

# **UNITY MAKES STRENGTH**

## **The reconstruction of Dutch national identity in song, 1795-1813**

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## 1. Introduction

In October 1811, Napoleon Bonaparte visited Amsterdam, the capital of the Dutch territory which he had recently incorporated. There, he resided in the Palace on the Dam, signing documents and receiving visitors. He attended a performance at the *Leidseplein* theatre and a ball in the concert hall *Felix Meritis*. Although Dutch citizens may not have treated him with hostility, the Dutch weather did. It was cold and rainy, and after the visit, half of Napoleon's company returned to Paris with the flu. This story was recounted in a local Amsterdam newspaper at the time of the exhibition *Alexander, Napoleon & Joséphine* in 2015 in the Hermitage Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> This article and the exhibition are a part of a recent increase in public attention on Napoleon and the so-called Batavian-French period of Dutch history (1795-1813). The reason for this is clear. In 2015, the Netherlands celebrate its bicentennial as a kingdom. The founding of the Netherlands was a direct result of the Napoleonic wars and the rearrangement of European borders at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815.

The United Kingdom of the Netherlands that was formed in 1815 comprised the present states of the Netherlands and Belgium.<sup>2</sup> William Frederick, son of the last stadholder William V, was crowned king, becoming William I. This was a pivotal moment for the Northern Netherlands which had been a republic for two centuries. The Netherlands, instead of existing as a loose collection of cooperative, independent provinces, became united as a state and as a people. The previous period of revolution, disorder, war, and occupation had prepared minds for a central authority and had fostered pre-existing notions of a shared identity. During the Batavian-French period, nationalist sentiments intensified, nurtured by resistance against the French occupiers and by nationalist movements elsewhere in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Europe went through a transitional phase between 1750 and 1850. This period has been called *Sattelzeit* by Reinhart Koselleck and is considered to mark the transition to modernity. These changes were, amongst others, affected by the French Revolution and its aftermath, and by the Enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> Eighteenth-century Europe considered itself heir of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. In combination with deeply rooted Christianity, this

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<sup>1</sup> "Napoleon bezoekt Amsterdam," *Amsterdam: Uitgave van de Gemeente Amsterdam*, May 28, 2015: 16. The story is also described in Johan Joor, *De Adelaar en het Lam: Onrust, Opruiing en Onwilligheid in Nederland ten tijde van het Koninkrijk Holland en de Inlijving bij het Franse Keizerrijk (1806-1813)* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2000), 506-509.

<sup>2</sup> This situation lasted until 1830, when Belgium became an independent state.

<sup>3</sup> Lotte Jensen, "The Dutch against Napoleon: Resistance Literature and National Identity, 1806-1813," *Journal of Dutch Literature* 2 (2012): 17.

<sup>4</sup> N.C.F. van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland: Van Oude Orde naar Moderniteit, 1750-1900* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 18.

was the main essence of a European identity. Although European nations competed with each other for territorial and economic gain, they shared a culture. The French Revolution of 1789 however, and the subsequent period of wars, changed this conception of Europe. According to Biancamaria Fontana, the period around 1800 gave rise to a duality in the notion of Europe that still has an effect today. On the one hand, there was the sense, based on Enlightenment ideas of a progressive civilization, of a Europe that was ahead of other continents and a France that was ahead of other European countries. If all countries progressed alike, then all countries would eventually become equal. While at the outset this belief did not include forceful conquest, ultimately, it led to Napoleon's imperialistic aspirations, resulting in resistance and instability. On the other hand, the French Revolution sparked an anti-imperialist conception of Europe among liberal intellectuals. They strongly opposed despotic forms of uniformity and considered national differences to be precisely Europe's strength.<sup>5</sup>

Kloek and Mijnhardt describe another development in the *Sattelzeit*. During the eighteenth century, under the influence of a new historical awareness, ideas about nations changed. History became more than a collection of facts and figures and an understanding that the past might impact the present and future gained foothold. The future was no longer seen as inevitable but as something that could be influenced. As a result, national history became important. Every nation was thought to have its own evolution, at its own speed, evoking comparisons with other nations. The growing importance of history and the comparison with other nations also sparked the need for distinct national identities, which were to be found in a glorious past. For the Northern Netherlands, this glorious past was the seventeenth century, the pinnacle of the Dutch Republic. Kloek and Mijnhardt suggest that this development changed national thinking all over Europe. In the Netherlands, it was coupled with a sense of decline and the need for a revival. The Republic had lost most of its international power and glory and France had become culturally dominant. This led to an emphasis on the fields of art and science, disciplines which were seen as necessary to regain international status.<sup>6</sup>

A third development at this time was the emergence of a system of coherent political ideas in the form of ideologies. Nationalism was among those ideologies.<sup>7</sup> Nationalism as a concept is open to multiple interpretations. Joep Leerssen defines it in a restricted way, in

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<sup>5</sup> Biancamaria Fontana, "The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations," in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 118-122.

<sup>6</sup> Joost Kloek and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving* (Den Haag: SDU, 1999), 219-222; Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 147-148, 159.

<sup>7</sup> Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 303.

accordance with what he calls the ‘main authorities’, such as Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith, and John Breuilly. Leerssen characterizes nationalism as a political ideology based on three assumptions:

- the nation is a ‘natural, organic collective aggregate of humans’;
- the state incorporates the nation, and thus loyalty to the state follows from ‘national solidarity’;
- ideally, states are ‘formed along national lines’, in which case, state and nation overlap.<sup>8</sup>

Leerssen equates ‘national’ to ‘cultural, linguistic, ethnic’. He regards the nation as a society that shares ‘the same language, social habits and historical memories’. The word ethnic does not, in his use, refer to a biologically defined group but to a ‘subjective community’ that includes some and excludes others. Humans develop a collective identity or self-image, because they perceive their group as different from other groups. A collective self-image is constructed by processes of othering, by contrasting the characteristics of one’s own group to those of external groups. In the case of a national self-image, these peripheral groups are other nations. Leerssen suggests that the process of identity-building includes a cultural component, which is why cultural history contributes to understandings of nationalism and national identity.<sup>9</sup> This implies that music, as a cultural expression, also plays a role in national identity-building.

As an ideology, nationalism emerged in the nineteenth century, but was built on pre-existing ideas, for which Leerssen posits the concept of ‘national thought.’<sup>10</sup> In the Netherlands, the rise of national thought is related to the Republic of the Seven United Provinces (1588-1795). This was a federation of independent provinces in which the people considered themselves principally members of their regional communities. There was, however, also a sense of an overarching Netherlandish identity. Graeme Callister states there was a ‘proto-national consciousness’ in the Netherlands from the sixteenth century onwards. This ‘consciousness involved an acceptance that there was such a thing as ‘the Dutch’, that they had a right to rule themselves, and that sovereignty was only ever given to another in trust and could be revoked if misused.’<sup>11</sup> Senses of identity, although still mainly felt at a regional or urban level, broadened to a national level during the late eighteenth century.

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<sup>8</sup> Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-17.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Graeme Callister, “The City and the Revolutionary Dutch Nation, 1780-1800,” *Dutch Crossing* 36 (2012): 229-230.

Republicanism, for instance, was a fundamental political value that was shared among the inhabitants of the United Provinces.<sup>12</sup> There was a growing sense of a common language, culture, and a set of national character traits. Calvinist Protestantism, as the prevailing religion, also contributed to this sense of national identity.<sup>13</sup>

The end of the Dutch Republic was brought about by the Batavian Revolution of 1795, marking the beginning of the Batavian-French period. N.C.F. van Sas contends that these years were crucial within the Dutch *Sattelzeit*.<sup>14</sup> The political events profoundly changed Dutch self-image and Dutch historical thought.<sup>15</sup> The question arises: what part did music play in this process of reconstruction? Philip V. Bohlman writes: ‘the modern nation-state most powerfully came into being when its citizens sang together.’<sup>16</sup> This statement illustrates the importance of music, and in particular singing, in the formation of national identities. The nascent European nations recognized the ability of music to provide new national symbols. Bohlman considers language the ‘catalyst that connected music and nationalism in the eighteenth century’ and ‘song as the highest and most collective form of language.’<sup>17</sup>

The Enlightenment thinkers saw music as rooted in language. Songs differentiated between nations because their language required specific musical characteristics.<sup>18</sup> Language played a part in Dutch discourse, although not in relation to its musical characteristics. The Dutch Enlightenment thinkers focussed on the perceived moral decline of the Republic which they related to the deterioration of Dutch songs, both in language and in content. The upper classes sang decent songs, but mainly in French, while the lower classes sang in Dutch, but mainly street songs. The melodies were mostly foreign. There was no such thing as a Dutch art song tradition, where Dutch composers wrote music to Dutch poems. The symbolic value of such a tradition was acknowledged at the time of the Batavian Republic, but it was not until the 1830s that composers and poets sought to fill the void.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> W.R.E. Velema, “‘De Eerste Republiek van Europa:’ Iets over de Politieke Identiteit van de Zeven Verenigde Provinciën in de Achttiende Eeuw,” *Documentatieblad 18<sup>e</sup> Eeuw* 24 (1992): 31.

<sup>13</sup> Callister, “The City and the Revolutionary Dutch Nation, 1780-1800,” 231.

<sup>14</sup> Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 17-19.

<sup>15</sup> Niek van Sas, “The Netherlands: A Historical Phenomenon,” in *Accounting for the Past: 1650-2000*, ed. Douwe Fokkema and Frans Grijzenhout (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), 43.

<sup>16</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 35, accessed August 20, 2015, <http://www.uunl.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=265477>.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Louis Peter Grijp, “Zingen in een Kleine Taal: De Muzikale Taalkeuze van Nederland,” *Volkkundig Bulletin* 21 (1995), 164-166.

Gert Oost provides an overview of the Dutch song culture in the late eighteenth century. He states that singing united the social classes and happened on every possible occasion. Printed music became available to all levels of society in the late eighteenth century in the form of affordable books and leaflets.<sup>20</sup> Printed songbooks sold well, and many people copied songs in their own manuscripts. In church, psalms and hymns were sung by the congregation. Outside the church, there was an abundance of street songs, but also of edifying songs, addressing themes such as virtuousness, chastity, and friendship. The Society for the Promotion of the Public Good<sup>21</sup> attempted to civilize the common people by offering them reputable songs in a series of songbooks. Oost mentions political songs, in which the main concern was freedom, as a separate category.<sup>22</sup> In particular, political songs may enhance the understanding of conceptions of national identity in the Netherlands. Around 1800 the function of music changed: ‘it served less and less as pleasant relaxation, and became a more harmonious package for an ideologically charged message.’<sup>23</sup> This refers not only to Enlightenment civilization practices, but also to the use of songs for political purposes.<sup>24</sup>

This thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of emergent Dutch nationalist feelings in the period of 1795-1813 using contemporary Dutch songs as reference. Despite the abundance of material, these songs have been rarely employed as a source for research. In particular, the contribution of songs to the construction of a national identity has not been investigated. Research on Dutch songs has hitherto focussed on different aspects, such as the pedagogical or consoling function of songs, and mainly in the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This is confirmed by Popkin, who describes the availability of printed materials in the Netherlands in the late eighteenth century. He states that literacy was high and literate people had easy access to diverse printed materials. Jeremy D. Popkin, “Print Culture in the Netherlands on the Eve of the Revolution,” in *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 284-286.

<sup>21</sup> Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen.

<sup>22</sup> Gert Oost, “De Edele Zangkunst,” in *Hef aan! Bataaf!: Beschouwingen over Muziek en Muziekleven in Nederland omstreeks 1795*, ed. Paul van Reijen (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1997), 106, 109-110, 112-114, 124, 142-145.

<sup>23</sup> Emile Wennekes, “Music and Musical life,” in *Accounting for the Past: 1650-2000*, ed. Douwe Fokkema and Frans Grijzenhout (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), 261.

<sup>24</sup> Wennekes, “Music and Musical life,” 261; Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, “Van Vrijmetselaarsloge tot Maatschappij Toonkunst: De Emancipatie van de Muziek in Nederland rond 1800,” in *Hef aan! Bataaf!: Beschouwingen over Muziek en Muziekleven in Nederland omstreeks 1795*, ed. Paul van Reijen (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1997), 24-25.

<sup>25</sup> For example: Els Stronks, “‘Dees Kennisse zuldy te Kope Vinnen’: Liedcultuur en de Waarde van ‘Know How’ in de Vroegmoderne Republiek,” *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 30 (2014): 147-167; Natascha Veldhorst, “Pharmacy for the Body and Soul: Dutch Songbooks in the Seventeenth Century,” *Early Music History* 27 (2008): 217-285; Natascha Veldhorst, *Zingend door het Leven: Het Nederlandse Liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Pieter Moelans, “Handgeschreven Lieder: Wereldlijke

This research hopes to understand if the reconstruction of a Dutch national identity manifested itself in the music and the text of Dutch songs that were published in the period 1795-1813, and if so, if the process can be traced. To this end, the text and music of a restricted set of songs will be analysed. Although most melodies are of foreign origin, they may have had connotations of nationalist feelings, resistance, or revolution; either because these sentiments were imported with the melody or because they were accrued with previous use in the Netherlands. The concept of national identity will be used here in accordance with Leerssen's definition. Humans construct a national identity based on feelings of a shared culture, language, social habits, and a common history, and perceive these as characteristics in which they differ from other nations. In contrast with a collective or group-identity, a national identity is built on the level of nations. A national identity is partly determined by processes of othering, for instance, of hostile nations. In the Netherlands, the enemy shifted during this period from the British people to the French. The change of hostile image may have been of influence on the Dutch national identity, as may have been the resistance against the French occupation. This leads to the following sub-questions:

- Which markers of Dutch identity can be identified in the song texts of the period?
- How does the hostile image of the French differ from the previous English enemy and do Dutch identity markers change under the influence of a new enemy?
- Is there a noticeable influence of the values of the French revolution, in text or music?
- Do the songs show traces of resistance against the French, in text or music?
- To what extent do the musical qualities and connotations of the melodies contribute to feelings of Dutch identity?

Forming the basis for the retrieval of songs is the *Nederlandse Liederenbank*, the Dutch Song Database, in which songs in the Dutch language from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century are accessible to the public. The database is maintained by the Meertens Institute, a research institute for Dutch language and culture. For the eighteenth century, the database contains sacred and secular songs that were published in printed songbooks and a limited number of songs in leaflets, predominantly from the Northern Netherlands. For the nineteenth century, mainly secular songs have been recorded and a large number of broadsides with street songs. Printed songbooks were small-sized booklets that contained an anthology of songs, either for a general public or oriented towards specific groups, such as

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Liedcultuur in Liedhandschriften (Zuidelijke Nederlanden, ca. 1600 – ca. 1800) uit de Gentse Universiteitsbibliotheek,” (PhD diss., Universiteit Leuven, 2010).



farmers or freemasons. Broadsides were cheap, printed leaflets with a limited amount of so-called street songs. These songs usually dealt with sensational events.<sup>26</sup>

The principal criteria for the selection of sources for this research were the content of the songs and the availability of melodies. For the given purpose, it was useful to select songs that refer to contemporaneous events. These are the most likely to contain images of national identity, hostile portrayals, or signs of resistance. Therefore, songbooks with mostly amorous or scabrous texts were excluded. Although these texts may also comment on political issues, a detailed examination was not feasible within the scope of this study. Furthermore, two significant years, viz. 1795 and 1814, were selected as points of reference. These dates provide the opportunity to analyse a limited number of sources in depth, while simultaneously making a comparison over time. 1795 was selected because in this year the Batavian Revolution, brought about by Dutch patriots with French help, resulted in the proclamation of the Batavian Republic. Nationalist feelings were strong at the time, as were patriotic hostile images, namely those of the House of Orange and their allies. Overtime the French became less friendly and ultimately occupied the country. This occupation ended in October 1813 and William Frederick returned to the country in November. Most songbooks concerning these events were published in 1814, which is why this has been privileged as the second reference year. Again, it was a time of intense nationalist feelings, and views of friends and enemies had switched. The French were despised and the House of Orange was hailed as the country's natural leader. The research will be confined to the Northern Netherlands. The selected sources were published there, and the Netherlandish territory was approximately equivalent to the Northern Netherlands in both reference years.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, according to Pieter Moelans, the song cultures of the Northern and the Southern Netherlands drifted apart as they were politically separated around 1600.<sup>28</sup>

A closing remark regarding the selection of songs concerns the availability of the melody. The majority of printed songbooks and broadsides did not contain musical notation. The melodies were rarely composed in the Netherlands. Dutch song writers usually created a new text for an existing melody that was understood as already known by most people or easily learned. The melody was only mentioned by its title, and even this was sometimes left out altogether. Melodies were imported on a large scale. Music from abroad travelled fast and was quickly adopted, meaning there was a continuous influx of new melodies. Some of them

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<sup>26</sup> Accessed December 15, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/index.php?actie=inliederenbank&lan=en>.

<sup>27</sup> Belgium was reunited with the Northern Netherlands in 1815.

<sup>28</sup> Moelans, "Handgeschreven Lieder: Wereldlijke Liedcultuur in Liedhandschriften," 2.

lasted only for a few years; others remained popular for decades or even centuries. Songs with an identified melody are considered the most suitable for this research. The melodies offer an extra tool for analysis if they were used for a longer period of time and with different texts. In particular, melodies that were found in both reference years, or throughout the research period, are useful for comparison.

After a concise overview of the historical events that culminated in the Batavian Revolution, two sources published in 1795 will be discussed in the next chapter. The Batavian Republic, although independent in name, was de facto under the influence of France. In 1806, Napoleon decided to exert more influence on the territory and created the Kingdom of Holland, placing his younger brother Louis Napoleon on the throne. He needed resources for his wars in Europe, but Louis was unable to deliver enough money and troops, and Napoleon decided to annex the country in 1810. This lasted until November 1813, after which the rule of the House of Orange was restored. Songbooks, published in 1814, praise the victory and return of William of Orange. One of those songbooks is discussed in chapter three, followed by a conclusion in chapter four. The analysis of songbooks in the years of 1795 and 1814 shows that melodies were chosen purposefully in 1795 to enhance the message of the text, while this was much less the case in 1814. The lyrics reflect that freedom and unity were both valued constituents of the Dutch national identity, although the emphasis shifted. Freedom was very important in 1795, while unity was much more valued in 1814.

## 2. The first year of Batavian Freedom

The songbook *Bataafsche Lieder, voor vaderlandsche jongelingen en meisjes* was published in 1795, the date proudly referred to on the title-page as *Het eerste jaar der Bataafsche Vrijheid*.<sup>29</sup> The same words appear in the title of the leaflet *Zang op het vieren van het Vrijheids-feest, Op den 19den van Wiedemand, 1795. Het Eerste Jaar der Bataafsche Vrijheid*.<sup>30</sup> These few words, ‘the first year of Batavian freedom,’ comprise a world of

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<sup>29</sup> Batavian songs, for young men and women; the first year of Batavian freedom. Siglum Dutch Song Database BatLiVJM1795; diplomatic text accessed September 18, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bat004bata01\\_01/bat004bata01\\_01\\_0001.php#bat004bata01\\_0007](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bat004bata01_01/bat004bata01_01_0001.php#bat004bata01_0007); full scan accessed September 18, 2015, <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?coll=boeken&identifier=dpo:6147:mpeg21>.

<sup>30</sup> Song for the celebration of the feast of freedom, on the 19th of June, 1795. The first year of the Batavian Freedom. Siglum Dutch Song Database: ZangVrijheidsfeest1795. Text accessed September 17, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bosc130zang01\\_01/bosc130zang01\\_01\\_0001.php#bosc130zang01\\_0001](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bosc130zang01_01/bosc130zang01_01_0001.php#bosc130zang01_0001); full scan accessed September 17, 2015, [http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-36443&lan=en#page/99/38/15/993815321862780182732\\_75645969767635954.jpg/mode/1up](http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-36443&lan=en#page/99/38/15/993815321862780182732_75645969767635954.jpg/mode/1up).

meaning.<sup>31</sup> The phrase ‘first year’ expresses the sentiment that a new era was beginning, an era radically different from the previous one.<sup>32</sup> In Amsterdam, the new rulers announced the new times as follows:

‘Now you are [...] free. You consequently obtain all of your rights, which have been violently stolen from you, and on which you all, whoever you are, can make an equal claim. YOU ARE FREE! YOU ARE EQUAL!’<sup>33</sup>

A few years earlier in France, the idea of a new era was taken literally. When the French Republic was declared in 1792, as a consequence of the Revolution of 1789, it was accompanied by the introduction of a new calendar. A new, strictly mathematical method of dividing the year into months and days was invented. The calendar was purged of all religious connotations and the first year of the Republic was designated as the year one. The months were all made equal in length and renamed. The *Wiedemand* in the title of the leaflet is a translation of the French month *Prairial*, which lasted from the 21<sup>st</sup> of May to the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. The new calendar was met with collective resistance however and abandoned after a few years. It was not introduced outside of France.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the Batavian Republic begun on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1795 was likewise expected to mark a fresh beginning.

Like the French, Dutch patriots, a motley collection of insurgents, had rebelled against their rulers. The term Batavian, used in the titles of both the songbook and leaflet mentioned previously, was adopted by the patriots and recalls the so-called ‘Batavian myth’. This is the theory that the Dutch people descend directly from the Batavians, a Germanic tribe that lived in the Dutch territory in the first century. The Batavians, led by Claudius Civilis, rebelled against Rome in 69 CE, fighting for their freedom. After a debate on the exact area where this Batavian tribe had supposedly lived, early seventeenth-century humanist scholars decided in favour of the province of Holland. Like Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) had done before him, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) used Batavian ancestry to define Dutch culture and the

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<sup>31</sup> The translations in this thesis are all mine.

<sup>32</sup> Joris Oddens, “Making the Most of National Time: Accountability, Transparency, and Term Limits in the First Dutch Parliament (1796-1797),” in *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy*, ed. Joris Oddens, Mart Rutjes, and Erik Jacobs (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 115, 124.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Poell, “The Democratic Paradox: Dutch Revolutionary Struggles over Democratisation and Centralisation (1780-1813),” (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2007), 11.

