

## Performances of Peace



# Performances of Peace

*Utrecht 1713*

*Edited by*

Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven,  
Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported (CC-BY-NC 3.0) License, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited.



Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research

This research has been made possible with the generous support of The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

Cover illustration: A meeting of the negotiators in the Utrecht city hall, *Utrechtse Vrede, geslooten in 't jaar 1713* (Peace of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1713). Late-18th-century engraving by Simon Fokke from Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie verkort en by vraagen en antwoorden voorgesteld* (Amsterdam: By de Wed. Isaak Tirion, 1770). UTRECHTS ARCHIEF, UTRECHT

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see [www.brill.com/brill-typeface](http://www.brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISBN 978-9004-30477-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-9004-30478-9 (e-book)

Copyright 2015 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# Contents

List of Illustrations	IX
Notes on Contributors	XI

## Introduction 1

*Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink*

### PART 1

#### *The Diplomatic Stage*

- 1 The Olive and the Horse: The Eighteenth-Century Culture of Diplomacy 25  
*Linda Frey and Marsha Frey*
- 2 Behind the Stage: The Global Dimension of the Negotiations 40  
*Lucien Bély*
- 3 ‘Enemies of their *patrie*’? Savoyard Identity and the Dilemmas of War, 1690–1713 53  
*Phil McCluskey*
- 4 Pride and Prejudice: Universal Monarchy Discourse and the Peace Negotiations of 1709–1710 69  
*David Onnekink*

### PART 2

#### *The Publicity Stage*

- 5 Madame Du Noyer Presenting and Re-presenting the Peace of Utrecht 95  
*Henriette Goldwyn and Suzan van Dijk*
- 6 ‘Dieu veuille que cette Paix soit de longue durée . . .’ *The History of the Congress and the Peace of Utrecht* by Casimir Freschot 114  
*Heinz Duchhardt*

- 7 **The Treaty of Utrecht and Addison's *Cato*: Britain's War of the Spanish Succession, Peace and the Imperial Road Map** 123  
*Samia Al-Shayban*
- 8 **Jonathan Swift's Peace of Utrecht** 142  
*Clare Jackson*
- 9 **Visions of Europe: Contrasts and Combinations of National and European Identities in Literary Representations of the Peace of Utrecht (1713)** 159  
*Lotte Jensen*

### PART 3

#### *The Theatrical Stage*

- 10 **Theatres of War and Diplomacy on the Early-Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam Stage** 181  
*Cornelis van der Haven*
- 11 **Performance and Propaganda in Spanish America during the War of the Spanish Succession** 197  
*Aaron Alejandro Olivas*
- 12 **Promoting the Peace: Queen Anne and the Public Thanksgiving at St Paul's Cathedral** 207  
*Julie Ferguson*
- 13 **Fiery Metaphors in the Public Space: Celebratory Culture and Political Consciousness around the Peace of Utrecht** 223  
*Willem Frijhoff*

### PART 4

#### *The Commemorative Stage*

- 14 **Memory Theatre: Remembering the Peace after Three Hundred Years** 251  
*Jane O. Newman*

- 15 **Peace Was Made Here: The Tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht,  
2013–2015** 266  
*Renger E. de Bruin*
- Index** 283





## List of Illustrations

- 0.1 A ball in honour of the birth of the crown prince of Portugal (19 October 1712), organized by the count of Tarouca on 27 February 1713 in Utrecht. Engraving by Nicolas Chevalier from *Relation des fêtes, que le Comte de Tarouca a données* (Utrecht: N. Chevalier, 1714) 10
- 0.2 *The Peace of Utrecht*. Engraving by Anna Folkema. From: Roeland van Leuve, *Mengelwerken* (Amsterdam: J. Verheyden, 1723) 14
- 1.1 Medal in silver to Commemorate the Treaty of Rastatt, 1714. Design by Martin Brunner (1659–1725) 38
- 5.1 Picture showing the *Quintessence des Nouvelles* for the year 1713, issue d.d. January 12th, about the feast organized by the count of Tarouca of Portugal in celebration of the birth of the Prince of Brazil 104
- 6.1 Title page of *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht* (Utrecht: G. van Poolsum, 1716), with an engraving by Jan Goeree 115
- 9.1 Portrait of the poet and publisher François Halma (1653–1722) by Arnoud van Halen 160
- 9.2 Title page of Halma's poem on the Peace of Utrecht: *Vredezung* (Amsterdam: J. van Oosterwyk, 1713) 171
- 9.3 Title page of Enoch Krook's play *Staatkunde* (Amsterdam: J. Lescailje and D. Rank, 1713) 174
- 10.1 Showman with peepshow: 'Eerste Harlequin', from: Jan Pook: *Rommelzoodje. Eerste Harlequin, reizende met zijn Rarekiek* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1709), fol. 19 188
- 10.2 Coloured etching of the Battle of Blenheim by Romeyn de Hooghe: *Zegen by Hoogstad op de Fransen en Beyersen door S.H: Marlbourg en Pr. Eugenius van Savoyen verkreegen* (Amsterdam: Pieter Schenck, 1704) 191
- 10.3 Map by G. Harrweyn of the Battle of Wijnendale: *De l'Action entre le Corps des troupes Alliez Commandé par le G. Maj. Webb. Contre l'Armée des François Commandé par le Comte de la Motte aupres de Wynendale le 28. Sept. 1708* (Brussels: Eugene Henri Fricx, s.a. [1708]) 192
- 11.1 *Téâtre de la guerre en Amerique telle qu'elle est à present possedée par les Espagnols, Anglois, François, et Hollandois &c.* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1703) 199
- 13.1 Firework by the States General in The Hague, 14 June 1713. *Afbeeldingh van het Theater met zyn Ornamenten en Constigh Vuurwerck opgericht door ordre van haar Hoog Mog. de Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden etc. etc. etc. in s'Gravenhage in de Vyver*

- [...] *afgestoken op den 14 Juny 1713. Ter occasie van de Vrede met syn Alderchristelyksten Maj.<sup>t</sup> Louis den XIII. Con. van Vrankryck etc. etc. etc. tot Uytrecht geslooten op den 11 April 1713.* Engraving by D. Stoopendaal after H. Pola (The Hague: Anna Beeck, 1713) 227
- 13.2 Firework by the States of Holland and West-Friesland in The Hague, 14 June 1713. *Afbeelding van het Theater met syn ornamenten en Constigh Vuurwerck, opgericht door ordere van haar Ed. Groot Mog: de Heeren Staten van Hollant en West Vriesland etc. etc. etc. in 's Gravenhage in de Vyver afgestoken op de 14 Juny 1713. Ter occasie van de Vreede met syn Alderchristelyksten Majesteyt Louis de XIII. Coning van Vrankryk etc. etc. etc. tot Uytrecht geslooten, op den 11 April, daar bevorens.* Hand-coloured engraving with and without illumination, by D. Stoopendaal after H. Pola (The Hague: Anna Beeck, 1713) 228–229
- 13.3 Inscriptions and devices of the firework by the States of Holland and West-Friesland in The Hague, 14 June 1713. *Devises et Inscriptions Contenuës dans la construction érigée pour le Feu d'Artifice de la Province de Hollande & de Westfrise, au sujet de la Paix avec la France. Conclüë à Utrecht le 11. Avril en l'année 1713. Composées par Mr. De Vrigny* (The Hague: chez Gerard Rammazeyn, pour Pierre Loofs, s.a. [1713]) 232
- 13.4 Firework by the States of Friesland in Leeuwarden, 14 June 1713. *Afbeelding van het Theater met syn Ornemente en Constig Vuurwerk, opgereggt door ordre van haer Ed. Mog. de Heeren Staeten van Vrieslandt etc. etc. etc. in Leeuwaerden op 't Markvelt, afgestookken op den 14 Junij 1713. Ter occasie van de Vrede met Syn Alderchristelyksten Maj.<sup>t</sup> Louis de XIII Coning van Vrankryck etc. etc. etc.* Engraving by P. van Call after D. Marot 236
- 13.5 Firework by the Admiralty of Rotterdam on the river Meuse in Rotterdam, 14 June 1713. *Afbeelding van het Theater en Vuurwerck opgereggt in de Maese door ordre van de Ed. Mog. Heeren de Gecommitteerde Raden ter Admiraliteyt resideerende te Rotterdam over de Vrede gesloten tot Uitregt in den Jaere 1713.* Engraving by B. Picart after F. van Douwe (s.l., 1713) 242

## Notes on Contributors

### *Samia Al-Shayban*

is Assistant Professor of British theatre and its connection to politics and ideology during the Restoration and the long eighteenth century at King Saud University-Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. She has published on restoration and eighteenth-century British theatre. Her publications include essays on John Dryden, Nicholas Rowe, George Lillo Aphra Behn and John Gay. She explores women's issues, slavery, imperialism and wars in relation to the plays staged during her research period.

### *Lucien Bély*

is Professor of Modern History at the University Paris-Sorbonne, specializing in international relations and the era of Louis XIV. His major books include: *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Fayard, 1990), *La Société des princes (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Fayard, 1999), *L'Art de la paix. Naissance de la diplomatie moderne* (PUF, 2007), *Les Secrets de Louis XIV. Mystères d'État et pouvoir absolu* (Tallandier, 2013). He has been the director of the *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime* (PUF, 1996) and edited *L'Invention de la diplomatie* (PUF, 1998), *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie. Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit* (with Isabelle Richefort, PUF, 2000), *L'information à l'époque moderne* (Presse de L'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), *La Présence des Bourbons en Europe* (PUF, 2003), *L'Incident diplomatique* (with Géraud Poumarède, A. Pedone, 2011).

### *Renger E. de Bruin*

studied history at the University of Utrecht. His PhD thesis (1986) was on the impact of the French Revolution on the local politics of Utrecht. Between 1979 and 1994 he worked as a lecturer, researcher and visiting professor at the Universities of Utrecht, Leiden and Greifswald. Since 1994 he has been a curator at the Centraal Museum Utrecht. Moreover, he was a Professor of Utrecht Studies from 2001 to 2011. In 2013 he curated an exhibition on the Treaty of Utrecht in the Centraal Museum, which later travelled to Madrid, Rastatt and Baden.

### *Heinz Duchhardt*

was Professor of Modern History at Bayreuth, Münster and Mainz universities and was, until his retirement, director of the Institute of European History (1994–2011). He is at present president of the Max Weber Foundation. He has

worked on, written and edited about 80 books on international relations in early modern times, persons and structures of the “Sattelzeit” and the idea of Europe in modern times.

*Suzan van Dijk*

is a specialist in French literature and senior researcher at the Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands (KNAW Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences). She is particularly interested in women’s authorship (eighteenth and nineteenth century), the reception of women’s writing and international connections between women authors. In this field she initiated and chaired a series of international projects, funded by NWO, COST, CLARIN-NL and HERA.

*Julie Farguson*

has recently completed her doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford and is currently a non-stipendiary lecturer at Hertford College, Oxford. Her thesis looks afresh at the visual presentational strategies employed by monarchs, consorts and their advisors in the wake of the Glorious Revolution (1689–1714).

*Linda Frey and Marsha Frey*

are graduates of the Ohio State University and currently professors at the University of Montana and Kansas State University. They specialize in eighteenth-century international relations and international law. They have in tandem co-written, co-edited and co-annotated numerous books and articles including *The History of Diplomatic Immunity*, *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession* (Ohio State University Press, 1999) and *‘Proven Patriots’: the French Diplomatic Corps, 1789–1799* (Centre for French History and Culture of the University of St Andrews, 2011). The duo is currently completing a monograph on the culture of French Revolutionary diplomacy and another on the French Revolutionary challenge to international law.

*Willem Frijhoff*

is Emeritus Professor of Early Modern History at VU-University, Amsterdam, and holds the Erasmus chair for Humanities on behalf of the G.Ph. Verhagen Foundation at the Erasmus University, Rotterdam. Currently he chairs the NWO-research program on Cultural dynamics. His research topics include different themes from the cultural history and historical anthropology of early modern Western Europe and North America, in particular the history of mentalities and religious experience, education and the universities, and identity,

memory and oblivion in history. His books *Embodied Belief* (Verloren, 2002), *1650: Hard-Won Unity* (co-authored with Marijke Spies, Van Gorcum, 2004), and *Fulfilling God's Mission: The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus 1607–1647* (Brill, 2007) have been widely acclaimed.

*Henriette Goldwyn*

is a specialist of Early Modern Literature and Culture in the department of French at New York University, and the director of New York University in Paris. She is one of the cofounders of the SIEFAR (Société Internationale pour l'Étude des Femmes de l'Ancien Régime). Her research and publications focus on narrative fiction in the seventeenth century, early modern women writers, polemical journalism and religious discourse. She has written extensively on women writers, specially Mme Du Noyer whose *Mémoires* she edited. She is co-editing a five-volume anthology of French Women Playwrights from the Renaissance to the end of the eighteenth century and is preparing a volume on the culture of prophecy and divine inspiration in France.

*Cornelis van der Haven*

is Assistant Professor at Ghent University in the field of early modern Dutch literature. He has published widely on the history of Dutch and German theatre and literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a strong focus on the role of literature in shaping cultural and social identities. He wrote his dissertation at Utrecht University about theatre life and urban culture in Amsterdam and Hamburg (1675–1750). In 2013 the Flemish Research Foundation (FWO) awarded him a scholarship to carry out his postdoctoral research project 'Enlightenment at War': Epic Poetry, the Citizen and Discursive Bridges to the Military (1740–1800). This project deals with the relation between epic poetry and military thought in the eighteenth century, focusing on civil approaches of the military in Dutch and German poetry and military treatises.

*Clare Jackson*

is Senior Tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. She is the author of around twenty articles on the history of seventeenth-century Britain as well as a monograph, *Restoration Scotland. Royalist politics, religion and ideas, 1660–1690* (Boydell Press, 2003). Between 2004 and 2011 she was editor of the *Historical Journal* and she also presented a three-part television series on *The Stuarts* (2014) on BBC2 in 2014. She is currently preparing an edition of Jonathan Swift's historical writings for Cambridge University Press.

*Lotte Jensen*

is Associate Professor of Dutch Literary History at Radboud University, Nijmegen. She has published widely on Dutch historical literature, Dutch cultural history and national identity formation. Her English publications include a prize-winning essay on Dutch literary resistance against Napoleon and the conference volume *Free Access to the Past. Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation* (co-edited with Marita Mathijssen and Joep Leerssen, Brill, 2010). She currently heads the research project *Proud to be Dutch. The role of war and propaganda literature in the shaping of an early modern Dutch identity between 1648 and 1815*, a VIDI project funded by the NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research). This project charts the rise and development of Dutch national thought. In 2013 she was elected as member of The Young Academy (Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences).

*Phil McCluskey*

is Lecturer in the History of Early Modern Europe at the University of Sheffield. His research interests concern the expansion of early modern France, both within Europe and overseas. He recently completed a book on France's eastern frontiers, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV's Military Occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester University Press, 2013). His current project, 'Louis XIV's Crusade Against Islam', examines French relations with the Ottoman world in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

*Jane O. Newman*

is Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Irvine (USA). Her first two books, *Pastoral Conventions* (Hopkins, 1990) and *The Intervention of Philology* (North Carolina, 2000), discuss the German seventeenth century; her third book, *Benjamin's Library: Modernity, Nation, and the Baroque* (Cornell, 2011) received an Honorable Mention for the 2012 Modern Language Association (MLA) Scaglione Prize in Germanic Languages and Literatures. Newman has held Guggenheim and Humboldt fellowships, and was a Fulbright Senior Scholar in Berlin, Germany, in 2010–11. She is working on two projects, *After Westphalia: Pre- and Early Modern Lessons for a Post-Modern Age*, and *Early / Modern: Erich Auerbach between Theology and History*.

*David Onnekink*

is Assistant Professor in the History of International Relations section of the Department of History of Utrecht University. He is interested in early modern foreign policy, in particular in connection with the Dutch Republic and

England. He is the author of *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland* (2007) and co-author of *De Vrede van Utrecht* (1713) (with Renger E. de Bruin, Verloren, 2013). He has also co-edited several volumes of essays on early modern foreign policy.

*Aaron Alejandro Olivas*

is an Ahmanson-Getty postdoctoral fellow at the University of California, Los Angeles, Centre for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies. His current book-length project examines cases of disloyalty and sedition against Philip v's rule in Spanish America and the Philippines during the War of the Spanish Succession. His work also focuses on the role of French imperial agents on Spanish colonial policy during the turn of the eighteenth century.





# Introduction

*Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink*

On Friday the 29th of this month January [1712], at ten o'clock in the morning, the Congress or assembly of the plenipotentiaries was opened, with the sound of trumpets.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the peace congress in Utrecht that would end twelve years of global warfare and would alter the map of Europe for the foreseeable future was ceremoniously opened. Spectators witnessed the ostentatious arrival of the ambassadors, such as the bishop of Bristol and the earl of Strafford for the queen of England, and the abbot of Polignac and marshall d'Huxelles for the king of France, who arrived by coach and were led into the building by a chamberlain of the congress. The performance was witnessed by 'the confluence of countless people' who had gathered on the square in front of city hall and observed the arrival of the bishop of Bristol and his equipage, who was 'very splendourous', with a long magnificent robe carried by two pages.<sup>2</sup> These were 'dressed in white linen, with light green velvet covers, with silver embroideries and with red plumes on their hats; the footmen in purple linen, with light green covers and with golden collars'.<sup>3</sup>

The theatrical setting of the congress underscores its performative nature, a play in several acts in which the actors, the diplomats, had set roles. The performances of peace are the subject of this volume which focuses in particular on the Peace of Utrecht of 1713, a milestone in European history. It concluded the

---

\* The editors wish to thank the following institutions for their financial support of the 2013 conference and the publication of this volume: The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research NWO (specifically Lotte Jensen's VIDI-project 'The role of war and propaganda literature in the shaping of an early modern Dutch identity, 1648–1815' and the Internationalisation project 'Rethinking the Peace of Utrecht'), Utrecht University, the Dutch-Belgian Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Peace of Utrecht Foundation.

1 *Europische Mercurius, behelzende de voornaamste zaken van staat en oorlog, voorgevallen in alle de koningryken en heerschappyyen van Europe* 23 (1712), I, 84.

2 *Europische Mercurius* 23 (1712), I, 84, 85.

3 E. Harskamp, 'Journael of daegelijxe annotatie vant gene ontrend de vredehandel tot Utrecht de heeren, daer toe den 16 december 1711 van stadswege gecommiteert, is voorgekomen,' *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 3:2 (1851): 213–220, appendix.

extensive wars that had swept through Europe as well as the overseas colonies and heralded an exceptionally long period of peace for early modern times in Western Europe that lasted until the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740.

The Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), pitching the Grand Alliance against France in a struggle for domination of the continent. The prize was the throne of Spain, vacant since the death in 1700 of the childless last Habsburg king Carlos II. When plans for partition came to naught, France and Habsburg became embroiled in a major struggle for the inheritance, in which England and the Dutch Republic allied with the Emperor but Spain supported the French claimant. Battlefields were scattered over several locations in Western Europe: on the Iberian peninsula, the Spanish Netherlands, Northern Italy and on the German side of the Rhine. On a far smaller scale, fighting took place in the American colonies and on the world's oceans. Despite Allied victories near Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Turin (1706), Oudenaarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709), France remained undefeated. A series of peace negotiations led by the Dutch and the French, which commenced in 1705, ultimately failed in 1710. Renewed secret negotiations between France and the English Tory ministry which came into power in 1710, eventually led to the Peace of Utrecht which was settled in April 1713. The Peace of Utrecht acknowledged the French claimant, now Philip V, as king of Spain, but also allotted dispensation to the Habsburg claimant in Italy (Naples, Sardinia and Milan) and the Spanish Netherlands. The French lost possessions in Canada to the English, who also took Gibraltar and Minorca and wrested the *asiento* (the monopoly on slave trade to the Spanish Empire) from the French. The Dutch received a military Barrier in the Southern Netherlands. The peace treaties continued in Baden, Rastatt and Madrid in 1714 and 1715 completed the process.

The wars between France and the Grand Alliance changed the nature and scale of European warfare. Armies grew dramatically in a process described as a military revolution. The Dutch had an army of over 100,000 men, but the French army peaked at 420,000 troops in its heyday.<sup>4</sup> Battles were also fought on a larger scale. In the Battle of Blenheim, for instance, some 120,000 troops were involved and the casualties numbered tens of thousands.<sup>5</sup> According to

---

4 John A. Lynn, *Giant of the grand siècle the French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32; David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 34.

5 J.W. Wijn, *Het Staatsche Leger. Deel VIII: Het tijdperk van de Spaanse Successieoorlog, 1702–1715*. Volume 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 471–479.

Jeremy Black, the period between 1660 and 1710 witnessed an important step in this process, in which scale and organization were tied up with the growth of state administration.<sup>6</sup> This inevitably also changed the impact on society, most notably through heavier taxation.<sup>7</sup>

The Peace of Utrecht embodies several intriguing contradictions. While it brought about a prolonged period of peace in Europe, it also inaugurated the age of aggressive 'balance of power' politics. Although the Peace was maintained for several years, conflict resulting from disputed articles arose as early as 1716 when Spain went to war over Sicily and Sardinia. However the great powers intervened in order to restore the Utrecht settlement. That settlement collapsed with the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740. Moreover, the Peace of Utrecht restructured overseas commerce and arguably accelerated Anglo-French rivalry in the colonies, that reached a climax in 1756 with the start of the Seven Years War.

The long years of conflict paradoxically forged a growing sense of 'Europe' as an international society, and artistic depictions of the Treaty of Utrecht highlighted both the European character of the Peace as well as the proto-patriotic sentiments that it stirred. At the same time, as the conclusion of a period in which international religious rivalry once again flared up, the Peace of Utrecht itself witnessed a striking lack of attention to religious matters. Although Protestant plenipotentiaries submitted a declaration of support for suppressed religious minorities on 11 April 1713, the day of the conclusion of Peace, the actual treaties all but ignored religious matters.<sup>8</sup>

While the public was generally averse to war, it did not neglect to celebrate its war heroes. Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough became celebrities. The impact of war also interacted with the growing news industry. In the Dutch Republic, for instance, political pamphlets already circulated during the Dutch Revolt, but the genre really took off in the early seventeenth century, peaking in 1672 with a total of at least one million copies.<sup>9</sup> In England,

6 Jeremy Black, *A military revolution? Military change and European society, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1991).

7 E.g. Wantje Fritschy, 'The Poor, the Rich, and the Taxes in Heinsius' Times,' in *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688–1720. Politics, War, and Finance*, ed. J.A.F. de Jongste and A.J. Veenendaal (The Hague: Institute of Netherlands History, 2002), 242–258.

8 James W. Gerard, *The peace of Utrecht a historical review of the great treaty of 1713–14, and of the principal events of the war of the Spanish succession* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam, 1885), 299.

9 Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 25; Michel Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2010), 14.

the newspaper really took off on the eve of the Civil War in 1641 and reached a steady plateau around the time of the War of the Spanish Succession. The first daily newspaper appeared during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the early eighteenth century heralded a time in which 'the newspaper became an established factor in British politics'.<sup>10</sup>

Although decision-making about war and peace was almost exclusively the domain of princes and ministers, the people's insatiable hunger for military news stimulated governments to publicly justify war policy. The booming media informed the general public about the peace negotiations and facilitated public reflection on the diplomatic process.<sup>11</sup> The public performance of peace became more important even though, at the same time, many forms of diplomatic communication and rituals remained invisible to the people at large. This also stimulated public debate, which famously peaked in England in 1711 with the influential *The conduct of the allies* by Jonathan Swift, sponsored by Tory politician Robert Harley. It was a scathing criticism of the war which facilitated the ministerial shuffle that ultimately led to peace negotiations. In this debate female authors also played their role, for instance Delarivier Manley, whose satirical anti-Whig 1709 *The New Atalantis* was likewise supported by Harley. In general, women's publication's in England really took off on the eve of the Civil War and reached a peak around the time of the start of the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>12</sup>

In short, the Peace of Utrecht confronts us with changing concepts of international relations as well as with new public practices of 'performing' diplomacy in eighteenth-century Europe. This volume rethinks the Peace of Utrecht by exploring the nexus between culture and politics. For too long, cultural and political historians have studied early modern international relations in isolation. By studying the political as well as the cultural aspects of this peace (and its concomitant paradoxes) from a broader perspective, this volume aims to shed new light on the relation between diplomacy and performative culture in the public sphere.<sup>13</sup> Peace-making was a core business of early modern

10 Joad Raymond, *The invention of the newspaper. English newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 15.

11 Cf. Jeremy D. Popkin, 'New perspectives on the early modern European press,' in *News and politics in early modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans ed. (Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, 2005).

12 Joad Raymond, 'Development of the book trade in Britain,' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol. 1*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64.

13 Cf. J. Watkins, 'Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe,' *Journal of Medieval and early Modern Studies* 38.1 (2008), 1–14; Maurits Ebben & Louis Siciking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis van de premoderne tijd. Een inleiding,' *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 127 (2014): 541–552.

diplomatic activity. It was a performative act, both in a cultural (the performance of peace celebrations) as well as diplomatic sense (the ceremonial nature of negotiations). Moreover, as Berber Bevernage has pointed out, peace treaties utilize ‘highly performative language of peace treaties’ in an ‘attempt to create a rupture between the “then” and the “now.”<sup>14</sup> The conclusion of peace itself is a significant performative act.

This volume looks at the wider aspects of performativity connected to the Peace of Utrecht in an attempt not only to rethink the nature and significance of events of 1713 themselves but also to establish how diplomatic historians, cultural historians and literary scholars can benefit from each other’s insights. It also builds on a long tradition of interpretations of the Peace of Utrecht itself, a settlement that was regarded as important as well as politically controversial from its inception. For the historians who chronicled the Peace of Utrecht around 1713, it became a crucible of ideological strife until deep into the eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the historiographers fell rather silent on the peace, although it figured in most historical overviews (often in a negative light). Full coverage of the peace by modern scholarship had to wait until the late nineteenth century, the golden age of the historiography of foreign policy, with monographs on the peace by Ottocar von Weber (1881) and James W. Gerard (1885).<sup>16</sup> Another important milestone was the 1995 encyclopedic *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession—An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, edited by Linda and

- 
- 14 Berber Bevernage, *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence: Time and Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 82.
- 15 Jonathan Swift started working on his history of the peace in 1712, but the work was never published because of its perceived partisan bias. Partisan bias was also obvious in Henry St John’s *Defense of the Treaty of Utrecht*, and Robert Walpole’s 1712 as *A Short History of the Parliament which Approved of the infamous Peace of Utrecht*, a book that was republished in 1763 at the time of the Peace of Paris. The Huguenot Casimir Freschot published his extensive *The compleat history of the Treaty of Utrecht and also that of . . . the Treaties of Baden and Rastatt* in 1716, mainly consisting of the publication of treaties and resolutions. Likewise, the magisterial *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du XVIII siècle by the Swiss Guillaume de Lamberty, a fourteen-volume series on the War of the Spanish Succession published from the 1720s onward contained a massive collection of primary sources.*
- 16 Ottocar von Weber, *Der Friede von Utrecht* (Gotha: Perthes 1891); W.J. Gerard, *The Peace of Utrecht. Historical review of the great treaty of 1713–1714, and of the principal events of the War of the Spanish Succession* (New York/Londen: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1885). A small study in Dutch was written by the Utrecht schoolmaster Willem Bannier in 1913, *De vrede van Utrecht, 11 april 1713: rede, uitgesproken voor de leerlingen van het Stedelijk Gymnasium te Utrecht op 11 april 1913* (Utrecht: Utrechtsch Stedelijk Gymnasium, 1914).

Marsha Frey.<sup>17</sup> Except for such scattered publications, the peace itself has been all but neglected in modern historiography despite the landmark status that is given to the Peace of Utrecht in some overviews of the history of international relations. Some historians argue that where the Peace of Westphalia failed to achieve stability in Europe, the Peace of Utrecht ‘superseded Westphalia’ in creating a functional alliance system.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, whereas Westphalia has received iconic status amongst international relations scholars, Utrecht is all but ignored in international relations textbooks or downgraded as only one of many early modern treaties.<sup>19</sup> War has always been more attractive to scholars than peace, but according to John Gittings the study of peace deserves more attention.<sup>20</sup> Recently, peace studies have been flourishing, including those directed at the early modern age, witness for instance the research project ‘Europäische Friedensverträge der Vormoderne online’, hosted by the Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG).<sup>21</sup>

In most of the studies mentioned above the emphasis is on high politics. The most recent volume of essays, edited by Heinz Duchhardt, is more inclusive of the visual and literary responses to the Peaces of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden but is at heart a study of diplomacy and international relations.<sup>22</sup> From another angle, art historians have studied the artistic representation of peace in the early modern age.<sup>23</sup> This volume aspires to approach the Peace of Utrecht from an interdisciplinary (literary cultural, and diplomatic) perspective, by considering it as a performative event.

---

17 *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession—An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).

18 D.J. Sturdy, *Fractured Europe 1600–1721* (Oxford/Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002), 75.

19 Typical is *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* by Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 (fifth edition)). There is a lengthy discussion on Westphalia, but Utrecht is not mentioned in the book at all.

20 John Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace: From the Iliad to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

21 ‘Europäische Friedensverträge der Vormoderne online’, Leibniz Institut für Europäische Geschichte, <http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de>, accessed 26 June 2014.

22 *Utrecht Rastatt Baden 1712–1714: Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Cf. *Pax Perpetua. Neuere Forschungen zum Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Inken Schmidt-Voges *et al.* (Berlin: Oldenburg Verlag, 2010).

23 E.g. Liesbeth M. Helmus, ‘Allegories of peace: Nijmegen, Ryswick and Utrecht-Rastatt,’ in *Peace Was Made Here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden 1713–1714*, ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Michael Imhof Verlag: Petersberg, 2013), 87–97.

## Performance

The concept of 'performance' covers a wide range of scholarly fields, from philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, theatre studies, to political discourses and international relations. It certainly is a challenging concept since its borders are so porous that the phenomenon is difficult to describe.<sup>24</sup> For the present volume, both the political interpretations of this paradigm as well as its definition in the field of theatre studies seem to be particularly relevant. It has, however, been linguistic speech-act theory which laid the foundation for current approaches to performative acts, not only in the field of 'performance studies' as such, but also in relation to various other fields, like political science, literary studies, anthropology and theatre history. The work of J.L. Austin had a large influence on scholars who study the performativity of language, based on the idea that saying something is already a form of acting, which means that pronouncing words in public can be seen as the performance of an action.<sup>25</sup>

The official announcement of a peace treaty, one of the core elements of early modern peace celebrations, could be seen very well as a 'speech act' in Austin's terms. Recently signed treaties were 'performed' in different ways and before they were seen as a 'peace', these treaties had to be officially announced in a public space (read out loud). Only when a peace was thus proclaimed could one say that it was 'performed', which means: publicly considered as 'real' and existing. Both its public character as well as its timeliness are central to the idea of a 'peace performance', confirming *in time* and by way of public speech what has just been written down and signed. These official announcements were made in front of the public, often from the steps or balcony of official buildings, like town halls.<sup>26</sup> The treaty between France and the Dutch Republic for instance was announced in The Hague on 13 April 1713 by a special messenger, the secretary of the States General, who handed over an official copy of the treaty to the official representatives of that political body, after which the peace was made public in the streets by shouts and sounds of trumpets.<sup>27</sup>

24 Marvin Carlson, *Performance: a critical introduction* (New York, London: Routledge, 2004), 205–206; *Performing memory in art and popular culture*, ed. Liedeke Plate and Anne Margriet Smelik (New York, London: Routledge, 2013), 6–7.

25 Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen* (Frankfurt a/Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 31ff; *Performing memory*, ed. Plate and Smelik, 7–8.

26 E.M.L. van der Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld. Zeventiende-eeuwse vredes in de prentkunst,' in: 1648. *Vrede van Munster. Feit en verbeelding*, ed. Jacques Dane (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 192–193.

27 See the report in: *Europische Mercurius* (1713), 1, 219.

The verb 'to perform' has of course much wider connotations and refers more generally to *how* acts are carried out and become meaningful in practice. Performance is a popular term in modern handbooks on management and governance as was the instructive vocabulary of '*manière*' or '*l'art de*' in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century professional handbooks, like instructions for diplomats. The performance of a peace then refers to diplomatic practice, the daily business of the negotiations and the *work* that had to be done behind the scenes in order to 'perform' a peace, i.e. to mediate between representatives of powers in order to solve an armed conflict. This conceptualized diplomatic 'work' of early modern diplomats refers to a broad range of ways to perform a peace. For the diplomats who gathered in Utrecht, all aspects of their performance as diplomats became important during the negotiations. As Linda and Marsha Frey write in the first chapter, the performative repertoire of eighteenth-century diplomats was extensive, and 'intrigues, manoeuvres, negotiations, quarrels and social activities, sometimes including sexual liaisons' were all part of their role in the performative culture of international diplomacy.

The concept of performance is strongly connected with the public relevance of the performed act and the public attention caught by its 'showy' character. Acts are performances as soon as they are carried out before the eye of an audience. Jon Mckenzie highlights the interactional nature of performances and their 'challenge of efficacy', i.e. their ambition to address and affect an audience.<sup>28</sup> Here the 'theatrical' aspect of performances (including their political appearance) is becoming important. The bodily co-presence of actors and an audience is the essence of theatrical praxis, which constitutes a performance. The idea that a performance always is an event that occurs between actors and their audience is central to the concept of performance in modern theatre studies. A public act is seen as a performance as soon as there is an audience that is expected to act like a group of co-performers, who contribute to the performance by their physical presence, their observation and their responses.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, the notion of performance is inherently linked to 'agency', as the performance is acted out by different groups of people.<sup>30</sup> In the case of 'Utrecht', different professional agencies—like publicists, theatre makers, diplomats, poets and courtiers—were involved in the performance of ideas, concepts

---

28 Jon Mckenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001), 30–31.

29 See Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, 47, who refers to the work of Max Hermann from the 1920s.

30 Cf. *Performing Memory*, ed. Plate and Smelik, 3–4.



and memories in front of an audience. When we consider the peace performances of early modern diplomats, the most striking thing seems to be, however, that the negotiations itself were not public at all. The most successful negotiations were conducted informally and behind closed doors, but at the same time the performance of peace remained a highly formalized and ritualized event. Increasingly, diplomats themselves realized the potential of public performances, whereas princes celebrated peace with feasts and imagery. They realized the representative potential of this public attention and initiated big (semi)public theatrical events as the public frame of their negotiations (like fireworks, masquerades and theatre performances). 'Utrecht' therefore confronts us with intriguing tensions between public manifestations of peace and performances that remained invisible to the public, as, for example, the chapter by Lucien Bély shows. Both visible and invisible performances, however, could be seen as acts of identity formation as well. In this volume we will be confronted with the performances of identities in different fields: ranging from European and local identities, gendered identities, cultural identities as well as professional identities (diplomats, courtiers).

The mediated peace performances of the early eighteenth century not only made visible and 'experienceable' what otherwise would remain hidden behind closed doors (the negotiations), they opened up a much wider field of topics and issues for public reflection. It is for this reason that this book will deal with the ways in which theatrical and textual reflections on war and peace transformed issues of distanced international politics and negotiations into topics of public discussion and critical reflection. The performance of 'Utrecht' therefore widely exceeds the borders of the Dutch town. The peace performances discussed in this book cover a wide range of reflections related to the peace: its appearances in different mediated forms within the public sphere, the 'performance' of diplomats, as well as theatrical performance itself as an instrument to imagine and perform peace.

The notion that diplomats 'performed' peace in front of a larger audience is obvious in the arrival of the British ambassador the Earl of Lexington in Madrid in September 1712 for consultation. He entered the city in a royal coach; 'uncountable was the confluence of the general public' to see the magnificent spectacle, which was repeated the next day when he rode to the Buen Retiro Park to speak with King Philip v.<sup>31</sup> In Utrecht tourist guides circulated in which the names of the ambassadors, their residences as well as the colours of the costumes of their retinue were described, and the Utrecht residents

---

31 *Europische Mercurius* 23 (1712), 11, 247.

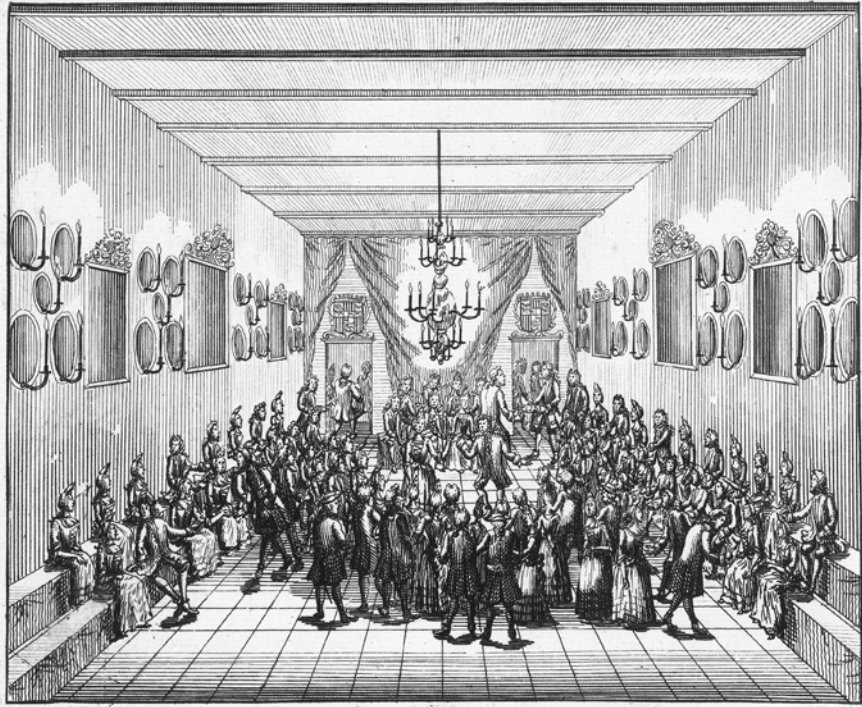


FIGURE 0.1 *A ball in honour of the birth of the crown prince of Portugal (19 October 1712), organized by the count of Tarouca on 27 February 1713 in Utrecht. Engraving by Nicolas Chevalier from Relation des fêtes, que le Comte de Tarouca a données (Utrecht: N. Chevalier, 1714).*

RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

could witness these diplomatic parties touring the city in an almost theatrical outfit.<sup>32</sup> The most successful ambassador in showing off to the local population was undoubtedly the Portuguese ambassador Tarouca, who threw a magnificent ball in honour of the birth of the crown prince,<sup>33</sup> but also treated the locals to a rare sight by organizing a sleigh-ride party in winter on one of the Utrecht canals, an engraving of which in the Utrecht archives still

32 Nicolaas Chevalier, *Lyste der Namen ende Qualiteiten van hare excellentien de heeren plenipotentiariissen envoyees, ende publique ministers, dewelke sig bevinden op het congres, over de Generale Vrede, t'Utrecht. Beneffens haare Edelens Wapens, Woonplaatsen, ende Livryen...* (Utrecht, 1712).

33 Kornee van der Haven, Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 'Maskerade en Ontmaskering,' *De Achttiende Eeuw* 41:1 (2009): 5–7.

captures the moment.<sup>34</sup> The conclusion of the peace and the celebrations also led to a spectacular performance. When on 14 June 1713 the States General organized fireworks in the Hofvijver in The Hague, the general populace enjoyed the spectacle from the shore, together with ‘all the foreign ministers’, invited by the States General ‘to be treated and see the artful fireworks from the House of Prince Maurice’.<sup>35</sup>

The theatrical setting in which peace was performed was also of great interest to spectators. John Leake, a traveler who witnessed one of the meetings of the ambassadors in February 1712, wrote: ‘The 23rd there was to be a general assembly at the stadthouse of the ministers of the several Allies, as well as of those of France. We could not slip this opportunity of gratifying our curiosity, and therefore, about ten in the morning, we placed ourselves as conveniently as we could to observe the cavalcade’. He realized the historical value of the occasion and was thrilled to ‘view the politic faces of these arbitrators of the fate of Europe’. The location itself, however, was less than impressive. The rooms in city hall ‘have nothing of the fineness of magnificence about them, but are as dark and melancholy as the transactions within them have hitherto been’.<sup>36</sup>

### Commemoration

As such, the Peace of Utrecht staged a number of performative events, but it is also interesting to briefly analyse its afterlife. Soon after 1713 interesting discrepancies arose between the different national framings of remembering ‘Utrecht’. In Great Britain for instance, the Treaty of Utrecht was considered as the starting point of a period of political and cultural prosperity, whereas in the Dutch Republic the treaty was seen as a turning point in the process of political and moral decline. Also in the German countries people thought of the peace as the bringer of both exuberant wealth along with general passivity, spoil and ‘French effeminacy’. Such vices were associated in art and literature with French court culture, placed in opposition to ‘native’ simplicity, diligence and bravery. The fear of political hegemony of Louis XIV went hand in hand with the fear of cultural supremacy of France in Europe.

---

34 Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, cat. 32384.

35 *Europische Mercurius* 24 (1713), I, 309. See also the contribution by Willem Frijhoff in this volume.

36 John Leake, quoted in Kees van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: accounts of British travelers, 1660–1720* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

There were few commemorations. In 1738 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the peace was celebrated in the Dutch Republic with the issuing of a remarkable Game of the Goose, with the Silver Jubilee of the Peace of Utrecht ('Het Jubeljaar van de Vrede') as the final square to win the stake. The other sixty-nine squares symbolized events in Dutch history from the Revolt against Spain in the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>37</sup> After 1738 silence reigned around the Treaty of Utrecht. Performances of Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum*, mainly in Britain, were the exceptions. The year of the first centennial, 1813, was not exactly the right time for peace memorials. Even after Napoleon's catastrophic march to Russia, prospects for a near end to his rule did not look good in the spring of 1813. In 1886 the Peace of Utrecht was performed by students in Utrecht in a 'maskerade', a popular event apparently as it was repeated in 1890 and 1923.<sup>38</sup> 1913 did not inspire any national commemorations either, but in 1964 the 250th anniversary of the Peace of Rastatt of 1714 was modestly remembered with an exhibition, a publication and a medal.<sup>39</sup>

All this changed dramatically with the tercentenary, the occasion of a grand scale commemoration in three peace cities: Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, an initiative comparable to the commemoration of the Peace of Westphalia in Münster and Osnabrück in 1998. However, the Utrecht initiative was, from the start, more focused on political issues like slavery and racism. In the activities, both in the plans for the commemoration year and in the long period before, the emphasis was strongly on contemporary art, theatre, film and music.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, a yearly concert around the *Utrecht Te Deum* by Handel in Utrecht Cathedral paid attention to the music from the times of the peace treaty. In the four peace cities in Europe (Utrecht, Baden, Rastatt and Madrid) the treaties were commemorated in celebrations which were each distinctive in their mix of historical and current concerns, national and international focus and cultural and political issues, either tightly or loosely connected to the events in 1713–1715. One might wonder at this spectacular rediscovery, or rather, reinvention, of the Peace of Utrecht in recent years. As Jane O. Newman writes in chapter 13 to this volume, it remains to be seen how the peace celebrations of 2013 will be remembered in the future.

37 *Peace Was Made Here*, ed. De Bruin and Brinkman, 184–185.

38 David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De vrede van Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 102–103.

39 *1714. Friede von Rastatt, Ausstellung im Schloss Rastatt vom 11. Juli bis 18. August 1964* (Rastatt: Stadtverwaltung, 1964).

40 For an overview of the activities see: *9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht 2005–2013*, ed. Lieke Hoitink and Petra Orthel (Utrecht: Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, 2014).

## Stages of Performance

*Performances of Peace* investigates how peace was mediated, represented and 'made' in the build-up to the negotiations, during the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession and during the Utrecht negotiations (1711–13). By studying these peace performances, it aims to shed new light on the relationship between diplomacy and performative culture in the public sphere. It will do so by focusing on four different 'stages' where the Utrecht peace performances took place: the 'diplomatic' (I), 'publicity' (II), 'theatrical' (III) and 'commemorative' (IV) stage. The 'diplomatic stage' looks into relationship between diplomacy and cultural practices and discourse. The 'publicity stage' deals with the public debate, as it emerged in newspapers, periodicals, historiographical works, occasional poetry and plays. The 'theatrical stage' discusses different kinds of theatrical performances during the Spanish Succession War and the 1713 peace celebrations, such as fireworks, theatre plays, musical performances and peepshows. Entertaining spectacles like these made the world and experiences of diplomats and militaries accessible to larger groups of people. The 'commemorative stage' discusses the manner in which later generations reflected on and historically constructed the peace. In all parts special attention is paid to issues of 'agency' and 'identity': who were performing these acts, and which (local, national or European) identities were constructed in this way?

The first part of this volume is dedicated to the 'diplomatic stage'. European-wide coalitions necessitated the formulation or revision of 'grand strategies', which now increasingly came to span the continent as well as overseas territories. But the concepts related to the conduct of foreign policy also changed, for instance with the emergence of the 'balance of power' principle.<sup>41</sup> The increasing sophistication of diplomatic interaction is exhibited in the handbooks of Abraham de Wicquefort in the 1673 and François de Callières in 1716 as well as in the diplomatic academy established by Torcy in 1712. The process of transforming dynastic conglomerates into nation-states,<sup>42</sup> albeit capricious and far from straightforward, changed the nature of foreign politics and diplomacy. Increasing public pressure (itself the result of a coming of age of 'public opinion')<sup>43</sup> on governments to justify or even alter the direction of

41 Evan Luard, *The Balance of Power: the System of International Relations, 1648–1815* (St. Martin's Press: Basingstoke, 1992).

42 But see Lucien Bély, *La société des princes: xvi<sup>e</sup>–xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Fayard: Paris, 1999).

43 The lapse of the 1694 Licensing Act in England was considered a landmark by Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Polity, 1989), 58.



FIGURE 0.2 *The Peace of Utrecht*. Engraving by Anna Folkema. From: Roeland van Leuwe, *Mengelwerken* (Amsterdam: J. Verheyden, 1723).

RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

foreign policy, partly the result of the steep rise of the cost of war due to rapidly expanding armies,<sup>44</sup> added a new layer to the complex system of international relations. Increasingly also nationalist sentiments, national stereotypes and the depiction of foreign enemies in the evolution of a national culture challenged the dynastic princes' claim to the people's loyalty, partly as a result of the long wars between states.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, the steep rise of colonial imports and commercial wars heightened the awareness of the global dimension of conflict and fostered cosmopolitanism. International relations in the eighteenth century differed from those in the seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> With new concepts there also emerged new languages of international relations to come to terms with changes, such as the emergence of the term 'balance of power', a term that could be seen as a description of the situation but also shaped the social reality itself. The power of language in international relations, especially with regard to peace treaties such as that of Utrecht, was important.

Frey and Frey (chapter 1) present a panoramic overview of eighteenth-century diplomats acting on their stage. The diplomats' 'intrigues, maneuvers, negotiations, quarrels and social activities, sometimes including sexual liaisons, were part of the public performance of peace.' They show how diplomats were trained to perform on the 'theatre of the world' and how they interacted successfully by being part of a community with a shared language and practices. Minute attention was paid to the rules of conversation as well as dress and ceremony. The era of the Peace of Utrecht is pertinent, since it saw the emergence of the notion of the professional diplomat in which training was taken to a higher level and practices were encoded in handbooks.

The chapter by Lucien Bély shows how the performance of diplomats did not always take place on a 'stage' but often behind it, invisible to the spectators. This was the case with the Peace of Utrecht, in which the most material aspects of the treaty were negotiated in secret between French and English negotiators rather than in Utrecht between the plenipotentiaries in official meetings. Bély focuses in particular on the role played by the commercial interests, merchants lobbying for trade advantages in the West Indies in a process largely hidden

---

44 According to Jeremy Black, a military revolution took place between 1660 and 1710 driven by the expansion of armies: *A Military Revolution: Military Change and European Society, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

45 Cf. Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

46 Cf. Heinz Duchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie: Internationale Beziehungen 1700–1785* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1992).

from the eyes of the general public. The diplomats integrated such demands, often secret projects proposed by merchants or companies in the negotiations. The article also makes clear the significance of the global scale of the ramifications of the Utrecht negotiations.

The theme of identity is explored by Phil McCluskey (chapter 3), who analyses the shifts in identity and loyalty of the subjects of the duke of Savoy in the duchies of Savoy and Piedmont on the eve of the Peace of Utrecht. These territories were divided by the Alps, and the loyalty of the Savoyard people in particular was tested when French troops occupied Savoy during the War of the Spanish Succession. Did the change of a dynastic ruler lead to large-scale resistance or did the population remain indifferent? To what extent did shared culture and language between the occupied people and conqueror affect the sense of loyalty to the new regime? And how did Victor Amadeus appeal to the Savoyards in order to retain their loyalty? McCluskey disentangles the complex and multilevel patterns of identities and loyalties of the Savoyard people, concluding that the duke's strategy, a combination of threat and appeal to 'national sentiment', proved extremely successful.

Identity is also the subject of chapter 4 by David Onnekink, focusing on the abortive negotiations for peace between the Dutch and the French in 1709 and 1710, on the eve of the Peace of Utrecht. The focus is on identities and how they tie in with foreign policy discourses. More specifically, Onnekink analyses Universal Monarchy discourse in popular sources in which France is portrayed as warlike, arrogant and unreliable. The article shows how this discourse also pervaded official policy sources and diplomatic correspondence, thus suggesting that identity discourses rather than rational argument influenced the outcome of the negotiations in 1710.

The public reflection on the Peace of Utrecht in literary, historiographical and journalistic texts is the topic of the second part of this book, highlighting 'the publicity stage'. The general public's craving for news during the War of the Spanish Succession and the negotiations in Utrecht was met by a large stream of publications, including newspapers, periodicals, treatises, poems and plays. By means of these media all sorts of political and moral ideals were propagated, but informing and entertaining the audience was just as important. This is illustrated by Suzan van Dijk and Henriette Goldwyn in their analysis of Madame du Noyer's coverage of the peace negotiations in her periodical *Quintessence des nouvelles historiques, critiques, politiques, morales et galantes* (chapter 5). In this periodical, which has been largely overlooked in the historiography of the Utrecht celebrations, informing the public was just as important as offering entertainment. The mixture of facts and fictional epistolary elements, which were embedded in a literary tradition, typify Du Noyer's



writing. Her reporting techniques differed from the more traditional accounts in the sense that she emphasized a female perspective, albeit ironically.

Du Noyer's entertaining writing style is rather different from that found in the *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht* [...], the authoritative history of the Utrecht peace congress, which appeared anonymously in 1716. Heinz Duchhardt (chapter 6) argues that this influential book was written by an eyewitness of the Utrecht negotiations and that the French historian Casimir Freschot, who lived in Utrecht, is the most likely candidate. His account is far from objective but filled with animosity against the French, the English and the Pope. The author for instance fulminates against the British strategies conducted in the years before the actual signing of the Peace Treaty, especially the monarchical pursuits of Queen Anne and the games played behind the back of the allies, which would disadvantage the Dutch Republic.

While in the above mentioned publications attention was paid to all participants in the negotiations, many other contemporary texts focused exclusively on the national impact of the peace celebrations. The internal debates on the British 'stage' are the topic of chapters 7 (Samia Al-Shayban) and 8 (Clare Jackson) while chapter 9 focuses on the Dutch Republic (Lotte Jensen). The British nation was deeply divided over the peace negotiations: Queen Anne and her adherents were in favour of the conclusion of the peace while the Whig Cabinet preferred a continuation of the fight. The political struggle between the Tories and the Whigs was visualized in Joseph Addison's tragedy *Cato*. This play, which tells the story of Cato's struggle for liberty against Caesar's tyranny, was written in 1712 and first performed on 14 April 1713. It has been subject to many- often contradictory- interpretations. Al-Shabayn argues that reading the play against the background of the Treaty of Utrecht offers new insights: it is not Cato but Caesar who, as a proponent of peace, offers a role model for contemporary politics. Although Addison had earlier sided with the Whigs, it is in fact Queen Anne's policy that is supported on stage.

This is also the case in Jonathan Swift's contribution to the debate, *The Conduct of Allies* (1711) and his lesser-known *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (written in 1712–13, first published in 1745). Swift took a firm stand in the internal political struggles and whole-heartedly supported Queen Anne. His motives, however, seem to have been influenced by personal circumstances as well: he was trying to secure an appointment as Historiographer-Royal, but his attempts hopelessly failed. Addison's and Swift's publications show that the performance of peace was filled with internal political struggles, but the Swift case also calls attention to questions related to the mediation of knowledge about the negotiations for a more general reading public. As Jackson shows in her chapter, Swift's claim to possess particular knowledge of the political

negotiations and maneuvering that underpinned the Treaty of Utrecht was asserted in his capacity as a polemical propagandist who remained in London whilst the diplomatic negotiations took place abroad. The fact that he was *not* involved in the negotiations or the diplomatic world itself thus enabled him to frame his own position as an independent journalist and opinion-maker.

Jensen focuses on the popular reactions to the peace treaty in relation to the rise of national and European thought. Jensen's chapter shows that it is in the field of literature that identities are first and most effectively formulated because literature often works with discursive patterns of self-identification, convincing images and commonplaces. Mainly focused on national arena, like the internal political struggles of republicanism versus Orangism, these reactions explore different concepts of Dutchness as well as different roles of the Dutch Republic on the international stage. Only a few writers, such as the Mennonite Adriaan Spinniker, however, propagated true European peace. More often, the national perspective was shaped in dialogue with the regional and European levels. Some singled out the Dutch Republic as the best part of Europe and emphasized the laudable contribution of their nation to the peace negotiations whilst others highlighted the benefits of the peace for Europe as a whole. Both regional and national as well as European 'imagined communities' take shape in the sources discussed by Jensen, based on national feelings, but also on religious or cultural identities.

Part three, the theatrical stage, deals with peace celebrations and other public events related to the War of the Spanish Succession. Fireworks and public festivities were mainly used as an instrument of top-down communication, while travelling peepshows and theatre plays at fairs or in public theatre houses were commercial initiatives with a more popular character. In both cases, the audience got the opportunity to participate in the distant worlds of war and diplomacy. Although the most successful peace negotiations were conducted informally and behind closed doors, rulers and politicians recognized the representative potential of public attention and arranged large-scale (semi-)public ceremonial and theatrical events to create a public framework for their negotiations. As scholars like Jeroen Duindam have shown, 'diplomatic ceremony' was of crucial importance in the nexus between court life and diplomacy.<sup>47</sup>

In chapter 10, Cornelis van der Haven investigates the role of war plays and military peepshows during the War of the Spanish Succession and the Utrecht peace negotiations. In the Amsterdam theatre house several plays were

---

47 Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 181–184.

performed, which depicted battlefield scenes, whereas a highly allegorical piece by Enoch Krook, entitled *Staatkunde* ('Politics'), performed in 1713, made the 'theatre of diplomacy' accessible to a larger audience. It enabled the audience to reflect on the political and tactical skills that were important in the world of diplomats as well as on the political principles of balance of power and the rules of international diplomacy. Travelling peepshows were another medium which enabled a larger audience to get an impression of the military world. By looking through a glass they got a private, nearly intimate impression of the military scenery. Media like these were paradoxical in nature: on the one hand, they brought the experience of war and diplomacy closer to the public; on the other hand, they kept the realities of war and diplomacy at a greater distance in order for the viewer to enjoy that distanced reality and the spectacles related to it.

While the above-mentioned performances were primarily popular, there was also a wide range of celebrations with a more top-down character. The institutional political use of public ceremonies is central to the chapters by Aaron Olivas and Julie Ferguson, who respectively describe public celebrations connected to Philip V of Spain and Queen Anne of Great Britain. In chapter 11, Olivas shows how the Spanish king availed himself of political propaganda in the colonies. During the Spanish Succession War, many public performances were organized to celebrate important events in the personal life of the king, such as his marriage to María Luisa of Savoy, her pregnancies, and the birth of their sons. These spectacles served both political and diplomatic goals: the public's moral and financial support was crucial for the king's ability to wage war, and people were urged to donate to the crown. Furthermore, the trans-imperial bonds with the French crown were reinforced by the use of these ceremonies.

A similar, instrumental use can be witnessed in the public thanksgiving held at St Paul's Cathedral in London on 7 July 1713, as shown by Ferguson (chapter 12). The festivities consisted of a grand procession, a musical performance, and fireworks. Ferguson demonstrates how this celebration fits in the history of public thanksgivings and argues that Queen Anne used this ceremonial form as a political instrument. She was promoted as a symbol of national and religious unity to counteract the political factionalism of the era. Music played an important role in proclaiming the benefits of peace in national terms: Handel's *Te Deum* enforced the message of peaceful and religious harmony. Ferguson's account of these monarchical celebrations demonstrate that performances of peace were mainly framed in national terms: just as in the case of the Dutch fireworks and Spanish celebrations overseas, the performances were utilized by the political rulers to propagate their own political agenda.

This instrumental use of ceremonies, however, was not restricted to court life. In the case of the Dutch Republic, where court life was almost absent in the first half of the eighteenth century, ceremonial celebrations served as vehicles to pass on political and moral messages as we can see in the chapter by Willem Frijhoff, who discusses the fireworks held in The Hague from anthropological, social and political perspectives. He points to the richness of this medium in terms of conveying clear moral and political messages in support of the diplomatic negotiations of the States General and the States of Holland; these messages reached a wider audience through engravings and broadsheets, which were reproduced many times. The most striking observation is that the patriotic and moral symbolism remained totally inward-turned and concentrated on a celebration of the Dutch Republic itself and the structures of the state. There were no references to European alliances or cosmopolitan ideals. According to Frijhoff, this suggests that the Dutch authorities realized that their leading European role belonged to the past.

In all cases, these public performances—ranging from fireworks to military peepshows—reveal the growing public interest in war and peace-making. Rulers and politicians recognized the importance of creating a public framework, while playwrights and entertainers reacted to the need of the general public to be informed about what happened in the rather distant diplomatic and military spheres.

In the final part on ‘the commemorative stage’, the focus is on contemporary reflections upon the Peace of Utrecht through the metaphor of a ‘memory theatre’. As Jane O. Newman explains, this is a mental exercise in which one can summon images and memories of the past as if they were performed on stage. The question this final part tries to answer specifically is how such a memory theatre was constructed in the commemorations of the Peace of Utrecht in 2013.

In chapter 14 Jane O. Newman reflects on the articles and central concern of this volume by musing on the connection between diplomacy, performativity and commemoration. She does so by using her own research on the commemoration of the Peace of Westphalia in 1948 as an example. As she points out, this book is a performance itself—a memory theatre providing insight into the ways the Peace of Utrecht was remembered by historical scholars in the year 2013.

In the closing chapter Renger de Bruin explores the various ways in which museums in Germany, Spain, Switzerland and The Netherlands recreated a peace which, contrary to the Peace of Westphalia, was all but forgotten. In a way, the peace had to be reinvented for a modern audience, in which specific national and local concerns also played their part. In Utrecht, for instance,

the local museum focused on a historical recreation of the Peace, but most celebrations had a more cultural character and celebrated 'peace' as a notion rather than a historical event. In Baden commemoration had a similar contemporary flavour, whereas Rastatt focused on the historical context. As De Bruin shows, in these four cities, like four different 'stages', the Peace of Utrecht was performed as a European event, echoing both the historical peace of 1713 as well as the practical organization sponsored by the European Union.

Together these chapters thus form a four-pronged structure in which the four separate stages are presented to the reader, who becomes a spectator indirectly of these performances of the Peace of Utrecht. Accordingly, this volume not only sheds new light on the peace itself but also on our own early twenty-first-century conditions and concerns in relation to the performance of peace and to what 'Utrecht' means to us today.



**PART 1**

*The Diplomatic Stage*







# The Olive and the Horse: The Eighteenth-Century Culture of Diplomacy

*Linda Frey and Marsha Frey*

The diplomats who gathered in the picturesque town of Utrecht to end the wars fought in Europe as well as overseas acted on a public parquet. Their intrigues, maneuvers, negotiations, quarrels, and social activities, sometimes including sexual liaisons, were part of the public performance of peace. These representatives could not but be conscious of their role in this performative culture and be adept at its manipulation. The sociability of this international elite so integral to the *ancien régime* facilitated the deliberations. In the eighteenth century those who served abroad, whom Napoleon would later derisively dub ‘the brilliant butterflies of the panniers age,’<sup>1</sup> belonged to a distinctive community, according to the astute and knowledgeable envoy of Louis XIV, François de Callières (1645–1717).<sup>2</sup> Just as the states of Europe were part ‘d’une même République,’<sup>3</sup> so diplomats were part of a narrow elite; they shared similar sentiments, norms and values, were bound by personal and family alliances, and understood the implicit ‘code’ ‘rooted in ceremonial forms and gestures.’<sup>4</sup> That assessment was shared at the end of the eighteenth century by Victor-François, duc de Broglie (1718–1804) who compared this group to ‘un grand ordre de chevalerie’. To belong to this ‘milieu élégant et raffiné’ one needed to

1 *Napoleon's Letters to Marie Louise*, ed. Charles de La Roncière (New York: Farrar & Rinehart Inc., 1935), 15 July, 1813, 169.

2 François de Callières, *On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes*, trans. A.F. Whyte (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1963), 113.

3 Callières, *On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes*, 11.

4 Hamish Scott, ‘Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe,’ in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (Cambridge: University Press, 2007), 58–85: 60, 77; Lucien Bély, ‘Méthodes et perspectives dans l’étude des négociations internationales à l’époque moderne,’ *Frankreich im europäischen Staatensystem der Frühen Zeit*, ed. Rainer Babel (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995), 219–233: 223 and Claire Béchu, ‘Les Ambassadeurs français au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Formation et carrière,’ *L’Invention de la diplomatie, Moyen Âge- temps modernes*, ed. Lucien Bély and Isabelle Richefort (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998), 331–346: 345.

be 'de la famille.'<sup>5</sup> Antoine Pecquet (1700–1762)<sup>6</sup> who served as *premier commis* of foreign affairs from 1725 to 1740—said much the same. Foreign representatives abroad formed 'une espèce de société indépendante,' bound together by a 'une communauté de privilèges.'<sup>7</sup> By the outbreak of the Revolution a 'distinct diplomatic culture' that was both 'cohesive' and 'homogeneous' existed<sup>8</sup> and unified the diplomatic world.<sup>9</sup>

### Men of War and of Peace

The individuals who belonged to this 'distinctive community' came from the same social class, the nobility—and more often than not the upper ranks, and dominated the diplomatic corps, especially the ranks of ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, which inevitably came to be permeated with a 'noble ethos.'<sup>10</sup> A prosopographical study of 450 diplomatic agents between 1697 and 1715 underscores the critical importance of birth. These negotiators were from either the *noblesse de l'épée* (the nobles of the sword), the *noblesse de la robe*, or the clergy. For certain families diplomatic service became a tradition. For example, Jean d'Estrées, abbé de Saint Claude, succeeded his uncle, César, cardinal d'Estrées as ambassador of France at Madrid just as Jean Louis d'Usson, marquis de Bonnac followed his uncle, François d'Usson, marquis de Bonrepas at the United Provinces.<sup>11</sup> Yet another prosopographical study of French diplomats who held the rank of minister plenipotentiary or ambassador between 1715 and 1791 shows that of the 179, 120 (67%) had also served in the military.<sup>12</sup> In France by 1789 nobles held 35 of the 39 diplomatic posts;

5 Quoted in Jacques Henri-Robert, *Dictionnaire des diplomates de Napoleon, histoire et dictionnaire du corps consulaire et imperial* (Paris: Henri Veyrier, 1990), 13.

6 François Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Michaud: Paris, 1854), reprint (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1967) 32: 341. See also Béchu, 'Les Ambassadeurs français au xviiiè siècle,' 335.

7 Antoine Pecquet, *De l'Art de négocier avec les souverains* (The Hague: Jean van Duren, 1738), 104.

8 Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture,' 59. See also Hamish Scott, *The Birth of a Great Power System, 1740–1815* (Harlow, England, 2006), 4–5.

9 Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 748.

10 Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture,' 72.

11 Bély, 'Méthodes et perspectives,' 222.

12 Béchu, 'Les Ambassadeurs français,' 333. See also Simon Surreaux, *Les Maréchaux de France des Lumières: histoire et dictionnaire dans la société d'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Spm, 2013).

the other four, such as Danzig, were minor postings.<sup>13</sup> Because many of the diplomats also belonged to the *noblesse de l'épée* and had attained the rank of general officer, a close relationship between the army and the diplomatic corps existed. Both Lucien Bély's and Claire Béchu's analyses demonstrate that diplomats were selected in large part from the military.<sup>14</sup> That linkage is also seen during the War of the Spanish Succession. In the case of Great Britain, Henry Snyder has pointed out that all the major diplomatic posts (The Hague, Brussels, Lisbon, Vienna, Berlin, Hanover and Spain) at one time during that conflict were held by military officers, many with close ties to Marlborough.<sup>15</sup> That link underscores the primacy of birth in the diplomatic corps of the Old Regime for only those of the highest social status were selected to represent the king, particularly at the rank of ambassador. Marlborough, who was accredited to several courts and shuffled among others, showed his prowess in both military and diplomatic tactics. The comte de Tallard had the distinction of negotiating the Partition Treaties of 1698 and 1700 designed to avoid war and, after they were shattered, of fighting in the ensuing conflict and earning a marshal's baton. Captured at the battle of Blenheim as a prisoner of war, he intrigued with his many friends in England, helped bring down the Whigs, and was subsequently released without ransom, perhaps as a gesture of gratitude.<sup>16</sup> João Gomes da Silva, count of Tarouca, fought before he negotiated as first plenipotentiary of Portugal at Utrecht. The famous cavalry commander Reinhart Vincent, Freiherr von Hompesch often engaged in both military and diplomatic skirmishes.<sup>17</sup> The Swiss, François-Louis de Pesmes, often called Saint-Saphorin, both a general and a diplomat, assisted the Dutch, the Habsburgs, the Prussians, the Swiss, and finally the British. With less happy consequences, Raimond-Balthazar Phélypeaux de Verger had served as envoy extraordinary before being promoted to lieutenant general. Dispatched on an almost impossible mission, anticipating the intentions of the duke of Savoy, Phélypeaux

- 
- 13 Melvin Edelstein, 'La Noblesse et le monopole des fonctions publiques en 1789,' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 54 (1982): 440–443, 441.
- 14 Bély, 'Méthodes et perspectives,' 222 and Béchu, 'Les Ambassadeurs français,' 333.
- 15 Henry L. Snyder, 'The British Diplomatic Service during the Godolphin Ministry,' in *Studies in Diplomatic History*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton and M.S. Anderson (North Haven, Ct: Archon Books, 1970), 47–68: 60, 63.
- 16 Ronald S. Love, 'Camille, comte de Tallard, marquis de la Beaume-D'Hostun, Baron d'Arlanc,' in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1995), 433–434.
- 17 Augustus J. Veenendaal, Jr. 'Reinhart Vincent, Freiherr von Hompesch,' in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Frey and Frey, 209–210.

was ordered to act as field marshal except when he was acting as ambassador. It did not go well. Phélypeaux's difficult personality only alienated the duke who took him hostage and declared war against France.<sup>18</sup> A less well known example, János Erdődi, Gróf Pálffy, the commander in chief of the imperial armies in Hungary, built up personal contacts that expedited his negotiations of the peace of Szatmár.<sup>19</sup> In all of the above cases and doubtless in many others the Old Regime saw no contradiction in selecting ambassadors to conclude the peace from men of war. As one contemporary noted: 'La carrière politique n'a jamais été regardée comme une discontinuation de la carrière militaire.'<sup>20</sup> That same nexus between soldiers and diplomats, albeit with different personnel, would recur later in the Revolution and under Napoleon. Whether they offered the olive, peace, or brought the horse, war, they shared a code of conduct that dictated dress, language, and etiquette. As Bély has argued, this 'social and cultural coherence' facilitated international discussions by making possible a common language and creating certain expectations.<sup>21</sup>

### The Issue of Training

The demands of the developing international system in an age of endemic warfare forced many to realize the importance of diplomacy and to consider more formal training for the men sent abroad. The impetus to establish such a school was echoed in the earlier attempts of Philip II and of the papacy in the Pontifical Academy of 1701 and later of Frederick II.<sup>22</sup> The best-known attempt, Torcy's short-lived *Académie politique*, had been founded in 1712.<sup>23</sup> It is not

18 Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, 'Raimond-Balthazar Phélypeaux de Verger,' in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Frey and Frey, 352–353.

19 Peter F. Sugar, 'János Erdődi, Gróf Pálffy,' in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Frey and Frey, 328–329.

20 Béchu, 'Les Ambassadeurs français,' 333.

21 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 289.

22 Karl Schweizer, 'François de Callières and the marquis de Torcy's 'Political Academy': New Evidence,' *Canadian Journal of History* 46: 3 (2011): 619–625, 619.

23 For the short-lived academy founded by Torcy see Guy Thuillier, *La première École d'administration: L'Académie politique de Louis XIV* (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1996). See also John Rule with Ben Trotter, *Diplomacy and Administration under Louis XIV: Colbert de Torcy and the Department of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1689–1715*, forthcoming; Maurice Keens-Soper, 'The French Political Academy 1712: A School for Ambassadors,' *European Studies Review* 2 (1972): 323–355; Klaitis, 'Men of Letters,' 577–597.

surprising that Torcy turned to an experienced diplomat, Callières, who had championed the idea of a professional diplomatic corps.<sup>24</sup> Later in the century the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs did send some promising individuals to the diplomatic school at Strasbourg, founded by Jean Daniel Schoepflin (1694–1771)<sup>25</sup> and subsequently directed by his pupil, Christophe Guillaume Koch (1737–1813), a professor of law, who presided over the diplomatic committee prior to the fall of the monarchy. Many diplomats who would serve the revolutionary governments, however briefly, attended Strasbourg, such as Bourgoing, Ségur, Bombelles, Custine, Bacher, and Talleyrand, as well as their counterparts from other countries, such as Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince Metternich (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian Josef, Freiherr von Montgelas (Bavaria); and Morton Frederick Eden, Baron Henley (Great Britain). There they studied international law, statistics, and history and forged bonds that would persist in their later lives.<sup>26</sup>

### Diplomatic Manuals

Although many of these attempts were short lived, there were manuals to guide those who sought to serve as diplomats. For many Callières' now classic work, *On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes*, written in 1716, epitomized the ideals of the diplomacy of the old regime. These norms were widely shared and can be seen as well in the works of one of his contemporaries, Louis Rousseau de Chamoy (1645?–1711).<sup>27</sup> In Callières' view rulers should appoint men who were both prepared and able for a state's fate often depended on the envoy. In particular 'men of birth and breeding' and wealth were best able to represent France because their rank would entitle them to respect. Those of good birth, he assumed, would also have certain 'qualities' necessary for success. The successful envoy was suave, personally agreeable, able to adapt to different cultures and to appreciate the positive features of the country where he was sent.

