck van sijn Konincklijke Hoogheyd, den Heere Prince van Orangie, met Maria Leadiae Stuaerts, &c.', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 62. Available online: [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01\\_01/ uyt001uyte01\\_01\\_0030.php# uyt001uyte01\\_0026](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01_01/ uyt001uyte01_01_0030.php# uyt001uyte01_0026).

'Oranjens Minne-vreugt binnen Londen', *UtHuwelijkm1678* ([1677+]) 50. Available online: [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01\\_01/ uyt001uyte01\\_01\\_0023.php# uyt001uyte01\\_0021](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ uyt001uyte01_01/ uyt001uyte01_01_0023.php# uyt001uyte01_0021).

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'Vreugde-sangh, op de Declarasy van sijn Koningl. Hoogheydt den Heere Prince van Oranje, met Maria Princesse', *NiPrinsesseLb1682* (1682) 4. Available online:  
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Manuscript of a poem on William's crossing of the English Channel (1688), *Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 C 1/; Verzameling gedichten en andere stukken, folio 49* (1688?), see Appendix A.

'Groot Brittanjen in ordre, door de goede voorsorge van [...] Wilhem Henrik, prince van Orange', *Knuttel 13265* (1689), see Appendix A.

'Wie durft de grootste Koning tergen / Die Immer 't Aardryk zag?', *Arendsz KM1689* (1689) 6. Available online:  
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'Lijkzang, ter glorieuser gedachtenisse van zijne Britannische majesteit Wilhem de III', *Knuttel 14694* (1702), see Appendix A.

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'Het ontydig Afsterven van William de III. Koning van Groot-Brittanjen, Prins van Oranjen, Erf-Stadthouder en Capiteyn Generael der Vereenigde Nederlanden. Godzalig in den Heer Ontslapen tot Kensington op den 19. Maert 1702. Oud 51. Jaer vier Maande 5. Dag', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 15. Available online:

[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rave067trio01\\_01/rave067trio01\\_01\\_0005.php#rave067trio01\\_0003](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rave067trio01_01/rave067trio01_01_0005.php#rave067trio01_0003).

'Op het droevig Afsterven van den Konink van Engelandt, Schotland, Vrankrijk en Ierland; in den Heer ontslapen tot Kensington den 19. Maert 1702', *Ravestein TrvN1734* (1734) 17. Available online:

[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rave067trio01\\_01/rave067trio01\\_01\\_0006.php#rave067trio01\\_0004](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rave067trio01_01/rave067trio01_01_0006.php#rave067trio01_0004).

'Verlaat gy my, verheven Ziel, / Kiest gy, voor 't Pluim-Bed, woeste Baaren' *HPraatvaar1750* ([1745/1750 ca.]) 159. Available online:

[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/hol008holl01\\_01/hol008holl01\\_01\\_0096.php#hol008holl01\\_0095](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/hol008holl01_01/hol008holl01_01_0096.php#hol008holl01_0095).

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[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ora002oran01\\_01/ora002oran01\\_01\\_0018.php#ora002oran01\\_0017](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/ora002oran01_01/ora002oran01_01_0018.php#ora002oran01_0017).

## English ballads

The following English ballads are in chronological order. When available, a link is provided to the online text transcriptions in either the database of Early English Books Online (EEBO) or English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). In the case of EBBA the ballad sheet facsimile of the song can be accessed as well as, in some cases, a recording of the song.

'A New Song of an Orange' (London 1688). Available online:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A52989.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'A Third Touch of the Times' (1688). Available online:

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21973/xml>.

'Good people I pray/ Throw the Orange away' (1688), in: H.B. Wright and M.K. Spears (ed.) *The literary works of Matthew Prior* (Oxford 1959) 70-1.

'The Prince of Orange's Triumph, Or, The Downfall of the Distressed Jesuits' (1688). Available online:

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21867/xml>.

'The Prince of Orange Welcome to London' (London 1688). Available online:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A55883.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'The Rare Vertue of an Orange; Or, Popery purged and expelled out of the Nation' (1688). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20872/xml>.

'The Loyal Bumper: or, England's Comfort Being A Health to King William and Queen Mary, and the Prince of Denmark' (London 1689?). Available online:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A49344.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

'A New Song. On King William & Queen Mary' (1689). Available online:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A52990.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=Mary+---+II%2C+--+Queen+of+England%2C+--+1662-1694+--+Songs+and+music>.

'A Full Description of these Times; Or The Prince of Orange's March from Exeter to London; And Father Peters and the rest of the Jesuites put to flight' (1689). Available online:

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20870/xml>.

'Englands Happiness Reviv'd; Or, A Farwell to Popery' (1689). Available online:

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20893/xml>.

'Englands Triumph, Or, The Kingdoms Joy for the proclaiming of King William, and His Royal Consort, Queen Mary, in the Throne of England, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Of this instant Frebruary, 1688' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20887/xml>.

'Great Britains Delight, Or, A Health to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20856/xml>.

'Great Britains Joys Compleated, Or, London: Triumph in the Proclaiming of the Great Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. Of this Instant February: to the great satisfaction of the Subjects' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20957/xml>.

'Popery Routed: Or, Father Petres's Farewel to London City' (1689). Available online:  
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20912/xml>.

'The Civil Orange: Or, The United hearts of England, Being the Couragious Protestant *Boys* Resolutions against the Enemies of the Church and State' (1689). Available online:  
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A33199.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'The Courtly Triumph, or, An Excellent New Song upon the Coronation of K. William and Q. Mary, Which was Splendidly Celebrated on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Of April, 1689' (1689). Available online:  
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20881/xml>.

'The Downfall of Popery; Or, the Distressed Jesuits in Flight' (1689). Available online:  
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20897/xml>.

'The Famous Orange: Or, an Excellent Antidote against Romish Poison' (1689). Available online:  
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20873/xml>.

'The Kingdoms Joy for the Proclaiming King William and his Royal Consort Queen Mary In the throne of England' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20886/xml>.

'The Prince of Oranges Glory; And the Downfal of the Priests & Jesuites' (London 1689). Available online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A55884.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'The Prince's Triumph: Or The Subjects Happiness, In a Protestant King' (London 1689). Available online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A55888.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'The Protestant Court of England: or the Joyful Coronation of K. William III. and Q. Mary II' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20889/xml>.

'The Protestant Delight, Or An Health To His Highness the Prince of Orange, and the rest of the Royal Family' (1689). Available online: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22317/xml>.

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<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20900/xml>.

'The Protestants Sweet Orange, Or, Sower Sawce for Popery' (London 1689). Available online:  
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A56102.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=orange>.

'The Subjects Satisfaction, Being a New Song of the Proclaiming King William and Queen Mary the 13th. of this instant February, to the great joy and comfort of the whole kingdom' (London 1689). Available online:  
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/B06003.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=william;op2=and;q2=king>.



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