<sup>34</sup> Mark Elchardus, “De Republikeinse Kalender.... ‘Niets minder dan een Verandering van Religie’,” in *De Opstand van de Intellectuelen: De Franse Revolutie als Avant-première van de Moderne Cultuur* (Kapellen: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1989), 102-104, 116-118; Jan Baskiewicz, *New Man, New Nation, New World: The French Revolution in Myth and Reality*, ed. Janusz Adamowski (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 111-112; Matthew Shaw, “Reactions to the French Republican Calendar,” *French History* 15 (2001): 4; Oddens, “Making the Most of National Time,” 124.

characteristics of the Dutch people in opposition to other peoples.<sup>35</sup> Holland was not only the richest and the most influential region, it was also an area where local independence was highly valued. Grotius connected this predilection for republicanism with the mythical ancestors in his *Liber de antiquitate reipublicae Batavae* (1610) and declared that the Dutch republican system of sovereign states was inherited from the Batavians.<sup>36</sup> Grotius suggested that this had given the Dutch the right to revolt against Spanish rule and restore republican freedom.<sup>37</sup> The Batavian myth was an important strand of thought concerning national identity in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, partly due to this connection with the political system. Adherents to the myth were also in favour of independent provinces, while opponents defended the position of the stadholder. For the opponents, national identity was linked to Calvinist Protestantism. They saw the Netherlands as a second Israel, the Dutch as the chosen people of God, and the stadholders as god-sent saviours of the people. Some of these opponents were the historians Gerard van Loon (1683-1768) and Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807), who established the historical inaccuracy of the Batavian myth. Gradually the Batavian myth lost value, but for the patriots the Batavians remained a moral model.<sup>38</sup>

Freedom is another keyword in the songbook titles. This value was appreciated by the greatest by patriotic text writers who felt restricted in their democratic liberty by the rule of stadholder William V. Their discontent was reinforced by a sense of decline. The patriots felt that the Dutch Republic had been in decline since the beginning of the eighteenth century and had lost much of its prosperity and moral prestige.<sup>39</sup> Dutch Enlightenment thinkers sought to explain this decline. In their opinion, the governing elite had dispelled Dutch decency by adopting loose morals and had contaminated citizens with the same immorality. These intellectuals were convinced that if old virtues were regained the country would recover. They diagnosed the ruling elite as the main problem, not the political system.<sup>40</sup> The provinces were

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<sup>35</sup> Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 50; Jozef Gerardus Mathijs Maria Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 2003), 512; Marijke Meijer Drees, *Andere Landen, Andere Mensen: De Beeldvorming van Holland versus Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650* (Den Haag: SDU, 1997), 25-26, 57-60.

<sup>36</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 215.

<sup>37</sup> I.J.H. Worst, "Constitution, History, and Natural Law: An Eighteenth-Century Political Debate in the Dutch Republic," in *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand M. Mijnhardt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 155-156.

<sup>38</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 215-217; Worst, "Constitution, History, and Natural Law," 157-159; Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 49-51.

<sup>39</sup> Piet de Rooy, *Ons Stipje op de Waereldkaart: De Politieke Cultuur van Modern Nederland* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2014), 20-21.

<sup>40</sup> W.W. Mijnhardt, "De Nederlandse Verlichting," in *Voor Vaderland en Vrijheid: De Revolutie van de Patriotten*, ed. F. Grijsenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt, and N.C.F. van Sas (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), 63-65, 79.

inefficiently ruled by regents who were able to maintain their position through corruption and nepotism. The patriots, influenced by these Dutch Enlightenment ideas, demanded a representative government and democratic rights such as active and passive suffrage. They considered these to be the old rights of the people, restricted by William's policy of appointing regents.<sup>41</sup>

Resistance against William's rule and against the oligarchic power of his regents grew in strength during the 1780s. William asked his brother-in-law, Frederick William II of Prussia, for military assistance and a patriotic revolt was suppressed by force in 1787. Many rebels fled to the Southern Netherlands and to the north of France.<sup>42</sup> The patriotic organisation in the Netherlands stayed intact but kept a low profile and maintained contact with the exiles. The patriots needed the help of the French to overthrow William's rule, but did not want to be annexed, as had happened to the Austrian Netherlands. The French believed they could benefit from the presumed Dutch wealth and aimed to found a sister republic. This required a non-violent revolution. In the winter of 1794, the French invaded the country assisted by the patriots. Soon after, city councils everywhere were replaced by temporary revolutionary committees.<sup>43</sup> William fled to England in January 1795 and never returned to his country. The patriotic revolutionaries proclaimed the Batavian Republic and built an alliance with France. These events, and the subsequent period, turned out to be decisive for Dutch history and influenced Dutch national identity.

## Sources

These turbulent political events also manifested themselves in songs. For the reference year 1795, two sources have been selected for analysis.<sup>44</sup> These are the aforementioned songbooks

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<sup>41</sup> Joost Roosendaal, *De Nederlandse Revolutie: Vrijheid, Volk en Vaderland 1783-1799* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2005), 13-14, 20; Wyger R.E. Velema, "'Republic' and 'Democracy' in Dutch Late Eighteenth-Century Revolutionary Discourse," in *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy*, ed. Joris Oddens, Mart Rutjes, and Erik Jacobs (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 51-52.

<sup>42</sup> At the time, the Southern Netherlands were a part of the Habsburg monarchy and are also referred to as the Austrian Netherlands.

<sup>43</sup> Remieg Aerts, "Een Staat in Verbouwing: Van Republiek naar Constitutioneel Koninkrijk 1780-1848," in *Land van Kleine Gebaren: Een Politieke Geschiedenis van Nederland 1780-1990*, ed. Remieg Aerts et al. (Nijmegen: Sun, 1999), 36-38.

<sup>44</sup> A third possible source was found, called *Nationaale volks-liedjes tot nut der burgerij. Eerste stukje*, published in 1795 in Amsterdam. There is one copy of it handed down, which is kept in the University Library in Amsterdam (OTM: O 60-1769). The book contains thirteen songs and eleven melodies. The content of the songs is similar to *Bataafsche liederen*. Four of the melodies are the same as in *Bataafsche liederen*. Of the remaining melodies, three out of seven can be identified. *Bataafsche liederen* has been privileged because it contains more usable material.

*Bataafsche liederen* and *Zang op het vieren van het vrijheids-feest*. Both sources express the patriotic viewpoints of the time and refer to political events. Furthermore, the majority of the songs provide the title of the melody. The songbook *Bataafsche liederen* contains thirty-three songs, twenty-six of which have a melody title. The text writers are mostly anonymous. A few songs are signed with initials and only two of them mention an author, in both cases Izaak van Westerkappel Junior (1769-1845). The songbook *Bataafsche liederen* was published by M. Cijfveer Jz. in Leiden. The Dutch Song Database mentions two copies of the book, one of which is kept in the Royal Library in The Hague (KW 928 D 43) and the other in the University Library Utrecht (Z oct. 2307). Both exemplars are signed by the publisher personally, as proof of authenticity (fig.1).

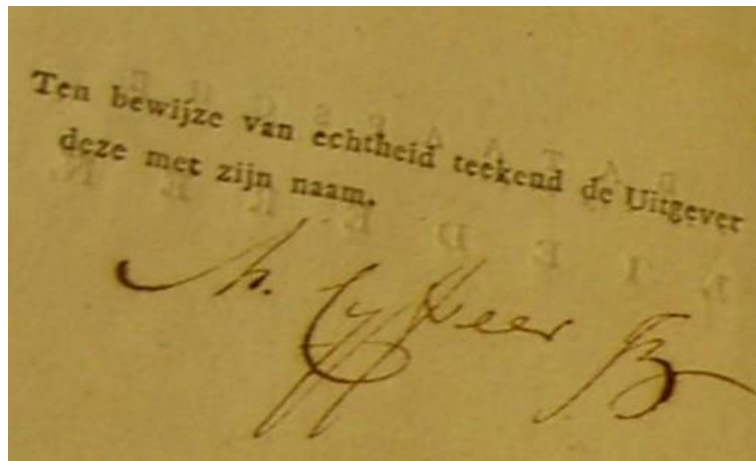


Figure 1 Signature M. Cijfveer in Z oct. 2307

The thin book is approximately 16x10cm in size, between octavo and duodecimo format. The small size makes the book easy to transport but it does not improve the readability. The small print makes it difficult to sing from these books in a group, indicating that they were meant for individual use. The covers of the exemplars in The Hague and Utrecht are not identical (fig. 2). As the title is printed on KW 928 D 43, and the endpapers are the same material as the pages in this exemplar, this is probably the original binding. The paper is of good quality, but the edges are frayed and the folders have not been cut to the same size. Both exemplars show traces of use, although this is clearer with the Utrecht exemplar. Here, the pages are less white, stained, and the binding shows signs of repair. The original owners are unknown and no notes by owners were left in the books.

The *Zang op het vieren van het Vrijheids-feest* is a leaflet that contains one song (fig. 2, bottom right). There is only one remaining copy of it which is kept in the University

Library in Utrecht (Pamflet 1795-10). It was written by Paulus Bosch on the occasion of the Alliance feast in the Dam square in Amsterdam. The feast was organized to celebrate the renewed alliance between the Dutch and the French and the official instalment of the elected members of the new city council. For the first time, the citizens of Amsterdam had been able to elect their representatives, although in practice this democratic right was still restricted to men older than 25 years with considerable income.<sup>45</sup> The broadside measures approximately 22x14cm (octavo format) and the four pages are glued into a protective cover, showing a stamp with the year 1795 on it. The paper is off-white and stained.

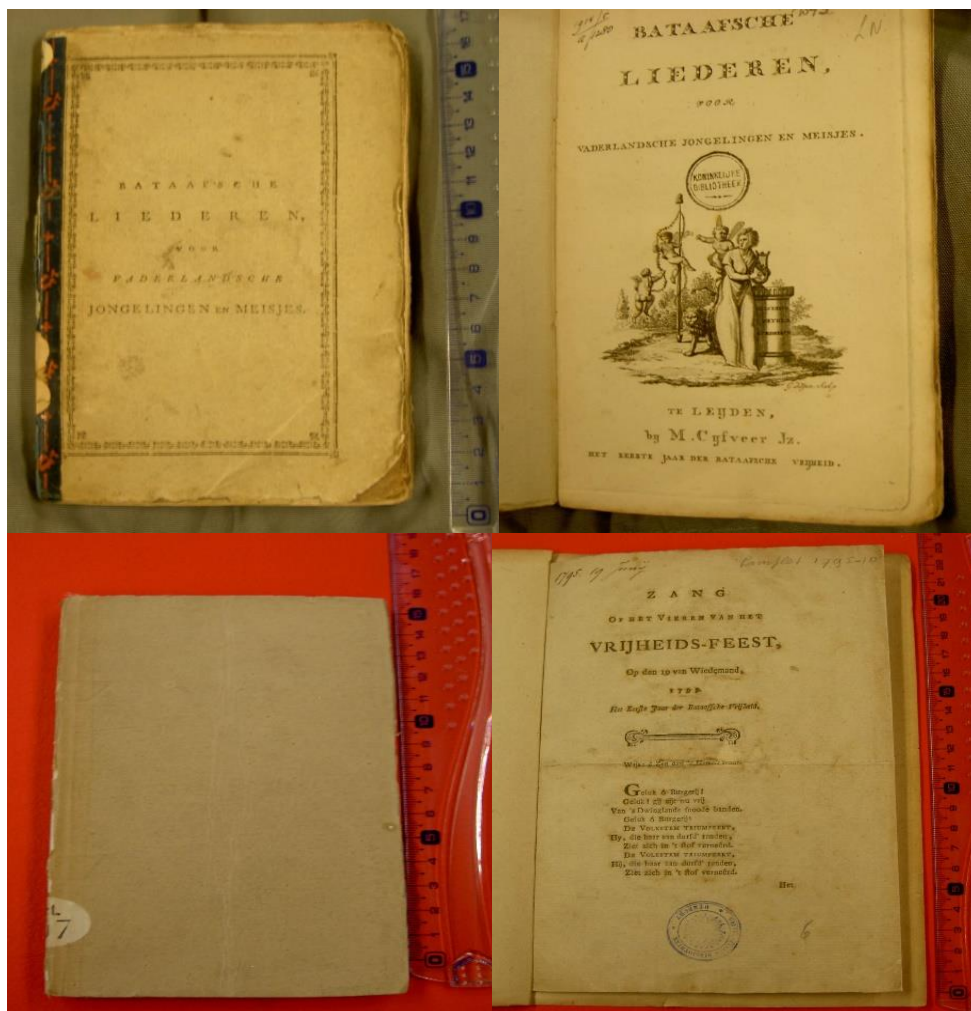


Figure 2 *Bataafsche liederen*, Royal Library The Hage, KW 928D43 (cover and title-page, top), University Library Utrecht, Z oct. 2307 (bottom left) and *Zang op het vieren van het Vrijheids-feest* (University Library Utrecht, Pamflet 1795-10)

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Poell, “Het Einde van een Tijdperk: De Bataafs-Franse Tijd 1795-1813,” in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: Zelfbewuste Stadstaat 1650-1813*, ed. Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Prak (Amsterdam: SUN, 2005), 457.

## Lyrics

The song texts have been analysed for signifiers of Dutch self-image and for unfavourable images of their opponents. Indications of resistance are less relevant for the 1795 songs and this aspect will be assessed in the source from 1814. Table 1 provides an overview.

Title <sup>46</sup>	Text incipit	Melody	No. of verses
Aan de Bataafsche jongelingen en meisjes	Wil nu, ô fiere Helden stoet!	Not provided in source	10
Aan de Bataafsche meisjes	Voor U, o jeugdige Engelingen!	La Marseillaise	5
De ouderdom der vrijheid	Wie zag 'er onder 't zonnlicht	Français marchant au combat	4
Aan de Leydsche Batavieren	Thans ziet gij u dan eindelijk vrij	Je le compare avec Louis	5
De verderflijke tijrannij	O Tijrannij! verderflijk wezen	Gelijk de schone bloempjes kwijnen	14
De jonge Bataaf, aan de vaderlandsche meisjes	O Meisjes! bij het bliksemvuur	Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont	8
De Bataafsche bruid, aan haren teruggekomen minnaar	Zijt welkom, dappre Vrijheidszoon	Wanneer de zon het morgenrood	5
De dwinglandij	Vloekwaardig wangedrocht, in pluto's rijk geteeld	Not provided in source	10
Het is geschied	Daar gaan nu al de snaaken schuiven	Que mon Colin	5
Batavieren lied, aan de Gallen	O onverwinbre, dappre Gal!	Dameet had lange tijd getracht	8
Het Bataafsche meisje, bij de terugkomst van haar minnaar	Ik snel mijn Minnaar te gemoed, Triumf!	Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein	7
Aan de eerste bewerkers der omwenteling	Roemwaarde braave Batoos-zoonen	La Marseillaise	5
Aan onze Fransche medeburgers	Welkom, braave Heldenstoet	Que le Sultan Saladin *	5
Bij het planten van een vrijheidsboom	Daar rijst de Vrijheids-boom omhoog!	De wereld is in rep en roer	6
Den 17: mey 1795. Het eerste jaar der bataafsche vrijheid, of Neerlandsch grootste dag	Waar reez ooit schooner Morgenstond	Français marchant au combat	6
Thalia en Melpomene, aan de Vrije Bataafsche burgers	Triumf! driewerf Triumf! Bataafsche Burgerij	Not provided in source	10
Het zegenryk verbond der Fransche en Bataafsche republieken	Naauw was de goude zon ten vierspan opgestegen	Not provided in source	8
Triumph-zang der Belgen	Triumph Bataafsche Burgerij!	Waar Phoebus' glans	8
De zes glaasjes	Koom Broeders die hier zijt vergaderd	Je meurs de regrets	8
Aan de nagtegaal	Zing nu, Bataafsche Nagtegaalen	Maudit amour raison sévère	5
Bij de komst der Franschen in Holland	Moest eens het vrije Neêrland bukken	Avec les jeux dans le village	6
Op 't herstel der vrijheid in Nederland	De dierbre Vrijheid is hersteld	Not provided in source	6
Ach! Gij zijt uw Wimpje kwijt.	Zing nu vrij, Bataafsche Jeugd	Le traquenard	10
Aria	Kom zingen wij nu blij	Un matin brusquement	3
Triumph-zang	Triumph! Bataafsche Broederkring	De wereld is in rep en roer	13
Iets uit de oude doos	Broer Breeroo sprak, het kan verkeer	Not provided in source	5
De troon en den hoed der Vrijheid	'k Stond van de allervroegste dagen	Ja Mimi in korte tijden	4
Helden-zang	Welaan, welaan Civilis Echetelgen	Azor azor en vain ma voix	4
Zang, van een jonge Bataafsche burgeres	Juich Landgenooten, bij 't herleven	Avec les jeux dans le village	6
Stem der Vrijheid	O lieve Vrijheid, dierbaar pand!	Dansons la carmagnole	8
De weldenkende Bataafsche jongeling	Ik ben de Zoon van een Bataaf	Français marchant au combat	8
Liefde en Vrijheid	Eeuwig moet gij Vrijheid zingen	Lubin aime sa bergère	2

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix A for a translation. Melodies occur in the sources with various titles. In the Dutch Song Database, a tune family is assigned to these titles, to designate a group of melodies that are basically the same, apart from minor differences and variations. The table lists the name of the tune family, unless this could not be established. In that case, the title as given in the source is listed. These cases are marked with an asterisk.



Slot-zang	Vaar wel, vaar wel Bataafsche Telgen!	Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime	2
Zang op het Vieren van het Vrijheids- feest	Geluk ô Burgerij!	Un matin brusquement	9

Table 1 Songs in *Bataafsche liederen* and the *Zang op het vieren van het Vrijheids-feest*

Considering the political context of the sources of 1795, that Dutch patriots present themselves first and foremost as a freedom-loving people is hardly surprising. The word ‘freedom’ (*vrijheid*) occurs in virtually every text and is consistently written with a capital letter. The first song, for example, *Aan de Bataafsche jongelingen en meisjes*, has ten verses. In seven of them, the word ‘free’ or ‘freedom’ occurs:

First verse, fourth line	‘Den lof der Vrijheid zingen’
Second verse, fourth line	‘Uw Vrije stemmen hooren’
Fourth verse, first line	‘Paar Vrijheids liefde aan kuische min’
Fifth verse, third line	‘Wen zij uw stem, op Vrijheidstoon’
Sixth verse, third line	‘Zing, daar uw hand de Vrijheid kroont’
Seventh verse, second line	‘Den lof der Vrijheidszoonen’
Ninth verse, fourth line	‘Een Vrijen toon te zetten’
Tenth verse, second line	‘Blijf deugd, blijf Vrijheid eeren’ <sup>47</sup>

Dutch political thought was strongly influenced by antiquity. The patriots observed in the Dutch Republic the same developments that, in their opinion, had led to the collapse of the Roman Republic: a monarchical tendency of the rulers, a moral decline, and a governing elite wallowing in luxury. To prevent the same collapse for the Dutch Republic, they developed a radical interpretation of classical thought which entailed the defence, by force, of liberty and independence by civilians.<sup>48</sup> Half of the songs (16) refer to weaponry, using words such as steel, metal, sabres, or canons. The *Helden-zang*, for instance, urges the Batavians to take steel and musket and crush the tyranny. Another example of this radical and dualistic thinking can be found in songs that declare that a true Dutchman is either free, or dead.<sup>49</sup> Following

<sup>47</sup> To the young Batavian men and women. Lines: Sing to honour Freedom; Hearing your Free voices; Combine love of Freedom with chaste love; When she [hears] your voice on the tone of Freedom; Sing, while your hand crowns the Freedom; Honour the sons of Freedom; Play a Free tone; Keep honouring virtue and Freedom.

<sup>48</sup> Wyger R.E. Velema, *Omstreden Oudheid: De Nederlandse Achttiende Eeuw en de Klassieke Politiek* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2010), 14-16.

<sup>49</sup> In: *De zes glaasjes; De jonge Bataaf, aan de vaderlandsche meisjes; Op 't herstel der Vrijheid in Nederland; Triumf-zang; Helden-zang.*

classical models, the patriots appreciated the ideal of dying for one's freedom as an admirable deed of self-sacrifice. They thought of their battle as the fight between Good and Evil.<sup>50</sup>

This classical influence is also apparent in the way patriots refer to themselves and others in song. Neighbouring peoples and countries are often called by Roman names such as Franks, Gauls, or Albion. The Dutch territory is mainly called the Netherlands; the word Holland is used only incidentally. The supposed Batavian ancestry is strongly emphasized. Twenty-eight songs (82,4%) mention this, referring to the Dutch as Batavians, Bato's offspring, or Civilis' children. Other names used for the Dutch people are Netherlanders or Belgians. The term Belgians was a Roman designation, referring to the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands. Often the texts use similar phrases, such as Belgian children or Belgian offspring, indicating that the Belgians were also assumed to have descended from an ancient tribe living in the area at Roman times.<sup>51</sup> According to Rosendaal, some of the patriotic exiles in France initially called themselves Belgians but changed this to 'Batavians' after the rebels in the Southern Netherlands adopted the name.<sup>52</sup> The lyricists did not distinguish between the inhabitants of the northern provinces. There is no mention of, for instance, Frisians, Gelderlanders, or even Hollanders, often considered an implicit synonym for Netherlanders.<sup>53</sup> They address the Dutch as one people, inhabitants of one country.

This illustrates one of the political aims of the patriots, unity. Exiled patriots, influenced by the new French constitution, adopted the idea of a 'one and indivisible state' and debated over the best way to organize their country in the future. They shared their thoughts with patriots in the Netherlands. Several exiles devised constitutional drafts. One of these exiles was Johan Valckenaer. His original draft strove for a constitutional monarchy, but this proved to be controversial for the patriots in the Netherlands, and so he revised this into a model of a united republic with a central government. The idea of political unity was widely shared among patriots, including those in the Netherlands.<sup>54</sup> The songs in *Bataafsche Liederen* promote unity implicitly by disregarding provincial differences. Willem Frijhoff suggests the necessity of this, discussing the self-image of the Netherlanders in the eighteenth

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<sup>50</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 537, 563-564.

<sup>51</sup> In: *De verderflijke tirannij; Het Bataafsche meisje, bij de terugkeer van haar minnaar; Thalia en Melpomene; Triumf-zang der Belgen; De zes glaasjes; Helden-zang; De weldenkende Bataafsche jongeling; Liefde en Vrijheid; Slot-zang.*

<sup>52</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 512.