24 Schweizer, 'François de Callières', 622.

25 Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* 38: 407–409.

26 Jürgen Voss, 'Christophe Guillaume Koch (1737–1813): Homme politique et historiographe contemporain de la Révolution,' *History of European Ideas* 13:5 (1991): 531–543: 531–532. See also Jean Richtereau, *Le Rôle politique du professeur Koch* (Strasbourg: Imprimerie Alsacienne, 1936) and Michaud, *Biographie*, 22: 84–86.

27 Louis Rousseau de Chamoy, *L'Idée du parfait ambassadeur* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1912). Chamoy's work was written in 1697 and reflected his extensive diplomatic experience. He served the king abroad as secretary, *chargé d'affaires*, resident, envoy, and plenipotentiary.

He was also affable, had excellent manners, and was courteous 'in little things.' Because the envoy represented his ruler he must have an unshakeable dignity. In brief, rulers should avoid sending the least gifted and rely on the ablest. Callières approvingly cited the remark of the grand duke of Tuscany who, although admitting that Tuscany had 'fools,' was careful 'not to export them.'<sup>28</sup>

Some two decades later in 1737, Antoine Pecquet, an admirer of Callières, echoed his views. Pecquet too disputed the idea that all men could be excellent negotiators. Rather the prince should select 'l'homme du monde' who could excel in what he termed 'le théâtre du monde.'<sup>29</sup> For him, as for Callières, a successful envoy had to possess certain essential characteristics. For envoys of the first rank, that is, ambassadors, individuals had to be of great birth or great achievement. Those of lesser distinction could be chosen for the lower ranks. The envoy's ability to excel in a foreign society helped to ensure ultimate success. The first duty of the envoy was to project not only '*politesse*' but good will. To do that he must respect the laws and customs of the country and follow court ceremonial.<sup>30</sup>

The views of those within the diplomatic establishment were eerily similar almost a hundred years later. William Eden, Lord Auckland (1744–1814), who had served as British ambassador to Spain and the United Provinces and special envoy to France, echoed Callières' advice and urged those going abroad to be well acquainted not only with their own country and its colonies but also with all the states of Europe, their sovereigns and ministers. The envoy should, moreover, be fluent in French, able to write well in English (if employed by the British), and well versed in the etiquette of courts, the law of nations and existing disputes.<sup>31</sup> Still those who proffered the olive branch of peace, including those who rode the horse of war, shared a code of conduct that dictated dress, language, and etiquette.

### Ceremony and Etiquette

They would not have recognized these issues as ones of mere style, for such customs validated the *ancien régime* and reinforced the aristocratic code.

28 De Chamoy, *L'Idée du parfait ambassadeur*, 56–57, 40–46, 49, 124–127, 24, 21–22, 59, 142.

29 Pecquet, *De l'Art de négocier*, x, xii, xxvi–xli.

30 Pecquet, *De l'Art de négocier*, 106–107, 2, 5, 10–13, 24–30, 32–37, 38–42, 46, 44–46, 50, 70, 49–51, xv, 57, 110, 58–59.

31 William Eden, first baron Auckland, *The Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland* (London: Richard Bentley, 1862), 3: 329–330, 20 February 1796.

The minutely regulated ceremonies were part of what Duindam calls ‘the public presentation of power.’<sup>32</sup> Historians have come to recognize that ‘symbolics of power’ [were] not mere incidental ephemera.<sup>33</sup> For Louis XIV etiquette was an instrument of power: ‘Those people are gravely mistaken who imagine that all this is mere ceremony.’<sup>34</sup> Those at the court became sensitized to ‘the status and importance that should be attributed to a person in society on the basis of his bearing, speech, manner or appearance.’<sup>35</sup> The nobility were caught in ‘the vicious circle of enforced ostentation,’ ‘imprisoned by their own ceremonial and etiquette,’<sup>36</sup> like an insect imprisoned in amber. This ‘incessant competition’ meant that ‘everyone was running on the spot.’<sup>37</sup> To ‘keep one’s place in the intense competition,’ one had to cultivate the appropriate gestures, move in the rigidly mandated way, wear the right fabrics, choose the correct shoes. As Elias noted, ‘Even smiling is shaped by court custom.’<sup>38</sup> A satire dating from the reign of Henry IV has one courtier explain to another the minutiae of dress (high heels, gilded spurs), what to say, when to laugh, how to move the head, when to fling your arms, when to shift from one foot to another, etc.<sup>39</sup> A diplomat who was, nonetheless, not part of the courtly elite, Callières condemned the ‘vain ceremonies,’ which he equated with a ‘play’ in which the courtiers

- 
- 32 Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe’s Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 181. See also Ute Daniel, ‘Überlegungen zum höfischen Fest der Barockzeit,’ *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 72 (2000): 45–66; Benjamin Marschke, ‘Von dem am Königl. Preussischen Hofe abgeschafften *Ceremoniel*: Monarchical Representation and Ceremony in Frederick William I’s Prussia,’ in *Orthodoxies and Diversity in Early Modern Germany*, ed. by Randolph C. Head and Daniel Christensen, 227–252 (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2007); Miloš Vec, *Zeremonial-Wissenschaft im Fürstenstaat: Studien zur juristischen und politischen Theorie absolutischer Herrschaftsrepräsentation* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998) and Barbara von Stollberg-Rilinger, ‘Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol: Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit,’ *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 27 (2000): 389–405.
- 33 David Cannadine, ‘Introduction: Divine Rites of Kings,’ in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine and Simon Price, (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 3.
- 34 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 117–118.
- 35 Elias, *The Court Society*, 55.
- 36 Elias, *The Court Society*, 71, 207.
- 37 Elias, *The Court Society*, 207–208.
- 38 Elias, *The Court Society*, 232.
- 39 Quoted in Elias, *The Court Society*, 231.

were 'comedians.'<sup>40</sup> Later in the century François Gabriel, Comte de Bray (1765–1832), who was sent as French representative to the Diet of Ratisbon and who resigned in August 1792, found the etiquette a 'labyrinth,' such that one cannot find one's way after one enters: the number of steps to advance or to retreat, the number of bows was counted and predetermined. When to put on one's hat and when to remove it was stipulated. 'All this is almost as difficult to study as one of the most important rules of [the French mathematician] Bezout.'<sup>41</sup> The magnificent clothing, the pompous ceremonial, the march that lasted two and half hours combined with visits, ceremonies, fêtes, and dinners made him deplore the time lost. This is 'an abominable business,' he lamented, 'with such 'oppressive vanities.' He deplored the five-hour ceremonial, the reception line that lasted three and a half hours, the 'fatiguing luxury.' In short, he found this way of life 'miserable.'<sup>42</sup>

The absolutist and authoritarian *ancien régime* encoded hierarchy in a representational system, by which is meant, according to Blanning, 'the making present of authority by dress, ritual, painting, architecture, theatrical performance or any other form of display.'<sup>43</sup> As members of the 'distinctive diplomatic culture' that evolved in the long eighteenth century, they were part of an 'independent society,' so termed by an official of the foreign ministry, Antoine Pecquet in 1737.<sup>44</sup> Drawn from an aristocratic elite, these individuals shared certain assumptions because 'diplomacy itself assumed many of the characteristics of the aristocratic-courtly and cosmopolitan culture of the period.'<sup>45</sup> Not incidentally, court and embassy reinforced the ceremonial of each.

In the *ancien régime*, states manipulated etiquette to advance social status, just as the aristocracy did. Not surprisingly, such discussions dominated diplomatic manuals and legal treatises. The classic work *The Law of Nations; or, Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* by Emerich de Vattel first appeared in 1758. That well-known jurist noted that 'at present kings claim superiority of rank over republics.'<sup>46</sup>

40 François de Callières, *Letters (1694–1700) of François de Callières to the Marquise d'Huxelles*, ed. Laurence Pope and William Brooks (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), 228.

41 Comte F.-G. de Bray, *Mémoires du comte de Bray* (Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie., 1911), 103.

42 Bray, *Mémoires du comte de Bray*, 109, 111, 120.

43 T.C.W. Blanning, 'Frederick the Great and German Culture,' in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 527–550: 529–530.

44 Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture,' 59–60.

45 Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture,' 62.

46 Emerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations; or, Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (Philadelphia: T. and J.W. Johnson and Co., 1863), 149.



The jurist Georg Friedrich Martens, whose treatise appeared in French in 1789, included an extensive section on precedence and not incidentally appended advice on how to avoid the disputes which bedeviled early modern diplomacy.<sup>47</sup>

As the historian Jeremy Black pointed out, diplomats used ceremonial and protocol 'as a means of asserting and defending status and interests. It was perfect for a competitive world that wished to have an alternative to conflict.'<sup>48</sup> Diplomats were ordered to engage in a kind of 'ceremonial brinkmanship as they sought to defend and enhance the prestige of their masters.'<sup>49</sup> Precedence was so vigorously contested because it reflected a state's power, what the comte de Broglie called, the 'interest of regard.'<sup>50</sup> The courtiers were so obsessed with rank and with deportment because such maneuvering was 'a zero-sum game: the gains of one entailed the other's losses.'<sup>51</sup> Probably no one played that game as well as the French. Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy, the secretary of foreign affairs under Louis XIV, an adept practitioner of the art, noted that these 'trifles of etiquette' signaled the importance of a country, affirmed its power, and helped to establish its grandeur. When the king of Denmark announced that he would in the future receive the French envoys as Louis received his, that is, seated and covered, Louis XIV refused to accept this change. Torcy underscored that to accept an inferior ranking or even to consent under the 'pretext of politeness or equality and the suppression of all prerogatives' would be to 'recognize and admit the decline of the country.'<sup>52</sup>

These 'subtle games of ceremonial' undergirded what Lucien Bély dubs the '*société des princes*.'<sup>53</sup> In that 'collective construction' ceremony served not only as a 'political instrument in the relations between European states, but also as a mark of solidarity in the society of princes.'<sup>54</sup> The sovereigns, in Bély's words, made up a rather 'singular' family whose relations were ritualized to such an

---

47 George Friedrich Martens, *Summary of the Law of Nations* (Philadelphia: Thomas Bradford, 1795), 136–144. The French edition of 1789 *Précis du droit des gens modernes de l'Europe* was a revision of an earlier work in Latin.

48 Jeremy Black, *British Diplomats and diplomacy, 1688–1800* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), 97.

49 Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 184.

50 Scott, *The Birth of a Great Power System*, 124.

51 Scott, *The Birth of a Great Power System*, 124.

52 Jean Baptiste Colbert, *Journal inédit de Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy*, ed. Frederic Masson (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1884), xiii–xiv.

53 Lucien Bély, *La Société des princes: XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 406, 396.

54 Lucien Bély, 'Souveraineté et souverains: la question du cérémonial dans les relations internationales à l'époque moderne,' *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 130 (1993): 27–43, 43 and 28.

extent that even war did not hamper or impede *'une politesse internationale'*.<sup>55</sup> *'La société polie'*, that very strict code of manners, had evolved at the court society. That 'universe of usage'<sup>56</sup> both underscored and reinforced the prestige of the upper classes.

### Aristocratic Code

The aristocratic code mandated what the age called 'honest dissimulation,' which meant 'that whatever you felt or thought, you must behave according to the rules of politeness' and you must do so seemingly without effort, with what Castiglione, the quintessential courtier, called grace or *'sprezzatura* [nonchalance].'<sup>57</sup> This theme of repression (and suppression) of emotions was epitomized at Versailles. 'The practice of honest dissimulation,' as Snyder has argued, 'was dialectically linked to the Old Regime culture of display and observation.'<sup>58</sup> The aristocratic injunction mandated that a gentleman only walks, never runs and that he enters a room *langsam und feierlich*, in a slow and solemn manner. Diplomats mastered phatic communication, that is, 'greetings, phrases, and gestures employed to convey general sociability rather than to transmit specific meaning.'<sup>59</sup> Diplomats understood only too well what Raymond Cohen has pointed out, that the 'threshold moments' of greeting and parting 'define the nature of the social relationship between the participants.'<sup>60</sup> Under the carapace of the international system lurked what Blanning has dubbed 'the culture of power' and what Shakespeare called 'dissembling courtesy.'<sup>61</sup> Blanning notes that Louis XIV's authority was 'as much a cultural as a military or diplomatic construct.'<sup>62</sup> A critical American at the Court of St. James, John Adams, lamented that 'There are a train of ceremonies

55 Bély, 'Souveraineté et souverains,' 28, 35. See also Daniel, 'Überlegungen zum höfischen Fest der Barockzeit,' 45–66 and Stollberg-Rilinger, 'Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol,' 389–405.

56 Bély, *La Société des princes*, 10.

57 Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120.

58 Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 47.

59 Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 125.

60 Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling* (New York: Longman, 1987), 90–91.

61 Shakespeare, *Cymbelline*, I, I, 84 quoted in *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy*, 33.

62 T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.

yet to go through . . . It is thus the essence of things is lost in ceremony in every country of Europe. We must submit to what we cannot alter. Patience is the only remedy.’<sup>63</sup>

### Role of Language

Language buttressed the court society. It was not accidental that the diplomat Callières (1645–1717) who wrote the seminal tract *On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes* also composed two works on civility: *Des mots à la mode et des nouvelles façons de parler* (1692) and *De la science du monde et des connaissances utiles à la conduite de la vie* (1717). In the first essay this quintessential insider describes the court vocabulary as a ‘strange jargon’<sup>64</sup> and in another as ‘a certain kind of singular language which one uses at certain times and among certain persons.’<sup>65</sup> Diplomats who operated in an international arena were more steeped in that usage than most inside the court society. To a man like Talleyrand, who straddled both worlds, the language of the court suffered from an ‘excess of words which impoverished it.’ The ‘polite’ language of monarchical France, he complained, was pauperized by its vices. Its ‘ancient obsequious forms’ reflected the ‘ruinous luxury’ of the court. ‘In this paradoxical logic, abundance became misery, the multiplication of periphrases, the circumlocution, and other superfluities added to the destitution.’<sup>66</sup>

### Importance of Dress

Dress like language reflected and reinforced the aristocratic society and the hierarchical code. What Daniel Roche has termed the *ancien régime’s* elaborate ‘culture of appearances’ ‘had provided an established set of assumptions about the legibility of identity and status through varieties of dress’ and mandated

63 Quoted in *Ideas and Diplomacy: Readings in the Intellectual Tradition of American Foreign Policy*, ed. Norman A. Graebner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 36.

64 *Des mots à la mode et des nouvelles façons de parler*, quoted in Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty Equality and Sociability in French thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 105.

65 See François de Callières, *Du bel esprit* (Amsterdam: Pierre Brunel, 1695), 16.

66 Philippe Roger ‘Le Débat sur la ‘langue révolutionnaire,’ in *La Carmagnole des muses: l’homme de lettres et l’artiste dans la Révolution* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1988), 177–178.

displays of magnificence.<sup>67</sup> This lexicon of words, gestures, symbols, and garb was consciously adopted. The deployment of symbols, the utterance of specific phrases coupled with certain intonations, and the wearing of a distinctive dress were visible manifestations of the diplomatic culture and of the international system. In the words of Burke, ‘no citizen of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it.’<sup>68</sup>

### Significance of Congresses

For Bély the congress of peace ‘the incarnation of possible international accord, brought a message of peace for the world.’<sup>69</sup> For him the congress was ‘a symbolic image of international sociability.’<sup>70</sup> Indeed festivities dominated the agenda at Baden with its balls, fêtes, plays, and musical performances, not to mention multi-course banquets. It was no accident that one of the French representatives, Charles-François, comte de Vintimille du Luc, brought actors, musicians, and ballerinas along with chefs and forty pages. Indeed that congress could share with the later congress at Vienna the appellation ‘the dancing congress.’<sup>71</sup> Such sociability buttressed the social ties and underscored the ‘relative cultural and social homogeneity of the negotiators’ that served as the backdrop of all international encounters.<sup>72</sup> That homogeneity ‘reaffirmed by the social practices of diplomacy’, facilitated political discussion and reinforced cosmopolitanism.<sup>73</sup> The similitude of gestures, words and attitudes eased communication.<sup>74</sup> In this theatre of Europe certain rituals honed by usage and by tradition limited war.<sup>75</sup> What undergirded the international order was an aristocratic sociability that would be lost later in the revolutionary era.

---

67 Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 232.

68 Edmund Burke quoted in Gerald W. Chapman, *Edmund Burke: The Practical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), 185–186.

69 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 374.

70 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 374–375.

71 Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, ‘Baden,’ in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession*, ed. Frey and Frey, 26.

72 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 374.

73 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 374.

74 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 402.

75 Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 377.

That system with its implicit ideological underpinnings enmeshed diplomats in that ‘ghostly *perpetuum mobile*’: the etiquette, the ceremonial, and the language of court society.<sup>76</sup> Burke saw in this sublimation of emotions a certain ‘elegance of mind and manners.’<sup>77</sup> Such things as manners were not insignificant; Burke argued that they were more important than laws. ‘Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. They give their whole form and colour to our lives.’<sup>78</sup> ‘Taste and elegance’ Burke argued, ‘though they are reckoned only among the smaller and secondary morals, yet are of no mean importance in the regulation of life.’<sup>79</sup> As was language. Diplomats mastered the usage of the *ancien régime*, ‘these linguistic weapons of a bygone worldliness.’<sup>80</sup>

The language and ceremonial reinforced certain expectations of behaviour. Diplomatic practice and ritual set the terms of engagement and conditioned, when it did not determine, the procedure at Utrecht. Both the public face of the congress and the private negotiations were grounded in the assumptions of a shared diplomatic code. Within the public framework of the congress, the ceremony and ritual flaunting of the trappings of power as seen, for example, in the gazettes, fireworks, songs, prints, poetry, and coins, underscored both the majesty of the various states and the emergence of a cosmopolitan Europe. Shared conventions on language, dress, etiquette, and ritual reaffirmed the international nature of that society. The informal contacts and the sociability expedited the give and take so integral to the old diplomacy and facilitated agreements in the *ancien régime*. It was, in the words of Scott, a ‘concessive world . . . conducted by ambassadors who were members of the same international society.’<sup>81</sup> Europeans’ assumption of a common diplomatic culture helped make possible an international order. In the eighteenth century Burke and others thought of Europe as ‘a commonwealth . . . virtually one great state.’

76 Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 86–87.

77 Edmund Burke, *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, vol. 9, ed. William B. Todd (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 114, ‘Fourth Letter on a Regicide Peace.’

78 Edmund Burke, ‘Letters on a Regicide Peace,’ in *The Works* (London: Bell, 1893), 5: 208.

79 Edmund Burke, ‘A Letter to a Member of the National Assembly in Answer to Some Objection to his book on French Affairs,’ in *Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (London: Bohn, 1855), 2: 537.

80 Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 307.

81 Scott, ‘Diplomatic Culture,’ 83.



FIGURE 1.1 *Medal in silver to Commemorate the Treaty of Rastatt, 1714. Design by Martin Brunner (1659–1725).*  
LANDESMUSEUM WÜRTTEMBERG, STUTTGART

For him ‘correspondence in laws, customs, manners, and habits of life’ had more force than treaties. ‘They are obligations written in the heart . . .’<sup>82</sup> The Treaty of Rastatt provides the most telling example. The negotiations between the duc de Villars, one of the most outstanding generals of Louis XIV, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, arguably the foremost commander in Europe who served the Habsburgs, were expedited by their mutual respect and their friendship. Earlier in their careers they had fought together in the Ottoman campaigns.

82 Edmund Burke quoted in Gerald W. Chapman, *Edmund Burke. The Practical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), 185–186.

At Rastatt, they dined and played cards. The medal issued by the French to commemorate that peace showed two thunderbolts of battle giving Europe peace: *Olim duo fulmina belli, nunc instrumenta quietis* (once two thunderbolts of war, now instruments of peace.)<sup>83</sup> Two who had successfully mounted the horses of war extended the olive branch of peace.

---

83 Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, 'Treaty of Rastatt,' in *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession*, ed. Frey and Frey, 373–375.

## Behind the Stage: The Global Dimension of the Negotiations

*Lucien Bély*

Study of the diplomatic correspondence before the Peace of Utrecht reveals that commercial and colonial interests became very important at that time. The question of the Indies, that is, of Spanish America, may be counted as one the causes of the War of the Spanish Succession. So European diplomats had to understand and discuss such matters, but most of the negotiators, gentlemen or clergymen, were unfamiliar with these issues. Merchants could intervene in the discussions as experts and sometimes as negotiators as did, for instance, the French merchant and diplomat Nicolas Mesnager, deputy of Rouen for the council of commerce. Such interventions often formed the most secret part of the negotiations.

We can note a dialectical phenomenon. The merchants wanted to discover new markets, and the European economies needed them in a time of general crisis. On the other hand, governments and diplomats integrated those views into their demands and tried to imagine new ways to intervene throughout the world and to open new roads for commerce.

Of course, the dynastic situation was the main affair in the War of the Spanish Succession. The House of Bourbon was seeking a new relationship between the Court of Versailles and the Court of Madrid that would create a real union between them. The young Philip v, Louis XIV's grand-son, was expected to follow the king of France's political line. On the other side, the allies—Great Britain, the United Provinces and the emperor—could not accept this new European organization with such a huge aggregation of crowns in the hands of one family. This super-power would pose a threat to the stability of all of Europe. The war's military operations were the main concern of the European princes: they were waiting for the result of their strategic choices. For thirteen years, the battles dominated European history. But some other interests, particularly commercial ones, soon became factors in the negotiations among allies or between enemies as the hidden part of the conflict.



## The Negotiations between France and Spain

One of the key issues in international relations of the time involved the participation of foreigners in Spanish-American trade, despite Spain's colonial monopoly. European merchants brought to Spain the products needed for this trade, but the trade remained in Spanish hands, was controlled by Spanish officers and protected by the Spanish fleet. A 1686 investigation by the French consul Patoulet showed the place of each country in the trade of Cadiz: France ranked first; Genoa, the United Provinces, England, Hamburg, and the Spanish Netherlands each had a good share while Spain provided only 6% of the goods.<sup>1</sup>

We know that the arrival of precious metals also had important consequences for European economies. The study, in particular, of the place of precious metals and of metallic coinage in the development of Europe has been controversial for historians and perhaps for economists. The 'crisis' of the seventeenth century was described by Earl J. Hamilton,<sup>2</sup> reinterpreted by P. Chaunu<sup>3</sup> and discussed by Michel Morineau.<sup>4</sup> During the War of the Spanish Succession, Mesnager wrote that New World treasure was almost the sole source of the wealth of Europe.<sup>5</sup> And in 1710, he wrote: 'Spanish America has

- 
- 1 The foreigners themselves were present in the Spanish ports, as the Flemish in Cadiz: Jan Everaert, *De internationale en koloniale Handel der Vlaamse Firma's te Cadiz (1670-1700)* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1973); or the Irish present in the Canary Islands: Agustin Guimerá Ravina and José Miguel Delgado Barrado, 'Proyectismo camario y comercio americano: un plan de compañía privilegiada (1753),' *El Comercio en el Antiguo Régimen*, ed. Manuel Lobo Cabrera and Vicente Suárez Grimón (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1994), 151-162.
  - 2 Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and Price Revolution in Spain (1501-1650)* (Cambridge (Mass.): Octagon Books, 1934); idem, *War and Prices in Spain* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1947).
  - 3 Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650). Partie statistique* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1957-1958); Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650). Partie interprétative* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1959-1960).
  - 4 Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1985).
  - 5 Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 576-595, here 582: 'Réflexions sur les moyens qui peuvent aider à déterminer les Hollandais à la paix,' Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique Hollande 214, fol. 105-107. See also: Lucien Bély, *L'Art de la paix en Europe. Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*,

the largest sources of gold and silver in the world [...] everyone wants to have his own share.'

For English and Dutch merchants, as well as for their governments, the main danger with a French prince as king of Spain was the benefits that the French economy could reap, especially through direct access to the wealth of Spanish America. An 'asiento' or contract was signed between the Spanish administration and the French Company of the Asiento or of Guinea for providing slaves to the Spanish colonies. France in exchange would ensure the protection of the Spanish convoys. The main strategic choice of the war was thus whether to maintain the links between Spain and America when abandoning the European dominions of the Spanish king. Obviously, during the long war, the arrival of American metal was a breath of oxygen for the Bourbon camp.<sup>6</sup>

In the talks between the two countries the French ambassador Michel Amelot<sup>7</sup> established a harmony between the French king's influence and the Spanish government. Daubenton, representing Pontchartrain and the Department of the Navy, had to defend French commercial interests. This 'agent général' had to gather information from the various French consuls in Spain.<sup>8</sup> Nicolas Mesnager also came, as an expert, to hold talks with the Spanish authorities. However, in spite of French attempts to gain advantage, the Spanish administration, through very tough negotiations, maintained the uniqueness of the system and defended its independence.<sup>9</sup>

In a first negotiation, from December 1704 to May 1706, in Spain, Mesnager obtained a new organization of trade: only 'foreign allies to Spain' could send goods to America. But merchants did not wait for the result of the political

---

*xvi<sup>e</sup>–xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007). For the next quote, see Bély, *Espions*, p. 587.

6 Guy Rowlands, 'The Economics of War. Tax, trade and credit in pursuit of an acceptable peace,' *Peace was made here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, 1713–1714*, ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 34–41. See also Guy Rowlands, *The financial decline of a great power. War, influence, and money in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

7 For this ambassador, see Guillaume Hanotin's PhD thesis 'Au service de deux rois: l'ambassadeur Amelot de Gournay et l'union des couronnes,' Université Paris-Sorbonne, 3 December 2011. See also: L. Bély, 'La présence et l'action des ambassadeurs de France dans le gouvernement de Philippe v d'Espagne: conduite de la guerre et négociation de la paix,' *L'Espagne et ses guerres*, ed. Annie Molinié and Alexandra Merle (Paris: PU Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 183–201.

8 This important, new function is the subject of current research by Sylvain Lloret.

9 E.W. Dahlgren, *Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'Océan Pacifique*, 1, *Le commerce de la mer du Sud jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht* (Paris: La Découverte, 1909).

negotiations. The importance of Malouins in the South Sea trade is obvious: they broke through the monopoly in the Spanish Empire but essentially chose to smuggle in goods to get around the control of Cadiz.<sup>10</sup> The question posed by André Lespagnol is whether they wanted to participate in the American trade or share the American treasure. Saint-Malo traders discovered that direct trade in the South Seas (South Pacific) was technically possible and financially rewarding. In 1703 traders embarked on this adventure without considering the risk it posed to Franco-Spanish relations. The French General Controller of Finances gave them support in 1705, even if he concealed it behind passports granted for voyages of discovery. So, the possibility of a French presence in American ports was established.<sup>11</sup>

Coming from Europe or leaving Peru, French sailors chose to stop near Concepcion: they settled in Talcahuano, a safe anchorage, well sheltered from the winds. This settlement became the main logistical base for French trade in the South Seas. They even built semi-permanent houses, with dormitories, where sailors could recover their health.<sup>12</sup> The French also benefited from the protection of the colonial authorities, the Uztariz. Concepcion was finally a privileged locale for gathering information on the market conditions and on the changes in the politico-military situation. This French experience became a model: illegal or quasi-illegal trade combined with local settlement. This informal presence of European merchants seemed a pragmatic way to respect the Spanish organization while finding new markets in America. The Dutch and the English would try to obtain the same privileges in the negotiations.

England managed to secure more solid advantages from the War of the Spanish Succession in Portugal, imposing the commercial treaty negotiated by John Methuen.<sup>13</sup> The rural Portuguese economy was now linked with the manufacturing English one while gold found in Brazil boosted this Anglo-Portuguese trade and fortified the financial situation of London.<sup>14</sup>

---

10 André Lespagnol, *Messieurs de Saint-Malo. Une élite négociante au temps de Louis XIV* (Saint-Malo: PU Rennes, 1990).

11 Worse, from 1712, Saint-Malo boats went to Cadiz to top up their cargo.

12 Due to longer and longer stays of the boats and to desertion, there arose a form of settlement of some French natives. A commissioner noted in 1714 that in Concepcion French officers had built houses as if they had to spend their entire life there. These Frenchmen behaved as 'in a conquered country', said the same observer, who deplored the excesses of youth. Frictions or quarrels broke out with the Spanish people settled in the area.

13 José Luís Cardoso, Isabel Cluny, Fernando Dores Costa *et al.*, *O Tratado de Methuen (1703): diplomacia, guerra, política e economia* (Lisbon: Livros horizonte, impr., 2003).

14 Mesnager also assumed that the maritime powers had obtained assurances from the competitor of Philip V, Archduke Charles, giving them advantages in the Spanish-American trade in case of an allied victory. See about Charles of Austria, the Emperor Charles VI:

The need for information also formed part of the negotiations between France and Spain. The manuscript of Jean de Monséguer, about Mexico or New Spain, reveals that the French government, especially the State Secretary of the Navy, Jérôme de Pontchartrain, tried to glean accurate information on the American market. This traveller-informer appears as a 'soldier-diplomat-spy,' in the words of Jean-Paul Duviols.<sup>15</sup>

According to his report, Spain allied and perhaps united with France, could provide the West Indies with all the goods consumed there and can do all the business with America. In fact, it was not so easy. Monséguer described in detail the trade of New Spain. He showed how French ships from Saint-Malo, Martinique and other parts of France came to America. They took advantage of the fact that Mexico lacked many things at that time. The monopoly was also bypassed by trade carried out by Spaniards sailing from port to port: he mentions Havana, Maracaibo, Caracas and Cumaná. The French traveller described the system: French vessels arrived, especially from Saint-Malo and Martinique, richly loaded. They could not unload if they did not dispose of their goods at low prices to the Spanish officers who prevented them from freely selling their cargo to merchants. This is the lesson of the French presence: if individuals had no opportunities to buy from French hands, a large part of the profit (from 30% to 40 or even 50%) went to the viceroy and his ministers. Monséguer even points out the introduction of goods from England and Holland. He accumulated the most accurate data and numerical evaluations to identify the possibilities of trade in America. For example, he listed the main goods required in Mexico as iron, steel, white wax, fruit, silks, lace, woollen goods, groceries, papers, cards, hats, haberdashery and medicinal drugs.

Finally, the dynastic affair seemed increasingly immaterial, or at least less important, once the military operations had destroyed the Spanish Empire in Europe. Outside Spain, only Sicilia had remained in Philip v's hands. Barcelona and a large part of the Spanish peninsula were occupied by the Archduke Charles of Austria, son of emperor Leopold I and brother of Emperor Joseph I. So, the war aims of the House of Austria were nearly fulfilled. The commercial aspect of the war remained, however, the main concern for London and The Hague.

---

Virginia Sanz, *Entre Austrias y Borbones: el archiduque Carlos y la monarquía de España* (Madrid: Sigilo, 1993); Virginia León, *Carlos VI: el emperador que no pudo ser rey de España* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2003).

15 *Mémoires du Mexique: le manuscrit de Jean de Monséguer, 1707–1709*, ed. Jean-Paul Duviols (Paris: Chandeigne, 2002).

French diplomacy therefore chose to place the negotiations with its enemies on the same commercial terms. First with the Dutch who remained intransigent, then with the English who jumped at the opportunity. These negotiations required the use of specialists such as Mesnager who was instructed to put in order and form proposals on topics that diplomats usually had little mastery of.

The first secret negotiations between France and its enemies had begun in the United Provinces.<sup>16</sup> This country appeared in the seventeenth century as a key financial and commercial centre and a place of relative religious tolerance. Negotiators sent by France could easily disguise the purpose of their travels. The French minister of foreign affairs went himself to The Hague to negotiate with Heinsius. Despite such favourable conditions, the French negotiations with the United Provinces reached an impasse. The Dutch government was not seduced by French commercial proposals and remained faithful to the Great Alliance.

### The Negotiations between France and England

During the year 1711, negotiations became possible between France and England after the change of government in London and the military defeats of Brihuega and Villaviciosa in Spain. Matthew Prior, a poet and also a former secretary of the English embassy in Paris, arrived in France: he gave a precise and lively report of his negotiations with the marquis de Torcy, the French Secretary of State for foreign affairs. About commercial affairs, he quoted the words of Torcy: “*Monsieur Prior, dit-il, vous avez été dans le commerce, réfléchissez un peu sur ce memoire*”; so beginning at “*Pour la Great Britain plus particulièrement*”, he said that we asked no less than to be master of the Mediterranean and Spain, to possess ourselves of all the Indies, and to take away from France all that appartains to that crown in America.<sup>17</sup> The discussion was about four places in America. Prior answered that Spain would have ‘little reason to fear from [English] settlements, which were to secure [English traders] from pirates and robbers, particularly in the South sea,’ who were, according to Prior, ‘most Englishmen, and some French, particularly Dunkirkers’. France, a ‘generous

16 Johanna Geertruida Stork-Penning, *Het Grote Werk. Vredesonderhandelingen gedurende de Spaanse Successie-oorlog, 1705–1710* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958).

17 *Report on the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. v (London: printed for Her Majesty’s stationery office, 1899), ‘Prior’s Negotiations in France’, 35.

nation,' hated them as much as England did, and Spaniards would be happy to be protected 'from the violence of these buccaneers'. Torcy considered that such a settlement was impossible: it was 'a constant rule of Spain, not to let in any other nation amongst them in America'. Later, in his *Mémoires*, Torcy would recall Prior's words: 'Il coûtera peu au roi catholique de les [the four places] accorder à l'une et à l'autre nation dans la grande étendue des terres soumises à la monarchie d'Espagne, depuis la Californie jusqu'au détroit de Magellan.'<sup>18</sup>

Then Torcy underlined another 'impossibilité' about 'la terre neuve': '... it is the nursery of our seamen, our fishers are obliged as yours are, to take young men to perform that voyage [...] and for fish we have more need of it than you, for we are indispensably obliged to consume it ourselves, while you for the greatest part propose to yourselves only the profit of selling it to others.'<sup>19</sup> Prior knew that 'some temperament might be found in the negotiation upon this head'. He answered only that all Hudson's Bay was English, and, as a proof, he indicated 'that the names of all the banks and towns even in the French maps have always been and are now English'. For Newfoundland, the phrase 'terre neuve' came from the English name: a very interesting way to defend the priority of the settlement by maps. The idea of a 'temperament' referred to a solution already found regarding fisheries: it would be the right of French fishermen to prepare cod on the 'French shore'. Torcy met Prior on the following day. The king of France had asked 'those persons who are most versed in the mercantile affairs to consider of and report their opinion upon the proposals'.

On the 27th of July, the meeting took place at nine in the evening in the gardens of Fontainebleau; the abbot Gaultier was with the two negotiators. Torcy evoked the Dutch gazettes which expressed surprise in the Netherlands about the South Sea Company. The French secretary of State said that French merchants were also very anxious about the South Sea Company. Prior replied that French traders could make 'what bargain they could with Spain'. The French minister swore by his '*foi d'honnête homme*' that France was not on a better footing than it had been in the time of Charles II and that the Spaniards were most jealous of the French since a prince of the house of Bourbon was on the throne. This was the lesson of the Franco-Spanish negotiations.

In July 1711, Daniel Defoe sent Harley papers about a settlement in America. He wrote that some of those schemes had been approved by William III at the beginning of the war. The kingdom of Chile was suitable for an English colony,

18 *Mémoires du marquis de Torcy, Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, ed. ? A. Petitot and Monmerqué, 2-LVIII (Paris: Foucault, 1828), 30–31.

19 *Ibid.*, 36.

especially in the town of Valdivia. This paper underlined that many natives were 'hating the Spaniards and willing to receive any nation that are likely to deliver them from the slavery they are under to the cruel and tyrannic temper of the said Spaniards'.<sup>20</sup> Then came an interesting anthropological remark: 'These natives are a foundation of commerce, because they go clothed and would generally clothe themselves if they could obtain manufactures.' This colony could produce rice, cocoa and wine, and in the north, sugar and spices. Another settlement could be made between the Rio de la Plata and the straits of Magellan. Land connections could link this colony to Chile.

### The Negotiations between England and the United Provinces

To understand the reaction of the Dutch, we can rely upon the letters sent by John Drummond, a banker, to Harley; this interesting commercial figure has been studied by Ragnhild Hatton.<sup>21</sup> I want to consider the passages of his correspondence concerning world commerce.

John Drummond had conversations with the Dutch Grand Pensionary Heinsius, and he could enumerate the new conditions for a peace. It seemed difficult to drive Philip v out of Spain, but the trade with the Spanish West Indies must be secured as formerly through Spain, and France was to have no greater privileges there than other nations.

As we have seen, the South Sea Company impressed public opinion in France as well as in the United Provinces. Drummond wrote that a South Sea Company was also proposed by the Dutch 'to be exerted by way of subscription' and that was kept 'very secret'. According to Drummond, 'a part of the project is formed in Surinam, on which this Company is to act'. Some details arrived on 14 July. Amsterdam encouraged the secret project to establish a settlement on the continent of the Spanish West Indies. That city would control the financial arrangements. They demanded only six men-of-war, twelve or fifteen hundred land men 'and six hundred slaves, ready at Surinam, to be taken aboard there'. They required also three hundred craftsmen (bricklayers, carpenters and smiths) and artillery for a fort. The location of the place remained secret:

20 *Report on the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (London, printed for Her Majesty's stationery office, v-vi, 1899), 59, Daniel Defoe to the Earl of Oxford.

21 Ragnhild Hatton, 'John Drummond in the War of the Spanish Succession. Merchant turned Diplomatic Agent,' *Studies in Diplomatic History*, ed. R. Hatton and M.S. Anderson (London: Longmans, 1970), 69-96.

‘The place they design is said to be in the kingdom of Mexico, but as well is yet kept extremely secret, you may be sure that part will be discovered last.’<sup>22</sup> So, the Dutch wanted to have a South Sea Company too. Here we note the workings of a European process of imitation through the circulation of ideas and of projects. Those proposed Dutch settlements could evoke the French presence on the South Pacific coast. Because the Spanish empire seemed weaker, it is possible to imagine local or regional settlements which could be accepted by Madrid. Torcy was right to underline the resistance of the whole Spanish organization against such projects. Such enterprises involved slaves—six hundred here: they were useful instruments in those projects and were now present in the representation of America and of European ambitions.

All the pamphlet campaign, beginning with Swift’s *Conduct of the Allies*, was meant to demonstrate that the British effort during the war was stronger than any other,<sup>23</sup> and so it must be rewarded by some economic advantages in the world. Nothing was negotiated to reinforce the power of the country. Only trading facilities were necessary to satisfy the ambitions of the people in the British Islands. Such demands were in line with the political equilibrium obtained through the revolution of 1688, the government following the impulse of the political nation. They also revealed the new ambitions of the Tory faction: to avoid a continental military engagement, to discard the moneyed interest and to protect the landed interest and reinforce the world empire.

The opening of the Utrecht Congress in 1712 was supposed to transform the secret discussions into public negotiations, giving lustre to the search for peace by attracting in Utrecht about eighty negotiators and a crowd of onlookers. They were actors on the stage<sup>24</sup> as princes were on the theatre of Europe, according to a common metaphor of that time. The social activity gave them opportunities for meeting their counterparts, and their conversations were transcribed in dispatches from the negotiators, as if Congress had given them a new dignity and political weight. Thus, a congress exacerbates a specific sociability based on a common diplomatic culture. A congress

---

22 *Report on the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland*, 28, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 14 July 1711.

23 Douglas Coombs, *The Conduct of the Dutch, British opinion and the Dutch alliance during the War of the Spanish succession* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1958).

24 Lucien Bély, ‘Utrecht, un théâtre pour la paix,’ in *Les Pays-Bas et la France des guerres de religion à la création de la République batave*, ed. W. Frijhoff and O. Moorman van Kappen (Nijmegen: Gerard Noodt Instituut, 1993), 53–76, reprinted in *L’Art de la paix en Europe*, 503–524.



belonged also to a certain form of communication. Even if they were sometimes considered as formalities, as an empty reality, such diplomatic assemblies accompanied a geopolitical reorganization and helped proclaim a new stability through an agreement between the belligerents. Behind the stage, there was also a world of spies, informers, journalists and chroniclers, of travelers and aristocrats, of writers, comedians and adventurers. They were all interested in this diplomatic assembly that seemed the great tribunal of political affairs in Europe. They were creating an international public opinion.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, formal negotiations soon gave way to direct talks between London, Versailles, Madrid and Turin. However, from 1712, the general congress in Utrecht covered many negotiations, especially between the allies, the United Provinces and Great Britain. A new treaty was prepared for the Barrier, and it was not as favourable as the previous one.

John Drummond had discussions with Dutch statesmen and asked Harley to procure or at least to do his utmost to obtain for the Dutch or for their West India Company the 'asiento of negroes' for the northern parts of the Spanish West Indies, namely for Carthage and Portobello, since everybody was convinced that the English company would supply the whole South Sea coast of America. Dutch opinion needed 'some *douceur* of that nature'<sup>26</sup> to accept the British gains. In the same letter, John Drummond described the way in which the mercantile interests could impress the diplomatic congress: 'The deputies of the West India Company went to Utrecht last Saturday, and from thence to the Hague with the States Plenipotentiaries, and by what I can learn, Porto Rico, a small and almost uninhabited island on the north coast of America, for the security of the Curacao trade, and the furnishing of negroes to the north side of the Spanish West Indies, is what they are resolved to insist on, and that they are to come as an equivalent to what they suppose you have obtained for your South Sea Company . . .'<sup>27</sup> The deputies of the Dutch company came to press the diplomatic delegations hard. Four days later, John Drummond wrote to Harley after two long conferences with Heinsius: ' . . . he is for making the peace jointly with England, but assures me that your Lordship must help him, both as to the barrier treaty and some condescension in the negro trade in favour of the Dutch West India Company, for it is impossible for him to satisfy men's minds here till he can obtain something by which he can show them

25 Lucien Bély, 'Peut-on parler d'une opinion publique internationale à l'époque moderne ?' *L'Opinion publique en Europe (1600–1800)* (Paris: PU Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), 161–181.

26 *Report, op. cit.*, 158, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 15 April 1712.

27 *Report, op. cit.*, 159, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 15 April 1712.

that England has not been working altogether a separate interest.<sup>28</sup> We must remember that war was going on in America. In 1711, Duguay-Trouin had taken Rio de Janeiro. In 1712, Cassard managed to ransack Capo Verde, Montserrat and Antigua, and later Surinam and Curacao.

France also had new ambitions, especially for Louisiana. John Drummond wrote: 'This new patent of the French King's to Mons. Crossat [Crozat] for the trade of New Mexico; of which Renard has sent your Lordship a copy, gives much jealousy and I am extremely out in my weak politics if this be well timed of the French Court to give out such a patent now.'<sup>29</sup> Those *lettres patentes* presented, through the 14th article, the new importance of the slave trade: 'Si pour les cultures et plantations que ledit Crozat voudra faire faire, il juge à propos d'avoir des nègres audit pays de la Louisiane, il pourra envoyer un vaisseau tous les ans, les traiter directement à la côte de Guinée, en prenant par lui permission de la Compagnie de Guinée de le faire, il pourra vendre ces nègres aux habitants de la colonie de la Louisiane, et faisons défense à toute compagnie et autre personne que ce soit, sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, d'en introduire ni d'en faire commerce dans ledit pays, et dudit sieur Crozat d'en porter ailleurs.'<sup>30</sup> The diplomatic negotiations showed how world geography could be used in political discussions and how commercial projects are defined and prepared: an alliance of pragmatism and imagination nourished by the culture of the time.

The end of a long war brought good news. For the populations it meant the end of difficult times: fiscal pressure, military mobilization, ideological struggle, political tensions. There were great celebrations with fireworks to express the public rejoicing. Nevertheless, the peace treaties appeared finally as a failure for most of the countries involved in the war. The Dutch found no reward for their efforts. English opinion was mobilized against the commercial treaty,<sup>31</sup> and Parliament rejected it. For George I, who became king in 1714, the agreement with France was shameful, and the negotiators had to defend themselves or to escape to the continent. For France, the loss of a part of Canada and of Newfoundland had heavy consequences. Spain had lost its European Empire and must struggle to neutralize English ambitions in America. The emperor would not renounce his claim to Spain. Perhaps, only the duke of

28 Ibidem, 162, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 19 April 1712.

29 Ibidem, p. 236, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 25 October 1712.

30 Lettres patentes du roi, Fontainebleau, 15 septembre 1712, source Gallica.bnf.fr.

31 Eric Schnakenbourg, 'Les interactions entre commerce et diplomatie au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'exemple du traité de commerce franco-anglais de 1713,' *Histoire, Economie et Société* 3 (2004): 349–365.

Savoy, now king of Sicily, and the king of Prussia could be satisfied with the new geopolitical order.

The advantages obtained by the British government were probably chimerical dreams, as were those usually created by the Spanish-American trade. The 'navio de permiso' had little importance: it actually meant the consolidation of trade routes in the margin of the Carrera de Indias.<sup>32</sup> The contract for the slave trade led to a financial collapse of the South Sea Company in England.<sup>33</sup>

Two facts remained, nonetheless: English smuggling in the Spanish empire expanded, resulting in permanent tensions of which the War of Jenkins' Ear was the clearest evidence. The second basic fact was the decisive economic importance of the slave trade. Mesnager had recognized the importance of this trade for the coasts of Senegal, and trade could be carried out from the Guinean coast to the Cape of Good Hope to the profit of the State. While selling goods of little value, it was possible to buy gold, ivory, wax, gum and leather, and he added: 'Ce commerce nous fournit encore des nègres que l'on transporte à Cayenne, Saint-Domingue et aux îles sans lesquels on ne pourrait les cultiver.'<sup>34</sup> The attribution of the asiento to a British company did not prevent the Atlantic French ports from taking advantage of this human trade. And the whole European economy benefited from the products supplied by the colonial islands and redistributed throughout Europe.

Agreements in conjunction with the Peace of Utrecht also revealed the historical evolution of trafficking. However, the planned activity of companies or chartered privileges were never fully implemented; they did not realize their contract or project.<sup>35</sup> Consequently only the liberalization and privatization of the slave trade led to the prosperity of the eighteenth century. Again, freedom from state control was favourable to slave trafficking and also to worldwide trade.

In any case, diplomatic discourse, an expression of political power, recognized the incalculable benefit of trafficking. Diplomacy succeeded in organizing a new agreement between Spain and English merchants who replaced the French ones. The political culture of the time was now aware of the mercantile

---

32 Antonio García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias. Histoire du commerce hispano-américain (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, transl. B. Bennassar, (Paris: Desjonquères, 1997).

33 Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble. An Economic History of its Origins and Consequences* (London: Routledge, 2011).

34 Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères (Paris-La Courneuve), Mémoires et documents France 2018 'Mémoire du sieur Mesnager,' fol. 11–15, December 1703, see Bély, *Espions*, 577–578.

35 Serge Daget, *La Traite des Noirs*, (Rennes: Ouest-France Université, 1990).

interests and of the importance of the slave trade,<sup>36</sup> which generated a circuit invisible to the European populations, allowing them to forget about the barbaric aspects of this trade.

The treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden brought an end to the war and the negotiations in 1713–1714. The new political map of Europe was approved. The congress showed that all the countries involved in the war would accept this new order. It would open a new era of peace, and peaceful discourse would replace ideological mobilization. On the stage, many diplomats played their part and defended the interests of their masters. A general discussion was possible in this diplomatic framework. Some issues were not dealt with: the future of French Protestant refugees, the case of the Catalans, who were treated by Philip V as enemies and rebels,<sup>37</sup> the future of the Jacobites and of the Stuart prince expelled from France, the problem of the Hungarian prince Rákóczi, now incognito in Paris.<sup>38</sup>

The conduct of the English government, especially Bolingbroke's dramaturgical sense, placed England at the centre of European affairs. British diplomacy created a new balance of power on the continent. The commercial affairs and the global dimensions of the war were the basis of this peace but had been discussed quite discreetly. The shameful commerce of slaves had remained behind the stage. Why? Because of Christian remorse? Perhaps. Or because such affairs did not belong to the sphere of official diplomacy. So, diplomats succeeded in hiding this part of the negotiations which were considered as private business. Commercial affairs were, however, one of the foundations, too often neglected, of the Peace of Utrecht.

---

36 Henri Sée and L. Vignols, 'L'envers de la diplomatie officielle de 1715 à 1730,' *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 5:2–3 (1926), 471–491.

37 Joaquim Albareda, *La Guerra de successió i l'onze de setembre* (Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 2000); idem, *Felipe V y el triunfo del absolutismo. Cataluña en un conflicto europeo (1700–1714)* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2002); idem, *El 'cas dels Catalans'. La conducta dels aliats arran de la guerra de successió (1705–1742)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2005); idem, *La Guerra de Sucesión en España (1700–1714)* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2010).

38 Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, *Societies in upheaval. Insurrections in France, Hungary, and Spain in the early eighteenth century* (New York, London: Greenwood Press, 1987).

## ‘Enemies of their *patrie*’? Savoyard Identity and the Dilemmas of War, 1690–1713

*Phil McCluskey*

If Utrecht was a Peace with no obvious winners, one man stood apart as having achieved a spectacular success. By the time the negotiations were concluded, Victor Amadeus II, duke of Savoy (1675–1730) could pride himself on having wholly achieved his war aims: he had aggrandised both his territorial base and his dynasty, and had acquired the royal title of king of Sicily into the bargain. The House of Savoy’s rise through the ranks of European powers has been ably examined elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> By siding with the anti-French coalitions in the Nine Years’ War and the War of the Spanish Succession, the duke kept the pressure on France’s vulnerable south-eastern frontier, draining French resources away from other theatres. The concessions he managed to win in 1713 reflect the importance of this contribution to the allied war effort. But what is less clear is how Victor Amadeus’ audacious diplomatic gambles affected his relationship with his states, particularly Savoy, which lay to the west of the Alps. From the beginning of his personal rule in the 1680s, the duke had forged a new, more authoritarian, relationship with his Savoyard subjects. If the strains of this situation were already beginning to show in 1690, the ensuing years of French military occupation that ended in 1713 would only complicate matters further. An investigation of the attitudes of the people of Savoy, along with those of the rival Bourbon and Sabaudian authorities, therefore offers a unique perspective on the state of political allegiance at that time.

The duchy of Savoy formed the oldest part of the transalpine composite state belonging to the House of Savoy. Its dukes had, for most of the seventeenth century, enjoyed close relations with France, and the duchy’s economy,

---

1 R. Oresko, ‘The House of Savoy in search for a royal crown in the seventeenth century’ in *Royal and republican sovereignty in early modern Europe: essays in memory of Ragnhild Hatton*, ed. R. Oresko et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); C. Storrs, *War, diplomacy and the rise of Savoy, 1690–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: absolutism in the Savoyard state, 1675–1730* (London: University of California Press, 1983).

nobility and church were closely linked with the neighbouring French provinces. But all this was to change as, from the 1680s, the young Victor Amadeus II became increasingly frustrated by Louis XIV's vice-like grip over his states and sought an opportunity to free himself. The Franco-Sabaudian alliance came to an abrupt end in 1690, leading to a French invasion of Victor Amadeus' states and the loss of Savoy, which remained under occupation until peace was concluded in 1696. The French occupied the duchy a second time from 1703–1713, after Victor Amadeus again broke his alliance with Louis XIV and joined the allied powers during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Very little has been written about the reactions of occupied populations to foreign rule during the early modern period. By contrast, for the Revolutionary era there have been several important studies, such as T.W. Blanning's work on the French occupations of the Rhineland.<sup>2</sup> Other studies of more recent occupations have focused on the face-to-face interaction between occupier and occupied, at the levels of both lived experience and symbolic representation.<sup>3</sup> These works have highlighted the importance of attempting to reconstruct attitudes in order to understand the way occupations progressed. Yet historians of the *ancien régime* have largely failed to adapt to these methodological developments.<sup>4</sup> This is due in part to a paucity of source material relating to the largely illiterate non-elite sections of society at this time; and where sources do exist, they are often totally impressionistic. It is therefore difficult to be exact about the distribution of popular allegiances. But equally, there has also been a widely held perception among historians of the limited role of ordinary people in determining policy. More recent scholarship has demonstrated that in fact popular views *were* important in times of war when the ability to mobilise resources and win public support was of great consequence.<sup>5</sup> Low-level violence and confrontation can therefore reveal much about policy formulation on the part of both the French occupiers and also of the usurped duke.

---

2 See T.C.W. Blanning, *Reform and revolution in Mainz, 1743–1803* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); K.H. Wegert, *German radicals confront the common people: revolutionary politics and popular politics, 1789–1849* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992).

3 J. Hantraye, *Les Cosaques aux Champs-Élysées: L'Occupation de la France après la Chute de Napoléon* (Paris: Belin, 2005).

4 For a more detailed discussion of the historiography of early modern military occupations see P. McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV's Military Occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 1–7.

5 J. Black, *European International Relations, 1648–1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

This chapter investigates what Savoy's experience can reveal about identity and dynastic loyalty in the years leading up to the Peace of Utrecht. It was traditionally assumed that for non-elite groups in *ancien régime* Europe, allegiance to any particular ruler remained largely superficial until the advent of nationalism in the late eighteenth century. More recent work has highlighted the continued importance of personal and dynastic connections in defining identities, particularly in societies like Savoy's that were still permeated by feudalism. Furthermore, changes in the legal status of military occupation meant that the legitimacy of both the conqueror and the usurped ruler were far from clear. The aim of this chapter is therefore to provide an examination of the reactions of non-elite Savoyards to French conquest and an account of the subsequent level of co-operation between the occupied populations and the French regime. Once this has been established, it will suggest which factors motivated people in this period to choose one ruler over another. In doing so it will reflect on what defined the identity of Savoyards, given the duchy's position as a 'frontier' territory between the French and Italian cultural spheres. This study will cast new light on the values and priorities of non-elite groups in European society at the turn of the eighteenth century.

### Savoyard Reactions to Conquest

The French conquests of Savoy in 1690 and 1703 were achieved with remarkable facility: on both occasions the towns capitulated quickly, and the duchy (with the exception of the fortress of Montmélian) was occupied in matter of weeks. Even by the standards of that time, when populations tended to be fairly passive in the immediate aftermath of conquest, such rapid turnover was unusual.<sup>6</sup> The French certainly perceived this lack of resistance as a sign of the Savoyards' willingness to embrace Louis XIV as their new ruler. In 1690, when the three estates of Savoy swore allegiance to Louis—as they were required to do by the French army—they asked that the king, 'not treat them as newly conquered enemies, but as good subjects'.<sup>7</sup> The same happened the second time around in 1703: the intendant of the neighbouring Franche-Comté wrote that the Savoyards would not resist the French, 'as they desire so strongly to give

6 The Savoyards had also been docile during the previous French conquest in 1630: J. Humbert, *Une grande entreprise oubliée: Les Français en Savoie sous Louis XIII* (Paris: Hachette, 1960), 245–247.

7 Vincennes, S[ervice] H[istorique de la] D[éfense, Fonds de l'Armée de] T[erre], A<sup>1</sup> 1010, 43, Bonnat to Louvois, 20 August 1690.

themselves to the king'.<sup>8</sup> Following the fall of Chambéry, the French military commander the maréchal de Tessé wrote that the townspeople seemed 'quite happy' with the arrival of the French army, and as he put it to the king, 'nothing is easier, sire, than to enter a town when they open up the gates for us'.<sup>9</sup>

While it is necessary to exercise some scepticism towards these French reports, there does appear to have been a level of popular support for the French presence. Even the Savoyard sources talk of a groundswell of popular joy at the French army's arrival: the bishop of Geneva/Annecy was informed by one of his relatives in Chambéry that, 'people here sing nothing but *Vive France!*'.<sup>10</sup> In 1703, the disposition of the common people was similar: as the French commander in Grenoble wrote, there was little to fear from Savoyard incursions into the Dauphiné, because 'all Savoyards [...] wish to be subjects of His Majesty'.<sup>11</sup> A French priest resident in Savoy went further, 'the people and nobility of Savoy have such little affection for His Highness [the duke of Savoy] . . . and the conquest will be even easier than during the last war'.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, several Savoyards were sending their effects into France for safe-keeping, 'proclaiming loudly that they wish to belong to the king of France and from the moment the troops arrive, they will give themselves to him with pleasure'.<sup>13</sup>

This initial level of support is even clearer if we compare the attitude of the people of Savoy with those of other territories conquered by the French during this period such as Lorraine, Roussillon or the Franche-Comté. In several of these, resistance manifested itself in the provision of intelligence to France's enemies, joining the enemy army, or emigration.<sup>14</sup> More passive resistance could entail the non-payment of taxes, smuggling, or discrimination against French people who lived locally.<sup>15</sup> In parts of the Franche-Comté, following the French conquest of 1674, many local residents initially refused

8 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1701, 70, Ferrand to Chamillart, 10 November 1703.

9 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 177, Tessé to Louis XIV, 16 November 1703.

10 Chambéry, A[rchives] D[épartementales de] S[avoie] 2B 81, Jean d'Arenthon d'Alex to Denis d'Alex, 15 August 1690.

11 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1702, 166, Berulle to Chamillart, 7 October 1703.

12 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1702, 192, Bronod to Chamillart, 20 October 1703.

13 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1702, 175, Berulle to Chamillart, 12 October 1703.

14 On Roussillon, for example, see D. Stewart, *Assimilation and acculturation in seventeenth-century Europe: Roussillon and France, 1659–1715* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997), 113.

15 Stewart, *Assimilation and acculturation*, 122; B. Groperrin, *L'Influence française et le sentiment national français en Franche-Comté de la conquête à la Révolution (1674–1789)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967), 43–44.



to speak to French soldiers or administrators, and innkeepers took down their signs so they would not have to serve French people.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the population of Lorraine registered its distaste for the French presence there following the conquest of 1670 in a variety of ways.<sup>17</sup> Much of this hostility was due to lingering memories of the horrors of previous French occupations: during the Thirty Years' War, Lorraine and the Franche-Comté both suffered economic and demographic catastrophes.<sup>18</sup>

Why should it be that Savoy was more inclined to welcome the French? In a long-term sense, perceptions were conditioned by the pre-existing economic and cultural links between the people of Savoy and their French neighbours, particularly in the Dauphiné. Seasonal migration between Savoy and the neighbouring French provinces had long been encouraged, although definitive emigration was viewed by the duke as a withdrawal of obedience and could be severely punished with confiscation of property or death. In spite of this, many families left in the first half of the seventeenth century due to poverty, crossing into the Franche-Comté or the Dauphiné, strengthening the kinship networks diffused over the political frontier.<sup>19</sup> Most Savoyards therefore had no reason to consider the French as 'the Other'. Nor had they had much contact with the French army, and even the long French occupation of the sixteenth century (Savoy was occupied from 1530 to 1561) does not appear to have weighed very heavily on the duchy: demographic records show population growth during the period up to 1561 of as much as fifty per cent.<sup>20</sup>

Their pro-French inclinations can also be explained by the strained relationship that existed between the people of Savoy and their duke, Victor Amadeus. Jean-Marie Moeglin has argued that, well into the early modern period, princely dynasties formed the central reference point for the affirmation of regional or 'national' identity.<sup>21</sup> The dynasty was linked to a country and its people through a commonly held belief in Providence or divine grace (the ruler being chosen by God); it also personified the ancient notion of a body of rights and privileges which engendered feelings of belonging to a community.<sup>22</sup>

16 French responses were often severe and created further bitterness: in Arbois, the French ordered the demolition of the town's fortifications as punishment. *Ibid.*, 43.

17 McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy*, 105–106, 199–200.

18 McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy*, 19; Groperrin, *L'Influence française*, 12–13.

19 McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy*, 259.

20 R. Devos, 'Un siècle en mutation' in *Histoire de la Savoie*, ed. P. Guichonnet (Toulouse: Privat, 1973) 232–233.

21 J.-M. Moeglin, 'Nations et nationalisme du Moyen Age à l'Epoque Moderne,' *Revue Historique* 123 (1999): 537–553.

22 Moeglin, 'Nations et nationalisme,' 543.

In Savoy, however, the dynastic link had become weakened. The late seventeenth century saw a growing sense of alienation between Savoyards and an increasingly distant Piedmontese court based over the Alps in Turin. From the 1680s, Victor Amadeus had struck at Savoy's rights and privileges, beginning a confrontation that would continue throughout his reign. Though inspired by a drive towards fiscal efficiency, the duke and his agents were met with increasing resentment and obstructionism on the part of Savoy's institutions. That many of the duke's agents were Piedmontese only compounded the problem: many Savoyards detested the Piedmontese<sup>23</sup> and had little sense of common identity with them despite their shared sovereign.

To the French authorities in the region, this sense of alienation was clearly evident. The intendant of the Dauphiné, Etienne-Jean Bouchu reported in 1703 that on a recent trip through Savoy he had noticed a great discontentment at the harshness of the Sabaudian authorities and above all at the multiplicity and excess of taxes.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Cardinal Le Camus (the bishop of Grenoble, whose diocese covered part of Savoy) wrote that the duke's governor of Chambéry, the marquis de Salles, was despised by the people because of his heavy-handed manner: shortly after the outbreak of war he had demanded three thousand bags of grain from the *conseil de ville*, whereupon a syndic informed him that they did not have the money or credit to provide such a quantity, and that it would be a great source of pleasure for them if he could find it the governor then threatened to throw the syndic out of the window!<sup>25</sup>

Despite de Salles's apparent harshness, the Sabaudian authorities also offered strong incentives to join the duke's service: in October 1703, Victor Amadeus offered exemption from the *taille* and *capitation* for the duration of the war and three years after to all men who enrolled in his service.<sup>26</sup> Given these incentives, it is telling that only thirty or so bourgeois volunteered to join de Salles at this time.<sup>27</sup> And the passivity of the population meant that they posed no threat to the relatively small French force which took Chambéry: as Tessé noted, de Salles had posted *ordonnances* exhorting people to 'smash everything to smithereens,' something they could do quite easily given that in

23 See McCluskey, *Absolute monarchy*, 134.

24 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 50, Bouchu to Chamillart, 4 November 1703. Bouchu had left the army of Italy at the end of August and passed through Savoy on his return route to Grenoble.

25 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 168, [unknown] to Le Camus, 29 October 1703.

26 Paris, A[rchives] des A[ffaires] E[trangères], C[orrespondance] P[olitique], Sard[aigne] 112, fol. 358, 'Edict de S.A.R.,' 4 October 1703.

27 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 168, [unknown] to Le Camus, 29 October 1703.

Chambéry there were eighteen thousand people who could 'take by the throat' the small number of French troops stationed there.<sup>28</sup>

A further explanation for the distinct lack of hostility toward the French is that, on a day-to-day level, the French occupations of Savoy did not entail very much visible change. People were eager to see continuity, above all in terms of commerce and their livelihoods. When the French arrived in Chambéry in August 1690 the musket-makers of the town told the French commander they would be happy to work for the French if they were paid the same rate of fifteen florins per month as the duke had paid them.<sup>29</sup> There was also an essential continuity with the previous regime as the duchy's judicial and financial apparatus remained in place, and on an administrative level an intendant appointed by Turin was simply replaced by an official (known as a *commissaire ordonnateur*) appointed by Versailles. The remit of early modern provincial administration was still sufficiently superficial that a change of sovereign did not significantly affect the way the duchy was administered.

It is significant, however, that there was a markedly different tone to the welcome accorded to the French the second time around. The aftermath of the conquest of 1703 was characterised by a muted caution: after their arrival in Chambéry in 1703, the French intendant observed that the population was more reserved than previously.<sup>30</sup> This caution was largely due to fear of retribution from Victor Amadeus. Following the return of Savoy in 1696, the duke had appointed one of his closest aides, Giovanni Battista Gropello, as *intendant-général* of Savoy. Gropello's task was to reassert the duke's authority over the duchy, after it had co-operated with the French with a conspicuous lack of resistance. With this in mind, a special tribunal was established in 1696, headed by Gropello, to judge those Savoyards who had collaborated with the French. The tribunal sat for three years and had an ugly character as it depended on denunciations; the church hierarchy was instrumental in this process, getting the faithful to come forward with information under pain of ecclesiastical censure.

The importance of the role of Victor Amadeus in shaping the attitudes of the population is further highlighted by a brief comparison with the experience of the county Nice, another of the duke's territories occupied by France twice during this period. Shortly before the second conquest, the Prince of Monaco wrote that he believed that the people of Nice would prefer to be

28 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 199, Tessé to Louis XIV, 1 December 1703.

29 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1010 nos. 50 & 61, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 22 & 30 Aug. 1690. St Ruth offered them the same and ordered three hundred muskets per month.

30 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1690, 71, Bouchu to Chamillart, 16 November 1703.

subjects of Louis XIV, the duke having always treated them harshly.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in 1706, the French *commissaire* Paratte wrote to Chamillart, 'It seems the people will voluntarily submit to obedience, and I recognise that the most part wish with all their heart to stay there forever'.<sup>32</sup> As in Savoy, however, there was, a strong feeling of caution amongst the population of Nice after the second conquest: the French commander noted in 1705 that the people of Nice wished to be forced to return to their homes, 'in order to appear more attached to their natural prince'.<sup>33</sup>

### Savoyard Society and the Experience of Occupation

The contrast between Savoyard reactions to the first and second French conquests reveals how attitudes were far from fixed. They evolved, reflecting the changing dynamics of the occupations and the larger conflicts they were a part of. On a basic level, people's attitudes towards the occupying regime were coloured by the deepening financial hardships that accompanied war. The consequences of conquest weighed much more heavily on the humble, and any favourable aspects of regime change did not concern them. The majority of Savoyards survived on a subsistence basis, and any initial enthusiasm for the French presence waned as the realities of war sank in. For them, survival took precedence over the choice between two remote dynasties. This reaction also reflects the priorities of French occupation policy during this period: the hallmark of the French approach was to mollify the elites as far as possible, while placing the burdens on the common people.

What resistance emerged was therefore partly based on the unwillingness—or more likely inability—of communities to carry the disproportionately heavy burdens placed upon them. The level of the *taille* and other contributions on the towns almost doubled for peasants during this period, in addition to which many had to provide the *ustensile* (heating, bedding, salt and cooking materials) for quartered troops or work in the *corvées* for transport or fortification work.<sup>34</sup> If the comings and goings of soldiers through Savoy caused problems for the inhabitants, the lodging of soldiers was no less problematic.<sup>35</sup>

31 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1767, 294, prince de Monaco to Chamillart, 30 March 1704.

32 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1973, 113, Paratte to Chamillart, 16 February 1706.

33 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1874, 101, Usson to Chamillart, 27 May 1705.

34 McCluskey, *Absolute monarchy*, 94–100.

35 Complaints of the townspeople of Chambéry at the disorders and inconvenience caused by the billeting can be found in the Archives Municipales de Chambéry: see e.g. BB 124, fol. 70, 10 December 1703.

One resident of Annecy recorded in his diary in May 1691 that French troops had 'taken everything' and had 'ruined the country'.<sup>36</sup> Profiting from fear, officers extorted 'gratifications' to contain their soldiers, but disorders continued. Requisitions by the French were incessant, compounding bad harvests and leading to famine.<sup>37</sup> As the French intendant wrote in autumn 1693, the Savoyards were accustomed to a harsh life, but since 1690, the majority of them in the mountainous provinces of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne had to live off ground shells and nuts into which the better-off people mixed a small amount of oats or barley.<sup>38</sup>

People could also make their choices based on personal or recounted experience of the occupying regime, in particular on the role of the French soldiers or officials they had to engage with. The correspondence of the war minister contains many instances of low-level violence between French soldiers and local inhabitants.<sup>39</sup> To take one notorious example: on 24 August 1705, a lawyer named Vibert, together with his wife and four small children were staying in their country house outside of Chambéry. At around seven in the evening a dozen French soldiers attacked the unsuspecting family, breaking down the door with their muskets, shouting, 'tue, tue, point de quartier!'; Vibert begged them for mercy on behalf of his pregnant wife and children, whereupon the soldiers seized him by the neck and stabbed him to death. They then ransacked the house and set fire to it. The enormity of this crime frightened the entire duchy, prompting a direct intervention from the French war minister that the criminals be brought to 'prompt and vigorous justice'.<sup>40</sup>

Such encounters undoubtedly tarnished the reputation of the French military amongst the Savoyard people. Yet in many cases, the French soldiers were not committing wanton violence but acting on behalf of local inhabitants who had an axe to grind with their neighbours. Much as in modern occupations, the presence of occupying forces led to the rivalries and factions within

36 J. Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle: Noblesse et bourgeoisie* (2 vols., Paris: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1978), 1, 555.

37 Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1, 155.

38 A.M. Boislisle, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendants des provinces, 1683–1715* (3 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874–1897), 1, 338, 1235, Bouchu to Barbezieux, 26 September 1693.

39 In December 1706, for example, a French lieutenant named publicly beat the lawyer Charles Perrin and another inhabitant of Chambéry who came to his aid. SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 518, Chamillart to Vallière, 19 December 1706; 558, Declaration by Perrin and Nicod, 26 December 1706. In November 1707 a group of French soldiers murdered an inhabitant of Puisset in the Maurienne named Lavanas: SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 2102, 6, Angervilliers to Chamillart, 6 January 1708.