<sup>53</sup> Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*, 25.

<sup>54</sup> Annie Jourdan, "The National Dimension in the Batavian Revolution," in *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy*, ed. Joris Oddens, Mart Rutjes, and Erik Jakobs (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 190-191; Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 528-529; Poell, "The Democratic Paradox," 99.

century and noting that people still felt themselves to be inhabitants of a particular province, instead of the Netherlands.<sup>55</sup> The idea of a national identity however was not new and its construction had already begun earlier in the eighteenth century. Reverend Engelbertus M. Engelberts discussed the national image of the Dutch in his book *Verdediging van de eer der Hollandsche natie* (1763, reprinted 1776), in which he admits to regional differences, but argues that, nevertheless, the Dutch as a people are clearly distinguishable from other peoples. His statement exemplifies the contemporary debate about diversity within the country versus similarity of the Dutch as compared to other peoples.<sup>56</sup> Willem Anthony Ockerse wrote three volumes on the Dutch character, the third of which was published in 1797. He also emphasized national similarities instead of provincial differences. Ockerse's ideas were influential as they were well-known and widespread. Frijhoff contends that descriptions like these contributed to the eventual acceptance of a nation state and a centralized government.<sup>57</sup>

Various other lyrical elements contribute to the construction of a shared identity. Batavian ancestry may have been exposed as a myth, but for the patriots, the Batavians were still a moral example. This is reflected in the songs. The Batavians—read, the Dutch—are portrayed as loyal, brave, faithful, and virtuous heroes who are willing to fight, and if necessary, to die for their country. That country is often referred to as *het dierbare vaderland* or *ons lieve vaderland* (precious fatherland or our dear fatherland). According to Van Sas, the word 'fatherland' was part and parcel of patriotic language. Van Sas equates patriotism to opposition. Rebellion against the existing order was considered acceptable when the future of the fatherland was at stake. Van Sas contends that the French Revolution changed patriotic language into nationalistic language. The word 'fatherland' lost its political connotations which were transferred onto the word 'nation.'<sup>58</sup> 'Fatherland' remained a frequently used word, but it became a ritual, almost sentimental phrase. This is also the way the word is employed in the songs, as is apparent from its portrayal as 'precious' or 'dear.' Love for the fatherland is equated to earthly love, for instance, in the fourth verse of *De jonge Bataaf, aan de vaderlandsche meisjes*: when our heart burns with love for you and the fatherland.<sup>59</sup> Van Sas notes that the words *natie* and *volk* (respectively: nation, people) became popular phrases

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<sup>55</sup> Willem Frijhoff, "Het Zelfbeeld van de Nederlander in de Achttiende Eeuw: Een Inleiding," *Documentatieblad 18<sup>e</sup> Eeuw* 24 (1992): 6-9.

<sup>56</sup> Defence of the honour of the Dutch nation. Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *De Ontdekking van de Nederlander in Boeken en Prenten rond 1800* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2010), 19-23.

<sup>57</sup> Frijhoff, "Het Zelfbeeld van de Nederlander in de Achttiende Eeuw," 20, 24-28; Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 231-232.

<sup>58</sup> Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 149-152, 159.

<sup>59</sup> The young Batavian, to the Dutch women: Daar onzen boezem brand, van Vaderlandsch en liefdevuur.

in the political language of patriots after 1795, though the word *natie* is absent in the songs. The word *volk* is used, but not frequently: ten times in seven songs. The *Zang van een jonge Bataafsche burgeres* is interesting in that it praises the citizens who accepted a role in the ‘rule by the people.’ This statement refers to changes in local government that took place over the country in 1795, when the governing elite was replaced, first by revolutionary committees, and then by elected councils.<sup>60</sup> The word *burger* is used more often than *volk*: seventeen times in ten songs. The patriots used this word to indicate the equality of all citizens and to address them as a community.<sup>61</sup> The songs also associate the word with blood, heroism, courage, loyalty, faithfulness, and virtue. The lyrics of the song *De zes glaasjes* again refer to the political changes: the fourth glass is dedicated to the good citizens in the Dutch national assembly.

One final noteworthy characteristic mentioned in seven songs is the forgiving attitude of the Dutch towards their enemies. Three of these songs are written from a feminine perspective. In *De Bataafsche bruid*, a woman admonishes her lover not to seek revenge, for a true hero should also be great in forgiveness. The lyrics of *Thalia en Melphomene* say that the victory and the honour of freedom are the best rewards and revenge is unnecessary.<sup>62</sup> The Batavian citizeness feels that every demand for revenge has disappeared.<sup>63</sup> However, the only other song from a feminine perspective, *Het Bataafsche meisje*, suggests an underlying feeling of contempt for the enemy. The woman states that Belgian offspring regards them as depraved slaves, unworthy even of revenge.<sup>64</sup> In two of the other songs that mention forgiveness, the lyricist stretches out a reconciling hand to previous enemies, but it is a conditional gesture. If they show remorse, all will be forgiven and they can be brothers again. This message was undoubtedly intended for the former Orangists among the Dutch, but also for the British. They are considered the victims of the tyranny of their king. If they expel him, the two peoples could become friends.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Rosendaal, *De Nederlandse Revolutie*, 97-98.

<sup>61</sup> Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland*, 98; Poell, “The Democratic Paradox,” 6; Mart Rutjes, “Useful citizens: Citizenship and Democracy in the Batavian Republic, 1795-1801,” in *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy*, ed. Joris Oddens, Mart Rutjes, and Erik Jacobs (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 76.

<sup>62</sup> The Batavian bride, fourth verse: *Tragt naar geen wraak, de ware held is groot, ook in het vergeven*; *Thalia and Melphomene*, ninth verse: *Geen wraaklust gloeije in 't hart van ware Batavieren, O Neen! genoeg voldaan door heerlijk zegevieren, Is de eer van vrij te zijn, den Belg het beste loon.*

<sup>63</sup> *Zang van een Bataafsche, jonge burgeres.*

<sup>64</sup> The Batavian women, at the return of her lover, sixth verse.

<sup>65</sup> *Batavierenlied, aan de Gallen* (Batavian song, to the Gauls), last verse; *Het zegenrijk verbond* (The fortunate alliance), verses three and four.

The lyrics portray the French, mostly named Gauls, as protective brothers. They helped the Dutch to shake off the chains of slavery and were highly praised for it. They were regarded as heroes, brave, strong, noble, and invincible. Several songs mention the French ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, several songs refer to the rights of man and citizen. The content of the Dutch version of these rights, written in 1795 by Pieter Paulus, was influenced by the French and American models. It describes a number of individual, universal human rights, such as freedom of speech and the right to resist oppression.<sup>67</sup> For the Dutch lyricists, the violation of these rights was a justification for their opposition. All references in the lyrics to the Rights of Man are emphasized by capitals or italics. The third verse of the song *Batavierenlied, aan de Gallen* alludes to the rights as follows:

‘Koom Helden, Redders van de Staat,  
Laat ons elkander vriendschap zweren.  
Dat wij, ten spijt der Britten haat,  
De Regten van den Mensch verweeren.  
Gesterkt, o Gal! Door uw beleid,  
Is ’s dwingelands poning ijdelheid.’<sup>68</sup>

The patriotic songwriters viewed the House of Orange and their allies as the enemy. In part, this enemy is described in conventional terms such as with the word ‘tyranny’, which appears in over 75% of the songs. Other frequently used words—despotic, imperious, haughty, cruel—can also be applied to any enemy. However, some elements tend to specify different hostile parties. William’s allies, the British and the Prussians, are mentioned in, respectively, twelve and five songs. The Dutch Republic had been at war with England over the sea trade for roughly a century. William, however, was related to English royalty who were of German birth. William’s mother was Anna van Hannover, daughter of George II. George III, king at the time, was also a grandson of George II, and William’s cousin. The patriots accused William of allying himself with the enemy. William also had a familial relationship with Prussia. His wife, Wilhelmina, was the sister of king Frederick William II of Prussia.

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<sup>66</sup> For example: *De ouderdom der Vrijheid* (The age of freedom), third verse; *Aan onze Fransche medeburgers* (To our French fellow citizens), fourth verse; *Aan de eerste bewerkers der omwenteling* (To the first revolutionaries), fourth verse.

<sup>67</sup> Niek van Sas, *Bataafse Terreur: De Betekenis van 1798* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011), 19-20.

<sup>68</sup> Batavian song, to the Gauls, third verse. Translation: Come heroes, saviours of the State, let us make friends. Despite the British hatred, we shall defend the Rights of Men. Empowered, Gaul, by your politics, the tyrant’s effort will be in vain.

Britain is mainly referred to as Albion or England in the song lyrics. The name Albion was also used by the Romans. There may have been negative connotations, such as perfidy, connected to both terms, but this is not apparent from the songs.<sup>69</sup> Albion, or England, is most often mentioned in connection with William's refuge there. The British people are not portrayed as particularly hostile. Incidentally, songs refer to British hatred, shackles, robbery or tyranny, but these are conventional terms. Of the Prussians, three songs simply state that Prussian military power is now harmless and not to be feared anymore. Two others are satirical songs and it is in these that images of Prussians differ from those of the British. In *Ach! Gij zijt uw Wimpje kwijt*, the Prussian king is portrayed as a joke. The last verse says that 'Freekbuur koos het hazepad' (neighbour Freek—meaning Frederick William II—took to his heels), implying weakness or even cowardice. The song *Het is geschied* calls Frederick the Prince of the Kingdom of Sausages and states that the Orangists are hoping for his assistance in vain this time.<sup>70</sup> The song also refers to Frederick's alleged 'green breasts'. The meaning of this is unclear, but the mention of breasts may be intended as a sneer at Frederick's obesity. Again, the song texts do not express negative attitudes towards Prussians as a people. Instead, the sentiment seems rather indifferent, or at worst, Prussians are not taken seriously. This is consistent with Kloek and Mijnhardt's finding that the Dutch considered themselves superior to the Germans at the time.<sup>71</sup>

Clearly, the real enemies are William V and his adherents the Orangists. The usual denominations of tyranny and cruelty are abundant, but the patriotic perception of their opponents as slaves is an added element. The self-perception as a free people, as opposed to a slavish other, was a pre-existent sentiment of the Dutch in general, but the symbolism was appropriated by the patriots in the 1780s.<sup>72</sup> In particular, the soldiers of William's army were called slaves.<sup>73</sup> The consistent referral to the enemy as low-esteemed slaves mirrors the equally consistent self-portrayal of patriots as free people. More than half of the songs' lyrics mention slaves and in most cases, they refer to the Orangists. The Orangists are portrayed as minions, kneeling at their ruler's throne and currying favours with him. Some songs urge

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<sup>69</sup> H.D. Schmidt, "The Idea and Slogan of 'Perfidious Albion'," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953): 609.

<sup>70</sup> O dear, you have lost your Billy; It did happen.

<sup>71</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 228.

<sup>72</sup> Lotte Jensen and Lieke van Deinsen, "Het Theater van de Herinnering: Vaderlands-historisch Toneel in de Achttiende Eeuw," *Spiegel der Letteren* 54 (2012): 209-210.

<sup>73</sup> Carla Bergman and Miesjel P. Spruit, "'Om uwe Kluisters te Verbreeken...': Bataafse Vrijheid in Breda," in *Dansen rond de Vrijheidsboom: Revolutionaire Cultuur in Brabant en de Franse Invasie van 1793*, ed. J.G.M.M. Rosendaal and A.W.F.M. van de Sande ('s-Hertogenbosch: Stichting Brabantse Geschiedbeoefening, 1993), 176.

them to follow their ‘king’ to England, such as in the second verse of *Bij het planten van een vrijheids-boom*:

‘Vlugt vuige slaaf, die, met verdriet,  
Dit Vrijheids teeken pralen ziet.  
Gij kunt ons feest niet viëren. (bis)  
Vlugt naar het Albionsche strand,  
En kruip daar voor uw Dwingeland,  
Dat past geen Batavieren! (bis)’<sup>74</sup>

The obsequious Orangists are strongly contrasted with the proud and freedom-loving patriots in these lyrics. The satirical song *Ach! Gij zijt uw Wimpje kwijt* portrays the Orangists as foolish children who do not understand that ‘Billy’s’ reign is over. Other songs present a more forgiving attitude. The Orangists are portrayed as deluded souls who worship the wrong gods and are called upon to repent, in which case they will be forgiven by their patriotic fellow countrymen.

Images of idolatry emanate from William and his wife Wilhelmina. Joost Rosendaal investigated the negative image of William V among the revolutionary patriots that fled to France in 1787. The patriots labelled William as a brutal tyrant and a despot, which were common denominations. Also common was a comparison with situations from the past. The patriots compared William’s rule to that of the Spanish and found it worse. However, an even more important source of comparison was the bible, and Rosendaal situates this in a long, Dutch tradition. William and his wife Wilhelmina were equated to the biblical royal couple Ahab and Jezebel, who propagated idolatry. From here, it is only a small step to a comparison with the devil himself. William was no less than the apocalyptic Beast. The negative image was extended to William’s adherents, the Orangists, who were portrayed as irrational beasts, and a looting and murderous crowd.<sup>75</sup> There is a foundation in reality for this image. After thousands of patriots were expelled from the country in 1787, their possessions were plundered and destroyed by Orangists and some patriots were tortured or killed.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> At the planting of a liberty tree. Second verse: Flee, vile slave, who sadly witnesses the display of this sign of liberty. You cannot celebrate this feast with us. Flee, to the beaches of Albion, and bow to your despot. Such behaviour does not befit a Batavian!

<sup>75</sup> Rosendaal, “Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795,” 458-462, 472.

<sup>76</sup> Rosendaal, *De Nederlandse Revolutie*, 58-60; C.J. Schotsman, ‘*Wat een Verandering in Zoo Weynige Jaaren: Van Republiek tot Koninkrijk*’ (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2002), 35; A. Doedens, “De Patriotse Vluchtelingen,” in *Voor Vaderland en Vrijheid: De Revolutie van de Patriotten*, ed. F. Grijsenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt, and N.C.F. van Sas (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), 157-158.

The lyrics do not support Rosendaal's findings in every way. Views of the Orangists are less negative than he describes. This may be because the songs were written after the liberation of the Dutch territory, while Rosendaal's material concerns texts written before 1795 by patriots in exile. William V is presented in the songs as a conventional tyrant, combined with the aforementioned idolatry, but without referrals to him as the Beast. The main culprit in the lyrics seems to be William's wife, although her name is never mentioned. This is consistent with Rosendaal's discussion. Wilhelmina overruled her husband in many ways and interfered with state affairs. The patriotic image of Wilhelmina resembles the portrayal of queen Marie Antoinette during the French revolution, who was also a foreign princess. There are differences though. Marie Antoinette was compared to historical cases, while Wilhelmina's predecessors were found in scriptural examples and, unlike Marie Antoinette, she was never accused of sexual excess.<sup>77</sup> Idolatry was mainly attributed to her, hence the comparison with the biblical Jezebel, which is made in the song *Aan de Leydsche Batavieren*. In the song *De verderflijke tijrannij*, Wilhelmina is even called the executioner of the fatherland.<sup>78</sup> The text refers to historical events, such as the murdering of the brothers De Witt, for which the House of Orange was held responsible. Furthermore, the lyrics blame Wilhelmina for the destruction of the grave of the patriot Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol by Orangists.<sup>79</sup> Other feminine words such as *dwingelandes* and *helharpij*, used in the song *De dwinglandij*, again seem to refer to Wilhelmina. Here, her court and her despised royal pomp are compared with the humble cabin of a farmer, who is content with a simple, but free life.

The Dutch considered themselves religious people, yet this does not seem to dominate the songs' lyrics. The mention of God or an Almighty power occurs in less than a fourth of the songs. However, the Christian faith plays a larger part than appears at first glance. Forgiveness of the enemy is a Christian value. The patriots looked for biblical analogies in their condemnation of William and Wilhelmina. The worst accusation against the pair, and also the worst sin for a Christian, is idolatry. Rosendaal interprets the use of metaphors, such as altars and sacrifices, mentioned in some of the songs, as the sacralisation of freedom.<sup>80</sup> The depiction of the enemy as a monster of hell is a religious image. Earthly love is described as

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<sup>77</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 469-470.

<sup>78</sup> The pernicious tyranny. The Dutch text uses the word *beulinne*, which is the (unusual) feminine form of the word executioner.

<sup>79</sup> F. Grijzenhout, "De Patriotse Beeldenstorm," in *Voor Vaderland en Vrijheid: De Revolutie van de Patriotten*, ed. F. Grijzenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt, and N.C.F. van Sas (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), 155.

<sup>80</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 515.



reserved and thus, one might add, in a Christian fashion aimed solely at procreation. Freedom is pictured as descendant from heaven, as if it were God's gift.

The patriots came to power in a deeply divided country and felt the need to restore unity. They had a history of propaganda, and the songs also functioned as such, delivering a message of liberty and equality for all.<sup>81</sup> They may have been sung at the many parties that were organized to celebrate the revolution, such as the one in Franeker. Grijzenhout mentions songs about the 'rising sun of salvation' that were sung in Franeker, and similar songs may have been sung elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> Processes of othering can also be detected in the lyrics, contributing to the construction of a national identity. For example, royal pomp can be seen as the counterpart of the Dutch values of a virtuous and simple life and is thus resented. Religious values shimmer through in the lyrics, again in opposition to the views of the enemy. Illustrative of the importance of singing in the Dutch society are the references in the lyrics to singing as a means of frightening off the enemy or as a means of welcoming home soldiers. The expected revival of trade, fundamental for the Dutch economy, was an important aspect of regained freedom, as is mentioned in several songs. However, other elements that constitute national identity are missing in the lyrics of 1795. There are virtually no references to a common language, national heroes, or to the heyday of the Republic as the glorious past.

### **Melodies**

The previous analysis demonstrates how the lyrics of songs, published in 1795, contributed to the building of a Dutch national identity, in which freedom, virtue, simplicity, religion, ancestry and commerce, but also a complex relationship with the House of Orange, are important elements. The next step is to investigate the function of the music. Did the melody provide a significant layer or was it merely a vessel for the text? The following section will discuss the provenance and the musical characteristics of the melodies.

The research collection contains thirty-four songs, published in two sources. Twenty-seven of these provide a melody title. As some are used more than once, the collection contains twenty-one different melodies. Fourteen of the songs have a title in French, which indicates that they were known as such by the intended audience and probably originated in France. The other seven titles are in Dutch. This, however, does not mean that the melodies

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<sup>81</sup> Patriotic propaganda was spread from the exiles in France to the Netherlands. An example is the pamphlet *Aan het Volk van Nederland* (To the people of the Netherlands) that was spread at a large scale in 1793 and called upon the Dutch to revolt. Rosendaal, *De Nederlandse Revolutie*, 86.

<sup>82</sup> Frans Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het Vaderland: Patriotse en Bataafse Feesten 1780-1806* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1989), 131.

originated in the Netherlands, because often new or translated titles were given. One of these seven melodies, *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*, may have originated in Germany. Van Duyse dates the text to 1650, which is the year that William III, the little prince, was born. The melody, however, may have been connected to the text at a later time. Van Duyse has found no proof for the existence of the melody in the seventeenth century. German versions of the melody are dated to the second half of the eighteenth century; the text and the melody may have been combined at that time.<sup>83</sup> The earliest occurrence of this melody in the Song Database predates these German versions however, suggesting that the melody might be older. The origins of the other Dutch-titled melodies are unknown. They are listed in table 2. The number and duration of occurrences are both indications of a melody's popularity.

Title <sup>84</sup>	Number of occurrences in Dutch Song Database	Earliest occurrence	Latest occurrence
Wanneer de zon het morgenrood	88	1640	1861
Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont	163	1717	1969
Gelijk de schone bloempjes kwijnen	18	1751-1752	1832
Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein <sup>85</sup>	455	1753	2004
Ja Mimi in korte tijden <sup>86</sup>	7	1775	1795
Dameet had lange tijd getracht	6	1790-1792	1795
Waar Phoebus' glans	2	1794	1795

Table 2 Dutch-titled melodies in the sources of 1795

The melodies *Dameet had lange tijd getracht* and *Waar Phoebus' glans* seem to be connected with the Batavian revolution. They were used only in the period 1790-1795 and the last occurrence of both is in *Bataafsche liederen*. *Dameet had lange tijd getracht* has been used only in *Bataafsche liederen* and by one other songwriter, Gerrit Manheer. Manheer must have sympathized with the patriotic ideals. He was friends with the patriotic poet Hendrik Tollens and contributed to *Lauwerbladen voor de zonen der Vrijheid*, a collection of patriotic

<sup>83</sup> Florimond van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied: tweede deel* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1905), 1800-1804, accessed October 14, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/duys001oude02\\_01/](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/duys001oude02_01/).

<sup>84</sup> Based on information in the Dutch Song Database; accessed October 19, 2015.

<sup>85</sup> There are several versions of this melody: *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*, *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein* (1), *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein* (1 VAR) and *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein* (2). The number of 455 occurrences applies to all versions. The years of first and last occurrence apply to the version intended here; that is, the version without the addition (1) or (2).

<sup>86</sup> The year 1775 is uncertain; the first occurrence dated with certainty in the Dutch Song Database is 1781.

poems.<sup>87</sup> Most of his songs however are not overtly patriotic. Only one of them describes the joys of peace for the precious fatherland, a proverbial patriotic expression previously described. *Waar Phoebus' glans*, again used only by Gerrit Manheer and in *Bataafsche liederen*, presents another patriotic symbol. Phoebus is Apollo, the god of the sun, one of three symbols of freedom used frequently by the patriots. The other two symbols are the tree of liberty and the maiden, or goddess, of liberty, who is always portrayed with a hat and a spear.<sup>88</sup> The symbolism of liberty as a young woman dates back to Roman times. She was usually portrayed with a sceptre and a Phrygian hat, the type of hat that freed slaves wore in the Roman Empire. French revolutionaries changed the sceptre into a spear and put the hat on top of it. In this form, the symbol was adopted by Dutch patriots.<sup>89</sup>

The image of Apollo or the sun as the dawn of freedom may explain the many references made to the rising sun in Manheer's amorous songs with these two melodies, which he may have intended as patriotic messages. Both melodies are thus connected to an important patriotic symbol of freedom. Medieval interpretations of Apollo portray him as the Christian God or as his son Jesus.<sup>90</sup> Apollo is therefore a powerful image of the victory of Good over Evil. For French revolutionaries, the symbol of the sun has strong associations with the monarchy, which is why they abandoned it.<sup>91</sup> The Orangists turned the symbol against the patriots. They connected it with arrogance and pride by using the image of Phaeton, Apollo's son. He attempted to ride the chariot of the sun but could not control the horses and fell to earth.<sup>92</sup> The defeat of the patriots in 1787 was compared to Phaeton's fall by the Orangists and cartoons showed patriots falling from the sky into purgatory.<sup>93</sup>

*Ja Mimi in korte tijden* was also a short-lived melody. It occurs seven times in the Song Database, of which the song in *Bataafsche liederen* is the latest. An examination of previous uses of this melody shows a mixed picture. The original text concerns a woman named Mie Mie who is about to marry Midas and looks forward to the pleasures that this will

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<sup>87</sup> A.J. van der Aa, *Nieuw Biografisch Anthologisch, en Critisch Woordenboek van Nederlandse Dichters. Tweede Deel, C-N* (Amsterdam: W. de Grebber, 1845), accessed October 19, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa\\_001nieu02\\_01/aa\\_001\\_nieu02\\_01\\_0575.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa_001nieu02_01/aa_001_nieu02_01_0575.php); A.J. van der Aa, *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 12, Eerste Stuk* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1869), accessed October 19, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa\\_001biog14\\_01/aa\\_001biog14\\_01\\_0333.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa_001biog14_01/aa_001biog14_01_0333.php).

<sup>88</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 512.

<sup>89</sup> Kris Deschouwer, "De Beelden van de Macht: De Politieke Symboliek in het Ancien Régime en in de Jacobijnse Republiek," in *De Opstand van de Intellectuelen: De Franse Revolutie als Avant-première van de Moderne Cultuur* (Kapellen: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1989), 53-54.

<sup>90</sup> Mark P.O. Morford and Robert J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology* (New York: Longman, 1985), 506, 514.

<sup>91</sup> Deschouwer, "De Beelden van de Macht," 57.

<sup>92</sup> Morford and Lenardon, *Classical Mythology*, 34-35.

<sup>93</sup> Grijsenhout, *Feesten voor het Vaderland*, 113, 127.

bring. The melody is also used for a children's song in which children are warned of false pretences. Again, the melody is used by Gerrit Manheer for a May-song and an amorous song. In *Bataafsche liederen*, the melody is used for a dialogue between the throne and the hat of freedom. It is, in other words, a dialogue between the previous order and the victorious patriots. The melody may have been chosen because of its allusions to better times ahead.

The song *Gelijk de schone bloempjes kwijnen* was published in 1751 with musical notation. This indicates that the song was new at the time because this was rare. The melody is used for amorous, satirical, religious, and edifying songs.<sup>94</sup> The original text refers to flowers that wither when the sun disappears.<sup>95</sup> Gerrit Manheer wrote three amorous texts to it, in which again he frequently mentions the morning sun. The song *De verderflijke tijrannij* in *Bataafsche liederen* that was previously mentioned, describes Wilhelmina as the executioner and torturer of the fatherland, someone who destroyed unity, and who placed her throne in human blood:

‘De deugd en trouw moest voor U bukken,  
Gij brak den eendragtsband aan stukken,  
En plantte, daar uw moorddolk woed,  
Uw troon in lillend menschenbloed.’<sup>96</sup>

*Wanneer de zon het morgenrood*, popular for over a century, was used across several genres, but in general, previous texts employ an image of a new beginning, usually in the form of a forthcoming wedding or a reunion of lovers. The song that uses *Wanneer de zon het morgenrood* in *Bataafsche liederen* is no exception. Here, a Batavian bride welcomes her lover who comes back from the war and promises him marital pleasures. The concept of a new beginning and the sun as the symbol of liberty may have been the reasons to select the melody. The musical notation is given in figure 3.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> For example: *Herder- en herderinnezang* (Song of shepard and shepardess), in *De Drie Kempaantjes* (1784); *De Ambachtsman* (The Craftsman) in *Volks-liedenboek* published by A. Pz. Loosjes (1785); *Jezus verreezen* (The resurrected Jesus) in *Volks-liedjens* published by the Society for the Promotion of the Public Good (1789).

<sup>95</sup> Accessed November 23, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/maha002maen01\\_01/maha002maen01\\_01\\_0057.php#maha002maen01\\_0056](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/maha002maen01_01/maha002maen01_01_0057.php#maha002maen01_0056). The first lines are: Like my beautiful flowers wither, when they see the sun disappear; likewise I am sad, when my lover leaves me.

<sup>96</sup> Third verse: Virtue and allegiance had to bow for you, you broke the bond of unity, and planted, where your murdering dagger rages, your throne in quivering human blood.

<sup>97</sup> Source of the musical notations: [www.speelmuziek.liederenbank.nl](http://www.speelmuziek.liederenbank.nl). The text as in *Bataafsche liederen* is added by me. In cases of variations, a notation was chosen that best fitted the text.

### Melody *Wanneer de zon het morgenrood*

Zijt wel - kom dapp - re Vrij - heids - zoon Be - kranst met Eer - lau - rie -  
 5 ren Uw deugd en trouw ver - dient dien loon. Laat - ik uw Sche - del - sie -  
 10 ren O - Brui - gom! dat mijn maag - de hand dee - ze eer - kranst op uw' hair - en plant, Zie  
 15 uw ge - trouw - e bla - ken O - hart - vriend van de - rein - ste min Kom, wil in  
 20 d'arm van uw vrien - din Nu dui - zend zoet - heen sma - - - ken.

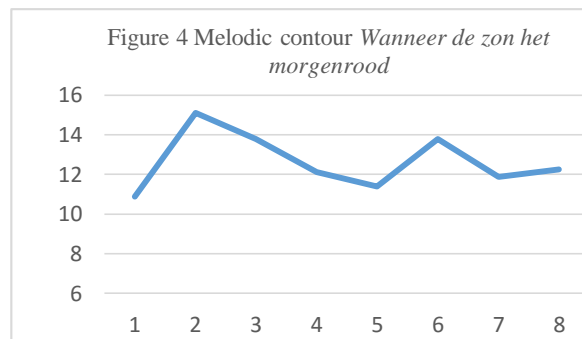
Figure 3 First verse of *De Bataafsche bruid, aan haren teruggekomen minnar*

The melody is in 4/4 time and starts with an upbeat on the dominant, followed by a jump of a fourth. The first pair of melodic phrases is repeated, giving an AAB form scheme.

The rhythm is varied. A rising and falling of melodic phrases or melodies is a common feature in western folksongs. David Huron

describes a computational method which can be used to determine whether a melody shows this melodic arch.<sup>98</sup> His method is used here to define the contour of the melody. When one disregards the first repetition, the remaining eight phrases show a pattern with two melodic arches. As the graph in figure 4 shows, the first arch peaks in the second phrase, the second in the eighth phrase.

In several respects, this melody deviates from the melodies that will be discussed below. Firstly, the song is in a minor key, while major keys were more common. Secondly,



<sup>98</sup> David Huron, "The Melodic Arch in Western Folksongs," in *Computing in Musicology: An International Directory of Applications Volume 10* (Menlo Park: Center for Computer Assisted Research in the Humanities, 1995-1996), 3-20. Huron assigns numerical values to semitones: c' = 0, cis/des' = 1, d' = 2, c'' = 12 etc. Values below the central c are negative. Melodic arches can be determined on the level of musical phrases or on the level of the melody. The contour of a phrase is determined by three values: the first note, the average of the middle notes, and the last note. The most common patterns are: ascending (low-higher-highest), descending (high-lower-lowest), convex (low-high-low) or concave (high-low-high). A convex phrase is a melodic arch; an ascending phrase followed by a descending phrase form an arch together. The overall contour of a melody is determined by the averaged values of the phrases. The graphs show the melody contour.

the ambitus is a tenth instead of the customary octave. And thirdly, the penultimate syllable has a melismatic setting, which was uncommon. This may be explained by the fact that this is the one of the few melodies in the research collection that dates back at least to the seventeenth century. The original text was a mythical love poem, written by Jan Harmensz. Krul (ca. 1601-1646) that begins with Apollo lying on Aurora's bosom. It was published for the first time in 1639 in Krul's *Minnespiegel ter Deughden*.<sup>99</sup> The source of the melody is unknown, but it may be Dutch, as Krul used Dutch melodies for the majority of his secular songs.<sup>100</sup>

The last two Dutch-titled songs have Orangist connotations. *Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont* was, for instance, used in 1749 to glorify the birth of William V and in 1766 for the occasion of William's visit to Dordrecht. An alternative title for the same melody are *Wij wenschen u geluk, ô Vorst*.<sup>101</sup> However, during the 1780s, the lyrics for the melody changed in colour and became patriotic. Some of these songs refer to the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) that was disastrous for the Dutch. For example, in *Een nieuw lied, Het Vaderlands buurpraatje* (1781), neighbours chat about the so-called English allies, who are actually robbers that violate the laws of honour and loyalty. They recall previous wars when the English dog was bitten by the Dutch lion.<sup>102</sup> In 1784, the tide turned again in favour of the Orangists, among others, with a song about the marriage of princes Caroline of Orange. From 1789 onward, the patriots reclaimed the melody. During all these years, it was also used for amorous and edifying texts. The melody starts with an upbeat on the dominant and a jump of a fourth (fig. 5). The time is 6/8 and the rhythm is long-short or on-going; these features and the upbeat suggest a gigue dance-form.<sup>103</sup> The ambitus is an octave and the melody moves mainly stepwise. Jumps rarely exceed the third; larger intervals occur at the beginning and end of phrases. The form scheme is AAB.

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<sup>99</sup> Henricus Christianus van Bommel, *Bibliografie van de Werken van Jan Hermans Krul: II* (Arnhem: S.n., 1981), 143, 539.

<sup>100</sup> N. Wijngaards, *Jan Harmens Krul: Zijn Leven, Zijn Werk en Zijn Betekenis* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1964), 248.

<sup>101</sup> We wish you luck, dear prince.

<sup>102</sup> The other examples are *Matroosjes-tafellied* (Sailors Drinking song), 1781; *Een nieuw lied, Opgedraagen aan alle Beminnaars van het Vaderland* (A new song, dedicated to all the lovers of the Fatherland), 1781.

<sup>103</sup> William Cole, *The Form of Music* (London: Associated Board of Royal Schools of Music, 1997), 89.

### Melody *Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont*

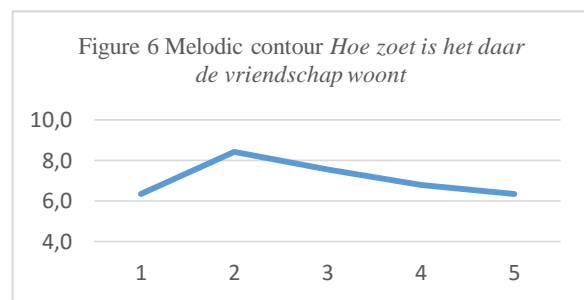
O Meis - jes! bij het blik - sem-vuur, Van't don - de-rend me - taal \_\_\_ Daar't

5 sul - ver braakt en op den duur, Bij't schit - tren van het staal \_\_\_ En held bij he-Id vast

10 voet voor voet Moest trap - plen in het gon - zend bloed sloeg nog ons hart voor U! \_\_\_

Figure 5 First verse of *De jonge Bataaf, aan de Vaderlandsche meisjes*

The melody shows a convex model, again disregarding the first repetition. The peak of the melodic arch lies in the second phrase.



The second melody with Orangist connotations, and the last Dutch-titled one

to discuss, is *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*. The prince of the title is William III, who was born shortly after his father died. The original text refers to the fact that he will succeed his father as stadholder. The melody has been popular since the eighteenth century with all genres and is still sung today as a children's song under the title *Wie in januari geboren is, sta op*.<sup>104</sup> Like the previous song, it has occasionally been appropriated by patriots. Both melodies are used in *Bataafsche liederen* with songs about the triumphant return of young Batavians, and both texts include a warning for the Orangists never to threaten freedom again.

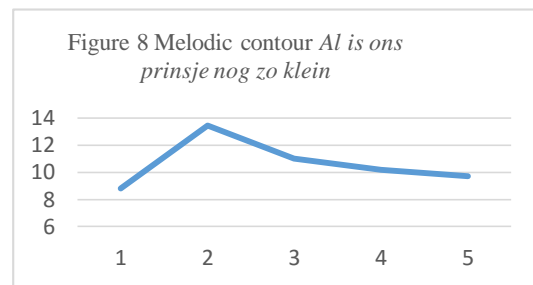
<sup>104</sup> Accessed November 19, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=288&actie=melodienorm&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl>. Whoever is born in January, stand up. For instance, on the CD *Zingen met Zeppelin en Nienke*, 2010.

### Melody *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*

Ik snel mijn Min - naar te - ge - moet, Tri - umfl. Hoe vroe - lijk vloed - mijn  
 5 jeug - dig bloed, Tri - umfl. Het lie - ve Va - der - land is Vrij! Koom, dier - bre Min - naar  
 10 aan mijn zij. Tri - umpf Tri - umf Tri - umf. Tri - umf Tri - umf Tri - umf.

Figure 7 First verse of *Het Bataafsche meisje, bij de terugkomst van haar minnaar*

The musical characteristics are very similar to the previous song. Again, the tune is a gigue dance-form in 6/8 time that begins with an upbeat on the dominant and a jump of a fourth. Likewise, the melody moves in small steps, the ambitus is an octave and the form scheme is



AAB. The melodic contour is also similar (fig. 8). When the first phrase is omitted, it shows a convex model peaking in the second phrase. In particular *Al is ons prinsje* seems suitable for community singing. The repetition of the words *Triumph triumph* in every verse enables everyone to join the refrain, even if one does not know the text. In other versions of the melody, these words are typically similar cheerful exclamations, such as *Ha ha, Hoezee, or Vivat*.

The majority of the melodies in the research collection have French titles. In considering the friendly relationship between the patriots and the French, the dominance of French melodies seems unsurprising. However, cultural exchange between the Netherlands and France predates this friendship. France had been culturally dominant in Europe in the eighteenth century and the Dutch elite were still principally French-oriented.<sup>105</sup> France was also influential for Dutch theatre, where travelling companies often played French performances. The *Franse Schouwburg* in The Hague was a theatre exclusively for French stage works and brought the latest shows from Paris. New genres, such as the *opéra-comique*,

<sup>105</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 227-228.



travelled easily to the Netherlands and songs from these operas quickly became popular.<sup>106</sup>

Table 3 lists the French-titled songs in *Bataafsche liederen* and *Zang op het Vrijheids-feest*.

Title	Occurrences in Dutch Song Database	Earliest occurrence	Latest occurrence
Origin: opera / vaudeville <sup>107</sup>			
Maudit amour raison sévère	4	1757	1795
Lubin aime sa bergère	5	1762	1806
On doit soixante mille francs	224	1768	1969
Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime	8	1769	1800
Azor azor en vain ma voix	7	1771	1795
Je le compare avec Louis	26	1778	1824
Avec les jeux dans le village	60	1781	1940
Origin: French Revolution			
La Marseillaise	31	1792	1969
Français marchant au combat	4	1794	1795
Dansons la carmagnole	12	1795	1914
Origin undefined			
Je meurs de regrets	19	1764	1800
Le traquenard	47	1672	1968
Un matin brusquement	33	1784	1914
Que mon Colin	3	1794	1795

Table 3 French-titled melodies in the 1795-sources

Although only three of the melodies in table 3 have been classified as revolutionary, a connection between the French Revolution and some of the operatic songs can be made. *Avec les jeux dans le village* and *On doit soixante mille francs* were used in France for the musical setting of constitutional articles in 1792. Both songs originated from comic stage works.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden, 1572-1795* (=Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een): Hoofdstuk 10: De theaters I: Amsterdam, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek/Republiek10-Theaters1.pdf>, 4-5; Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden, 1572-1795* (=Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een): Hoofdstuk 11: De theaters II: Buiten Amsterdam, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek/Republiek11-Theaters2.pdf>, 9.

<sup>107</sup> Classification based on information in the Dutch Song Database. The song *Français marchant au combat* is classified as revolutionary based on the title.

<sup>108</sup> Based on information in the Dutch Song Database. *Avec les jeux dans le village* is a song from *Les amours d'été, divertissement en un acte et en vaudevilles* (1781); composer unknown, text Pierre-Antoine Augustin De

Herbert Schneider describes how songs were deployed for educational and propagandistic purposes in revolutionary France. The singing of constitutional articles was intended to familiarize uneducated people with the text, but also to convey authors' opinions on specific articles. According to Schneider, existing melodies were used for this musical propaganda, borrowed mostly from comic operas and vaudeville. The original lyrics, which would have been known by the public, were intended to add an extra layer of meaning. François Marchant (1761-1793) published the first sung constitution in 1792, in which he criticizes the revolutionary version of 1791. Being a royalist, Marchant did not support the revolutionary ideals. His version was critiqued by a new sung constitution, written by an anonymous author. Marchant's publication was widespread, and may have been known to Dutch patriotic exiles in France. Translations in German also proliferated outside of France.<sup>109</sup>

Both Marchant and his opponent used *Avec les jeux dans le village* to share their opinions on the executive power of the king. The two songs in *Bataafsche liederen* on this melody do not comment on the position of the stadholder. This may be due to a difference in the political situation. In the Netherlands, William V was already deposed in 1795, while France was still in the process of abandoning the monarchy in 1792. Probably more important however, is the fact that the song had already been popular in the Netherlands since 1785. Over twenty song lyrics precede the ones in *Bataafsche liederen*, some of which have an overt patriotic signature, while others express a longing for freedom.<sup>110</sup> These songs must have been the frame of reference for Dutch audiences. *Avec les jeux* (fig. 9) is also known as an *air de Saint-Onge*.<sup>111</sup> Saintonge was a French province on the Atlantic coast until the French Revolution. The melody has a 3/4 time. The rhythm is very simple and uses mainly quarter notes in movements of steps and thirds. Motives of three ascending or descending notes, and groups of three with a changing note are frequent. Again, the ambitus is an octave. The form scheme is ABCC. The first phrase of A is the same as the first phrase of C. The C-part is repeated, but on different texts, and the last lines are also different in each verse. In this sense, the repetition in the music does not function as a refrain.

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Piis (1755-1832) and Pierre-Yon Barré (1749-1832). *On doit soixante mille francs* derives from the play *Les dettes, comédie en 2 actes mêlée d'ariettes* (1787); composer Stanislas Champein (1753-1830), text Nicolas-Julien Forgeot (1758-1798).

<sup>109</sup> Herbert Schneider, "The Sung Constitutions of 1792," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 259, 265.

<sup>110</sup> The melody is used in patriotic songbooks such as *Het Vrolyk Keesje in de verdrukking* (1789) once; *Zingende Kees* (1789) twice; and *Vaderlandsche gezangen* (1791), three times. Gerrit Manheer used it five times. In *Nieuw lied van het vogeltje* (from the songbook *Een geheel nieuw liedboek van het Roosje*, 1789), the melody is used for a song in which a caged bird regains its freedom.

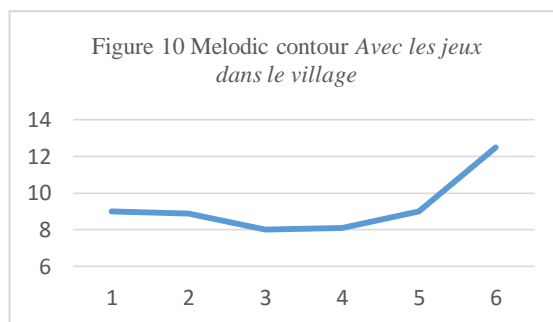
<sup>111</sup> Florimond van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied: derde deel* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1907), 2202, accessed October 14, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/duys001oude03\\_01/](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/duys001oude03_01/).

### Melody *Avec les jeux dans le village*

Moest eens het vrij - e Neer - land buk - ken, Voor een ver - me - ten  
 7 dwin - ge - land. Dorst men haar har - en hoed - ont - ruk - ken, Voor een Ba -  
 14 taaf het duur - ste pand. Wierdt eens, ten spijt van el - ken bra - ven,  
 21 Naar recht, nog bil - lijk heid ge - hoord, Wierdt, door een woese - te  
 27 drom van slaa - ven, eens d'ed - le Vrij - heids - stem - ge - smoord.

Figure 9 First verse of *Bij de komst der Franschen in Holland*

The melody does not show a melodic arch. The model is concave, with an ascending line in the last phrase. The repetition of the last melodic phrase has been omitted in the melodic contour (fig. 10).



The melody of *On doit soixante mille francs*, also known as *De wereld is in rep en roer*, was introduced to the Netherlands even earlier, in 1768, but only nine song lyrics occur in the Song Database before those of *Bataafsche liederen*. The preceding lyrics are mostly comical and two of them are pro-Orange. Florimond van Duyse mentions in his anthology that the melody was used for an anti-patriotic song under the name *De boer zal 't al betalen* during the revolt of the Southern Netherlands against the Austrian emperor Josef II in 1789-1790.<sup>112</sup> The patriots appropriated the melody for their joyful songs of triumph. The melody is used twice in *Bataafsche liederen*. The first song, *Bij het planten van een vrijheids-boom*, scorns the Orangists who lower themselves to their rulers. The second, *Triumph-zang*, again contains a message for tyranny: it will be driven to hell if it ever rises again. The melody has a 6/8 time

<sup>112</sup> Van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied: tweede deel*, 1481.

with an upbeat of an eighth note (fig. 11). The ambitus is a ninth and rhythmically the melody is much more varied than *Avec les jeux*. The repetition of the third and the last sentence makes it suitable for community singing.

### Melody *On doit soixante mille francs*

Tri - umph! Ba - taaf - sche Broe - der kring, Voor wie ik vrij - e  
 4 to - nen zing, Uw heil - dag is ver - sche - nen. Uw heil - dag is ver - sche - nen. Tri -  
 9 umph! 'tont - schat - baar Vree ver - bond, Op 'smen - schen hei - lig regt ge - grond, Mogt  
 13 Gal en Belg ver - een - nen, Mogt Gal en Belg ver - een - nen.