40 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1862, 249, The Widow Vibert to Chamillart, 2 September 1705.

society becoming exacerbated, often resulting in violence and murder. A little less than a year after the murder of Vibert, another French soldier was condemned to five years on the galleys for assassinating one of the most famous lawyers in Chambéry in his home as he slept. During the trial it emerged that the soldier had been paid to carry out the murder by a Savoyard theology student, who evidently had a vendetta against the lawyer. Such actions were not uncommon: the head of the Savoyard judiciary wrote to the French war minister that, 'things have gotten to such a point that every day the inhabitants of this town menace each other over the smallest quarrels, threatening to avenge themselves with the help of the [French] soldiers that they have at their beck and call.'<sup>41</sup>

A bizarre series of events in 1706 demonstrates further how local officials and military officers could set the tone of the occupation, and also how the fabric of society could be strained by foreign occupation as well as the fear of reprisals once it was over. That summer, the military governor in Savoy, the marquis de Vallière, was obliged to arrest the comte de Limandre, an Auvergnat captain in the king's dragoons. Limandre was a charismatic fantasist who had managed to persuade many Savoyards that he was the son of Louis XIV. As such, he made people speak to him on bended knee; people presented petitions to him on a daily basis, handing over their money on the promise that he would direct their concerns to the king in person. Learning this, Chamillart ordered Limandre to be imprisoned for the duration of the war, and stipulated that he was to be denied verbal and written communication, as he was considered 'the greatest writer in the world.'<sup>42</sup>

Shortly afterwards, as if to prove this accolade was well deserved, a remonstrance found its way to Versailles, addressed from 'The People of Savoy to His Most Christian Majesty.'<sup>43</sup> Claiming to be writing in the name of the 'nobility, bourgeois and Third Estate of Savoy', the author (probably Limandre) recounted the deplorable state to which the people of Savoy had been reduced by excessive impositions. But the real point was a character assassination of Vallière: all Savoy wished to be delivered from 'his rages, his threats, his bizarre temperament, his severity and his excessive rigour which he exercises indifferently to everyone.'<sup>44</sup>

Limandre's rivalry with Vallière evidently took on a wider significance, reflecting divisions in Savoyard society, which were exacerbated by the occupation. A Chambérienne by the name of d'Avril Pellissier claimed that,

---

41 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 339, Tencin to Chamillart, 6 August 1706.

42 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 349, Chamillart to Vallière, 9 August 1706.

43 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 390<sup>bis</sup>, 'Lettre sans nom,' August 1706.

44 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 390<sup>bis</sup>, 'Lettre sans nom,' August 1706.

because she regularly passed on whatever seditious information she heard to Vallière, her enemies in Chambéry used Limandre to torment her, 'sparing neither my honour nor my reputation'. Pellissier herself had incurred the wrath of Limandre because she had prevented him from seducing a girl and then denounced him to the girl's family. He subsequently paid a visit to Pellissier to insult her and inform her that she was widely hated in Chambéry for passing on information to the French governor. He added that she deserved to be stoned, and that when the duke of Savoy returned she would get her just deserts.<sup>45</sup>

This case not only reflects the strains brought about by foreign occupation but also an awareness that the occupation was temporary. It was clear, particularly during the second occupation, that Louis XIV had little intention of retaining Savoy in the long term. The legitimacy of the French presence in Savoy was based solely on the right of conquest; the French government never invoked history or dynastic right to legitimise their presence in Savoy as they did in provinces they wished to annex permanently.<sup>46</sup> This distinction was clear in the official language used: after the conquest of Savoy in 1703, the people were informed that, 'His Majesty wishes to treat his new Savoyard subjects just as well as his natural subjects.'<sup>47</sup> It was also reflected in the administrative structures put in place: there was no intendant for Savoy, only a *subdélégué* of the intendant of the Dauphiné. Savoy served for Louis XIV, as it had for his father and Cardinal Richelieu, as a defensive buffer, a zone to quarter the army, and a bargaining chip in peace negotiations.<sup>48</sup>

### The Role of Victor Amadeus

Attitudes were perhaps affected most of all by the actions of the rightful ruler of the occupied territory and his agents. Victor Amadeus proved particularly adept at stirring up fear among the Savoyard people to dissuade them from collaborating with the French. The duke's tactics were varied and inventive. In 1691 his government in Turin began sending letters to the saltpetre contractors of Savoy, menacing them for having worked for the French authorities. In order

45 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 401, d'Avril Pellissier to Chamillart, 30 August 1706. Limandre reported later that year that Pellissier had been forced to leave Chambéry for being too close to Vallière. SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 584, Limandre to Chamillart, December 1706.

46 P. McCluskey, 'From Regime Change to *Réunion*: Louis XIV's Quest for Legitimacy in Lorraine, 1670–97,' *English Historical Review* 126 (2011): 1386–1407.

47 ADS A 24, 'Ordre,' Bouchu, 8 December 1703.

48 McCluskey, *Absolute monarchy*, 55–56. On the 1630s see Humbert, *Les Français en Savoie*, 221–222.

to protect them, the French *commissaire ordonnateur* imprisoned them, with their foreknowledge, for the sake of appearances.<sup>49</sup> In 1705 the duke attempted unsuccessfully to incite an uprising in his favour in Savoy based on the notion that the Savoyards 'desire nothing more than to escape from the oppression in which they have found themselves since the invasion of the country'.<sup>50</sup> To follow up on this, he sent his sergeants disguised as peasants into Savoyard communities to surreptitiously raise troops by repeating the amnesty for deserters and promising payment due to all those who had been taken prisoner and subsequently escaped.<sup>51</sup> The French later learnt that this tactic was extremely successful, and that many recruits had joined Victor Amadeus in Piedmont.<sup>52</sup>

In response, the occupying regime was limited in what they could do. Theirs was essentially a defensive, reactive approach. Some felt that the continuation of commerce with Piedmont would only strengthen the attachment between the Savoyard people and their duke,<sup>53</sup> reflecting the link between economic activity and allegiance. In 1692 and again in 1707 they tried closing the border with Piedmont, but on both occasions they ultimately realised that this was futile given the geography of the region. The French also had to balance the need to support commerce (which ultimately paid for the army, through taxes) with the restrictions on the flow of goods and people. They were also eager to encourage soldiers from the army of Victor Amadeus to return to Savoy so that they could be enlisted into French service. But the duke took measures to prevent this, spreading word through his emissaries that the French would arrest and execute any man who crossed the Alps from Italy into Savoy or Geneva.<sup>54</sup>

During the second occupation Victor Amadeus' tactic of issuing threats coupled with incentives became louder and more frequent. In 1706, as the tide of the war turned decisively against France, he issued a declaration offering amnesty for all deserters joining his service, and renewed the promise of privileges and exemptions. But those subjects who took the side of France or 'favoured' France in its levies would be 'regarded and treated as enemies of

49 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1239, 91, Bonval to Barbezieux, 21 August 1691.

50 AAE CP Sard. 115, 123, 'Copy of the commission of M. the duke of Savoy to incite an uprising in his favour in Savoy,' 8 December 1705.

51 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1994, fol. 438, Leguerchois to Chamillart, 22 January 1707.

52 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 2099, 50, Leguerchois to Chamillart, 13 May 1708; A<sup>1</sup> 2170, 232, Voysin to Medavy, 6 April 1709. Many of these passed into Piedmont under the pretext of commerce. SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 2175, 106, Ponnat to Voysin, 25 March 1709.

53 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1079, 187, Bouchu to Barbezieux, 2 March 1692.

54 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1972, 284, Chamillart to Angervilliers, 12 October 1706; A<sup>1</sup> 2038, 125, Chamillart to Leguerchois, 12 February 1707; 147, Leguerchois to Chamillart, 22 February 1707.



their *patrie*, traitors, and rebels against their legitimate sovereign.<sup>55</sup> Victor Amadeus' propaganda was therefore not wholly negative and threatening in tone: in one notice distributed by his agents in the towns and villages across Savoy, addressed 'A la belle jeunesse Savoyarde', the duke repeated this combination of promises and threats to the people of Savoy with the same emotive language: they were to make the journey to the frontier to join their 'great and Legitimate Sovereign,' 'a journey so advantageous to your own interests as well as those of the whole *Nation Savoyarde*.'<sup>56</sup>

Such language would certainly have appealed to the Savoyards' sense of identity, and it is this very slippery concept of identity which is crucial in explaining the behaviour of an occupied people in any era.<sup>57</sup> *Nation* at this time referred to a closed community, one defined by common origins. In 1694, the first dictionary of the *Académie Française* defined *nation* as 'the inhabitants of a common country, who live under the same laws and use the same language'.<sup>58</sup> *Patrie* also denoted a closed community: citizens belonged to a *patrie*—that is, the land of their fathers—by birth and owed allegiance to it. In most contemporary understandings of the term, however, this would have excluded 'Others' who happened to share the same sovereign, such as the Piedmontese. Victor Amadeus' appeal to a broader 'pan-Sabaudian' interpretation of *nation* or *patrie* was therefore an astute move by a ruler living in an age before the emergence of a modern sense of nationalism defined by language and a distinct 'national' culture.

What Victor Amadeus was doing was in some ways novel, but it also mirrored broader trends. Historians of France have argued that the decades around 1700 were crucial for the development of the concepts of *nation* and *patrie* and that these terms were taking on new meanings.<sup>59</sup> Both referred to France, but *nation* also signified group of people sharing certain binding qualities. *Patrie*, on the other hand, was increasingly used in the sense of a territory commanding a person's emotional attachment and ultimate political loyalty.<sup>60</sup> As is well known, the political and cultural significance of these concepts increased over

55 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 168, Vallière to Chamillart, 16 April 1706; 169, 'Déclaration par S.A.R.' [undated].

56 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 509, Vallière to Chamillart, 17 December 1706; A<sup>1</sup> 2175, 21, 'A la belle jeunesse Savoyarde,' 1 March 1709.

57 See F. Bédarida, 'Vichy et la crise de la conscience française' in *Le régime de Vichy et les Français*, ed. J.-P. Azéma & F. Bédarida (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 79.

58 D.A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, MA, 2001), 5–6.

59 Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 7.

60 Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 7.

eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup> The first decade of the eighteenth century was, however, an important stage in the development of these ideas. That this was a period dominated by war is no coincidence; by the end of the decade, even the Sun King felt it expedient to address the people of France directly, appealing for a renewed devotion to the nation, and zeal for the *patrie*. Louis XIV's famous plea for public support in June 1709 came after the collapse of The Hague negotiations; in it, the king invoked the rhetoric of the ancient symbolism of the monarchy, which still lay at the heart of French identity.<sup>62</sup>

In seeking to explain Victor Amadeus' own appeal to 'national' sentiment, however, it is important to bear in mind Savoy's status as part of an ethnically and culturally diverse composite state. As John H. Elliott memorably put it, most states in the early modern period were composite, though some 'were clearly more composite than others'.<sup>63</sup> The Sabaudian state had little sense of shared identity, a condition that had been exacerbated by the duke's policy of marginalising Savoy at the expense of his Italian territories. Clearly this lack of shared identity posed significant difficulties for the rulers of a composite state in wartime, and the duke was attempting to find ways to compensate for this problem. Recently historians have highlighted the capacity of early modern governments to successfully forge and sustain composite political identities out of disparate ethnic groups, for example in Poland-Lithuania and the British Isles. Historians including Jeremy Black and Christopher Storrs have also argued that in this period 'national' sentiment could be invoked to define a common threat.<sup>64</sup> But this tactic usually involved a more conscious use of the 'Other'; here, because of the strength of the pre-existing Savoyard attachment to France, Victor Amadeus instead appealed to this more positive concept of *la Nation*, or *le patrie*. And his interventions certainly seem to have been very effective, judging by French reports.<sup>65</sup>

The duke appears, therefore, to have made a conscious effort to build a sovereign political community grouping his different subject people together.

61 See e.g. P.R. Campbell, 'The Language of Patriotism in France, 1750–1770,' *e-France*, 1 (2007): 1–43.

62 J. Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda Under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 210–20.

63 J.H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies,' *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 51.

64 Black, *European International Relations*, 22; Storrs, *War, Diplomacy*, 220. On national sentiment in pre-modern times, see the introduction to Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer's *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially 3–13.

65 SHDT A<sup>1</sup> 1968, 509, Vallière to Chamillart, 17 December 1706; A<sup>1</sup> 2038, 59, Vallière to Chamillart, 28 January 1707.

This phenomenon—which might be termed ‘proto-nationalism’—emerged out of the experience of foreign occupation, and out of Savoy’s particular status within a composite monarchy. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the traditional sense of loyalty to the ruling dynasty of Savoy was in crisis, as both the Savoyards and their duke demonstrated their willingness to abandon each other. For their part, the people of Savoy existed in a cultural and economic continuum that extended beyond Savoy and into the neighbouring French provinces; any form of dynastic attachment was undercut by familial or material self-interest. Moreover, their festering sentiments of alienation may have been compounded by Victor Amadeus’ manoeuvring in the diplomatic sphere. The theme of territorial exchange was a recurrent feature in international relations at this time: in the partition treaties drawn up prior to the death of Carlos II of Spain in 1700, and also in the negotiations at The Hague and Utrecht, Victor Amadeus expressed his willingness to exchange Savoy for Milan or even for Spain and its empire. News that the duke was prepared to give up his ancient and sacred bonds with the territory for a more prestigious throne cannot have endeared him in any way to the people of Savoy.

### Servants of Two Masters?

The behaviour of Savoyard population suggests that they experienced an acute conflict of loyalties at the turn of the eighteenth century. While initially welcoming the French conquerors, the Savoyards became more cautious as the occupations progressed: this shift was largely a result of the actions of the ducal government and to a lesser extent the steadily worsening material burdens placed upon them by the French. By any measure, the non-elite sections of Savoyard society were given very little incentive to collaborate with the French occupiers: it was they who overwhelmingly bore the brunt of the occupations in terms of providing revenues and war materiel. Yet they passively accepted these burdens and were unwilling to rise in revolt against the French when prompted to do so by Victor Amadeus. That the Savoyards refused to view the French conquerors as the enemy or the ‘Other’ is a reflection of the divided and porous nature of loyalty in this frontier region.

Throughout the Nine Years’ War and War of the Spanish Succession, the people of Savoy remained ambivalent in their feelings towards both Victor Amadeus and Louis XIV. In this regard their responses mirrored those of the Savoyard elites: the nobility, the clergy and the administrative elites generally demonstrated much less overt hostility to the French than their counterparts did in Lorraine, the Franche-Comté, or the other territories conquered by

Louis XIV.<sup>66</sup> Many initially threw in their lot with the French but would later be persuaded to rejoin the service of Victor Amadeus through a mixture of threats and appeals to their sense of identity. Yet for all his skilful manipulation of Savoyard 'national' feeling during these occupations, Victor Amadeus II was far from committed to retaining Savoy: though this was the birthplace of his dynasty, he repeatedly indicated that he was prepared to exchange the duchy for more lucrative or prestigious territories elsewhere.<sup>67</sup> In the European dynastic system of the early eighteenth century, ambitious rulers like Victor Amadeus increasingly saw their territories as expendable in the pursuit of dynastic advancement. The ancient reciprocal bonds of loyalty he had with his Savoyard subjects withered as a result. Regional and 'national' identities in these small states were still shaped in reference to princely dynasties, therefore, but in a much less positive way than before.

What effect the duke's policies had on changing attitudes and loyalties in the longer term is beyond the remit of this chapter. What is clear, in the short term, is that they were effective at generating fear. As historians of more recent occupations have noted, the emotional reactions of the occupied populations take on an enormous importance: among these, fear was usually the main motive for collaborating with an occupier.<sup>68</sup> The greater source of fear in this case, however, seems not to have come from the occupying French armies but rather from the thought of the eventual return of the duke's administrators. This suggests that for a conquered people in *ancien régime* Europe, the nature of the relationship they had with their legitimate, but usurped, ruler was still the most significant factor in determining their responses to foreign occupation. This was even true, as in this case, where there was a common language and culture between themselves and the conquerors. All of which serves to illustrate the way in which the study of previously overlooked or neglected second- or third-ranking European states can open up important new perspectives on early modern history. As a frontier zone and area of cultural and economic exchange, and as one part of a composite state, Savoy tells us much about how loyalties changed and how identities were redefined in the period leading up to the Peace of Utrecht.

---

66 McCluskey, *Absolute monarchy*, chapters 5–7.

67 On Victor Amadeus' attempts to exchange Savoy for Milan see Symcox, *Victor Amadeus*, 137–8, 162.

68 P. Burrin, 'Writing the History of Military Occupations' in *France at war: Vichy and the historians*, ed. S. Fishman *et al.* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 84.

## Pride and Prejudice: Universal Monarchy Discourse and the Peace Negotiations of 1709–1710

*David Onnekink*

In 1725, more than a decade after the Peace of Utrecht, the Frisian politician Sicco van Goslinga, now fifty-nine years old, spoke of ‘anti-French principles which after three wars had inspired all of the elder regents’.<sup>1</sup> The wars against Louis XIV, which had commenced with the Year of Disaster in 1672 and which had lasted until the Peace of Utrecht, had marked a generation of politicians. Anti-French sentiments were deeply entrenched in the national consciousness and had not failed to leave their mark on policymakers.

This in itself is no revelation. We know that ever since the late 1660s thousands of pamphlets had flooded the Dutch public with anti-French rhetoric, about French pride, deceit, ambition, arrogance, bad religion and corruption.<sup>2</sup> All these qualities merged into a grand narrative about what has become known as Universal Monarchy. But historians have been less receptive to the fact that such notions also touched the attitude of diplomats and policymakers, even if the Dutch historian Johanna Stork-Penning, who wrote the authoritative study on Dutch negotiations for peace during the War of the Spanish Succession, spoke of the ‘distrust of France which showed in all Dutch decisions’; she described it as a ‘substantial factor’ in the analysis.<sup>3</sup>

And yet, despite this observation, arguably the diplomatic history of this period has normally been studied through the lens of Realism, relying on intricate empirical analyses of day-to-day diplomatic manoeuvres and counter-manoevres—indeed the very method that Stork-Penning used and which has since then been faithfully followed by other historians studying the War of the Spanish Succession. In effect Dutch historians have all but ignored the impact of Universal Monarchy-discourse on the negotiations. Historians have been fully aware of the pervasiveness of the image of France as a Universal Monarchy, and have understandably located such discourses in such sources

1 Quoted in J.G. Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk* (Wolters: Groningen, 1958), 5n.

2 Donald Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede (1672–1713). Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Verloren: Hilversum, 2013), 8.

3 Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk*, 5.

as pamphlets, satirical poems and songs,<sup>4</sup> but have more or less ignored hard-core diplomatic and political sources such as memorials and correspondence.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to attempt to bridge the methodological gap between cultural and diplomatic historians, to see whether Universal Monarchy discourse in fact pervaded all of these sources, in order to show how policymakers and diplomats did actually work within a wider cultural framework. Too often the compartments of popular culture and diplomacy are presumed to be strictly divided. I take my cue from recent developments in International Relations Theory, in particular from the Danish scholar Lene Hansen.<sup>5</sup> In building up a case against Realism, she argues that foreign policy should not be explained by analysing a rational decision-making process but by understanding identity discourses, which are often steeped in popular culture. In her words, 'Foreign policies need an account, or a story, of the problems and issue they are trying to address'.<sup>6</sup> Such a story is built from a 'basic discourse,' a foundational story which is produced and reproduced in cultural and foreign policy texts. Thus one could argue that cultural and political sources are connected through intertextuality.<sup>7</sup> Hansen operates from the notion of Julia Kristeva that all texts are part of an intertextual web, and she differentiates between explicit textual connections (such as references to other literature) or implicit textual connections (such as comparable concepts or catchphrases like 'clash of civilizations').<sup>8</sup> It is the second category of intertextual connections I will be exploring in this chapter, focusing in particular on clusters of keywords and catchphrases. Hansen proposes an intertextual model in which discourses in various kinds of sources can be compared, in order to find out whether a specific discourse was prevalent.<sup>9</sup> The purpose is to see whether a 'basic discourse' permeated both popular and political sources and thus to see how diplomats were in fact influenced by their cultural context. This also changes our notion on the nature of diplomatic negotiations. Whereas Realist historians assume that the language diplomats use was to describe reality, one could now argue that their language was self-referential, indeed shaped reality by means of the discourse employed. In the words of International Relations

---

4 E.g. Tony Claydon, 'Protestantism, universal monarchy and Christendom in William's war propaganda, 1689–1697,' in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International context*, ed. E. Mijers and D. Onnekink (Aldershot: Ashgate 2007).

5 Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice. Discourse analysis and the Bosnian War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

6 Hansen, *Security as Practice*, vi.

7 Hansen, *Security as Practice*, ch. 4.

8 Hansen, *Security as Practice*, 56–57.

9 Hansen, *Security as Practice*, 64.

expert Ken Booth, 'words shape as well as reflect reality,' thus underscoring the performativity of diplomatic language.<sup>10</sup> Such a method would help compartmentalize the study of international relations, which is now often studied in isolation by cultural, literary and diplomatic historians. Until now, such a method has not been specifically applied to early modern foreign policy.

In order to test this contention I will conduct a short case study into the Franco-Dutch negotiations for peace in 1709 and 1710 and track the spread of Universal Monarchy discourse: the story Dutch politicians needed to address their concerns. It has normally been argued that the talks failed because of essential differences of opinion and a conflict of interest between the Dutch and the French as well as between the Allies themselves.<sup>11</sup> I will investigate Dutch prejudices against French intentions that hampered the talks, in order to show how identity constructions formed the building blocks of foreign policy discourses and may have thus been more influential than rational differences of opinion. This will be done by a comparative analysis of the discourses used in three categories of sources: public news sources (the *Europische Mercurius*, a newsbook), official government sources (a resolution by the States General) and confidential political and diplomatic documents (a political memorial and a large number of diplomatic letters). These sources will be matched against a foundational text which generated the 'basic discourse' of Universal Monarchy in the first place, Petrus Valckenier's *Verwerd Europa ofte Polityke en Historische Beschrijving der waare Fundamenten en Oorzaken van de Oorlogen en Revolutiën in Europa, voornamentlijk in en omtrent de Nederlanden, sedert den jare 1664, gecauseert door de gepretenteerde universele Monarchie der Franschen . . .* (1675) (*Europe in turmoil, or the Political and Historical description of the true foundations and causes of the wars and revolutions in Europe . . . caused by the pretended Universal Monarchy of the French*).<sup>12</sup>

### The 1709–10 Peace Negotiations

The Dutch negotiations for peace during the War of the Spanish Succession have been researched in detail.<sup>13</sup> Between 1705 and 1710 a series of bilateral

10 Ken Booth, 'Discussion: a reply to Wallace,' *Review of International Studies* 23:3 (1997), 371–377, 374.

11 Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk*.

12 An updated version was published in 1688.

13 Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk* tracks the negotiations for peace between 1705 and 1710 in detail. See also A.J. Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe,' in *The New Cambridge Modern History* VI, ed. J. Bromley (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Franco-Dutch talks took place, which ultimately failed and opened the way for talks between the French and the English that would lead to the Peace of Utrecht. Wedged between their desire for peace, French ambition and conflicts of interests between the Allies, Dutch diplomats were left with very limited options and were ultimately unsuccessful in reaching a settlement. The talks in 1709 took place in several cities in the United Provinces, mainly Woerden near Utrecht, in utter secrecy between the French envoy Pierre Rouillé and the Dutch negotiators Willem Buys and Bruno van der Dussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda. The French were extremely anxious to conclude peace and started negotiating on the basis of turning over the whole of the Spanish inheritance to Archduke Charles, if the Allies were willing to provide Philip of Anjou with some compensation. In order to show his willingness, Louis XIV, reportedly crying in humiliation, decided to send his minister marquis de Torcy to The Hague in May 1709. Ultimately, however, the talks failed because the French were unwilling to ratify the preliminaries in June 1709, and war continued.

In March 1710 the talks were resumed by the French diplomats marquis d'Huxelles and Melchior de Polignac and the Dutch negotiators Buys and Van der Dussen in the town of Geertruidenberg. Again the negotiations failed (in July) because of the insistence of the Dutch that Louis help the Allies to remove Philip from the Spanish throne, which he refused. The success of the negotiations hinged on whether Louis would be true to his word in persuading Philip of Anjou to vacate the Spanish throne. Ultimately, the Dutch believed he would not, and Louis refused to put troops at the disposal of the Allies to remove his grandson by force, as the agreement suggested.

Distrust and anti-French prejudice had been feeding Dutch popular political discourse ever since the start of the war. Distrust was a key notion in the Dutch declaration of war in 1702. Whereas the English issued a short and composed statement in which they declared their intention to maintain the balance of power in Europe, the Dutch issued a long and emotional declaration centered on the trauma of 1672 and the threat of Universal Monarchy.<sup>14</sup> Distrust of French ambition was so ingrained in Dutch political consciousness by 1702 that all of France's actions were interpreted in this light, even future

---

Press, 1970), 410–445, and David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren 2013).

14 *Manifest, houdende de redenen waerom de Hoogh Mog. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden genoodsaecht zijn tegens de koningen van Vranckrijck en Spaigne den Oorlogh te declareren, in dato den achtsten Mey 1702* (The Hague: By Paulus Scheltus, 1702), Knuttel 14760; *A proclamation declaring war against France and Spain* (s.a./s.l., 1702).



ones. Indeed, Louis XIV would later say precisely this in a preamble of the Treaty of Utrecht, in which he stated that ‘the distant fear of seeing one day our crown, and that of Spain, upon the head of one and the same Prince, . . . had been the principal cause of the war, seemed also to lay an insuperable obstacle in the way to peace.’<sup>15</sup> Whereas Louis attributed blame to the Dutch and their unfounded prejudices, Dutch pamphleteers were convinced of French pride and ambition. This notion needed no proof for it was ‘undeniable that the King of France, and those of his secret council, since more than fifty years, have made up their minds and deliberated to elevate him as Universal Monarch of Europe,’ wrote a pamphleteer in 1702.<sup>16</sup>

### Valckenier and Universal Monarchy Discourse

The foundational text preceding and inspiring Valckenier’s book was Franz-Paul Lisola’s *Bouclier D’Estat et de Justice contre le dessein manifestement decouvert de la Monarchie Universelle, sous le vain prétexte des prétentions de la reyne de France*, published in 1667. It rehashed sixteenth-century notions of the Universal Monarchy of Charles V and applied these to Louis XIV. More specifically, Lisola criticised the aspirations of Louis XIV which had led to the War of Devolution that year.<sup>17</sup> It was translated into English and Dutch.<sup>18</sup> Well before the Dutch War of 1672 the concept of France as aspiring for universal monarchy was well known in the Netherlands.

The notion was picked up by Dutch authors, who adapted the concept of Universal Monarchy for a Protestant public (Lisola was a Catholic).<sup>19</sup> In the United Provinces the ideas of Lisola came to their fullest expression in the work of Petrus Valckenier (1638?–1712?), a lawyer from Amsterdam who

15 ‘Preamble to Peace treaty between France and Spain’ (1713), quoted in George Chalmers, *A Collection of Treaties Between Great Britain and Other Powers* (London: Chalmers, 1790), 2:56.

16 *Het waare intrest van Europa, tot conservatie van hare vryheyt* [. . .] (The Hague: J. Kitto, 1702), Knutel 14800.

17 Horst Lademacher, *Phönix aus der Asche?: Politik und Kultur der niederländischen Republik im Europa des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Waxmann 2007), 280.

18 In Dutch: *Verdediging van staet en gerechtigheyt; tegens het* [. . .] *voorneemen der gantsche monarchye, onder d’ydele deckmantel der pretentien* [. . .] *van de koningin van Vranckrijk* (Amsterdam: J. Vinckel, 1667), Knuttel 9546.

19 Charles-Edouard Levillain, ‘The intellectual origins of the Anglo-Dutch alliance 1667–1677,’ *Website Le séminaire XVII–XVIII* (date of access: 16 July 2014), <http://britaix17-18.univ-provence.fr/texte-seances5.php>.

later became a diplomat in the Empire. His extensive *Verwerd Europa* [*Europe in turmoil*] (1675) was published during the Franco-Dutch war. It was an impressive, one-thousand-page study of the history and nature of French universal monarchy. It tracked French history up to the reign of Louis XIV and provided a theoretical framework of states, interests and international relations. It built up to the second part of the book, which focused on the troubles in Europe. The last part was a narrative of the Franco-Dutch war, detailing the events and the problems within the Dutch Republic.<sup>20</sup>

Valckenier builds his case on the conceptual cornerstone of universal monarchy. The trouble in Europe, he states in the title of his book, is 'caused by the pretended Universal Monarchy of the French'.<sup>21</sup> He does attribute part of the cause to Louis, to be sure, but the root problem goes deeper. There is a reason the title speaks of 'the French,' rather than the King of France, since Valckenier believes pride and aggrandizement to be a feature of Frenchness. The fifth-century king Clodius, nick-named Long-Hair on account of wearing ritualized long hair, did so, like all the Franks, Valckenier argues, 'as a sign of their nobility and freedom, which is the reason why all the people they conquered were forced to shave and cut off their beards'.<sup>22</sup> Along with the French in general, the French nobility is culpable. They have been made great by Huger Capet, the founder of the French monarchy and have even received 'crowns on the head'. The great houses have become powerful and 'aspired to a higher step of state and dignity' in search of which they 'waged war against one another or against the kings'.<sup>23</sup>

Conquest seems typical of the French, as Valckenier described how 'afterwards these Franks under Clodoveus (Clovis) not only submitted the Romans, Goths and Burgundians in the whole of Gaul, but on top of that also won against the Alemans . . . and conquered everything between the Alps and the Pyrenees, up to Rhine and sea'.<sup>24</sup> Valckenier is not necessarily critical of these

---

20 Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*.

21 Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*.

22 'tot een teeken van haaren Edeldom en Vryheyt, om welke reeden sy ook alle Volkeren, die sy overwonnen, dwongen haar haer en baarden af te scheeren', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 30.

23 'Kroon op 't hoofd', 'altijd aspireerden na hoger trap van Staat en Digniteyt, en daarom de een tegens de ander, ofwel tegens de Koningen selfs oorloogden', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 54.

24 'Naderhand hebben dese Franken onder de Regeeringe van Clodoveus niet alleen geheel Gallien, den Romeynen, Gotten en Bourgondiens ontveldigt, maar daar en boven noch overwonnen de Allemannen by Sulpich en veroverd al watter leyt van de Alpes en Pireneën tot aan den Rijn en Zee', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 30.

wars; indeed, he speaks approvingly of Charles Martel who 'has 'triumphantly won against the Saxons and West-Goths' and in a battle 'cut down the Saracens who had invaded France'.<sup>25</sup> He admires Charlemagne for 'achieving victory over the Brittons, Danes and Normans in France'.<sup>26</sup> However, implicitly the warlike nature of the Franks is criticized when he writes that 'Clodius invaded the Netherlands';<sup>27</sup> thus foreshadowing the evil things to come.

Arguably, by building a genealogy of wars, Valckenier points to the war-mongering nature of the French, which was also proved by the sons of Louis the Pious, 'who waged amongst each other such bloody and terrible wars' to divide the empire.<sup>28</sup> Louis XI 'took' the Duchy of Burgundy<sup>29</sup> while Charles VIII 'waged prolonged wars' with Aragon after 1494.<sup>30</sup> With the death of Francis I 'the flame of war was not extinguished but rekindled by Henry II'.<sup>31</sup> He speaks of the 'long years of domestic wars against the Huguenots'<sup>32</sup> in the late sixteenth century and notes that the murder of Henry IV in 1610 'again kindled lamentable flames of war'.<sup>33</sup> The 1620s saw 'domestic wars'.<sup>34</sup> Valckenier concludes that 'the French from ancient times have been of such a restless and moveable spirit . . . that they do not live in peace, but are always inclined to war, both foreign and domestic'.<sup>35</sup>

Although Valckenier is not necessarily negative about the wars of the French, indeed he praises Martel for having safeguarded Europe from the Saracens, the narrative tends to be highly critical of the bloodthirsty nature of the French in general and the nobility in particular. The pairing of pride and war is obvious

25 'want hy de Saxen en West-Gotten triumphantelijk heeft overwonnen en van de Saracenen die Vrankrijk invadeerden, in een Veld-slag terneder gemaakt', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 31–32.

26 'de Britten, Deenen en Noormannen in Vrankrijk overwonnen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 32.

27 'invadeerde de Nederlanden', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 30. He refers to the Spanish Netherlands, though.

28 'sulke bloedige ende affchrikkelyke oorlogen gevoert', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 34.

29 'ingenomen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 41.

30 'langduyryge Oorlogen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 42.

31 'is dese Oorlogs-vlam niet uytgeblust, maar voort gestookt door Hendrik II', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 44.

32 'lange jaaren door de inlandse oorlogen tegens de Hugenoten', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 50.

33 'jammerlyke Oorlogs-vlammen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 51.

34 'inheemse oorloogen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 51.

35 'daarenboven zijn de Fransche van outs geweest van sulken beweegyken en onrustigen geest, dat sy noyt konden stil zijn, noch vreedzaam leven, maar altijd inclineeren tot Buyten en Binnen-landse Oorlogen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 55.

in his narrative since it is the proud Franks who insisted on visibly humiliating the people they conquered. It is thus when the Franks tend to connect their warlike successes with pride that things go terribly wrong. For Pippin also 'submitted' the Kingdom of Lombards, 'waged war' against the Saxons for thirty-three years and finally conquered them.<sup>36</sup>

The word 'overheersen' cannot be translated into English; it literally means 'overrule' and comes closest to 'subjugate' or 'dominate'. According to the early modern dictionary of Dutch, it means to rule 'but with the connotation that it is against the will of the subjects'.<sup>37</sup> Hence the French kings were determined 'to govern' over parliaments and nobility.<sup>38</sup> It is thus the combination of bloodthirst and pride that makes the French dangerous. Throughout the narrative Valckenier gives plenty of examples in which the French kings seek 'domination' (*overheersing* or *heerschappij*). This was what the early French kings had sought. For instance, Charlemagne, 'after he had gained such a great reign, as never a French king before him,' re-established the Roman Empire in 800.<sup>39</sup> This connection with the empire is important, as Valckenier suggests it is the aim of the French, regarding themselves as the oldest Christian kingdom as well as the foremost kingdom, to claim the imperial crown based on their superiority to all other kings.<sup>40</sup>

The lust to rule pervades most of the actions of the early French (Frankish and Merovingian) kings. Valckenier approves of Martel's inherent humility when he 'refused to accept the title of King which he was offered'.<sup>41</sup> But he was the exception. Important again is the usurpous tendency of many of the French kings. Valckenier tends to be critical when he discusses the reign of the Merovingian 'court chamberlains, which gained full royal power, except for the title and the crown'.<sup>42</sup> Most notably the founder of the modern kingdom, Hugu Capet, 'who placed himself in the possession of the Realm in 987

---

36 'ontweldigt', 'beoorloogt', 'overheert', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 32.

37 'overheersen', reference in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (Instituut voor Nederlandse lexicologie), <http://gtb.inl.nl>.

38 'te gouverneeren', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 41.

39 'Na dat hy sulken grooten heerschappye hem hadde verworven als noyt eenig Fransche Koning voor of naar hem heeft gehad', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 32.

40 Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 63.

41 'dat hy refuseerden te accepteeeren den Titul van Koning, die hem wierde geoffereert', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 32.

42 'dewelke metter tijd aan haar kreegen de geheele Koninklyke macht, behalven den Titul en de Kroon', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 31.

with general permission from the Grandes in France,<sup>43</sup> thus underscoring the ambiguity of his claims. In fact, the ambiguity is emphasized by mentioning that the Dukes of Lorraine regard the French kings after Capet 'as illegal possessors and usurpers, of which the present king Louis XIV is one'.<sup>44</sup>

Despite their usurpous claim to the throne, Valckenier explains how they aspire to the imperial crown; 'the great power and riches have led the French kings to lift themselves to such heights... that they pretend... to precede the Roman Emperor in rank'.<sup>45</sup> They claim precedence because 'the French boast that their realm had become Christian before Spain' and 'that their title of most Christian king supersedes all others, as the sun does the stars'.<sup>46</sup> This claim has now begun to become reality as from the time of Cardinal Richelieu 'the French have tried to obtain Universal Monarchy, never doubting that they would surely get it'.<sup>47</sup> And Valckenier speaks of the 'French pretence' on the Roman Empire.<sup>48</sup> Their arrogance knows no boundaries for 'they were not afraid to say in public that their kingdom would last forever, but also would dominate over all the realms and lands of the world'.<sup>49</sup> As such they even challenged God himself, 'for it is only known to God, and in his power'.<sup>50</sup> Valckenier also explains that Louis XIV, 'arrogantly' nicknamed 'the little god,' is ambitious because of his successes. 'The prosperity made him inflated and ambitious, so that he had no other design as to make him master of the world, and... universal monarch'.<sup>51</sup> Valckenier then repeatedly speaks of 'ambitious

43 'de possessie van 't Rijk, daar in sich Hugo Capet sette in 't jaar 987, met gemeene toestemminge van alle de Grooten in Frankrijk', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 35.

44 'voor onwettige besitters en Usurpateurs gehouden, waar uyt desen noch regeerende Koning Louis de XIV mede een is', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 35.

45 'Door dese groote macht en rykdom hebben haar de Fransche Koningen so hoog verheven, dat sy daar door... pretendeeren... den Roomschen Keyser in de rang voor te gaan', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 63.

46 'dat haaren Titul van Alder-Christelijke so verre alle andere overtreft, als de Son de Sterren', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 63.

47 'hebbende Fransen beginnen te staan na de Universeele Monarchie, niet twijfelende of sy soudon die sekerlyk verkrygen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 52.

48 'Fransche pretensie', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 52.

49 'schaamden sy haar niet openbaarlyk te seggen, als dat haar Koninkrijk niet alleen altijd soude duyren, maar ook noch verkrygen de Heerschappye over alle de Rijken en Landen van de geheele Wereld', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 52.

50 'dat God alleen bekend, en in sijne macht alleen stond', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 52.

51 'Desen voorspoet maakt hem so opgeblaasen en ambitieus, dat hy geen ander oogmerk heeft, als hem alleen te maken sulken Meester van de Wereld, en sulken Universelen Monarch', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 131.

oppressor,<sup>52</sup> Louis's 'ambition,'<sup>53</sup> his 'ambitious designs'<sup>54</sup> and his 'lust for dominion and ambition,'<sup>55</sup> which was the root cause for the wars he waged against the Dutch.<sup>56</sup> The French 'verhovaardigen' (an archaic verb meaning 'to act haughtily') themselves.<sup>57</sup> Valckenier speaks of the 'fabricated pretext' that the French have a right to the imperial throne.<sup>58</sup> As such the king of France has 'climbed to the highest rung of his *overmacht*.'<sup>59</sup> This word 'overmacht' (literally: over might) can also not be translated but suggests dominance, the power he has is larger than that of his opponents so that he can subject them. Lastly, Valckenier refers to the 'tyrannical nature' of the French to underscore their design to subject the nations of Europe.<sup>60</sup> This is also referred to in a poem in the introduction of the book by B. Vollenhove, who speaks of the 'French suppression'.<sup>61</sup>

Lastly, in addition to the warmongering nature and haughtiness, Valckenier refers to France's 'ambitious designs, sinister political maxims, strange intrigues and corrupt activities at all the courts of the Christian world'.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, along with warmongering, the French try to achieve their usurpous goal by cunning and deceit. Thus, in 1572 the 'Guisians achieved with cunning and deceit that which they did not achieve by war'.<sup>63</sup> They 'tried to decrown [Henry IV] with force and cunning'.<sup>64</sup> Hugu Capet, the founder of the monarchy, was 'cunning and experienced in affairs of government, and has liquidated everyone who has since the beginning of his reign seemed suspect to him'.<sup>65</sup> Louis XI was good in 'simulating and dissimulating' and as such may be regarded the

52 'ambitieuzen Dwingeland', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 68.

53 'Ambitie', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 137.

54 'ambitieuze desseyen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 139.

55 'Heers-sucht en Ambitie', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 154.

56 Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 154.

57 Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 60.

58 'gefingeerde pretext', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 53.

59 'op de hoogste trap van sijne Overmacht geklommen zijnde', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 186.

60 'tyrannigen Aart', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 371.

61 'dwinglandye', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, poem in introduction.

62 'ambitieuze Desseyen, Politijke Maximen, Vreemde Intrigues en Kuyperyen aan alle Hoven Van de Christenwerelt', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 'Aan den leser'.

63 'de Guisianen met list en bedrog verkreegen 't gene haar het Oorlogsswaard weygerde', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 45.

64 'hoe men hem met geweld en list socht te ont kroonen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 49.

65 'Capet, die listig en ervaaren was in 't stuk van Regeeringe, heeft in 't begin van sijne heerschappye alle van kant geholpen, die hem eenigsins suspect scheenen', Valckenier, *Verwerd Europa*, 36.

'founder of the present state of France'.<sup>66</sup> 'We can see how the French mislead and blind other nations.'<sup>67</sup> He speaks of 'strange intrigues'<sup>68</sup> and the 'pretext' that France always makes to establish peace.<sup>69</sup>

Valckenier thus consciously employs the universal monarchy discourse that Lisola introduced in his book. For this research, for the sake of methodological focus, we will look at three aspects related to the supposed French aspirations for universal monarchy only, which have come up in the analysis above, namely the suggestion that the French kings are proud, that they are warlike, and that they cannot be trusted in their negotiations. From the analysis of Valckenier's book we can deduce a basic discourse on French universal monarchy built around several clusters of keywords. For the purpose of this chapter I will focus on keywords related to pride, keywords related to war-mongering, and keywords related to deceit. Among the first we find *heerszucht* (lust for rule, dominion), *trots/hovaardij* (pride), *ambitie* (ambition), the term *uni-versale monarchie* (universal monarchy) and *opgeblazen* (inflated). In the second cluster are words that are related to the warlike nature of the French, such as *overwinnen* (conquer), *jaloerie* (jealousy) and *oorlog* (war). In the third cluster are words related to *list* (cunning), *pretext* (pretext) and *intrige* (intrigue).

### Universal Monarchy Discourse in News Sources

Let us start with an analysis of public news sources, for which I have selected two editions of the *Europische Mercurius*, a periodical established in 1690 with the purpose of narrating political events in Europe. It appeared twice each year between 1690 and 1756 and was a voluminous edition of up to three or four hundred pages with an overview of international events. It based its information for a large part on newspaper articles.<sup>70</sup> But the *Mercurius* also carried the complete texts of primary sources, such as resolutions, peace treaties and diplomatic documents.<sup>71</sup> In fact the bulk of the *Mercurius* consisted of such sources, but these were connected through extensive sections of editorial

66 'Simuleren en dissimuleren', 'waardoor hy geworden de eerste fundateur van den hedendaagsen Staat van Vrankrijk', Valckenier, *Ververd Europa*, 41.

67 'Hier uyt sien wy, hoe de Fransche andere Natiën misleyden en verblinden', Valckenier, *Ververd Europa*, 60.

68 'intrigues', Valckenier, *Ververd Europa*, 217.

69 'pretext', Valckenier, *Ververd Europa*, 68.

70 Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede*, 196–197.

71 J.W. Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756) getypeerd,' *Groniek*, 33 (2000), 363.

comments. The price, probably four guilders, suggests that it was read primarily by the more affluent classes in the Dutch Republic.<sup>72</sup> The editions of 1709 and 1710 pay attention to the negotiations in Woerden and Geertruidenberg.<sup>73</sup>

The *Europische Mercurius*, established at the start of the Nine Years' War, was from its inception framed around the anti-French cause,<sup>74</sup> and it is no surprise that both editions open with references to the war against France, thereby using specific universal monarchy discourse. Peace was to be wished for, the 1709 edition opens, 'but it appears to be impossible as long as the world will stand, and the unjust ambition of kings and other sovereigns does not die away'.<sup>75</sup> More specifically, the *Mercurius* referred to 'the French king' who is 'not content with his realm, and wishes to adhere many conquered places . . . to his house'. Through the union with Spain he wishes that 'all other high authorities are put on a leash, and must bow to him'.<sup>76</sup> It refers to the 'usurpations' of France, its 'arrogant suppressions'<sup>77</sup> and its 'immoderate lust for dominion'.<sup>78</sup>

Precisely the same language is used in the 1710 edition, which opens with the 'unchangeable lust for dominion of the French court,' which keeps to its 'ancient usurpations'.<sup>79</sup> This is the root cause of the fact that chances for peace are slim.<sup>80</sup> The warlike nature of the French is emphasized: they want 'to make sure the war will end to the glory of the Crown of Lilies'.<sup>81</sup> Their methods are cunning. The author speaks of the 'artifices' of the French court<sup>82</sup> and of of

72 Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius*,' 363n, 370.

73 *Europische Mercurius, behelzende de voornaamste zaken van staat en oorlog, voorgevallen in alle de koningryken en heerschappyen van Europe* 20 (1709, 2 vols.) and 21 (1710, 2 vols.).

74 Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius*'.

75 'dog zulks schynt onmoogelyk zo lange de Waerelt staat, en dat de onregtvaardige Ambitie van Koningen en andere Souverainen niet versterft', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 1: 5.

76 'dat den Franschen Koning niet te vreedden met zyn eigen Ryk, en nog veel ander Geconquesteerde plaatzen . . . aan zyn Huis zoekt te hegten', 'alle andere Hooge Mogendheden aan den band te leggen, en voor zig te doen buigen', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 1: 6.

77 'usurpeeringe', 'hoogmoedige dwinglandyen', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 2: 7, 17; 'hoogmoedige dwinglandyen', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 2: 7.

78 'onmatige Heerschezugt', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 2: 17.

79 'onverzettelyke Heerschezugt van het Fransche Hof', 'verouderde Usurpatien', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 1: 6.

80 *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 1: 6.

81 'en eindelyk den oorlog nog tot Glorie van de Lely Kroon te doen eindigen', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 1: 53.

82 'kunstenaryen van het Fransche Hof', *Europische Mercurius* 20 (1709), 2: 3,4.



'evil practices' and 'distrust'.<sup>83</sup> The allies were luckily aware of the 'evil intention' and are guarded against 'such French cunning'.<sup>84</sup>

Having established the ambition, warlike nature and cunning of the French, the author then discusses the negotiations in more detail, within the framework of interpretation already established. 'Let us now see, how cunning the conferences of peace . . . have ended.'<sup>85</sup> He concludes with a humorous report about a German print on Geertruidenberg, typically depicting 'a Dutchman plainly clothed in a robe, and a Frenchman with, after the latest fashion, attired with plumes on his hat,' thus juxtaposing French warmongering/pride with Dutch peace-loving/humility.<sup>86</sup>

### Universal Monarchy Discourse in Published Government Sources

The actual analysis of the Geertruidenberg negotiations is not discussed by the author of the *Europische Mercurius* but related through publishing a ten-page resolution of the States General in response to the breaking off of the negotiations. It is a natural bridge to the second category of sources, then, government sources. So far we may establish that public media such as pamphlets and mercuries were steeped in the universal monarchy discourse, but was the same true for official government sources? These present an interesting category for having to peddle both diplomatic language and popular appeal in cases they were published.

For obvious reasons the language of the resolution, a formal document by a high authority, is different from that of pamphlets and periodicals. It uses very official and factual language to describe the negotiations in detail. Nevertheless, on closer look the same discourse permeates the resolution.<sup>87</sup> Interestingly, the resolution shows itself to be very aware of its public nature. It is a direct response to a published letter of D'Huxelles and Polignac from July 1710. The letter was also published with sections from the resolution

83 'snoode praktijken', 'mistroutwen', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 1: 6.

84 'snood oogmerk', 'listigheden', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 1: 53.

85 'Laat ons nu eens gaan bezien, hoe slinks de conferentie van Vreede (met de Fransche Ministers te Geertruidenberg gehouden) afgeloopen is', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2: 134.

86 'een Hollander eenvoudig gekleed met zyn mantel om, en een Franschman na de mode, gerappierd met pluimen op den hoed', *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2: 152.

87 Resolution States General 27 July 1710, reprinted in *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2: 140–152.

as a separate pamphlet.<sup>88</sup> The French negotiators blamed the failure of the Geertruidenberg negotiations on the Dutch, which was, the resolution argues, nothing more than an attempt 'to incite an evil impression among the subjects of England as well as in the state against the government'.<sup>89</sup> It counters the claim of the French who complain about 'injurious libels' in the Netherlands, which are, after all, 'in this country forbidden with sharp resolutions',<sup>90</sup> thus implicitly underscoring (if critically) the public performances of the negotiations of the diplomats.

The drift of the resolution is that the French never wanted peace in the first place. The focus of the resolution is on the negotiations so naturally references to the 'intrigue' cluster of key words are more frequent than those to 'war'. The States General complain about the 'fair words' which are only a 'pretext'. For this reason also, Polignac and d'Huxelles have written a letter full of 'insinuations' but 'did not express themselves more clearly'.<sup>91</sup> This phrase is repeated several times: they want the French to 'explain themselves clearly and transparently' with regard to the preliminaries, a 'clear and transparent explication' from the side of the French,<sup>92</sup> a binary suggesting the deliberate lack of clarity of the French which presumably aids their cunning. The allies could not live with insecurity or 'content themselves with words and promises'.<sup>93</sup> The resolution speaks of the 'pretexts' to cause 'jealousy'<sup>94</sup> and the 'design' to break the negotiations, which in turn can be related to the warlike intentions of France.<sup>95</sup> After all, France 'has on its own occupied the entire Spanish monarchy, and

---

88 Knuttel 15896.

89 'om aan de onderdanen zo in Engeland als in den Staat, een quade impressie tegen de Regeringe in te drukken', Resolution States General *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 149–150.

90 'dat het publiceren van injurieuzen Libellen hier te Lande met scherpe Placcaten verboden is', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 150.

91 'schoone woorden', 'voorgegeven', 'inzimulatie', 'niet klaar explicieerden', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 140–142.

92 'een klare en duidelyke explicatie', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 144.

93 'zig te contenteeren met woorden en beloften', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 144.

94 'gezogte middelen', 'jalousie', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 149.

95 'dessein', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 149.

threatens the rest of Europe with similar occupation'.<sup>96</sup> But with reference to the ambition of France, the resolution states that France attempts to 'reach its design'.<sup>97</sup> It is related to the fact that France has subjected her own subjects to 'long slavery and suppression'.<sup>98</sup> Humiliation is a counterpoint to the arrogance of France, who has asked for the protection of God 'with a simulation of humiliation'.<sup>99</sup> Combined, this evidence confirms 'how dear the lust to dominate her neighbours' is to France.<sup>100</sup>

### Universal Monarchy Discourse in Political Documents and Correspondence

Even though there is a clear universal monarchy discourse pervading the resolution, the conventions of the genre are obviously different from those of the *Europische Mercurius*. The bulk of the text is basic, factual and descriptive, but the final part is opiniated. Interestingly, as we have seen, the source itself shows awareness of its public role. The question remains, whether public opinion sources and published official sources such as the resolution are intertextually connected with unpublished and confidential policy sources. That is: is there a sharp divide between 'propagandic' sources and 'real' political sources? For the last category I have selected two kinds of sources. The first one is a policy advice document, a memorial of about twenty folio pages about the negotiations in 1709 and 1710 written by Jacob Surendonck, the secretary of Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius, entitled *Remarques op de voorslaegen van vrede die bij Vrankrijk gedaen sijn off gedaen sullen worden* ('Remarks on the proposals of peace to be made or made by France').<sup>101</sup> The source is important as there are in fact very few policy documents of this kind. There

96 'als dezelve alleen de gansche Spaansche Monarchie heeft geoccupeert, en de rest van Europa voor gelyke occupatie in gevaar gesteld', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 147.

97 'oogmerk', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 149.

98 'langduurige slavernye en onderdrukkinge', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 150.

99 'schijn', 'nedrigheit', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 149.

100 'hoe dier haar staat de begeerte om te heerschen over hare nabuuren', Resolution States General, *Europische Mercurius* 21 (1710), 2, 150.

101 Jacob Surendonck, 'Remarques op de voorslaegen van vrede die bij Vrankrijk gedaen sijn off gedaen sullen worden', March or May 1709, Nationaal Archief (The Hague), Archief Jacob Surendonck, 3.20.57/161.

are also few records of deliberations of political debates. Thus the memorial gives us an in-depth view of the secret considerations of the political elite. However, Surendonck is extremely critical of France and may not be a 'typical' official. Surendonck is highly critical of the French proposals and is convinced that they have been offered only because France is severely weakened and is using the talks to divide the allies and gain time. France will use the peace to regain strength and start another war, 'especially when France remains to be governed by such ministers and maxims as it has been now for more than half a century,' he suggests, thus underscoring the conventional time frame of universal monarchy discourse.<sup>102</sup>

Surendonck's memorial is steeped in universal monarchy discourse and exhibits the three elements we distinguished in the other sources: pride, war and intrigue. Surendonck frequently alludes to the pride of France, the 'despotic and arbitrary power' of the French king who is suppressing his subjects and has to 'master absolutely' their possessions. He is trying to 'dominate' the Allies.<sup>103</sup> Surendonck complains about the 'proud, faithless and godless enemy' and its 'tyrannical and doomed suppression which is unbearable for the subjects, as well as dangerous for its neighbours'.<sup>104</sup> Should the allies defeat France, it would be 'a just retribution of divine wrath, because of the unbearable pride and terrible persecution, destruction and cruelty'.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to pride and dominion, Surendonck frequently refers to the inherently warlike nature of France. He argues that the French will try to use the pretext that they are trying to 'conserve the peace and prevent a new war'. But the French 'design' is to 'concoct a new war with greater advantage'.<sup>106</sup> Surendonck also refers to the warlike nature of the French nobility, thereby almost directly quoting the basic text of Valckenier's *Verwerd Europa*: 'it is known from ancient times that the French nation, especially the nobility,

102 'Soo wanneer Vrankrijk, door sulke ministers en maximen bij Continuatie sal worden geregeert, als nu meer als een halve Eeuw herwaerts geschiet is.', Surendonck, 'Remarques,' 2.

103 'despotique en arbitraire magt', 'absoluijt meester', 'overheerschen', Surendonck, 'Remarques,' 11.

104 'trotsen, trouwloosen en godloosen Vijand', 'Tyrannique en heijlloose dwingelandij, die soo ondraeglijk is voor de onderdanen, als gevaerlijk voor de naebuyren', Surendonck, 'Remarques,' 12.

105 'als een regtveerdige vergeldinge van de goddelijke wrake, wegens die ondragelijke trotsheijt en gruwelijke vervolginge, verwoestinge en wreetheden', Surendonck, 'Remarques,' 14. Surendonck refers to the prophecy in Isaiah 33:1.

106 'de gemaekte vrede te conserveren en een nieuwe Oorlog te voorkomen', 'om daer uijt ter gelegeren tijt met meerder avantagie een nieuwe oorlog te smeden', Surendonck, 'Remarques,' 7.

is of a restless and warmongering nature'.<sup>107</sup> He fears the French 'despotic *overmacht*'.<sup>108</sup>

Surendonck also observes the intrigues of the French, arguing that in the 'last peace negotiations they have used the same language and discourse to facilitate the peace, but that we have always been very much deceived'.<sup>109</sup> He speaks of 'pretext,' 'sinister practices and intrigues' the French employ to use the peace negotiations to prepare a new war.<sup>110</sup>

It is difficult to say whether Surendonck's memorial was typical as there are few comparable sources and Surendonck was notoriously anti-France and suspicious of its policy. Nevertheless, the memorial does underscore the fact that such language was actually used in policy documents, even if the prevalence cannot be measured by this one example. This can be done, however, by studying a last primary source, namely diplomatic correspondence of Anthonie Heinsius, which, unlike the memorial, contains an abundance of material.<sup>111</sup>

Several constraints hamper an analysis of the correspondence. First of all, most of the letters are matter of fact and refer to operational issues. They deal with troop movements, reports of the arrivals and departures of diplomats, and reports of affairs at foreign courts. There is disappointingly little reflection upon issues of policy. Moreover, most of the letters are incoming. Heinsius received about twenty thousand letters between 1702 and 1720 (the years covered by the published correspondence), but wrote relatively few letters in reply, and those he wrote were curt. There is another matter to be considered, namely that the actual negotiations between Buys and Van der Dussen and the French diplomats were conducted in utter secrecy, and the negotiators were not inclined to entrust their contents or their thoughts to paper in detail. Thus, a typical quote from a letter written to Heinsius by Buys and Van der Dussen from Geertruidenberg where the negotiations took place reads: 'we

107 'Sijnde van Outs bekennt, dat de fransse natie, en in bijzonder de Adel, is van een onrustigen, en oorlogssugtigen Aert en inborst', Surendonck, 'Remarques', 7. Valckenier wrote that 'the French from ancients times have been from such a restless and moveable spirit . . . that they do not live in peace, but are always inclined to war'. Cf. footnote 31.

108 'despotique overmagt', Surendonck, 'Remarques', 9.

109 'dat men in alle de voorige Vredehandelinge altoos die selve taelen en discoursen gevoert heeft, om de vrede te faciliteren, maer dat men sig telkens daer omtrent deerlijk bedrogen heeft bevonden', Surendonck, 'Remarques', 7.

110 'oogmerk', 'sinistre practijcque en intrigieus', Surendonck, 'Remarques', 7.

111 This can be done through the extensive *De Briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius 1702-1720*, ed. A.J. Veenendaal (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1976-2001), and *The Correspondence of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, and Anthonie Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland 1701-1711*, ed. B. van 't Hoff (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1951).

have arrived yesterday in the early morning in Moerdijk and have met Marshal d'Huxelles and Prior de Polignac at around 5 pm . . . we will give you and extensive report orally' after our return.<sup>112</sup> However, a number of correspondents were informed in broad lines of the contents of the negotiations and reflected upon these.

Interestingly, there are several direct references to the basic source we have selected. Albert van der Meer, envoy in Turin, wrote that France will recover and probably wage war again because it is 'an active and restless nation,' thereby using almost precisely the same phrase as Surendonck and Valckenier to point to the warlike nature of France.<sup>113</sup> More specific was Clignet, the postmaster of Utrecht. In a letter to Heinsius he referred to the necessity of curbing French ambitions, which, he writes, are all well-known from 'Lisola, whose memory cannot be praised enough, in his *Bouclier D'Etat Et De Justice* anno 1677'.<sup>114</sup>

Basic distrust permeates the correspondence, as for instance displayed in a letter by Anthonie Heinsius to the Duke of Marlborough, expressing the expectation that the French would use the negotiations in 1709 to divide the Allies.<sup>115</sup> In 1710 he wrote to Marlborough about the start of the negotiations that Van der Dussen and Buys were finding out 'le fond du coeur de France'.<sup>116</sup> 'Je ne suis pas tout à fait convaincu de la sincérité de la France dans la négociation présente',<sup>117</sup> he wrote, the same phrase Marlborough himself used ('I see the French ministers continue in their insincerity, which I do not wonder at [sic]').<sup>118</sup>

There are a number of references to France's arrogance and greatness. Referring to the negotiation between Rouillé and Buys in 1709, Jacob Hop wrote about 'the great *overmacht* of France and . . . her pernicious ways of acting'.<sup>119</sup> Van der Meer complained about France's 'ambitious designs'.<sup>120</sup> The design of France is frequently alluded to. Robert Goes, envoy in Copenhagen, wrote

112 'aan dezelve van alles omstandig rapport te doen en verders mondeling te verzekeren . . .', Buys and Van der Dussen to Heinsius, 10 March 1710. See also Buys and Van der Dussen to Heinsius 22 March 1710, 8 April 1710. In: *De Briefwisseling*, ed. Veenendaal, 10: 159, 194, 239.

113 'een active en inquiète natie sijnde', Van der Meer to Heinsius, 29 March 1709, in *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 393.

114 Clignet to Heinsius 16 June 1709, *De Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 609.

115 Heinsius to Marlborough 26 March 1709, *Correspondence*, ed. Van 't Hoff: 432.

116 Heinsius to Marlborough, 23 April 1710, *Correspondence*, ed. Van 't Hoff: 485.

117 Heinsius to Marlborough, 28 May 1710, *Correspondence*, ed. Van 't Hoff: 494.

118 Marlborough to Heinsius, 1 June 1710, *Correspondence*, ed. Van 't Hoff: 494.

119 'grootte overmacht als Vranckrijck en tegens haere permitieuse manieren', Hop to Heinsius, 30 March 1709, *De Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 396.

120 'ambitieuze dessijnen', Van der Meer to Heinsius, 20 April 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 451.

in June 1710 about the French 'pretenses' to the Spanish monarchy.<sup>121</sup> Marinus van Vrijbergen, the Dutch ambassador in London, referring to a 1708 military operation, brought up the 'arrogance in this work of the French'.<sup>122</sup> The French are seen, as another observer wrote in January 1709, as 'the suppressor, our great enemy'.<sup>123</sup> Francisco Schonenberg, the Dutch envoy in Lisbon, in a letter of August 1704, referred to French 'usurpation and tyranny' with regard to her expansion in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands.<sup>124</sup> Heinsius as well cited 'la tiranie de nos aversaires'.<sup>125</sup> The negotiations are difficult precisely because the enemy is strong and arrogant. Heinsius, who writes to Vrijbergen in November 1710, after the negotiations in Geertruidenberg have failed, that the 'French are inflated by their good fortunes and will be intractable concerning a good peace'.<sup>126</sup> To Count Rechteren he wrote in September that a military victory the French have just achieved 'has inflated them to the extent that they have broken off all negotiations'.<sup>127</sup>

Interestingly, the agent Helvetius reported that the French ambassadors were actually shocked by the arrogant manners of the Dutch negotiators, especially Van der Dussen, who 'has a manner which approaches brutality impertinence . . . and that on top of that he is arrogant and insolent and judges nothing of value'.<sup>128</sup> This may have something to do with the fact that the Dutch were supremely confident, being assured that 'the French are in dire straits and inclined to make peace'.<sup>129</sup> Many observers were therefore very optimistic about chances for peace, despite the basic distrust of the Dutch.

121 'pretensiën', Goes to Heinsius, 21 June 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 10, ed. Veenendaal: 460.

122 'd'arrogantie in dit werck der Franssen', Vrijbergen to Heinsius, 10 April 1708, *Briefwisseling*, 7, ed. Veenendaal: 211.

123 'dwinglander onse overgroote vijandt', Regulus to Heinsius, 6 January 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 180.

124 'usurpatie en tyrannie', Schonenberg to Heinsius, 18 August 1704, *Briefwisseling*, 3, ed. Veenendaal: 284.

125 Heinsius to Goslinga, 21 August 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 9, ed. Veenendaal: 186.

126 'de Fransen door voorspoet opgeblaesen sijnde, sullen ontrent een goede vrede intractabel werden', Heinsius to Vrijbergen, 30 December 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 11, ed. Veenendaal: 458.

127 'heeft haer evenwel soo opgeblaesen gemaect, dat genoegsaem alle negotiatie weer hebben afgebroocken', Heinsius to Rechteren, 13 September 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 9, ed. Veenendaal: 250.

128 'd'une manière dure, qui aproche de la brutalité . . . dat hij daerenbove arrogant en insolent is en niets van waarde oordeelt', Wassenaar to Heinsius, 13 May 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 10, ed. Veenendaal: 337.

129 'de Franse seer in de noot waeren ende genegen sijn om vrede te maken', Heinsius to Buys, 17 May 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 10, ed. Veenendaal: 353.

The warlike nature of the French is also emphasized. Jacob Hop, a senior administrator in the temporary government of the Spanish Netherlands, mentioned the French 'lust to penetrate up until our border and disturb us into the heart of the country'. This 'lust' is illustrated when he writes that after the Peace of Nijmegen, 'every time she lusted she entered the territory of the Spanish Netherlands' with soldiers.<sup>130</sup> He also referred to the danger to Europe of 'the great *overmacht* of France and . . . her pernicious manners of acting and persistent use of force'.<sup>131</sup> Van der Meer spoke of the '*overmacht*' of France.<sup>132</sup> Heinsius uses the same word, '*overmacht*,' to describe the position of the French.<sup>133</sup>

As one might expect from reflections upon the talks, they mostly dealt with comments on the actual negotiations and thus, within our chosen selection, the cluster of keywords related to intrigue. Heinsius was not sure 'whether the French have peace on their minds or not'.<sup>134</sup> Van den Bergh was in doubt about the 'designs of the French' and therefore the negotiations had to proceed with 'extreme precaution'.<sup>135</sup> Van der Meer stressed the necessity to guard against 'her surprises or designs'.<sup>136</sup> The terms most often used are thus connected to the style of negotiating. Vrijbergen wrote to Heinsius in connection with the negotiations in 1709 about the 'usual chicanery' of the French.<sup>137</sup> The Utrecht nobleman Renswoude complained about the 'effrontery' of the French to raise the demands in the negotiations in April 1709.<sup>138</sup> The Holland nobleman Wassenaer referred to the frequent 'difficulties' the French made in the

130 'telkens als 't haer lust tot op onse frontieren door te boren en ons tot in 't hert van 't land te ontrusten', 'als 't haer luste op den bodem van de Spaensche Nederlanden quam', Hop to Heinsius, 30 March 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 396.

131 'tegens soo groote overmacht als Vranckrijck en tegens haere pernitieuse manieren van doen en genoetsaem gestadige geweldenaerijen, sijn geweest', Hop to Heinsius, 30 March 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 396.

132 'overmaght', Van der Meer to Heinsius, 13 March 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 334.

133 'overmacht', Heinsius to Vrijbergen, 7 November 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 11, ed. Veenendaal: 335.

134 'off de Fransen in 't zin hebben de vrede te maken off niet', Heinsius to Rechteren, 11 June 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 587.

135 'desseinen van de France', 'd'uyterste precautie', Heinsius to Van de Bergh, 12 June 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 594.

136 'surprises of dessijnen', Van der Meer to Heinsius, 13 March 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 335.

137 'gewoolijcke chicanes', Van de Bergh to Heinsius, 28 March 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 386.

138 'd'effronterie', Renswoude to Heinsius, 14 April 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 439.



negotiations.<sup>139</sup> Heinsius confided to Count Rechteren about his ‘fear that her [the French] design is to make diversion and division among the allies’.<sup>140</sup> Van der Meer noted the ‘cunning propositions of the enemies’.<sup>141</sup> The deputies for foreign affairs concluded in June 1709, after the broken negotiation, that there ought to be a firm reply to the ‘French conceits’.<sup>142</sup> The States General cited the ‘fraudulous conduct of France’.<sup>143</sup>

One central key word is used surprisingly rarely. Heinsius, towards the end of the Geertruidenberg negotiations, referred to the likelihood that France would, ‘more than ever before be able to achieve universal monarchy’;<sup>144</sup> and in December he again observed that ‘the French proceed with giant steps towards universal monarchy’.<sup>145</sup> These are the only two explicit references I found to the term ‘universal monarchy’ in the extensive Heinsius correspondence.

### Conclusion

We may tentatively conclude that the three categories of sources share a vocabulary pointing to a pervasive universal monarchy discourse. In addition to a few close paraphrases and direct references to Lisola and Valckenier, we have distinguished a number of key words spread over three clusters related to pride, warlike nature and intrigue. To dominate (*heersen, overheersen*) is widely shared in all sources except for the correspondence of Heinsius. References to ‘tyranny’ likewise appear in all sources except for the Resolution of the States General. ‘*Dwingelandij*’ (suppression) appears in all sources except in the Resolution. ‘*Arrogant*’ is used in Valckenier, the *Europische Mercurius* and the Heinsius correspondence. Of course, the resolution and the memorial are relatively short sources, and there is no reason to suggest that studying more sources would not yield further results. Moreover, when the analysis is broadened to intertextual clusters of keywords, more connections can be made. For

139 ‘difficuliteiten’, Wassenaar to Heinsius, 8 June 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 8, ed. Veenendaal: 583.

140 ‘om tussen de geallieerden een diversie ende scheuring te maken’, Heinsius to Rechteren, 22 April 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 10, ed. Veenendaal: 271.

141 ‘listige propositiën der vijanden’, Van der Meer to Heinsius, 12 October 1709, *Briefwisseling*, 9, ed. Veenendaal: 351.

142 ‘Franse bedriegerijen’, quoted in Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk*, 304.

143 ‘frauduleuse conduites’, quoted in Stork-Penning, *Het grote werk*, 309.

144 ‘ende licht eer als ooyt tevooren tot de universele monarchie geraken’, Heinsius to Vrijbergen, 1 July 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 10, ed. Veenendaal: 495.

145 ‘gaen de Fransen weer haest voort met groote passen na de universele monarchie’, Heinsius to Vrijbergen, 30 December 1710, *Briefwisseling*, 11, ed. Veenendaal: 459.

instance, rather than 'arrogance' Surendonck speaks of '*ondraaglijke trotsheijt*' ('unbearable pride'). 'Intrigues' is used by the *Europische Mercurius*, Valckenier and Surendonck. '*List*' or '*listigheid*' (cunning) can be found in the *Europische Mercurius* and the Heinsius correspondence. Valckenier actually used the reference '*Fransche listen*' as a key concept in his index.<sup>146</sup> '*Usurpor*' appears in all sources but Surendonck and the Resolution. Allusions to the French design ('*desseign*' or '*oogmerck*') appear in all sources. '*Overmacht*' (dominance) appears in all sources except the Resolution and the *Europische Mercurius*. The key phrase 'universal monarchy' appears in all sources except the Resolution.

The research has thus shown the viability of looking for intertextual connections; obviously, universal monarchy discourse pervaded all three categories of sources. At the same time, it is clear that it was only thinly spread throughout diplomatic correspondence and much more prevalent in the published sources. There are clear reasons for the relative dearth of universal monarchy discourse in political correspondence, which was often curt and often omitted the substance of discussions. Nevertheless, even if this is so, intertextual connections can be established only if they are actually there. Although this case study indicates that universal monarchy discourse is spread throughout the categories of sources and that a shared discourse was used, clearly the terminology and the frequency of the keywords are genre specific. Moreover, Lene Hansen argued that a discourse must be widely spread throughout a large number of sources for there to be a 'basic discourse'.<sup>147</sup> In this sense, the case has only partially been proven, and the conclusion is therefore indicative rather than conclusive.

A question remains regarding the actual performative power of this universal monarchy discourse. The language used can be seen as a reflection upon the reality, but arguably the diplomatic discourse created that very same reality. The observations about French pride were self-affirming, and prejudice was inherent in the language the diplomats adopted, a language, we have seen, which was intertextually connected to the basic discourse on Universal Monarchy. In this view, and in conclusion to my chapter, I suggest that the failure of the peace negotiations was caused not so much by a stalemate or French unreliability but, to a substantial degree, by Dutch prejudice regarding French pride, warmongering and cunning. Although this cannot be proven, the fact that the negotiations foundered on mistrust while the Dutch widely used

---

146 Valckenier, *Het Verwerd Europa*, index (n.p.).

147 Hansen, *Security as practice*, 52.

a discourse on French unreliability strongly points in this direction. Universal monarchy discourse, intertextually linked to popular sources cultivating anti-French sentiments, pervaded Dutch diplomatic sources as well as the news and may therefore have influenced the peace negotiations more than has been suggested in the past.