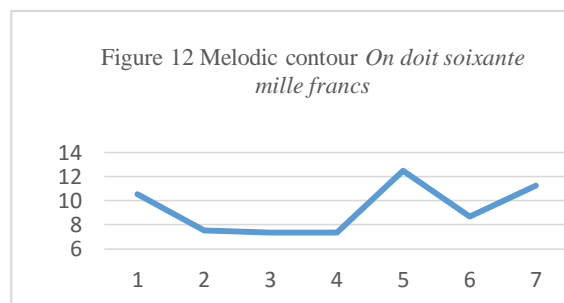
Figure 11 The first verse of *Triumph-zang*

Overall, the melody shows a concave contour. The ascending fifth phrase forms a melodic arch with the descending sixth phrase.

The arietta *Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime* was borrowed from *Le Deserteur* (1769), a rescue opera composed by Pierre-Alexandre

Monsigny (1729-1817). A rescue opera involves a happy ending. The melody may have been used for the very last song in *Bataafsche liederen* for this reason. The lyrics bid the Belgians farewell, expecting them to move ahead along the path of freedom. The remaining four songs with an operatic origin are all from eighteenth-century comic operas. No relationship with the French revolution has been found, nor any significant connection between the original lyrics and the Dutch lyrics.

Three melodies in *Bataafsche liederen* are closely connected to the French Revolution: *Français marchant au combat*, *Dansons la Carmagnole* and *La Marseillaise*. The first melody was not well-known and short-lived; the only occurrences in the Song Database date to 1794-1795. *Dansons la Carmagnole* is a dance melody that became popular in 1792. The title refers to the costume that revolutionaries wore and it was declared a song of the *sans-*



*culottes*, the lower classes. The original text mocks the French royal couple, in particular queen Marie Antoinette.<sup>113</sup> *La Carmagnole* was sung and danced on many occasions in France, including at the beheadings during the Reign of Terror (1792-1794).<sup>114</sup> The melody has the by now familiar 6/8 time with upbeat. The rhythm is jumpy and suggests a wild dance. The ambitus is an octave and the melody moves stepwise with occasional jumps, mainly of thirds. The refrain of the Dutch lyrics uses the original French words, clearly enhancing the revolutionary connotations.

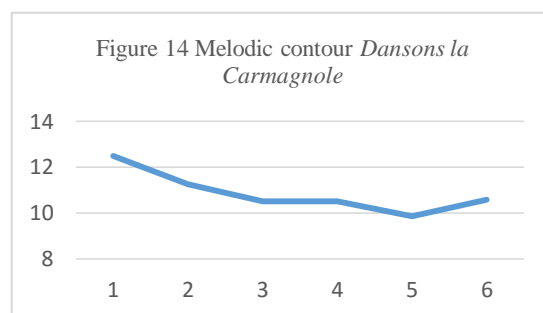
### Melody *Dansons la Carmagnole*

O lie - ve Vrij - heid, dier - baapand! O lie - ve Vrij - heid, dier - baar pand! O  
 roem en eer van Ne - der - land! O roem en eer van Ne - der - land! Te lang, te wreed ver -  
 drukt, Zijden sta - len dwang ont - rukt Dans - ons le Car - mag - no - le Vi - ve le son Vi - ve le  
 son Dan - sons le Car mag - no - le Vi - ve le son du Ca - non.---

Figure 13 The first verse of *Stem der Vrijheid*

The form scheme is AAB. In the graph, the repetition of the first phrases has been omitted. Overall, the melody shows a descending line.

*La Marseillaise* has become the iconic song of the French Revolution and, as apparent from table 3, was also popular in the Netherlands.



The lyrics and music were written in 1792 by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle (1760-1836), who intended the march as a battle song for the French army. The tune was supposed to frighten the enemy, contributing to the army's victory. According to Frijhoff, the song has never lost its character of a revolutionary song after it became the French national anthem. He

<sup>113</sup> Anne H. Mulder, *Dansons la Carmagnole: Fransche Caprices en Fransche Soldaten* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1952), 13-15.

<sup>114</sup> Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, "The French Occupation of Lucca and its effect on Music," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 293.

also suggests that the music did not have a nationalistic character in the Netherlands, but was used as a freedom song.<sup>115</sup> This is confirmed by the two songs with this melody in *Bataafsche liederen*. The first, *Aan de Bataafsche meisjes*, celebrates freedom and refers to the power of singing. The second, *Aan de eerste bewerkers der omwenteling*, praises the courage and the sacrifices of the revolutionaries. Each verse ends with the same phrase: Triumph! Triumph! our sun of liberty has risen.<sup>116</sup> *La Marseillaise* (fig. 15) is a more complex song than those previously discussed. The march rhythm and the frequent use of dotted notes emphasize its military character. The call to arms in the French lyrics is musically depicted by a prolonged high note on e'', which resembles a martial trumpet (measure 19 and 21). As in the French original, the Dutch lyrics have an a-vowel on these high notes, enhancing the effect of the trumpet. The text of the last lines is repeated in every verse and functions as a refrain. The time is 4/4 with an upbeat and the ambitus is a ninth. Large jumps in the melody are more frequent than in the previous songs.

#### Melody *La Marseillaise*

Voor u o jeugd-ge En - ge - lin - nen Ba-taaf-sche meis-jes span-nen  
 4 wij Daar we'u puik - schoo nen vu - rig min-nen De'fik-se snaa - ren, vrij en\_  
 8 blij De'fik-se snaa - ren\_ vrij en\_ blij De tin - tel vonk - jes in uwe  
 12 oo - gen Zoo on be - paald in haar be - stuur Zijnhet voed - zel voor ons zang-rig  
 16 vuur En'voed-en steeds ons dicht-ver - mo - gen Wel - aan\_ dan lie - ve  
 20 stoet Zing, daar't\_ de Vrij-heid geldt De dwang, de dwang,  
 25 dat mon - ster - dier Ligt\_ voor\_ al-toos ge - veld.

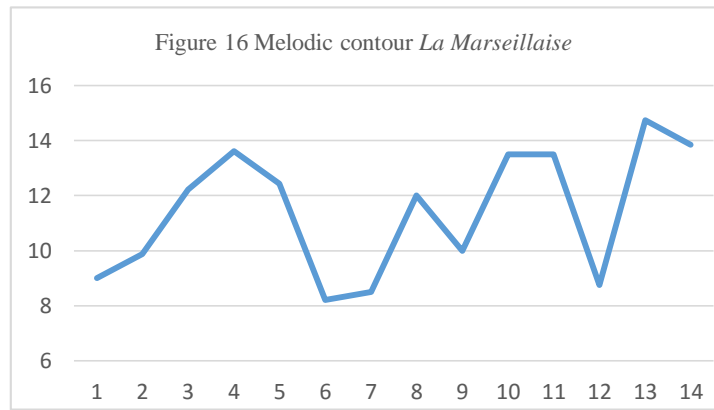
Figure 15 The first verse of *Aan de Bataafsche meisjes*

<sup>115</sup> Willem Frijhoff, "Metamorfosen van de Marseillaise," *Volkkundig Bulletin* 24 (1998): 128, 140-143.

<sup>116</sup> To the Batavian women; To the first revolutionaries. Last sentence: Triumph, triumph, De Vrijheidszon is voor ons opgegaan.

The pattern of the melody is also much more varied than the songs previously discussed. It shows several melodic arches but there is no distinct overall pattern.

Not much is known about the remaining four French-titled melodies. The first occurrence of *Le*



*traquenard* (The trap) in the Song Database dates back to 1672 and praises the merits of Dutch beer as opposed to French wine.<sup>117</sup> It was used with all sorts of lyrics, such as drinking songs and theatre songs. The texts were often satirical. This is the way the melody is used in *Bataafsche liederen*, where the song pokes fun at the Orangists who have lost their king. *Que mon Colin* was very short-lived; there are only three versions in the Song Database. The first, written by Gerrit Manheer, is the complaint of a man whose wife is cheating on him. The second is an Orangist song, in which the writer says that patriotic fools may dance around liberty trees now but things will change in the future.<sup>118</sup> The song *Het is geschied* in *Bataafsche liederen* is a response to this earlier anti-revolutionary song. The melody *Je meurs de regret* is often referred to as *Wij dragen met gelijke zinnen* in the Song Database. This is a text that thematises the equality of people in that everyone is equally subject to the whims of faith. It may have been chosen because of this connotation. *Un matin brusquement*, used once in *Bataafsche liederen* and for the *Zang op het vrijheids-feest*, is again intertwined with the patriotic symbol of freedom, the sun and the break of dawn.

The connotations and the musical characteristics of the discussed melodies are summarized in tables 4 and 5. The majority of the melodies seems to have been chosen to enhance the message of the lyrics. Three of the melodies that have been discussed in detail occur over a hundred times in the Song Database and were popular for more than two centuries: *Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont*, *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*, and *On doit soixante milles francs*. The musical characteristics of these tunes are similar and may have contributed to their popularity. The songs have a dance rhythm, repetitive elements, and melodic arches. The

<sup>117</sup> First line: 'k Laet Louys sijn Fransse Wijn (Louis can keep his French wine), from the songbook *Het Haerlems Leeuwerckje*. The same song was published in *Het Prince Liet-boeck* (1675), in which also two other anti-French songs appeared using the same melody.

<sup>118</sup> *De ongelovige* (The disbeliever) in *Het Zangeresje aan de Maas* (The singer at the Meuse) 1794; *De Revolutie* (The Revolution), ca. 1795.

repetitions facilitate learning the melody and also make it suitable for community singing. Dancing was very popular in the Netherlands although dance culture had disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>119</sup> Dance music, however, may have survived longer in songs like these.

Melodies	Connotation
Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein	Orangist
Avec les jeux dans le village	Patriotic
Azor azor en vain ma voix	No specific connotations
Dameet had lange tijd getracht	Patriotic
Dansons la carmagnole	Revolutionary
De wereld is in rep en roer	Orangist and patriotic
Français marchant au combat	Revolutionary
Gelijk de schone bloempjes kwijnen	Patriotic
Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont	Orangist
Ja Mimi in korte tijden	Better times in future
Je le compare avec Louis	No specific connotations
Je meurs de regrets	Revolutionary
La Marseillaise	Revolutionary
Le traquenard	Satirical
Lubin aime sa bergère	No specific connotations
Maudit amour raison sévère	No specific connotations
Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime	Better times in future
Que mon Colin	Patriotic
Un matin brusquement	Patriotic
Waar Phoebus' glans	Patriotic
Wanneer de zon het morgenrood	Patriotic

Table 4 Connotations of the melodies from 1795

Melodies	time	mode	ambitus	upbeat	contour	rhythm	repetition
Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein	6/8	major	octave	yes	convex	dance	AAB
Avec les jeux dans le village	3/4	major	octave	no	concave	simple	ABCC
Dansons la carmagnole	6/8	major	octave	yes	descending	dance	AAB
De wereld is in rep en roer	6/8	major	ninth	yes	convex	varied	repetitive elements
Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont	6/8	major	octave	yes	convex	dance	AAB
La Marseillaise	4/4	major	ninth	yes	no overall pattern	march	repetitive elements
Wanneer de zon het morgenrood	4/4	minor	tenth	yes	convex, two peaks	varied	AAB

Table 5 Musical characteristics of the melodies from 1795

<sup>119</sup> Joan Rimmer, "Dance and Dance Music in the Netherlands in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," *Early Music* 14 (1986): 218.



The discussed songs provide a view of the pivotal year 1795. The country was on a threshold. The patriots won their case and responsibility for the rule of the country was now theirs. They had to invent a new political system which would allow for democratic influence by the people. For this, they needed law and order, but above all, the patriots needed unity. A coherent society that would function as a family was their ideal.<sup>120</sup> This required a national identity for all citizens, including the former Orangists. The next chapter will discuss the year 1814, when friendship with the French has ended and the House of Orange has been reinstalled, to see how these developments further influenced the construction of a national identity.

### 3. For Freedom, Prince, and Fatherland

In the twenty years that followed the Batavian revolution, the country changed from a republic of independent provinces into a monarchy with a central government. The French did not occupy the Dutch territory in 1795, but left it to the patriots to form a new republic. In return, they demanded large sums of money and installed a contingent of French military troops to keep the order. The first years of the Batavian Republic (1795-1806) are characterized by political disagreements, not only between Orangists and patriots, but also between different patriotic factions. A central government was formed in 1798, but in practice this was not readily accepted by the provincial institutions and they regained power in 1801. In the meantime, Napoleon, in power since 1799, tightened his grip on the Netherlandish territory. He became impatient with the ongoing political disagreements and demanded more money and troops. When he went to war with England, he decided that he needed a satellite state as a buffer zone on the continent. In 1806, he created the Kingdom of Holland, and installed his younger brother Louis Napoleon on the throne.

Louis' main goal was to reunite the divided country and he centralised the government and the legislation. He also tried to reinforce national virtues. To this end, he promoted the arts, sciences, and education by founding national museums and libraries, and he protected and nurtured the Dutch language. He tried to offer an emblematic king and national institutions in order to bring people together as a community. He achieved his aim only

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<sup>120</sup> Rosendaal, "Bataven! Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795," 516, 528.

partially. Louis was an autocrat who returned privileges and political power to the nobility. In particular, his luxurious lifestyle was criticized.<sup>121</sup> Louis never commanded the Dutch army to defend his country. He was unable to be a true national leader and there was no bonding between the country and the king. On the contrary, his rule increased anti-French and patriotic sentiments among the Dutch people and enhanced an interest in their history.<sup>122</sup> In this sense, Louis united people and contributed to the construction of a national identity. Napoleon was not content with his achievements and in 1810, Louis abdicated the throne and retreated to Austria. The Kingdom of Holland was annexed by France and the next three years became known as the Incorporation.

Napoleon's reign caused even more social and economic unrest. His Continental Blockade, which prevented trade with England, ruined the country's economy. Many young men were forcefully recruited into his armies and died in his wars. In 1813, Napoleon's position in Europe weakened and riots broke out in the Netherlands. The rebels wore orange ribbons, the colour of stadholder William of Orange. William V had died in 1806, but his son William Frederick returned to the Netherlands in December 1813, at the request of a provisional government. This government decided that the country would maintain a central administration and William Frederick became king William I. The last French troops in the country were forcibly removed. The Dutch had grown to resent the French revolutionary ideals and now strove for reconciliation and unity.<sup>123</sup>

The republican past had shaped the Dutch national identity. The values of liberty, independence, and equality of citizens were highly appreciated. The Dutch considered themselves moderate and modest people and they resented the pomp of a royal court. Yet, they had accepted Louis' reign without much resistance. According to Wyger Velema, it is likely that republican ideals were exhausted and lost their ability to inspire people.<sup>124</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt elaborate further. The Dutch had been deeply divided, even fighting a civil war in the 1780s, but unity was gradually restored after 1800, when political quarrels were resolved and both camps closed ranks in a shared hostility towards the French. During the process, conceptions of the nation were redefined. The Dutch nation was no longer defined by a political system, but by a shared history, language, and culture. Kloek and Mijnhardt

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<sup>121</sup> Judith Amsenga and Geertje Dekkers, "*Wat nu?*," *zei Pichegru: De Franse Tijd in Nederland, 1795-1813* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 41-67.

<sup>122</sup> Annie Jourdan, "Staats- en Natievorming in de Tijd van Lodewijk Napoleon," *De Negentiende Eeuw* 30 (2006): 143-146.

<sup>123</sup> Amsenga and Dekkers, "*Wat nu?*," *zei Pichegru*, 80-84, 90.

<sup>124</sup> Wyger R.E. Velema, "Lodewijk Napoleon en het Einde van de Republikeinse Politiek," *De Negentiende Eeuw* 30 (2006): 149-150, 158.

suggest that this transformed nation-concept may partially explain why the Netherlands, although deeply republican at heart, accepted the monarchy so smoothly.<sup>125</sup>

## Sources

In what way does this redefined nation-concept reveal itself in the songs of the time? How did the political turbulence influence the Dutch identity? How did the Dutch oppose to their new enemies, the French? To answer these questions, the songbook *Liederen voor en door Vrienden van Vrijheid, Vaderland en Oranje*, published in 1814, has been analysed. This songbook was chosen over *De Vrolyke Nederlander* (1814-1815) because while both books contain political songs, *Liederen* includes a number of songs that were written during the years of occupation.<sup>126</sup> These songs may provide insight into modes of resistance against the French. Furthermore, the lyrics in *Liederen* can be partially attributed to former patriots, providing an opportunity to compare the language and choice of melodies with the sources of 1795. *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* was published by A. Loosjes Pz. in Haarlem. Besides publisher, Adriaan Loosjes (1761-1818) was a patriotic writer and very interested in national characteristics. The protagonist of his novel *Het Leven van Maurits Lijnslager* exemplifies all the good qualities of the Dutch people in contrast with other nations. Lotte Jensen characterizes Loosjes' work as resistance literature, in which he 'distinguishes between the Dutch people, who are virtuous, tolerant, hard-working folk, and foreigners (read: the French), who are mean and loathsome.'<sup>127</sup> Loosjes, and several other writers of resistance literature, such as Jan Frederik Helmers (1767-1813) and Hendrik Tollens (1780-1856), contributed to the construction of a national self-image with their writings.

Loosjes was also one of the founders of *Democriet*, a literary society of poets in Haarlem, whose members aimed to produce witty and deliberately boorish poems and songs. Izaak van Westerkappel Jr., the only identified author in the previously discussed *Bataafsche liederen*, was also a founder.<sup>128</sup> The songs in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* are anonymous, but Bert Sliggers has established that Loosjes wrote four of them and he considers it plausible

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<sup>125</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 236-239.

<sup>126</sup> Songs for and by Friends of Freedom, Fatherland and Orange. Siglum in Dutch Song Database LiVoDoVr 1814. A scan of the text is available on <https://books.google.nl/books?id=KJ1TAAAACAAJ&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false>, accessed October 27, 2015.

<sup>127</sup> Jensen, "The Dutch against Napoleon: Resistance Literature and National Identity, 1806-1813," 14.

<sup>128</sup> R. Schravendeel, "Patriotten en Poëten: Letterkundige Genootschappelijkheid bij Democriet," in *De Verborgene Wereld van Democriet: Een Kolderiek en Dichtlievend Genootschap te Haarlem 1789-1869*, ed. Bert Sliggers (Haarlem: Schuyt, 1995), 29.

that other members of *Democriet* also contributed to the collection.<sup>129</sup> This might explain the large number (40%) of satirical and allegorical songs in the book. The society had a patriotic history. From the early 1790s onwards, their writing was deeply political and satirical, criticizing William V, the aristocracy, and the Roman Catholic Church. After the Batavian Revolution of 1795, an oppositional attitude was no longer required. The society became less politically involved and its members welcomed William I as cordially as they had welcomed the French in 1795.<sup>130</sup>

Four copies of the songbook remain, all kept in the Royal Library in The Hague.<sup>131</sup> The books are approximately 16x10 cm and printed on quality paper (fig. 1). The title page is printed in colour. The pages of KW 32K37 are gilt-edged on the top. It was probably rebound because the endpapers are made of different paper than the inner pages and it does not open easily. It was in the collection of the book collector F.G. Waller (1867-1934). KW 12J10 shows signs of repair and, again, the binding must have been redone because the inner margins are very small. This exemplar was also in a private collection; it contains an Ex Libris with a number, but the owner is unknown. KW Pfl 23275 has a neutral cover and was rebound by the Royal Library.<sup>132</sup> Exemplar 9067 E 17 (9) has become part of a so-called *convoluut*, a collection of separate publications that were bound together in one cover. The other publications in 9067 E 17 also concern the events in 1813-1815. Apart from 9067 E 17 (9), all exemplars show signs of use.

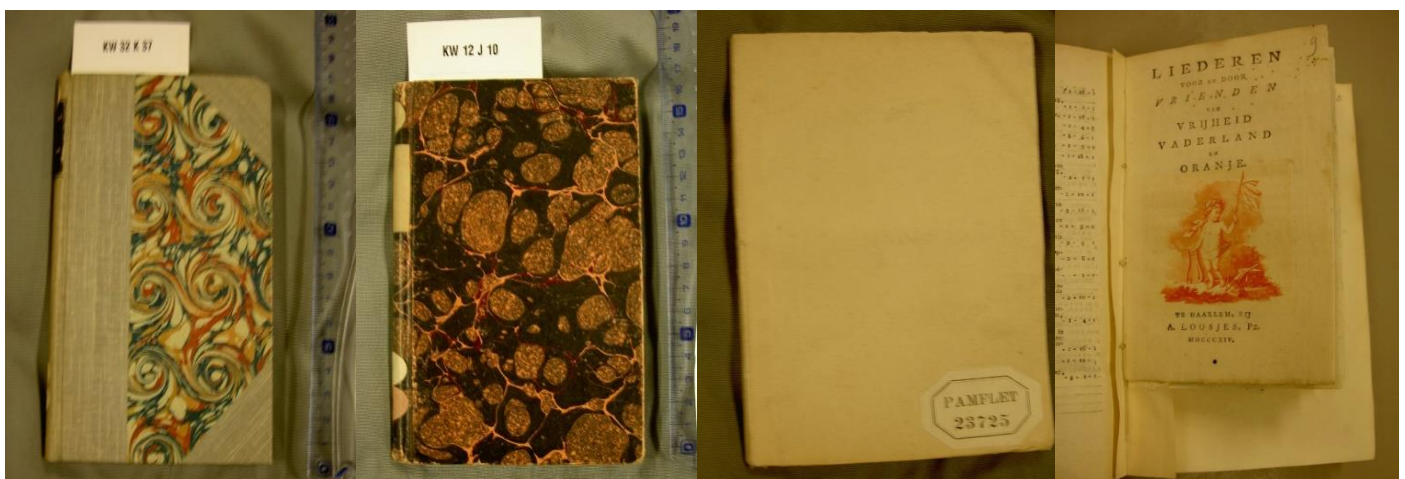


Figure 2 The four exemplars of *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* of the Royal Library in The Hague, from left to right: KW 32K37, KW 12J10, KW Pfl 23275, 9067 E 17 [9]

<sup>129</sup> Bert Sliggers, ed., *De Verborgene Wereld van Democriet: Een Kolderiek en Dichtlievend Genootschap te Haarlem 1789-1869* (Haarlem: Schuyt, 1995), 224.

<sup>130</sup> Schravendeel, "Patriotten en Poëten," 30-31.

<sup>131</sup> Call numbers KW 32K37, 9067 E 17 (9), KW 12J10, KW Pfl 23275.

<sup>132</sup> Information of Royal Library employee, December 4, 2015.

## Lyrics

The songs in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* are listed in the following table.

Title <sup>133</sup>	Text incipit	Melody	No. of verses
Welkomgroet aan Z.K.H. Willem Frederik bij het betreden van het Hollandsch strand	't Wilhelmus van Nassouwen	Wilhelmus	5
Vreugde-lied op de heugelijke omwenteling van 19 november 1813	Hoezee, de Vrijheid werd hersteld	Wat drommel is er in de kist *	3
De hoop	U zing ik, verzachtende balsem!	Es kann ja nicht immer so bleiben	6
Eendragt maakt magt	o Eendragt! band der maatschappij	De wereld is in rep en roer	9
Aan krijgsgevangen Spanjaarden door Haarlem naar De Helder gevoerd wordende	Dit zijn, dit zijn dan de achterneven	Contre les chagrins de la vie	6
'T kan verkeeren	De zoete hoop is lijdens troost	Men voer de kudde bij elkaar	3
Oproeping aan Nederland	Thans herleeft de moed der vaadren	Le déserteur Ouverture	3
Als de kok en bottelier kijft weet men waar de boter blijft	't Blijft lang bedekt, als groote Heeren	Ik zag een walvis in de bomen	3
Een Oranje snuffje, Napoleon aangeboden door de Nederlandsche maagd	o Groote Koopman in Tabak!	De wereld is in rep en roer	10
Het geduld	Edel kruidje, / Nuttig spruitje	Altijd rustig altijd lustig	7
Vrees en hoop	o Bange vrees! zoudt gij ons nog beroeren,	Vergeet mij niet bij blijdschaps	6
De jongelingen	Wij zullen voor de vrijheid waken,	Avec les jeux dans le village	4
Op een hiacintje, genaamd primo Januarii, dat op den kortsten dag bloeide	Zijt welkom Bloempje, in 't kortste van de dagen,	Te bien aimer ô ma chère Zélie	4
De verheugde Nederlandsche kruidenier	Vrienden! loopt mij niet voorbij	Al gaf koning Hendrik mij	6
Het vaderlandsche meisje	'k Min een jongling kloek en frisch,	Jean de Nivelles	6
Nieuwjaarslied Voor het heilbelovende Jaar 1814	Hoezee! Hoezee! zoo'n Nieuwejaar	Wat drommel is er in de kist *	6
Willem van Oranje	Wilhelmus van Nassouwen!	Wilhelmus	15
De boekcensuur	Wat monster zit daar in dien hoek?	Jadis un célèbre empereur	8
De bedelaars	Vreeslijk raakten wij van huis	Jean de Nivelles	3
Vaderlandsch studenten-lied	Heil ons! wij zijn weer vrij	God save the King	6
De voorzigtigheid	Eedle moeder van de kassen	Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen *	12
Triomf-lied	Zingt Victorie! / Op de glorie	Altijd rustig altijd lustig	4
De verstandige hovenier	Hij, die de Tuinkunst wel verstaat,	Jadis un célèbre empereur	3
De ouderwetsche patriot	Dat vrij andren slooven, woelen,	Arm en nederig is mijn hutje	8
'T is brij zonder boter	't Eenvoudig kostje veler lieden	Begluckt, der die geliebte findet *	4
De basiliskus eijeren	Daar loopt het heen, dat leelijk dier	Het was vandaag zo vreselijk heet	22
Offer der Nederlandsche vrouwen	Dat moed en man en jongeling	Femmes voulez-vous éprouver	5

Table 1 Songs in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden van Vrijheid, Vaderland en Oranje*

<sup>133</sup> See Appendix B for a translation. The tunes marked with an asterisk have not been identified in the Song Database. In all other cases, the table lists the tune family.

The political changes in the years between 1795 and 1814 are revealed in the language of the songs. Although the Dutch considered themselves free from the bondages of slavery in both 1795 and 1814, the word ‘freedom’ is less emphasized in 1814. This time, expressions of joy are more present. The songs describe singing and cheering, and use exclamations such as *Oranje boven* and *Hoezee*. Every verse in the *Vreugde-lied* starts with *Hoezee* and the *Nieuwjaarslied* opens with: ‘Hoezee! Hoezee! Zoo’n Nieuwejaar beleefden we in geen tijden’.<sup>134</sup>

Much of the patriotic rhetoric has disappeared. Expressions derived from antiquity are rarely used. Instead of Gauls, the French are simply called French, and Albion has changed into England or Britain. The word Belgians is used only once, in the song *Vrees en hoop* (Fear and hope). Some of the patriotic expressions linger. Batavian ancestry is mentioned in three of the songs. The song *Willem van Oranje* commemorates the arch-father of the Oranges and describes how he expelled the Spanish enemy with his Batavians. *Welkomgroet aan Z.K.H. Willem Frederik* relates that Orange blood is beloved by Bato’s offspring. Both songs were written to the melody *Wilhelmus*. The third mention of a Batavian ancestry is in the song *Aan krijgsgesvangenen Spanjaarden*, written in 1811 by Adriaan Loosjes. The writer describes the transportation of Spanish prisoners of war and states that the old hatred has disappeared. The fourth verse begins: ‘Disastrous people! Bato’s descendants look at you with compassion.’ The phrase ‘free or dead’ is used in two songs; both times in relation to the struggle that is still needed to drive the remaining French troops out of the country.<sup>135</sup> The revolutionary values of liberty, equality, and fraternity are not mentioned at all. The Rights of Man are mentioned once, in *De Ouderwetsche Patriot*. Here a former patriot, who has willingly accepted the rule of Orange, declares that he will defend his rights as a free man.<sup>136</sup>

The *Bataafsche liederen* uses patriotic imagery that symbolized freedom abundantly: the sun, the tree, and the maiden of liberty. Again, this imagery has virtually disappeared in *Lieder en voor en door Vrienden*, although occasionally dawn or the sun is mentioned. For instance, in *Aan de krijgsgesvangenen Spanjaarden*, the writer hopes that the sun of peace will rise for the Spaniards. The garden is another patriotic image; the patriots compared the country to a garden of Eden that was purified from Orange evil.<sup>137</sup> This image was hardly

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<sup>134</sup> New Year song, first verse: Hurray, hurray, we have not had such a New Year in ages.

<sup>135</sup> In *Oproeping aan Nederland* (Call to arms for the Netherlands) and *Vrees en hoop* (Fear and hope).

<sup>136</sup> The old-fashioned patriot, verses two and six.

<sup>137</sup> Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het Vaderland*, 127.

used in *Bataafsche liederen*, but *Lieder* uses it in some of the satirical songs. For instance, in *Een Oranje snuifje*, the Dutch maiden has returned to the garden from which she was expelled. In *De verstandige hovenier*, a gardener pulls the hazardous Corsican weed from his garden. In this example, associations with the destroyed weed have been transferred from William V to Napoleon.

The ways in which the Dutch people are addressed in the lyrics have not dramatically changed in comparison with 1795. The songs mainly refer to the people as Netherlanders, although the word Hollander is used more often this time. Words such as burgers, brothers, or *volk* were used in both reference years. One word that is foregrounded in 1814 is unity. Although the Batavians also strove for unity, the word was rarely mentioned in *Bataafsche liederen*. In contrast, ‘unity’ is a frequently used and valued word in the 1814 source. Several texts point to the discord between patriots and Orangists. In the lyricists’ opinions, this was the reason behind all the trouble, and they express hope that harmony will be restored. An example is *De jongelingen*, which declares that Orange is the strength of the unity bond and continues:

‘Wij voelen ‘t hart voor Eendragt gloeijen  
En vloeken twist en eigenbaat;  
De Tweedragt sloeg ons in de boeijen,  
Geholpen door het snoodst verraad.  
Wie zou dan de Tweedragt niet schuwen,  
Zij is de pest der maatschappij;  
Wij zullen voor dat monster gruwen,  
En Nederland blijft eeuwig vrij (tweem.)’<sup>138</sup>

The *Nieuwjaars lied* expresses this sentiment in an even stronger manner: ‘we are not divided by political colour or religion’ and ‘the public good is every one’s good.’<sup>139</sup> Two songs explicitly make use of the phrase ‘unity makes strength,’ which was the motto of the Seven United Provinces. One song is actually titled *Eendragt maakt magt* and is an ode to the unity that has made the fatherland prosper and will do so again in the future. The *Vreugde-lied* ends with: unity makes strength grow. By mentioning this phrase, the song refers to old values and brings to mind the glory days of the Republic.

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<sup>138</sup> The young men, third verse. We feel our hearts glow for unity, and curse controversy and selfishness; the discord has chained us, assisted by foul betrayal. Who would not shy away from discord which is the plague of society; we will abhor that monster and the Netherlands will be free forever (twice).

<sup>139</sup> *Nieuwjaars lied*: Wij zijn door politiek gevoel, noch Godsdienst onderscheiden [...] Het heil van ‘t algemeen is ‘t heil van ieder een. Sixth verse, lines one, two, five and six.

This is how several other songs operate as well. The mentioning of ‘old glory’ signifies how the Batavian myth was replaced by the myth of the Golden Age, a process which began around 1800. According to Van Sas, this is also the time when Dutch culture became a national culture.<sup>140</sup> The Dutch began to take pride in a more recent past instead of a mythical antiquity. The glorious past of the seventeenth century, when the Republic was at the pinnacle of its power and wealth, contributed to Dutch national identity. For example, seventeenth-century painters of the Dutch school often chose simple scenes from daily life as their subjects. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, these paintings were thought to represent Dutch taste and character.<sup>141</sup> This homeliness is not so apparent in the songs in 1814, but the texts do express the hope that prosperity will be regained. *Eendragt maakt magt* suggests that through unity every family will prosper and a ‘thousand wells will flow.’ The song *Willem van Oranje* uses the same image and wishes that the wells of prosperity will flow for farmers and burgers. *Vrees en hoop* compares the country to a phoenix that has risen from the ashes.<sup>142</sup> These expressions also reflect the poverty and other hardships endured during French occupation. The title of the song ‘*T is brij zonder boter*,’ written in 1812, is a proverb that describes the meagre years, comparing them to porridge that is tasteless without butter.

References to the ‘old courage of the fathers’ return us even further to the past, to the sixteenth century when the Dutch successfully fought the Spanish. Kloek and Mijnhardt consider the Revolt against the rule of the Spanish king Philip II the beginning of conceptions of a shared Dutch culture and common fatherland. The Revolt led to the formation of the Republic and the establishment of the relationship between the Netherlands and its rulers, the House of Orange.<sup>143</sup> When the songs of 1814 were written, French troops still remained in the country, and several texts call upon citizens to arm themselves, to be as brave as their forefathers, and to hunt down the last gangs of French ‘thieves and murderers.’<sup>144</sup> They remind the Dutch of their struggle for freedom against the Spanish rule. The song *Eendragt maakt magt* claims that only unity enabled the Dutch to liberate themselves from Spanish slavery. Several songs attribute the success of the war against Spain to the House of

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<sup>140</sup> Van Sas, “The Netherlands: A Historical Phenomenon,” 43.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>142</sup> *Eendragt maakt magt*, verse eight. *Willem van Oranje*, verse four. *Vrees en hoop*, verse three.

<sup>143</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een Samenleving*, 214-215.

<sup>144</sup> Examples are *Vrees en hoop*, *De jongelingen*, *Het vaderlandsche meisje*.



Orange.<sup>145</sup> The *Offer der Nederlandsche Vrouwen* does just this, mentioning ‘father William’ who tore the Netherlands out of the hands of Spanish criminals.

The return of William Frederick to the Netherlands is the subject of several songs and a cause of great joy. The *Welkomgroet* describes how ‘young and old’ sing, now that William has landed on the Netherlandish beach. *Vrees en hoop* tells of William’s return as a king to protect his country.<sup>146</sup> As a descendant of the House of Orange, he is perceived as ‘of our blood.’ The image of the king as a returning father who will take care of his citizens fits well with previous Batavian notions of the ideal society as a family. *De verstandige hovenier* voices this sentiment as follows:

‘Zal ook een Vorst met kloek verstand  
En vaderzorg den Staat regeren,  
Dan moet hij met een vaste hand  
’t Staatkundig kwaad zorgvuldig weren.’<sup>147</sup>

The songs illustrate the changing relationship between the Netherlands and the House of Orange. The stadholders were inextricably linked to the collective memory and as the concept of the nation changed, so did the relationship between the country and the House of Orange. Before 1795, Orange was a part of the political system and the existing order. After 1813, Orange represented the national civilization, its history, and its values. The Dutch considered themselves free and modest citizens who rejected luxurious courts. Yet they readily accepted their new monarch and William I was incorporated into the Dutch collective identity. He became a protecting and unifying father figure who had the well-being of his people at heart.<sup>148</sup> E.J. Krol’s findings confirm this. She investigated poems written around 1813-1815 about William I. From these texts it is apparent that the Dutch court was seen as sober, without the despised splendour. In part, Krol sees this as an ideal from the Enlightenment, one that prefers a simple life to luxury. In the Netherlands, this concept manifested itself in subdued royal displays, in contrast with foreign extravagance. The Dutch considered themselves bourgeois and homely, and so should be their king. In many of the

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<sup>145</sup> Such as *Oproeping aan Nederland, Willem van Oranje*.

<sup>146</sup> *Welkomgroet*, second verse, *Vrees en hoop*, fifth verse.

<sup>147</sup> If a prince with brains wants to govern the state with fathering care, he will have to avert the political evil with a firm hand.

<sup>148</sup> Joris van Eijnatten, “Oranje en Nederland zijn één: Orangisme in de Negentiende Eeuw,” *De Negentiende Eeuw* 23 (1999): 9-12.

poems that Krol cites the king is portrayed as a father who looks after the happiness of his children, the citizens.<sup>149</sup> The songs cited above express the same emotion.

Religion is more explicitly present in the songs of 1814 than in the songs of 1795. References to God or the bible are made in eight songs (22%). Sometimes, these are merely in the form of adjectives, such as ‘godly hope’ or ‘god-less monster.’ But God is also addressed in direct ways, for instance in the third verse of *Oproeping aan Nederland*: God, unite us as one man. In *Vrees en hoop*, the country rises from the ashes on God’s word and *Willem van Oranje* presents: in God we trust. The old-fashioned patriot begs God to help Orange and the fatherland. Still, religion is not dominant in the lyrics. This may be because 40% of the songs has satirical content in which the French or Napoleon are ridiculed without allusions to religion.

In the years between 1795 and 1814, friends and enemies switched and this influenced the lyrics of songs. Portrayals of friendly nations are virtually non-existent in the *Liederen*. The allied forces appear occasionally but only in the form of a list, such as in *Een Oranje snuifje*, where the fourth verse begins: ‘The Russian, the Prussian, the Brit and the Swede, they avert all the misery from my garden.’ One song that mentions the British is *De boekcensuur* (The book censor), in which French censorship is depicted as a monster with two glasses, a horse’s head, and donkey ears. The song posits that the Dutch, like the free British, have regained freedom of the press. In 1795, the British were portrayed as slaves to their king, and in 1814, they are seen as free people ‘like us.’ The most dramatic change in opinion concerns the French, who became the enemy instead of friends and brothers. Besides the customary denominations of despotic tyrants, the French are seen as robbers and thieves who exploited the Dutch and squeezed the country’s resources. The song *De verheugde Nederlandsche kruidenier* refers to sizeable taxes in designating the French as ‘tolgebroed’ or ‘tolgespuis’ (toll rabble).

After Napoleon’s reign, the Dutch needed to redevelop a national identity. This was done through strong reactions against Napoleon and the French. In pamphlets from the time, Napoleon is described as a tyrant, a cruel predator, and a suppressor of freedom, in short, the personification of Evil itself. The same hostile image had been attributed to stadholder William V and was simply used for a different person. The prince of Orange was now portrayed positively, as the opposite of Napoleon, and likewise, the Dutch people defined

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<sup>149</sup> E. J. Krol, “‘Verdienste blinkt op Neêrlands Troon’: Gelegenheidsgedichten rond de Komst van Koning Willem I,” *De Negentiende Eeuw* 23 (1999): 23-28.

themselves in opposition to the French.<sup>150</sup> The clearest example of this othering process can be found in Loosjes' song *De basiliskus eijeren* (The eggs of the basilisk). Karen Desmond describes the medieval connotations of this mythical, hybrid animal. It was considered the most dangerous animal of all and thought to be able to kill with a glance. Its upper half was a cock and its lower half a snake.<sup>151</sup> The basilisk in the song is a metaphor for France, probably chosen either because the cock was a symbol of France or because of the basilisk's deadly connotations. The eggs symbolize undesirable French characteristics and in the song, they are destroyed one by one to prevent them from contaminating Dutch character any further. The eggs represent consecutively: the French language, flattery, fashion-consciousness, haughtiness, the hunt for lucrative jobs, gallantry, frivolousness, and last but not least, an empty egg that portrays the French as windbags. Something similar happens in *Het vaderlandsche meisje*. A woman sings of her lover who exemplifies the ideal Dutchman in contrast with French windbags. The Dutch image of the French is to a large extent consistent with the negative stereotypes described by Beller and Leerssen who present an overview of French characteristics in which supposed French fickleness is a constant factor. Positive images of France can be summarized by notions of civilization; the French are civilized in manner, clothing, taste, and cuisine. These attributes however are easily viewed with negative connotations as decadence, vanity, and frivolity.<sup>152</sup>

The growing resistance against the French, particularly in the years of the Incorporation, strengthened and reshaped Dutch national identity. According to Johan Joor, the French period is often characterized by historians as quiet. The Dutch seemingly accepted French rule with resignation and without much protest. However, as Joor has convincingly demonstrated, the story is more nuanced. He investigated the period of the Kingdom of Holland and the French Incorporation (1806-1813). Based on administrative archives, police reports, and judicial sources, he concludes there were several kinds of active and passive resistance in the forms of unrest, incitement, and unwillingness to fulfil obligations imposed by the authorities.<sup>153</sup> Joor very briefly refers to songs as a means of protest. His sources rarely convey the content of these protest songs but he mentions one example. The forced departure

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<sup>150</sup> Matthijs Lok, "De Schaduwkoning: De Beeldvorming van Koning Lodewijk Tijdens de Restauratie," *De Negentiende Eeuw* 30 (2006): 273-275.

<sup>151</sup> Karen Desmond, "Refusal, the Look of Love, and the Beastly Woman of Machaut's Balades 27 and 38," *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 90.

<sup>152</sup> Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, eds., *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters, a Critical Survey* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 154-156.

<sup>153</sup> Joor, *De Adelaar en het Lam*, 39-42.

of conscripted soldiers, in early 1813 in Amersfoort, was accompanied by the crowd's singing of *Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein*, sung in French for the occasion.<sup>154</sup>

The six songs in *Liederen* that were written during the occupation support Joor's view.<sup>155</sup> Three of the songs are about hope. One of them refers to a well-known motto of the seventeenth-century writer Gerbrand Adriaenszn. Bredero (1585-1618): *het kan verkeeren*. The song states that hope strengthens the weak soul and that Bredero's motto always applies: things can change.<sup>156</sup> These hopeful songs can be classified as forms of passive resistance. The remaining three songs show a more active form of resistance, albeit in a veiled way. Two of the songs are satirical, both use butter as a metaphor for lost freedom and lost prosperity. The songs are framed as complaints against poverty and lack of food, but are also a protest against the occupation. The last song written during the occupation is the previously discussed song concerning Spanish prisoners which can be read as a condemnation of French violence.

Lotte Jensen uses a different source to support Joor's findings, namely literature. She combines resistance against the enemy with the need for the reinforcement of national feelings. The main themes for resistance writers were history and language, which they viewed as constitutive of a national identity.<sup>157</sup> Jensen situates the Dutch literature of the French period in the growing international resistance against Napoleon. In these times of crisis, writers emphasized the importance of the Dutch language and they praised the Dutch culture and its glorious past, by which they meant the seventeenth century. Language and a common history were considered the glue that bound the nation together. Jensen states that 'through literature, a shared national self-image and a sense of collective togetherness were constructed, which implied the exclusion of others (especially the French).'<sup>158</sup> Writers achieved this sense of togetherness by glorifying national heroes of the past or by describing the domestic lives of ordinary people. In doing so, they sketched an image of typical Dutch traits and values. Similar processes occurred in other European countries affected by the Napoleonic wars. Resistance to France's dominance, politically as well as culturally, and

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>155</sup> *De hoop* (The hope) 1809, *Aan krijgsgevangen Spanjaarden* (To the Spanish prisoners of war) 1811, *'T kan verkeeren* (Things can change) 1808, *Als de kok en bottelier kijft weet men waar de boter blijft* (One knows where the butter goes, when cook and butler quarrel) 1810, *Op een hiacintje* (To the hyacinth) 1811, *'T is brij zonder boter* (It is porridge without butter) 1812.

<sup>156</sup> The same motto is used in one of the 1795 songs to mock William V.

<sup>157</sup> Lotte Jensen, "Verzetsliteratuur en Nationale Identiteit, 1806-1813," in *Naties in een Spanningsveld: Tegenstrijdige Bewegingen in de Identiteitsvorming in Negentiende-eeuws Vlaanderen en Nederland*, ed. Nele Bemon et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 119-122.

<sup>158</sup> Jensen, "The Dutch against Napoleon: Resistance Literature and National Identity, 1806-1813," 7.

against the major changes that Europe experienced, led to nostalgic sentiments and to a cultivation of each country's own past.<sup>159</sup>

The beginning of these trends is recognizable in the song lyrics. As described earlier, the rulers of Orange were glorified as the heroic saviours of the country, in past and present. A song such as *De basiliskus eijeren* strongly contrasts French characteristics with Dutch characteristics and suggests the Dutch language needs to be kept 'pure.' The lyricists refer to old values that should be restored, such as freedom of the press or independent education, but also moral and virtuous behaviour, prudence, and simplicity. The thirteenth verse of the song *Willem van Oranje* summarizes it as follows:

'Niet meer die vreemde zeden,  
Die nieuwerwetsche trant,  
Die buitensporigheden  
In 't lieve Vaderland;  
Oud-Hollandsche manieren,  
Die voegen ons het best;  
De Fransche konkels tieren  
Maar in hun eigen nest.'<sup>160</sup>

The texts express the wish for the country to bloom and prosper again as it did during the magnificent seventeenth century. All these elements are signs of a growing sense of national identity, based on a common language, social habits, a shared history, and based on an opposition to others. This sense of national identity enhanced a feeling of togetherness for Netherlanders and thus contributed to the building of a nation. What follows will be an investigation of whether the melodies of the songs added to the construction of a national identity.