**PART 2**

*The Publicity Stage*





## Madame Du Noyer Presenting and Re-presenting the Peace of Utrecht

*Henriette Goldwyn and Suzan van Dijk*

On Thursday, 27 April 1713, Mme Du Noyer, also known as Anne-Marguerite Petit, wrote in her periodical, the *Quintessence des nouvelles historiques, critiques, politiques, morales et galantes*:<sup>1</sup> ‘On apprend de Paris, par des lettres datées du 21 de ce mois que la conclusion et la signature de la paix y a répandu une grande joie surtout parmi le peuple et les négociants’.<sup>2</sup> In several previous announcements she had alluded to this much-awaited event and the criss-crossing of borders by dignitaries carrying the news to several of the monarchs who were the key players in this peace treaty. On 20 April, she wrote: ‘On apprend de Londres que Mr. de Saint Jean, secrétaire de l’Ambassade d’Angleterre, y est heureusement arrivé d’Utrecht, avec le Traité d’Utrecht, qu’il est allé porter à la Reine’; earlier she had mentioned: ‘On apprend d’Utrecht que Mr. le Commandeur de Béringant en est parti, pour aller porter au Roi de France l’agréable nouvelle de la Paix’.<sup>3</sup>

Mme Du Noyer’s coverage of the Peace negotiations has unfortunately been overlooked by twentieth-century historians of the Treaty of Utrecht. Even in recent publications by Onnekink and De Bruin, who discuss Freschot’s *Histoire*

---

1 *La Quintessence des nouvelles historiques, critiques, politiques, morales et galantes* (The Hague: Uytwerf, 1689–1730). Du Noyer was one of the successive editors of this biweekly: from 1711, taking over from Nicolas de Gueudeville, until her death in 1719. It was originally founded by Maximilien Lucas in The Hague (Jean Sgard, *Dictionnaire des journaux 1600–1789*, Edition électronique revue, corrigée et augmentée <<http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/>>).

2 QN, nr. 34, 27 April 1713: ‘We learn from Paris through letters dating to the 21st of this month that the conclusion and signature of the peace [treaty] has spread great joy among people and merchants’. Translations are by Henriette Goldwyn and Francesca M. Scott; spelling in French quotations has been modernized throughout.

3 QN, nr. 32, 20 April 1713: ‘We learn from London that Mr. de Saint Jean, Secretary of the English Embassy, has arrived from Utrecht with the Treaty which he has taken to the Queen’; QN, n° 31, 17 April 1713: ‘We learn from Utrecht that Mr. de Béringuant has left to carry the good news of this new peace to the King of France’.

*du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht*,<sup>4</sup> there is no mention of Du Noyer's earlier, twofold reporting of this unprecedented historic moment. Therefore, by taking into account Du Noyer's voice, we will consider her reporting techniques as they shed light on many historic, political and social events of her time, which are of particular interest to us. Focusing on the interrelation between diplomacy and performative culture in the public sphere, we will examine how her blending, mixing, rewriting and blurring texts and genres allow her to construct—through a sort of auto-plagiarism—a multi-layered narrative of the Peace of Utrecht. She actually composes a two-tier system of reporting the events, consisting of an immediate, day-to-day version, in the *Quintessence*, and a reworked, further developed narrative, reissued numerous times over the eighteenth century in her successful collection entitled *Lettres historiques et galantes*.<sup>5</sup> Du Noyer's coverage of the negotiations in the *Quintessence* framed the Peace of Utrecht as an event with global consequences that implicated all the nations involved rather than two isolated powers.<sup>6</sup> In the first issue of 1713, her wishes are of a very generous nature: 'Nous ne saurions mieux commencer la première *Quintessence* de cette année qu'en faisant des vœux [ . . . ] même pour nos Ennemis. Fasse le Ciel qu'ils perdent bientôt un nom aussi odieux, et qu'une bonne Paix ou nos Victoires rendent le Calme à l'Europe et en fassent la sûreté'.<sup>7</sup> Du Noyer was aware of current events and wanted to show that the outcome of negotiations in Utrecht played out on a larger, cosmopolitan, pan-European and ideological scale, and affected the new 'balance of power' in Europe and beyond.

---

4 Casimir Freschot, *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht, comme aussi de celle de Rastadt & de Bade contenant les particularitez les plus remarquables & les plus interessantes desdites Negociations depuis leur premiere ouverture jusqu'à la conclusion de la Paix Generale* (Utrecht: Van Poolsum, 1716). This book is briefly discussed by David Onnekink, 'The Treaty of Utrecht 1713', in *Peace was made here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, 1713–1714*, ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 66 (he gives 1715 as the publication date), and by David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 98.

5 The successive volumes, sticking only loosely together, were published in 1704, 1708, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1717. For some of them there were at least ten editions, the last one dating back to 1790. The one used here is the 1720 edition (Amsterdam: Brunel).

6 Realizing probably that this was 'the *first* conflict on a global scale' (Onnekink, 'The Treaty of Utrecht 1713', 60; our italics).

7 QN, nr. 1, 2 January 1713: 'The best way to open the first *Quintessence* of this year is by formulating wishes [ . . . ] even for our enemies. Let us hope they will soon lose this awful name, and that either a good Peace or our Victories provide calm and security all over Europe'.



Since previous issues of the *Quintessence* are difficult to locate,<sup>8</sup> we can determine only with limited certainty that, at least from 3 October 1712 (nr. 79), she informed her network of European readers about the Peace process and all the activities taking place in the Utrecht town hall where the ambassadors met. For instance, she describes Strafford's trip back and forth from Utrecht to London;<sup>9</sup> the death of the Prussian plenipotentiary Consbruch and his replacement by Kirchner in November;<sup>10</sup> the illness of count of Tarouca of Portugal yet the magnificence of the festivities he organized to celebrate the birth of a prince early in January.<sup>11</sup> In great detail she depicts the effervescence of the cosmopolitan atmosphere in Utrecht, which was, after all, a small town. But now French theatre was being performed,<sup>12</sup> Queen Anne's birthday was being celebrated,<sup>13</sup> and many other festivities and events were taking place. During this coverage of the negotiations—eight and a half months—she observes and presents all aspects of the peace process and the dignitaries involved. It seems probable that her *Quintessence* attracted an important number of readers beyond its regular audience, which would have been one of her main objectives, especially given the precarious state of her finance.<sup>14</sup> This would also explain the eagerness with which she started publishing, one month after the Peace proclamation, in the sixth volume of her *Lettres historiques et galantes: de deux dames de condition dont l'une était à Paris et l'autre en Province*, the reworked version of the bulk of the material included in the *Quintessence*.

8 Collections of the *Quintessence* are incomplete: the most important one (at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris) which we consulted, does not possess any issues for the year 1712 before October.

9 QN, nr. 84, 20 October 1712—nr. 101, 19 December 1712.

10 QN, nr. 89, 7 November 1712—nr. 94, 24 November 1712.

11 QN, nr. 97, 5 December 1712—nr. 5, 16 January 1713.

12 QN, nr. 15, 20 February 1713.

13 QN, nr. 16, 23 February 1713.

14 This is illustrated by remarks of one of her rival reporters, the author of the *Histoire amoureuse et badine du Congrès et de la Ville d'Utrecht* who is supposed to be either Casimir Freschot (mentioned in n. 4; most current attribution) or Augustin Freschot (argued by Utrecht archivist Erik Tigelaar in his introduction to Roland Fagel's translation of this text: *Amoureuze en pikante geschiedenis van het congres en de stad Utrecht*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2013). The title page announces Liège: Le Doux, Weller, 1713; in fact, it was published in Utrecht (Weller: 1713). Freschot criticized Du Noyer for writing quickly out of sheer penury: 'ayant tous les jours à combattre contre la faim et la misère elle se sert des armes qu'elle croit les plus propres pour cela, c'est à savoir de sa plume' (11th letter, 254). About the authorship of the *Histoire amoureuse et badine*, see also Duchhardt's contribution to the present volume.

This collection of fictional letters, the first part of which was published in 1704, stages two ladies, living in different cities and writing to each other about what is happening in their respective locations.<sup>15</sup> In the beginning of the sixth volume,<sup>16</sup> one of the ladies, coming from Aix-la-Chapelle, arrives in Utrecht, understanding that this is where everything is going to happen. She plans to inform her friend, who spends most of her time in Paris and is very curious to know all about it: 'parlons un peu premièrement du lieu où l'on travaille à cette Paix. Le nom en est devenu fameux. On ne parle que d'*Utrecht* dans toutes les conversations; et je voudrais bien pouvoir en parler à mon tour'.<sup>17</sup> Her friend sends her information about the progress of the conference as well as anecdotes about the private activities and behaviour of those in Utrecht.

This fictional epistolary exchange, largely a *rewriting* of what had been published in the *Quintessence*, provides an interesting case illustrating the impact of this formidable event and the intelligent and fascinating use Du Noyer makes of it. Below, we discuss Du Noyer's authorship in relation to the two genres she practiced, in which the 'Peace of Utrecht' was central.

### Mme Du Noyer (Anne-Marguerite Petit)

A Calvinist refugee, considered to be the first or one of the first women journalists in the French language to attain fame and notoriety, Mme Du Noyer<sup>18</sup> (1663–1719) took up writing in the Netherlands where she established herself (around 1700) after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Taking advantage of the freedom of the press afforded by her newly adopted homeland, she contributed to the dissemination of current events not just to the Dutch readers but also to those in other European countries. Her role in the history of French-language journalism under the old Regime went unjustly unrecognized for

15 Laurent Versini described it as an early version of what would become the genre of the epistolary novel. See Laurent Versini, *Le roman épistolaire* (Paris: PUF, 1979), 61.

16 In later editions the 'Utrecht letters' will be in vols. III and IV (see also n. 5).

17 LHG, Letter LXXXVIII (from Paris), 290: 'let us talk first about the place where Peace is being prepared. The name has become famous. Everybody is speaking about Utrecht by now; and I would like being able to take part in these discussions.'

18 For more information on Mme Du Noyer, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, consult the Introduction to the *Mémoires de Mme du Noyer*, ed. Henriette Goldwyn (Paris: Mercure de France, 2005). Incidentally, Marie-Antoinette's copy of the *Mémoires* is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

many years.<sup>19</sup> In addition to authoring memoirs<sup>20</sup> and the *Lettres Historiques et Galantes*, she also became the editor of the *Quintessence des Nouvelles*, after having briefly produced a monthly entitled *Nouveau Mercure Galant des Cours de l'Europe*.<sup>21</sup>

Joining some of her coreligionists in exile, Mme Du Noyer dedicated the latter part of her life to the periodical press which provided her with an income to support her daughter and grand-daughter in Voorburg, near The Hague, where she resided. French Huguenots in Holland produced a dissident press that combined journalism, news, editorial reporting, and they were able to articulate views that countered the tenets of monarchical absolutism and exposed the oppressive, exclusionary policies of Louis XIV.<sup>22</sup> These broadsides, gazettes, 'mercures', spectators, letters, also called 'lardons', enjoyed considerable success in France, the true target of its production, distribution, and criticism. Versailles monitored these periodicals closely through its ambassador at The Hague, and it has been said that Vauban went so far as ordering the production of *contre-lardons* (counterlardons).<sup>23</sup> While this production was vilified by some, others consumed it with relish, as Hans Bots indicates in his 'L'Echo de la Révocation dans les Provinces-Unies'.<sup>24</sup>

As a female journalist, Du Noyer was quite an exception during her time: she was successful in the sense that she managed to keep the *Quintessence* alive for eight years, until her death. Her *Lettres historiques et galantes* were reissued over the century, and copies of it were found in numerous eighteenth-century private libraries in the Netherlands.<sup>25</sup> Nancy O'Connor mentions

19 It was first discussed in Suzan van Dijk, 'Madame Du Noyer, ou comment tirer parti de son travail,' *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* 18 (1986): 15–21, and in Suzan van Dijk, *Traces de femmes. Présence féminine dans le journalisme français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Maarsse: Holland University Press, 1988), the chapter entitled 'Madame Du Noyer, auteur de la *Quintessence des Nouvelles*, 1711–1719,' 85–133, in particular 128–132.

20 *Mémoires de Madame du Noyer écrits par elle-même* (Cologne: P. Marteau, 1709–1710).

21 *Nouveau Mercure Galant des Cours de l'Europe* (The Hague: E. Foulque, Nov–Dec, 1710).

22 This press was studied in the series *Etudes de l'Institut Pierre Bayle*, directed by Hans Bots of the University of Nijmegen during the last decades of the twentieth century.

23 See p. 101 for an explanation of *lardons*.

24 'Pour une information plus franche et moins partielle les Français en restaient réduits aux gazettes de Hollande, dont une partie importante parut d'ailleurs en langue française.' Hans Bots, 'L'Echo de la Révocation dans les Provinces-Unies,' in *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685*, ed. Roger Zuber and Laurent Theis (Paris: Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, 1986), 281–298: 284.

25 And elsewhere probably, but evidence for the Netherlands is available about the LHG being included in twenty-nine private and public libraries in the Netherlands in the

that the letters were used as a reliable source until well into the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Du Noyer has, however, suffered—like so many early modern women writers—from negative stereotyping and discriminatory remarks.<sup>27</sup> Her name has been smeared, she has been mocked, and her work has been forgotten. Due to the emphasis placed on her unusual life and unorthodox personality, serious scientific research on her work is quite arduous. The authors of this paper have rectified this trend in earlier publications by underscoring her contribution and disseminating her work as an author of diverse and novel genres. A forerunner on many fronts, she was appreciated and recognized during her time. As an example, we can refer to Justus van Effen, the Dutch follower of Addison and Steele, who clearly was familiar with her work. At the time, he was also writing French language periodicals, publishing in The Hague, as Du Noyer did,<sup>28</sup> and referred to her work in a positive way.<sup>29</sup>

---

eighteenth century. About this type of source see: Alicia C. Montoya, 'French and English women writers in Dutch library (auction) catalogues, 1700–1800. Some methodological considerations and preliminary results,' in *I have heard about you. Foreign women's writing crossing the Dutch border: from Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*, ed. S. van Dijk et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 182–216.

- 26 Nancy O'Connor, in the introduction to her edition of the LHG (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 9–29.
- 27 For instance, Louis Philipon de la Madelaine, in his *Modèles de lettres sur divers sujets* (1761) comments on her *Lettres historiques et galantes* in this very negative way: 'Les Lettres de Madame Du Noyer ne méritent pas qu'on s'y arrête. Ce n'est qu'un ramas assez insipide d'anecdotes apocryphes, de contes ridicules, d'aventures romanesques, où la bienséance et les mœurs ne sont que trop souvent révoltées' (45).
- 28 At the end of his life (1731–1735), he published in Dutch his famous *Hollandsche Spectator* (Dutch Spectator) and became one of the canonized Dutch eighteenth-century writers. See about his early French spectators S. van Dijk, 'Un "Spectateur" regarde les femmes: Justus van Effen,' in *Traces de femmes*, 21–55.
- 29 In his *Misanthrope* he illustrates the *Quintessence's* popularity: "Les Enigmes sont si fort en vogue, qu'il est bien juste que j'en dise un mot. Dès qu'on met le pied dans une compagnie, 'Ah, Monsieur, ou Madame, vous dit-on, avez-vous deviné une telle Enigme du *Mercur*, ou de la *Quintessence*?' " (1 February 1712); speaking about 'women of genius', he takes Du Noyer as an example: 'Les femmes qui ont du génie saisissent d'abord le mot qu'il leur faut [...]. C'est ce style aisé du beau sexe qui nous sait rendre les plus grandes fariboles intéressantes, et qui fait qu'un homme de bon goût peut s'amuser agréablement aux *Mémoires* de Mme du Noyer' (1 August 1712). Du Noyer herself also mentions and addresses Van Effen in her LHG (Letter XCVI, 437–438).

### The *Quintessence des Nouvelles*

In 1711, Du Noyer took over the *Quintessence*, the bi-weekly periodical that had been created in 1689 and directed since 1710 by Nicolas de Gueudeville. She would remain the editor until 1719, reporting on current events.<sup>30</sup> During at least part of her coverage of the period from October 1712 until June 1713, six months in which the Treaty was being prepared and the following two months during which the effects of the Peace were felt, she was probably residing in Utrecht. Her reporting is therefore a direct interaction with this specific historical context: the peace negotiations.

Although issues were released on Mondays and Thursdays, the *Quintessence* was called a weekly paper ('feuille hebdomadaire') by her successor,<sup>31</sup> as well as by Hans Bots who uses the term 'feuille' (a page/or a leaf) admitting that it has much in common with a *gazette*.<sup>32</sup> The *Quintessence* is also termed *lardon* from the verb 'larder',<sup>33</sup> which in French combines the meaning of the term 'to lard' as *enhance, embellish or give flavor with lard*, but also *stab*, referring to political jabs in particular. Additionally, the format itself, consisting of a single and very long sheet or leaf, is reminiscent of a strip of lard. All in all, it is a one-sided page with tight print, between seventy-five and eighty-five lines, with international political, societal and literary news printed in one column using both verse and prose in a serious, satirical or comical tone.

As reflected in the full title of the *Quintessence*, in order to pique the interest of her readers, Du Noyer intermingles other, current events, with serious world news and cogent political information, personal commentaries, anecdotes, gallant tales, moral reflections, letters (fake or real letters to the editors),

30 Her coverage of the negotiations informed her readers of breaking news in France, as well as other nations. Readers were exposed to news from many different nations and thus learned about Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Portugal, and even about the war between the Emperor and the Turks.

31 QN, nr. 44, 11 June 1719: 'successeur dans la composition de cette feuille hebdomadaire'. See also Van Dijk, 'La *Quintessence* après Madame Du Noyer,' in *Traces de femmes*, 125–128.

32 Hans Bots, 'Quelques gazettes de Hollande en langue française et le *Mercurius Historique et politique*: une analyse comparative', in *Gazettes et information politique sous l'Ancien Régime*, ed. Henri Duranton and Pierre Rétat (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1999), 166.

33 According to Eugène Hatin, *Les gazettes de Hollande et la presse clandestine aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Pincebourde, 1864), 182. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'lardon' as 'one of the pieces of bacon or pork which are inserted in meat in the process of larding', giving primacy to that process.

poems such as epigrams, odes, madrigals, sonnets, enigmas, even biblical references and epitaphs,<sup>34</sup> etc. She admits that she wishes to inform and instruct but also to entertain and give pleasure to her readers (the expression she uses is; 'réjouir les lecteurs').<sup>35</sup> By taking full advantage of the 'larding technique', Mme Du Noyer was one of the most famous reporters and editors of this periodical. Her originality—compared to her predecessors and followers—stems from her style of reporting which is neither impartial nor impersonal. On the contrary, by being very much aware of the tastes of her readership, she is able to reconcile breaking news with personal interjections and insertion of various literary genres, using a multitude of sources in a very clever way.

The *Quintessence* incorporates accounts drawn from outside sources both official and semi-official. She often relies on hearsay, sometimes first hand and sometimes second hand: she would also depend on other gazettes, letters, notices both written and oral, and memoirs. This practice was actually quite common among gazetteers throughout the century, and Mme Du Noyer does not deny or hide this fact. Although she is not explicit about the origin of the information, there are often indirect references to various sources in recurrent formulas such as: 'One learns from special letters from London', 'We have received from Vienna', 'One finds out from Utrecht' or again 'One has news from Portugal through France'.<sup>36</sup> It is difficult to determine if she is referring to letters, notices, private informers, hearsay, or conversations.<sup>37</sup> However, at times, she is more precise, actually revealing her source; for example, when she mentions the *Supplément de la Gazette d'Utrecht* and refers to it for more

34 Among others, Pierre Jurieu's in the QN, nr. 9, 30 January 1713, later on those of Louis XIV and Queen Anne of England.

35 QN, nr. 12, 9 February 1713.

36 QN, nrs. 4, 5, 7, 9, dated 12, 16, 23 and 30 January 1713.

37 She must have used, for instance, the list providing information about the ambassadors, the places where they were living and the colours of their lackeys' livery: *Namen, woonplaatsen en livreyen, van Haare Excellentiën, de Heeren Plenipotentiarissen, welke haar laten vinden op het Congres van een Generale Vrede t'Utrecht* (Utrecht: Van Poolsum, 1712); as well as Nicolas Chevalier's *Relation des fêtes que Son Excellence Monseigneur le Duc d'Ossune a données au sujet de la naissance du Prince Ferdinand de Castille* (Utrecht: chez l'auteur, 1713). We thank Floortje Tuinstra, of the Utrecht Archives, for this information. Freschot, author of the *Histoire amoureuse et badine* [...], will use this fact in attacking her: 'Mme l'auteur avoue qu'un homme de condition lui avait fourni les mémoires [...] elle n'entend ni le latin ni le flamand dans lesquelles langues on trouve écrite l'histoire d'Utrecht' (11th letter, 264).

details.<sup>38</sup> In this instance, it is very difficult to determine exactly what was copied from the *Gazette d'Utrecht* as issues from that particular period no longer exist.<sup>39</sup>

Although the much awaited peace is the focal point of the news, many other issues and topics seemingly less important are brought to the forefront and given prominence. Emerging from behind the political and historical events of the peace treaty, a whole colourful spectrum of events is presented to the reader, albeit succinctly in the *Quintessence*, which would later be amplified in Du Noyer's *Lettres historiques et galantes*. Du Noyer writes about social, cultural and religious affairs and presents literary and dramatic criticism and short novellas in serial form. As a contemporary of Addison and Steele, authors of the *Spectator* (1711–12), she might have been influenced by them, especially in the way that she presents herself in her own texts as a narrator who is not completely objective.

### An issue of the *Quintessence*

To illustrate her method and show how she constructs her narrative, interweaving seemingly heterogeneous topics and genres together, let's examine the issue published on Thursday, 12 January 1713, n° 4. It starts with: 'On mande d'Utrecht qu'il y eut lundi [9-1] un congrès des Ministres des Alliés à l'Hôtel de Ville, après quoi ces Seigneurs furent tous chez son Excellence Mgr. le Comte de Tarouca [...] qui leur donna un Festin magnifique [...]'. The feast being in honour of the birth of the prince of Brazil, Du Noyer comments on this birth as being a good augury for the peace negotiations as 'il est arrivé trois événements considérables à sa naissance':<sup>40</sup> (1) the suspension of war between Portugal, France and Spain, (2) the withdrawal of the Spanish forces at the siege of Campo Major, and (3) the arrival in Lisbon of the boats from Brazil loaded with

38 QN, nr. 5, 16 January 1713: 'On peut voir une description de tout cela dans le supplément de la *Gazette d'Utrecht*, et nous n'en parlerons que succinctement'.

39 The *Gazette d'Utrecht* actually was entitled at the time *Journal d'Utrecht*. According to Sgard's *Dictionnaire des journaux*, there remain only five issues, but they do not cover this particular period. <<http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0531-gazette-dutrecht>>.

40 'One sends from Utrecht that there was a meeting of allied ministers in the city hall, after which they all went to a feast thrown by the first plenipotentiary of the King of Portugal, the count of Tarouca, in honour of the birth of the Prince of Brazil [...] three considerable events have taken place'.

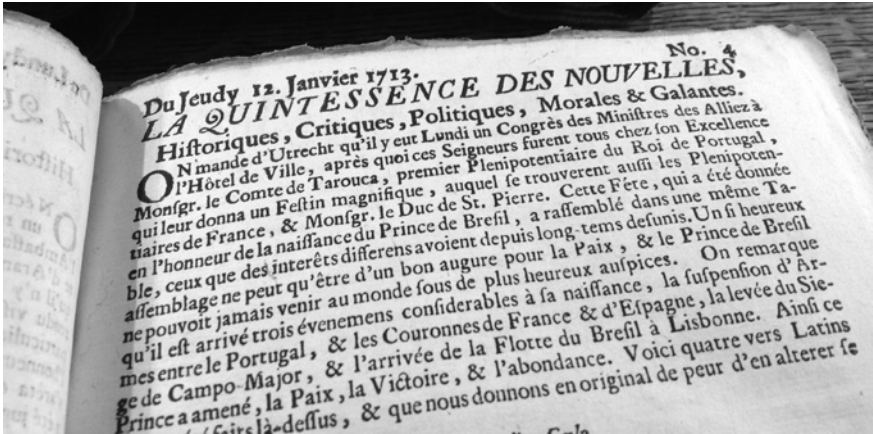


FIGURE 5.1 Picture showing the opening paragraph of *Quintessence des Nouvelles* for the year 1713, issue d.d. January 12th, about the feast organized by the count of Tarouca of Portugal in celebration of the birth of the Prince of Brazil.

PHOTO H. GOLDWYN

precious goods. She therefore concludes that the prince has brought peace, victory and abundance. This is followed by four verses in Latin in honour of the prince.

Switching abruptly, she reports on the social occasion and makes auctorial interventions by commenting on the beautiful people assembled at the party: 'Il eût été à souhaiter qu'on eût pu peindre toute cette belle assemblée [...] lorsqu'elle était à table [...]]. Après le dîner il y eut Comédie, dans laquelle les Acteurs se surpassèrent'.<sup>41</sup> In addition, she describes at great length the décor and the excellence of the host, the count of Tarouca, in particular his attentiveness to his lady guests. Continuing in the same vein, she reports that the following day there was a ball, listing all those who attended and those who did not. She concludes by stating with a hint of irony that: 'On est si fort occupé de plaisir à Utrecht, qu'on n'y parle pas beaucoup d'affaires'.<sup>42</sup> However, she reports that it is believed that once a much-discussed skirmish between Count Rechteren<sup>43</sup> and M. Mesnager has been settled, the general conference will

41 QN, nr. 4, 12 January 1713: 'it would have been worthwhile to paint this beautiful assembly while sitting at the table [...] dinner was followed by a play, where the actors surpassed themselves...'

42 Ibid.: 'One is so busy with pleasure in Utrecht that one does not talk much about affairs.'

43 An altercation occurred between the lackeys of Count Rechteren (Netherlands) and M. Ménager (the French plenipotentiary). A vulgar gesture made by Ménager's valet degenerated and brought the peace conference to a halt.



resume. This altercation literally brought the peace negotiations to a standstill. It is interesting to note here that the mention of this quarrel later became an amplified sequence with juicy details in the *Lettres historiques et galantes*.<sup>44</sup> Moving on rapidly, she introduces a song in verse about the Peace that the queen of England champions with the assistance of Lord Strafford, her equerry. It is entitled: 'Quand tout est calmé sur la terre, etc.'<sup>45</sup> She ends this issue by describing the medal of the city of Utrecht featuring two towers, and their significance.

As we clearly see here, she juxtaposes the political and historical significance of the treaty with items that might appear frivolous at first sight, such as meticulous and recurrent accounts of the lavish display of the occasion, including detailed portrayals of the festivities (balls, masquerades, dinner parties, theater productions . . .), descriptions of the carriages used by the ambassadors, the clothing they wore, comments about the ladies which smack of gossip columns or tabloid journalism—before the word was even invented. At a time when reading papers was fashionable and printing periodicals was a lucrative business, the peace negotiations and the way they are represented through parties, banquets and celebrations are particularly appealing to an educated circle of readers. Du Noyer demonstrates that the assemblies followed by parties and feasts served as crucial spaces that facilitated interaction and the cross-pollination of ideas, bringing together negotiators, ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, emissaries and showcased their negotiating prowess. Their social skills in diplomacy were thus highlighted at balls, banquets, musical performances, and plays. All these events reflect the power and wealth of the kings and rulers the plenipotentiaries represented.<sup>46</sup>

As suggested earlier, although Mme Du Noyer might have been inspired by other contemporary writers, and might have even emulated some of them, it seems that her reporting style—the clever and entertaining collage she champions—is very much her own. She carries this technique a step further by rewriting, reworking, and dramatizing the material already used in the *Quintessence* in the sixth volume of the *Lettres historiques et galantes*, giving it a new life and reaching a wider and more international reading public.

44 It is recounted in a highly comical and satirical tone in Letter XCIII, 145.

45 'A song on the minuet air of Hesione. When everything has become calm on earth'.

46 See lengthy descriptions in QN nr. 15, 20 February 1713 of the dinner party thrown by the count of Tarouca of Portugal during which the play *Rodogune* by Pierre Corneille was performed 'dans laquelle les acteurs se surpassèrent et [...] Colombine fit des merveilles et eut des applaudissements infinis dans le rôle de Cléopâtre', or again in QN nr. 16, 23 February 1713 the marvelous party organized by the Earl of Strafford (the British ambassador).

### The *Lettres Historiques et Galantes*

The strong relationship between the *Quintessence* and the *Lettres Historiques et Galantes*, most probably directly related to the precariousness of Du Noyer's financial situation, provides us now with the possibility of showing the author 'at work': the *Quintessence* reporting became a 'first draft' of the more lasting publication which were the *Lettres*. This 'auto-plagiarism' did not concern only the Peace reporting but was characteristic of her work as has been presented in more detail elsewhere.<sup>47</sup>

On 15 May, one month after the signature of the Treaty, the *Quintessence* itself announces the publication of vol. VI of the *Lettres historiques et galantes*:

Le Sieur Pierre Husson, Marchand libraire sur le Kapelbrug à La Haye, avertit le public qu'il vendra au premier jour le sixième volume des *Lettres Historiques et Galantes*, par Madame de C... Ouvrage curieux, dans lequel on trouve les plans et la description de la Ville d'Utrecht, une relation de ce qui s'y est passé de plus particulier, pendant le Congrès avec les Armes des Plénipotentiaires au dit Congrès.<sup>48</sup>

It contains twenty letters (LXXXIV–CIII, some of them quite long) dedicated to the Peace Congress and the events surrounding it. Du Noyer—while not mentioning herself on the title page of this publication—maximized the benefit of the material she had accumulated over 1712 and 1713, when publishing daily news about 'Utrecht'. By repurposing her opportune data, she published quickly what seems to have been the first substantial account of the Peace conference—apparently before the one by Casimir Freschot entitled *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht*, and also before Augustin (?) Freschot's *Histoire amoureuse et badine*: the latter clearly manifests feelings of jealousy in his (already quoted) eleventh letter.<sup>49</sup>

---

47 Cf. n. 19. Commemorating the Peace of Utrecht provided an interesting occasion to get back to the question discussed more generally earlier.

48 'Pierre Husson, Book seller at the Kapelbrug in The Hague, announces that he will sell the sixth volume of the *Lettres Historiques et Galantes*, by Madame de C... Interesting work in which are to be found maps and the description of the city of Utrecht, and a relation of what happened during the Congress, with the arms of the Plenipotentiaries of the Congress'.

49 This is also Erik Tigelaar's conclusion in his comments on the translation of the *Histoire amoureuse et badine* (152). See also n. 14.

From the series of *Quintessences*, published roughly between October 1712 and April 1713, *i.e.* over fifty issues in most of which there was some information related to the 'Peace process', she derived twenty letters (about four hundred pages), some of which included lists of names and geographical and historical descriptions of Utrecht. In her recent edition of the *Lettres Historiques et Galantes* (2012), O'Connor did not include them for this very reason. As she specifies, many long passages of these letters had been taken from Du Noyer's own *Quintessence*.<sup>50</sup> However, this 'auto-plagiarism' is exactly what interests us now, and the point is to show how Du Noyer proceeded while adapting the material from her *Quintessence*, making it correspond to her fictional character who walks around Utrecht, as did the author, writing down her impressions for the Parisian friend who is so eager to read them.<sup>51</sup>

While fictionalizing her own self, she needed to create, in her text, a bit more coherence between the narrator and narratee than had existed between the journalist and her readers.<sup>52</sup> This coherence was created by referring to the *friendship* that supposedly existed between the two correspondents, who remain anonymous, and by their common interests: they feel 'linked' to each other in being enthusiastic readers of the *Quintessence* and fans of 'the lady who wrote the *Quintessence*' (Du Noyer's name is not mentioned). Furthermore, both are heavily interested in what the other is going to write—and much less in each other's personal circumstances. There is no reference to any family life, for instance. In a way, these letters are *less* personal than what Du Noyer wrote in the *Quintessence* as here she supposes her friend curious to know *everything*, meaning everything that might happen and be of any local, national or international relevance. Even the history of the city of Utrecht and official documents, containing lists of the ambassadors' names, are included for instance in letters XCI and XCV, respectively.

Framing the Peace narrative within a fictional correspondence had some interesting consequences, linked to the relationship with time. While the *Quintessence* was published twice a week and the issues needed to be filled up anyway, on the contrary, the letters exchanged by the two ladies remained undated. Sometimes as a journalist she clearly had difficulties because of the too large or too small amount of 'nouvelles', while the 'lardon' format of the

---

50 O'Connor 2012, p. 29.

51 Her correspondent in Paris approves the liberty she is taking with chronology (Letter CIII, 204).

52 And also, in fact, between narrator and the 'characters' described: she suggests, for instance, that she had been invited especially by the count of Tarouca (Letter XCVIII, 32).

*Quintessence* remained identical: in such cases she tended to use smaller characters or, if need be, add some verses or enigma at the bottom. In the *Lettres historiques et galantes* this problem does not arise: the length of the Utrecht letters is completely dependent on the quantity of material she wants to present, and fluctuates between twelve and fifty pages (resp. letters XCVI and XCVIII).

The passing of time is also handled differently—a clear example of which might be the repeated announcements in the series of *Quintessences* of events expected to happen, first in the future, then next week, and, finally, on this very day. For instance, when Strafford was expected to come back from London to Utrecht, the tension grows over a period of two months:

27-10-1712

[...] *dès le retour de Milord comte de Strafford*, les conférences se renoueront [...]

31-10

[...] Il n'y a pas apparence qu'il se tienne d'Assemblée Générale à Utrecht, jusqu'au retour de Milord Comte de Strafford, *qu'on dit ne devoir pas tarder* [...]

5-12

[...] Milord comte de Strafford *est attendu dans peu à Utrecht* [...]

8-12

[...] Milord comte de Strafford *est arrivé mardi dans la nuit [à La Haye]* [...]

12-12

[...] Milord Comte de Strafford *est encore ici [La Haye]* [...]

19-12

[...] Milord comte de Strafford *partit d'ici [La Haye] jeudi, pour s'en retourner à Utrecht* [...].

Once Strafford is back, there will be a 'Congrès général', and things will happen: 'les affaires iront à présent plus vite qu'elles n'ont été'.<sup>53</sup>

In the (undated) *Lettres historiques et galantes*, such an event tends to be mentioned only once but then in more detail, as in Letter XCVIII:

53 'Once S. will be back, the conference will start again'; 'There will be no General Assembly in Utrecht, before S. will be back, which should be soon'; 'S. is expected soon in Utrecht'; 'S. arrived in The Hague last night'; 'S. is still in The Hague'; 'S. left The Hague Thursday to go back to Utrecht'; 'Things will now be quicker than they were before'.

[...] Milord Strafford est de retour d'Angleterre, on y va travailler à grand force [à la paix] [...] c'est lui qui lui donne la main pour la conduire à Utrecht. Du moins c'est la pensée de ces Vers, qui ont paru dans la *Quintessence*.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed on 12 December, Du Noyer had included these verses in the *Quintessence*; establishing the link without mentioning the identity of the author, they reappear here:

Strafford paraît à nos yeux  
 Tout brillant des faveurs d'une puissante Reine.  
 Il va faire voler des Cieux  
 La Paix sur ces climats. C'est lui qui la ramène.  
 [...].<sup>55</sup>

The grouping together—on this and similar occasions—of mentions which originally were spread over several weeks allows each letter of *Lettres historiques et galantes* to be much more individual than was the case for the *Quintessences*, where a certain degree of repetitiousness was difficult to avoid.

### A Feminine Perspective

The poem celebrating Strafford's return to Utrecht also highlights Du Noyer's interest in Queen Anne, the 'puissante Reine'. This interest was already visible in the *Quintessence* but is now further expanded in the *Lettres*: the narrative instance is framed much more clearly as a female person, addressing a female narratee, both interested in other women, be it Queen Anne,<sup>56</sup> the Spanish queen,<sup>57</sup> the 'charmante Dauphine',<sup>58</sup> Anna Maria van Schurman, famous learned woman from Utrecht,<sup>59</sup> or others. Famous women are not the only

54 'Milord Strafford came back from England, one will work hard now for preparing peace [...] Strafford is the one who will invite her to come to Utrecht. At least this is suggested by these verses which were published in the *Quintessence*'.

55 LHG, Letter xcviII, 6: 'Strafford appears in front of us / ablaze by the favours of the mighty Queen. / He will make Peace fly toward our climates. He is the one who brings her back'.

56 See letters LxxxvIII, 285; Lxxxix, 291; xcviII, 17–20; cvIII, 353.

57 LHG, Letter ci, 170.

58 LHG, Letter Lxxxvi, 278.

59 LHG, Letter xci, 303; xcii, 333.

striking figures: in some of the fictional items we also find young, smart girls as heroines, manifesting strong will and character.<sup>60</sup>

Identification with ‘femininity’ and the private life of women is of equal concern to both ladies as are their possibilities for happiness in marriage. It is interesting to see how Du Noyer has seized the opportunity to discuss this subject in the middle of a political event dominated by male protagonists, which nevertheless led to those social gatherings announced and commented upon in the *Quintessence*.

The Parisian correspondent in the *Lettres historiques et galantes* is assumed to take an interest in the doings of Mylord Albemarle, as seen here:

Il est à présent à La Haye avec *Milady* son épouse, dont il est toujours aussi amoureux qu’il l’était avant son mariage, dont la date est pourtant de près de douze ans. Malgré le mauvais usage que *la dépravation du siècle* a établi, il ne lui a point donné de concurrence ni de coadjutrice, et il l’aime avec tant d’ardeur, que lorsqu’elle a été en couches à Tournai, dont il est Gouverneur, toutes les cloches ont été muettes pendant quinze jours, comme elles le sont en France à la fin de la semaine Sainte. Cela s’appelle être un bon mari, et pousser la tendresse conjugale au suprême degré.<sup>61</sup>

This quotation, showing a tender husband creating the best possible conditions for his wife who is about to give birth, is especially compelling in light of the aforementioned other—male—reporting about the Peace congress: Freschot’s *Histoire amoureuse et badine du Congrès et de la Ville d’Utrecht*. Here the author’s focus<sup>62</sup> is completely upon the ‘concurrences’ and the ‘coadjutrices’ of married men who are looking for romance in Utrecht, while their wives are staying at home.

60 For instance: LHG, Letters XCI, 304; XCIV, 405.

61 LHG, Letter XCIII, 330–331 (our italics): ‘He is now in The Hague with *Milady* his wife, with whom he is still in love at the same degree as before his marriage, which dates back to twelve years ago. In spite of the bad uses due to the depravity of our times, he did not give her any rival, and still loves her with such an ardor, that when she was about to give birth in Tournai (where he is the Governor), all bells have been silent during a fortnight, as they are in France during the Holy week. This shows his being a good husband, and pushing tenderness to the highest degree.’

62 See note 14 about the identity of the author.

By promoting Albemarle as the ‘bon mari [qui pousse] la tendresse conjugale au suprême degré’, Du Noyer (or her imagined Lady from Utrecht) is clearly keeping her distance from ‘la dépravation du siècle’ which is so omnipresent in the *Histoire amoureuse et badine* [...], whose author is principally interested in scandals related to connections established by foreign visitors. These were not only busy discussing the Treaty in the Utrecht Town Hall but also engaging with Utrecht’s ‘official’ or improvised prostitutes, daughters of wig makers and tavern owners—Freschot formulated explicitly that these illicit contacts between the plenipotentiaries (or their servants) with Utrecht ladies (or their servants) were the subjects that his intended (male) readers wanted to be informed about.<sup>63</sup>

Du Noyer’s ‘Lady from Utrecht’ does not at all suppose that her Parisian friend wants to read about this. On the contrary, she insists upon presenting the very respectable spouses who accompany their husbands the ambassadors, and she creates occasions that allow her to express her approval of matrimonial happiness and any good relationship between husband and wife—be it Mylord and Lady Albemarle, or other couples. This tendency had already been suggested in the *Quintessence* but seems clearer still in the *Lettres*, thanks to the possibility, or even the need, of putting together information that belongs together. In that sense we might suggest that Du Noyer adopted here a more recognizably ‘feminine’ point of view, insisting upon the qualities and the merits of those spouses who came to Utrecht and who in some cases would seem to have played prominent roles:

Il y a assemblée certains jours de la semaine chez les Ministres qui ont ici leurs épouses avec eux, et chez d’autres personnes de considération de la ville. C’est dans ces Assemblées que l’on voit briller les belles Ambassadrices de Prusse, Madame la Comtesse de Dönhof, et Madame Marchal. Ces deux Dames font l’admiration du Congrès, et pourraient, avec raison, faire celle de tout l’Univers; car on n’a jamais rien vu de plus charmant.

And she ‘proves’ the fact by reproducing ‘des vers qui ont paru sur la *Quintessence*’, concerning ‘la Comtesse de Dönhof’:

---

63 ‘Vous êtes las, me dites-vous Monsieur, d’entendre parler de Traité de Paix [...]. Vous voudriez que je vous parlasse un peu des intrigues amoureuses, et que je vous fis l’Histoire Badine de ce congrès’ (Lettre 1, 1).

La Prusse féconde en beauté  
 Nous en fait voir ici l'élite.  
 La Seine sur ses bords autrefois tant vantées,  
 N'eut rien d'égal à leur mérite.<sup>64</sup>

The same *Lettre* presents (431–432) a similar poem praising Mme Marchal, which had also been included in the *Quintessence* (31–10–1712). At the end the 'Utrecht Lady' specifies:

Tout ce que je puis vous assurer, c'est qu'il n'entre point de flatterie là-dedans. Je parle pour avoir vu, et l'on peut dire qu'il n'est rien de plus charmant que ces deux dames-là.<sup>65</sup>

In a more general sense, the Utrecht Lady—or perhaps the author—is showing herself off as a well-behaved, lady-like person, a foil to the bad reputation Du Noyer had gained. For us today, it is interesting to see this female perspective in contrast to the male reporting highlighted during the 2013 commemoration.<sup>66</sup>

### Conclusion

Mme Du Noyer refers often to her relationship with her educated audience, especially her female readership. In the eighteenth century, women became avid readers of periodicals where news and other topics were presented in an appealing and not overly scholarly tone. Both the *Quintessence* and the *Lettres historiques et galantes* reflect that concern. Time and again, she reminds us with great irony and wit that she is neither a historian nor a theologian or a

---

64 'One gathers certain days of the week at the homes of the Ministers who brought their spouses, and those of other persons of importance in the city. In these meetings we see the brilliancy of the beautiful Ambassadors of Prussia, Madam the Countess of Dönhof, and Madam Marchal. These two ladies are admired all over the Congress, and could even be admired all over the universe; there was nothing more charming to be seen. [...] Prussia, fertile in beauty, shows us here its elite. The Seine so much applauded for this reason, does not possess anything similar to their merits'. These verses initially published in the QN, 3 November 12, reappear in the LHG (*Lettre* XCV, 431).

65 'I can assure that there is no flattery here. I have *seen* and concluded that there is nothing more charming than these two ladies'.

66 For instance in the exhibition organized by the Utrecht Archives (HUA), which was entitled 'High wigs, low amusement'.



specialist in rhetoric but a woman writing and wanting to share with other women the most important events taking place.

Thus, weaving in and out of two different genres which found their way into France and the rest of Europe, a bi-weekly paper and a fictitious epistolary exchange between two female correspondents, she often rewrites, reworks and dramatizes the same material, especially current events, with a different twist and in a different style. It is at times difficult to differentiate where current events stop and fiction begins, especially when she interjects or makes auctorial interventions, offers metadiscourse and recounts anecdotes in the third person singular ['on'] in the *Quintessence* and in the first person in the *Lettres historiques et galantes* ['je']. It is precisely this fictionalization of the news or the subjectification of political events and the devices used that is of interest to her reader. Although she might appear to come across as a political and cultural commentator, staging herself as an eye witness, the historical and the political are most often spiked and subverted by the social and the literary.

**‘Dieu veuille que cette Paix soit de longue durée . . .’**  
*The History of the Congress and the Peace of Utrecht*  
 by Casimir Freschot

*Heinz Duchhardt*

In 1716, a five-hundred-page book, long considered for good reason the authoritative history of the Utrecht peace congress, was brought out, in octavo format, by the enterprising and important Utrecht publisher van Poolsum. It carried the Baroque title *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d’Utrecht, comme aussi de celle de Rastadt & de Bade contenant les particularitez les plus remarquables & les plus interessantes desdites Negociations depuis leur premiere ouverture jusqu’à la conclusion de la Paix Generale*, which curiously referred to a ‘general peace’ never concluded.<sup>1</sup> Rather, in line with the vernacular of the day, only a number of bilateral peace treaties were signed at the time.

Interestingly enough, little is known about the author of this book, embellished with an impressive frontispiece engraved by Jan Goeree and a title vignette. Scholars generally attribute the work—as also apparent from a handwritten note on the title page of the volume I used—to Casimir Freschot, who shortly after the publication of his *Histoire* authored a ‘scandal history’ of the Utrecht congress and also edited the congress proceedings, as far as they were accessible at the time. But who was this man? The research literature<sup>2</sup> commonly refers to a Benedictine monk named Casimir Freschot, who according to his biographical dates—ca. 1640 to 1720—could be the author. This Freschot produced other publications that, for example, analysed the Viennese court and provided policy recommendations to the office holders involved in the War of the Spanish Succession. But is it really conceivable that a Protestant Utrecht publisher would have entrusted to an author shaped by the fierce anti-Protestantism of the Franche-Comté such an important and rather semi-official publication? It is for this reason that the article by Françoise Knopper-Gouron

1 The quote in the title on p. 486 of Freschot, *Histoire*, in the context of the conclusion of the Austrian-French Treaty of Rastatt.

2 Françoise Knopper-Gouron, ‘Le bénédictin Casimir Freschot pendant la Guerre de Succession d’Espagne: patriotisme d’Empire, anti-protestantisme et Jansénisme,’ *Francia* 12 (1984): 271–282.



FIGURE 6.1 *Title page of Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht (Utrecht: G. van Poolsum, 1716), with an engraving by Jan Goeree.*

PRIVATE COLLECTION

points to a ‘homonyme Protestant’ who had immigrated to the Netherlands—in other words a namesake,<sup>3</sup> which in light of the rather unusual name, though, would be quite a coincidence. Then again there exist reference works dating from the early nineteenth century, implying that the Benedictine monk and the author were, after all, one and the same person. What could lead to a more certain answer are the archives of the publishing house van Poolsum, should they still exist. The question who wrote the book thus remains open but will be returned to in the context of the author’s own reflections in the work.

The thesis that the author may have been a French Huguenot émigré gains in substance when one takes his open criticism of France and Louis XIV in the *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d’Utrecht* into account. It resembles his fierce criticism of the French delegation and their entanglement in organised prostitution, as made public in his *Histoire amoureuse*.<sup>4</sup> This ‘scandal history’ has received much more attention in recent research—see, for example, Lucien Bély’s fundamental study<sup>5</sup>—than the book under discussion here.<sup>6</sup>

What can be said with certainty, however, is that our author—a Casimir Freschot—had already established himself as a specialist on the various aspects of the War of the Spanish Succession before he authored his history of the Utrecht peace congress and the aforementioned ‘scandal history’. To this end three further publications can be named: a *Histoire anecdotique de la cour de Rome, la part qu’elle a eu dans l’affaire de la succession d’Espagne* published in Cologne in 1704, a *Mémoire de la cour de Vienne contenant les remarques d’un voyageur curieux sur l’état présent de cette cour et sur ses interests* published

3 Similar also Abraham van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1859), 6: 62.

4 The book, entitled *Histoire amoureuse et badine du congrès et de la ville d’Utrecht* was published in Liege without date. Interestingly, a German translation was published about a year later with the title ‘Der galante Congress in der Stadt Utrecht oder Einige Zeit während der Friedensverhandlungen daselbst vorgefallene Liebes-Begebenheiten’. A Dutch translation of the book by Roland Fagel was published in 2013: *Amoureuze en pikante geschiedenis van het congres en de stad Utrecht*, ed. Erik Tigelaar (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013).

5 Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990).

6 Recently Inken Schmidt-Voges also dedicated her inaugural lecture at the University of Osnabrück to the *Histoire amoureuse*. I am grateful to Schmidt-Voges for allowing me to consult her not yet published manuscript. Schmidt-Voges underlines in her lecture that Freschot’s ‘scandal history’ provoked at least two ‘counter-accounts’. It must be pointed out here that the obvious and principal target of the book—sex sells—was not the only ‘philosophy’ of journalists; Henriette Goldwyn and Suzan van Dijk refer in their chapter in this collection to publications of (female) authors where an intact family life of the diplomats is stressed.

in Cologne in 1705, and a text entitled *Les Intrigues secrètes du Duc de Savoye*, published in Venice also in 1705. The aim of the latter was to shed light on the—sometimes problematic (Rome, Turin)—role of actors in the major, if not to say global, conflict that had come to preoccupy the continent since the death of Carlos II of Spain.

The author opens his book with a dedication to the mayor and senators of the city of Utrecht and a preface in which he reflects on the Peace of Utrecht in general. I have already written about this matter in the context of contemporary debates about treaties of peace<sup>7</sup> and here would merely like to mention that Freschot introduced a kind of typology of peace on these opening pages, distinguishing between four types of peace: first, the demand placed on Christians—in alignment with God's command for peace—to maintain peace; second, peace to retain a status quo; third, peace brought about by exhaustion after a long conflict; and fourth and last, hollow peace, resulting from the unwillingness of one of the parties to adhere to agreed words and documents. These are rather abstract considerations, which, in the absence of any examples being given, leave the reader to decide in which typological category the author would have placed the Peace of Utrecht.

Freschot quite rightly elaborates extensively in his *Histoire du Congrès* on how the War of the Spanish Succession and the concluding Peace of Utrecht can be understood only in the context of the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees and the ever more insecure Spanish line of the Casa de Austria. He therefore dedicates several dozen pages to the political-diplomatic-military conflicts of the 1660s: the attempts made by Louis XIV to appropriate or subject, on the basis of very weak alleged claims to the Spanish inheritance and naked aggression, large parts of Western Europe; the military events, which are described in detail; the political reversals of the Roi-Soleil, with which he time and again surprised his opposite parties. Freschot interprets the marriage alliance of 1659 as a fundamental threat to the European equilibrium,<sup>8</sup> castigating the French attempts to thwart the invalidation of the king's renunciation of the claims to the Spanish inheritance. Freschot thus disapproves of, in all respects, the

7 Heinz Duchhardt, 'Die Systematisierung und Typologisierung des Friedens. Das Vorwort von Casimir Freschots 'Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht, comme aussi de celle de Rastadt & de Bade', in *Utrecht—Rastatt—Baden 1712–1714. Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013), 303–312.

8 The 'paix de l'Europe' rests on an 'espece d'équilibre de forces entre les deux Couronnes de France & d'Espagne', but was placed under scrutiny by the marriage alliance set out in the Treaty of the Pyrenees: p. 1.

political project of the Roi-Soleil, which from the very beginning was focussed on dividing his opponents and exploiting the weaknesses in the Spanish royal house. He suggests that Louis XIV planned, after the cruel destruction of the Palatinate, further campaigns in the Holy Roman Empire<sup>9</sup> and complains about the king's duplicity and unscrupulousness when it comes to forcing opponents to act against faith and law and to leave, contrary to all contractual assurances, alliances led by anti-French leaders. Louis' politics, such as his attempt to obtain a favourable final will from the last Spanish-Habsburg ruler, verge on the criminal. There is no question that the author was very critical of France and, more to the point, highly sceptical of Louis XIV. This finding does not provide decisive proof as to who the author was but lends, at least at first sight, further support to the thesis that the author may well have been a French Huguenot émigré.

But then the work includes other enemy stereotypes as well. In the description and analysis of the history immediately preceding the war, Freschot leaves no doubt that he considers the British strategy to agree to a partition treaty without involving, or at least informing, the directly affected parties in Vienna as counterproductive, if not fatal. And his criticism of the political agenda pursued by Whitehall and of Queen Anne as a monarch only intensifies when he writes about the events after 1710. Whereas the text duly acknowledges and praises Britain's military achievements within the Grand Alliance and especially on the Iberian Peninsula, it also condemns the game played by London behind the back of the Allies following the 'ministerial revolution' of 1710. To this end it portrays the negotiations between Nicolas Mesnager and Matthew Prior as diametrically opposed to the spirit and text of the Grand Alliance of 1701. Likewise the unilateral withdrawal of British troops from the battlefields is presented as a striking breach of contract—it appears that London wanted, against expressed public opinion, peace at any price.

That the Dutch Republic in the end agreed to enter negotiations with French diplomats to achieve a separation agreement Freschot considered a further example of British malice. Apparently, the British had exploited the constitutional peculiarities of the States-General and the decision-making processes in the United Provinces to relieve the Dutch Republic, which from 1710 onwards had to increasingly guard its commercial interests, of its obligations with regard to the Alliance. The text leaves no question about the author's assessment of Britain's perfidious approach.<sup>10</sup>

---

9 Freschot, *Histoire*, 27.

10 Further to the letter from the States-General to Queen Anne of 5 June 1712, reprinted in the *Histoire du Congrès* in its entirety, Freschot remarks: 'On a voulu inserer & raporter

A third enemy stereotype Freschot develops, at least in preliminary terms, concerns the Pope. He takes as his point of departure a letter, since reprinted in the original,<sup>11</sup> sent by Louis XIV to the head of the Catholic Church in February 1707, asking the Pope to intervene in the conflict, to even act as an arbitrator, in order to swiftly establish a permanent peace. Freschot uses this letter, which he ‘dissects’ with great pleasure, not only to show the absurdity of this proposal but also to place Clement XI in the French corner and to ‘expose’ him as a supporter of Louis XIV.<sup>12</sup> With good reason, so Freschot implies, the Curia distanced itself from intervening in the negotiations as an ‘arbitrator christianitatis’ as such an effort was doomed to fail. In contrast, it would have been quite possible to imagine the Republic of Venice, the ‘other’ traditional negotiator, assuming a peace-enhancing role, at least with regard to the French-Imperial negotiations.<sup>13</sup>

Freschot describes the actual ‘negotiations’ in Utrecht in a manner that leads one to conclude that he was an eyewitness—and not a journalist who exploited the periodicals published in the city, e.g. the *Gazette d’Utrecht* or the bi-weekly *Quintessences* edited by Mme Du Noyer.<sup>14</sup> In Utrecht, which had been chosen as the place of negotiations on the advice of the British queen,<sup>15</sup>

---

toute cette lettre, quelque longue qu’elle soit, parcequ’elle est une preuve authentique du procédé irregulier de la Cour de Londres, par raport aux Alliez, & qu’elle étoit déjà gagnée en faveur de la France dés avantqu’on eut commencé le Traité de Paix, ne se servant des demonstrations & des protestations qu’on faisoit faire à la Reine, que pour mieux tromper, attirer & faire tomber les Alliez dans la necessité de souscrire la Paix, telle qu’il plaisoit à l’Ennemi commun de la prescrire, après avoir gagné les Ministres de cette Princesse, pour qu’ils se servissent de son nom, afinque de faire valoir leurs ménées’. (325f.)

11 Freschot, *Histoire*, 86–89.

12 Clement XI (elected in 1700) was certainly not a French ‘creature’ in the beginning but was gradually pushed by Austria’s politics in Northern Italy towards the anti-imperial camp. The attempts made by the Pope to arrive at a peace, as mentioned by Freschot, link to a multitude of other attempts to achieve the same outcome; cf. Ludwig Frhr. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus: von der Wahl Klemens’ XI. bis zum Tode Klemens’ XII. (1700–1740)* (Freiburg/Br.: Herder 1930), ch. 1 and ch. 2.

13 Freschot, *Histoire*, 490f.: ‘On croit avec assez de vraisemblance, que la Republique de Venise se seroit contentée, si pour toute reparation de tant de dommages, les Parties qui se sont fait chez elle la guerre, lui eussent fait l’honneur de la choisir pour Mediatrice de leur accord & reconciliation. Cela sembloit non seulement juste, mais meme necessaire. Mais on aima mieux de faire les Traitez entre la France & l’Empire sans Mediateur, de la manière qu’on la vu: au lieu que si on avoit choisi pour Mediatrice une Puissance respectable, comme celle-là, les choses en seroient peut-être mieux allés’.

14 Cf. the chapter by Henriette Goldwyn/Suzan van Dijk in this collection.

15 Freschot, *Histoire*, 233.

everything had been prepared with the utmost care: to avoid any breaches of protocol, a room had been made available in the town hall which could be accessed from opposite sides; further rooms served the internal discussions of the two parties.<sup>16</sup> In addition, to avoid any ceremonial mistakes, an agreement had been reached for the respective envoys to enter the main room without any pomp and circumstance. Nonetheless, the 'negotiations', ultimately few in number, did not produce anything more significant than an agreement that neither an intermediary nor a keeper of the minutes should be involved. Some envoys, such as the Imperial negotiator Count Sinzendorff, preferred to stay in The Hague rather than to travel to Utrecht, arguing that the substantial negotiations between the British and the French representatives had already been conducted in London. The results of these had been presented to the other delegations more or less as a *fait accompli*. From this point of view, Utrecht was merely used for a last round of negotiations to arrive at a peace and was entitled to take pride only in a series of bilateral peace treaties having been signed within its walls.

There are several reasons that support the assumption that the text is, indeed, an eyewitness account: the precision with which Freschot describes the (dull) entrances of the envoys; the insights he offers into the social life, which he commences with an account of the ball organised by the wife of the British envoy, John Robinson, the Bishop of Bristol; and the meticulousness with which he writes about an incident involving Dutch and French servants, which he attempts to evaluate in terms of international law.<sup>17</sup> He is disappointed that the treaties were not signed and, after ratification, exchanged in the town hall but in the private quarters of the envoys, or even in an open field (!), and complains, at least between the lines, that the city of Utrecht was thus denied a spectacular set of peace celebrations.

Nonetheless, the (presumed) eyewitness Freschot rather hesitates when it comes to divulging details about the social workings of the peace congress, which in light of the extended periods of inactivity allowed the respective parties to spend their time other than at the conference table or in private political discussions. The reason for this must be that Freschot did not want to distract from the abovementioned *Histoire amoureuse . . .*, which was published at the same time. Further, it can be assumed that he considered his *Histoire du Congrès* a serious piece of contemporary historiography and did not want this work to diverge from accepted historical writing.

---

16 The frontispiece reproduced by Bély, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, gives an impression of this (two-door) conference room.

17 Cf. Bély, *Espions*, 414.



What is certain is that Freschot was no longer an eyewitness at the succeeding peace congresses in Rastatt and Baden that engaged Prince Eugene of Savoy and Marshall Villars as the Imperial side had shown itself unable to sign documents which it had not negotiated. Likewise Freschot was absent in Baden / Aargau, where an entire guard of European principalities assembled to do little more than translate the Treaty of Rastatt from French into Latin.

Freschot therefore devotes few pages to these two peace congresses, referring the reader instead to the official publication of the congress papers, the *Actes, Mémoires et autres pièces authentiques concernant la Paix d'Utrecht*, for which, in turn, he was responsible and which were published by van Poolsum in 1714/15. This publication continues to serve scholars, the interim plan for a new edition of the primary sources of the Utrecht peace congress aside,<sup>18</sup> as an irreplaceable basis for their research.

Of course, Freschot's *Histoire du Congrès* also pays tribute to failed attempts to conclude a peace, such as the negotiations between the French diplomat Rouillé and his allied opponents in The Hague in 1709, set out almost like a chronology.<sup>19</sup> Freschot concisely describes the key role the possible restitution of Alsace to the German Empire and the question of Dunkirk played at the time. The preliminary articles of peace dated 18 May, as received by Torcy and Rouillé, but ultimately never executed, are also included in the volume.<sup>20</sup> Significantly, Louis XIV is made responsible for the failure of this set of negotiations<sup>21</sup> as well as for the Geertruidenberg negotiations of 1710, which also led to no result.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, Freschot shows no interest in his *Histoire du Congrès* in the impact the War of the Spanish Succession had on events and interests outside Europe or in the activities of the lobbyists representing the various trading companies, who, of course, presented their cases to the chief negotiators in both London and Utrecht. He reports on the genesis of the various trade

18 Max Braubach, 'Die Friedensverhandlungen in Utrecht und Rastatt 1712 bis 1714', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 90 (1970): 284–298.

19 Freschot, *Histoire*, 98ff.

20 Freschot, *Histoire*, 107–127.

21 Freschot, *Histoire*, 128. For an account of these negotiations see Werner Reese, *Das Ringen um Frieden und Sicherheit in den Entscheidungsjahren des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges 1708 bis 1709* (München: Beck, 1933).

22 Freschot, *Histoire*, 149ff. Freschot traces the Geertruidenberg negotiations back to the fact that Louis XIV had to give his subjects a sign of goodwill to console them after years of suffering. This did not stop him from taking the first pretext to again withdraw from the negotiations.

agreements as well as the *Asiento* contract<sup>23</sup> and comments on the differences and animosities between Spain and Portugal, but fails to examine them against their overseas background. His perspective is first and foremost a European one—the continuation of the war beyond the sea and its repercussions on the Utrecht negotiations were of only minor importance to him.

Has the analysis of Freschot's *Histoire du Congrès* helped to resolve the identity of the author? And has it established whether these very heterogeneous publications by *Casimir Freschot* should be attributed to one or two writers? Bély cites a passage from French correspondence according to which the Cardinal of Bouillon is said to have made use of the 'mordante plume d'un insigne scélérat et moine apostat bourguignon, marié à Utrecht, nommé Freschot' in his propaganda writings.<sup>24</sup> The author is certain that the person is the writer of the *Histoire du Congrès*. If one believes this contemporary source and assumes—whilst ignoring all the epithets—a renegade monk from Burgundy who marries in Utrecht and earns his livelihood by writing propaganda pamphlets against Louis XIV, then the puzzle is quickly solved: a Benedictine monk who first makes a name for himself by writing Catholic, anti-Protestant pamphlets but who is equally critical of the Jesuits, who blames the Emperor for agreeing to a Grand Alliance with the Protestant states,<sup>25</sup> who, for whatever reason, leaves his order and converts to some shade of Protestantism, settles in Utrecht, distinguishes himself by writing anti-French and (as shown here) anti-British publications, and works as a kind of 'in-house author' for the publisher van Poolsum, where he is also responsible for the production of the official publication of the congress papers. Such careers existed, most likely in somewhat larger numbers at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Less frequent were cases of reconversion: Knopper-Gouron, who also assumes a linear and unbroken career, has established that the (one?) person by this name was 'reintegrated' into the congregation of Saint-Vanne in 1718 and died in Luxueil in 1720. The thesis of the exiled Huguenot, next to whom there existed a second person of the same name, would thus be refuted. Also the dates—1718 and 1720—would not contradict the present reconstruction of what was quite obviously an eventful life. But perhaps research in Utrecht itself, whether in the registry office or in the publishing house, will reveal further findings and will further substantiate the assumption set out here.

*Translated by Uta Protz.*

23 Freschot, *Histoire*, 368.

24 Bély, *Espions*, 214.

25 See Knopper-Gouron, 'Le bénédictin Casimir Freschot'.

## The Treaty of Utrecht and Addison's *Cato*: Britain's War of the Spanish Succession, Peace and the Imperial Road Map

*Samia Al-Shayban*

I have this business of ye peace soe much at heart. . . .

(QUEEN ANNE, 1711)<sup>1</sup>

Queen Anne's letter to her First Lord of the Treasury, Earl of Oxford, the leader of Tory party expresses her keen desire to procure the Peace of Utrecht for her war-weary nation. The Treaty of Utrecht was signed to end the War of Spanish Succession on 11 April 1713 amidst deep divisions in Queen Anne's government. The Queen, Oxford and their supporters in the government were seeking peace as a means of securing England's interests that the long war had failed to achieve.<sup>2</sup> On the opposite side stood the war general, the Duke of Marlborough, and his Whig Cabinet allies who were adamant about continuing the fighting.<sup>3</sup> Addison premiered *Cato* at Drury Lane on 14 April 1713 just a few days after the signing of the Peace of Utrecht amidst this foray of war and peace. It is no coincidence that the core of *Cato* is the conflict between those who seeks peace represented by Julius Caesar and the advocates of war under the leadership of Cato Uticensis.

From its first performance, the play proved to be an immediate success. On 30 April 1713 Alexander Pope, who attended the premiere, described the audience's enthusiastic reaction to *Cato*'s struggle. In a letter to John Caryl, he wrote:

The numerous and violent claps of the Whig party on the one side of the theatre, were echoed back by the Tories on the other.<sup>4</sup>

1 Queen Anne to 1st Earl of Oxford, Robert Harley, 24 September 1711, Historical Manuscripts Commission [UK-Bath 1711] Ms 1:212. The letter is also quoted in Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Yale University Press), 341.

2 Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 330–362.

3 Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 343–350.

4 *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 175.

According to Pope's letter, both the Whigs and the Tories tried to stress that they were the champions of virtue and liberty, the sentiments expressed in the play. Before the end of its first season, *Cato* had been staged more than twenty times. To meet the public demand it was performed the following season.<sup>5</sup> Since its first performance, the play has attracted various critical readings. The critical ground shared by contemporary and modern critics concerns the face of Caesar's tyranny and empire. Alexander Pope's prologue to the play articulates eighteenth-century views. Popes declares

Here tears shall flow from a more gen'rous cause,  
Such tears as patriots shed for dying laws:  
He bids your breasts with ancients ardour rise,  
And calls forth Roman Drops from British eyes.  
Virtue confessed in human shape he draws,  
What Plato thought, and godlike Cato was [...]  
Who hears him groan, and does not wish to bleed?  
Ev'n when proud Caesar, midst triumphal cars.<sup>6</sup>  
(13–18, 26–27)

Modern criticism retains a similar approach to the play without attempting to untangle the controversy around its meaning. Laura Rosenthal reads *Cato* as a promotion of the struggle for 'a democratic Roman Republic' in the face of a 'corrupt and overreaching Roman Empire.'<sup>7</sup> Lisa Freeman believes that Cato's virtues are an allegorical presentation of patriotism in England.<sup>7</sup> Frederic Litto, who reveals the deep ideological and cultural bond between Cato and the colonists in America, states:

Cato's last stand for liberty against the usurpation of Caesar found special sympathy in the hearts and minds of colonists.<sup>8</sup>

---

5 Lincoln Faller, *The Popularity of Addison's Cato and Lillo's The London Merchant* (New York: Garland, 1988).

6 Alexander Pope, 'Prologue to Cato by Joseph Addison,' *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, ed. J. Douglas Canfield (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2005), 187.

7 Lisa Freeman, 'What is Love Got to do with Addison's Cato,' *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 39 (1999): 463–482.

8 Frederic M. Litto, 'Addison's Cato in the Colonies,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 23:3 (1966): 431–449.

A similar reading is expressed by Julie Ellison, who argues that Cato's relationship with the Numidian prince, Juba, is a testimony of republicanism's ability to transcend race and geography.<sup>9</sup> In his well-known study of Augustan drama, John Loftis refrains from taking sides and insists that the political meaning of Addison's *Cato* 'was and is still an enigma.'<sup>10</sup>

### Propaganda, War of the Spanish Succession and Peace of Utrecht

This paper attempts to expand Loftis' view and offers an explanation of *Cato*'s enigmatic political message. To that end the play is read against the Treaty of Utrecht's historical context as imperial peace propaganda that supports peace and denounces the pursuit of war. Addison reaches this end by championing Julius Caesar and undermining Cato Uticensis through moral and military aspects. The championing of Caesar's stand is achieved through his physical absence from the dramatic scene, his character, and his pursuit of peace and a Roman empire. Cato, on the other hand, is undermined through his physical presence, character, the pursuit of war and a disintegrating Roman republic. Throughout this contrast, peace pointedly occupies most of the dramatic space while war remains in the background. This is achieved through allowing the characters to occupy themselves with discussing the reasons behind the choice between embracing or rejecting Caesar's peace. Within this context, Addison carefully and explicitly embedded historical events related to the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht. One can trace a close connection between Queen Anne's and Oxford's tactics to procure peace and those of Caesar. The dramatization of Cato's position in the war evokes a comparison with the French and the advocates of war. Through the contrast between Caesar and Cato, Addison invites the audience to recognize the different stand of each persona, not only dramatically but, most importantly, historically. Historical Caesar as a glorious military figure was part of British history, as the first Roman to invade England. His vision of a Roman empire became a reality.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, Cato lost his republican cause and gave way to Caesar's

9 Julie K. Ellison, 'Cato's Tears,' *ELH* 63:3 (1996): 571–601.

10 John Loftis, *Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 57.

11 Bill Yenne, *Julius Caesar: Lessons in Leadership from the Great Conqueror* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 193; Philip Freeman, *Julius Caesar* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2008), 243–342.

victory and empire.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Addison's *Cato* argues that Caesar's choice of peace over war proves to be an assured way to build an empire. By association, the British audience is encouraged to view the Treaty of Utrecht under a similar light and perceive it as a sign of power and a road map to building a British empire similar to that of the Romans.

Propaganda for the Peace of Utrecht and, by association, the Tory Ministry might seem odd under the light of Addison's well-known Whig sympathies. However, it should be noted that it was not unusual for men of letters like him to change sides. During Anne's era political propaganda rendered men of letters invaluable. Their writings became part of the power struggle between the rival parties, the Whigs and the Tories. The sharp division between the political parties over war and the Peace of Utrecht made it necessary to enlist writers who could voice their policies most eloquently. In such heated contexts, it was normal practice for writers to change sides. Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) and Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) are good examples of such behaviour. Swift and Defoe were two of the most influential writers of the era who played important roles in the propaganda for the War of the Spanish Succession and the Peace of Utrecht. Both authors became notorious for changing their political affiliations. Defoe supported William III's preparation for the War of the Spanish Succession. He continued his support for the war under Godolphin and his Whig Ministry only to change his mind and support the Peace of Utrecht under Oxford Ministry in 1710. He employed his periodical *The Review* (1704–1713) as his medium of showing his shifting loyalty.<sup>13</sup> Dean Swift revealed similarly fickle affiliations. Before joining the Tories in 1710, Swift was employed by the Whig party as a propagandist. Oxford enlisted him as the editor of *The Examiner* to further the Tory's peace agenda. In 1711, Swift published *The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War*. It is a work of peace propaganda that attacks the Austrians, the Dutch, the Whig Junto and, above all, Marlborough, the war general. It proved to be extremely influential as it increased the public and parliamentary support for the Treaty of Utrecht. Soon after the war general Marlborough was dismissed from office.<sup>14</sup>

Like Defoe and Swift, Addison played an active part in this conflict of war and peace long before *Cato*. After the victory of Blenheim in 1704, the Whig Lord

12 Rob Goodman and Jimmy Soni, *Rome's Last Citizen: the Life and Legacy of Cato, Mortal Enemy of Caesar* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), 243–269.

13 William Minto, *Daniel Defoe: A Biography* (London: Create Space, 2012).

14 Leo Damrosch, *Jonathan Swift: His Life and His World* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), 164–252.

Treasurer Godolphin approached Addison to write a commemorative poem. Addison composed *The Campaign*, a heroic celebration of the British victory. This celebration of victory was followed by *The Present State of War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation, consider'd* in 1707. The pamphlet was designed to oppose peace with France and promote the prolongation of the war. His propaganda for the Whigs gained him political offices and social prominence.<sup>15</sup> By the time Addison staged *Cato* in 1713, he was a popular man of letters, not only because of his political affiliation but also as a result of his writings in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*.<sup>16</sup> As a producer of political propaganda, Addison was well aware that his play would be conceived as a political weapon. Rob Goodman and Jimmy Soni shed light on the context of staging *Cato*.

Addison completed the draft under pressure from his well-connected friends, prominent liberal Whigs who needed fresh ammunition against their Tory opponents. They saw Addison's unfinished play as a potentially valuable propaganda piece.<sup>17</sup>

It is true that Addison had Whig sympathies; however, he did not want to offend the Tories who were in power. He consented to the staging of *Cato* only after coaxing Pope who was a Tory to pen the play's prologue and convincing the Tory government censor to sanction its release. This permission would not have been granted had the Tory Ministry believed the play to be an attack against their Peace of Utrecht, and thus it indicates that Addison must have reached an agreement with the Tories regarding the content of the play. Some critics argue that Addison did not 'want to risk offending the Tories, who could squash his promising career.'<sup>18</sup> In addition to such a reasonable assumption one can also conclude that Addison was deliberately supporting the Tories and their Peace of Utrecht. Through his friendship with Swift, who abandoned the Whigs and wrote *The Conduct of the Allies, which supported* Harley's peace proposal, Addison was closely connected to the peace advocates. When *The Tatler* ceased publication on 2 January 1711, John Gay explained that

---

15 Alexander Staff and Charles Knight, *A Political Biography of Joseph Addison* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

16 George Simpson Marr, *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century* (London: James Clark, 1923), 21–63.

17 Goodman and Soni, *Rome's Last Citizen*, 296.

18 Ibid.

people were [...] driven to accept the alternative view that the *Tatler* was laid down 'as a sort of submission to, or composition with, the Government for some past offences.'<sup>19</sup>

Soon *The Tatler* was replaced with *The Spectator*. In 1711, Addison argued in *The Spectator* against the partisan attitude that dominated the political scene:

For my own part, I could heartily wish that all honest Men would enter into an Association, for the Support of one another against the Endeavours of those whom they ought to look upon as their Common Enemies, whatsoever Side they may belong to . . . . In short, we should not any longer regard our Fellow Subjects as Whigs or Tories, but should make the Man of Merit our Friend, and the Villain our Enemy.<sup>20</sup>

By stating his opposition to partisan politics, Addison can be seen preparing the ground for supporting the Peace of Utrecht that the war-weary nation desired.

### The General and the Stoic: Caesar's Friendship and Cato's Alienation

To promote peace through championing Caesar, the Roman general, and undermining Cato, the illustrious stoic, is a challenging task. To balance the picture between a professional man of war and a stoic politician, Addison kept Caesar physically off the stage while Cato dominates its centre. To allow Caesar with his military might to be physically present, confronting the defeated stoic, could vividly revive the battles of Pharsalus (48 BC) and Thapsus (46 BC) in which Caesar defeated Cato and his Republican allies.<sup>21</sup> In Addison's particular dramatic context, this would be a risky option, threatening his ability to generate the needed sympathy for Caesar's peace proposal and, by association,

19 George A. Aitken, introduction to *The Tatler*, by Joseph Addison and Richard Steel (London: Duckworth, 1899), accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13645/13645-h/13645-h.htm#introduction>.

20 Henry Morley, ed., *The Spectator*, 1:125 (London: George Routledge, 1891), accessed April 19, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV1/Spectator1.html#section125>.

21 Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar's Civil War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2001), 31–63; William Batstone and Cynthia Damon, *Caesar's Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 33–142.



the Peace of Utrecht. As Caesar is meant to be Addison's man of peace, bringing his mighty military image onto the stage would undercut his intended role as a peacemaker. Such dramatic manipulation enables Addison to screen off Caesar's military superiority and simultaneously empowers Cato. Furthermore, it creates a provisional balance of power between the two contenders. Having done that, Addison is in a safe position to mask his partiality towards Caesar.

The image Cato projects throughout the entire play has been summarized by one of his ardent supporters, his son Marcus. Talking to his brother Portius, he tells him that their father,

Pent up in Utica, he vainly forms-  
 A poor epitome of Roman greatness  
 And, covered with Numidian guards, directs  
 A feeble army and an empty senate,  
 Remnants of mighty battles fought in vain.  
 By heav'ns, such virtues joined with such success  
 Distract my very soul: our father's fortune  
 Would almost tempt us to renounce his precepts<sup>22</sup>  
 (1.40–47)

The picture given by Cato's dutiful son, though miserable, is tragically accurate. There is nothing impressive about Cato's political situation. His Senate is empty, his army is weak and his guards are not Roman but Numidian. Cato's insistence on producing a poor imitation of Rome's greatest achievements, a senate and an army, stresses his uninspiring situation. It also reflects, though implicitly, the unpopularity of his call. The greatness of Rome, which Cato promises to maintain, is nowhere to be traced around him. Marcus clarifies that the world that abandons his father '[...] courts the yoke and bows the neck to Caesar' (1.39). Marcus' words which meant to degrade Caesar, simply weaken his father's position. While his father has few followers and a weak army, Caesar, on the other hand, is receiving the world's homage. Under such circumstances, Marcus reaches the conclusion that his father's misfortune is such that Marcus is tempted to abandon Cato's side. He says, '... our father's fortune/Would almost tempt us to renounce his precepts' (1.46–47).

---

<sup>22</sup> The edition used here is: Joseph Addison, *Cato*, in *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century Drama* ed. J. Douglas Canfield (Broadview Press, 2005), 186–216.

This contrast between the two men sets the tone for the entire play. Significantly, the contrast, though implicit, is highly complex. When we examine the structure of the contrast between the two men's characters, Caesar emerges as the one with the strong, favourable stand. Significantly, Caesar's negative and positive traits have been portrayed by his enemies, a fact that gives him credibility. Cato and his two sons, Portius and Marcus, portray Caesar as a bloodthirsty man who spreads war and death. Cato gives Decius, Caesar's messenger, a damning picture of his general:

[...] Alas, thy dazzled eye  
Behold this man in a false light,  
Which conquests and success have thrown upon him;  
Didst thou view him right, thou'dst see him black  
With murder, treason, sacrilege, and crimes. (II.161–165)

To Cato, Caesar's light does not come from within but rather from his own actions. Once these actions are examined carefully, one can discover that victorious Caesar is nothing but a murderer.

Portius and Marcus' picture of Caesar is identical to that of their father. Portius describes Caesar's actions:

[...] Already Caesar  
Has ravaged more than half the globe and sees  
Mankind grown thin by his destructive sword. (I.6–8)

Marcus follows his father and brother in giving a similar description of Caesar. He tells his brother:

[...]—I see  
Th' insulting tyrant prancing o'er the field  
Strowed with Rome's citizens and drenched in Slaughter,  
His horse's hoofs wet with patrician blood. (I.18–22)

One cannot help but notice that Cato's and his sons' attacks are directed against Caesar's military performance and achievements. According to the Roman moral code, such accusations would hardly undermine a victorious general such as Caesar.<sup>23</sup> It is a well-known fact that military and political

---

23 Dorance Storchfield White, "The Attitude of the Romans toward Peace and War," *The Classical Journal* 31:8 (1936): 465–478.

achievements were inextricably connected in ancient Rome.<sup>24</sup> The four-hundred-year-old Roman Republic of which Cato was one of its powerful senators was founded through the efforts of men such as Caesar who fought ambitiously bloody wars.<sup>25</sup> Since Rome depended upon wars to extend its territories, it is no surprise that most of these wars were generally annihilating, especially towards formidable and challenging opponents.<sup>26</sup> Cato himself was no stranger to Rome's ruthless and relentless military campaigns. In 72 BC Cato volunteered to fight in the war against Spartacus. During Rome's war with Macedon, Cato served on the frontline commanding a legion.<sup>27</sup> In such a context, Caesar is no different from Cato except that he is a victorious general. He managed to achieve what Rome mostly cherished: he extended its territories and displayed its military might.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed, not all of Caesar's enemies perceive him negatively. The Roman Senators Lucius and Sempronius along with the Numidians' General Syphax, although close allies to Cato, believe Caesar to be a man of unique qualities. Lucius believes Caesar to be merciful not only towards his friends but, most significantly, towards his enemies. He tells Cato, 'Caesar has mercy, if we ask it of him' (4.3. 129). Sempronius and Syphax decide to abandon Cato's cause and join Caesar. Sempronius explains that Cato's

[...] baffled arms and ruined cause  
 Are bars to my ambition. Caesar's favor,  
 That show'rs down greatness on his friends, will raise me  
 To Rome's first honors. (1.168–171)

In spite of the fact that Sempronius is practically Caesar's enemy, he nevertheless credited him with generosity and loyalty to his friends. He seems certain that he can fulfil his dreams of greatness by allying himself with Caesar. Historically, Caesar was known for his clemency and generosity, not only towards his friends but most significantly towards his political opponents.<sup>29</sup>

24 William Vernon Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republic Rome, 327–70 BC* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 9–53.

25 Adrian Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome: The Men who Won the Roman Empire* (Phoenix: Phoenix Press, 2004).

26 Barry Strauss, *The Spartacus War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010); see also Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Fall of Carthage: The Punic Wars 265–146 BC* (London: Cassell, 2007).

27 Goodman and Soni, *Rome's Last Citizen*, 39–68.

28 Freeman, *Julius Caesar*, 328–342.

29 Ernie Bradford, *Julius Caesar: the Pursuit of Power* (New York: E-Reads, 2013), 11–12.

Thus, Sempronius' hope for Caesar's rewards is not mere speculation but a prize that can be achieved. Sempronius describes Caesar's character not only in time of peace but in war as well. He gives Syphax a description of Caesar's performance as a general:

Alas! Thou know'st not Caesar's active soul,  
 With what dreadful course he rushes on  
 From war to war. In vain has nature formed  
 Mountains and oceans to oppose his passage;  
 He bound o'er all, victorious in his march.  
 The Alps and Pyreneans sink before him;  
 Through winds and waves and storms he works  
 His way, Impatient for the battle. (1.182–189)

Addison's description of Caesar's performance during his military campaigns is detailed, rather lengthy and, most importantly, historically accurate. Modern analysts paint a picture identical to the one detailed by Sempronius. Wesley Clark writes that

As a warrior, Caesar was extraordinarily competent [...]. He also had extraordinary endurance and stamina, campaigning without let-up for years, travelling on horseback, boat, and foot from Britain, Switzerland, Croatia, Italy, and back [...]. He was a master at the use of quick combat Engineering, in the form of earthworks, bridges, and boats [...]. Caesar was a master of war and politics.<sup>30</sup>

Fidelity to Caesar's historical reputation and providing a lengthy and detailed description of his unique character as a military general through one of his enemies show that Addison is far from undermining him. In fact he is subtly and surely championing Caesar at the expense of Cato. Sempronius' glowing account makes up for Caesar's physical absence from the stage as it ensures the audience's full awareness of his extraordinary talent as a leader and his loyalty as a friend. Through Sempronius' portrayal, Caesar emerges as an embodiment of the Roman *virtus*. *Virtus* is a Roman moral concept that highlights manliness by means of outstanding military achievements.<sup>31</sup> Under this moral

---

<sup>30</sup> Wesley Clark, foreword to *Julius Caesar: Lessons in Leadership from the Great Conqueror*, by Bill Yenne (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), vii–ix.

<sup>31</sup> Myles McDonell, *Roman Manliness: 'Virtus' and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 12–71, 107–141, 300–319.

system it is the duty of a Roman to serve the public interest of Rome through politics and military victories. As a result, conquests and expansions became part of the collective duty of Roman society.<sup>32</sup> The fact that Cato fails to recognize and appreciate Caesar's *virtus* calls into question his stoic moral values and consequently his ability to offer an objective moral judgement.

In contrast to Caesar's engaging image, Addison furnishes Cato with an unflattering persona. This is done by undermining the most important component of Cato's character, his stoic moral values, and by providing him with the partial praises of his supporters.<sup>33</sup> Cato's stoic values are undercut by the Numidian general Syphax. Syphax, whose army is supposed to fight on Cato's side, denies Cato any special moral merits. He questions the morality of the famous Roman stoic ideal of self-control. He asks Juba, the Prince of Numidia:

What are these wondrous civilizing arts,  
This Roman polish, and this smooth behavior,  
Are they not only to disguise our passions,  
In short, to change us into other creatures  
Than what our nature and the gods designed us?  
(I.275–6,279,282–3)

To the African Syphax, stoic self-control is nothing but moral hypocrisy as it disguises one's real feelings. Furthermore, it is a break from genuine and free human nature. In response to the hardships that mark Cato's diet and lifestyle, Syphax tells his Prince:

Believe me, Prince, there's not an African  
that traverse our vast Numidian deserts  
But better practices these boasted virtues.  
(I.294–295,297)

Syphax insists that the simple and rough life of the vaunted Cato is but the normal practice of ordinary Africans. After denying Cato any unique virtues, Syphax argues that his stoic teachings are neither popular nor inspiring. He informs Sempronius that the Numidians who are fighting with Cato are

---

32 Harris, *War and Imperialism*, 9–53.

33 Rex Stem, 'The First Eloquent Stoic: Cicero on Cato the Younger,' *Classical Journal* 101:1 (2005): 37–49; Goodman and Soni, *Rome's Last Citizen*, 36–39; see also Brad Inwood, *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 233–256.

[. . .] ripe for a revolt. They all  
 complain aloud of Cato's discipline  
 and wait but the command to change their masters.  
 (I.176–178)

The Numidian soldiers who are used to tough fighting conditions find it difficult to cope with Cato's style. As a result they are eager to change sides and join Caesar because Cato is not an inspiring leader who can procure loyalty from his followers. According to Syphax, Cato is not only uninspiring, but he also lacks the human touch. Prince Juba describes Cato's endurance, declaring: 'How does he rise against a load of woes / And thank the gods that throw the weight upon him!' (I.316–317) In response, Syphax expresses his opinion of Cato's behaviour: 'Tis pride, rank pride, and haughtiness of soul: / I think the Romans call it stoicism.' (I.318–319) Cato's failure to display human sentiments can best be perceived through his passive response to his son's death. Cato has been informed that his son Marcus

[. . .] stood the shock of a whole host of foes.  
 Till, obstinately brave and bent on death,  
 Oppressed with multitudes, he greatly fell. (IV.3.71–73)

To such news, Cato responds, 'I'm satisfied' (IV.3.74). When presented with the body, he not only remains unmoved but celebrates the sight of his dead son's fatal wounds:

Welcome, my son! Here lay him down,. . .  
 Full in my sight, that I may view at leisure  
 The bloody course and count those glorious wounds  
 (IV.3.87–89)

Cato's failure to reveal any signs of emotion or grief over his son's death is difficult to comprehend. Most significantly, it gives credibility to Syphax's judgement that Cato lacks human compassion. In the context of war over the fate of Rome, Cato's stoicism is hardly relevant. It shapes him as a private individual but not as a public figure. One notices that stoicism, which is Cato's most valued quality, is also the factor that alienates him from those around. As a result, his moral system remains tragically individualistic, which explains Cato's constant misfortunes and failures to affect the course of events around him. On the other hand, Caesar, who is not a stoic, has the moral power to persuade others to help him achieve his vision. Caesar does not appear as

an isolated individual like Cato but rather as a mobile and attractive force. Comparing the two men makes Addison's message clear. Rome's salvation does not require a man like Cato who fails to inspire those around him into action. Rome needs a Caesar who is both accessible and at the same time inspiring. It should be noted that Addison had constructed a moral contrast between Caesar and Cato before staging the play. In *The Spectator*, Addison wrote:

In [the] . . . Passage of *Salust*, where *Cæsar* and *Cato* are placed in such beautiful, but opposite Lights; *Cæsar's* Character is chiefly made up of Good-nature, as it shewed itself in all its Forms towards his Friends or his Enemies, his Servants or Dependants, the Guilty or the Distressed. As for *Cato's* Character, it is rather awful than amiable. Justice seems most agreeable to the Nature of God, and Mercy to that of Man.<sup>34</sup>

Addison renders Caesar as a most agreeable man. The same thing cannot be said about Cato whom Addison finds far from amiable. Publishing such an opinion in the widely read and popular *Spectator* shows that Addison's championing of Caesar is a genuine conviction. It is highly likely that those readers who follow him closely will be affected by his support of Caesar and condemnation of Cato. In the context of *Cato* and the controversy surrounding the Peace of Utrecht, the audience would find themselves more sympathetic with Caesar's call for peace.

To further cast shadow on Cato's character Addison allows him to be the subject of partial praise. Cato is praised by his son Portius and his protégée, the young Prince Juba of Numidia. Cato here stands in sharp contrast to Caesar, who has been generously praised by his opponents. Portius pays compassionate homage to his father.

How does the luster of our father's actions,  
Through the dark clouds of ills that cover him,  
Break out and burn with more triumphant brightness! (1. 28–31)

The homage that is paid by a devoted and loving son does not help Cato on the moral and political fronts. The compassionate words give contrasting images between his father's actual defeat and metaphorical triumph, which in turn highlights Cato's weak position and produces an unfavourable

---

34 Morley, *The Spectator*, 1:169, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV1/Spectator1.html#section169>, accessed 14 April 2014.

contrast between him and Caesar. Juba, in his turn, praises Cato with undeniable enthusiasm. He wonders

Where shall we find the man that bears affliction,  
Great and majestic in his griefs, like Cato?  
Heav'ns, with what strength, what steadiness of mind  
He triumphs in the midst of all his sufferings! (1.312–315)

Juba is as impressed with Cato's stand in the face of his misfortunes as is his son Portius. The way Juba describes Cato stresses his sentimental attachment to Cato. To the young inexperienced Prince, Cato is a father figure. His father King Juba, who was Cato's friend and ally, died fighting on his side against Caesar. Furthermore, Cato is the father of his love, Marcia. Such sentimental attachment colours Juba's favourable attitude towards Cato by impugning his impartiality.

### Utrecht and the Empire: Caesar's Peace and Cato's War

In a further step to champion Caesar and undermine Cato, Addison contrasts their attitudes towards war and peace. He allows the victorious Caesar to pursue peace while the defeated Cato seeks war. To understand the significance of Addison's manipulation of war and peace we need to consider the military context of the conflict between Caesar and Cato. The events are taking place immediately after Caesar's decisive victory at Pharsalus and Thapsus. With such decisive victories Caesar does not need to court the defeated and weak Cato to accept his peace proposal. However, Caesar displays unrelenting determination to procure peace in the face of Cato's adamant rejection. By 1710, England was in a position similar to that of Caesar. Like Caesar England's forces had achieved decisive victories in several battles. They won Blenheim in 1704, Ramillies in 1705, Oudenaarde in 1708 and Malplaquet in 1709.<sup>35</sup> In spite of England's advantageous military position, the Queen and her minister Oxford were determined to achieve peace and sign the Treaty of Utrecht. Before Caesar's peace proposal is revealed, Addison stresses that peace is the sacred demand of the gods. Cato's friend and ally, Lucius, urges the Senate to accept peace. He informs them:

---

35 Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 186–289.



My thoughts, I must confess, are turned on peace.  
 Already have our quarrels filled the world  
 With widows and with orphans: Scythia mourns  
 Our guilty wars, and earth's remotest regions  
 Lie half unpopulated by the feuds of Rome.  
 'Tis time to sheathe the sword and spare mankind.  
 It is not Caesar but the gods, my fathers,  
 The gods declare against us and repel  
 Our vain attempts.  
 Now let us show submission to the gods.  
 (11.56–56–46,69)

Lucius declares that Caesar's victories and peace proposal are the designs of the gods. Addison is in effect claiming Caesar to be a sacred entity favoured by the gods. He is the instrument of the gods who executes their victorious wars and procures their wishes for peace. Thus, peace becomes a sacred mission that has to be embraced and accomplished. To Queen Anne peace was a sacred wish as well. Edward Gregg argues that 'the queen's anxiety to procure peace had a harmful effect on her health.'<sup>36</sup> In a manner similar to Lucius, the Queen and her government urged the parliament to accept peace. She was concerned to the point of warning Oxford, 'we cannot part with one vote out of house of Lords.'<sup>37</sup> One can notice that Lucius' arguments to Cato's Senate, criticizing the warring factions, echo Swift's position in *The Conduct of the Allies* in which he takes to task all parties involved in the war and calls for an end to the shedding of blood and wasting of treasure. Caesar's desire to stop the war and establish peace motivates him to take calculated steps to ensure the success of his proposal. This is apparent through his choice of Decius as his peace messenger to Cato. The man Caesar has chosen to be his messenger was Cato's friend. Cato confirms their past friendship to the Senate: 'Decius was once my friend, but other prospects / Have loosed those ties and bound him fast to Caesar' (1.108–109) The fact that Caesar has chosen one of Cato's former friends to be his messenger indicates that he has a strong desire to influence Cato and secure peace. Decius reminds Cato of their friendship and reveals his current mission: '[. . .] I have orders to expostulate / And reason with you, as from friend to friend: [. . .]'

36 Ibid., 343.

37 Queen Anne to 1st Earl of Oxford, Robert Harley, 9 November 1711, Historical Manuscripts Commission [UK-Bath 1711] Ms 1: 215–16. The letter is also quoted in Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 344.

(I.127–128) The arrival of the messenger and the confirmation of his mission to negotiate peace remind Addison's audience of the British negotiation of Peace of Utrecht with Louis XIV in Paris. The Tory Ministry posed as the friend of the French. They conducted exclusive secret negotiations with the French based on a balanced view of the interests of both countries.<sup>38</sup> The negotiations Decius starts with Cato are exclusive as well. Cato's other generals and partners are excluded. As a show of good will, Decius starts by declaring:

My business is with Cato: Caesar sees  
The straits to which you're driven and, as he knows  
Cato's high worth, is anxious for his life. (II.1. 115–117)

Decius reminds Cato of his unpromising position as a result of his military defeats. He also stresses Caesar's appreciation of Cato's character and concern for his physical safety. When the Tory government was negotiating peace with Louis XIV in 1710, France like Cato was on the brink of ruin. The French had suffered costly defeats in several battles. By 1709 the allied armies under the leadership of Marlborough were 'in the best position ever for an invasion of France.'<sup>39</sup> Like Caesar, who was desperate to save Cato's life, Oxford wanted to prevent the utter destruction of his enemies. Oxford's attitude was motivated by his desire to save the Treaty of Utrecht. Such a tactic would secure 'the separate and exclusive advantages on which the secret Anglo-French negotiations were based.'<sup>40</sup> To persuade Cato to choose peace, Decius reminds Cato that Caesar is the victor and that

Rome and her Senators submit to Caesar;  
Her Gen'ral's and her consuls are no more,  
Who checked his conquests and denied his triumphs.  
(II.1. 122–124)

Politically and militarily, Caesar is in an unchallenged position. The Roman Senate supports him. His military and political opponents have lost their power. When the play was staged, Britain was in an identical situation. To eliminate any obstacles and secure the Peace of Utrecht, Queen Anne had taken major steps. She created twelve peers in the House of Lords and dismissed her war general, Marlborough, who rejected a royal request to support the peace

---

<sup>38</sup> Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 335.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 343.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

proposal.<sup>41</sup> Anne and her government were thus in unchallenged position just as Caesar was.

In response to Caesar's keen calls for peace, Cato is courting war. Before the arrival of Caesar's messenger, Cato expresses his determination to go to war. He informs the Senate of his opinion regarding their current situation:

Fathers, I cannot see that our affairs  
 Are grown thus desp'rate. We have bulwarks round us;  
 within our walls are troops inured to toil  
 In Africk's heats and seasoned to the sun;  
 Numidia's spacious kingdom lies behind us,  
 Ready to rise at its young prince call. (1.85–90)

It is of note that Cato is defending Rome with the aid not of a Roman army but of Numidian forces. This means that these forces may not be committed to Cato's cause. Indeed they have proven their lack of enthusiasm and loyalty through abandoning him and killing his son Marcus. Being a Roman is of high importance as characters struggle to prove their moral and military worth. Cato displays moral hypocrisy through using Africans in his war for Rome while stressing their inferiority to his position as a Roman senator. Dying, he tells his daughter, Marcia

[. . .] Juba loves thee, Marcia  
 A senator of Rome, while Rome survived,  
 Would not have matched his daughter with a king,  
 But Caesar's arms have thrown all distinctions: [. . .] (v.1.190–194)

He makes it clear that his loyal ally Prince Juba, whose father sacrificed his life and army for Cato, is not fit to marry his daughter. However, necessity makes the marriage possible. Such an attitude weakens Cato's moral position and undercuts his loud voice against oppression and tyranny.

The same lack of good will is present when Cato meets Decius, Caesar's messenger. He rejects Caesar's concern for his life and responds to Decius's entreaties: 'Tell your dictator this, and tell him Cato / Disdains a life which he has pow'r to offer.' (II. 120–121) Furthermore, he refuses the offer of Caesar's friendship as he insists that 'His cares for me are insolent and vain. / Presumptuous man! The gods take care of Cato.' (II. 173–174) As Cato is inclined towards war,

---

41 Ibid., 345–350.

he asks for a high price in return for peace. Decius asks Cato, '[. . .] name your terms.' To such a generous offer, Cato responds:

Bid him disband his legions,  
Restore the commonwealth to liberty,  
Submit his actions to the public censure,  
And stand the judgment of the Roman senate. (11.141–144)

Cato is fully aware that Caesar will not submit to his terms. Such demands can be read as an indirect way of rejecting peace and choosing war. To prevent Cato from enjoying any heroic stand against the victorious Caesar, Addison allows Cato's friends, Decius and Lucius, to criticize his refusal to forge peace. Decius expresses his deep sorrow:

When I relate hereafter  
The tale of this unhappy embassy,  
All Rome will be in tears. (11.181–183)

These lines, though they are about Cato, are designed to promote Caesar's cause and his peace proposal. Rome will be in tears as Cato rejects Caesar's peace proposal and seeks war. This means that though Rome cares for Cato, it values peace above all else. Lucius, one of Cato's most loyal friends, once again confirms his preference for peace. After Cato's rejection of Caesar's embassy, Lucius stresses that peace is one of the options a Roman patriot can choose in the service of Rome. Lucius answers Sempronius, who desires to die while defending Rome, by stating,

[. . .] Others perhaps  
May serve their country with as warm a zeal,  
Though 'tis not kindled into so much rage. (11.1.202–4)

These lines can be read as a defence of those who favour peace and reject war against any treasonable accusations. For his role in bringing about the Peace of Utrecht, Oxford was accused of treason. He was suspected of championing the Jacobites and their desire to restore the Pretender, the queen's Catholic half-brother. Marlborough was one of Oxford's enemies who warned the Queen against Oxford and his peace proposal. Indeed the Peace of Utrecht's terms proved those involved to be patriots who did their best to serve the British interests. Louis XIV expelled the Pretender from France, recognized Anne as

the legitimate queen of England and accepted the Protestant succession. The British were allowed to retain Gibraltar and Port Mahon, thus becoming the dominant naval power in the Mediterranean. They were also given the monopoly of the Spanish slave trade for thirty years. As a result of Utrecht, Britain not only became a major power but most importantly started on the road to becoming an empire.

Cato and Caesar's conflicting roles regarding peace and war are firmly connected to their dramatic personae and historical legacies. This firm connection is of significance to Addison's period, which was dominated by the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht that ended the war. Dramatically, Caesar emerges as an ideal man not only of war but most significantly of peace. His determination to procure peace in spite of his military superiority shows him to be a man of strategic vision. War, on the other hand, is dramatized as the tragic choice of his opponents. Cato, who promotes war and opposes Caesar's calls for peace, is defeated on both military and moral levels. Cato lost his life and republic. Caesar, on the other hand, lived to play a crucial role in turning the Roman Republic into an empire that ruled the world for more than eight hundred years. Caesar was the first Roman general to invade Britain, which became a Roman territory for four hundred years. As a result, the English can identify themselves with victorious Caesar and the Roman Empire. They have a Roman heritage that can motivate them to build an empire like that of the Romans. Queen Anne, who desired very much to end the War of the Spanish Succession, can be viewed as a Caesar in her choice to sign the Peace of Utrecht Treaty in the face of fierce opposition from the Whig party. It is the terms of the Peace of Utrecht and not war that enabled Britain to start on the road towards an empire similar to that of the Romans. In the dramatic and historical contexts, Caesar and not Cato proved to be the man of the moment.

## Jonathan Swift's Peace of Utrecht

*Clare Jackson*

In January 1713, Jonathan Swift wrote to Archbishop William King of Dublin from London, acknowledging that ‘Some Accidents and Occasions have put it in my Way to know every step of this Treaty better, I think, than any Man in England.’<sup>1</sup> Swift was referring to negotiations, under way since January 1712, which produced the Treaty of Utrecht in April 1713. The following year, Swift petitioned Queen Anne to warn her that, since proceedings ‘in relation to the peace and treaties’ were, however, ‘capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity,’ he hoped that she might appoint him to the post of Historiographer-Royal and thereby enable him to ensure ‘that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.’<sup>2</sup>

As the essays in this volume vividly illustrate, international diplomacy had started to attract unprecedented levels of public interest by the early eighteenth century. As Swift acknowledged to King, in another letter of March 1713, it was indeed ‘a very new Thing among us,’ to have ‘every Subject interposing their Sentiments upon the Management of foreign Negotiations.’<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Swift’s magniloquent claim to possess unparalleled knowledge of the political manoeuvring that underpinned the Treaty of Utrecht was asserted in his capacity as a polemical propagandist who remained in London whilst the diplomatic negotiations took place abroad. Accordingly, this essay examines the ways in which Swift sought to promote public acceptance of the controversial decision of Robert Harley’s Tory government to sue for peace against Britain’s traditional enemy, France, and end the War of the Spanish Succession. In doing so, it emphasizes the phenomenal influence of Swift’s polemical pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711), whilst also exploring arguments advanced in his lesser-known *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, which he wrote between September 1712 and May 1713, though the *History* remained unpublished at the time of Swift’s death in 1745. The manuscript was acclaimed,

1 *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963–1965), 1: 328.

2 ‘A Copy of Dr. Swift’s Memorial to the Queen. April 15, 1714,’ in Jonathan Swift, *Political Tracts, 1713–1719* ed. Herbert Davis and Irvin Ehrenpreis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), 200.

3 *Correspondence*, ed. Williams, 1: 339.

however, by his friend, John Boyle, earl of Orrery, in 1752 as 'the clearest account of the treaty of Utrecht, that has hitherto been written' and, six years later, Swift's *History* was published for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Whilst *The Conduct of the Allies* sought to vindicate the Tory ministry's actions and enjoyed sensational commercial success and polemical purchase, Swift's attempt to supply an ostensibly objective account of the treaty negotiations in his *History* quickly became an awkward and anachronistic liability for the Tory ministers that had instigated peace negotiations.<sup>5</sup> For his part, Swift's keen interest in writing about the Peace of Utrecht became inextricably related to his hopes for personal and professional preferment that were ultimately frustrated when Swift reluctantly left London for Dublin as the newly-appointed Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in June 1713 and failed to secure appointment as Historiographer-Royal the following year.

### Swift's Case for Making Peace

On 27 November 1711, Swift's tract entitled *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry in beginning and carrying on the Present War* was published anonymously and sold prodigiously. Within two days, a second edition was printed but sold out within five hours, and, appearing in six editions, more than 11,000 copies had been sold by the end of January 1712.<sup>6</sup> The day after its first publication, Swift related in his *Journal to Stella* that various people had 'advised me to read it, for it was something very extraordinary' and, two days later, gratifyingly confirmed that 'the pamphlet makes a world of noise, and

4 John Boyle, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift, by John, Earl of Orrery* (Dublin: Dean of St. Patrick's, 1752), 327.

5 Extant scholarship has hitherto largely focused on Swift's phenomenally successful *The Conduct of the Allies*. See particularly, J.A. Downie, 'The Conduct of the Allies: the question of influence,' in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Clive T. Probyn (London: Vision, 1978), 108–28; J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the press: propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); J.A. Downie, 'Polemical strategy and Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies*,' *Prose Studies* 4 (1981), 134–145 and J.A. Downie, 'Public opinion and the political pamphlet,' in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. John J. Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 549–571. Interest in *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* has hitherto been largely bibliographical; see, particularly, Harold Williams, 'Jonathan Swift and *The Four Last Years of the Queen*,' *The Library* 16 (1935–6), 60–90 and 343–346 and George P. Mayhew, 'Swift's Notes for his *The History of the Four Last Years*, Book IV,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 24 (1961), 311–322.

6 Downie, 'The Conduct of the Allies: the question of influence,' 113.

will do a great deal of good.<sup>7</sup> For Swift was keenly aware that arguments for peace would require detailed vindication from those domestic and foreign detractors keen to denounce ‘Perfidious Albion’ for initiating peace negotiations with Louis XIV’s France without the knowledge and agreement of the Dutch, Austrians and other Allies, thereby contravening the eighth article of the Grand Alliance of 1701, which had stipulated that any peace must be agreed by all parties involved in hostilities. Indeed, less than a month before *The Conduct of the Allies* was published, Swift had indicated to Stella his intention to ‘open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a Peace.’<sup>8</sup>

Written in trenchantly sparkling prose, Swift sought to disenchant his readers by presenting ‘plain Matters of Fact’ to demonstrate that ‘No Nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption [and] the Ambition of its domestick Enemies; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice and Ingratitude by its foreign Friends.’<sup>9</sup> Hence the tract’s very title—*The Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry*—confirmed the dual extent to which Dutch bellicosity and Whig war-mongering were to be blamed for unnecessarily prolonging hostilities. Whereas the War’s original aim had been to reduce France’s exorbitant power, by 1711, this had been achieved. Accordingly, Swift found it difficult to credit that ‘After Ten Years War, with perpetual Success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good Peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what hath ever hap[pe]ned in the World before.’<sup>10</sup> Against a vociferous lobby that refused to countenance peace until Louis XIV’s grandson, Philip of Anjou, had been removed as Spanish king, Swift insisted that this demand was ‘a new Incident, grafted upon the Original Quarrel.’<sup>11</sup> Brilliant victories that far exceeded anything that the War’s original instigators had envisaged had been won, but it was nevertheless alleged that peace was unthinkable. As Swift rued, ‘Ten glorious Campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick Man [in Aesop’s fable], we are just expiring with all sorts of good Symptoms.’<sup>12</sup> Moreover, when the Habsburg

7 Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella. Letters to Esther Johson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710–1713*, ed. Abigail Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 332–333.

8 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 311.

9 Jonathan Swift, ‘The Conduct of the Allies,’ in *English Political Writings, 1711–1714*, ed. Bernard A. Goldgar and Ian Gadd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 57.

10 Swift, ‘Conduct,’ Preface: 48.

11 Swift, ‘Conduct,’ 88. In this context, the publication timing of *The Conduct of the Allies* reflected the imminent reopening of Parliament on 7 December 1711, when a motion moved that day by Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, demanding ‘No peace without Spain’ passed the House of Lords by a narrow majority.

12 Swift, ‘Conduct,’ 61.



Emperor, Joseph I, died in April 1711, Swift had privately predicted to Stella that his death would 'cause great alterations in Europe' and 'would hasten a Peace.'<sup>13</sup> By the time *The Conduct of the Allies* was published, therefore, the accession as Habsburg Emperor of the Allies' preferred contender to the Spanish throne, Charles VI, had seriously undermined the case of those who continued to insist that Philip of Anjou be removed as Spanish king. As Julian Hoppit has succinctly put it, 'many wondered, was a Habsburg leviathan preferable to a Bourbon behemoth?'<sup>14</sup>

For his part, Swift deemed it 'a very obvious Question to ask, by what Motives, or what Management, we are thus become the Dupes and Bubbles of Europe?'<sup>15</sup> In terms of domestic party politics, his answer was unequivocal: 'whether this War were prudently begun or not, it is plain, that the true Spring and Motive of it, was the aggrandizing a particular Family [i.e. the Churchills], and in short, a War of the General [Marlborough] and the Ministry [the Whigs], and not of the Prince or People.'<sup>16</sup> Appealing to a provincial patriotism easily taken for granted, Swift lamented that it was 'the Folly of too many, to mistake the Eccho of a London Coffee-house for the Voice of the Kingdom.'<sup>17</sup> City coffee-houses were filled with 'new men' whose personal fortunes depended on stocks, shares and annuities generated by new systems of public credit and the vast sums of government expenditure demanded by continuous warfare. Accordingly, Swift alleged that Marlborough and his supporters had formed an insidious alliance with men whose 'perpetual Harvest is War' and a 'Solemn League and Covenant' with ambitious Whigs seeking a return to office on any terms.<sup>18</sup> There was, indeed, 'a Conspiracy on all Sides to go on with these Measures, which must perpetuate the War.'<sup>19</sup> In this way, Swift insisted that the War had become a duplicitous scandal, mutating from a patriotic struggle against a puissant foreign tyrant who aspired to universal monarchy to a shabbily avaricious opportunity for a minority of monied men to pursue personal enrichment at the nation's expense whilst one individual, Marlborough, aspired to perpetual power. As Swift narrated, 'by these Steps, a G[enera]l during Pleasure, might have grown into a G[enera]l for Life, and

13 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 188.

14 Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689–1727* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 121.

15 Swift, 'Conduct,' 82.

16 Swift, 'Conduct,' 83.

17 Swift, 'Conduct,' 95.

18 Swift, 'Conduct,' 83–84.

19 Swift, 'Conduct,' 86.

a G[enera]l for Life into a King.<sup>20</sup> The pitiable victims of this unscrupulous Whig conspiracy were not only the hundreds and thousands of British soldiers dying and suffering in combat but also the British people, subjected to unprecedented fiscal extortion and trade disruption. Burdened by unmanageable levels of inherited debt, Swift sarcastically predicted it would be ‘a mighty comfort to our Grandchildren,’ to view the colours and standards captured at the battle of Blenheim as ‘a few Rags hang up at Westminster-Hall,’ whilst ‘boasting, as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were Rich and Great.’<sup>21</sup> Thus Swift’s *Conduct of the Allies* cleverly converted what had formerly been a covert and controversial case for peace into a seemingly incontrovertible rationale.

Chronologically, Swift identified the failed peace negotiations at The Hague in 1709 as confirmation of the Whig-Dutch conspiracy against peace. Despite having already obtained substantial concessions from Louis XIV—including the surrender of Newfoundland, dismantling the defences at Dunkirk, withdrawing French troops from Spain and the abandonment of most French conquests on France’s eastern frontier—Louis had refused to accede to the Allies’ further insistence that he supply military assistance to ensure the removal of his grandson, Anjou, from the Spanish throne within two months, or else face renewed war. In his *History*, Swift later claimed not only that the Allies ‘knew very well, that the Enemy would never consent to this’ but also that—as he put it in *The Conduct of the Allies*—serious doubt attached to the Whigs’ protestation that there could be ‘no security for the island of Britain, unless a king of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather.’<sup>22</sup> Following the collapse of peace negotiations at The Hague, Swift recounted in his *History* how Louis XIV’s foreign minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy, had immediately published the Allies’ peace proposals on Louis’s behalf ‘as an Appeal to his Subjects against the Unreasonableness and Injustice of his Enemies,’ which secured the desired result: patriotic outrage and an instant re-dedication of the French nation to Louis’s service.<sup>23</sup> As Swift observed, the French king was ‘not so sunk in his Affairs, as we have imagined, and have long flattered Our selves with the Hopes of’—partly because, as Swift lamented, ‘an absolute Government may endure a long War’ in ways that usually proved

---

20 Swift, ‘Conduct,’ 87.

21 Swift, ‘Conduct,’ 97.

22 Jonathan Swift, *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, Herbert Davis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), 32; Swift, ‘Conduct,’ 99.

23 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 33.

'ruinous to Free Countries.'<sup>24</sup> When renewed peace negotiations convened at Geertruidenberg in March 1710 also collapsed, Swift insisted that the failure to end the War was wholly due to 'the Allies insisting upon such Demands as they neither expected nor perhaps desired should be granted.'<sup>25</sup>

As it happened, Swift himself had arrived in London from Ireland, in September 1710, ostensibly anticipating a short visit, primarily aimed at lobbying the Westminster government for remission of government taxes, known as the 'First Fruits,' that were levied on the Church of Ireland. His arrival in London had thus coincided with the partisan backlash provoked by the Whig administration's decision to impeach the High Church Tory preacher, Henry Sacheverell, in March 1710 for the provocative political content of a recent sermon entitled *The Perils of False Brethren* (1709). Despite being convicted of high crimes and misdemeanours, Sacheverell received a light sentence, depriving him of the right to preach for three years, and his popularity was confirmed in a subsequent progress around provincial England. In October 1710, the Tories swept to a landslide election victory, catalysing the potential to envisage liquidation of the War. Keen to promote the prevalent momentum for peace, it was Robert Harley and a former Secretary at War, Henry St. John who, as A.D. MacLachlan observed, 'more than most perhaps . . . grasped the grotesque paradox of a war that could not be won because it was already won.'<sup>26</sup> In this context, an anonymous Whig pamphlet entitled *The French King's Reasons* (1710) ventriloquized Louis XIV's vicarious delight in the Whig mismanagement of Sacheverell's trial and the subsequent revitalization of Tory fortunes. As the French monarch purported to observe, his subjects 'easily saw that their Case was not desperate, and that their Neighbours, while their Armies were assaulting me in my own Territories, were doing my Business at Home.'<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, as Swift later narrated in his *History*, it was Louis himself, through Torcy, who approached Britain in April 1711, with formal overtures aimed at 'settling the Tranquillity of Europe upon a solid Foundation.'<sup>28</sup> Two months later, the English diplomat, Matthew Prior, had been received at Versailles 'with great civilities' and immediately reassured by Louis of his principled

24 Swift, 'Conduct,' 102.

25 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 35.

26 A.D. MacLachlan, 'The road to peace, 1710–1713,' in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (London: Macmillan, 1969), 197–215, 200.

27 Anon., *The French King's Reasons against Peace, in his speech in Council, just before the last Courier was Dispatch'd, to the Plenipotentiaries in Holland* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Baker, 1710), 4.

28 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 36–37.

opposition to any potential union of the French and Spanish crowns, 'being persuaded that such an excess of Power' was indeed 'contrary to the general Good and Repose of Europe.'<sup>29</sup> Hence Swift accounted it 'almost a Miracle' that the Bourbon dynasty had not, in fact, become 'the universal Monarchy by right of Inheritance' and denounced 'the unaccountable Stupidity of the Princes of Europe' in having tolerated France observing the restrictions of Salic Law with respect to its own monarchy, whilst simultaneously supplying foreign dynasties with female marriage partners whose initial renunciations of claims to royal titles could later be silently revoked.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, an uninformed reader of Swift's entries for 1711, in his *Journal to Stella*, might have assumed that Britain was at war with the Dutch, rather than the French. On 28 September, for example, Swift related a convivial supper he had enjoyed until 1 a.m. that morning, in the company of St. John, Prior and two secret French envoys, Mons. Mesnager, and the Abbé du Bois, as well as the British-based Abbé Gaultier, who had previously acted an intermediary between the French and British courts. Aware that preliminary articles of peace had been signed the day before, Swift confided to Stella that 'We have already settled all things with France,' although 'this news is a mighty secret.' Confirming that Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, was to be dispatched to Holland to 'let them know what we have been doing,' Swift acknowledged that 'then there will be the devil and all to pay, but we'll make them [the Dutch] swallow it with a pox.'<sup>31</sup> As Swift later confirmed in his *History*, when Strafford arrived at the States-General that December, he was 'instructed to be very dry and reserved' towards the Dutch ministers and to remind his hosts that, with the new Tory hue of Queen Anne's ministry, 'Britain proceeded in some respects upon a New Scheme of Politicks, would no longer struggle for Impossibilities, nor be amused by Words' and that 'our People come every day more and more to their Senses.'<sup>32</sup> No longer would 'the strain of lower Politicks' practised by all Dutch statesmen be endured, whilst Swift also vituperatively denounced the strain of 'inferior cunning' that characterized all Dutch subjects 'from the Boor to the Burgomaster.'<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, when Marlborough's replacement as Captain General, James Butler, second duke of Ormonde, received his notorious 'restraining orders' in May 1712, ordering him to avoid serious military engagements whilst peace negotiations were underway, confirmation of these

---

29 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 44.

30 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 150.

31 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 289–290.

32 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 110–111.

33 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 109, 23.

orders was dispatched to the French court but not to Britain's Allies, and Dutch military losses ensued.

Swift's anti-Dutch animus chimed conveniently with French reasoning. Six weeks after *The Conduct of the Allies* was published in London, Louis XIV's foreign minister, Torcy, ordered that Swift's tract be immediately translated into French and published in Paris,<sup>34</sup> and two further editions of *La Conduite des Alliez et du dernière Ministère* were evidently published in Liège and Luxembourg in 1712. So comprehensively and effectively did Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* echo arguments previously disseminated on behalf of Louis XIV's regime by propaganda authors working for Torcy that the French foreign minister thereafter abstained from commissioning any more works to promote the case for ending the War. Instead, as Louis's plenipotentiary at the Congress of Utrecht itself, Melchior de Polignac, observed from Utrecht in February 1712, the French delegation was content to sit back and watch as their British counterparts 'executed to the letter' recommendations contained in Swift's tract.<sup>35</sup> In his subsequent *History*, Swift further alleged that Torcy had even sought to exploit British irritation at perceived Dutch procrastination during the Utrecht negotiations by daringly suggesting that 'since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her Forces join with those of France in order to compel the Confederates to a Peace'; this proposal had, however, generated only 'the utmost Abhorrence' from the British court.<sup>36</sup> This alleged French offer only echoed a warning in the first sermon preached to the official British delegation at Utrecht that, having secured military success, they might 'grow insolent, and will impose, if not impossible, yet unreasonable Terms.' Yet should they seek to humiliate the defeated power and 'push on their Revenge beyond all bounds.' the preacher, William Ayerst, insisted that it would be 'just in Providence to change sides.'<sup>37</sup>

### The Influence of Swift's Critique

By the time the British plenipotentiaries convened at Utrecht, however, Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* had admirably fulfilled its polemical purpose. A week after

34 Joseph Klaitis, *Printed propaganda under Louis XIV. Absolute monarchy and public opinion* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 284n.

35 Klaitis, *Printed propaganda*, 328.

36 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 147.

37 William Ayerst, *The Duty and Motives of Praying for Peace. A sermon preached before [...] Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Utrecht. Jan. 27/Feb. 7, 17<sup>th</sup>/12* (London: Printed for Jonah Bowyer, 1712), 18.

its publication, an Oxford don, William Stratford, wrote to Harley from Christ Church, observing that the tract ‘takes, as much as you could wish . . . It will put the country gentlemen in the temper you desire,’ rendering them ‘very ready to battle it at home for a peace abroad.’<sup>38</sup> A couple of months later, a series of resolutions was passed by the House of Commons, condemning the Allies’ wartime record, and Swift claimed credit for the government’s substantial voting majorities. As he recounted to Stella on 4 February 1712, ‘Those who spoke, drew all their arguments from my book, and their votes confirm all I writ; the Court had a majority of a hundred and fifty: all agree, that it was my book that spirited them to these resolutions.’<sup>39</sup> Reprinted seven times by the end of March, *The Conduct of the Allies* was grudgingly deemed ‘this Master-piece,’ which ‘was no sooner dispers’d and canvass’d in the world, but it produc’d the desir’d Effect’ by a hostile Robert Walpole.<sup>40</sup> A generation later, Samuel Johnson likewise admired ‘this wonder-working pamphlet,’ whilst primarily attributing its success to the fact that ‘the nation was then combustible, and a spark set it on fire.’<sup>41</sup>

On its publication, Swift’s tract predictably unleashed a flurry of supportive and hostile printed reaction. In his study of the pamphlet controversy that surrounded the ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock found that, in terms of quantitative citation, *The Conduct of the Allies* ‘far surpasses all other pamphlets,’ being ‘quoted almost as many times as all other pamphlets together.’<sup>42</sup> Denouncing ‘the Frenchfied Principles of this Author’ who was intent on ‘rendring the Dutch odious to us,’ Daniel Defoe, for instance, described Swift’s pamphlet as having ‘entered the Stage like a gladiator at the Bear-garden, with a great Flourish, Brandishing its Weapons, carrying a fine Feather in its Hat, the Shirt and Hair tied up with Ribbons, a bright Weapon in its hand *in terrorem* . . . ushered in by the Shouts and Huzza’s of the Rabble.’<sup>43</sup> Coinciding with the fifth edition of Swift’s *Conduct* in December 1711, *An Account of the Obligations the States of Holland have to Great Britain*

38 Quoted by Richard I. Cook, *Jonathan Swift as a Tory pamphleteer* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1967), 30.

39 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 382.

40 [Robert Walpole], *A Short History of the Parliament*, 2nd edition (London: T. Warner, 1713), 11.

41 Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 3: 19.

42 Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention. A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1710–1713* (Munich: Fink, 1997), 108.

43 [Daniel Defoe], *A Defence of the Allies and the Late Ministry: or, Remarks on the Tories New Idol* (London: Printed by J. Baker, 1712), 46.8, 2.

was published anonymously by the Whig-turned-Jacobite conspirator, Robert Ferguson, and supported Swift's case in its scathing denunciation of Dutch deception. Ferguson discerned pervasive evidence of Dutch adherence to 'the good old Cause'—republicanism—being deployed to deter fearful British subjects from pursuing peace by 'old thre[a]dbare Phrases,' such as 'Popery and Slavery, Arbitrary Power, French Gold, Wooden Shoes, breach of Faith.'<sup>44</sup> The following month, Queen Anne appointed a fast-day to pray for the peace negotiations that were starting in Utrecht, for which Joseph Trapp preached a sermon at St. Martin's in the Fields, London, insisting that 'Robbing the Publick is surely a Sin.' Equally, of those who used 'Artifices to prolong so Bloody a War, in order to gratify their own Avarice or Ambition, or upon any other private consideration whatsoever' Trapp opined that it would be 'good for them if they had never been born.' Such strictures evidently elicited a hostile response, obliging Trapp to append a postscript to the second edition of the printed version, acknowledging that he had been accused not only of 'burlesquing and wresting the Scriptures' and 'Jingling and Playing with Words' but also of 'being in the Interest of the Pretender.'<sup>45</sup> As Trapp had found, anti-Dutch attacks often attracted allegations of thwarted Jacobitism. A fortnight after the first edition of *The Conduct of the Allies* appeared, an editorial in *The Protestant Post-Boy* had blamed the 'refin'd French Breeding' for the tract's litany of 'bare-fac'd Calumnies, wretched Inconsistencies, and direct False-hoods.'<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the efficacy of Whig insinuations was subsequently acknowledged by Swift in a manuscript he composed around 1717, that was published posthumously, entitled *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*. In this tract, Swift recalled discussing the charge of Jacobitism with an unnamed ministerial contact who had evidently denied its validity but 'said to me with much frankness, "You [Tories] sett up the Church and Sacheverall against us, and We set up Trade and the Pretender against you".'<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, as Müllenbrock showed, since Whig contributions to the pamphlet debate cited *The Conduct of the Allies* about four times more often than Tory pamphlets, its polemical

44 [Robert Ferguson], *An account of the Obligations the States of Holland have to Great-Britain . . . with Reflections on the Peace* (London, 1711), 40–41.

45 Joseph Trapp, *A Sermon preached at St. Martin-in-the-Fields; January the 16th 1711. Being the day appointed by Her Majesty for the General Fast: for imploring the Blessing of Almighty God upon the Treaty of Peace now in Negotiation* (London: Printed for Henry Clements, 1712), 11–12, 'Postscript'.

46 *The Protestant Post-Boy* (London: Printed for J. Baker, 1711–1712), 4–6 December 1711, 1–2.

47 Jonathan Swift, 'An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry,' in Jonathan Swift, *Political Tracts, 1713–1719*, ed. Herbert Davis and Irvin Ehrenpreis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), 164.

success was confirmed by the fact that ‘the Whigs simply could not help taking up Swift’s arguments.’<sup>48</sup>

Even within Swift’s own circle, however, the confidentiality necessarily imposed on the peace negotiations inevitably provoked incessant rumour and suspicion. In an oft-quoted line, taken from a letter to Swift in May 1712, Archbishop King of Dublin complained that since ‘perhaps no negotiations were ever managed with so much secrecy as this,’ sceptics were suggesting ‘that this peace is like that of God and passes all understanding.’<sup>49</sup> The following March, however, he remained confident that when his *History* of recent events was published, it would ‘unriddle you many a dark Problem’ and ensure that ‘the World will have other Notions of our Proceedings,’ by showing ‘that Faction, Rage, Rebellion, Revenge and Ambition’ had been the sordid motives of those who had either disparaged, or directly sought to sabotage, the government’s negotiations.<sup>50</sup> Delighting in his proximity to the highest ministerial *échelons* and the privileged access he perceived was thereby conferred, Swift boasted to Stella in February 1711 of Harley, St. John and other Tories: ‘They call me nothing but Jonathan; and I said, I believed they would leave me Jonathan as they found me; and that I never knew a ministry do any thing for those whom they make companions of their pleasure; and I believe you will find it so, but I care not.’<sup>51</sup>

Swift was thus naïvely confident that his detailed history of the peace negotiations would be both authoritative and impartial, on account of his refusal to accept payment for any government-supported publications, in conspicuous contrast to hired authors such as Defoe. As Swift confirmed in the preface to his *History*, ‘I never received one shilling . . . except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often indeed dined with the Treasurer and Secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe.’<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, around one-fifth of his printed narrative comprised extracts that had been transcribed verbatim from diplomatic documents associated with the peace negotiations. Swift took his research project extremely seriously, complaining to Stella in October 1712, ‘I toil like a horse, and have hundreds of letters still to read; and squeeze a line perhaps out of each, or at least the seeds of a line.’<sup>53</sup> In contrast, however, to the Tory ministry’s clear sponsorship and

48 Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, 108.

49 *Correspondence*, 1, ed. Williams: 298.

50 *Correspondence*, 1, ed. Williams: 339–340.

51 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 145.

52 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, xxxv (‘Preface’).

53 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 455.



concurrence in publication of *The Conduct of the Allies*, the idea of producing a detailed *History* of the peace negotiations was very much Swift's own.<sup>54</sup> Hence although Swift railed to Stella the following month that 'I have a world of writing to finish: & little time; these Toads of Ministers are so slow in their helps,' the politicians' studied procrastination rather confirmed ministerial unease at Swift's eagerness to publicise the covert overtures made to Louis XIV's France during these years.<sup>55</sup>

Hence it was much to Swift's bitter disappointment that his *History of the Four Last Years* was to remain unpublished during his lifetime. If *The Conduct of the Allies* had succeeded in its polemical purpose, Swift's subsequent *History* was simply too partisan to achieve its aim of supplying an objective narrative. Having finished writing the *History* by May 1713, Swift intended its publication to coincide with submission of the peace terms agreed at Utrecht before Parliament. As he had accurately suspected to Stella in January, however, 'My large Treatise stands stock still; some think it too dangerous to publish, and would have me print only what relates to t[h]e Peace. I can't tell what I shall do.'<sup>56</sup> Aside from political sensitivities arising from much of its content, the *History's* moment had passed. Both Harley and St. John—now elevated as the earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke respectively—feared that its defensively partisan vindication of the rationale for peace might only provoke distracting counter-attacks at a time when public attention should be focused on the territorial and trading gains that Britain stood to derive from treaty ratification. Having left London for Dublin in June 1713, Swift subsequently learned that various clauses of the proposed Anglo-French commercial treaty had been rejected by Parliament. As Swift wrote to his friend and confidant, Charles Ford, the following month, he was 'tempted to think' that if his *History* 'had been published at the time of the Peace, some ill Consequences might not have happened.'<sup>57</sup>

Swift's optimism that prompt publication of his *History* might have mitigated the subsequent misfortunes of Oxford, Bolingbroke and the Tory party was misplaced. For his claim, in the preface, that his *History of the Four Last Years* was written 'with the utmost impartiality' was reflected in his insistence, at the outset of his narrative, that he would not 'mingle Panegyrick

54 Regarding the relative influence of both Harley and St. John on Swift's pamphlet, see: Downie, '*The Conduct of the Allies*,' 108–128.

55 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 462.

56 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 485.

57 *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 12.

or Satire with an History intended to inform Posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present Age.' His aim was, ostensibly, an objective record 'Since Facts truly related are the best Applauses, or most lasting Reproaches.'<sup>58</sup> Yet Swift's avowals should not be taken at face value: Swift, was, after all, an author constitutionally incapable of impartiality. The first of the *History's* four books contained, for example, a series of devastatingly effective and succinct character assassinations. Of the former Tory peer, Nottingham, who had led the 'No peace without Spain' campaign, apparent virtues were alchemized into insidious vices, as Swift alleged that Nottingham's 'outward Regularity of Life, his Appearance of Religion, and seeming Zeal for the Church, as they are an Effect, so they are the Excuse for that Stiffness and Formality with which his Nature is fraught.'<sup>59</sup> Elsewhere, Swift identified 'three Furies' that governed the conduct of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough ('sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage'),<sup>60</sup> whilst also directing his caustic wit towards her husband whom Swift had privately described to Stella in 1710 as being 'as covetous as Hell, and ambitious as the Prince of it: he would fain have been general for life, and has broken all endeavours for Peace, to keep his greatness and get money.'<sup>61</sup> In his printed works, however, Swift's awareness of the popular respect that Marlborough continued to command prompted him to deploy the rhetorical device of apophasis against the General, thereby discussing allegations whilst simultaneously disclaiming his intention of doing so. In *The Conduct of the Allies*, therefore, Swift insisted he would 'wave any thing that is Personal' regarding Marlborough's suspected avarice, and thereby 'say nothing of those great Presents made by several Princes, which the Soldiers used to call Winter Foraging, and said it was better than that of the Summer; of Two and Half *per Cent.* subtracted out of all the Subsidies we pay in those Parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable Sum; and lastly, of the grand Perquisites in a long successful War, which are so amicably adjusted between Him and the States' of Holland.<sup>62</sup>

Ironically—and perhaps unconsciously—Swift himself was also potentially guilty of benefiting from the War, via the secret Franco-British negotiations that had started in 1711. As seen, his case for pursuing peace was predicated on charging the former Whig administration, in conjunction with its Dutch allies, of prolonging hostilities against France for reasons of mutual self-interest.

58 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, xxiv, 1–2.

59 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 11.

60 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 8.

61 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 104.

62 Swift, 'Conduct,' 83–84.

Citing the Scriptural text Matthew 21:12, Swift insisted in *The Conduct of the Allies* that the War had been maintained by 'the Fears of the Mony-changers, lest their Tables should be overthrown,' suiting 'the Designs of the Whigs, who apprehended the Loss of their Credit and Employments in a Peace.'<sup>63</sup> Despite thus condemning his Whig adversaries for deriving personal profit from the financial secrets of waging war, Swift himself could be charged with effective 'insider trading' when, shortly before publication of *The Conduct of the Allies*, he resolved to purchase £500 worth of stocks—'which will cost me three hundred and eighty ready money'—in the new South Sea Company that had recently been created by, among others, Harley, as Lord Treasurer.<sup>64</sup> Aware that Britain was likely to receive, as part of any peace agreement with France, the right to supply Spain's colonies with slaves (known as the *Asiento*), Harley had sought to restore British national solvency through the South Sea Company, which would take over the national debt and replace government bonds with shares in return for a guaranteed 6% interest payment. Prudently, however, Swift had postponed making his actual investment until January 1712: i.e. until just after Harley had narrowly secured Parliament's formal sanction for peace negotiations, having relied on Queen Anne's unprecedented creation of twelve new peers on New Year's Day.<sup>65</sup>

### Swift's Retrospective Defence of the Peace

Scattered hints from Swift's correspondence during the 1720s and 1730s indicate that he sporadically returned to the manuscript of his *History of the Four Last Years*, revising certain sections with a view finally to securing its delayed publication. Two decades after the events it narrated, however, the *History's* polemical and amphibian character continued to provoke unease among not only those whose political actions Swift hoped to vindicate but also their descendants. In November 1723, for example, Swift teasingly assured Harley that 'It is destined that you should have great obligations to me, for who else knows how to deliver you down to posterity'?'<sup>66</sup> Over a decade later, in August 1737, Swift's friend and former Under-Secretary of State, Erasmus Lewis, advised Swift that it was 'now too late to publish a pamphlet, and too early to publish a

63 Swift, 'Conduct,' 85.

64 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 322.

65 See John Richardson, *Slavery and Augustan literature. Swift, Pope, Gay* (London: Routledge, 2004), 47.

66 Swift, *Correspondence*, 2: 468.

history.<sup>67</sup> Eight months later, however, Lewis confirmed to Swift that his manuscript history had been attentively read by several colleagues ‘who think, in all political matters, just as you do,’ including the current earl of Oxford (the former Lord Treasurer’s son). According to Lewis, all had concurred that the sections relating to negotiation of the Peace of Utrecht ‘they admire exceedingly, and declare they never yet saw that, or any other transaction, drawn up with so much perspicuity, or in a style so entertaining and instructive to the reader in every respect.’<sup>68</sup> At the same time, however, acute residual concern had been expressed about several sections including an implied attack on Marlborough’s personal courage and Swift’s unsupported claim that the ‘incurable hatred’ allegedly felt by the Austrian Habsburg envoy, Prince Eugene of Savoy, towards Lord Treasurer Harley had resulted in the Prince’s suggestion that Harley might be assassinated, if this could be contrived to appear as an accident.<sup>69</sup> Warning of dire punishments likely to be meted out to any printer who produced Swift’s manuscript in its current form, Lewis urged Swift to publish the sections relating to negotiations of the Peace of Utrecht ‘and leave out everything that savours of acrimony and resentment.’ To do so, Lewis insisted, ‘would be of great service . . . nothing have yet been published on the peace of Utrecht, in such a beautiful and strong manner as you have done it.’<sup>70</sup> Now aged over seventy, however, Swift evidently had little appetite for such extensive and conceivably craven revisions, but Swift’s London advisers remained adamant.

*The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* was eventually published posthumously in 1758 by Andrew Millar in London and, shortly afterwards, by George Faulkner in Dublin, provoking an acrimonious dispute among Swift’s literary executors and trustees. It first appeared in print, therefore, during the Seven Years’ War, when Britain once again found itself locked into a protracted armed struggle for global dominance against its old enemy, France. In Dublin, the young Edmund Burke seized on the acerbic character-sketches that Swift had penned of former Whig ministers and reprinted them in the *Annual Register* ‘as a striking example of the melancholy effects of prejudice, and party zeal.’<sup>71</sup> Meanwhile the anonymous author of *A Whig’s Remarks on the Tory History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne* (1768) dismissed ‘the whole

---

67 Swift, *Correspondence*, 5: 66.

68 Swift, *Correspondence*, 5: 104.

69 See Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, 26.

70 Swift, *Correspondence*, 5: 106.

71 *The Annual Register, or A View of the History, Politicks, and Literature, Of the Year 1758* (London: J. Dodsley, 1759), 256.

of his historical medley a most infamous libel' and denounced the *History's* 'venomed malevolence' as the debased output of a 'meddling dean,' who had found himself 'basking in the sunshine of court favourites, and in warm intimacy with the chief betrayers of their country.'<sup>72</sup>

Controversial at the time of its conclusion, the Peace of Utrecht had a prolonged afterlife. During the Seven Years' War, William Pitt visibly prioritized treaty obligations to Britain's allies over domestic concerns and once denounced 'the treaty of Utrecht, [as] the indelible reproach of the last generation.'<sup>73</sup> In the preface to his *History*, however, Swift had confidently averred that no other negotiators could 'have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders more strictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries' had done at Utrecht.<sup>74</sup> From France, Britain had regained Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in Canada, St Kitts in the West Indies, and a commitment to the Hanoverian succession, whilst Spain had ceded to Britain Gibraltar, Minorca and the *Asiento* contract. Anticipating imminent signing of the Treaty by the British delegation in early March 1713, Swift reported dining with Harley, who had showed him portions of the speech on the Peace that had been drafted for Queen Anne to deliver to the Westminster Parliament 'w<sup>ch</sup> I corrected in sev<sup>r</sup>all Places and penned th[e] vote of Address of thanks for th[e] Speech' that was duly returned by members of the House of Lords on 11 April.<sup>75</sup> In celebrating this Tory diplomatic feat, Swift remained as central as in supporting its prosecution.

Before the Peace had been concluded, however, Swift had insisted to Archbishop King in January 1713 that 'We have done all we can,' denying that 'in publick Affairs, human Wisdom is able to make Provisions for Futurity.'<sup>76</sup> Three months later, however, King had directed Swift to 'look back on all the treaties that have been between England and France for the last four hundred years' to realize that France had always ultimately triumphed over Britain in the long term.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, Queen Anne died in August 1714, a Whig ministry returned to power the following February and Louis XIV died in August 1715. By that

72 *A Whig's Remarks on the Tory History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne* (London: Printed for J. Staples, 1768), 65, iv, 63, 3.

73 Quoted by Brendan Simms, 'British strategic culture, 1714–1760,' in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Brendan Simms and Hamish Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 129.

74 Swift, *History of the Four Last Years*, xxxvi.

75 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 509.

76 *Correspondence*, 1, ed. Williams: 329.

77 *Correspondence*, 1, ed. Williams: 343.

time, impeachment proceedings had been lodged against Bolingbroke, Oxford and Ormonde on charges relating to their alleged foreign policy mismanagement and betrayals. For his part, Swift had left London, having reluctantly accepted the deanship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where a special *Te Deum* was commissioned by the Bratislavan-born composer, John Sigismund Cousser, for the public thanksgiving held to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht.<sup>78</sup> Swift's dreams of being appointed Historiographer-Royal following publication of an acclaimed *History of the Four Last Years* had, however, evaporated; instead, in March 1714, his Whig enemies successfully manoeuvred Queen Anne into issuing a proclamation that formally denounced Swift's anonymous *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* (1714) as a 'false, malicious and factious libel' and offered a reward of £300 for identification of the tract's author.<sup>79</sup> The following September, Swift received a letter from an Irish colleague 'delivered . . . in such a Manner' that he nostalgically confessed to having—momentarily—'thought that I was at Court again,' before recalling that 'I was in Irel[an]d, that the Queen was dead, the Ministry changed, and I was onely the poor Dean of St. Patrick's.'<sup>80</sup>

---

78 Brian Boydell, 'Music, 1700–1850,' in *A New History of Ireland. iv. Eighteenth Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 574.

79 See Maurice J. Quinlan, 'The prosecution of Swift's *Public Spirit of the Whigs*,' *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 9 (1967–8), 176–184.

80 *Correspondence*, 2, ed. Williams: 132–133.

## Visions of Europe: Contrasts and Combinations of National and European Identities in Literary Representations of the Peace of Utrecht (1713)

*Lotte Jensen*

The god of peace wishes  
That no more war should rage through Europe  
But in the end that all becomes quiet, calm and still  
He lets the fatherland enjoy the fruits of peace  
And allows Friesland the full benefit of this pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

These verses were written by the bookseller François Halma (1653–1722), who lived in Leeuwarden, the capital of the province of Friesland. In 1713 he wrote an extensive poem to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht, which he dedicated to the governors of Friesland. From these verses the reader can discern that Halma identified with Europe and the Dutch Republic (here denoted as ‘the fatherland’) as well as with the province of Friesland. The point he tries to make is clear: on all these different levels the Peace of Utrecht, which ended a long and destructive war, was expected to be beneficial.

Halma was not the only poet to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht. It incited many Dutch authors to write literary appraisals: around thirty literary works, including two theatre plays, were published by a wide range of authors.<sup>2</sup> Although a large number of texts (approximately one third) were printed in Amsterdam, it would be a mistake to think that the treaty was celebrated primarily in Amsterdam. Pamphlets were also published in Harlingen, Zierikzee, Groningen, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. In The

1 ‘De Vredegodt wil [...] / Dat wy geen krygsloet meer zien in Europe blaaken, / Maar alles raake, in ’t end, gerust, bedaart, en stil! / Hij laate ’t Vaderland de vredevrucht genieten, / En geeve Vrieslandts Staat daar van het vol genot’. F. Halma, *Vredezing* (Amsterdam: Johannes Oosterwyk, 1713), 26. I would like to thank Marguérite Corporaal and Liedeke Plate for their comments and suggestions.

2 The titles are listed in Lotte Jensen, ‘Nationaal versus Europees gemeenschapsgevoel. Geleghheidsverzen op de Vrede van Utrecht (1713),’ *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (2013): 117–132, here 129. This chapter is an elaboration of the preliminary findings presented in that article.



FIGURE 9.1 *Portrait of the poet and publisher François Halma (1653–1722) by Arnoud van Halen. RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM*

Hague, Leeuwarden, and Haarlem fireworks were organised.<sup>3</sup> This outburst of activity indicates that the Peace of Utrecht was welcomed and celebrated throughout the Dutch Republic. It also becomes apparent from the contents of

3 Cf. Willem Frijhoff's contribution to this book.



these pamphlets that the Peace was a national event: the entire Dutch Republic is addressed, in terms like ‘The Dutch free state’ (‘Neêrlands vrijen staat’), ‘the Sevenstates’ (‘de Zevenstaat’), ‘the Nation of Seven Arrows’ (‘Zeven-pijlig Landt’), or, simply: ‘the Netherlands’ (‘Nederland’). In short, these pamphlets clearly express a form of national consciousness, which can be distinguished from a European or regional identity.

How should we interpret these expressions of Dutch national awareness in light of current research on the rise of national thought and nationalism? The emergence of nationalism is usually considered to be a nineteenth-century phenomenon, but these eighteenth-century texts already express a growing sense of national consciousness.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter I will discuss several literary appraisals of the Peace of Utrecht, in which national identity plays a significant role.<sup>5</sup> Research has shown that literary utterances were an essential part of national peace celebrations; the Treaty of Münster (1648) was, for instance celebrated with many theatre plays, poetry and allegories.<sup>6</sup> Very little attention, however, has been devoted to peace treaties from a national-cultural perspective or to the question of how these texts relate to the rise of national consciousness and national thought in early modern Europe. Literary sources are very apt for investigating this question: it is in the field of literature that identities are most effectively formulated because literature often works with discursive patterns of self-identification, convincing images and commonplaces.<sup>7</sup>

---

4 Since the 1990s a growing number of studies about pre-modern national consciousness have appeared. Some seminal studies about eighteenth century national thought in various European nations are: Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1992); Hans Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland. Die deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000); David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680–1800* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2001) and Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined. Changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch, and Swedish public churches, 1685–1772* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2005).