## **Melodies**

The selection from 1814 comprises twenty-seven songs which all provide a melody title. Twenty-three of the melodies have been identified in a tune family. As was the case with the songs from 1795, several melodies were used more than once, for a total of twenty-one unique melodies. In the songs from 1795, the majority of the songs had a French origin or title. In the

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>160</sup> The song William of Orange, verse thirteen: No more foreign customs, that new-fangled way, those extravagances, in the dear Fatherland; Old-fashioned Dutch manners suit us best; let the French slanderers brawl in their own nest.

songs from 1814 the picture is more varied (table 2). Again, most songs have a foreign title (67%), but this time not only French, but also German and English titles occur.

Language of the title or origin of the song	Number of melodies	Percentage
Dutch	7	33,3%
English	1	4,8%
French	9	42,9%
German	4	19,0%
Sum	21	100%

Table 2 Language or provenance of the 1814-melodies

A third of the melodies has a Dutch title. Once again, this does not imply that the melodies originated in the Netherlands, though the melodies may have been perceived as Dutch by audiences. The majority of the foreign melodies is French. This reflects the earlier popularity of French operatic melodies. Most of these tunes were well-known and popular. The Dutch-titled melodies that were used in *Liederen* are summarized in table 3.

Title	Number of occurrences in Dutch Song Database	Earliest occurrence	Latest occurrence
Arm en nederig is mijn hutje	60	1790	1964
Al gaf koning Hendrik mij	4	1801	1832
Altijd rustig altijd lustig	8	1814	1860
Het was vandaag zo vreselijk heet	7	1814	1832
Ik zag een walvis in de bomen	2	1814	1835
Men voer de kudde bij elkaar	4	1814	1842
Wat drommel is er in de kist	3	1814	1823

Table 3 Dutch-titled melodies

With the notable exception of *Arm en nederig is mijn hutje*, these melodies occur in a very low frequency in the Dutch Song Database. Moreover, four of them appear for the first time in 1814, which indicates they may have been new or little known at the time. It also means that probably no connotations were associated with the melodies from prior use. Most of the melodies were short-lived. It seems likely that these characteristics are related to the origins of

these songs in the *Democriet* society. The members may have chosen melodies that were only known within their circle.

The melody *Al gaf koning Hendrik mij* appears for the first time in the Song Database in a *Democriet* publication called *Vriendenzangen tot gezellige vreugd* (1801). Although several songs in the collection were printed with musical notation, this melody was only referred to with a title. The other appearances of *Al gaf koning Hendrik mij* in the Song Database are also songs from *Democriet* publications. The text in *Liederen* is the aforementioned grocer's song, who recommends all the quality goods that he can provide again now that the French occupiers have left. The text is witty and this also points to a *Democriet*-member.

Three of the four occurrences of *Men voer de kudde bij elkaar* can also be traced to *Democriet* members. The fourth version appeared in a collection assembled by the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, a society that the *Democriet* founders were involved in. The occurrences of the melody *Wat drommel is er in de kist* are again only *Democriet* songs. The melody *Altijd rustig altijd lustig* was used for the *Triomf-lied* and *Het geduld*. The melody is also used twice in *De Vrolyke Nederlander* (1814), where it is referred to as *Van de pom pom*. This suggests that it was a known tune. The first occurrence in the Song Database of the melody *Het was vandaag zo vreselijk heet* is in *Liederen*, where it was used for *De basiliskus eijeren*. The melody may have been known at the time, but this cannot be established. The two instrumental versions in the Song Database suggest a dance rhythm.

Very little is known about the melody *Ik zag een walvis in de bomen*. Its title refers to a popular song in which a traveller recalls peculiar dreams and describes impossible things, such as a whale in a tree in Rome.<sup>161</sup> The whale, probably a metaphor for the Roman Catholic clergy, sings a song in Latin, alternately in a loud and soft voice. In the *Liederen*, the melody is used for a satirical song about a quarrel between a cook and a butler that reveals the cause of the mysterious disappearance of butter, which is being smuggled into France. Perhaps the melody had anti-Catholic, and thus anti-French, connotations. Again, this suggests an involvement of *Democriet*.

*Arm en nederig is mijn hutje* was a popular melody for a long time. Adriaan Looosjes used it in 1801, referring to it with a French title, *Pauvre et petite est ma Cabane*. The tune

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<sup>161</sup> The Dutch Song Database contains twenty versions of this song, The singing traveller; accessed November 27, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=25291&actie=incipitnorm&lan=nl>. The story of the whale is told in the first verse. The text says: First I went to Rome. There was a whale in the trees, singing a song in Latin. He was able to mingle his voice so sweetly, now like a big clock, then like little bells, that is: crude and fine.

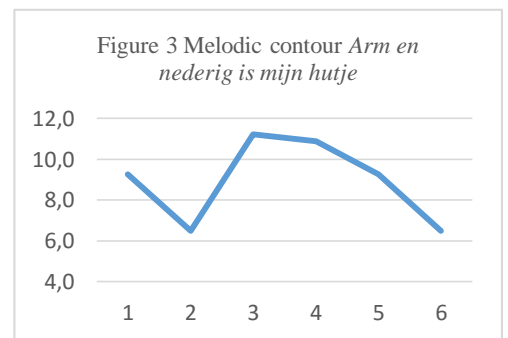
was also known under the German name *Arm und klein ist meine Hütte*. In the Netherlands, it was mainly used for songs of admonishment.<sup>162</sup> In *Liederen*, the melody is used for *De ouderwetsche patriot*, also written by Loosjes. Its premise is that the singer, an old-fashioned patriot, will never kneel to a sovereign. The song also sneers at fellow countrymen who are begging for jobs in The Hague. The melody may have been chosen because of its connotations of simplicity and humility. The music and the lyrics of the first verse are given in figure 2.

### Melody *Arm en nederig is mijn hutje*

Dat vrij and-ren slo - ven woe - len Bij de went-ling van ons lot Rang en  
 5 eer en schat\_\_be - doe - len 'kBen en blijf een\_\_pa-tri - ot Van den oud - er-wet-schen  
 10 stem - pel die steeds ei-gen - baat ver - ban en niet op den hoof - schen drem - pel om een  
 15 eer - post \_\_\_\_ beed - len kan.

Figure 2 First verse of *De ouderwetsche patriot*

The song has a 4/4 time with an upbeat. The ambitus is a ninth, from *e'* to *f''*. The form scheme is AABA. The figures of four eighths are mostly used for two syllables in this verse, but can easily accommodate up to four syllables. The repetition of the A-part facilitates the memorization of the melody. Almost all the phrases show a melodic arch and the overall contour of the melody is also arch-shaped. The graph (fig. 3) disregards the first repetition.



<sup>162</sup> For example: *Het verdraagzaam leeven van een Mench in Het Vermakelyk Vrouwe-tuintje* (1790); *Op het Vergenoegde Huwelyk in Aardige en Vermakelyke Joe, Joe, Joe* (1792); *Goedaardige Grietje in Volks-Liedjens, Uitgegeven door de Maatschappij tot nut van 't algemeen* (1807).



The majority of the melodies in *Liederen* have a foreign title, as listed in table 4.

Title	Number of occurrences in Dutch Song Database	Earliest occurrence	Latest occurrence
German			
Es kan ja nicht immer so bleiben	18	Ca. 1802	1940
Vergeet niet mij bij blijdschaps	6	1801	1900
Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen	1	1814	1814
Beglückt, wer die geliebte findet	1	1814	1814
English			
God save the King	72	1760	1948
French			
Wilhelmus	632	1558	heden
Jean de Nivelles	61	1634	1968
De wereld is in rep en roer	224	1768	1969
Le Deserteur Ouverture	9	1770	1850
Avec les jeux dans le village	60	1786	1930
Te bien aimer ô ma chère Zélie	9	1790	1840
Femmes voulez-vous éprouver	180	1791	1978
Contre les chagrins de la vie	78	1796	1967
Jadis un célèbre empereur	29	1806	1914

Table 4 Melodies with a foreign title

Some of these melodies were well-known in 1814 and had been in use for a considerable time, particularly the French-titled melodies. The German titles were less well known. *Es kan ja nicht immer so bleiben* was composed in 1802 by Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765-1814), on lyrics by August Friedrich Ferdinand v. Kotzebue (1761-1819). The original theme was the temporary nature of life and its message to enjoy the present moment because death is unavoidable. There was also a satirical German text about the ongoing Napoleonic wars.<sup>163</sup> The melody was used for *De hoop* (The hope), written during the occupation. In this case, it is not a warning that things will change for the worse, but rather the lyricist hopes things will change for the better. The melody may have been chosen either because of the idea of

<sup>163</sup> Accessed November 9, 2015, <http://ingeb.org/Lieder/eskannja.html>.

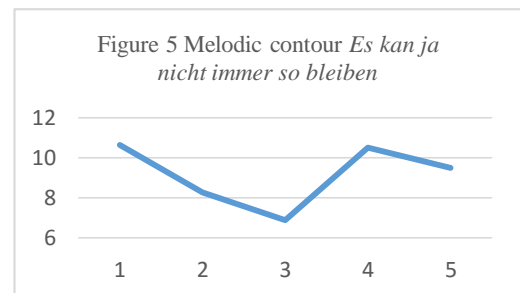
changing times, or because of its veiled, satirical connotations. Figure 4 presents the music and the text of the first verse.

### Melody *Es kan ja nicht immer so bleiben*

U zing ik, ver-zacht-en-de bal-sem Wat ramp ooit de  
 6 sterf-ling be-kroop U zing ik, o rijk-dom der ar-  
 12 men U zing ik, ver-troos-ten-de hoop! U zing ik, ver-  
 18 troos-ten-de hoop!

Figure 4 First verse of *De hoop*

Rhythmically, the melody is very simple with mostly quarter notes. The ambitus is a ninth, from *d'* to *e''*. The time is 3/4 and, again, with an upbeat. There are no musical repetitions; the last line of text is repeated on a different melody. The melody moves mainly stepwise and in major triads; occasionally there is an unusual jump of an octave. The second and the fourth line use the same rhyme word in all the verses. As in the original, these last syllables are set on multiple notes; in the last line this is a prolonged note on the tonic. The melodic contour is concave, followed by a melodic arch (fig. 5).



The music of *Vergeet niet mij bij blijdschaps* was likely written by Mozart. Its first appearance in the *Democriet* collection *Vriendengezangen* states that it was translated from *hoogDuits*. Another appearance in the Song Database mentions the German title *Vergiss mein nicht wenn dir die Freude winket*. This title can be found in RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*) where it is attributed to Mozart and to Georg Laurenz Schneider (1766-1855), composer and arranger. It seems plausible that Schneider arranged Mozart's music and put words to it. It is a farewell song. In *Liederen*, it was used as a farewell to fear in *Vrees en hoop*. The tune has not become popular in the Netherlands and its use was probably limited to the *Democriet* society. The latest occurrence in the Song Database is as late as

1900, but this concerns a republication of the original text. As figure 6 shows, the music was rhythmically more complicated than the songs discussed so far, and the first one to contain appoggiaturas. The melody may have been too difficult to become popular.



Figure 6 Text and music of *Vergeet mij niet bij blijdschaps*, text by Adriaan Loosjes in *Vriendenzangen tot gezellige Vreugd* (1801).<sup>164</sup>

Two more German titles are given in the songbook. These melodies have not been identified in the Song Database, but the original texts can be found in the German *Volksliedearchiv*. The first is *Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen*, a wedding song with a warning for new brides that they should not expect too much from their upcoming marriages, and that the inevitable small defects of their husbands should be gracefully accepted.<sup>165</sup> In *Liederen*, the melody is used for the song *De Voorzigtigheid*, an ode to caution. It recounts Holland's progress as long as caution was valued as a virtue. Again, the song refers to the seventeenth-century fame and wealth of the Dutch Republic. The second German title is *Beglückt, wer die geliebte findet*, originally a love poem.<sup>166</sup> It is used for the satirical song concerning poverty in the country, compared to porridge without butter. In both cases, there seems to be no connection to the original texts.

The first occurrences of *God save the King* in the Song Database are instrumental versions dated to the middle of the eighteenth century. The first version with lyrics was a free mason's song about the evil of slander, published in 1781. The melody may not have been

<sup>164</sup> Accessed December 6, 2015, [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/walr009vrie01\\_01/walr009vrie01\\_01\\_0025.php#walr009vrie01\\_0025](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/walr009vrie01_01/walr009vrie01_01_0025.php#walr009vrie01_0025).

<sup>165</sup> Dated 1776, text Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, music Georg Benda. Accessed November 29, 2015, <http://www.volksliedearchiv.de/text6489.html>.

<sup>166</sup> Dated 1776, text Ludwig Christoph Heinrich Hölty. Accessed November 30, 2015, <http://www.volksliedearchiv.de/beglueckt-beglueckt-wer-die-geliebte-findet/>.

widely known at the time, since it was printed with musical notation. After this, it was used for wedding songs and songs with Orangist connotations. The topic in *Liederen* is slightly different. The song *Vaderlandsch studenten-lied* praises the fact that the universities were liberated from French tyranny. It calls upon scholars to be the pride of the Dutch again, like they were before, meaning: in the seventeenth century. Derek B. Scott discusses the musical characteristics of *God save the King*. He notes that the song combines elements of a hymn and a dance, but that its hymnal character has been emphasized through adjustments made by Thomas Arne (1710-1778). The melody has a small ambitus and is easily singable. The rhythm makes the song very recognizable.<sup>167</sup> The same characteristics make the melody easily adaptable to new lyrics. The *Vaderlandsch studenten-lied* makes no references to the House of Orange nor the British king, but the melody may have been chosen because of the Orangist connotations or its status as a British national song.

The remaining melodies in table 3 originated in France. Two of them were also used in *Bataafsche liederen*, namely *De wereld is in rep en roer* (*On doit soixante milles francs*) and *Avec les jeux dans le village*. The tune *On doit* was used throughout the Batavian-French period for love songs, drinking songs, and narrative songs. In 1810, a reprint of the *De boer zal 't al betalen* was published in *De Vrolyke Muzikant*. As described in the previous chapter, in particular this text had Orangist connotations, which may have escaped the French censors. Another text, published in 1811, uses as its refrain a saying which means: as soon as the danger is over.<sup>168</sup> This refers to the anticipated end of the French occupation. In both cases, these songs can be characterized as forms of resistance. In *Liederen*, the melody is used twice. The first one is *Eendragt maakt magt*, the ode to unity. The second is the satirical song, in which an orange-coloured snuff is offered to Napoleon and which refers to several recent French defeats.

As described in the previous chapter, *Avec les jeux* had a patriotic signature in 1795. It was probably used in the intermediate period, but the Song Database contains no publications that can be dated to the French years with certainty. One broadside, dated in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century, tells of a caged bird, an obvious symbol of lost freedom.<sup>169</sup> The song *De jongelingen* in *Liederen* calls upon the youth to defend the regained unity. Both this song, and *Eendragt maakt magt*, use the phrase *voor haardstede en altaar* (for hearth and altar), which was patriotic imagery. Combined with the choice of melodies, this points to the former patriotic background of the writer(s) of these songs.

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<sup>167</sup> Derek B. Scott, "Cultuur, Politiek, en de Britse Nationale Hymne," *Volkskundig Bulletin* 24 (1998): 113-115, 121.

<sup>168</sup> Zodra de roê van 't gat is. Accessed November 10, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=51763&lan=nl>.

<sup>169</sup> Accessed November 10, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=166360&lan=nl>.

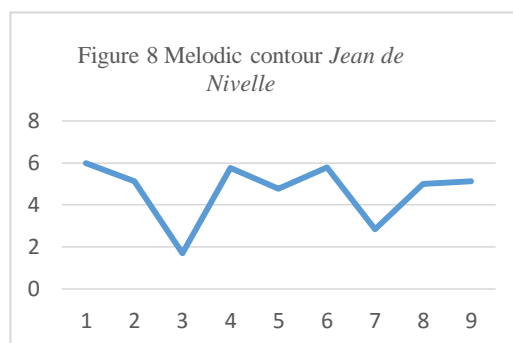
*Jean de Nivelle*, used twice, has a revolutionary background. The melody is also known as *Cadet Roussel*, and this is the title used in *Liederen*. Cadet Roussel was Guillaume Rousselle, an eccentric French bailiff who was made famous because of an ironic song written about him in 1792. He was also an active revolutionary.<sup>170</sup> In *De bedelaars*, former patriots, who are now begging for jobs in The Hague, are scorned. *Het vaderlandsche meisje* (fig. 6) summarizes the characteristics of her lover, an ideal Dutchman: reliable, courageous, honourable, fatherland-loving, well-behaved, and respectable. Equally important are the things the lover is not. Besides not being a slave, he is not a troublemaker, not selfish, and in particular not a French windbag.

### Melody *Jean de Nivelle* or *Cadet Roussel*

'kMin een jongling kloek en frisch Die een va-der - lan - der is 'kMin een jonging  
 6 kloek en frisch Die een va-der - lan - der is Die met Fran - sche wind en krul-len  
 11 Hoofd en hart niet op wil vul-len Want, want Fran - sche wind Is het haat-lijkst  
 16 dat men vindt. Want, want Fran - sche wind Is het haat-lijkst dat men vindt.

Figure 7 First verse of *Het Vaderlandsche meisje*<sup>171</sup>

The melody has a dansante rhythm. The text of the first two phrases is repeated but on a different melody. The last lines are repeated in both words and music. The ambitus is a ninth, from *b* to *c''*. The melody is easy to sing and memorize, which makes it suitable for community singing. The overall contour does not reveal a clear pattern, but six of the nine phrases show a melodic arch.



<sup>170</sup> Accessed November 10, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=4601&actie=melodienorm&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl> and [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cadet\\_Rousselle](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cadet_Rousselle).

<sup>171</sup> The Dutch Song Database contains several versions of the melody. The version of *Wie wil mee naar Wieringen varen* (with measures 13-14 omitted) was selected here, because it fitted the words best.

The *Wilhelmus* dates back to the sixteenth century. At the time, it was a politically charged song with Orangist connotations. It was used on the battlefield and became an iconic song that signified the Revolt against the Spanish.<sup>172</sup> But the melody was also used for many other texts. Only one occurrence is found in the Song Database during the Batavian-French years, dated to around 1800. The text is a seemingly innocent May-song, but it strongly emphasizes the May-tree. The yearly planting of May-trees was a tradition of the civic guard in The Hague until 1794. The act expressed their loyalty towards the House of Orange.<sup>173</sup> Although the symbol of the tree was appropriated by the patriots in the form of the liberty tree, this song of 1800 must have been intended as a reference to the May-tree as an Orangist symbol. The *Wilhelmus* was revived after the French occupation as a national song. The second version in *Liederen* attempts to update the earlier text. Like the original, it has fifteen verses, of which the first letters form the name ‘Willem van Oranje.’ The capital letters are printed in a special font to emphasize the acrostic.<sup>174</sup>

*Te bien aimer ô ma chère Zélie* was a popular chanson composed in 1791 by Charles Henri Plantade (1764-1839).<sup>175</sup> The song in *Liederen* is among the earliest in the Song Database to use this melody. It was written in 1811 and describes the promising appearance of a flower announcing spring in the midst of winter. There seem to be no specific connotations attached to the melody. The remaining French melodies in table 4 are operatic songs. All four of them were used previously in a free mason songbook, *Gezangboek voor Vrijmetselaren*, published in 1806. This collection was compiled by Willem Holtrop, a patriot and free mason, who intended his book to replace the hitherto used *La Lire Maçonne*.<sup>176</sup> *Jadis un célèbre empereur*, taken from an opera about Peter the Great, occurs eight times in Holtrop’s collection but has no revolutionary connotations.<sup>177</sup>

*Femmes voulez-vous éprouver* was used three times in Holtrop’s book. It was also used in the *Volk-liedjens* of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen* (1807) for a narrative song that admonishes young women for arrogance. In *Liederen*, it was used for *Offer der Nederlandsche vrouwen*. The Dutch women sacrifice their jewellery and gladly offer it to the state’s coffers (fig. 9).

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<sup>172</sup> Martine de Bruin, “Het Wilhelmus tijdens de Republiek,” *Volkskundig Bulletin* 24 (1998): 20-22, 34.

<sup>173</sup> Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het Vaderland*, 23, 128.

<sup>174</sup> Louis Peter Grijp, “Nationale hymnen in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1813-1939,” *Volkskundig Bulletin* 24 (1998): 46.

<sup>175</sup> Accessed November 30, 2015, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=8262&actie=&melodienorm&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl>.

<sup>176</sup> Malcolm Davies, *The Masonic Muse: Songs, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry: 1730-1806* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005), 170, 176.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

### Melody *Femmes voulez-vous éprouver*

Die\_\_ kost - bre tooi stijv' Neêr-lands kas Zij heeft dat of - fer

6 dub - beld - noo-dig Die tooi, die ons eens dier - baar was Is bij 'sLands

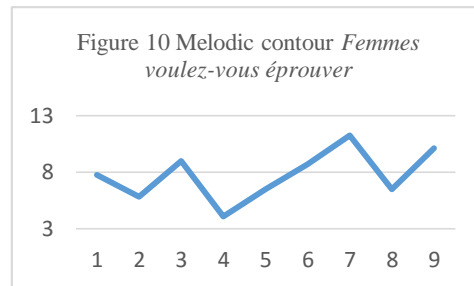
13 nood-druft o-ver bod - dig. De Vrij-heid van ons Va-der - land Her-steld door

20 Wil - lem van Nas - souw - en, Is thans de schoon-ste di-a - mant, In 'toog der

28 Ne-der-land-sche vrouw - en In 'toog der Ne-der-land-sche Vrouw - en.

Figure 9 *Offer der Nederlandsche vrouwen*, last verse

The melody starts on the tonic and immediately leaps up in a major triad. The rhythm is varied but not dansante. The ambitus is unusually large and stretches from a low *b-flat* to *e-flat*’’. The melody is jumpy and often moves in thirds or larger steps; even a major sixth occurs in measure 23-24. There



are no repetitions in the melodic phrases; the text of the last line is repeated on different music. Some of the phrases, such as the fourth and the fifth, show a melodic arch, but the overall melody contour is irregular (fig. 10).