5 The rise of national thought in Europe is also discussed in Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008). In his account of the Early Modern period he focuses on the widely spread taxonomy of national characters and climate theory (36–70).

6 For Dutch literary celebrations of the Peace of Münster, see for instance J. de Gier, “Den krijg is uitgebannen”. De Vrede van Munster in de poëzie; in *Vrede, vrijheid, vaderland. Nederlandse protestanten en de Vrede van Munster*, ed. H.H.J. van As, C.R. van den Berg and R. Bisschop (Rotterdam: Vereniging Protestants Nederland, 1998), 150–171.

7 See *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam / New York: Rodopi, 2007), 26.

However, as the national level is shaped in relation and in contrast to the levels below and above, this national identity can be viewed only in combination with and in contrast to a regional or European level.<sup>8</sup> In this chapter I will attempt to demonstrate how authors expressed a growing sense of 'Europe' as an international community while at the same time sought to uphold a distinctly Dutch identity by contrasting their nation's commendable contribution to the peace process with the malevolence of foreign powers threatening Europe's newly achieved political stability. These unifying expressions were, however, not homogeneous: there was a great variety in the poetical representations of national and European identity.

This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, some critical remarks will be made about the current framework of studies on nationalism: it will be argued that early modern writings, especially occasional peace poetry, can be used as a source to shed new light on the discussion about the rise of national thought in pre-modern times. In the second part several poems and two theatre plays about the Peace of Utrecht, which specifically address the issues of national and European identity, will be discussed.<sup>9</sup>

### National Thought and Nationalism

The question of whether nations existed in the pre-modern era has caused much debate in the field of nationalism studies. It has led to a sharp distinction between so-called 'modernists,' who regard the nation as a quintessentially modern political phenomenon, and 'traditionalists,' who believe that nations already began to take shape before the advent of modernity. While the modernist paradigm has been dominant, it has been challenged in recent years by a growing number of case studies that situate the origins of nationalism and nationhood in earlier times.

The seemingly unbridgeable gap is worsened by the varying and sometimes contradictory ways scholars use concepts like 'nation,' 'nationalism' and

---

8 Cf. Astrid Erll, 'Regional integration and (trans)cultural memory', *Asia Europe Journal* 8 (2010): 305–315. Accessed 4 November 2013, doi: 10.1007/s10308-010-0268-5.

9 This means that poems with less relevance for this particular theme have been left out, for example the playful account of the Spanish Succession War: *Vrede-toorts, met vreugd ontstoken op Rots-oort* (Utrecht: Willem van de Water, 1713) by Frans van Oort. This poem deserves further investigation. It is referred to in Jeroen van Heemskerck Düker, 'De "Pottebakkers Huur-Galey" van Frans van Oort,' *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 12 (1989): 84–89.

'national thought'. Here, I follow the definitions given by Joep Leerssen in his study *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (2006).<sup>10</sup> The 'nation' is defined as 'a subjective community established by shared culture and historical memories'; it can refer to local, regional and supra-regional communities, which are united by 'a sense of belonging together' but also of 'being distinct from others'. 'Nationalism' points the political ideology or doctrine of nationalism, which emerges in the nineteenth century and which takes the modern nation-state as the constitutive unity. 'National thought' refers to pre-nineteenth-century source traditions and has a broader meaning than 'nationalism'. It includes 'all pre-nineteenth century source traditions and ramifications of the nationalist ideology' and refers to 'a way of seeing human society primarily as consisting of discrete, different nations, each with an obvious right to exist and to command loyalty, each characterized and set apart unambiguously by its own separate identity and culture'. Making this distinction between 'nationalism' and 'national thought' allows us to start a dialogue between modernists and traditionalists: we can trace the idea that people belonged to the same 'nation' or 'national' community back to earlier stages of history, while it also suggests that there are continuities between pre-modern and modern developments.<sup>11</sup>

Anthony Smith in particular has emphasised the continuity between developments from the past and modernity by pointing at the older, cultural foundations of nations. He argues that the origins of the nation can be found in pre-modern ethnic ties or coalitions of ethnic groupings, while, at the same time, emphasizing the difference between these pre-modern 'ethnies' and modern nations.<sup>12</sup> Recently, Azar Gat has questioned the dichotomy between

10 All following quotations are derived from Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*, 14–17.

11 These continuities are, however, not always recognized in modernist accounts. Despite his ample discussion of pre-modern source traditions, Leerssen leaves little room for continuities between pre-modern source traditions and modern expressions of cultural nationalism. Although Smith emphasizes the importance of pre-modern ethnic ties, which are expressed by symbols, rituals, myths of origins and memories, these pre-modern 'ethnies' are only linked in a weak sense to the modern nation-state. See Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Lebanon: University Press of New England), 76–77. In *The Roots of Nationalism. National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600–1815*, ed. Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming) it is argued that the divide between traditionalists and modernists is unsatisfactory, and that cultural continuities between pre-modern and modern expressions of nationhood deserve much more attention.

12 For example in: Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno / Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991); Anthony D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press,

the modernists and traditionalists by stating that it is artificial and based upon false assumptions. One of these is the emphasis on literacy, which denies the fact that 'illiterate societies had their own potent means of wide-scale cultural transmission,' such as oral epic, plays, games, festivals and rituals.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, he argues that nations and national thought predate modernity and that culture, religion, and language were major vehicles of common national identity and community.<sup>14</sup>

Although both scholars differ widely in their approach towards national thought and nationalism, they both single out the United Provinces as one of the nations that took the form of a national cultural and political community from a very early stage.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the perception of the Low Countries as the common fatherland can already be witnessed in the mid-sixteenth century. It expanded rapidly during the Revolt against Spain and took firm political shape with the establishment of the Union of Utrecht (1579), which united the northern provinces in their struggle to liberate themselves from Spanish oppression.<sup>16</sup>

---

2004) and Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations. Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Malden / Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

- 13 Azar Gat, *Nations The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 12.
- 14 Gat, *Nations*. For other critical views on the modernist approach, see Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern German to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), *Against Orthodoxy. Studies in Nationalism*, ed. Trevor W. Harrison and Slobodan Drakulic (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) and Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 15 The difference is, however, that Gat speaks of a 'national state', while Smith uses the phrase 'a growing Dutch national community, albeit incomplete'. Gat, *Nations*, 82; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno/Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 10. Schama regards the period between 1550– and 1650 as the era in which 'the political identity of an independent Netherlands nation was established' and speaks of 'a strong sense of national identity'. See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 34, 54.
- 16 See Alistair Duke, 'The Elusive Netherlands. The question of national identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt,' *Bijdragen en Medelingen betreffende de de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 119 (2004) 1: 10–38 and several contributions in *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, ed. R. Stein and J. Pollmann (Leiden / Boston: Brill 2010), in particular those of Robert Stein ('Introduction', 1–18), Alistair Duke ('In defence of the Common Fatherland. Patriotism and Liberty in the Low Countries, 1555–1576,' 217–239) and Judith Pollmann ('No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585–1621,' 241–261). Also see the contributions of Simon Groenveld ('Natie en patria bij zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanders') and Guido de Bruin

The Eighty Years' War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648 and the official acknowledgement of the Dutch Republic as a sovereign state. The celebration of this event, as well as the ongoing commemoration of the Dutch victories during the Eighty Years' War, contributed to the increase of national consciousness. The urge for unity received a new impulse when a new power threatened the nation's freedom: the French king Louis XIV. References to the Spanish tyranny were easily supplanted by condemnations of this new French tyranny, emphasising the continuity between the past and the present.<sup>17</sup> With the signing of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, a period of nearly forty years of ongoing war between France and the Dutch Republic came to an end.

The remembrance of the national past—the distressful moments as well as the heroic ones—and the hopeful vision of the return of a 'new golden age' play a significant role in the writings on this event. In studying the rise of national consciousness through the lens of the peace celebrations of 1713 the concept of the 'imagined community', which is usually applied to the modern era, can be of particular value. Benedict Anderson has pointed out that modern nations function as imagined communities: although members do not know most of their fellow-members, they all have an image of their community in their minds. These images are spread mainly through mass media and other institutions, such as newspapers and books.<sup>18</sup> A parallel can be drawn with early modern times because, although the circulation of printed material was much lower, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, poems, and theatre plays were also

---

(‘Het begrip “vaderland” in de pamfletliteratuur ten tijde van de Republiek, 1600–1750’), both in *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*, ed. N.C.F. van Sas (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 55–81 and 143–161. In the abovementioned article, Groenveld points at the fact, that a nineteenth-century, nationalistic perspective is to be avoided: the nation was a much more complex, and layered concept in early modern times. Nevertheless, there were all sorts of elements present that contributed to a sense of a common national identity and ultimately led to the shaping of a single nation which can be equated with the national state. In a more recent study, Groenveld, Wagenaar and Van der Meer pay ample attention to centralist trends in Dutch state-politics before the nineteenth century. They were much more present than is usually assumed: Simon Groenveld, Pieter Wagenaar and Frits van der Meer, ‘Pre-Napoleonic centralization in a decentralized polity: the case of the Dutch Republic,’ *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 76 (2010): 47–64.

- 17 On publicity, identity and self-image of the Dutch Republic during these years, see Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013).
- 18 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London / New York: Verso 1987) (4th edition), 16, 38–39.

used to unite people for common causes in early modern Europe. Particularly in times of war or political crisis, feelings of patriotism and unity were spread by means of these media.<sup>19</sup> The point made in this chapter is, therefore, that writings occasioned by the Peace of Utrecht, including poetry and theatre plays, are important sources for studying the emergence of national thought in the Dutch Republic.

The limited number of prints as well as the underdeveloped infrastructure in the early modern period have been used as arguments to question the existence of pre-modern national thought. Historians have argued that most people used their village, city, region, or religious community as their main point of identification.<sup>20</sup> This might indeed be the case, but at the same time utterances of national and European thought are abundantly present in the early modern period. Not all people may have identified with these larger 'imagined' communities, but they *did* exist, at least in the minds of authors and poets.<sup>21</sup> They created different kinds of unifying images, using metaphors and topoi that surpassed regional borders, and even national or religious borders.

Of course, these 'imagined communities' are of a completely different nature than those of the nineteenth century. As Peter Burke has rightly pointed out, we should beware of interpreting early modern texts in modern terms: European consciousness was still weak compared to regional consciousness.<sup>22</sup> This does not mean, however, that expressions of national and European thought were absent in the early modern period. On the contrary, as in later times, the mental landscape of authors and readers was shaped through concepts such as 'the

---

19 For an international perspective on this issue, see Orest Ranum, *National consciousness, history, and political culture in early modern Europe* (Baltimore / London: John Hopkins University Press, 1975). For some Dutch examples: Marijke Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen. De beeldvorming van Holland versus Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650* (The Hague: SUN Uitgevers, 1997) and Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*.

20 For Dutch examples: E.H. Kossmann, 'The Dutch case: a national or a regional culture?', in *Politieke theorie en geschiedenis. Verspreide opstellen en voordrachten aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* (Amsterdam: C.G. Bakker, 1987), 198–210; P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, 'Beeld en zelfbeeld. "Nederlandse identiteit" in politieke structuur en politieke cultuur tijdens de Republiek,' *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 107: 4 (1992): 635–656.

21 For a case study on peace poetry and the shaping of Dutch national identity in 1748, see Lotte Jensen, "'Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep". Orangisme in het vredesjaar 1748,' *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 128 (2015): 1–22.

22 Peter Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?,' *History of European Ideas* 1 (1980): 21–29, 29.

fatherland', 'the nation' and 'Europe'.<sup>23</sup> To use a phrase by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, these were concepts and metaphors people lived by.<sup>24</sup> A close reading of the texts in which these concepts play a dominant role can therefore teach us something about the way people related to these 'imagined communities': how were feelings of national and European consciousness expressed by the authors of occasional poetry and theatre plays about the Peace of Utrecht?

### Poetical Celebrations of the Peace of Utrecht

Generally speaking, the poems can be divided into three distinct categories: pastoral, historical-political, and religious poetry. These categories are partly related, but reflect three different attitudes towards the position of the Dutch Republic within the larger European framework.

The first category—pastoral poetry—celebrates the peace for bringing harmony and wealth back to Europe. Most of these poems take the form of a conversation between shepherds and shepherdesses rejoicing in the new, favourable conditions. In accordance with the genre conventions they are surrounded by nature, harmony and prosperity. Although the peace is seen as a benefit to all, the Dutch Republic is considered the best place to be. Here, cows roam freely, and butter, milk and cheese are abundant. 'Golden times' are about to return to the nation.<sup>25</sup> Some poems explicitly refer to the pastoral play *Leeuwendalers* (1647), by the well-known Dutch poet Joost van

23 For example, from the political-juridical perspective: Heinz Duchhardt, '“Europa” als Begründungs- und Legitimationsformel in völkerrechtlichen Verträgen der Frühen Neuzeit', in Heinz Duchhardt, *Frieden im Europa der Vormoderne. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 1979–2011*. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Martin Espenhorst (Paderborn etc.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012), 111–120. For an overview of visual images of Europe see Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe. Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). A selection of key texts on European identity throughout the ages is given in Alex Drace-Francis, *European identity. A Historical Reader* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

24 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

25 This phrase is used in Prudenter, *De vrede. Veldzang* (Amsterdam: Johannes van Leeuwen, 1713), 4. Other pastoral poems: H. van den Burg, *Herderszang op de vrede* (Amsterdam: Marcelis van Heems, 1713); Balthasar Huydecoper, *Herderszang op de vrede* (s.l.: s.n., 1713); Johannes Schröder, *Leeuwendal, herders-zang op den vrede* (Leiden: Hendrik Mulhovius) 1713; Barend Warnaar, *Floriaan en Silvia, herderszang, Op het teekenen der vrede binnen Utrecht, den 11 april, 1713* (Haarlem: Isaäk Enschedé, 1713).

den Vondel, which alludes to the peace process that led to the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648. In this poem, the Dutch Republic is symbolised as 'Leeuwendal' or 'Lion's vale'; the lion refers to the heraldic representation of the United Provinces. By referring to Vondel's play, authors emphasised the continuity between the past and the present as well as the idea that the Dutch Republic could experience a new 'golden age'.

An example of such a nationally minded pastoral poem is *Herderszang op de vrede* by Herman van den Burg. His poem consists of a conversation between three shepherds and three shepherdesses. The ploughman, sower and farmer are relieved that peace has been restored while the female characters are happy that they can produce butter, cheese and milk once more. Their conversation is rife with anti-French sentiment, and the peace is attributed to the efforts of the Dutch Republic alone. All of Europe benefits from the new political stability, but the Dutch are responsible for these benefits:

I see that Friendship, Abundance and Joy accompany her [Peace]  
 She shall restore Europe in all her glory  
 [...]
   
 One cannot disturb the Dutch Virgin, without punishment  
 Whoever denies her rest, will carry his wounds with him.<sup>26</sup>

In other words: the Dutch always take revenge on their enemies and those who assault the Dutch Lion are wasting their powers and will flee shamefully. According to the shepherds and shepherdesses, the goddess of Peace has now chosen 'Leeuwendal' ('the lion's vale') as her residence and will stay there eternally.

The second category—historical-political poetry—also singles out the Dutch Republic as the best part of Europe. These poems, however, contain more references to the War of the Spanish Succession. They also reflect internal differences between the supporters of the Stadtholder ('Oranjegezinden') and their opponents ('Staatsgezinden'). The death of William III in 1702 marked the beginning of the so-called second stadtholderless period (1702–1747). Most of the provinces had not appointed a successor, and after the death of the stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen (Johan William Friso) in 1711, an Orangist reign seemed farther away than ever. His son, William Karel Hendrik

26 'k Zie Vriendschap, Overvloed, en Wellust haar verzellen; / Zij zal Europa weêr in de oude pracht herstellen [...] / Men stoort nooit ongestraft, de Nederlandsche Maagd; / Want die haar rust betwist, zyn wonden met zig draagt'. Van den Burg, *Herderszang op de vrede*, 13–14.



Friso (the later stadtholder William IV), who was born after his father's death, had been named the new stadtholder of Friesland (and in 1718 of Groningen), but he was still too young to actually fulfil this task.

Against this background it is not surprising that most authors made no reference to stadtholders at all. The poet and lawyer P. de Bye, for instance, skipped recent history and looked towards the ancient past for exemplary behaviour. He considered the peace to be the achievement of the ancient courage and bravery of the Batavian people, who were seen as the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of the Dutch Republic. According to De Bye, this old Batavian love of freedom and liberty of conscience manifested itself most prominently when threatened by foreign tyrants. Throughout the course of history, the Batavian people had always succeeded in protecting their territory and defending themselves against mindless oppression. However, they also knew when to stop fighting and restore the peace. In the end, the Batavians were the ones who had shown mercy and decided to end the war. Therefore, the goddess of Peace has chosen the Dutch Republic as the location for the peace negotiations: 'I have once again chosen your garden, the best part of Europe, as my residence and bower'.<sup>27</sup>

Such poetical representation of the peace negotiations did not reflect reality at all. In fact, the Dutch negotiators were resentful because they were completely overshadowed by the other European powers: the Dutch had little impact on the actual results.<sup>28</sup> However, the aim of this kind of poetry was not to give a realistic account of affairs; it reflected the contemporary rhetoric of war and propaganda texts.

Some authors, like Coenraet Droste, Jacobus de Groot and François Halma, grabbed the opportunity to make an Orangist statement. While Droste and De Groot focused on the nation's glorious past and especially the rule of William III, Halma's verses were directed more at the future. He was very explicit in his wish for the establishment of a general and hereditary stadtholdership.

The lack of a future perspective probably explains why Droste's and De Groot's pamphlets, which were published in the province of Holland (The

27 'K heb wederom uw' tuin verkoren, / Europe's allerbeste deel / Tot myn verblyf en lustprieel, / Daar niemandt licht myn rust zal storen.' P. de Bye, *Vredezing op de langgewenschte vrede tusschen Vrankryk en de Vereenigde Nederlanden. Gesloten te Utrecht Op den 11 April van het Jaar 1713* (s.l.: s.n., 1713), fol. B2.

28 David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 74–75; D. Onnekink, 'The Treaty of Utrecht 1713,' in *Peace was made here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden 1713–1714*, ed. R. de Bruin and M. Brinkman (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 60–69.

Hague and Amsterdam), concentrate on the past. Both include extensive appraisals of William III in their works, stating that he had been one of the greatest defenders of true religion in the nation's history. Droste's positive references to William III are the more remarkable considering the fact that during the 1670s he had been a fierce adherent of the leader of the 'staatsgezinden', Johan de Witt. He resigned from military service in 1676 because he had not been promoted by William III.<sup>29</sup> Spreading the true Protestant faith, however, made William III a true hero and was outweighed any internal struggles from the past.<sup>30</sup>

De Groot also portrays William III as a great hero.<sup>31</sup> In his detailed description of the War of the Spanish Succession he makes a sharp distinction between the evil French and the allied forces. Accordingly, he condemns Catholicism, while praising the Protestant faith. He depicts the Peace of Utrecht as the defeat of Louis XIV and as a great victory for England, the Netherlands, and Prussia. He also showers praise on the heroes of the allied forces. The duke of Marlborough and Frederick of Prussia, for instance, are celebrated for having liberated the Dutch Republic from the 'hungry French wolves.' In contrast with most other Dutch poets De Groot gives the other allied forces most of the credit. However, by including William III in his appraisal, he does allow the Dutch Republic a significant role in his narrative. Regionalism is included as well: his poem ends by wishing all 'governors of the free Netherlands', especially those of Amsterdam, a flourishing future.

A similar pattern can be discerned in the poem by François Halma. He also represents the peace as a victory of the Dutch Republic and England over France, but his Orangism was much more directed towards the future. This can be partly explained by his Frisian perspective. In his view, a new Golden Age could be achieved only with a new stadtholder at the head of all the provinces; the Frisian stadtholder William would make an excellent candidate. Halma's poem consists of two parts: in the first half he describes the misery of war and the great damage caused by it all over Europe. In the second half his tone changes completely, when he sketches the benefits of peace and the rebirth of a prosperous nation. His Garden of Eden is clearly situated in the Dutch Republic and more precisely in Friesland. Like De Groot, Halma wrote from an Orangist perspective: the new-born Prince William IV was expected to be

29 Brugmans, 'Droste, Coenraet', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, ed. P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff 1924), 453–454.

30 C. Droste, *Op de vrede Tot Uytrecht gesloten den 11. april 1713, naer den Twaelf jaerigen Oorlog* ('s-Gravenhage: Gerrit Rammazeyn, 1713), 10–11.

31 Jacobus de Groot, *Vreedezang* (Amsterdam: H. van Ditmer, 1713).



FIGURE 9.2 Title page of Halma's poem on the Peace of Utrecht: *Vrede* (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyk, 1713).

the new and great ruler of the Seven Provinces one day; in the meantime the Frisian governors would do everything they could to protect their province. In short, Halma's main concern was the Frisian State; after that came the Dutch Republic, and, finally Europe. All three identities played significant roles, but regional identity came first.

While in the first two categories—pastoral and political-historical poetry—the laudable contribution of the Dutch Republic and the return of a new Golden Age are emphasised, in the third category religious values prevail. Most religious poems were written from an explicitly Protestant and Dutch point of view, employing the topos of 'Dutch Israël', which suggested that the Dutch were the chosen people.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the tone is more humble than in the pastoral and historical-political poetry. Two women poets, Jetske Reinou van der Malen and Susanna van der Wier, paid just as much attention to the miseries of war as to the newly established peace. Pointing out the suffering caused by war strengthened their argument to be thankful for God's mercy.<sup>33</sup> Hubert Korneliszoon Poot, one of the best-known Dutch poets of that period, also expressed feelings of grief and despair. He laments the disasters that hit the Dutch Republic after the establishment of the peace. In *Rampen van het vredejaer* (Disasters of the Peace Year, 1713) he bewails the storm that destroyed the complete harvest and the rinderpest (or cattle plague) that struck the livestock. Poot even questions what purpose God might have in sending all these punishments to the Dutch Republic: why first liberate the Dutch from Spanish and French tyranny, only to send all this misery? His message, however, is clear: one should never doubt the wisdom of God. Although God's methods can be unfathomable, it is important to keep faith. Poot fills his lament with anti-Catholic statements and compares the Calvinists with God's chosen people. He states that the Calvinists have to meet many challenges, but that their faith will be rewarded in the end.<sup>34</sup>

32 The idea of the Dutch as the chosen people was often used in sermons: Cornelis Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht: Van den Tol, 1983) and Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined*.

33 Jetske Reinou van der Malen, *Olyfkrans gevlochten op Neerlands plegtighe dank- en vreugdedag over de langgewenschte vrede: gesloten binnen Utrecht den 11. April des jaars 1713* (Leeuwarden: Karst Tjallings, 1713); Susanna de Wier, *Pligtsbetragting, wegens de lang verwagte vrede; Geslooten tot Utrecht den 11. April, en Geratificeert den 12. Mey, 1713* (s.l.: s.n., 1713).

34 H.K. Poot, *Rampen van het vredejaer* (s.l. 1713). An analysis of this poem can be found in C.M. Geerars, *Hubert Korneliszoon Poot* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis; Catricum: Bert Hagen 1979), 33–36.

A universal Christian perspective can be found in the poem of Adriaan Spinniker, who was a former Mennonite clergyman now working as an accountant. In his *Vreedezang* (*Peace song*, 1713) he spends several pages explaining the causes of the War of the Spanish Succession, which nations and sovereigns were involved, and how the peace was restored. His detailed account shows that he was familiar with the various interests of the different European rulers. He clearly blamed the French king, Louis XIV, for having brought about all this misery, not only in the Netherlands, but in the whole of Europe. Nevertheless his poem was not meant to express hatred against the French or to claim Dutch superiority. On the contrary, Spinniker ends with a plea for religious peace and harmony within Europe. Ultimately, God was to be thanked for all the good that peace would bring. It was God, who decided to end the war, and it was God who appointed Utrecht the city where the negotiations were to take place. Spinniker's peace is a universal, Christian peace, which unites all European nations. He makes no distinction between Protestants and Catholics, but speaks of one heavenly kingdom of peace. This fits in with his Mennonite background.<sup>35</sup>

### Europe on Stage

On the occasion of the Utrecht peace treaty two theatre plays were published: *Europa verkwikt op't gezicht der vrede* (1712) by Jan Jacob Mauricius and *Staatkunde* (1713) by Enoch Krook. Both plays are allegorical pieces depicting how peace was brought to Europe. The plot of both plays can be summarised as follows: Europe is the main character, struggling against hostile figures, such as War, Dispute, Discord, Cruelty and Malice. At the same time, Europe is supported by friendly characters such as Friendship and Unity. The good forces win, and in the end Europe celebrates having conquered the evil forces.

The two authors, however, hold very different positions when it comes to the role of France, the Dutch Republic and the city of Utrecht in the whole process. Mauricius, a young lawyer in The Hague, wrote his play to celebrate the inauguration of the theatre in Utrecht. During the peace negotiations the prohibition on theatre performances was suspended to make the sojourn of the negotiators and ambassadors in Utrecht more pleasurable. For that purpose

---

35 Adriaan Spinniker, *Zeege der vrede, behaald in Utrecht den 1den van Grasmaand in 't 1713e jaar* (Haarlem: s.n., s.a.).

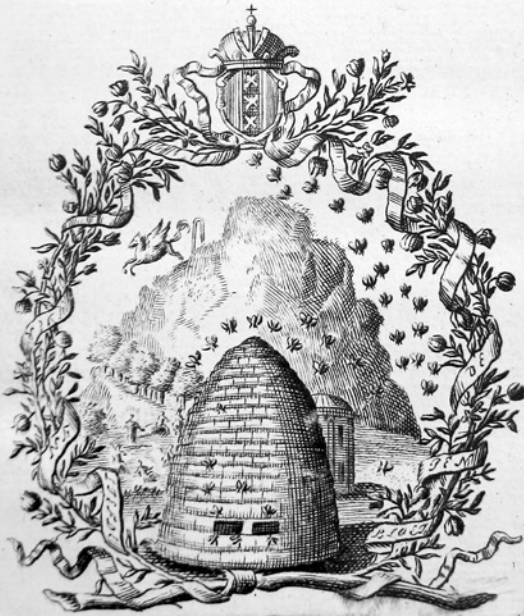
# STAATKUNDE,

## V R E D E S P E L.

Verfierd met verscheidene Vertooningen,  
Zang, Dans en Vliegwerken.

Onder de Zinspreuk,

DOOR YVER BLOEID DE KUNST.



TE AMSTELDAM,

By de Erfg: van J: LESCAILJE en DIRK RANK,  
op de Beursfluis, 1713.

Met Privilegie,

FIGURE 9.3 Title page of Enoch Krook's play *Staatkunde* (Amsterdam: J. Lescailje en Dirk Rank, 1713).

a temporary wooden theatre was constructed.<sup>36</sup> This particular occasion also explains Mauricius' marked attention for the city of Utrecht. He creates an extremely positive image of Utrecht, praising the city as the episcopal centre of all festivities. Mauricius emphasises that Utrecht is the perfect choice for the peace negotiations as it contains the seat of a bishop, and the city can boast great victories of the past when Utrecht managed to withstand attacks from northern tribes.

Strikingly, no positive national self-image can be found in this play. Mauricius strongly condemns all European nations for having been so aggressive, including the Dutch. The allegorical figure of Peace states that the Batavian and the Englishman should stop fighting and shake hands with their neighbour and old friend, France:

These vile disputes, the plague of kingdoms,  
 Have for too long destroyed the universe  
 And hauled a horrifying harvest  
 Of thousands of corpses of heroes.  
 Stop, plagued Batavian,  
 Stop, clever Englishman  
 The time has come to plant the  
 Peace flag.  
 [...]
 This is the right time  
 To shake hands as brothers,  
 With your good old neighbour, the honest Frank  
 And to live together quietly in peace and harmony.<sup>37</sup>

Against the background of the other commemorative poems, Mauricius' reprimand of the Batavians and English on the one hand and his friendly words towards the French on the other, are remarkable. Perhaps these lines refer

36 Kornee van der Haven, "‘Een spiegel aller grooten’. Theater als deugdenspiegel voor Utrechtse regenten (1711–1728)’, *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (2005): 55–76; Onnekink and De Bruin, *De vrede van Utrecht*, 91.

37 'Het vinnig landkrakeel, die pest der koninkryken, / Heeft lang genoeg 't Heelal verwoest, En eenen ysselyken oest / Gemaaid van duizenden heldenlyken. Hou op, gesarde Batavier, Hou op, doorluchtige Englander, / 't Is tyd, 't is tyd den vredestander / Te planten [...] 't Is tyd om eens ter goeder uur / Den braven Frank, uw' vriend en ouden nagebuur / De broederlyke hand te geven, / En rustiglyk in min en Eendragt t'saam te leeven'. Jan Jacob Mauricius, *Europa verkwikt op 't gezicht der vrede* (Amsterdam: Hendrik van de Gaete, 1713), 13.

to the pro-French attitude of the States of Utrecht; choosing this city as the place for the negotiations may have been a gesture towards the French king Louis XIV.<sup>38</sup>

The other play, written by Enoch Krook, is more in line with the other texts. Krook was an actor and a successful playwright in the Amsterdam theatre, who wrote three plays about important events during the war, namely the battles at Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706) and Oudenaarde (1708) and the siege of Lille (1708). He wrote his play on the Peace of Utrecht as a charity project: the proceeds were to be given to an orphanage and a home for the elderly in Amsterdam.

A central role is played by the allegorical figure of Politics ('Staatkunde'), who manages to convince all European nations, even the French king, to make peace. She has to overcome the evil forces of War, Envy, and Anger, and finally manages to get all the European nations gathered in Utrecht to negotiate peace. At first some nations have their reservations, but in the end they come to an agreement. All European nations join forces to capture Dispute while Friendship joyfully announces that trade and prosperity will flourish again. Then the allegorical figure of 'Harmony' enters the scene and claims that the Golden Age will be restored. She sketches a beautiful pastoral scene, where cows roam freely and butter and cheese are abundant. This all seems typically Dutch and recalls the pastoral play which the Dutch playwright Joost van den Vondel created to celebrate the Peace of Münster sixty-five years earlier. So, although Krook's play is about the stability of Europe, he ends with a typically Dutch scene that symbolises the restoration of a Golden Age in the Dutch Republic.

Krook depicts the larger European community as a union that needs to protect its internal stability.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Europe is represented by different

---

38 M. van der Bijl, 'Utrechts weerstand tegen de oorlogspolitiek tijdens de Spaanse Successieoorlog. De rol van de heer van Welland van 1672 tot 1708,' in *Van Standen tot Staten. 600 Jaar Staten van Utrecht, 1375–1975*, ed. H.L.Ph. Leeuwen and L. van Tongerloo (Utrecht: Stichting Stichtse Historische Reeks, 1975), 135–199; Onnekink, 'The Treaty of Utrecht,' 62.

39 The concept of Europe as a Christian union (*pax christiana*), united in its fight against the pagan Ottoman Empire, plays a dominant role in the poems written on the occasion of the Peace of Rijswijk (1697). This argument seems to have been replaced by a vocabulary which circles around the idea of a balance of power. See for changing concepts of Europe around 1700: Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700,' 27, Duchhardt, 'Europa,' and Winfried Schulze, 'Europa in der frühen Neuzeit—Begriffsgeschichtliche Befunde,' in: *Europäische Geschichte als historiographisches Problem*, ed. H. Duchhardt and Andreas Kunz (Mainz: von Zabern, 1997), 35–65.



allegorical figures (rivers such as the Seine, Thames and Rhine), each defending its own, particular interest. In the end, however, the main characters,—the Rhine, Meuse, Thames, and Seine—agree that peace is the best solution for all of them. The Dutch Republic is completely left out of these discussions and does not play any role of significance. Despite the idealistic Dutch pastoral scene in the play, it also seems to have been coloured by reality. Although the Dutch managed to fulfil their most important wish, namely to restrict French power, in the end the results were disappointing. The Dutch negotiators had little influence on the actual outcome and were completely outweighed by the other European negotiators. The Treaty of Utrecht would also mark the end of the Dutch Republic as a major European power.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion

The poetry and theatre plays written on the occasion of the Utrecht peace treaty can be used as a source to shed new light on the discussion about the rise of national thought in the early modern period. Through poetical language, authors expressed their ties to the Dutch Republic, often claiming the superiority of the nation. To see how this ‘national thought’ was articulated, it is, however, necessary to also take into consideration the levels below and above the nation: the national perspective was shaped in dialogue with the regional and European levels. For an author like Halma, the national level for instance was secondary to his provincial commitment: the welfare of the Frisian region was his main concern. Others singled out the Dutch Republic as the best part of Europe and emphasised the laudable contribution of their nation to the peace negotiations. From a Protestant perspective, it was argued that the Dutch were God’s chosen people, who, in spite of difficult times, would one day be rewarded for their perseverance. This argumentation made sense only by implying that the other European nations—especially the French—were inferior to the Dutch.

However, authors had their own particular way of conceptualising ‘Dutchness’ within the larger European framework: the fact that they expressed feelings of national unity did not imply that their views were homogenous. Quite the contrary, their writings reflect religious differences and internal

---

40 Onnekink and De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, 74–75; Onnekink, ‘The treaty of Utrecht 1713,’ 62.

political struggles.<sup>41</sup> We see how political differences seeped through. De Bye for instance used the Batavian myth as a point of reference without any references to the stadtholders of the past. Others looked for bravery in Orangist spheres by pointing toward the achievements of William III. The most explicit Orangist statement was made by Halma, who projected all his hopes on the Frisian stadtholder William. Less political were the writings of Mauricius, Krook and Spinniker. They refrained from such political statements and considered the benefits of the peace for Europe as a whole. Spinniker's European 'imagined community' was—in contrast with most other writings—based on religious tolerance: in the end, all (Christian) inhabitants of Europe were bound together in one 'heavenly kingdom of peace.'

Finally, the question might be asked whether these 'imagined communities' existed beyond the realm of the text and to what extent they appealed to a broader audience. Were these ideas restricted to the elite, or did they reflect broader tendencies in society as well? What connections can be made between the topical character of these texts and actual, historical developments? Studying commemorative writings, including poetry, in combination with other sources from transnational and transcultural perspectives may deepen our understanding of the historical grounding of different imagined communities.

---

41 Cf. Smith's observations on the roots of nationalism in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, in: Anthony D. Smith, 'Nationalism in early modern Europe,' *History and Theory* 44 (2005): 405–415, 411.

**PART 3**

*The Theatrical Stage*





## Theatres of War and Diplomacy on the Early-Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam Stage

*Cornelis van der Haven*

The trope of the theatre is deeply rooted in Western military strategy. The ‘theatre of war’ metaphor enables military strategists (especially since Clausewitz) to imagine the playing field of war events from a panoramic point of view,<sup>1</sup> i.e. as a theatre with a stage (the battlefield) and actors (officers and soldiers) who can be commanded by a group of directors (military staff). At the same time these directing professionals constitute the audience, whereas citizens, the suffering population in cities and villages, are no more than stage extras, part of the scenery. One could say that it is this image of war as theatre that transforms it into the directors’ playing tool instead of an event governed by equal individuals in combat. Fighters on both sides are equally transformed into the puppets of a huge theatrical war play, ‘mere bodies (on stage) that neither think nor feel.’<sup>2</sup>

The theatre metaphor had a huge impact on the representation of war in military strategy, cartography and early modern war publicity. Paul Virilio has shown that the baroque depiction of war often suggested an immediate and complete (hence ‘amedial’) perception of war, highlighting the totality of the war spectacle in one image, a panoramic overview primarily reserved for the genius of the general.<sup>3</sup> Imagining war as a theatre (*theatrum belli*), however, was not only instrumental to phantasies of total control of the battlefield as an international playing field for royal and military powers. According to Marian Füssel, the image and the language of the theatre were also applied to war representations for mnemonic reasons and for reasons of knowledge production.<sup>4</sup> Plans, newspapers and theatre plays translated the chaotic reality of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century war acts into convenient theatrical

1 On ‘panoramic war’ in the late eighteenth century, see: Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War. Performance, Politics, and Society 1793–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 74–78.

2 Cf. Yuval N. Harari, *The Ultimate Experience. Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (Hampshire/New York: Palgrave, 2008), 122–123.

3 See Paul Virilio, *Krieg und Kino: Logistik der Wahrnehmung* (München: Fischer, 1986), 115–116.

4 See Marian Füssel, ‘Theatrum Belli. Der Krieg als Inszenierung und Wissensschauplatz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,’ *Metaphorik.de* (2008): 205–230, 214–215.

overviews of the different battles to inform a broader audience and reading public about recent or historical battles.

The distance in time, space and experience between (war) professionals on the one hand and those who 'consume' their (military) performances (the citizens, the audience) on the other was crucial for the idea of war and diplomacy as (entertaining) theatres. The idea and language of the theatre enabled the audience to imagine war as an exotic distanced experience that could safely be related to their own perception, but it also confronted the citizen with his own role of observer and media consumer. Parallel to the increasing distance between the experiences of civic communities and the execution of military operations due to military professionalisation, Dutch citizens manifested a growing fascination with war journalism and the details of war acts during the first half of the eighteenth century. Public interest in the acts of war encouraged authors to write commercial re-enactments of the most important battles, like the three *oorslogsspelen* published and performed in Amsterdam between 1704 and 1708. Also the peace negotiations in Utrecht were considered suitable for the theatre: an occasion to display the exotic world of international politics on the Amsterdam stage featuring courtiers and diplomats during their 'business' of making peace.

In this chapter I would like to discuss these theatrical imaginations of the battlefield and the world of diplomacy on the Amsterdam stage and in traveling peepshows (*rarekiek*) of the early eighteenth century. My main focus will be on how the public was expected to 'see' and experience acts of war and the peace negotiations when these acts were mediated by theatrical performances and staged as theatre. Fair visitors, spectators in the municipal theatre and newspaper readers certainly represented socially diverse audiences, but all were confronted with theatrical representations of what previously had been a hidden reality for the general public of the Dutch Republic: the daily practice of war and diplomacy. I will especially explore the spatial and discursive perspectives that were dominant in these representations and how they framed the early modern popular vision of war and diplomacy. On the one hand, the early modern focus on war and diplomacy as entertaining spectacles prevented a more personal identification with the military and diplomats as these plays featured negotiations and military actions as primarily attractive events taking place in a distanced and exotic world. On the other hand, however, the mediated theatres of war and diplomacy of the early eighteenth century could have triggered the curiosity of larger audiences to get a better understanding of the distant experiences of militaries and diplomats. What do these theatrical representations and the different perspectives related to it tell us about the difficult relationship between war, politics, and entertainment in the eighteenth century?

## The Theatre of Diplomacy

Not only the early modern spectacle of war could be characterised as a theatre; the world of diplomacy often was considered in the same vein. When we take a closer look at that fascinating picture by Simon Fokke of the negotiations in Utrecht on the cover of this book, there is no doubt: to achieve peace by means of high politics, the successful diplomat is expected to behave like an actor. The depicted room in the Utrecht city hall in this picture is such a theatre. The pose of the standing diplomat, his gestures, his position in the room—all these factors, in combination with the heavy curtains behind him, strengthen our impression of watching a performance, a performance on a stage and before an audience. The performer not only needs his own gestures; he is in need of that audience to achieve his goals and needs listeners, a public to whom he can address his statements and for whom he could ‘perform a peace’.

The idea of the diplomat as an actor (*comédien*) functioned as a commonplace in early modern diplomatic handbooks. Both François de Callières and Abraham de Wicquefort for instance refer to this image of the diplomat as an actor, with the court as his main stage and theatre.<sup>5</sup> While performing on that stage, he must master the art of ‘dissimulation’ in order to hide the true intentions of his negotiation strategies. Callières refers to the ambassador as an actor also because of the *public* nature of his acting. The scene of his political interventions is laid on a semi-public stage, where he has to play his role of a negotiating representative in a most convincing way. The ambassador is at the same time a servant and someone who speaks on behalf of his master, which means: he *plays* the ‘grand role’ of representing this master at foreign courts:

Un Ambassadeur ressemble en quelque maniere maniere à un Comedien, exposé sur le theatre aux yeux du Public pour y jouër de grands rôles, comme son emploi l'éleve au-dessus de sa condition & l'égale en quelque sorte aux Maîtres de la terre par le droit de presentation qui y est attaché, & par le commerce particulier qu'il lui donne avec eux, il ne peut passer que pour un mauvais Acteur s'il n'en fait pas souûtenir la dignité; (...).<sup>6</sup>

5 See Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne. Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690–1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 40–41.

6 François de Callières, *De la Manière de negocier avec les Souverains* (Amsterdam: La Compagnie, 1716), 23–24.

The idea of representing someone or something else (here: the representation of sovereign power) implies that the ambassador has to imagine himself impersonalizing that power. His performance in public and in front of other representatives and diplomats determines how the dignity related to that power is represented.

The theatre itself was one of the diplomat's representative instruments to strengthen diplomatic relations between the European powers during the celebration of political events. Julius Bernhard von Rohr for instance describes in his *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen Herren* of 1733, with a separate chapter on 'Opfern und Comœdien', the ways in which these political events—like a recently signed peace treaty, the birth and baptism of a royal scion, or a wedding within the royal family—had to be celebrated.<sup>7</sup> Von Rohr mainly describes celebrations at the court, but these richly decorated court festivities served as a model for the small-scale celebrations ambassadors were expected to organize abroad, as in the relatively small and provincial town of Utrecht. The diplomats who worked in the Dutch Republic, however, rarely had access to a private or public theatre where they could organize their festivities. Thus, in Utrecht, theatre 'tents' were built to offer a space for theatrical performances and the 'hotels' of the different diplomats could also serve as locations for such theatrical events.<sup>8</sup>

The Hague, Leiden and Amsterdam were the only cities in the Dutch Republic with a theatre building. In Amsterdam, the municipal theatre (the *Schouwburg*) was used regularly for the performance of so-called 'peace plays' depicting a recently signed peace treaty. The treaties of Munster (1648), Nijmegen (1678) and Rijswijk (1697) were all celebrated in the Amsterdam municipal theatre with the performance of such peace plays, which were often part of more extensive urban festivities with fireworks and thanksgiving services in the churches.<sup>9</sup> The performance of 1713 even took place one month before the official festivities because the Peace of Utrecht was signed shortly

7 Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der grossen Herrn, die in vier besondern Theilen die meisten Ceremoniel-Handlung, so die Europäischen Puissencen überhaupt, und die Teutschen Landes-Fürsten insonderheit, sowohl in ihren Häusern, in Ansehung ihrer selbst, ihrer Familie und Bedienten, als auch gegen ihre Mitregenten, und gegen ihre Unterthanen bey Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeiten zu beobachten pflegen* (Berlin: Rüdiger, 1729), 706–815.

8 Cf. Kornee van der Haven, "‘Een spiegel aller grooten’". Theater als deugdenspigel voor Utrechtse regenten (1711–1728), *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (2005): 55–76.

9 For an overview, see: Kornee van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel. Theaterbedrijf en toneelpolemiek in Amsterdam en Hamburg 1675–1750* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008), 72–87.



before the summer pause of the Amsterdam playhouse.<sup>10</sup> The last scenes of this play called *Staatkunde* ('Politics' [Amsterdam 1713], by Enoch Krook) re-enact something that is in itself a very theatrical act: the official announcement of peace and signing of the peace treaty.<sup>11</sup>

As Lotte Jensen has already shown in Chapter 9, it is not only the celebration of peace as such but the celebration of 'Europe' (and the larger European community) as a peacemaker, which makes this allegorical play so remarkable. The play however also functioned as a theatrical news medium attracting public attention to what took place behind the scenes of diplomacy *before* the peace treaty was signed. Doing so, it made the 'theatre of diplomacy' accessible to a larger audience and enabled the viewers to reflect on the political and tactical skills that were important in the world of diplomats. The play incorporates the idea that diplomatic acting before the public eye concerns the 'grands roles' of the diplomat as the representative of state power. The remarks of Callières that a well-educated ambassador should know how to represent the dignity of his master well enough are embedded here in doubling the roles of the allegorical characters who represent four European nations, as they also act as those nations' negotiators. The rivers Rhine, Meuse, Thames, and Seine *are* their nations, but they also play a role focused on mediating between the nation's interests, political power, and diplomatic prudence.

The second act of the play opens with a silent performance of the negotiators who are welcomed by the patroness of Utrecht (*Vrouw Utrecht*). They are surrounded by a curious (*nieuwsgierig*—literally: longing for news) public: 'thousands of people, recommended by Dame Curiosity to satisfy the fancy of their eyes', as one of the explicating verses describes it.<sup>12</sup> It is the figure of *Staatkunde* ('Politics') who brings the different countries in the play together and transforms them from suffering and fighting nations into negotiating powers. 'Friendship' and other (political) virtues ('Patience', 'Unity') are Politics' helpers. They support the negotiations behind the scenes and try to convince 'Europe' that her future peace is nearing since 'Politics', who represents the prudence of negotiating nations, opposes the dominance of war and conflict. The four rivers reflect on the power of 'Politics' to unite them, and

10 Van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel*, 80.

11 E.M.L. van der Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld. Zeventiende-eeuwse vredes in de prentkunst' in 1648. *Vrede van Munster. Feit en verbeelding*, ed. Jacques Dane (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 173–204.

12 'Waar by dat duizende van menschen, aangeraaden / Van Vrouw Nieuwsgierigheid, haar ooglust verzaaden'. Enoch Krook, *Staatkunde, vredespel* (Amsterdam: J. Lescaillje en Dirk Rank, 1713), 24.

they explicitly mention the balance of power as the main principle on which the future peace treaty should be based.<sup>13</sup> Fighting against the incertitude of 'Thames' (caused by internal dissent), 'Politics' manages in the last act to bring 'Peace' to 'Europe', and thus the play ends with a silent performance of the different countries and their representatives signing the peace treaty.

### Military Peepshows

The early modern concept of war and diplomacy as a theatre was strongly connected to the expectations of curious audiences, longing for news about what exactly is taking place behind the scenes of war and diplomacy. Even when people had direct access to information about war and diplomacy in the early modern period, it was not self-evident that they also had the reading skills to take in the whole story. A striking characteristic of war reports in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century newspapers is their complexity and the often incomprehensible military, legal, and political jargon that upholds the idea of secrecy and confidentiality related to the official documents the newspapers editors used for their reports.<sup>14</sup> The impression of having access to confidential papers may have increased a certain reading pleasure but was not yet based on what Mary Favret (in relation to late-eighteenth-century war journalism) calls 'war literacy' or the ability of the public to become competent readers of news about war events.<sup>15</sup> Rather, it might be argued that the intention of seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century newspaper editors was the opposite, namely to preclude a full understanding of the facts about war. This interpretation would enable us to characterize the newspaper war report as an exciting 'peepshow': the idea of reading something the reader should not be able to read; of seeing something he should not be able to see.

The peepshow in its literal sense is another form of war entertainment quite similar to the war re-enactments on stage I will discuss later on. Travelling peepshows in the Dutch Republic (called *rarekiek*, literally: 'rare view') and in other parts of Europe confronted the public with scenes of foreign towns and landscapes. The battlefield was one of the peculiarities, or 'worlds beyond one's self', that showmen at fairs presented to the public in a wooden box with a

13 Krook, *Staatkunde*, 26.

14 Cf. Donald Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 194–196.

15 Mary A. Favret, 'War Correspondence. Reading Romantic War,' *Prose Studies* 19:2 (1996): 173–185, 180–181.

looking glass, as Richard Balzer writes in his history of the peepshow in Europe: 'In an era when individual lives were constrained by time and space, the box suggested escape from the boundaries of daily lives and gave a glimpse of a world beyond one's self.'<sup>16</sup> Through a system of mirrors and lenses, these shows confronted their audience with movements of some cut-out paper images of troops and their generals, ready to meet each other in battle. The showman of the early peepshows was able to change the scenes quite rapidly, by pulling a string, with tape connected to the top of the print, to manipulate the views.<sup>17</sup>

Showmen had to be first-rate storytellers in order to focus and keep the viewers' attention on their shows. Many of them were wandering Savoyards, and a large group of showmen were disabled soldiers. Their shows often led to comic misunderstandings, at least in a Dutch satirical poem by Jan Pook about a military peepshow of the Battle of Wijnendale and the Siege of Lille (1708),<sup>18</sup> with a harlequin as showman and villager 'Jaap' passing by:

*Harlequin:*

Look through the small glass: look  
There you will see, on your right hand  
The General, from every side:  
Monsieur *Vendoom*, *Bourgon*, *Berri*:  
Brave Generals, marching all three  
With their armies around Lille.

*Jaap:*

Yes, but where's the fight?

*Harlequin:*

Will follow!

Wait a little bit. So, now you see,  
Them sitting next to each other:  
Could you see how that heap is talking?

*Jaap:*

Well, what's this?

*Harlequin:*

That's the war council.<sup>19</sup>

16 Richard Balzer, *Peepshows. A visual history* (New York: Abrams, 1998), 20–43.

17 Balzer, *Peepshows*, 12.

18 Cf. Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede 1672–1713*, 202–205. Haks refers to Jan van Gyzen as the author of this poem. The edition of Pook may be plagiarism.

19 'Harlequin: Kyk deur die glaasje maar: daar ziet, / Daar ziet jy, aan die rekt're hante / De Generaals, aan alle kante: / Mesjeurs *Vendoom*, *Bourgon*, *Berri*, / Braav Generaals, trekke



FIGURE 10.1 *Showman with peepshow. 'Eerste Harlequin', from: Jan Pook, Rommelzoodje. Eerste Harlequin, reizende met zijn Rarekiek (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1709), fol. 19.*

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, GHENT

It may come as unexpected that this impatient viewer Jaap has presented himself in the preceding verses as a newspaper reader. It is through reading that he already knows about the battles the showman presents. The Battle of Wijnendale is not new to him, and Jaap refers to his disappointing reading experience concerning the battle reports in the newspapers:

*Jaap*: I have to see this, or I would be a fool!  
 Yes, it must be funny, for sure!  
 I just read, today, the newspaper,  
 But there was not a single word  
 In print, saying straight  
 The French, if they, long ago,  
 Won something, or did something remarkable,  
 Because, they only show us  
 How swift-footed they are.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from his focus on the 'rare' and remarkable aspects of a war act, Jaap also differentiates between a battle report in the newspapers, which represents movements but not the fight itself, and what he expects to *see* during the peep-show. It is the spectacle of the fight Jaap is interested in, and he could not care less about names, troop movements, war councils, or any details about the generals who were traveling through the Southern Netherlands. What interests him is to *see* the fight, to get the key moment of the battle visualized, especially when the soldiers are ready to attack each other with their naked swords.

The French-coloured vocabulary of the showman, which seems to strengthen the stereotype of the showman as a Frenchman or Walloon, could also be seen as a caricature of abstruse newspaper language, as it causes a lot of confusion between Jaap and Harlequin. The attack of comte de la Mothe, for instance, is understood by Jaap as the circling of a moth (*mot* in Dutch) and the word *retireeren* (to retire) turns out to be no part of Jaap's vocabulary,

---

alle drie, / De leger nou veur Ryssel omme. / Jaap: Ja, maar waar 's 't vechte: Harl.: Ze zel komme: / Wackt maar ien beekje. Nou, zie je daar, / Hum alle drie zit by malkaar: / Zie jy hoe dat hum zootje praat? / Jaap: Wel we tzel dat? Harl.: Dat 's krygsferate; [...]. Jan Pook: *Rommelzoodje. Eerste Harlequin, reizende met zijn Rarekiek* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1709), 25–26 [translation CvdH].

20 'Jaap: Dat mòt ik zien, of 'k bin ien guit! / Wel, dat mòt zeper koddig wezen! / 'k Heb nog, van Daag, de Krant elezen, / En daar stond niet ien enkeld woord. / Gedrukt in, dat nou rechtevoord / De Fransen, of veur lang eleden, / Wet wonnen, of wet wonders deden; / As, dat zy altyd laten zien, / Hoe gaauw dat zy luy zyn ter bien: [...]. Pook, *Rommelzoodje*, 25.

while Jaap is also mystified by the numbers of the different squadrons.<sup>21</sup> Jaap is a newspaper reader with a very low level of ‘war literacy’, and it is the spectacle that fascinates him, not the facts behind the war. The visualisation of the battlefield enables Jaap to ‘enjoy’ the war not in its appearance as a collection of dry military strategic facts, but as an experience of the battlefield ‘as if it were real’, which occurs for instance when Harlequin tries to clarify some chaotic scenes in the box, like comte de la Mothe fleeing, blinded and disoriented by the smoke of the gunfire, from the battlefield.<sup>22</sup>

The depiction of the battlefield in this peepshow is of course very different from the way in which a military map confronts the public with the details of a war (see for instance fig. 10.3). The military map functions like an icon of both military knowledge, state power and territorial claims, depicted as a paper landscape with silent lines, as a ‘socially empty space, functioning as both metaphor and metonym for political domination.’<sup>23</sup> Whereas the military map thus holds to the abstraction of the professional, distant view from above, theatrical representations like the peepshows explored different ways of ‘seeing’ at once. On an etching by Romeyn de Hooghe for instance (fig. 10.2), published and distributed as a pamphlet, we clearly see the battle of Blenheim of 1704 depicted, on the one hand, from a professional, distanced point of view, taking the position of the general who overlooks the battlefield from a hill. This slightly elevated perspective enables the etcher to depict and foreground all of the twenty-six heroes of Blenheim, but he avoids letting these heroes determine the whole scene. Like the numerous soldiers and officers in the background, they seem to be totally absorbed in the baroque spectacle of war. Looking closer however, we discover a totally different face of war: the pain, horror, fear and anger of the dramatically shadowed faces, bodies and horses in the forefront, and the minor figures in the background.

The tension between a distanced overview of the battlefield as a whole and the proximity of emotions, pain, and death that becomes visible when observing the details of the etching is similar to the tension that could be related to other theatrical imaginations of the battlefield. The reader or viewer shares the professional perspective, but this seemingly distanced and detached look on the fighting masses hides another view that allows for much more attention to the details of the fight. De Hooghe’s etching pays attention not only to the movements and fighting as such—the sword flashes Jaap wants to see—but also to the faces of the fighting soldiers, which show a range of emotions,

---

21 Ibid., 20, 26.

22 Ibid., 28.

23 Chatherine Mary McLoughlin, *Authoring War: The Literary Representation of War from the Iliad to Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 88.



FIGURE 10.2 *Coloured etching of the Battle of Blenheim. Romeyn de Hooghe, Zegen by Hoogstad op de Frans en Beyersen door S.H: Marlbourg en Pr. Eugenius van Savoyen verkreegen (Amsterdam: Pieter Schenck, 1704).*  
RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

thus providing insight into a more personal experience of combat. The viewer, however, like the peepshow audience, has to break through the distanced overall perspective in order to recognize these details. He needs the words of the showman to learn more about the sensual experiences behind the scene, about smoke and confusion for instance. His eyes have to be directed to the depicted individuals in order to see what is actually happening on the battlefield, not only in relation to the troops, masses, and the changing lines of attack, but also in relation to the feelings of the individual soldiers, officers and generals who carry out these movements.

### War Journalism on Stage

Before the allegorical 'peace play' *Staatkunde* was performed in the Amsterdam municipal theatre to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht and to stage the triumph of the European 'theatre of diplomacy,' three spectacular 'war

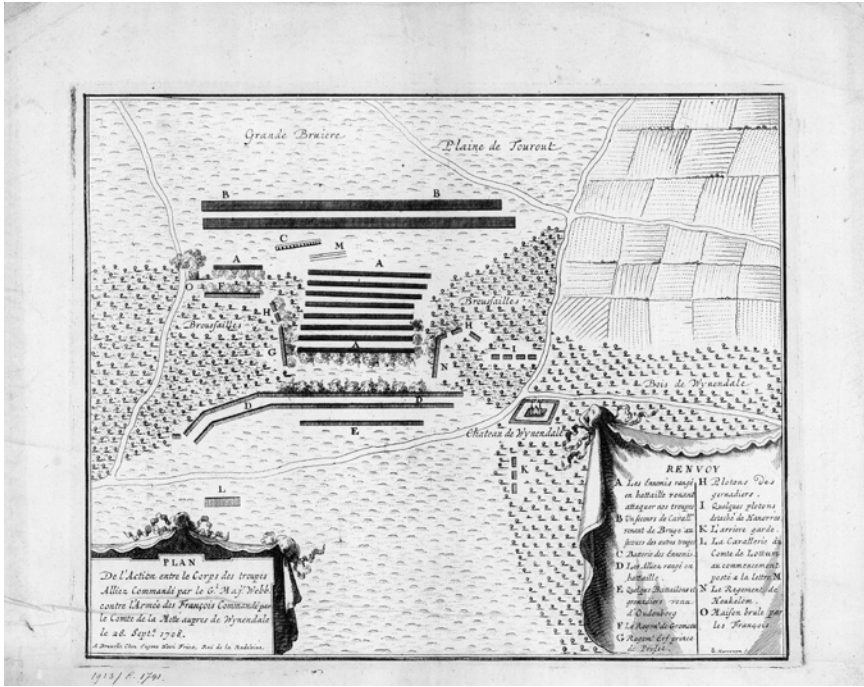


FIGURE 10.3 *Map of the Battle of Wijnendale. Jacobus Harrewijn, De l'Action entre le Corps des troupes Alliez Commandé par le G. Maj. Webb. Contre l'Armée des François Commandé par le Comte de la Motte aupres de Wynendale le 28. Sept. 1708 (Brussels: Eugene Henri Fricx, s.a.).*

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, GHENT

plays' (*oorlogsspelen*) were performed in the years of the War of the Spanish Succession. Daniël Kroon and Enoch Krook were the authors of these plays, which contain re-enactments of the most important battles of the war: Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenaarde (1708) and the siege of Lille (1708).<sup>24</sup> The war spectacle on stage, illuminated with performances (*tableaux vivants*), music and dances, was intended to impress the public visually and with sound effects. The seventeenth-century Dutch patriotic discourse of civic self-defence is more or less absent from these plays and replaced by the personal heroism of some generals who defend the country, not as citizens but

24 Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst [motto of the authors Daniel Kroon and Enoch Krook], *De roemruchtige zegepraal van de veldslag bij Hoogstet* (Amsterdam: Lescaijje, 1704); *Het verlore Brabant en Vlaanderen, door de veldslag bij Rammellies* (Amsterdam: Lescaijje, 1706); *De nederlaag der Seine, door de veldslag bij Oudenaarde, 't bemachtigen van Rijssel, en verdere overwinningen* (Amsterdam: Lescaijje, 1709).



as military professionals, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, John Churchill duke of Marlborough and Prince John William Friso. These heroes, however, remain flat characters and appear on stage only during silent performances.

A remarkable aspect of the three Amsterdam ‘war plays’ is the fact that they do not present military power itself as an acting force. The performances serve as a kind of spectacular ‘furnishing’ of the real actions, carried out mainly by allegorical characters. The military is presented in *tableaux vivants* that in a way unite the different actors on the battlefield: both generals and common soldiers silently perform the spectacular happenings that took place during recent war acts. In the spectacle play about the Battle of Blenheim—*De roemruchtige zegepraal van de veldslag bij Hoogstet* (1704)—the princes and generals direct the clashes between the different armies, but only during the silent performances:

First Performance: In the forefront of the stage stands *Prince Eugenius* on the one, and the *Elector of Bavaria* on the other side, each with his *Officers* and *Soldiers*, who are at grips. [...]

Second Performance: A new scene: *Marlbough*, *Hessenkassel*, *Hompesch*, with other *Officers* and *Soldiers*, are pursuing the fleeing *Enemies*.<sup>25</sup>

The *tableaux vivants* were intended to show the public lively images of military actions that took place far from home, but their patriotic rhetoric is obligatory and hardly has any affective function. The main appeal of the play is the visual spectacle of shootings, bloodshed, and scenes of dying soldiers. The military operations as such are presented in quite a stiff way, but the horror of the war is painted in lively colours:

Third Performance: After an explanation the prospect is lifted, after which we see *the Danube*; which the *Enemies*, with crowds, jump into; while one sees out of the River now and then *People*, and *Horse Heads*, going down and under.<sup>26</sup>

25 ‘Op de Voorground van het Tooneel staat *Prins Eugenius* aan de eene, en den *Keurvorst van Beyeren* aan de andere zyde, yder met zyn *Bevelhebbers* en *Soldaaten*, die met elkan deren handgemeen zyn. [...] Hier gaat een *Verschiep* op, en vertoond zich *Marlbough*, *Hessenkassel*, *Hompesch*, met andere *Bevelhebbers* en *Soldaaten*, die de vlugtende *Vyanden* vervolgen.’ Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst [motto of the author Enoch Krook], *De roemruchtige zegepraal van de veldslag bij Hoogstet* (Amsterdam: Lescaillje, 1704), 37–38.

26 ‘Na deze Uitlegging gaat ‘er weder een *Verschiep* op, alwaar men *den Donau* ziet; daar de *Vyanden*, met menigten, in springen; terwyl men uit den Stroom somtyds *Menschen*,

These spectacular performances in the Amsterdam Schouwburg are strongly focused on the visual and auditory appeal of battlefield scenes. With special effects, including smoke, shouting, sounds of shootings, and ‘war music’, the important battles of the War of the Spanish Succession are transformed into a kind of early modern multi-media experience. In some cases, the presentation of the battle is even multi-layered, with a tableau in the forefront of the stage, and another tableau in the background which had to represent the complex character of battle with simultaneous attacks from the flanks as well as from behind.<sup>27</sup>

The perspective of the audience in these Amsterdam battle plays is tied up with the distanced perspective of the strategist or with that of the official reporter (the explicator of the performances) who is above all an observer and does not take part in the event itself. The heroes of the play remain flat characters, commanders without any script who seem to endure their performances rather than directing or even experiencing them. The role of the actor who recites the verses explaining the *tableaux vivants* could be compared with both the role of the newspaper editor and the role of the showmen of peep-shows. The explanations of what is shown on stage are primarily meant to be informative, but they are also of course interpretations of the battle and are often combined with a political, Dutch military propaganda frame. On the other hand, post-battle commentating voices referring to the chaos of war, the streams of blood, the turmoil, the fear of the soldiers, the steam, and the smoke, reveal how participants in war are sensually and emotionally affected by the battlefield experience.<sup>28</sup>

Suffering and pain are presented not just with words but also with sounds. The above-mentioned war music resounds during a discussion between the allegorical characters about the more abstract political effects of the war. Here we see a direct confrontation of allegory representing a distanced political and ideological framing of the battle with war as a sensual and auditory experience. In the second Amsterdam war play—*Het verlostte Brabant en Vlaanderen* (1706)—about the battle of Ramillies, sounds and cries literally disturb the political interpretation of the facts in a dialogue between the ‘Dyl’ river, ‘Flanders,’ and ‘Brabant;’ forcing these characters into a more affective

---

en *Paerdehoofden*, op en onder ziet gaan.’ Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst, *De roemruchtige zegepraal*, 38.

27 Ibid., 22–23.

28 Ibid., 32–33.

response towards the facts of war.<sup>29</sup> Both these auditory intermezzos and the silent performances show that early modern theatre was able to break through the detached perspective of the political commentator and that it could challenge the audience to be all eyes and ears and cast a closer look at the spectacle, which also aimed at representing the sensual reality of war itself.

### Conclusion

The representations of war and diplomacy in eighteenth-century Dutch theatre, peepshows, and re-enactments on stage discussed here showcase the range of early modern 'theatrical' imaginations of what was happening on Europe's battlefields and in the rooms of negotiating diplomats. The *tableaux vivants* and dialogues of Krook's 'peace play' *Staatkunde* (1713) stage the theatre of diplomacy as an object of public interest. Diplomatic handbooks also highlight the image of the diplomat as a performer who needs acting skills in order to represent and 'play' sovereign power in public. Krook's play addresses the public attention for the negotiations that would lead to the Peace of Utrecht, but it also discusses the principles on which these negotiations should be based. The allegorical characters who represent the suffering and fighting nations are transformed into impersonations of prudence and negotiating qualities, more explicitly represented by the main character 'Politics' and his helpers. The peace play enables the audience not only to imagine the world of negotiating powers, but also to learn about the political principles of balance of power and the rules of international diplomacy.

The incomprehensible idiom and exotic jargon of diplomats and the military are satirically spotlighted in the poem that describes a travelling peepshow about the Battle of Wijnendale. These travelling peepshows enabled the public in small villages and towns in the Dutch countryside to see and experience the spectacular theatres of war which were absent from everyday life in the Dutch Republic in the early eighteenth century. The technique of looking through a glass in order to discover a distant world also transforms a public event into a private experience. The peepshow not only brought the war, as a miniature

---

29 'De Dyl: Kund gy dat krygsalarm, dat veldgeschrei niet hooren? / Hier word weêr gerucht van binnen gemaakt. / Braband: Ach! ach! ik schrik, helaas! voor deeze naare klank.' Translation: *De Dyl*: Can't you here that battle alarm, these war cries? *Again, noises can be heard, from within. Braband*: Oh! oh! I am frightened, alas! for this horrible sound.' Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst, *Het verlostte Braband en Vlaanderen door den Veldslag bij Rammellies* (Amsterdam: Lescaijle, 1706), 29.

battle, back to the towns and villages of the Dutch Republic of the early eighteenth century; it also (re)connected the experience of war with the citizen's private sphere. It transformed battles into attractive and convenient theatrical events, but it also confronted the audience with its own role as an observer of war events, which became clear in the references made by 'Jaap', who explicitly refers to his own role as a newspaper reader and critically reflects on the confusing information flow about military operations.

The above-discussed 'theatres' as ways of seeing and experiencing distant acts of war and diplomacy relate various genres in their attempts to open up the experience of battles and peace negotiations to a larger audience than just military professionals and diplomats. Playing with the tension between distance and closeness on different levels, the peepshows and re-enactments explore various modes of combining more factual war representations with theatrical displays that had to attract curious spectators and 'to satisfy the fancy of their eyes', as it is the aim of 'Dame Curiosity' in the Amsterdam peace play of 1713. Showmen and explicators are essential 'actors' during these performances, drawing attention to meaningful details that tend to be overlooked or misunderstood by the audience. Musical and auditory intermezzos provide the audience a sensual experience of the actions taking place at far-away battlezones or around Europe's negotiation tables. The strategic overview of the spectacle of war often interacts with the intimacy of faces and voices that interrupt the spectator's detached enjoyment of a distant battle. The friction between diplomacy as a distant representational event (*viz.* signing a peace treaty) and the harsh reality behind the scenes of diplomatic business (the negotiations) may be less painful or disruptive, but still confronts us with the twofold function of early modern theatre as an instrument for mediating experiences from a distant world and fostering personal identification, while simultaneously allowing for enjoying that distance and the spectacles related to it.

## Performance and Propaganda in Spanish America during the War of the Spanish Succession

*Aaron Alejandro Olivas*

In September 1708, the royal officials of Caracas submitted to the Spanish crown a zealous handwritten account of their nine-day festivities commemorating the birth of Don Luis, the prince of Asturias. Held a year earlier, the celebrations honouring the new-born heir to the throne included public acclamations of Philip V as true king of Spain, followed by illuminations, military and religious processions, and a banquet hosted by French slave traders. Despite the hardships endured throughout the Caribbean during the War of the Spanish Succession, the spectacles in Venezuela also facilitated the collection of ten thousand pesos in silver for the urgencies of the Bourbons' European and North African campaigns. More importantly for local elites, however, the account served as an opportunity to discredit 'idle voices' circulating from Havana that the *caraqueños* had recently proclaimed Archduke Charles as their sovereign with the aide of Dutch forces in Curaçao—allies of the Habsburgs. Such an incident had notoriously occurred in Venezuela in 1702 and had required immediate counteraction. Six years later, the royal officials needed the account of their celebrations for the prince of Asturias to reassure Philip V of his 'reacclamation' by the populace as well as their full commitment to the Bourbon dynasty's objectives in the war: victory over the enemy Dutch and English, the defence of a united Spanish monarchy, and the preservation of the Catholic faith.<sup>1</sup>

Spectacle accounts such as these have provided scholars with rich source material for understanding the experiences of the War of the Spanish Succession as a global conflict—above all, the uncertainty and disorder the war provoked in the Iberian Atlantic World. The crown's particular demands for wartime spectacles and their execution by viceregal officials were supposed to emphasize the coherence of a single monarchy working together in a time of crisis to preserve Bourbon rule over the Spanish empire. Nonetheless, while Spanish colonial accounts do convey a sense of shared imperial struggle, they

---

1 Cabildo of Caracas to Philip V, Caracas, 3 September 1708, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Santo Domingo, 717.

also expose a heightened sense of discord and rivalry between social groups, cities, and even competing European empires as a result of the dynastic transition. These public performances do in fact emphasize the larger connections Spanish-American subjects had to the succession crisis as well as their role in its final conclusion and victory. Among other things, these acclamations of Philip v demonstrate the importance of public rituals in legitimizing political authority, reinforcing unity within the Hispanic monarchy, and mediating local concerns in late colonial Spanish America.

Legitimizing the new dynasty's rule over Spanish America—the world's most important silver-producing region—was an urgent concern for Philip v and his closest advisors. Although it was unclear whether or not armed conflict would erupt in Europe, by November 1700 ministers of state in Madrid were convinced that the succession and subsequent 'Union of the Two Crowns' between Spain and France would prompt the English and the Dutch to instigate a war in the Americas. These fears were well-founded, as evident in the outbreak of violence in the Caribbean and Pacific Rim beginning in the summer of 1702 and lasting through the end of 1712. As colonial correspondence and wartime maps suggest, the Habsburgs' allies responded to the dynastic quarrel in Europe with a commercial war targeting the silver fleets and principal Spanish-American trade routes.<sup>2</sup> Throughout this period, Anglo-Dutch agents used both aggressive measures (such as commerce raiding) and peaceful means (such as pamphleteering and smuggling) in their attempts to persuade Spanish colonial subjects to recognize Habsburg sovereignty as a challenge to Philip v's alliance with the French.<sup>3</sup>

---

2 Pierre Mortier, *Téâtre de la guerre en Amérique telle qu'elle est à present possédée par les Espagnols, Anglois, François, et Hollandois &c.* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1703). For example, Mortier's map highlights important Spanish colonial trade routes targeted by the Dutch and English navies in the Caribbean. By the end of the seventeenth century, the vicerealties of New Spain and Peru had become the world's most lucrative markets for African slaves and European manufactured goods (above all, luxury textiles)—demands stimulated by the mining economies of Northern Mexico and the Andes.

3 David Marley's *Wars of the Americas: a Chronology of Armed Conflict in the Western Hemisphere* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008) offers the broadest overview of the military history of Spanish America during the War of the Spanish Succession. Charles Arnade and W. Stitt Robinson have written about the earliest skirmishes in Spanish Florida and the northern borderlands. J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé deals with confrontations between novohispanic militias and Jamaican privateers and logwood cutters in the Yucatan Peninsula in *El Virreinato, Vol. III: Expansión y defensa* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1983). Carla Rahn Phillips, Charles Boxer, and Eduardo Brazão have written about major naval battles such as the English admiral Charles Wager's assault on the Peruvian silver fleet at



FIGURE 11.1 *Téâtre de la guerre en Amérique telle qu'elle est à present possédée par les Espagnols, Anglois, François, et Hollandois &c.* (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1703).  
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA

From the start of Philip V's rule, the Spanish crown counted on a deliberate program of spectacles to safeguard Spanish-American loyalties from such enemy assaults.<sup>4</sup> The official proclamation regarding the succession—delayed due to a disagreement between the king and the Council of the Indies over colonial defence—first arrived in Veracruz on March 3, 1701 with orders for the admiral of the silver fleet and all royal officials to honour a clause in Carlos II's testament to immediately display of the *pendón* (royal standard) in recognition of Bourbon succession even before proceeding with the exequies for the late king. A clear break with standard ceremonial protocol, the urgency of this initial spectacle was meant to ensure instant legitimization of the political transition in the face of potential resistance among the colonial populace—whether inspired by Anglo-Dutch propaganda or any lingering sympathies for the

Caragena de Indias (1708) and the French corsair René Duguay-Trouin's victory at the battle of Rio de Janeiro (1711).

4 David González Cruz, 'Propaganda y estrategias de legitimación de la sucesión en los dominios de la Monarquía Hispánica (1700–1714),' in *La sucesión de la Monarquía Hispánica, 1665–1725: biografías relevantes y procesos complejos*, ed. José Manuel Bernardo Ares (Madrid: Sílex, 2009), 201–203.

Habsburgs.<sup>5</sup> Again, the crown's concerns were rather justified. Public knowledge of disloyalty among certain elites in Spain spread to Spanish America at the same time as the succession proclamation and continued to be a popular source of gossip throughout the war.<sup>6</sup> Although these cases did not immediately inspire colonial disloyalty, later ones—such as uprisings in Cremona and Naples and the defection of the Admiral of Castile to the Habsburg cause— influenced sedition and conspiracies in places such as Caracas (1702), Panama City (1704), and Mexico City (1707).<sup>7</sup>

The use of public ceremonies as inoculation against colonial Austriacism may have had its limits, yet it was still highly successful for conveying propaganda for the new dynasty. Such ceremonies, of course, were a common part of the everyday lives of Spanish-American subjects, much like in other parts of the Spanish Empire. The most expected of these festivals, known as *fiestas de tabla*, were official holidays approved by the crown and based on the liturgical calendar, with the exception of the *años del rey* (king's birthday), and the *años de la reina*, (queen's birthday). Even these were marked by Catholic overtones but also constant references to Bourbon military progresses. The Spanish crown exerted control over public festivals to the extent that communities were legally obligated to celebrate the *fiestas de tabla* and any other holidays demanded by the monarch. To ensure the celebration of the approved festivals, *fiestas de tabla* were required by law to be marked on tables or charts and displayed publically, both in religious spaces—such cathedrals and

---

5 Víctor Mínguez Cornelles, 'Imperio y muerte: las exequias de Carlos II y el fin de la dinastía a ambas orillas del Atlántico,' in *Arte, poder e identidad en Iberoamérica: de los virreinos a la construcción nacional*, ed. Inmaculada Rodríguez Moy (Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2008), 33–43; María José del Río Barredo, 'Los rituales públicos de Madrid en el cambio de dinastía (1700–1710),' in *Philip V y su tiempo*, ed. Eliseo Serrano (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004), 11: 736–737. The decree sent to Spanish America was dated a mere three days after the public acclamation of Philip V in Madrid spectacles. It reached Lima by 27 April 1701. The matter of raising the *pendón* had even been a concern in Madrid, where the regency council accelerated the staging of Philip V's acclamation ceremony to 24 November 1700—within forty-eight hours of Louis XIV's acceptance of the will and five months before the new king made his entry into the capital—in order to discourage any Habsburg pretensions.

6 Antonio de Robles, *Diario de Sucesos Notables (1665–1703)*, vol. 3, ed. Antonio Castro Leal (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1946), 145; 157–159.

7 AGI, Escribanía 690A; AGI, México 661; François-Amboise Daubenton de Villebois to the comte de Pontchartrain, Madrid, 22 June 1704, ANF, Marine, B7 232, fol. 52–53.



churches—and secular spaces—such as the halls of municipal councils and royal courtrooms.<sup>8</sup>

Royal officials in the viceroyalties would be notified of additional holidays by the arrival of proclamations from the Spanish court. These were required to be announced in public squares by *pregoneros*—town criers usually of Indigenous or African descent. Ecclesiastical and secular officials were required by law to participate in these celebrations as well as plan many of the festivities, otherwise face penalties. For example, during the acclamation ceremony for Philip V, there was a 10 peso fine imposed on any royal official who neglected to participate in illuminations along the parade route of the *pendón*, the symbolic representation of the absentee monarch. Heavier fines could be expected at the end of an official's term in office if he was denounced to the crown in his *juicio de residencia*, or trial of residence, for lack of participation in spectacles.<sup>9</sup>

Although the crown was insistent about the celebration of specific holidays and events, it seldom stipulated *how* these public festivals should be celebrated, leaving communities at liberty to mark these occasions 'in the manner most accustomed'—a common phrase in the decrees. Therefore, royal officials, municipal magistrates, and local clergy could determine for themselves the number of days and the types of festivities for each holiday. As such, their planning and execution became a central duty in the careers of colonial authorities—and one that could be used to advance them.<sup>10</sup>

Spanish colonial subjects witnessed a prodigious series of festivals during the War of the Spanish Succession, as Philip V demanded the major events of his succession and the war to be celebrated throughout the empire. Each of these celebrations reminded royal officials and the general populace alike of the Union of the Two Crowns—Spain's dynastic alliance with France that was also political, economic, military, and religious in nature. These public spectacles can be grouped together in three categories: celebrations of milestones in the lives of the members of the Bourbon dynasty, celebrations of

8 Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: the Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 132–142.

9 Miguel Ángel Marín, 'El sonido de una ciudad pequeña en tiempos de Philip V,' in *Philip V y su tiempo*, ed. Eliseo Serrano (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004), 11: 18–19.

10 Mínguez, 'Imperio y muerte,' 17–51; Frances L. Ramos, 'Succession and Death: Royal Ceremonies in Colonial Puebla,' *The Americas* 60:2 (2003): 185–215. Mínguez and Ramos have noted the importance of local variation and ingenuity in Bourbon spectacles in both colonial Mexico City and Puebla de los Ángeles.

Bourbon military victories, and the celebration of a new war-related religious holiday.<sup>11</sup>

Of the celebrations pertaining to the royal family, the first and most immediate events commemorated Philip v's arrival in Madrid, his acclamation as king of Spain, and the king's marriage to Maria Luisa of Savoy—all of which occurred between 1701 and 1702. These were followed between 1707 and 1709 by celebrations for the pregnancy of the queen, which required acts of thanksgiving for her good health, festivities commemorating the eventual birth of don Luis, prince of Asturias, and—at age two—the prince's *jura* as successor to the throne. Celebrations for the birth of the king's second son, the Infante Ferdinand, followed in 1713. Similar festivities dedicated to royal births had not been celebrated in the Spanish Empire in over forty years, as Carlos II produced no heirs during his reign. There were also important spectacles commemorating royal deaths, which took place between 1711–1715. These not only commemorated the 1714 passing of Queen Maria Luisa of Savoy but also deaths among the Bourbons of France, such as Philip v's father, the Dauphin, who died 1711, and the king's brothers, the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Berry, who died in 1711 and 1712 respectively. Later the death of Louis XIV in 1715 was observed throughout the Spanish colonies as well-commemorated in Mexico City with a catafalque in the cathedral.<sup>12</sup>

Celebrations for Bourbon military victories focused on the peninsular campaigns of the War of the Spanish Succession, although news of the Italian and Northern European campaigns circulated widely. The most important military celebrations revolved around the recapture of Madrid from the Allied army in 1706 and 1710, the battle of Almansa in 1707, the 1709 victories along the Portuguese border, and the successive victories at Zaragoza, Brihuega, and Villaviciosa between 1710–1711. Likewise, in 1711, Philip v proclaimed a new religious holiday, known as the Celebration of the Holy Sacrament, in the wake of the Allied retreat from Castile. This event was observed in December, on the Sunday after the Immaculate Conception, as an annual votive fiesta commemorating the sacrileges committed by the Habsburgs' allies, particularly Anglo-Dutch pillaging of Castilian churches and their desecration of the Eucharist at many of these religious sites. According to a Franciscan sermon

11 Del Río, 'Los rituales públicos de Madrid,' 752. These colonial spectacles followed patterns set by court ceremonial in Madrid, which were equally propagandistic in nature.

12 Victor Mínguez, 'La imagen de Luis XIV en sus exequias novohispanas: la "Flor Francesa" y el "Espeso de Príncipes,"' in *Tiempos de Latinoamérica*, ed. M. Chust, V. Mínguez, and V. Ortells (Castellón de la Plana: Biblioteca de la Universitat Jaume I), 85–112.

from the celebrations in Puebla, Philip v's reverence for the Immaculate Conception and the Eucharist would unquestionably assure his victory in the war.<sup>13</sup>

We get a sense of just how excessive this sequence of dynastic holidays, military commemorations, and religious ceremonies could be in a 1710 letter from the Audiencia of Guadalajara to the viceroy of New Spain. In the letter, the president of the *audiencia* noted that work on the city's aqueduct had been set back a good eight years due to the length of the wartime festivities, their expense, and the resulting incapacity of the city's laborers due to continuous drunkenness—the ban on mescal having been lifted at the beginning of Philip v's reign for such special occasions.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, Philip v's heavy demand for spectacles in Spanish America can be considered part of a larger Bourbon strategy to winning a global war. The governments of Philip v and Louis XIV expected the wealth of Spanish America to finance the war in Europe, given the wide circulation of silver and gold specie in the Spanish colonies.<sup>15</sup> Hence the growing multitude of public celebrations during the war served as fundraising opportunities to tap into that wealth through the request of *donativos*, or voluntary donations to the crown. Along with the benefits of Spanish American trade, *donativos* acted as vital sources of revenue for the Bourbons, and by-and-large contributed to prolonging the war. The crown's requests for such *donativos* in New Spain and Peru always coincided with public holidays: for example, the first *donativo* declared in 1701 for the relief of Ceuta and Oran in Spanish North Africa, two general ones for the urgencies of the war in 1703 and 1705, three for the Catalan campaigns in 1707, 1713, and 1714, several requests in the 1710s for endeavours in Naples, and the last in 1715 for the reconquest of Mallorca.<sup>16</sup>

Although donations were supposed to be voluntary, in reality they were expected, and the ability to collect them could make or break the career of a

13 'A los virreyes del Perú y Nueva España, gobernadores, arzobispos, obispos, y ciudades de ambos reinos para que en todas las iglesias de sus territorios se celebre una fiesta votiva anual en el día que se señala a Nuestro Señor Sacramentado en desagravio de los ultrajes que le fueron hechos por los enemigos de la religión,' Corella, 19 June 1711, AGI, Indiferente General 432, fol. 230v–233r.

14 Toribio Rodríguez de Solís to the Duke of Alburquerque, Guadalajara, 30 September 1710, Archivo General de la Nación Mexicana, Reales Cédulas Originales 34, fol. 99r–106v.

15 François-Amboise Daubenton de Villebois to the comte de Pontchartrain, Madrid, 26 October 1703, Archives Nationales de France (ANF), Marine, B<sup>7</sup> 229, fol. 221r–226r.

16 The file AGI Indiferente General 431 (book 45) gives testimony to the crown's incessant call for colonial *donativos* throughout the war.

royal official. For example, the Duke of Alburquerque, viceroy of New Spain, was rewarded with the *toison de oro* and a longer term in office for successfully raising one million pesos during the 1707 celebrations for the birth of the prince of Asturias. By contrast, the marquis of Castellodosrius, viceroy of Peru, did not appear as useful to the crown in this regard, which in part led to his disgrace by 1708.<sup>17</sup>

Public spectacles were also geared towards controlling information about the progresses of the war, as the crown hoped to prevent the possibility of wavering loyalties by publicizing through celebrations the successes of Bourbon troops and Philip v's fulfilment of his duties as king—above all, to protect the foral privileges of his subjects and produce heirs. Both the courts of Madrid and Versailles were quite concerned about conveying an impression across the Atlantic that the Bourbons were winning the war in order to combat pro-Habsburg propaganda campaigns led by the English and the Dutch. Particularly after 1704, the English secretaries of the Southern Department—Hedges and Sunderland—and also the directors of the Dutch West India Company encouraged colonial governors in Jamaica and Curaçao to take a non-violent approach to the war by using smugglers to disperse engravings of the Archduke and Spanish-language pamphlets, gazettes, and amnesty decrees throughout Spanish America. The objective was to implant doubts about Bourbon sovereignty, raise anxieties about the intentions of the French, and promise arms and naval support should Spanish colonial subjects revolt in the name of the Archduke. Naturally, the campaigns were also geared towards boosting Anglo-Dutch trade, with the assumption that once Archduke Charles was firmly in place on the throne and recognized as king of Spain, England and the Netherlands would be granted the Spanish colonial trade privileges enjoyed by the French under Philip v.<sup>18</sup> Similar propaganda campaigns were

17 'Memorandum,' Madrid, 14 March 1707, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de France (AE), Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 167, fol. 73r–74v; Michel-Jean Amelot de Gournay to Louis XIV, Madrid, March 17, 1707, AE, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 167, fol. 77r–80r; Louis XIV to Michel-Jean Amelot de Gournay, Fontainebleau, 30 July 1708, AE, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 181, fol. 115r–116v; Michel-Jean Amelot de Gournay to Louis XIV, Madrid, 13 August 1708, AE, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 181, fol. 203r–208r.

18 For example, see Sir Charles Hedges to Thomas Handasyde, Saint James's, 4 May 1704, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 22: 1704–1705*, ed. Cecil Headlam (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), 111–123; the Earl of Sunderland to Thomas Handasyde, Windsor, 19 July 1708, in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 24: 1708–1709*, ed. Cecil Headlam (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 37.

highly effective in Catalonia and Valencia, and did in fact contribute to an outcropping of cases of disloyalty and sedition among elites in Spanish America and the Philippines, which spanned the entire duration of the war. The most common crimes were those of lese majesté and sedition, either by word of mouth or by circulating enemy pamphlets and engravings. However, there were also cases of actual interest in inciting revolts in the name of the Archduke with Anglo-Dutch aide.<sup>19</sup>

To conclude, it is crucial to note the importance of local uses of wartime spectacles in proving the loyalty of colonial elites and reinforcing the bonds of patronage with Bourbon Spain and even France, as paranoia of political disintegration rocked the empire. This particular usage of ceremony was apparent not long after the acclamation of Philip v in the America. For example, the commander of the fort of San Juan de Ulúa in Veracruz, who in a letter to Philip v relished in the fact that he was the first in Mexico to display the new dynasty's banner, considered the gesture worthy of a pension or noble privilege. Likewise, the feverish endeavours of the indigenous lords of Tlaxcala to stage a royal acclamation ceremony in their city before celebrations in Mexico City allude to the potential advantages of patronage to be garnered during the succession crisis. By publishing descriptions of their triumphal arches and *loas* from the event, the Tlaxcalteca assured Philip v of their support of his succession and thus justified their request that the king restore the tax exemptions long bestowed on them by Emperor Charles v for their assistance of Cortés's army in the conquest of Mexico.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the Count of la Moncolva, viceroy of Peru, staged the lavish opera *La púrpura de la rosa* on the king's birthday in 1701 as a response to popular rumours in Lima that he was sympathetic to the Habsburgs. The libretto was based on a play by Calderón de la Barca that was originally used to celebrate the marriage of Louis XIV to Infanta Maria Teresa and again to celebrate the marriage of Carlos II to the Duchess of Orleans,

19 For a broad overview of these cases, see Aaron Alejandro Olivas, 'Loyalty and Disloyalty to the Bourbon Dynasty in Spanish America and the Philippines During the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–1715)' (dissertation, the University of California, Los Angeles, 2013). Also, Analola Borges's monograph *La Casa de Austria en Venezuela durante la Guerra de Sucesión española* (Salzburg / Tenerife: [s.n.], 1963) and Luis Navarro García's *conspiración en México durante el gobierno del Virrey Alburquerque* (Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón, Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1982) deal with particular cases in Caracas and Mexico City.

20 *Crespones y Campanas Tlaxcaltecas en 1701*, ed. Alejandro González Acosta (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 9.

so the viceroy's choice of the piece was supposed to subtly suggest to the king his support of the Union of the Two Crowns.<sup>21</sup>

As demonstrated by the zeal of the royal officials of Caracas in celebrating the birth of the prince of Asturias, such ceremonies were instrumental in conveying to Philip v Spanish colonial dedication to his cause in the war as well as strengthening trans-imperial bonds with the France crown. Accounts such as this emphasize Spanish royal officials' devotion to the Union of the Two Crowns and the inclusion of French military and slave company personnel in public celebrations, evoking a sense of friendship and cooperation between the two nations in the face of Anglo-Dutch opposition. Therefore, public displays of Bourbon support were also supposed to reassure patronage bonds and loyalty to the French court.

---

21 José A. Rodríguez Garrido, 'El teatro cortesano en la Lima colonial: recepción y practicas esénicas,' *Histórica* 32:1 (2008): 115–143.

## Promoting the Peace: Queen Anne and the Public Thanksgiving at St Paul's Cathedral

*Julie Farguson*

On 7 July 1713 a 'Publick Thanksgiving' was held at St. Paul's Cathedral in London for the 'Blessings of Peace'.<sup>1</sup> This event involved a grand procession from the Houses of Parliament to the Cathedral, a long religious service accompanied by music, followed in the evening by spectacular firework displays and other forms of celebration. Enormous crowds turned out to watch the processions, some paying to watch the festivities from balconies overlooking the proceedings, while others sat on specially prepared stands.<sup>2</sup> Four thousand children from London charity schools were 'placed upon a machine in the Strand' and throughout the event they sang 'hymns of . . . praise to God, for her Majesty' and the gift of peace.<sup>3</sup> As the queen had issued a proclamation for a general thanksgiving, religious ceremonies were held in towns and cities all over the country.<sup>4</sup> The form of service to be used for these ceremonies was dictated by the Church of England and authorised by Queen Anne who read the document before it was printed.<sup>5</sup> These regional ceremonies were accompanied by civic festivities which brought local communities together, and generated outpourings of fidelity to the queen. At provincial gatherings aldermen and other civic dignitaries made speeches and drank loyal toasts to the 'Queen', the 'Peace' and the 'Protestant succession'.<sup>6</sup> But not everyone was enamoured of the Peace Treaty. On the day of the St Paul's ceremony a number of Whigs resisted the

---

1 The service at St Paul's Cathedral was originally planned for 16 June. I would like to thank Dr Toby Barnard and Dr Hannah Smith for their assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

2 *Daily Courant* 4 July 1713: 3658; *Evening Post* 2–4 June 1713: 596; *Evening Post* 2 July 1713: 609; *Post Boy*, 7–9 July 1713: 2834.

3 *Post Boy*, 7–9 July 1713: 2834; British Museum thereafter BM Mm, 2.106, engraved print.

4 A simple search on Solo (the online catalogue for the Bodleian Library, Oxford) and the British Library online catalogue produced 29 thanksgiving sermons from different parts of the country.

5 The National Archives SP/34/21/7 f. 14–15 Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Dartmouth 7 April 1713; The National Archives, SP/34/21/9 Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Dartmouth 8 April 1713.

6 For examples see: *Post Boy*, 2–4 June 1713: 2819; *Post Boy*, 11–14 July 1713: 2836.

royal call. Peers and Members of Parliament stayed away from the celebrations, and no doubt in the localities, other less prominent individuals also ignored the call to give thanks.<sup>7</sup> These absences reflect the long-standing political controversies that surrounded the Peace Treaty and continuing animosity.

As the queen's health deteriorated political acrimony was also fuelled by the question of the succession. Political intrigue and subterfuges during the negotiations for the peace treaty had made many in both Houses of Parliament feel uneasy, and anxiety over the security of the Protestant succession reached a critical level in the summer of 1713. Both Anne's right to the throne and the Hanoverian succession were recognised in the treaty, but the queen and her Tory ministers were widely suspected of wishing to reinstate the Stuart heir to the throne—James Francis Edward; commonly known as the Pretender—and these misgivings were not without reason. Jacobite strength in Parliament was greater than in any House of Commons since the queen's accession, and Anne's chief minister, Robert Harley, the 1st earl of Oxford had needed Jacobite support to achieve his peace policy.<sup>8</sup> On a trip to Paris, Oxford's political ally—Lord Bolingbroke—had attended the opera and been seen sitting in a box near the Pretender, news which quickly got back to London and caused outrage.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, with the tacit support of the government, Jacobite rebels flooded back into Britain.<sup>10</sup> These and other, similar acts simply heightened the atmosphere of distrust. The leaders of the Whig party, realising they could not prevent the conclusion of the peace, sponsored a propaganda campaign to arouse the widest possible suspicion of the Tory ministry's future intentions towards the Protestant succession, once the Peace was concluded. These political manoeuvres simply exacerbated an already inflamed situation and undermined the authority of the Crown. With the Scots pushing for the dissolution of the union, the queen feared a civil war and others shared her concerns.<sup>11</sup> Political factionalism had reached such a pitch that the British nation was threatened with destruction.

---

7 Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 82.

8 For an overview of the politics of Anne's later years see: Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 300–312.

9 Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 359; for the intricacies of the complex working relationship between Harley and Bolingbroke who oscillated between being close allies and rivals see: Sheila Biddle, *Bolingbroke and Harley* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975).

10 Gregg, *Anne*, 363.

11 Gregg, *Anne*, 334, 367.



Historians of British political history generally analyse the conclusion of the war and the signing of the peace treaty along with the furore over the succession in secular terms, focussing on debates in Parliament and the manoeuvrings of politicians and generals. The role of Queen Anne in all these processes has largely been disregarded; the political implications of the ceremonial aspects of the treaty ignored. This neglect is in keeping with a historiography that argues for decline during this period, not only in the culture of the court but also in terms of how the monarchy functioned.<sup>12</sup> It also relates to long-standing scholarly assumptions about the secularisation of royal power in the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Consequently the religious dimension to the peace treaty—the public thanksgiving at St Paul's and the role Anne played both as an advocate and, in the end, a sort of virtual participant in the ceremony—has been overlooked.<sup>14</sup>

In the last few years, however, there has been a reversal in these historiographical trends. Older narratives of decline are being replaced by new perspectives.<sup>15</sup> A growing awareness of the symbolic dimension to politics has revealed the continuing importance of courtly ceremonies and rituals as a means of not only presenting princely status and royal authority but also

- 
- 12 Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993), *passim*; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: the Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 507–646 and the epilogue. According to Sharpe by the end of Anne's reign 'the monarchy as the affective centre of the nation was... moribund'... 'Representational monarchy perforce gave way to a fully rational public sphere': 676, 680.
- 13 Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1999), 273–315. Monod acknowledges Anne's personal piety but suggests she was a 'rationalist', 293.
- 14 Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, Kevin Sharpe pays little attention to the public thanksgiving held during Anne's reign. He sees these ceremonies, in addition to being a thanksgiving to God, as 'an act of worship of the queen'. This assessment suggests these ceremonies were reinforcing divine-right notions of monarchical rule; see 620–21; quote, 620.
- 15 These include: *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Seven Dials, Cassel & Company, 2000); Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: the Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); *Queenship in Europe, 1660–1815: the Role of the Consort*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Julie Farguson, 'Art, Ceremony and the British Monarchy, 1689–1714' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2013).

in communicating with princes, courtiers and subjects on political matters.<sup>16</sup> Running in parallel with this reassessment of court culture, a number of scholars have reconsidered the role of religion in the representation of royal power during the eighteenth century, and have argued that religion remained a 'vibrant force' at all European courts during this period.<sup>17</sup> It is within these recent historiographical developments that my essay will be situated.

By re-examining the architectural setting for this event, along with the religious service and its music, this essay will demonstrate that—despite not being well enough to attend the service—Queen Anne used ceremonial performance as a means of asserting her political authority: to promote the peace, but also to publicise her desire for civic harmony and national unity. An underlying, but nonetheless important aim, which was expressed more subtly, was to distance herself from the Caesaro-papal style of monarchy practised by her father—James II—and stress her commitment to the Hanoverian succession. But to understand the significance of the 1713 ceremony we need to engage briefly with the history of public thanksgivings in England and examine how this ceremonial form was utilised by Queen Anne to mark military victories.

### The History of Public Thanksgivings in England and the New Arrangements

Since medieval times St Paul's Cathedral had been used by monarchs for the celebration and commemoration of events deemed to be of national importance.<sup>18</sup> Victory in battle was thought to be a blessing from God, and divine intervention in military affairs called for a powerful expression of communal gratitude.<sup>19</sup> The most famous of these wartime ceremonies at St Paul's was the public thanksgiving led by Elizabeth I in 1588, to celebrate victory over the Spanish Armada. The tradition of thanksgiving continued under the Stuarts, albeit in a different architectural setting as by the 1620s the three

16 For an overview of these historiographical shifts see: Michael Schaich, 'Introduction,' in *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Schaich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–40.

17 Ibid.

18 David J. Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation, 1540–1714,' in *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London*, ed. D. Keene *et al.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 45–70.

19 Natalie Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England,' *Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012): 4–25.

institutions of government worshipped separately: the monarch at the Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace, the House of Lords at Westminster Abbey, and the House of Commons at St Margaret's Church, Westminster.<sup>20</sup> In the years following the Restoration of Charles II, a significant number of thanksgivings were held in response to military victories and the signing of peace treaties, most notably during the Nine Years' War (1688–97). Between 1689 and 1701 the Crown ordered seven public thanksgivings in connection with the war effort. Two were to give thanks for military victory (Boyne, 1690; Namur, 1695), five marked the safe return of the king at the end of the campaign season (1691–96) and one was staged to celebrate the Peace of Ryswick (1697).<sup>21</sup> None of these, however, was held at St. Paul's although the new cathedral was being built, and by 1697 the building was ready enough to be used for religious services.<sup>22</sup> Instead William and Mary continued to follow the old system, and they worshipped in the Chapel Royal. William followed the same pattern when he ruled alone after Mary's death in 1694. Once Anne had ascended the throne and Britain was again at war, the way military victories were celebrated changed completely.

The Crown had always chosen the events that warranted nationwide worship, and in the Tudor period they oversaw the production of approved prayers and special liturgies by Church of England clergymen.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the decision to hold a state thanksgiving outside the palace setting was the monarch's prerogative. Consequently, these ceremonies and their attendant processions came under the jurisdiction of the royal household and were organised by the Lord Chamberlain supported by officers from the College of Arms.<sup>24</sup> Following allied victory at the battle of Vigo in October 1702, the queen announced there would be a public thanksgiving at St Paul's Cathedral and throughout

20 Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 29. The last monarch to worship at St Paul's 'in state' prior to 1702, was James I. He attended a service at the old cathedral on 26 March 1620. See: Lambeth Palace, Fulham Papers, Porteus 17, fol. 138–140.

21 Lambeth Palace, Fulham Papers, Porteus, 17, fol. 142–144; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58, 106–108; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 367–368; Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 29. The 1692 thanksgiving also mentioned a victory by the fleet.

22 The old cathedral had been destroyed in the Great Fire of London (1666). Designed by Christopher Wren, the new cathedral was built between 1675 and 1710.

23 Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England,' 2–25.

24 Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: the Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 91.

her kingdom.<sup>25</sup> As the last state thanksgiving had occurred in 1588, Anne gave orders for a 'Committee of the Council' to arrange the first ceremony of state in the new cathedral.<sup>26</sup> Although in some areas the committee followed the precedent set in 1588, it was unclear who had overseen the liturgical arrangements for the ceremony. The committee addressed this problem and specified that St Paul's Cathedral would become the 'Queen's Chapel Royal' on the day of thanksgiving.<sup>27</sup> This meant that the religious service came under the control of the Crown. The evidence suggests that the appointment of the person who would preach the sermon was a decision taken by the government in consultation with the queen and senior clergymen. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote the form of prayers for the service at St Paul's and the version designed for national distribution. Nonetheless, the queen was in overall charge of these events. The monarch was the head of the Church of England, and Anne was a deeply religious woman, so she took great interest in the form these ceremonies would take. In fact, at times, she exercised considerable control over the proceedings. Anne chose the anthems, examined the prayers to be used, discussed the choice of biblical texts for the sermon, approved the order of service before it went to print, and on at least two occasions chose the men who would preach before her, suggesting a degree of political agency on Anne's part that has hitherto gone largely unnoticed.<sup>28</sup>

Gender historians have long argued that religion provided women from all social levels with a powerful justification for independent action. In times of emergency or instability, religious institutions and ceremonies offered women opportunities to play a public religious role.<sup>29</sup> In other words, public religion empowered women, and in the case of female rulers, enabled direct political action.<sup>30</sup> The issue of how to present a female king in wartime presented considerable challenges to Anne and her advisors. To a large extent these difficulties were overcome by the pivotal role the queen played in drawing the

25 *By the Queen. A Proclamation, for a Publick Thanksgiving.* [3 November 1702] (London, 1702).

26 College of Arms, M3 bis (Ceremonial), last page in the volume (unpaginated).

27 College of Arms, M3 bis (Ceremonial), fol. 36–45, last page in the volume (unpaginated).

28 *HMC, Eleventh Report, Appendix Part v, Dartmouth Papers*, 315, 15 May 1713, Whitehall: Earl of Dartmouth to the Queen; Lambeth Palace MS 930 (Correspondence), 29 July 1705 Lord Godolphin to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury; Luttrell, vi, 157; Burrows, 34, 36; Hannah Smith, 'Last of all the Heavenly Birth: Queen Anne and Sacral Queenship,' *Parliamentary History* 28 (2009): 137–149; Gregg, 165.

29 For example see: Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 207–251.

30 Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 208.

political nation together in the performance of a corporate religious act. But religion was inextricably connected to politics in the early modern period. Disputes over issues such as popery, religious toleration and the practice of occasional conformity by Protestant nonconformists continued to cause controversy in England. Despite the passing of the Act of Toleration (1689), these concerns regularly fuelled debates in parliament and in the press in the opening decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup> As outlined above, religious controversies were generally concerned with public policy and practice, what Mark Knights calls 'politicized religion'.<sup>32</sup> A public religious act by the monarch was a visible indicator of the ruler's commitment to the Church of England. During this period, however, state thanksgivings were also used to promote the Protestant nature of the British monarchy to a wider public, and these grand ceremonies highlighted the queen's commitment to Protestantism, not just the Church of England. By participating in these services at St Paul's, Anne presented herself as powerful wartime leader, emancipated from absolutist monarchical ambitions and committed to parliamentary monarchy. During the sermon clergymen portrayed Anne as being morally and spiritually superior to the 'common enemy'—Louis XIV—and as a Protestant exemplar they promoted her as a symbol of national unity. Aside from giving thanks to God, from the very beginning of the reign, these ceremonies were designed to generate patriotic feelings and encourage loyalty to the post-Glorious Revolution monarchy. Thanksgivings held in the localities enhanced this process.

### Military Queenship through Religious Devotion: Queen Anne and the Thanksgivings at St Paul's Cathedral, 1702–8

On 12 November 1702 Queen Anne led a public thanksgiving at St Paul's Cathedral to offer thanks to God for his 'protection and assistance' in the 'just war' against France.<sup>33</sup> By 1708 six more of these state occasions had been staged at St. Paul's. All these thanksgivings involved a grand cavalcade to St. Paul's, a royal procession into the cathedral, followed by a long, elaborate religious ceremony attended by the queen. If, as some scholars have claimed, the intention with the first thanksgiving was to emulate Elizabeth I, in terms of

31 Melinda Zook, *Protestantism, Politics and Women in Britain, 1660–1714* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 8.

32 Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18; Zook, *Protestantism*, 8.

33 *London Gazette* 2–5 November 1702: 3859.

frequency and political impact, Queen Anne's thanksgivings soon outstripped the Elizabethan version, and arguably nothing since has surpassed them.<sup>34</sup> Being held in a newly built Protestant cathedral maximised their impact. As the new St Paul's was the first Protestant cathedral to be built in Britain, and in terms of area, one of the largest cathedrals in Europe, the building acquired additional political significance. St Paul's Cathedral symbolised Protestant nationhood and British Imperial power, making it an unparalleled setting for the celebration of military triumph and the affirmation of national unity.<sup>35</sup>

In terms of size and scale, the new cathedral differed considerably from its medieval counterpart. Wren's building offered a vast promenading space, and the choir served as both a seating area and an auditory. Most importantly, in the context of royal ceremony, there was no designated seating for the monarch, as would be found in the chapels royal. When worshipping in the chapels in her palaces, Anne sat in the royal closet and generally was hidden from view by the traverse: a curtained tabernacle-like area that emphasised the sacredness of the monarch.<sup>36</sup> During the thanksgiving ceremonies at St Paul's, however, Anne was placed on a chair of state, raised on a dais, surmounted by a canopy of state situated in the body of the choir, so in full view of the congregation.<sup>37</sup> This high level of visibility while in the act of her religious devotions was unusual and commented on by observers.<sup>38</sup>

Once the Queen was installed in her seat in the cathedral, the seating arrangements in the choir allowed for a visualisation of the whole political nation joined together in the worship of God, symbolising as Jonathan Trelawney put it in his 1702 thanksgiving sermon, the '... Act of the Whole Kingdom'.<sup>39</sup> By mirroring the seating arrangements in the House of Lords Anne was visibly part of

34 Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, 206–207.

35 Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation, 1540–1714,' 45–70.

36 The practice of using the traverse continued at the English court until the end of the eighteenth century. For details see: John Adamson, 'The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509–1714,' in *The Princely Courts of Europe*, ed. Adamson, 104; in other courts this area was known variously as the cortina or oratorium.

37 College of Arms MS 3 Bis (1702 proceedings), fol. 36–45; The National Archives, LC 5/70 (Lord Chamberlain: Miscellaneous Records), fol. 194; Lambeth Palace MS 938 (*A Copy of a letter, Sent from a Gentleman in London to His Friend in the Country, Nov. 12th giving some Account of that Day's Solemnity, 1702*), fol. 33.

38 College of Arms MS 3 Bis (1702 proceedings), fol. 36–45; Lambeth Palace MS 938 (*A Copy of a letter, Sent from a Gentleman in London to His Friend in the Country, Nov. 12th giving some Account of that Day's Solemnity, 1702*), fol. 33.

39 Johnathan Trelawney, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Queen and Both Houses of Parliament at the Cathedral Church of St Paul's November 12th, 1702* (London, 1702), 34.

the governing body, her elevated position emphasising her superior status and confirming her central role in parliamentary monarchical government. The close proximity of the members of the House of Commons; nearby, but sitting separately, reiterated the point. The thanksgiving sermons gave aural expression to these symbolic visual forms. A recurring theme was the benefit of 'the body politick', 'our publick councils', 'the balance of government', with Gilbert Burnet referring to the good relationship between the queen and Parliament as 'the harmony between these bodies'.<sup>40</sup> The way Anne was positioned in the choir also visibly demonstrated her disdain for divine-right theories. Anne may have been the anointed queen of England, but she was made of flesh and blood too, and her location during these thanksgivings, which enabled the audience to see all her physical gestures, demonstrated that fact more clearly than any pronouncement or speech and set her apart from her Stuart ancestors. These events were as infused with political meaning as a debate in Parliament, and the sermon effectively served as a royal speech conveying important political messages on behalf of the queen and her government. Consequently, all the thanksgiving sermons that were preached at St. Paul's were published subsequently. Public Thanksgivings were also reported in the newspapers.

### Promoting the Peace and the Protestant Succession: The 1713 Ceremony

Although all the thanksgivings at St Paul's Cathedral were important, in terms of the queen's own political agenda, the 1713 ceremony was especially significant. Public thanksgivings at St Paul's Cathedral for the celebration of military victories had stopped in 1708, and the queen had ordered a return to the old system of thanksgiving. The reasons for this change remain unclear, but arguably the withdrawal of this public ceremony was a political manoeuvre by Anne to express her disagreement with the continuation of the war.<sup>41</sup> It certainly seems

40 George Stanhope, *A Sermon... Preach'd Before the Queen the xxvii day of June 1706* (London, 1706), 15; William Talbot, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Queen at the Cathedral Church of St Paul's on May 1st 1707* (London, 1707), 4; William Fleetwood, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen at St Paul's, 19 August 1708: the day of thanksgiving for our deliverance from the late invasion and for the victory obtain'd at Audenard* (London, 1708), 9; Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament at St Paul's on the 31st December, 1706 the day of thanksgiving for the wonderful successes of the year* (London, 1707), 13, 29.

41 For an overview of possible reasons for the shift see: Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 37–39; Farguson, 'Art, Ceremony and the British Monarchy', 247–256.

notable that despite the absence of the queen, the state thanksgiving staged in 1713 surpassed those held for military victory. Some of the processional elements were aggrandised with lavish firework displays being held in two separate locations, a maypole was set up near the Strand, and the musical elements of the religious ceremony were enhanced.<sup>42</sup>

Music had played an important part in the public thanksgivings held in the previous decade. Various anthems were sung, but Henry Purcell's settings for the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were the main musical components of these services. For the 1713 Thanksgiving, however, Anne commissioned George Frederic Handel, who at the time served as Kapellmeister to the court in Hanover, to write a new setting. Musicologists have been aware of Anne's involvement in this decision since the 1980s, but the work has generally been analysed from the perspective of Handel's career and the promotion of his operas, therefore the political implications of Anne's patronage have not been fully appreciated.<sup>43</sup> For an English queen to abandon the work of a renowned native composer for a ceremony closely associated with the British monarchy in favour of music written by a German in the service of the Elector of Hanover, seems extraordinary

42 *Evening Post*, 7–9 July 1713: 611; *British Mercury* 3 June 1713: 413; BM 1854, 0614.232; BM 1880, 113.1357; BM 1902, 1011.7977 engraved prints of the fireworks on the River Thames.

43 Donald Burrows first provided evidence for Anne's involvement in Handel's setting for the *Te Deum* in his essay entitled 'Handel and Hanover' in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: tercentenary essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35–60. However, in the absence of what Burrows calls 'authority', by the time he published his book on Handel and the Chapel Royal he was reluctant to rely on the evidence produced in his earlier essay as verification of Anne's commission nor on the statement by Thomas Tudway (which in the intervening years Burrows had uncovered)—Professor of Music at the University of Cambridge and a composer and organist—that Handel had composed the new setting 'by the Queen's orders', see: Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 78 and n. 8. Given Tudway's close association with Robert Harley and his son Edward, along with his knowledge of contemporary church music, his assertion should be taken seriously. Indeed Tudway repeated the claim in a letter to Humfrey Wanley, the eminent scholar and head of the Harley Library, see: BL Harl. 3782, f. 70 letter from Thomas Tudway to Humfrey Wanley, 23 February, 1716/17; W. Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of Ancient Church Music,' *Electronic British Library Journal* (1989), article 13, 187–205 [<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1989articles/article13.html>], accessed 26 March 2013). It should also be noted that on 28 December 1713 Anne granted Handel an annual pension of £200, which adds substance to Tudway's claims, see Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel*, 114; Ellen Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 186; For a discussion of Handel's operas from a political perspective see: Paul Kléber Monod, 'The Politics of Handel's Early London Operas, 1711–1718,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36 (2005): 445–472.



until we consider the contemporary situation in terms of Anne's desire to promote the peace and her commitment to the Hanoverian succession.

Anne feared that a rival court in London would diminish her political authority; therefore she would not allow any members of the electoral family to visit or reside in England.<sup>44</sup> But Anne still supported the Protestant succession, and visitors and diplomatic representatives from Hanover were regularly received by the queen at court. These political acts were given additional emphasis by cultural gestures such as the maintenance of Prince George of Denmark's German Chapel at St James' Palace. After his death in 1708, the chapel continued to be staffed by Lutheran preachers from Germany and provided a place of worship for Hanoverian diplomats.<sup>45</sup> Engaging the services of the 'renowned Mr Handel' should be viewed in a similar light. Handel effectively functioned as a cultural envoy for the Elector, and for Anne to commission a new setting for the *Te Deum* from Handel—although an aesthetic choice—was laden with political meaning. Handel's association with Anne's court which began soon after his arrival in London in 1710, not only symbolised Anne's commitment to the succession but also promoted cultural unity with Hanover. This was especially important by the time of Handel's second visit to London in 1712. Political relations were strained at this point as both the royal and electoral houses were pursuing policies which benefitted their own territories, but Anne's policy undermined Hanoverian confidence in the queen. The short-term implications of Anne's patronage, which resulted in Handel's dismissal from Hanoverian service shortly before the public thanksgiving in London took place, should not, however, distract us from the considerable benefits to the Hanoverian dynasty in the longer term.

The elector knew Handel was composing a new *Te Deum* to mark the expected proclamation of peace. In a letter dated 13 January 1713 Thomas Grote, the Hanoverian Resident in London informed the elector of Anne's commission and requested permission for Handel to stay on in London until it was completed.<sup>46</sup> Presumably, this was granted. This cultural exchange was important for the two dynasties, but in 1713 the main beneficiaries of this political gesture were particular sections of the British public. The formal connection between Handel and the court in Hanover remained intact until June 1713. Through newspaper reports and contemporary accounts of his performances,

44 Gregg, *Anne*, 366.

45 Susanne Steinmetz, 'The German Churches in London, 1669–1914,' in *Germans in Britain Since 1500*, ed. Panikos Panayi (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 57 and n. 29.

46 Letter from Thomas Grote to the Elector of Hanover, 13 January 1713 translated from German and cited by Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover,' 36–60; citation 42–43.

Handel's attachment to Hanover was well known among the elite groups who went to the opera but also among those who attended court on the queen's birthday, where for at least two years, possibly three, Handel's music was played.<sup>47</sup> When we turn to the music commissioned for the 1713 thanksgiving, it is important to note that Handel's *Te Deum* sounded distinctly different from Purcell's work. Although Handel continued to use the English text and emulated Purcell's style, he provided a 'more complex and expansive treatment' than Purcell, and according to musicologists, added a 'Germanic emphasis' to certain sections.<sup>48</sup> Overall the music and singing would have sounded more powerful than Purcell's work, and to contemporary ears, fresh and invigorating. Arguably the Utrecht *Te Deum* was designed to symbolise change: the shift from war to peace, which Anne helped to orchestrate and wanted to endorse but also the eventual shift to a new dynasty. Certainly it seems noteworthy that in September, 1714, on the first Sunday George I attended the Chapel Royal after his arrival in London, Handel's *Te Deum* was played.<sup>49</sup> This ceremonial performance with musical accompaniment helped to stress continuity during a period of political transition. In 1713, however, Anne and her supporters wanted to advertise the benefits of peace as widely as possible, but also to highlight her steadfastness to the Hanoverian succession. Handel's music played a part in that process.

In an unprecedented move, once Handel had completed his *Te Deum*, the work was performed in a series of public rehearsals prior to the thanksgiving service at St Paul's, and these events were reported in the newspapers. Furthermore these concerts were held in buildings that were linked to the British monarchy, and in keeping with the thanksgiving performance, Handel utilised the queen's musicians and choristers.<sup>50</sup> These gestures further emphasised royal involvement. Early in March the piece was practised twice at St Paul's Cathedral, and later in the month it was rehearsed at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, 'where [an] abundance of the Nobility and Gentry were

47 Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover,' 35–60; Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 75–80; James Winn, 'Style and Politics in the Philips-Handel Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday, 1713,' *Music and Letters* 89 (2008): 547–561.

48 George Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 485–486.

49 *British Mercury*, 22–29 September 1714: 482; *Evening Post*, 25–28 September 1714; *Post Boy* 25–28 September 1714: 3025; Harris, *Handel as Orpheus*, 187; Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 116–117; although Burrows acknowledges that the Utrecht *Te Deum* may have been sung on 26 September, he raises the possibility that the Caroline *Te Deum* may have been performed instead.

50 Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 78.

present'.<sup>51</sup> Another public rehearsal was staged at Whitehall in May.<sup>52</sup> Although these performances were held in religious buildings, they were removed from a religious ceremony which celebrated an event that some found distasteful.<sup>53</sup> They also exposed people who supported the peace treaty, but were not among those invited to attend the St Paul's service, to Handel's music. Thus, the audiences in London for these promotional efforts were widened. In terms of publicising the God-given benefits of peace nationally, however, the religious ceremony at St Paul's Cathedral was of paramount importance.

There is no doubt that Anne intended to appear at the service at St Paul's. A new state coach had been built; the queen had sent a message to both Houses of Parliament outlining her intention to attend, and the militia had been commanded to line the processional route.<sup>54</sup> Due to her physicians' concern about Anne becoming 'fatigued', the queen announced on 6 July that she would not be able to attend the ceremony but instead would offer thanks 'for the blessings of peace in her Chapel at St James's'.<sup>55</sup> But the queen insisted that 'the House' should still attend the cathedral ceremony, 'with as much Solemnity as if her Majesty' were there in person.<sup>56</sup> Anne's instructions meant the grand procession still took place. They also ensured the seating in the cathedral would be configured as if the monarch were in attendance. In Anne's absence, a chair of state was placed in the body of the choir as a symbol of the queen's power and authority.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, the sermon resonated as though the queen were present at the ceremony.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells, George Hooper, preached the sermon on the text of Psalm 122, verse 7: 'Peace be within thy walls and Plenteousness within thy palaces'.<sup>58</sup> Almost immediately Hooper placed the Peace in a religious framework saying that 'it has pleased God, in his goodness to these kingdoms, to put a happy end to a necessary and victorious . . . war'.<sup>59</sup> Hooper went on to state that 'Thanks are justly due to God and the Queen for this great blessing',

51 *The Post Boy*, 5–7 March 1713: 2781; Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 79.

52 *British Mercury* 13 May 1713: 410; Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 79.

53 During this period the Banqueting House served as a royal chapel: Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 528–529.

54 Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 79.

55 Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, 80.

56 *Ibid.*

57 John Newman, 'Fittings and Liturgy in post-fire St Paul's', in *St Paul's*, ed. D. Keene *et al.*, 222–230.

58 George Hooper, *A Sermon Preach'd Before Both Houses of Parliament, in the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, on Tuesday July 7, 1713 . . .* (London: s.n., 1713).

59 Hooper, *Sermon*, 3.

highlighting Anne's role as a negotiator in the spiritual peace process.<sup>60</sup> Hooper acknowledged that at times war may be necessary but went on to say that even in a 'just war ...' to persist longer in it than is necessary is to '... begin to war against the gospel', making it clear that an end to the war was necessary on religious grounds.<sup>61</sup> Hooper then listed the material benefits accruing to the British people from 'this long desired peace'.<sup>62</sup> But Hooper soon turned his attention to the situation 'WITHIN OUR WALLS', and it is at this moment the full political message becomes clear.<sup>63</sup>

By bringing about the peace, Anne 'in her wisdom and goodness [had] secur'd' Britain from her external enemies', but Hooper told his audience that regardless of their 'Religious congregations ... all our domestick contentions and little wars at home should cease ... let peace be within *your* walls'.<sup>64</sup> In other words, now that the war had ended, all Anne's subjects should ensure that Britain became peaceful. Hooper went on to extol the benefits of peace for national unity as 'nothing can be more ... destructive of human society, than feuds and animosities when they divide and distract a nation'.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, for Hooper 'the Calamities of a civil war' were by every means possible 'to be avoided'.<sup>66</sup> There had been calls for national unity before in thanksgiving sermons at St Paul's, but nothing as explicit as Hooper's pronouncements. Equally new, was the idea that the queen could restore 'tranquillity' to the British people only if their 'professions of allegiance', which had first been made at the 'coronation', were at this moment repeated.<sup>67</sup> These dual aspects reflect the urgent need for Anne to assert her political authority but also to generate a sense of social cohesion. In early modern Europe, 'worldly peace' was believed to be part of a 'universal peace order'.<sup>68</sup> This 'order' had first been revealed in the *tranquilitas ordinis*, or tranquillity of order, as described by Augustine of Hippo in his treatise *De Civitate Dei*.<sup>69</sup> By emphasising Anne's piety and her desire to act in the 'publick good', Hooper was able to call for national unity

---

60 Hooper, *Sermon*, 19.

61 Hooper, *Sermon*, 6.

62 Hooper, *Sermon*, 3.

63 Hooper, *Sermon*, 12.

64 Hooper, *Sermon*, 12.

65 Hooper, *Sermon*, 13–14.

66 Hooper, *Sermon*, 13–14.

67 Hooper, *Sermon*, 20–22.

68 Inken Schmidt-Voges, 'Making Peace in Early Modern Europe,' in *Peace Was Made Here: The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, 1713–14*. ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 49–59.

69 Schmidt-Voges, 'Making Peace'.

and the maintenance of social order and 'tranquillity' in Anne's name. The idea of Anne as a defender of the national interest found further expression in the medal commissioned by the Crown to commemorate the Treaty of Utrecht.<sup>70</sup> This medal conflated Anne with Britannia: a female figure with a long-standing history as the personification of the state and used by male and female monarchs to evoke both English and British nationhood.<sup>71</sup>

The Treaty of Utrecht ushered in an era of prosperity for the British people, but French recognition of Anne's rights to the Crown and the legitimacy of the Hanoverian succession meant the treaty also marked the beginning of a period of political transition, which generated great uncertainty about the future of the British monarchy. A Public Thanksgiving was called in order to promote the peace brokered at Utrecht but also to assert Anne's sovereign authority at a moment of political crisis. By focusing on the queen's religious devotion and desire to act in the 'publick good', Hooper presented Anne as a locus for national unity and called for the British people to renew their allegiance to her. The orchestration of the religious ceremonies held in the localities by the queen and her government ensured the majority of her subjects responded to Anne's call for loyalty and peace. For the Tories there were tangible benefits to these politico-religious outpourings. As Britain prepared for a general election in August 1713, it was the peace treaty which dominated prints and pamphlets, and the fact the Tories managed to increase their majority in the Commons by a significant margin may in part be due to the impact of the thanksgiving ceremonies. These ceremonies may also have helped to prevent the descent into civil war and chaos that some contemporaries feared. Historians have rightly examined the forces that caused divisions during this period but have paid little attention to what held society together. It seems likely that during Anne's reign, public thanksgivings, especially the 1713 ceremonies, played a part in that process. Even though she was absent from the service at St Paul's Cathedral, Anne was still presented as a Stuart emancipated from absolutist monarchical ambitions, committed to parliamentary government and removed from party factionalism. Hooper then promoted the queen as a symbol of national

---

70 BL Add. MS 21238 (Warrant . . . for the manufacture and distribution of 812 gold medals to commemorate the Peace of Utrecht: 14 July 1713).

71 Maggie Dresser, 'Britannia' in *Patriotism and the making and unmaking of British National Identity*, volume III, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), 26–49; Roy Matthews, 'Britannia and John Bull: from Birth to Maturity,' *The Historian*, 62 (2000), 799–820; Anne Helmreich, 'Domesticating Britannia: Representations of the Nation in *Punch*, 1870–1880,' in *Art, Nations and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother Figures*, ed. Tricia Cusack and Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch (Aldershot and Burlington, Vermont, 2003), 15–28.

unity, and the religious setting reinforced these efforts. Although liturgically speaking Public thanksgivings at St Paul's Cathedral were Church of England ceremonies, it was Protestantism that preachers constantly referred to in their sermons. This meant that in 1713 Anne and her supporters could use religion to publicise the benefits of international peace, but also to 'cultivate and promote peace at home'.<sup>72</sup>

---

72 *The Examiner Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences* 6–10 July 1713: 16.

## Fiery Metaphors in the Public Space: Celebratory Culture and Political Consciousness around the Peace of Utrecht

*Willem Frijhoff*

In the evening of 13 April 2013, the Tercentenary celebration of the Peace Treaty of Utrecht was inaugurated by a sensational event that took place on top of the A2 motorway and was finished by spectacular fireworks.<sup>1</sup> Three centuries earlier, fireworks also marked the end of the war and the conclusion of the Utrecht Peace in the principal cities of the former belligerent nations. Why fireworks? Why the visual representation of fire as the zenith of such a political celebration? There are some good reasons for this practice. While massive public rejoicings usually feature open-air festivities visible on a large scale, the popular success of fireworks is rooted above all in the social and cultural anthropology of the element 'fire'. The use and experience of fire and its (changing) meanings in ancient and non-Western societies as well as in Western civilization have been at the core of a long series of seminal works from various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, not to speak of occultism and esotericism.<sup>2</sup>

For these authors, fire is the ultimate proof of resistance, truth and veracity. Moreover, as a spectacular, moving form of lightning, fire is also a symbol of

- 
- 1 The spectacle can be viewed at '3 voor 12,' VPRO, <http://3voor12.vpro.nl/lokaal/utrecht/nieuws/2013/april/3voor12-Utrecht-TV--De-Slag-om-Vrede.html>, accessed 1 November 2013.
  - 2 Among the most important are James George Frazer, *Myths on the Origin of Fire* (London: Macmillan, 1930); Gaston Bachelard, *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* [1938], trans. Alan M.C. Ross (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques: The Raw and the Cooked* [1964] (London: Cape, 1970); Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* [1981] (London: Scolar Press, 1984); Géza Róheim, *Fire in the Dragon, and other Psychoanalytic essays on Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Johan Goudsblom, *Fire and Civilization* (London: Allan Lane, 1992); Jonathan Sternfield, *Firewalk: The Psychology of Physical Immunity* (Stockbridge: Berkshire House, 1992); Richard W. Wrangham, *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human* (New York: Basic Books, 2009); Frances D. Burton, *Fire: The Spark that Ignited Human Evolution* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 2009); Nevill Drury, *Stealing Fire from Heaven. The Rise of Modern Western Magic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

energy, passion and love, of the desire for purity and the aspiration to gain access to higher, intangible values. Finally, as an airy element fire is a metaphor for transition and transformation. Fire graphically represents the sparkling victory of the world of light over the universe of darkness. Fire elucidates the dangers and destroys the past, leaving behind a fertile soil where soon new shoots emerge to shape a fresh, new world. Therefore fire embodies hope, and an entirely new beginning. It brings the spectators together in a sense of redemption and of community without divisions or borders. The fascination with fire, either as a danger or as a source of hope, has therefore firm anthropological roots that explain why mass festivities generally include some form of performance in which fire plays a determinant role.

The best known and most universally appreciated of those performances involve fireworks.<sup>3</sup> Independently of the idiosyncrasies of various human civilizations, fireworks are considered everywhere the ultimate celebratory performance, in the East as well as in the West. Fireworks technology, pyrotechnics, came to the West from the East, from China in particular. It probably spread from Italy (Vicenza 1379) and the Holy Roman Empire (Vienna 1438, Constance 1506, Nuremberg 1536) to France and the Netherlands. At first it served military aims and it has long continued to do so, but in the second half of the sixteenth century the first recreational fireworks emerge in our sources, in particular in our visual evidence. As early as the last quarter of the sixteenth century images of fireworks were published, and soon no public fireworks were performed without a pictorial publication of their exhibition.

Yet fire had been playing its role in public celebrations or recreational activities for centuries before this time, mainly in the form of bonfires (the *pektionen* of the Dutch), an older, fixed variety of fiery performance that could be lighted without an explosive ignition.<sup>4</sup> But once adopted in Western Europe during the sixteenth century, recreational or celebratory fireworks have taken root and developed their own modalities characteristic either of the hierarchical or of the more popular organization of the societies of Europe. Fireworks could serve to sing the praises of the highest authority of the state and their victories, as well as celebrate the unity and cohesion of the community. Over the past centuries there has virtually been no major event or festivity in Western Europe that was not finished, solemnly concluded, and anchored

---

3 Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary art: the representation of fireworks in early modern Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1997); D.P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16<sup>e</sup> en 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1975).

4 A useful survey of fireworks technology and its evolution, including references to ancient treatises and literature, in the article 'Feuerwerk', <http://linux2.fbi.fh-koeln.de/rdk-smw/Feuerwerk>, accessed 1 November 2013.



in the community's memory by the performance of fireworks. Moreover, the steady repetition of fireworks in the public space has moulded them into the universal political manifestation *par excellence*. As visible manifestations in the undivided sky, fireworks transcend political divisions, even if the political message attached to them by the organizers or the political authorities may be skilfully directive. They celebrate events that are meaningful for the whole community: the conclusion of a peace treaty, the birth or the advent of a new ruler or the confirmation of his or her reign, a military victory, the reception of a powerful friend, or the anniversary or the remembrance of an historical event. Though the anthropological values of fire are virtually never made explicit, they play their role in the background for motivating the complicated set-up of fireworks, justifying the often considerable expense, and shaping the constructions from which the fireworks will be set off and which will have to confer a precise meaning on the fireworks in the eyes of the spectators.

In addition to the meanings that are plain and publicly known, others are hidden behind the visual performance or embodied in the shape of the fireworks. Quite often a more intricate or complicated web of surreptitious or overt meanings is involved, which has been set up by the founding authorities and the designers and architects who created the fireworks on their behalf. Such hidden meanings need an elaborate explanation in order to be rightly understood. Fireworks are therefore an intricate and rich instrument of cultural communication that can be used at several levels, and it is as means of communication that we should analyse them. They embrace different layers of meaningful representation at the same time: a broad anthropological layer of embodied values that can be shared by all; the social layer of a community festivity limited to those actually involved; and the political layer of a more precise message about the present and the future of the social and political body.

During the opening event of the Peace of Utrecht Tercentenary on 13 April, these three layers were quite evident for the observer: the community festivity of the anniversary of the peace treaty was marked by a huge theatrical performance, combining music, acting, dancing and all the sensorial experiences that are involved in a mass manifestation, carrying anthropological values. The political layer was made visible in the play that was performed on the open-air stage by actors and soldiers. Surprisingly, the political message was wrapped up in a military staging, and the spectacle was named the Battle for the Peace, although the peace negotiation of 1713 deliberately was set far from the battlefields. But central to the theatrical performance as well as to the political message was the fire, combined with a play of lights and with a compelling musical accompaniment. Bonfires rising in the air from the top of the four watch towers that formed the centre of the stage and the fiery outbursts of the fireworks

themselves concluded the performance: starting with a fiery imitation of the war violence, the fireworks advanced gradually over a quarter hour, climaxing in explosions of joy.

The sensorial experience of the present-day spectators must have come very close to what the bystanders may have felt during the 1713 fireworks. If we take, for example, the fireworks organized by the States General at The Hague on 14 June 1713, the similarity of the visual representations in pictures is striking, including the suggestion of smoke. Of course, we cannot smell the smoke of 1713 anymore, but this was one of the conditioning elements of that mass experience, along with the obsessive and penetrating sound of the repeated explosions.<sup>5</sup> The 2013 trajectories of the rockets, fireballs, fire fountains and other implements of the spectacle correspond closely to those of 1713. Most of all, the constructed setting of the spectacle, the theatre or 'fireworks castle' as it was formerly called, appeals to a sense of recognition, to a retrieval of our centuries-old memory of the political meaning of fireworks for the community. The four watch towers and the city wall represented at the 2013 celebration were theatrical constructions which not only supported the launching platform of the fireworks, but surrounded it at the same time with a politically inspired framework. The representation that was embodied in this constructed frame guided the event's meaning: the victory of the peace negotiations was clearly linked to the urban war experience, and it was implicitly suggested that civilization, as opposed to the violence of war, comes from the politically regulated society of the urban Netherlands. This message reflected in a modern way the meanings purposely conveyed through their fireworks three centuries earlier by the city, provincial and state authorities of the early modern Dutch Republic.

### The Fireworks Castles

For the 1713 celebration, the States General had chosen a triumphal arch of 160 × 90 feet in surface, and 50 feet high, as the centrepiece of the fireworks

---

5 Whereas most engravings of the fireworks published on the initiative of the organizers or by individual print sellers present a clear and detailed picture of the fireworks castle and the symbolic representations it conveys, the engraving *Lust-park vande Vreede tussen de Hooge Bondgenooten ende Fransen, geslooten te Utrecht den 11 April en bevestigd den 12 Mey 1713* (Amsterdam: Abraham Allard, 1713) [Utrechts Archief, Historische Atlas: S 13.22], displaying the peace process in eight episodes, emphasizes in the last picture the repeated fire explosions and smoke curtains caused by the fireworks, hiding the view of the theatre itself.

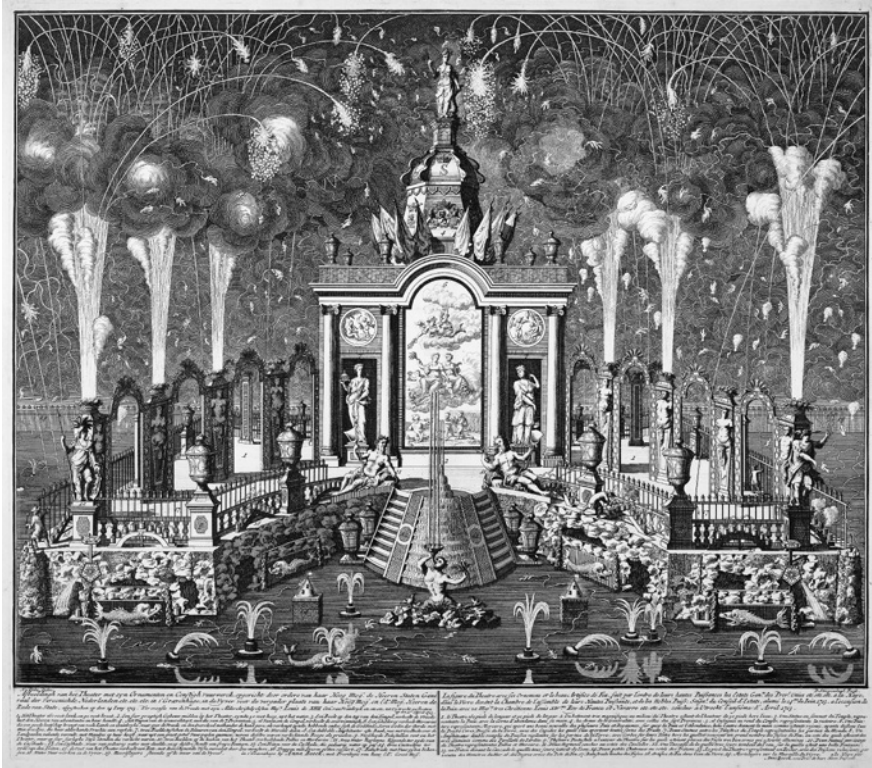


FIGURE 13.1 Afbeeldingh van het Theater met zyn Ornamenten en Constigh Vuurwerck opgericht door ordre van haar Hoog Mog. de Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden etc. etc. etc. in s'Gravenhage in de Vyver [...] afgestoken op den 14 Juny 1713. Ter occasie van de Vrede met zyn Alderchristelyksten Maj<sup>t</sup> Louis den XIII. Con. van Vrankryck etc. etc. etc. tot Uytrecht geslooten op den 11 April 1713. Engraving by D. Stoopendaal after H. Pola (*The Hague: Anna Beeck, 1713*).  
ATLAS VAN STOLK, ROTTERDAM

amphitheatre, whereas the States of Holland and West-Friesland had built a temple of similar size, 150 × 109 feet, and 85 feet high. Classical imagery dominated the representations on the castle of the States General (fig. 13.1). It was crowned by a huge statue of the deified Peace with the cornucopia, watching over the arms of the Union and of the seven Provinces, and surrounded by sixteen victory banners. In the centre of the castle was a huge painting of 'Mercury bringing the joyful message of peace and abundance to the many countries and realms involved, who hold out each other's hands, above Ceres and some minor deities who supply all kind of fruits', as described in the printed explanation for the general public. Two huge statues on both sides of this central



FIGURE 13.2

Abbeelding van het Theater met syn ornamenten en Constigh Vuurwerk, opgericht door ordre van haar Ed. Groot Mog: de Heeren Staten van Hollant en West Vriesland etc. etc. in 's Gravenhage in de Vyver afgestoken op de 14 Juny 1713. Ter occasie van de Vreede met syn Alderchristelycksten Majesteit Louis de XIIIII. Coning van Vrankryk etc. etc. tot Uytrecht geslooten, op den 11 April, daar bevorens. *Hand-coloured engraving with and without illumination, by D. Stoopendaal after H. Pola (The Hague: Anna Beeck, 1713).*

COLLECTION RUUD HOFF



picture represented the continents (Europe and Asia?), Neptune and Triton embodied the oceans, whereas Pallas and again Mercury closed the aisles of the amphitheatre castle at its extremities. The castle of the States of Holland took the form of the temple of Janus, the doors of which had to be opened in wartime and closed in a period of peace (fig. 13.2). The metaphorical scenery was rather similar to that of the States General, but predictably the statue on top represented the Virgin of Holland raising on a stake the traditional Hat of Liberty, whereas, a bit surprisingly in this classical universe, the female figure in the centre depicted the (Christian) Faith, with the dove of peace, surmounted by the maxim *Deo conf[idi]* (My trust is in God). It is this religious element of the repertoire that points us to the deeper, inward-directed meaning of the fireworks imagery.

The Janus symbolism, expressing a final and hopefully definitive change of state, is visible in all the fireworks. This metaphor was, for instance, also applied by the municipality of The Hague on the façade of the Town Hall: the doors of the temple of war were closed in order to give way to Apollo and the Muses making music on behalf of the peace, to the Peace itself seated on its throne with the cornucopia, and to a cheerful Bacchus, drinking to the renewed arrival of fully loaded merchant ships. A popular song entitled *Lof van de Vreugde Theaters* (Praise of the Theatres of Joy) and written on the occasion of the Utrecht Peace stresses the political dimension of the scenery on the different theatres at The Hague: the Union of the Seven Provinces, the Janus metaphor, the urban pride of The Hague expressed in the figures of two storks (the local totem animal from the city arms) and the lion, as a symbol of courage.<sup>6</sup> However, what is most striking in the visual language of the castles of the States General and the provincial States in The Hague is not the predictable general symbolism of the Union, the Dutch lion and the peace (the virgin of peace, the horn of abundance, the Dutch hat of freedom), and the classical metaphors, or, in The Hague as well as in Rotterdam and Leeuwarden, Mercurius as the symbol of a renewed commercial liberty, prosperity and abundance, but the moral dimensions of the representation they intend to transmit.

Indeed, the most explicit message expressed by the emblems and metaphors was not turned toward the international community or the outer world, but inner-directed, in a moral as well as a political register of a more topical nature. The statues on the corners of pedestal of the temple of the States of

---

6 This song on a melody by J. van Elsland (1717), printed in *De Gekroonde Utrechtse Vreede* (1718), was recorded in 2013 on the compact disc *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713). Muziek uit de Spaanse Successieoorlog*, performed by the Utrecht music ensemble Camerata Trajectina (cd Globe: GLO5256).

Holland embodied the four main moral virtues: charity, justice, prudence, and courage, while the four figures surrounding the temple on top of the pedestal represented religion, freedom, commerce, and the arts. In the political register, both castles at The Hague were dominated by heraldry referring to the seven Provinces and, in the case of the States of Holland, to their sovereign rulers, i.e., the nobility and the eighteen voting towns that together composed the ruling assembly of Holland and West-Friesland. The arms of each town were exposed on top of the centrepiece and underscored by an appropriate device, either a traditional one, such as the ancient *Vicit vim virtus* for the city of Haarlem, the highly applicable *Terra marique potentissima* for the metropolis of Amsterdam, or newly made, suitable texts, such as *Hostium per fulmina terror* for Delft, seat of the provincial arsenal, or *Bataviae nutrix*, for cheese-making Edam (fig. 13.3).

The moral message was most clearly expressed in the maxims that were lavishly added to the different elements of the monuments and explained to the general public in the booklets and flyers produced for the occasion. Consider, for instance, phrases such as *Patet Deum quaerentibus* (Open for those who are in search of God) at the entrance of the temple of the States, *Fax in mundo fluctuantis* (A beacon for those who wander in the world) under the image of religion, or *Illius in verba* (I trust in God's Word alone) under that of the Bible, on top of the temple. They match similar statements on the liberation of the nation from slavery (!) in *Non erit liberae reditus*, on the universal blessings of the Dutch Republic imagined as a bee-hive, where the bees *Sibi laborant et urbi* (They work for themselves and for the whole world) or on the arrival of the East India fleet *Hic plusquam vellus aureum* (Better than the Golden Fleece) and on the union of faith and freedom *Alterius altera poscitur opem* (They need each other's help). The whole imagery is summarized in the maxim *Tantum religio potuit conferre bonorum* (So many blessings has religion bestowed upon us), uniting in a single phrase the meaning of four objects: the hat of freedom, a well-filled purse, a book, and a try square, symbols of the fruitful union of politics, commerce, science and industry. Through such metaphors, the fireworks castles present themselves as instruments for the education of the nation

### Symbolic Language and Political Message

Naturally the multi-layered character of the public festivities including a clearly voiced or visualized political meaning is not limited to the fireworks performances alone, nor is it characteristic of the Dutch Republic as such, although the visual and textual languages reflect, of course, Dutch idiosyncrasies. But more generally speaking, for the present-day observer the Peace



FIGURE 13.3 Devises et Inscriptions Contenus dans la construction érigée pour le Feu d'Artifice de la Province de Hollande & de Westfrise, au sujet de la Paix avec la France. Conclué à Utrecht le 11. Avril en l'année 1713. Composées par Mr. De Vripy (*The Hague: chez Gerard Rammazeyn, pour Pierre Loofs, s.a. [1713]*). RIJCKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

Treaty of Utrecht has become a multi-layered political fact in itself. Its long-term consequences are rather obvious, but by now the meanings embodied in the performances at the 1713 peace celebration are for us difficult to grasp. One of the reasons for this dissonance is the dominant place taken by the symbolic expressions of the peace communication. Of course, celebrations always carry symbolism. They communicate the multiple messages of the celebrated facts or events in symbolic languages known by the groups or communities addressed and liable to be decoded by them in order to be correctly understood and appropriated. After decoding, their elements must be selected and appropriated as meaningful for the community involved in the spectacle or intended by its organizers. Celebrations are passing and volatile. They are performed in a short time period, as instantaneous events in theatrical settings,



but they carry messages with a long-term meaning. Therefore the language used by the celebration itself normally is metaphorical because metaphors belong to symbolic systems vested in the community's history. Visual, textual and sensorial metaphors appeal to well-known and coherent registers of memory and allow a compression of the intended meaning into simple representations that can be easily performed but long remembered. Fireworks as a public spectacle were visually accessible to everyone and indeed unavoidable for the common citizen on the street. They were immediately experienced as a sensorial event and occupied therefore a particular place in the performance of public celebrations.