*Contre les chagrins de la vie* and *Le Déserteur Ouverture* were both used once by Holtrop. *Contre les chagrins de la vie* is still known today as a children’s song, called *Dat gaat naar Den Bosch toe*.<sup>178</sup> The melody derives from the opera *Le petit matelot*, composed by Pierre Gaveaux (1796). In the original text, the sorrows of life are overcome by means of a pipe of tobacco. According to Malcolm Davies, the song was popular during the Dutch revolution.<sup>179</sup> The melody has a cheerful character at present, but this may have been different at the time, because it seems to contradict the compassionate text of *Aan de krijgsgevangenen Spanjaarden*, described earlier, for which it was used (fig. 11).

<sup>178</sup> Accessed December 2, 2015. <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=1302&actie=melodienorm&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl>.

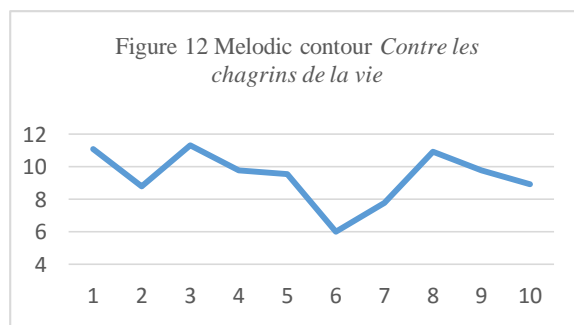
<sup>179</sup> Davies, *The Masonic Muse*, 182.

### Melody *Contre les chagrins de la vie*

Dit zijn, dit zijn dan de ach - ter - ne - ven der \_\_\_ dapp-ren,  
 3 die, in vroe - ger \_\_\_ eeuw, Hier \_\_\_ on - ze vaad - ren de - den \_\_\_  
 6 be - ven; Dit \_\_\_ wel - pen van Kast - til - jes leeuw. Dit \_\_\_ wel - pen  
 9 van Kas - til - jes leeuw. Dit \_\_\_ zijn de tel - gen van die \_\_\_  
 12 vaad - ren, wier \_\_\_ moed A - me - ri - ka be - dwong, Voor \_\_\_ wie uit  
 15 Pe - ru's o - pen aad - ren Het \_\_\_ goud met bloed be - spat ont -  
 18 sprong. Het \_\_\_ goud met bloed be - spat \_\_\_ ont - sprong.

Figure 11 *Aan de krijgsgevangen Spanjaarden*, first verse

The melody has a fast rhythm that alternates between ongoing and jumpy. Every phrase starts with a fast, often ascending, figure of four sixteenths. The repetitions in the musical phrases are never identical. For example, the first three bars, with upbeat, are repeated in bars 5-7, but with small variations. The ambitus is larger than usual. The melody moves between  $c'$  and  $f''$  in seconds and thirds, with occasional jumps of fourths and even sixths. The melodic contour is irregular. Phrases one and two form an arch together; phrases three and four as well.



The musical characteristics of the discussed melodies show differences and similarities when compared to those in the previous chapter. The melodies are less dansante and less regular in contour, and often have a larger ambitus and larger jumps in the melodic line. But they are again easily learned and often show melodic arches. The connotations and the musical features of the melodies can be found in tables 5 and 6.



Melodies from 1814	Connotation
Al gaf koning Hendrik mij	Unknown (Democriet)
Altijd rustig altijd lustig	No specific connotation
Arm en nederig is mijn hutje	Simplicity
Avec les jeux dans le village	Patriotic
Begluckt, der die geliebte findet	No specific connotation
Contre les chagrins de la vie	Revolutionary
De wereld is in rep en roer	Orangist and patriotic
Es kann ja nicht immer so bleiben	Hope / satirical
Femmes voulez-vous éprouver	No specific connotation
God save the King	Orangist, British
Het was vandaag zo vreselijk heet	No specific connotation
Ik zag een walvis in de bomen	Unknown (Democriet)
Jadis un célèbre empereur	No specific connotation
Jean de Nivelle	Revolutionary
Le déserteur Ouverture	No specific connotation
Men voer de kudde bij elkaar	Unknown (Democriet)
Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen	No specific connotation
Te bien aimer ô ma chère Zélie	No specific connotation
Vergeet mij niet bij blijdschaps	Farewell
Wat drommel is er in de kist	Unknown (Democriet)
Wilhelmus	Orangist

Table 5 Connotations of the melodies from 1814

Melodies from 1814	time	mode	ambitus	upbeat	contour	rhythm	repetition
Arm en nederig is mijn hutje	4/4	major	ninth	yes	convex	varied	AABA
Avec les jeux dans le village	3/4	major	octave	no	concave	simple	ABCC
Contre les chagrins de la vie	2/4	major	eleventh	yes	convex, two peaks	ongoing, jumpy	repetitive elements
De wereld is in rep en roer	6/8	major	ninth	yes	convex	varied	repetitive elements
Es kann ja nicht immer so bleiben	3/4	major	ninth	yes	concave	simple	no repetitions
Femmes voulez-vous éprouver	2/4	major	eleventh	yes	no overall pattern	jumpy	no repetitions
Jean de Nivelle	6/8	major	ninth	no	no overall pattern	dance	repetitive elements

Table 6 Musical characteristics of the melodies from 1814

The choice of melodies in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* seems to have been only slightly led by political considerations, and much less so than was the case with the sources from 1795. Insofar the choice was made by members of *Democriet*, theirs may have been an idiosyncratic choice. Some of the 1814 tunes have patriotic, revolutionary or Orangist connotations and may have been selected for this reason. If the song lyrics drew on past glories and virtues, this cannot be said of the melodies, with the notable exception of *Wilhelmus*. This is the only melody that actually relates to a glorious past, because it has a distinct relationship with the war against the Spanish.

#### 4. Conclusion

A collective identity has been existent in the Netherlands since the beginning of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. The Dutch felt the right to rule themselves and felt that this distinguished them from neighbouring monarchies. Yet people identified mainly with their regional communities. This changed during the eighteenth century. There was a growing sense of a common history, language, culture, and religion, aspects opposed to those of other nations. Like other European countries, the Dutch developed a national identity. The process of identity building includes a cultural component and this requires an understanding of the role music played for the Dutch. Philip Bohlman assigns a special role to singing because of its connection to language as one of the constituents of national identity. This indicates that songs can be suitable sources for an investigation of the process of identity construction.

In the Netherlands, the developments of eighteenth-century Europe were combined with a sense of decline. The Republic had lost much of its international status and this had damaged the Dutch self-image. The political events in the Batavian-French years (1795-1813) were crucial for the process of constructing a clearer national identity. During these two decades, the country, although profoundly republican at heart, became a monarchy. The position of the Netherlands in Europe changed, influencing national identity. The question is if and how this process manifested itself in Dutch songs of the time. To this end, songs published in two reference years, 1795 and 1814, were investigated. In both years, nationalist sentiments were strong and found their way into political songs.

For the patriots that proclaimed the Batavian Republic in 1795, freedom was an important value which is frequently mentioned in the two sources from 1795: *Bataafsche liederen voor Vaderlandsche jongelingen en meisjes* and *Zang op het vieren van het Vrijheids-feest*. The patriots were willing to defend their freedom and independence through armed force as their motto 'free, or dead' describes. The Batavians, a Germanic tribe of whom the Dutch supposedly descended, were their moral example. The Batavians, and in turn the Dutch, were seen as heroes, courageous, virtuous, faithful, and loyal, and these words often occur in the songs. Besides the Batavians, the patriots were influenced by French revolutionary thought. They adopted the values of liberty, equality, brotherhood, and the concept of universal human rights. Perhaps most importantly, the patriots adopted the notion of a one and indivisible state, implying—for most of the patriots—a unitary, democratic government. To this end, they needed unity in a divided country and this is what the songs

attempt to achieve. The songs address Netherlanders as one people by using terms such as ‘burgers’, *volk*, and ‘Bato’s children’, and by accentuating love of the ‘precious fatherland.’ The songs try to improve the collective self-image by emphasizing bravery and other desirable qualities.

Othering was also part of the patriotic strategy. The patriots created a hostile image of William V and his wife Wilhelmina. Their adherents in the Netherlands were depicted as slaves, in particular those who fought in William’s army. However, the patriots had a difficulty here, as their othering included a considerable number of their fellow countrymen, the former Orangists. Therefore, they employed reconciling gestures in some of the songs, attempting to reunite the people. Religion was not particularly emphasized but slips through in biblical equations, in values such as forgivingness and virtuousness, and in imagery of hellish monsters, or freedom as descendant from heaven. The lyrics of the songs from 1795 offer a view of a national identity in which freedom, virtue, religion, and a complex relationship with the House of Orange, are the main ingredients.

The language in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden van Vrijheid, Vaderland en Oranje* from 1814 is different in many respects. Although some of the texts were written by former patriots, the customary patriotic rhetoric has virtually disappeared. There are very few references to a Batavian ancestry and none to French revolutionary values. The Dutch are, however, addressed in a similar way, namely as one people. Of course, freedom is still an important word, but the word ‘unity’ is even more important in 1814. In general, the songs voice a longing for peace, unity, and prosperity. Unity is viewed as the value that made the country prosperous in the seventeenth century, the glorious past of the Dutch. The texts also refer to the beginning of the Republic after the Revolt against the Spanish and mention courage as another value that needs to be restored.

By 1814, the relationship with the House of Orange has been reversed. William V was portrayed as an idolatrous despot, but in contrast, William Frederick is characterized as a father who will take care of his children, the citizens. Hostile imagery has been transferred to Napoleon and the French. The few songs in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden* that were written during the French occupation show signs of resistance. In texts written after 1813, hostility is overtly expressed and the songs show clearly how the Dutch opposed themselves to the French. The Dutch no longer contrasted themselves with ‘slaves’ but with ‘frivolous windbags’. Virtuousness and simplicity became important for their self-image. These were not new values, but values that regained importance, reinforced by the new hostile image.

Leerssen defines a nation in terms of culture, language and history, as opposed to other nations. The Dutch already had a collective identity and a subjective community. This is apparent from the song texts that address the Netherlanders in similar ways in 1795 and 1814, as one people with the same language. The views on shared history changed during this period. The focus shifted from a mythical Batavian ancestry to the seventeenth century, and the lyrics also show this. Probably the most important change is the othering process. In 1795, the patriots opposed to the Orangists, their fellow countrymen; in 1814 the Dutch opposed to the French, another nation. This time, othering was not a propaganda strategy, but expressed a deeply felt need to unite. The Dutch were very much aware of the perils of the previous discord between patriots and Orangists, and never wanted this to happen again. More than ever, they were convinced that unity makes strength. The song lyrics testify to a collective identity becoming national, influenced by international developments, political events, and a new enemy. This identity was no longer based on ancestry and a political system, but rather on a common language, social habits, and a shared history as opposed to other nations.

In 1795, the melodies chosen for the songs contributed to the patriotic message. Melodies such as *Waar Phoebé's glans* or *Un matin brusquement* refer to the sun as the patriotic symbol of freedom, while *Ja Mimi in korte tijden* alludes to a better future about to arrive. Some melodies with Orangist connotations were appropriated by the patriots, either for songs that mock the Orangists or songs that issue a warning against them. Three melodies have revolutionary connotations because of their relationship with the French revolution, among which *La Marseillaise*. The French value of equality clings to the melody *Wij dragen met gelijke zinnen*, which calls to memory that all humans are equally subject to the caprices of fate. A patriotic connotation is associated with the melody *Avec les jeux dans le village* because of previous uses. In fact, for only four of the twenty-one melodies (19%) no specific connotations have been found. This suggests that the patriotic lyricists chose their melodies carefully in order to enhance a propagandist message.

For the songs from 1814, this is much less the case. Quite a few melodies were not well-known and were only used by members of the literary society *Democriet*. Others were more common, but seem not to have had specific connotations. Occasionally, melodies were associated with virtues such as simplicity or emotions such as hope. A few melodies had revolutionary or patriotic associations, or an Orangist background, such as *Wilhelmus*. In contrast to the sources from 1795, the melodies from 1814 seem to have been chosen less purposefully. No specific connotations have been found for twelve of the melodies (57%).

The difference is in part explained by the fact that the sources from 1795 were intended as propaganda. In that case, all the channels of the medium—lyrics *and* music—have to combine to convey the message, meaning the choice of melodies is much more important. Another part of the explanation is the *Democriet*-background of a considerable number of the songs from 1814. The *Democriet*-members chose several melodies that were only known within their circle. Even so, the producers of the *Liederen* seem not to have aimed at the enhancement of national feelings by means of their choice of melodies, with the notable exception of *Wilhelmus*. Moreover, revolutionary or patriotic connotations of some of the melodies may have been lost by the time they were used in *Liederen*.

Many of the melodies from 1795 can be characterized as folksongs. They were easy to sing and learn, well-known, and popular for a long period of time. Several tunes show a melodic arch which is considered a common feature of western folksongs. The dance rhythms and the features of the upbeat, followed by a jump of a fourth, were familiar. Many of these melodies may have been perceived as Dutch regardless of their origin. Combined with connotations that were associated with the melodies or accrued over time, their use contributed to a shared identity. By contrast, eleven of the melodies from 1814 seem to have been poorly known, which leaves ten melodies that were more familiar and popular over a longer period of time. Most of these melodies do not have a dance rhythm, like many of the songs from 1795, but they do show similar characteristics. They are easy to sing and adaptable to different texts. They also have upbeats, repetitive elements, and melodic arches, either in the melody contour or in musical phrases. Except for *God save the King*, these melodies may have been perceived as Dutch folksongs as well. The similarity of the musical characteristics of the songs from 1795 and 1814 suggests that any intended extra layer of meaning is provided by connotations clinging to melodies, and not by musical features. The musical features may contribute to the popularity of a melody, but do not seem to add meaning.

Like other cultural expressions—literature, drama—music and song contributed in various extents to the construction and consolidation of a Dutch national identity in the period 1795-1813. The role of the lyrics has become clearer in this research, but regarding the role of the music, the results are inconclusive. The sources of 1795 and 1814 have proved to be less comparable material with regards to the choice of melodies. The research has necessarily been restricted to a small number of sources and to the Northern Netherlands. Analyses of other sources from the same period may provide new facets, and more depth and clarity. Also, an extension of the research period is advisable, in order to include songbooks compiled from an

Orangist viewpoint; in particular in 1788 and 1815 many Orangist songs were published. And there are much more questions to be asked. The Netherlands and Belgium separated in 1830; how did this process influence Dutch identity? The Golden Age myth developed gradually during the nineteenth century; is this process noticeable in songs? When does the concept of homeliness, as a Dutch characteristic, appear in songs? And is it connected to specific melodies? A comparison with neighbouring European countries of the role of songs in identity building would also be most useful.

Research into the role of music in national identity-building is often restricted to instrumental music. Scholars tend to neglect song, and in particular folksong, as a source, but these provide valuable material, precisely because of the combination of text and music. Moreover, singing unites across population groups and social layers, and thus contributes to national identity-building. At present, the concept of nation states and national identity seems stronger than ever, as has become apparent after the terrorist attacks in Paris on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November, 2015. In response, French revolutionary values—liberty, equality, brotherhood—regained strength and were recalled by the media. Songs again functioned as forces of bonding, and even united across national borders. *La Marseillaise*, once a battle song of rebels, was sung all over the western world, just like John Lennon's *Imagine*. Freedom and unity, so strongly intertwined with Dutch history and national identity, are values that are shared by Europe and the rest of the western world. But the songs discussed here show a distinctly Dutch twist: commercial benefits. Freedom and unity make a country prosper. As the song *Eendragt maakt magt* summarizes:

‘Gij [eendragt] voert de vloeten van de ree,  
Bewaakt het regt der vrije zee  
En houdt de handel veilig.’<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Third verse, first lines. You (that is: unity) lead the fleet from the harbour, you guard the right of the free sea and keep the trade safe.

## APPENDIX A

Title	Text incipit	Melody	No. of verses
To the young Batavian men and women	Will you now, proud host of heroes!	Not provided in source	10
To the Batavian women	For you, o youthful angels	La Marseillaise	5
The age of freedom	Who was it that saw beneath the light of the sun	Français marchant au combat	4
To the Batavians of Leiden	Now you are free at last	Je le compare avec Louis	5
The pernicious tyranny	O tyranny, pernicious creature	Gelijk de schone bloempjes kwijnen	14
The young Batavian, to the Dutch women	O young women, at the fire of lightning	Hoe zoet is het daar de vriendschap woont	8
The Batavian bride, to her returned lover	Be welcome, brave son of freedom	Wanneer de zon het morgenrood	5
The tyranny	Cursed monster, created in Pluto's realm	Not provided in source	10
It did happen	There all the buffoons go slipping	Que mon Colin	5
Batavian song, to the Gauls	O invincible, brave Gaul	Dameet had lange tijd getracht	8
The Batavian woman, at the return of her lover	I run towards my lover, triumph!	Al is ons prinsje nog zo klein	7
To the first revolutionaries	Good sons of Bato, worthy of glory	La Marseillaise	5
To our French fellow citizens	Welcome, brave host of heroes	Not provided in source	5
At the planting of a liberty tree	There the tree of liberty rises!	De wereld is in rep en roer	6
May 17th, 1795. The first year of Batavian freedom, or the greatest day for the Netherlands	Nowhere has a morning ever risen more beautiful	Français marchant au combat	6
Thalia and Melpomene, to the free Batavian citizens	Triumph! Three times Triumph! Batavian citizenry	Not provided in source	10
The fortunate alliance between the French and Batavian republics, or the most pleasant morning	Hardly, the golden sun had risen	Not provided in source	8
Belgian song of triumph	Triumph, Batavian citizenry	Waar Phoebus' glans	8
The six glasses	Come brothers who are gathered here	Je meurs de regrets	8
To the nightingale	Sing, Batavian nightingales	Maudit amour raison sévère	5
At the arrival of the French in Holland	Once, the free Netherlands had to bow	Avec les jeux dans le village	6
To the reinstatement of freedom in the Netherlands	The precious freedom is restored	Not provided in source	6
O dear, you have lost your Billy	Sing freely now, Batavian youth	Le traquenard	10
Aria	Come, let us sing happily	Un matin brusquement	3
Triumph-song	Triumph! Batavian brothers	De wereld is in rep en roer	13
Something from the old times	Brother Bredero said: things can change	Not provided in source	5
The throne and the hat of freedom	From the earliest days on, I stood	Ja Mimi in korte tijden	4
Song of heroes	Come on, come on, true children of Civilis	Azor azor en vain ma voix	4
Song of a young Batavian citizeness	Cheer, fellow countrymen, at the revival	Avec les jeux dans le village	6
Voice of freedom	O dear freedom precious pledge	Dansons la carmagnole	8
The sensible Batavian young man	I am a Batavian's son	Français marchant au combat	8
Love and freedom	You should sing freedom for ever	Lubin aime sa bergère	2
Closing song	Farewell, farewell, Batavian children	Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime	2
Song to the celebration of the feast of freedom	Happiness, o citizenry	Un matin brusquement	9

Songs in *Bataafsche Liederen* and the *Zang op het Vieren van het Vrijheids-feest*

## APPENDIX B

Title	Text incipit	Melody	No. of verses
Welcome to Your Royal Highness William Frederick, landing on the Netherlandish beach	The William of Nassau	Wilhelmus	5
Song of joy, to the happy revolution of November 19th 1813	Hurray, the Freedom was restored	Wat drommel is er in de kist *	3
The hope	I sing to you, soothing balm!	Es kann ja nicht immer so bleiben	6
Unity makes strenght	O Unity! Bond of society	De wereld is in rep en roer	9
To the Spanish prisoners of war, transported through Haarlem to Den Helder	These are, these are the second cousins	Contre les chagrins de la vie	6
Things can change	Sweet hope is the comfort of sorrow	Men voer de kudde bij elkaar	3
Call to arms for the Netherlands	Now the courage of the fathers revives	Le déserteur Ouverture	3
One knows where the butter goes, when cook and butler quarrel	It is covered up for a long time, when grand lords	Ik zag een walvis in de bomen	3
An Orange snuff, offered to Napoleon by the Dutch maiden	O great merchant in tobacco!	De wereld is in rep en roer	10
Patience	Honourable herb, useful sprout	Altijd rustig altijd lustig	7
Fear and hope	O frightened fear! Will you still touch us	Vergeet mij niet bij blijdschaps	6
The young men	We shall guard the freedom	Avec les jeux dans le village	4
To the hyacint, called primo Januarii, that blossomed on the winter solstice	Be welcome, little flower, in these dark days	Te bien aimer ô ma chère Zélie	4
The happy Dutch grocer	Friends! Do not pass me by	Al gaf koning Hendrik mij	6
The Dutch woman	I love a young man who is brave and pure	Jean de Nivelles	6
New Year song For the good promising year 1814	Hurray! Hurray! We have not had such a New Year in ages	Wat drommel is er in de kist *	6
William of Orange	William of Nassau!	Wilhelmus	15
The bookcensor	What monster is lurking in the corner there?	Jadis un célèbre empereur	8
The beggars	We were terribly at a loss	Jean de Nivelles	3
Dutch students song	Hail us! we are free again	God save the King	6
Caution	Honourable mother of wisdom	Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen *	12
Triumph song	Sing victory! To the glory	Altijd rustig altijd lustig	4
The sensible gardener	He, who understands the art of gardening well	Jadis un célèbre empereur	3
The old-fashioned patriot	Let others plod and dig	Arm en nederig is mijn hutje	8
It is porridge without butter	The humble food of many people	Beglückt, der die geliebte findet *	4
The eggs of the basilisk	There it goes, the ugly beast	Het was vandaag zo vreselijk heet	22
Sacrifice of Dutch women	Let courage and man and youth	Femmes voulez-vous éprouver	5

Songs in *Liederen voor en door Vrienden van Vrijheid, Vaderland en Oranje*



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