However, the rich content of such metaphoric messages is not immediately legible or understandable in its full depth, not for us or for the spectator of the year 1713. The message had to be decoded and translated into other registers of understanding. For instance, political messages were wrapped up in the visual and textual languages of the classical Antiquity or of the ancient pantheon. Heroes, myths and emblematic figures were the key elements of these languages that needed translation into the everyday realities of the world of 1713. At the same time, metaphors permit us to transcend the limits of topical representation and of the day-to-day experience because they are applicable to any similar event in any time period, provided that the register of understanding is still working in the community's memory. But for most of us the language of classical Antiquity, of the ancient mythological pantheon and even of the biblical metaphors is no longer at the core of our collective memory. It has lost its validity for our life experience, and we are no longer able to recognize spontaneously its symbolic values. Therefore, although the procedures were the same as in 1713, the 2013 fireworks had to adopt a new metaphoric language.

The peace celebration of 1713 was marked by a remarkably rich number of performances and representations with a symbolic charge or of a metaphorical character: festivities, balls, dinners, spectacles, musical performances, religious services, celebratory poems, popular plays, and so on. Yet in the symbolic register the fireworks stand out, both in quantity and in quality. Probably no peace celebration was accompanied by such a rich series of fireworks in so many cities in the Netherlands and beyond. Only the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, celebrated across Europe, may have had a similar impact, but it has left fewer visual traces in historical memory. The authorities responsible for the fireworks were quite conscious of the weight these fireworks had in the public opinion and of the educational dimension attached to their political programme. Therefore, fireworks were not simply decided by the authorities themselves or discussed in the representative bodies, they were also publicly announced and interpreted, and the best designers were engaged.

## Fireworks Traditions

Behind the immediate, crude experience of the fireworks as a public event, the constructions which formed the support and the fixed background of the volatile fireworks told another, symbolic story meant for those who were able to decode it politically. As early as 1649, a satirical description was published of such an elaborate symbolic castle allegedly to be built at The Hague for the fireworks produced for the marriage of the king of Spain and the daughter of the Emperor.<sup>7</sup> Such texts show how notorious the typical decoration programmes of the public fireworks already were. Around 1700, their design in the Dutch Republic was entrusted to reputed architects and artists, such as the Huguenot refugee Daniel Marot, the architect Pieter Roman, the engraver Pierre Loofs, or the versatile artist Romeyn de Hooghe, while the execution was the work of technical specialists in the service of the authorities. Broadsheets, printed images, explanatory booklets and flyers documenting the fireworks castles down to their tiniest details and explaining the elements of the constructions were published before the fireworks or sold during and after the performance in order to help the recording of the celebration, the preservation and structuring of the public memory, and the trickling-down of the message. In Friesland, for instance, the learned bookseller François Halma published an extensive explanation of the Leeuwarden fireworks, probably authorized by the States of that province.<sup>8</sup> They helped the public to understand their political and social layers of meaning. In what follows, I shall concentrate on some of these forms of representation and decoding, and try to understand why the political messages were brought in that utterly complicated way.

Ever since the very first political representation underpinned fireworks in late-sixteenth-century Europe, the lay-out of the scene had been fixed: fireworks had to be set off from a platform showing a fixed construction, the 'castle', that by its shape, mostly as a theatre or a stage, and still more by the images and pictures attached to it, conveyed a precise political, social, cultural and moral message for the community in a metaphorical language, in fact the language that was derived from the classical imagery characteristic for the edu-

7 *Modelle ou project du feu d'artifice qui se doit faire a la Haye le Mardy 16. Nov. pour la rejoüissance sur le mariage du Roy Catholique & la Serenissime Archiduchesse fille de l'Empereur* (Brussels: s.n., 1649), 8 p. [The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: Pamphlet 6460].

8 *F. Halmaes Vredezing den Edelen Mogenden Heeren Staten van Frieslandt eerbiedigst toegewydt, by d'afkondiging van den gesloten Vrede den XIV. Van Zomermaandt, MDCCXIII* (Amsterdam: Johannes Oosterwyk, 1713) [The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: Pamphlet 16184].

cation of the political and learned elites.<sup>9</sup> The fire itself had to spring off from the major elements of the construction, quite often in a combination of fixed bonfires on top of pillars, pinnacles or other decorative elements of the castle, and of repeated discharges of moving fireworks behind or beside the theatre or the castle. In fact, two basic formulas imposed themselves quickly for the ideal material support: the temple of peace or joy and the triumphal arch. Most firework architects made a choice between these two formulas, probably submitting them to their principal before the actual construction took place and the decoration programme was elaborated in detail. In the Dutch Republic, the major firework spectacles were set up as waterworks, but the association of water and fire, two opposite elements involving an anthropological value in itself, was also popular elsewhere. At Amsterdam, the Amstel or one of the main canals could be adopted for the central stage of the fireworks, while at Rotterdam a platform could be constructed on the river Meuse. But large urban spaces would also do. The Leeuwarden fireworks construction of 1713 was set up on the Marktvelde as were the less elaborate fireworks castle on the Grote Markt at Haarlem and the fiery decorations in front of the Town Hall of The Hague (fig. 13.4).

The two governmental fireworks of 14 June 1713 in The Hague were set up in the Hofvijver, in front of the meeting halls of the States General and of the States of Holland and West-Friesland. This huge pond offered the most suitable setting for fireworks, not only because of its eminently significant political situation but also because it could host many spectators along its three banks and provide relative safety. Indeed, fireworks could be dangerous, even for those in power: witness the famous injury suffered by the Polish king Ladislas IV Vasa from a rocket as he watched fireworks from a window of his palace in 1636. Some fireworks were not intended for the celebration of peace but of war and conquest. On the birthday of the French king Louis XIV, 5 September 1673, the municipal council of Marseille in Southern France, for instance, set off a huge fireworks showing how the monarch had taken the city of Maastricht at the end of June of that year after its memorable siege by Vauban—revived in our long-term memory by Alexandre Dumas' exaltation of the heroic death of musketeer captain d'Artagnan. Apparently no image remains of the Marseille fireworks castle, but according to its published description it represented a victorious King Louis launching his lightning on the city of Maastricht which

---

9 The Haags Historisch Museum still conserves the wooden model made by Mrs. Valkenaer-Duyvensteijn, after the design by court architect Pieter de Swart, of the theatre for the fireworks in the Hofvijver in The Hague on 13 June 1749, at the celebration of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (18 October 1748).

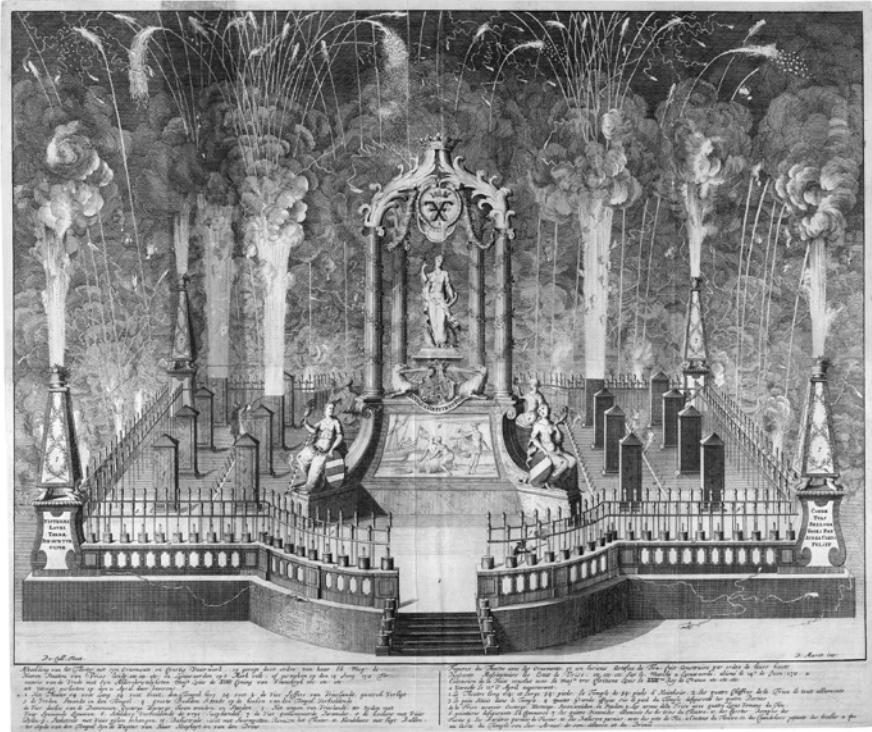


FIGURE 13.4 Afbeelding van het Theater met syn Ornemente en Constig Vuurwerk, opgereggt door ordre van haer Ed. Mog. de Heeren Staeten van Vrieslandt etc. etc. etc. in Leeuwaarden op 't Markvelt, afgestookt op den 14 Junij 1713. Ter occasie van de Vrede met Syn Alderchristelyksten Maj.<sup>te</sup> Louis de XIII Coning van Vranckryck etc. etc. etc. Engraving by P. van Call after D. Marot TRESOAR, LEEUWARDEN

was then metaphorically consumed, while images of humiliated towns, such as Utrecht, Nijmegen and other conquered cities, surrounded the central scene.<sup>10</sup>

Since fireworks were visible for everyone and constituted the ultimate social sensation, they were a matter of public interest. The physical dangers involved required regulation or intervention by the public authorities, as did the considerable cost of the representation. There have, of course, been private fireworks initiatives, either for celebratory or for publicity reasons, but obviously such private castles were of a less complicated design and their decoration

10 *Triomphe de Louis XIV dans Marseille, pour ses conquestes dans la Hollande. Qui paroistra le 5. Septembre 1673, jour de sa naissance* (Marseille: chez Charles Brebion, 1673), 9 p. [Paris, BNF: 8° Lk<sup>7</sup>.50213].

programmes, though still highly learned and often barely accessible to the common spectator, were of a lower metaphorical level. The most sensational private fireworks were those prepared by the student associations of Utrecht and Leiden for the prince of Orange in 1747 and 1766, and at the centenaries of their own universities, founded in 1575 and 1636. The students may have felt challenged to triumphantly display their level of learning to the common people, and those of 1736 in Utrecht made up for the regrettable negligence of the city council in 1713.

### Politicization

But generally speaking, technical, financial and management factors limited fireworks to the domain of public decision-making. Although the discovery of the full potential of celebratory or recreational fireworks for political propaganda and social education has taken some time, public authorities came gradually to perceive fireworks as an excellent means for transmitting a public message intended for the whole population. The first visually documented fireworks still remain close to the traditional bonfires. They express joy and celebrate facts, not intentions. They stress the spectacular effects of the fire itself, the explosions of fire and the lightning, not, or to a lesser extent, the message attached to the event. The symbolism of the castle that supported the fireworks remained long implicit. The Paris fireworks of 1642 for the king and queen of France, the Nuremberg fireworks for the Peace of Westphalia at the 1649 and 1650 *Friedensmähle*,<sup>11</sup> and the Dutch fireworks for the 1654 victories over the English fleet, preceding the first Peace of Westminster, were essentially huge bonfires, at best a bunch or row of exploding rockets. Their meaning was in the event itself, rather than in the moral message which the celebration was able to convey. The 1649 Osnabruck fireworks apparently lasted two hours, but their *Theatrum Ceremoniale* just shows the traditional political metaphors in a purely emphatic mode: the maxim *Vivat Pax* surrounded by a dragon and a crowned eagle holding a sceptre and a sword.

Yet the use of fireworks was already changing. As early as 1585, on the occasion of the ducal marriage at Dusseldorf, a festival extended over three evenings combined a series of still rather simple celebratory fireworks with elaborate theatrical performances set against a metaphorical background and

---

11 Sigmund von Birken, *Teutscher Kriegs Ab- und Friedenseinzug* (Nuremberg: s.n., 1650), 40 p. Accessed 1 November 2013. <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb105139011>.

representing different stages of the eternal fight between good and evil, and indeed between the religious confessions, amply explained in a book drafted by the duke's Catholic councillor Theodorus (or Diederich) Graminaeus and illustrated by the famous engraver Franz Hogenberg.<sup>12</sup> This festival must have set the tone for further developments. Fireworks henceforth became an integral part of European court culture and a much cherished privilege of the prince.

From the 1670s on, political symbolism literally exploded in the fireworks, due to a combination of factors: the emancipation of a truly secular festival tradition, new fashions in the arts, the breakthrough of formal classicism in public representation, and the influence of French baroque court culture. After the Italian Renaissance, the heavy rhetorical idiom and the rich but rapidly standardized metaphorical language of French classicism exercised a tremendous influence on the design of the public space and of public performances in Europe. In fact, rather quickly public manifestations, in particular fireworks, adopted everywhere in Europe a similar metaphorical language and as such became universally understandable: Mercury for the fruits of commerce, Mars for war, Pallas for wisdom, Ceres for agriculture, Neptune for maritime navigation, and so on. Hence, without the help of published explications providing a topical interpretation it is on a European scale difficult to distinguish each event's unique meaning. Yet behind these global symbols, local and national realities steered their combination, their meaning and their interpretation. It was the gradual discovery of fireworks castles as privileged conveyors of political messages for the global population that made them popular among the ruling elites but diversified at the same time their composition and the messages which the common imagery was intended to inculcate in the minds of the locals.

In the Dutch Republic, Romeyn de Hooghe was one of the great creators and purveyors of that increasing instrumental use of fireworks at the service of the nation-state. Born in 1645, he worked as a gifted engraver, a poet, and a politically engaged author in Amsterdam and after 1682 in Haarlem, until his death in 1708. In the 'pamphlet wars' of these decades, he took decidedly sides in favour of the Orange party and Protestant policy, and against France and

---

12 Diederich Graminaeus, *Beschreibung derer Fürstlicher Gültigscher &c. Hochzeit, so im jahr Christi tausent fünffhundert achtzig fünf am sechszehenden Junij vnd nechstfolgenden acht tagen zu Düsseldorff mit grossen freuden, Fürstlichen Triumph vnd herrligkeit gehalten worden* (Cologne: s.n., 1587), 246 p. [reprint Düsseldorf: Verlag Hans Marcus, 1982].

the Catholics.<sup>13</sup> Many fireworks engravings bear his name, and it certainly is no coincidence that he was asked on several occasions to design public fireworks for state affairs himself. Some of the most elaborate etchings of such performances are of his making, for instance those related to the coronation of Prince William III of Orange and Mary Stuart as rulers of England in 1689 and the solemn entries of the king-stadholder in different cities of the Dutch Republic during the following years. It is precisely in the course of his career that we discover the changing trend and the increasing tendency to attach political intentions and moral messages to the fireworks castles. John Amos Comenius had already stressed the moral meaning of exploding and falling rockets, as signs of pride, conversion and repentance. An engraving representing the fireworks set off in London, in several Dutch towns (Leiden, Maastricht, Haarlem, Amsterdam) and in Hamburg at William & Mary's coronation on 21 April 1689 shows in fact a combination of traditional bonfires and of more modern fireworks of a rather complicated pyrotechnic character.<sup>14</sup> A view, published separately, by Romeyn de Hooghe of the fireworks displayed in his home town Haarlem on that occasion, shows a spectacular but still rather traditional display of a long string of bonfires circling around three constructions identified by the royal emblems and initials. In spite of the great number of formal or literal references to the king or the coronation, no great decoration programme going beyond the mere mention of the event and its protagonists is visible in those pictures, nor can we detect a general design to which the individual fireworks in particular places were subordinate.<sup>15</sup> It is just one enormous, multi-located and multifaceted explosion of intended public rejoicing. The Amsterdam fireworks for William and Mary in April 1689 show this quite clearly: the celebration is exhibited as a masterly and captivating pyrotechnic spectacle uniting bonfires and fireworks but destitute of any moral message other than the political virtue of the monarchy in the confederate republic that the United Provinces still were. The message remains implicit, even if many spectators must have understood it quite well.

13 On his work as an engraver: Henk van Nierop, et al., *Romeyn de Hooghe: de verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008).

14 *Vreugde-vuuren. Tot Londen, en in verscheidene Steeden van Holland en Braband, en tot Hamburg; over de Krooning van haare Majesteyten van Groot Britannien, Willem de Derde, en Maria, Ontstookten* [April 21, 1689], engraving after Romeyn de Hooghe [Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, n° 2787 (inv. n° 44624)].

15 *Vuur-staken en Vreugt-bewysen, door de Ed. Agtb. Heeren vande Regeering tot Haarlem, op de Markt, Toorens, etc. den 21 April 1689*, engraving after Romeyn de Hooghe [Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, inv. n° 36900].

Subsequent fireworks in the last decade of the seventeenth century put an ever greater stress on the visualization of the political message in metaphorical images. The 1691 entry of the king-stadholder into The Hague shows the first signs of a pervasion of the spectacle by barely hidden patriotic meanings: the motto on the fireworks castle, the metaphorical lion, and the initials of the royal couple and their crown. Eight values of the Dutch Republic are visualized on the four faces of two columns, the most visible being the two key words of its historical identity: *religio* and *libertas*, placed on the front side of the castle. Unsurprisingly, these emblems and texts represent the common knowledge and the broad political consciousness of the well-schooled part of the Dutch bourgeoisie and in particular of its upper layers, without any indication of resistance or subversion.

Virtually the same observation holds for the fireworks performed for the reduction of the castle of Namur, four years later, and that in honour of the Russian embassy accompanying Tsar Peter the Great to Amsterdam in 1697. They show essentially the uncomplicated pleasure of a great pyrotechnical prowess around a barely visible minimum of symbolic representation, included in a rather traditional castle—a spectacle that was undoubtedly adapted to the still rather modest culture of the young tsar. However, a considerable change now occurs in the sphere of the publicity surrounding the fireworks. Henceforth, the published images of the fireworks contain not only the customary caption stating their actual and historical meaning, but they provide also a detailed description of the castle, the metaphorical elements it contains, and the meanings that should be attached to them.

In fact, around the turn of the seventeenth century the ideal fireworks performance would consist of a shrewd combination of a recreational spectacle and an educational show of a political nature, to be experienced *de visu* and *in actu* by the spectators with all the senses of the human body and to be remembered and reflected on afterwards, in the search for new, other, or at first sight hidden meanings. Fireworks become now primarily an instrument of top-down public communication. Henceforth the third layer, that of political consciousness, assumes a growing importance.<sup>16</sup> The fireworks are from now on

16 A similar evolution has marked the literary production of that period, according to W. van Ravesteyn, 'Tets over politieke poëzie in het begin der achttiende eeuw,' *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* v, 4 (1946): 49–65. Excellent examples are the learned address by the Utrecht history professor Petrus Burmannus (Pieter Burman), *Oratio de Pace inter potentissimum Galliarum regem & praepotentem Foederati Belgii Ordines composita* (Utrecht: G. van de Water, 1713), and the popular peace poem by the Haarlem weaver Jan van Gijsen, *Vree bazuyn, toegepast, op de algemeene dank, vuur en vreugden dag*:



one of the privileged instruments of the perfect politician, and, for that matter, of the perfect ideologist. Their very cost and rarity makes them an object of choice for a thorough political education.

After the turn of the century things continue therefore to change quickly. The ideological message grows in political importance and assumes an ever greater role in the elaboration of the fireworks as a multifaceted spectacle. The fireworks set off in the Hofvijver in The Hague on 13 December 1702, created by Daniel Marot, on the occasion of the victory of the Anglo-Dutch fleet in the bay of Vigo in Spain, show a clear rhetorical effort to transmit and inculcate the values of the victorious captains of the fleet. In this case, we know that a special committee of the States prepared the design of the fireworks. The texts and images on the pedestals of the fireworks castle combine bilingual references to the antique deities Neptune, Hercules, Mars and Pallas, with metaphorical scenes and animals, and well-known Latin devices. In fact, all these elements were familiar to the educated citizen of that time, schooled in Latin and still familiar with the metaphorical language of classical Antiquity. It is their combination that must surprise him, convey a new, precise message, and make him think about the happy state of public affairs and the glory of those in power.<sup>17</sup>

### 1713: The Zenith of Political Symbolism

The 1713 fireworks set off for the celebration of the Peace Treaty of Utrecht probably represent the zenith of this evolution and the most advanced development of the educational and patriotic dimension of the art of pyrotechnics.<sup>18</sup> As the engraving that unites in a single image the different fireworks of 14 June 1713 shows, they may appear as one great political design, a common, pan-republican enterprise of all the public authorities involved, endowed with a single political meaning: celebrating the nation in all its political dimensions. The differences in the lay-out of the fireworks are clearly linked to the level of authority of the respective organizers and their financial resources: urban fireworks like those set up at Haarlem or even by the municipality of The Hague were of a much simpler design than those of the provincial States of Holland and Friesland or

---

*uytgeschreeven tegens den 14. Junij, 1713* (Amsterdam: J. van Egmont, 1713) [copies in the Library of the University of Amsterdam].

17 C.W. Fock, 'Vuurwerk op de Haagse vijver in 1702,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 16 (1968): 122–129.

18 See for the Dutch engravings concerning the 1713 fireworks also my essay 'Utrechts vreugdevuur: masker voor 's Lands neergang?' *De Achttiende Eeuw* 40:2 (2008): 5–20.

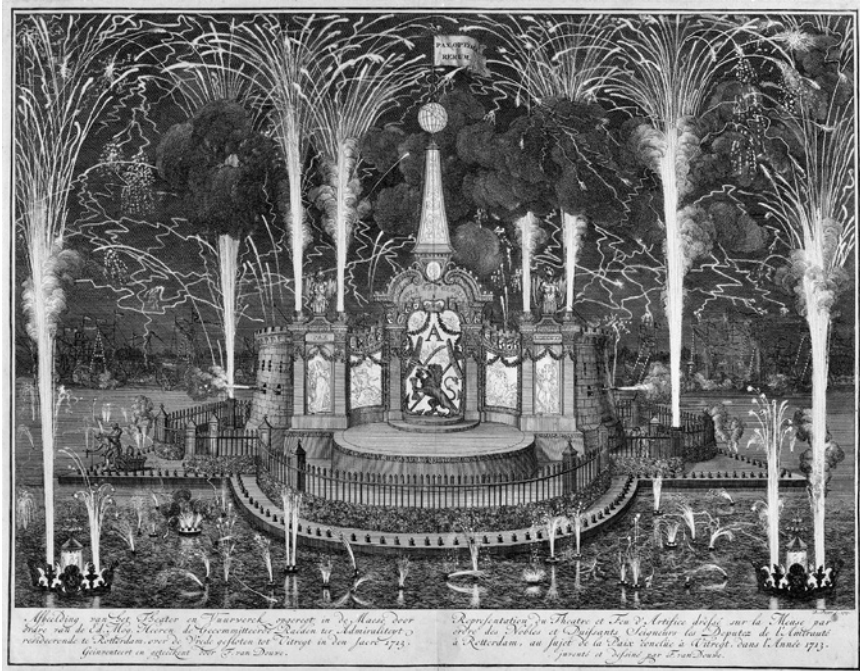


FIGURE 13.5 Afbeelding van het Theater en Vuurwerk opgereggt in de Maese door ordre van de Ed. Mog. Heeren de Gecommitteerde Raden ter Admiraliteyt resideerende te Rotterdam over de Vrede gesloten tot Utrecht in den Jaere 1713. Engraving by B. Picart after F. van Douwe (s.l., 1713).  
GEMEENTEARCHIEF ROTTERDAM

of the important Admiralty in the booming commercial town of Rotterdam (fig. 13.5). The urban fireworks address the common people and just want to provide a celebratory message of joy and conviviality, whereas the States use the occasion to tell a story and pass on a message of authority, power or policy.<sup>19</sup>

After 1713 fireworks become common practice in Europe for every possible public celebration and their organization breaks away from the semi-monopoly

19 A naughty narrative on the debauchery characterizing the daily life of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht during the peace negotiations: Casimir [= Augustin] Freschot, *Histoire amoureuse et badine du congrès et de la ville d'Utrecht* (Liège: Jacob Le Doux, 1713), to confront with the analysis of the events by Lucien Bély, 'Utrecht, un théâtre pour la paix,' in W. Frijhoff, O. Moorman van Kappen (eds.), *Les Pays-Bas et la France des guerres de religion à la création de la République Batave* (Nijmegen: Gerard Noodt Instituut, 1993), 53–76; a Dutch translation of Freschot's text has been published by Erik Tigelaar and Roland Fagel (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013).

of the public authorities, but rarely do they rise to the same level of emblematic riches and educational effort for a greater political consciousness. Imperceptibly the recreational element, one of the basic dimensions of the earliest fireworks, again triumphs over the educational dimension and prevails over the political goals. In that sense too, the Peace Treaty of Utrecht marks a summit and at the same time a turning-point in the art of representation. On the other hand, although a comparative study of all the fireworks in early modern Europe remains to be accomplished, the available evidence shows rather clearly that the Dutch fireworks occupied at that time a special place in the art of public recreational imagery. They excelled in their scholarly, perfectly reasoned use of emblematic scenery and in their educational efforts, and as such exceeded by far the fireworks displays of other countries, such as England, France or Italy, in spite of the latter country's pyrotechnical excellence. Although the real impact of such performances on mass mentalities remains of course questionable, they testify to a very high level of political consciousness of their inventors and to the conviction that through these new forms of public representation the citizens would be able to assimilate new images and new meanings, and would pledge a greater political commitment to the public cause.

Admittedly the city of Utrecht itself was not really in the forefront of this evolution. Surprised that all the other major cities of the Dutch Republic almost simultaneously organized fireworks for the celebration of the Utrecht Peace, some historians have attributed several images of fireworks to Utrecht for which no such initiative was known. It is still striking that the city which had so greatly benefited from the peace negotiations did not really invest in performances celebrating the outcome of the peace process, and apparently not at all in fireworks. One of the reasons may have been that the city council traditionally operated under much pressure from the church council, which in Utrecht for many decades was of a stern, orthodox persuasion in the line of Gisbertus Voetius, the former Utrecht professor of theology known as the 'Pope of the Reformed'.

In the course of the seventeenth century the Utrecht ministers, elders and deacons became radically opposed to any form of public rejoicings and more generally to whatever resembled theatrical representation, be it comedy or tragedy, all of which were considered as devilish art. When in December 1711 Utrecht was selected as the place where the peace negotiation were to be carried out, the problem of the social events and the recreational activities of the delegates became urgent. The town had to be attractive in order to favour a harmonious climate. Theatre was essential, as were public music performances, dances and balls for the high representatives and their company. Earlier in that

year, the question of the theatre had been put on the public agenda by Pieter Burman, professor of history, eloquence and politics at Utrecht University, who argued against the Utrecht church council that remained firmly opposed to any public plays. On 6 June 1713 the city council decided finally to proclaim the Peace publicly on 14 June, after the first predication, and to authorize the burgomasters 'to regulate the signs and demonstrations of joy in front of the town hall, in the city and in the canals'—a decision that probably implied more an interest in control than an expansion of relief and pleasure. At any rate, no fireworks are known to have been set off in Utrecht on that date.

### Celebrating the Nation

Outside Utrecht, in the national centre of political power The Hague, a combination of fireworks was organized that had to show an equal commitment to the peace by the three layers of political power traditionally united in a body called the Society of The Hague, i.e., the States General of the United Provinces, the States of the province of Holland, and the town council of The Hague itself. The States General fixed the date of 14 June for the whole country as a formal day of thanksgiving and prayer, free of working obligations, and therefore fit for all kinds of festivities. The three political bodies in The Hague made an agreement for the set-up of the fireworks and their metaphorical content, entrusting the formulation of the inscriptions and devices to a French Huguenot refugee familiar with the language of classical representation, Philippe de Vrigny.<sup>20</sup> The semantic riches of each of the three representations reflects with precision the status of the organizing bodies: the municipality of The Hague contented itself with the sumptuous illumination of the front of the town hall in an allegorical

20 *Verhael en uytleg van de twee uytmuntende Vuurwerken, zo van Haer Ed.Gr.Mog. de Heeren Staaten van Holland en West-Vriesland, als van haer Ho.Mog. de Heeren Staaten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden, met goet succes aengestoken op den 14. Junij 1713...* (The Hague: Pieter Husson, 1713), 26 p. [The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: Pamphlet 16175]. French version: *Devises et inscriptions contenües dans la construction érigée pour le Feu d'Artifice de la Province de Hollande & de Westfrise, au sujet de la Pai avec la France. Concluë à Utrecht le 11. Avril en l'année 1713. Composées par Mr. De Vrigny* [The Hague, Royal Library: Pamphlet 16177]. The most important engravings of the 1713 Dutch fireworks are listed in Frederik Muller, *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten* (4 vol.; Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1863–1870; reprint Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1970), II, n, 3497–3513, and in the printed catalogue of the Rotterdam *Atlas van Stolk*, IV, n, 3415–3430, to which the unpublished descriptions S 1710/56–64 have to be added from [www.atlasvanstolk.nl](http://www.atlasvanstolk.nl).

setting, whereas the States General and the States of Holland built their magnificent fireworks castles in the Hofvijver, the pond in front of the government quarter. Naturally, that of the States of Holland was the smaller and simpler of the two. In the pond, the fireworks theatre of the States General occupied the place of honour in front of the Mauritshuis; the peace negotiation delegates were invited to enjoy these fireworks from the windows of that urban palace. The front side of the fireworks castle was therefore turned away from the mass of the spectators on the three other sides of the pond, a disposition that made it still more necessary to provide them with printed images of the front side and explanations of the visual presentations.

More than for other fireworks, we must for 1713 distinguish between the 'castle', i.e. the constructed substrate of a durable character and the concrete representations built upon it, and, on the other hand, the fireworks performance in the proper sense of the word, by definition short-lived and volatile. Consequently, a clear distinction must also be made between the realms of meaning involved. Yet the theatre and the performance were closely intertwined, and it would be an error to consider the fiery performance as an autonomous spectacle of a lower cultural level for the common people, while the fireworks theatre served as an implement for the learned elite. In fact, all published representations, engravings and broadsheets of the fireworks display a perfect match between performance and theatre. These engravings were reproduced many times by printers in The Hague, Utrecht and Amsterdam, and even abroad, in numbers we do not know but which must have been important. The popular market for such items went well beyond the social upper crust. The publishers competed in their claims that their own product was the most perfect reproduction of the event, providing the most complete explanation of the fireworks castle and its meanings. Finally, the journal *Europische Mercurius* reproduced the descriptions of the fireworks in full, making their messages available for those who had not been able to attend the performance and separating the documentary and educational function of the spectacle from the performance itself.<sup>21</sup> In that way, the message provided became a formal, long-lasting element of the narrative about the Peace negotiations and the Treaty of Utrecht.

Yet the engravings clearly represent the double impact of the fireworks, learned and popular together. They connect the instantaneous event with the durable setting and make them understandable in their mutual relation. The scenery shows how the short-lived rockets and other implements are released from the top of the fixed components of the theatre. Instead of

---

21 *Europische Mercurius* 24 (1713): 302–309, with ill.

remaining simple construction elements, the presence of these components is emphasized by the fire, and the spectacle inspires a search for their meaning, the more so as that meaning is symbolically or metaphorically included in the emblematic figures represented on the components. Therefore, performance and visual representation reinforce each other in the act—public and at the same time very personal—by which the fireworks are emotionally experienced and mentally assimilated. The rich, intricate, but basically stable and rather heavy structure of the theatre contrasts so strikingly with the airy and fiery performance represented by the visual, auditory and olfactory experience of the exploding fire, that it produces a strong mental impulsion to look for a collective meaning that unites the spectator and the community in a single act of appropriation of the event. On the other hand, the interpretation of the meaning of the emblematic representations, including the structure of the theatre itself, is intensified by the memory of the fiery explosions, just as it is guided by the visual repertoires from which they are borrowed and to which they refer in the memory of the spectators and interpreters.

These visual repertoires pertained to the visual domains that were common knowledge for the contemporaries, at least for those who had gone to school, as was the case of the majority of the Dutch population as early as the late sixteenth century. We may retrieve them from the formal or visual conventions of the world of art, of printed publications, and of any other form of decoration, even the most basic ones in print work or house decoration. The selection that had to be made in the extremely rich domain of the available forms of figuration proved to be mostly political, sometimes linked with social and moral considerations. The documentation produced before, during and after the fireworks shows that the inventors or designers of the fireworks developed a visual programme that corresponded closely to the political message which the organizing authorities wanted to be inculcated by the combination of performance and representation. But for visualizing concepts and ideas, they needed a translation into a visual repertory that could be recognized, either because it had long formed part of society's memory and charged with precise, recognizable meanings for everybody or because it had been learned for use in precise situations or conditions. In theory it would have been possible, and perhaps more effective in the short run, to represent political ideas in the form of a strictly contemporary performance, for example by marking with precision the adversaries, performing a battle on the stage or at least showing its results, or representing a negotiation in action, as it would be done in the 2013 fireworks theatre in Utrecht.

However, there were at least three reasons for not clinging too closely to the political world of those years but instead adopting a more distant language of

representation. Firstly, the peace had been achieved with difficulty and its issue was still pending for a number of belligerents; therefore caution was needed. Secondly, ever since the Middle Ages the representation of political realities had been moulded in symbolic imagery and more precisely in emblematic heraldry. Thirdly, the political language was fundamentally designed and controlled by the social elite, which, in spite of the predominance of the early modern court culture and the *civilité* register in its social life, had been educated in the classical culture of the Latin schools and universities. The symbolic language of Greco-Roman Antiquity or the register of the biblical references constituted therefore its main reference frame. Peace, for instance, was always represented by an emblematic figure referring to either the Greco-Roman pantheon with its innumerable deities or to the Judeo-Christian world with its biblical figures, angels or early Christian saints at the centre of the stage.

### Conclusion

The rich emblems and metaphors would need a more thorough analysis of this complicated imagery. The apparent global language of the imagery is treacherous because it hides diverse political, social and cultural meanings and changing cultures of memory. Allow me just a triple conclusion. First, seen from the point of view of public festivities, the Peace of Utrecht appears indeed as the zenith of a long evolution and as the summit of the art of firework-making, in its pyrotechnical aspects as well as regards political representation. Given the lavish execution of the fireworks castles and the extremely broad diffusion of the visual publications and their textual explanations, we may conclude that the authorities of the time were quite aware of the exceptional weight of what happened at that moment and purposely tried to make it benefit their cause.

Second, with respect to that public cause, the present-day observer cannot refrain from a certain disappointment. With the exception of a general sense of relief because of the peace, the sumptuous, even magnificent emblematic decoration programmes remain totally inward-turned, inside the boundaries of the Dutch Republic and the structures of the state. They support a patriotic mentality. Again with the exception of some general references to commerce, they do not refer at all to any form of alliance, any expansion worldwide or any responsibility of the Dutch in the political theatre of Europe. Paradoxically, it is the political structure of the Dutch community itself that is celebrated, whereas this structure was of virtually no importance for the peace negotiations. 1713 displays a nationalizing celebration, a return to patriotism organized by the highest authorities of the provinces and the state itself, not the

festive and trustful proclamation of the international creed one would expect from them on the threshold of the cosmopolitan Enlightenment. Was this magnificent but disappointing turning inward a political conjuration of inner dangers, of the fear of disintegration of the Dutch commonwealth? At any rate, the authorities must have realised that the leading European role of the Dutch was finished and must have consequently adapted the educational message of the fireworks to the changing times.

Thirdly, and more generally, I hope to have shown in this short analysis that early modern fireworks represent much more than the bit of idle entertainment they may have provided at first sight. The fireworks formula was used by the political authorities with a triple aim: a celebratory function, a recreational function, and, much more than nowadays, an educational function for their political cause. This third function justified the considerable expense of the fireworks, both as a volatile performance and as a more durable theatre for political messages. In the early modern period, the fireworks on the occasion of the Peace of Utrecht were probably the most perfect and most balanced expression of this double goal.



**PART 4**

*The Commemorative Stage*





## Memory Theatre: Remembering the Peace after Three Hundred Years

*Jane O. Newman*

### Act I—Theatres of Memory

In his *De oratore*, Cicero recounts the famous story of the poet, Simonides of Ceos, who, having been present at a banquet in honour of a nobleman of Thessaly, was fortunate enough to have been called out of the hall before the roof of the building caved in, crushing everyone to death. Because of his prodigious memory, Simonides was able to recall exactly where each of the guests had been seated and could thus assist with the identification of the mangled bodies. The tale introduces Cicero's discussion of the 'art of memory' in his treatise on rhetoric; there he writes that, as a result of his experience, Simonides 'inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty [memory] must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things'.<sup>1</sup> Thus was born the idea of the 'memory theatre,' made famous in the Renaissance by Giulio Camillo, Giordano Bruno, and Robert Fludd, and still operative in the early modern scientific work of Bacon, Descartes, and Leibniz.<sup>2</sup> Arguments and information deposited in orderly fashion in strategic locations around a central 'stage' could be summoned forth, 'found,' or 'invented' (from the Latin *invenio*) for a specific occasion and in a specific way, to build a compelling speech, present a focused argument, or sustain a particular claim.

The conceit of the memory theatre is a useful one in the context of a volume entitled *Performances of Peace*, in which the contributors, using a diverse set of methods and texts, examine the various 'stages'—both literal and figurative—on which the Peace of Utrecht was enacted. The rich array of political, social, and cultural issues, the myriad locations and occasions discussed, and the diverse methodologies employed by the authors suggest not only the

1 Cicero, *De Oratore*, vol. 2, ed. A. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 86: 351–354.

2 See Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

considerable heft that 'Utrecht' had in its original historical 'performance', but also the degree to which *scholarly* memories of the past are also always already determined by and for specific audiences to meet specific (disciplinary) needs. As De Bruin et al. argue in their 'Introduction' to the present volume, 'performance' is a capaciously 'porous' concept which certainly includes the act of recollection itself, with the one or the other version of a local or global, a socio-historical or cultural past either called forth or left to languish in the wings, depending on the memorializer's needs. Jubilee years naturally stage memory in particularly arresting ways. The essays collected here, all originally presented at a 2013 conference commemorating Utrecht's tercentenary, ask us to consider the question of what the modern world might have inherited from Utrecht and thus which present-day conundrums could be said to have found their origins there. In each case, we are either implicitly or directly asked to reflect on how future generations will look back at the various tercentenary commemorations as 'performative acts' (de Bruin et al.)—from the 'Performances of Peace' conference documented here to the 'Colonial Legacy' conference sponsored by the University of Utrecht's Centre for the Humanities, to the fireworks, concerts, and museum exhibits sponsored by the city of Utrecht and Arts Holland, also in 2013—as they become objects of analysis in turn, just as interesting as the historical events they take as their subject.

From a scholarly perspective, the memory work performed by these essays is in no small part shaped by many of the same questions that interest what has come to be called the New Diplomatic History, which, as John Watkins writes, consists in the 'multidisciplinary reevaluation'<sup>3</sup> of the periodization schemes, geographical imaginaries, gendered knowledges, and economies of political scale that have limited how international relations in earlier periods have been studied to date. Such limitations have also restricted the sources, including literary and art historical ones, that can be used to tell the complex stories of earlier periods (for a related initiative, see also 'Textual Ambassadors' at <http://www.textualambassadors.org>). Like this new 'inter-discipline,' whose re-invention is both long overdue and timely in a postmodern, 'globalized' world that resembles its early modern twin in so many ways, the present volume calls attention to a theatre of politics understood in this more expansive way. The essays consider how 'Utrecht' was 'performed' below, at, and beyond the level of the nation-state (Frey and Frey and Onnekink) while also calling attention to the fraught economic and social legacies of empire and colonialism in a simultaneously ever more internationalizing and ever more local,

---

3 John Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008): 1–14, 1.

particularized world (Olivas, Bély, and McCluskey) not unlike our own. As we read, we also catch sight of the important role of the media in 'producing' political events, then as now, with media understood broadly here to include fireworks and public spectacles and rituals, diplomatic correspondence and historiographic accounts, print and image journalism and the periodical press, as well as occasional poetry, public theatre and 'peep show' plays (see Frijhoff, Ferguson, van der Haven, Goldwyn/van Dijk, Al-Shayban, Jackson, Jensen, and Duchhardt). The essays thus summon forth the events and the 'achievements' of 1713 not only because of that year's importance as the alleged origin of various forms of political modernity, such as the balance of power and the international acceptance and regulation of the slave trade, and the political instrumentalization (Frijhoff) of public culture, but also because of the optic that such inquiries provide for re-considering the legacies of this modernity that lie at the heart of contemporary theoretical and literary-historical as well as historiographic debates. Taken together they thus pose the question of how to use cultural artefacts, social history, and an expanded sense of the archive to tell in new ways the (hi)story of a specific moment and set of events long considered to reside only within the purview of International Relations theorists and historians of international law.

Thinking a thickly described past of peace-making and our present together suggests the importance of understanding the many ways that the early modern and the post-modern are always already locked in a complex embrace. In closing this volume, I would like to challenge its readers to reflect on the different kinds of rhetorical-political work that the 'performances' of memory involved in this particular tercentenary celebration are doing for us. My question is a simple one, namely: How will the future read the memories of 1713 as they were constructed in 2013? What will the future say, that is, about how the early twenty-first century conceived of the early eighteenth-century theatres of both peace and war? Indeed, in the language of the Introduction by de Bruin et al., what kinds of 'identity' are constructed—and for whom—by the memories of 'Utrecht' performed here? By way of considering how any number of answers to such questions might be framed, I turn to another three-hundredth-year anniversary of a companion early modern peace-making event, namely, the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, as it was recalled in *its* tercentenary year (1948). A number of commemorations of Westphalia took place in that year; I will deal with only two of the most salient of them, one that occurred in post-1945 Germany and one that occurred in post-1945 France. The complex and multi-layered nature of these two performances of treaty memory is not surprising. For, as much as the actual treaties of Westphalia—like most such instruments of peace—may have enjoined their signatories to 'forget' the conflicts they had

been convened to put to rest,<sup>4</sup> it was only by strategically *recalling* the details of a lengthy war that the conflict could be claimed to have been brought to an end. By definition, then, there is never ‘oblivion’ when it comes to creating peace but, rather, only differential performances of memories of war and thus competing notions of what stands to be gained (or lost) by signing on. The two tercentenary commemorations of Westphalia that I describe are good examples of this kind of duelling memory work. Occurring in the direct aftermath of a war that, for many of the mid-twentieth century actors involved, had been just as devastating as the one that Westphalia brought to an end, the French and German memories of 1648 were staged in instrumentalizing ways that corresponded to their respective present-day needs. The general metaphor of memory as theatre takes on an additionally specific form in this case, since the question of genre—whether the 1948 celebrations of Westphalia were comedies or tragedies—looms large. Again, looking back at how 1648 was staged three hundred years on is simply one way of wondering aloud how future generations will look back at the recollections of ‘Utrecht’ in its three-hundredth jubilee year as they are ‘performed’ here.

#### Act II—The Archive as Arsenal / France Celebrates Westphalia after Three Hundred Years

Given how much we now actually know about the differential scale and identities of the plenipotentiaries treating at Münster and Osnabrück between 1643–44 and 1648, when representatives from both large and smaller-scale territorial states rubbed shoulders with representatives of urban polities, for example, as well as with papal nuncios, imperial emissaries, and many more, *and* in light of the persistence after 1648 of several important imperial institutions on whose continuing existence its agreements in point of fact relied,<sup>5</sup> it is ironic how uniformly the Treaty of Westphalia is remembered as the origin of a political modernity organized more or less exclusively around the rise of the territorially-bounded sovereign state. In this story, Westphalia functions as

4 See Jane O. Newman, ‘Perpetual Oblivion? Remembering Westphalia in a Post-Secular Age,’ in *Forgetting Faith: Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Isabel Karremann, Inga Mai Groote, and Cornel Zwierlein (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 261–275.

5 See Stéphane Beaulac, ‘The Westphalian Model in Defining International Law: Challenging the Myth,’ *Australian Journal of Legal History* 8 (2004): 181–203 and Benjamin Straumann, ‘The Peace of Westphalia as a Secular Constitution,’ *Constellations* 15:2 (2008): 173–188.

what Heinz Duchhardt has called a 'Denkfigur',<sup>6</sup> which shapes the narrative of the signing of the Treaty in the wake of the century of religious wars arising out of the Reformation and the resulting gutting of the universal orders of the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy See into a story of the birth and subsequent rise of modern statism as such, with its most modern form, the nation-state, as the hero. Knowing no sovereign instance above itself (even a divine one), this state holds the exclusive power to deny 'external actors' the possibility of interference in affairs within its territorial boundaries, on the one hand, and, also via that sovereignty, the power to 'determine [all] domestic authority structures', including the ones related to those all-too-divisive matters of belief, on the other.<sup>7</sup> When Westphalia is remembered in this way as the origin of what eventually became the secularism *triumphans* of an internally homogeneous and secure (nation) state, the Treaty is invested with the power to have (thankfully) closed the door on the age of devastating pan-European religious wars. But this version of the tale also lays at Westphalia's feet the responsibility for having sanctioned precisely the proto-totalitarian authoritarianism associated with the state's right to both pre-emptive aggression against potential foes from the outside and to normative 'domestic jurisdiction' within as well.<sup>8</sup> Seen from this perspective, the inauguration of the 'modern' era of territorially-organized political culture in 1648 may appear to us today to have been something of a mixed blessing.

In 1948 and in France, however, the memory of an earlier time when the integrity of a state's borders and the possibility of self-rule were perceived as the norm was something to celebrate; the nationalist thrust of memory here is reminiscent of the celebrations of 'Utrecht', which, as a number of the essays make clear (Frijhoff, Olivas, and Ferguson, for example), were also designed for local consumption. Still traumatized, that is, by the German occupation of 1940 to 1944 and by the more or less literal splintering of the nation into the two sub-national and regionally identified Occupied and Vichy parts, and then by the shattering of post-war solidarity by waves of retributive justice after 1945, the official French public sphere was more than happy to engage

---

6 Heinz Duchhardt, 'Peace Treaties from Westphalia to the Revolutionary Era,' in *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History*, ed. Randall C.H. Lesaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 46 (note 3).

7 See Richard Falk, 'Revisiting Westphalia, Discovering Post-Westphalia,' *The Journal of Ethics* 6:4 (2002): 311–52.

8 See Falk, 'Revisiting Westphalia'; Beaulac, 'The Westphalian Model' and Andreas Osiander, *The States System of Europe, 1640–1990. Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

in the commemoration of an earlier time when the nation-state was allegedly still intact. The early modern France of the Westphalian and post-Westphalian eras, with a glorious ‘most Christian King’ at the helm, was obviously a good candidate for a celebration of this sort—especially if one strategically elided the years of the Fronde—since it could be made to represent not only national political harmony, but also a moment of territorial enlargement that would make the nation whole again and secure. For it was via the Treaty signed in Münster in 1648 that the much disputed ‘three bishoprics,’ les Trois-Évêchés, as well as Alsace and the French cities of Brisach and Pignerol were officially realigned with France.<sup>9</sup> In this context, and in light of the aptness of invoking an earlier moment of French solidarity with itself and territorial autonomy too, the French ‘Parlement’ and the ‘gouvernement de la République’ voted on 11 September 1947 to fund tercentenary celebrations of Westphalia throughout the nation and to introduce materials about the Treaty into all French schools.<sup>10</sup>

Beginning, naturally, in the once again reclaimed region of Alsace, and then followed by festivities in Paris, the quintessential capital of the modern centralized state, these commemorative performances were the products of considerable work. A grand tercentenary exhibit was mounted in Strasbourg at Le Château des Rohan, which opened on 13 June 1948, after a number of learned conferences on the topic had already occurred. The unmistakably localist thrust of the Strasbourg event is audible in the title of the exhibit: ‘L’Alsace française, 1648–1948’, and was also visible in the choreography of the show, at which, alongside the treaties and a variety of war-related portraits, maps, and artefacts, an array of Alsatian paintings as well as examples of the local industries of gold- and silver-smithery (‘orfèvrerie’), for which the city was so well known, were on view. The people of Strasbourg and visiting dignitaries alike were treated to spectacular fireworks on the evening of the 3rd of July; dancing in local Alsatian costumes took place on the main square the following day.<sup>11</sup>

9 The Treaty of Münster (24 October 1646), in: ‘Instrumentum Pacis Monasteriensis,’ Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte, <http://www.pax-westphalica.de/ipmipo/index.html>, accessed 11 May 2014, § 70–73. Jean Bérenger, ‘Historiographie,’ in 1648. *La Paix de Westphalie. Vers l’Europe moderne* ed. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris: Imprimerie nationale Éditions, 1998), 164.

10 Élisabeth Pauly, ‘1948—Tricentenaire des Traités de Westphalie,’ 1648. *La Paix de Westphalie. Vers l’Europe moderne*, ed. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris: Imprimerie nationale Éditions, 1998), 185–187 and Paul Pieper, ‘Der Westfälische Friede. Die Gedächtnis-Ausstellungen 1648–1948,’ *Westfalen* 28 (1950): 59–75.

11 See Pauly, ‘1948,’ 186–187 and *Exposition l’Alsace française, 1648–1948*, ed. Chateau des Rohan, Musée historique. Comité régional des fêtes commémoratives de 1648–1798–1848–1948 (Strasbourg: Hotel de la société des Amis des Arts, 1948).



All of this was, of course, far more than just provincial entertainment, since, as in 1648, so too in 1948, the reclaiming of Alsace from Germany was one of the centrepieces of the post-war settlement and thus also of considerable trans-regional patriotic significance and national pride. Remembering Westphalia in Alsace after three hundred years was thus as instrumentalizing as the original celebrations of the Treaty themselves.

It was Paris's turn to take up the baton of the nation's memory-work three months later, celebrating the anniversary of Westphalia with a perhaps more historically oriented, although not entirely de-provincialized exhibit. The exhibit, 'La Paix de Westphalie. 1648', opened at the Parisian Hôtel de Rohan, where the French National Archives were and are housed, on 26 October, just two days after the actual anniversary of the day on which the treaties were historically signed on 24 October 1648.<sup>12</sup> The curator of the Paris exhibit was the recently appointed director of the French National Archives, Charles Braibant. Braibant is remembered now as a middling novelist and, more importantly, as the man who centralized and systematized the country's scattered archives in the difficult post-war years; his purpose in so doing can be heard in his famous description of the archive's task. 'Les archives sont l'arsenal de l'administration avant d'être le grenier de l'histoire'.<sup>13</sup> Braibant penned a rousing preface to the slim exhibition catalogue that accompanied the Paris show; both his words and the selection of items displayed speak volumes about which memory of Westphalia the French 'administration' wanted to produce at the time.

Braibant opens his 'Préface' to the exhibition catalogue with a brisk, four-page account of France's long, yet almost organically pre-determined 'progress' toward the Rhine.<sup>14</sup> Beginning in the thirteenth century and continuing up through Francis I's valiant efforts against the enemy Habsburgs—with the 'support' of course of 'des princes protestants d'Allemagne en lutte contre l'empereur'<sup>15</sup>—and culminating in the efforts of 'le grand cardinal' Richelieu on behalf of 'notre pays',<sup>16</sup> France became 'complete', its natural self, once the Three Bishoprics, Brisach, and of course Alsace were re-secured for the crown at the signing of the Treaty at Münster in 1648.<sup>17</sup> 'L'Alsace étant française',

12 See Charles Braibant, *La Paix de Westphalie, 1648* (Hôtel de Rohan, Paris: Les Amis des Archives Nationales, 1948), Préface.

13 See Pauly, '1948' and Charles Braibant, *Le 'Grenier de l'histoire' et l'Arsenal de l'Administration: Introduction aux Cours des Stages d'Archives de l'Hôtel de Rohan* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1957).

14 Braibant, *La Paix de Westphalie*, 5.

15 *Ibid.*, 7.

16 *Ibid.*, 7.

17 *Ibid.*, 8.

Braibant writes, 'la France est faite'.<sup>18</sup> The Westphalian achievement was thus commemorated in Paris, as it had already been in Strasbourg, not as the beginning of a peaceful Europe-wide international system-of-states but, rather, as the triumph of the expansion and re-securing of a single nation-state's borders. Braibant may have wanted to avoid appearing to be only the patriotic partisan that he was for he goes on to explain that, in light of the 'crucial stage' ('étape décisive') that Westphalia represented in the constitution of 'les grandes concentrations nationales' of 'une Europe nouvelle', he had early on invited the museums of France's two greatest allies in the Thirty Years' War, the Low Countries and Sweden, to contribute pieces to his exhibit. There had been tercentenary exhibits already in Delft and Stockholm, with one hundred thousand and three hundred thousand visitors respectively, he notes. In acts of modern solidarity that matched those noble efforts of arms in the past, France's 'deux grands alliés'<sup>19</sup> had generously complied by lending a variety of objects. After thanking any number of colleagues and institutions for their help, Braibant closes his preface by recalling that the exhibit's title—'La Paix de Westphalie'—underscores not the conflicts of both the more distant and nearer past but, rather, the long wished-for peace. He writes: 'La paix: les hommes d'aujourd'hui sentent par expérience le poids divin de ce mot. Encore la guerre de Trente ans dépasse-t-elle en cruauté et en horreur les deux catastrophes que les présentes générations ont subies'.<sup>20</sup> 'La paix: en 1948 les hommes de toute l'Europe n'en ont-ils pas la même soif que leurs pères et leurs mères de 1648? Pax optima rerum', he declaims. Gesturing toward the opening meetings of the United Nations in Paris at approximately the same time,<sup>21</sup> Braibant concludes with a somewhat perplexingly doubled cosmopolitanist *and* nationalistic wish: 'Est-il vain de souhaiter que les traits en gestation à cette heure, s'ils ne peuvent donner à notre pays autant de gloire et puissance que ceux dont les instruments figurent à l'hôtel de Rohan', in his exhibit, 'du moins ne soient pas une trêve passagère'.<sup>22</sup>

In their Introduction, de Bruin et al. argue that performative acts must be 'public' in order to exist. It is useful to consider the public nature of the exhibit in Paris in these terms. For example, the militaristically inflected vocabulary that Braibant uses ('trêve' as both armistice and cease-fire as well as pause or recess) *and* the catalogue of the 'La Paix de Westphalie' exhibit itself suggest

---

18 Ibid., 9.

19 Ibid., 10.

20 Ibid., 14–15.

21 Ibid., 10.

22 Ibid., 15–16.

the kind of rich memory-palace experience (575 items were displayed) that visitors to the exhibit in post-war Paris would have been swept up into as a collective as they entered. The first seventy-seven items—various versions of the treaties and portraits of the major participants in the lengthy negotiations that finally came to fruition on that October day—work hard to convince the viewing public that the exhibit's intention was to perform a memory of peace. We may nevertheless be forgiven, after considering the entire catalogue, for thinking that its overwhelming agenda was, rather, to appeal to a public with a taste for the tools and machinery of war. Perhaps displacing their memories of a more recent conflict by looking at one in the past, or perhaps, just as plausibly, recalling via the juxtaposition that, for all the brief 'armistices', or respites, from violence, what human history teaches is that war never really goes away, the exhibit may have been not just educational but also troubling for the Parisian public during its Fall run. The 286 war-related items that were displayed—four times the number of 'peace' items—create a somewhat different impression than Braibant's opening praise of peace, in other words. Countless fine engravings of famous battles and sieges and military encampments were included, only occasionally interrupted by a number of 'personal', yet still battlefield-related items, including the armour and equipment of several of the better-known combatants, such as the sword and *pourpoint*, or padded shirt worn under the heavy armour, of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and a picture of the garb worn on formal occasions by his horse. Visitors could also admire the armour of the great and brutal French general, Turenne, even as they shrank back from his scowling portrait. This part of the show thus clearly relied on and endorsed the more or less magisterial version of the peace as a national military victory recounted by the winners.

It would be unfair not to note that the 1948 'La Paix de Westphalie' exhibit did also feature a smallish selection of items, numbering just seven, that included several imprints from Callot's famous etching series, 'Les petites' and 'Les grandes Misères de la Guerre' (1636 and 1633, respectively) displayed as items #344 and #345, thereby nodding ever so briefly in the direction of the truth of the matter, namely, that in wartime, it is the citizenry and unprotected who suffer. But these testimonies to the 'miseries of war' are dwarfed by the rest of the objects in both size and number as the exhibit barrels ahead, with a breathtaking matter-of-factness, to its final 210 objects, which celebrate what was to remain the real achievement of Westphalia in the French mind, again, the reacquisition of Alsace for 'la France'. These final objects include maps and battle plans and city vistas of Metz, Verdun, and Strasbourg, with its mighty fortifications, which teach visitors over and over again that it was the expansion of the nation's territorial borders that was the real point of the peace. The

underlying logic of the exhibit is unmistakable in the crowning shout-out to the enlarged nation represented by the final object displayed, Pierre du Val's 'Les Acquisitions de la France par la paix', which catalogues the serial acquisition of territory by France up until the Treaty of Nijmegen of 1679 in detail. As it was 'performed' in Paris at the Hôtel de Rohan in 1948, then, the memory of the Peace of Westphalia was, well, Westphalian in the extreme, when Westphalianism is defined as the origin of the legitimacy of waging war when the borders of the sovereign territorial state must be secured. This was, of course, properly the case for France after its occupation by the Germans. But the nonchalant triumphalism of its 'performance' of memory is troubling all the same.

### Act III—Westphalia in the Ruins / Germany Remembers 1648 after Three Hundred Years

The tone that governed the celebrations among the rubble in German Münster, the city where the Treaty of Westphalia between France's 'Most Christian King' and the Holy Roman Empire had originally been signed, was decidedly different than the one that informed Braibant's tercentenary exhibit in Paris. For example, on the poster designed by Joseph Faßbaender to announce the parallel German exhibit at the Münster Landesmuseum in 1948 the angel of peace, with her centrally placed trumpet, appears to call for a unifying reconciliation of peoples rather than for either Germany or France to (post-Potsdam) hunker down behind realigned borders.<sup>23</sup> If the Münster exhibit may not have intentionally been designed to offer a metaphorical version of the literal olive branch that the angel holds in her left hand (which interestingly obscures the faintly Nazified imperial eagle of the Habsburg Empire beneath it in the image), it was clearly meant as a meditation on the way that Germany was going to rejoin the 'family of nations' that Westphalia was taken to signify<sup>24</sup> after the defeat of a National Socialist state (a state that, after 1933, had of course endorsed a Westphalianism of a particularly ugly and destructive sort). It is in any case difficult to look at this poster or the pictures that survive of the ceremonial events that took place in Münster in October of 1948, including parades against the backdrop of still bombed-out buildings (91% of the centre of Münster had been destroyed by air bombardment in 1944–45) and 'open-air' lectures held

23 Heinz Duchhardt, *Das Feiern des Friedens. Der Westfälische Friede im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Friedensstadt Münster* (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1997), 90.

24 *Ibid.*, 85.

inside the museum, since the roof had not yet been repaired,<sup>25</sup> and not see a performance of memory equally as ‘identity-forming’ as the one enacted in Paris, a performance that was, of course, also in clear contrast to Braibant’s exhibit, with its celebration of a victorious France.

Heinz Duchhardt has analysed the several different political economies visible in both the planning of the Münster exhibit and the attendant commemorative events in great detail.<sup>26</sup> Depending on where one looks, one finds evidence for several differential memories of how Westphalia lived on for the Germans after the war. On the one hand, the original impetus for the tercentenary celebrations in Münster had come from the German office of the internationalist Union Européenne des Fédéralistes (UEF), which was committed to a confederative model of a post-war ‘United States of Europe’ of a decidedly westward-leaning cast. Taken together, the other events of that year, including the London Six-Power Conference on (Western) Germany’s future as a composite occupied zone, the Blockade of Berlin (June 1948 to May 1949), and the 1948 currency reform, created a context within which remembering Westphalia as the founding moment of a peaceful international system of cooperating states could have been designed to signal Germany’s—and the Germans’—willingness to engage peacefully, if in a subordinate position, with its and their (Western) partners on equal footing. The ceremonies that opened on 24 October 1948 in the reassembled historical Hall of Peace (Friedenssaal) in the Münster City Hall (it had been dismantled and stored outside the city during the bombings), where the Treaty of Westphalia had originally been signed, and then moved into the museum for the official opening of the exhibit, in fact began with a greeting by Minister-President of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia Arnold, a ‘committed ‘European’ devoted to the (Catholic) Christian idea of a continent-spanning ‘Occident’ (‘Abendland’);<sup>27</sup> the claim was, of course, somewhat at odds with the idea of Westphalia as having inaugurated the secular era of autonomous territorial states. Still and all, as Duchhardt reports, the idea of celebrating 1648 as the end of thirty years of divisive intra-European war and as the beginning of an era of inter-state cooperation was confirmed by a Dutch representative of Union Européenne des Fédéralistes, one Dr. W. Kerkrade, who announced in his speech the publication of a ‘peace manifesto’ by the UEF that would be signed by local dignitaries and then brought via horse-relay (!) to The Hague. As in the case of English performances of Handel’s *Te Deum* on the occasion of Utrecht jubilees described in the Introduction, music played

25 Ibid., 91, 93.

26 Ibid., 85–108.

27 Romberg-Jaschinski, cited in Ibid., 89.

a central role; a concert featuring Beethoven's Ninth, followed by a massive peace demonstration in the centre of the city said to have drawn some twenty to thirty thousand people, at which more speeches celebrating the peace were followed by an evening of fireworks (perhaps uncomfortably reminiscent of the rain of bombs that many survivors had probably not yet forgotten), closed out a day on which Westphalia was remembered somewhat differently than in Paris, not as a celebration of the triumph of a single, re-consolidated, even expanded nation, in other words, but, rather, as a sober moment of recalling the historical creation of an international system of states that should have prevented the more recent intra-European conflict, perhaps even as a way of confirming that the newly formed United Nations (formally established, interestingly, on 24 October 1945), alongside the many other political and economic forms of European cooperation that were emerging, ought now to take the lead.

On the other hand, the 'internationalist' version of Westphalia remembered by Arnold and Kerkrade et al. was not the only one in circulation in Münster in 1948 and for good reason, since there was already a lengthy history in Germany, beginning soon after the ink on the Treaty was dry and building to a crescendo over the course of the nineteenth century and especially after Versailles, of seeing Westphalia as the origin of what can only be understood as the nation's subsequent political tragedy, its subsequent failures (and horrifying successes as well) as a modern nation-state. While this longer history of the historiography of the Treaty had itself been a kind of battlefield, as Bernd Schönemann has shown, a clear narrative had begun to emerge between the end of the Old *Reich* in 1806 and the establishing of the new one in 1871. Bernhard Erdmannsdörffer's 'Zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung des Dreißigjährigen Krieges' (1865) belongs to the tradition of the 'klein-Deutschland'-affiliated side of these memories; it tells the tale of the Westphalian peace as catastrophic for Germany not only because the Treaty permitted foreign states (Sweden and France) to throw the dice that shaped Germany's political future but also because it at least in theory allowed the old *Reich* (the Holy Roman one) to continue as a political actor. Both moves delayed for an unpardonably long time the emergence of the 'real' (e.g. post-1871) German *Reich* out of its original princely territorial (e.g. Brandenburg-Prussian) roots to its rightful position as an independent state.<sup>28</sup> Somewhat earlier, the opposing 'Großdeutschland'-position had been articulated by one Onno Klopp in his *Der König Friedrich II. von Preussen und*

---

28 Bernd Schönemann, 'Die Rezeption des Westfälischen Friedens durch die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft,' in *Der Westfälische Frieden*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Munich: Oldenbourg 1998 [=Historische Zeitschrift, 26 (1998): 805–25]).

*die deutsche Nation* (1860). According to Klopp, it was as a result of the Treaty's 'sacrifice' of the 'ancient' German 'Stände und Corporationen' (estates and corporations) to 'dem Willen [von] Territorialfürsten' (the will of territorial princes), both large and small, that rulers like Frederick II could eventually come to power, only to undertake the splintering apart of 'das Reich' in a deliberate way when he did so. The effect—according to Klopp—was to consign to its political grave the only form of state organization (the imperial, all-encompassing one that included Austria-Hungary) that could have defended a truly universal German 'Nationalgeist' (national spirit) with success. The period of the Great War of 1914–18 and Germany's defeat had thus already been understood as a particularly painful revival of Westphalia, with the German *Reich* forced yet again to submit to the jurisdiction of foreign powers and rendered incapable of protecting not only 'ancient' but modern German rights as well. In spite of the Congress of Vienna, this same Westphalian dispensation, the devolution of power to the level of the individual sovereign state, that is, had permitted political and military adventures on the part of autonomous secular polities unconstrained by any limiting powers of an inter- or transnational sort, thereby granting permission, as it were, to those very same bellicose states, including Germany, to go to war in 1914. This same logic then went on to permit the rise of Nazi Germany and the ensuing defeat a second time around just three years before the celebrations at Münster took place.

A tradition of negative memories of Westphalia of such vehemence and depth would have been difficult to suppress; indeed, as Duchhardt has shown, at least two of the eminences featured on 24 October 1948, the first a professor from the University of Münster, Kurt von Raumer, the second an invited speaker from Bonn University, Professor Max Braubach, solidly endorsed it. Raumer's article, entitled 'Overcoming the Peace of Westphalia' ('Die Überwindung des Westfälischen Friedens'), appeared in a special edition of the local newspaper, *Westfälische Nachrichten*, published on that day; in it, he articulates a 'Großdeutschland'-position, whereby the Treaty is said to have been responsible for the destruction of Germany's primal unity.<sup>29</sup> Although Raumer does not appear to have mentioned it, the de facto partitioning of the country into an Allied and a Soviet zone that the Currency Reform of 1948 more or less guaranteed meant that this same 'tragedy' would be performed again in the here-and-now; the resulting absorption of Germany into a Europe-wide 'occidental' West made the revival of a true German unity even less likely. For his part, Braubach, in his speech at the commemorative event, which was also published that year, likewise characterized the Treaty of Westphalia as a 'fatefully

29 Cf. Duchhardt, *Das Feiern des Friedens*, 94–95.

mistaken decision' ('eine verhängnisvolle Fehlentscheidung') that permitted 'self-interested neighbours' (France) to dominate Germany, which, as a result, became 'a lifeless ruin', an 'insubstantial shadow [of itself] with no hope for healing or reform'.<sup>30</sup> One can only wonder how the audience responded to such downbeat 'celebrations' of peace, which were part of what Duchhardt calls an 'exculpatory' campaign<sup>31</sup> designed to explain (if not explain away) Germany's fall into National Socialism as the perverse result of the nation's political belatedness, its desperate attempt to assert a sovereign self.

The actual tercentenary exhibit mounted at the Münster Landesmuseum nevertheless seems to have taken a somewhat different tack or at least presented its public with an opportunity to engage in acts of memory that revised (or could even resist) these kinds of inherited narratives by participating in a more present-, if not also future-oriented, project of critical remembering.<sup>32</sup> No catalogue survives, but of its some five hundred items (described in an essay published by Paul Pieper a year after the exhibit closed), a certain number were of primarily local interest, including Gerard Terborch's 1646 painting of the arrival of the Dutch ambassador, Adrian Pauw, in Münster for the Treaty negotiations. Citizens were thus to recall not only that it was in their home town that the peace had originally been performed—and was thus necessarily to be performed again by them—but also that it was in all likelihood to be at the level of the local (rather than the national) that a new German identity would have to be sought. Duchhardt notes that there was a surprising lack of glossing interpretations or re-enactment dioramas of either the war's deadly battles or the treaty negotiations and signing. Rather, the viewing public was exposed to 'original' materials from the period and left to draw their own conclusions, perhaps even to debate the significance of the historical events to which they referred. Most interesting is the fact that the final room of the exhibit, mounted in a museum where the majority of the rooms had yet to be rebuilt, was devoted to documenting a second time and place that thus appears to have been just as much on the organizers' minds as the Treaty signing itself, namely, the so-called 'negotiations regarding the implementation of the peace' (the 'Friedensexekutionsverhandlungen') that took place in Nuremberg in 1649–50. As vexed as the historical wrangling over the payment of reparations and debts and the stationing or withdrawal of occupying troops may have been in early modern Nuremberg in ways that would have clearly had post-

---

30 Ctd. in *Ibid.*, 95–6.

31 *Ibid.*, 99.

32 See *Ibid.*, 102.



1945 parallels,<sup>33</sup> Duchhardt speculates that it may have been the intention of the exhibit to suggest that even this kind of not-entirely-‘optimal’ peace was to be preferred to the continuation of the war<sup>34</sup> that had left their city in ruins. In any case, the Münster exhibit ended with a quite different sense of the future that Westphalia had produced for their country than the one Braibant curated in Paris. Acknowledging the realities of occupation rather than of enlargement and based on a clear-eyed presentation of the pros and cons of war and peace instead of a rousing patriotic show, the German tercentenary memory theatre in Münster thus ‘invented’ a 1648 that suited its own post-war sensibilities and political-ideological needs.

### Epilogue

Looking now at some distance at the ways in which the memory of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia travelled into the present in its tercentenary year of 1948 may prompt us to consider how the ways in which the 1713 Peace of Utrecht was called onto centre stage in 2013 will themselves be remembered, perhaps also allegorically, by future generations. It remains open whether the two-act ‘play’ about the several afterlives of Westphalia that I have staged here reveals performances that were more comic or more tragic, whether, that is, the various historical actors, after apparent conflicts, might themselves have understood the need for and embraced harmony at the end, or whether it is only we, as a latter-day spectator audience in the privileged position of having observed their division into two or more camps, can leave the theatre of history understanding these positions’ essential similarity and much better equipped to find our own new identity by playing a third, more peaceful role. As for the Peace of Utrecht: Here too it remains open which of the many memories of Utrecht staged in the present volume will be the ones that will be said to have figured early twenty-first century conditions and concerns. What is clear, however, is that as we remember, so will we be remembered in turn.

---

33 See Antje Oschmann, *Der Nürnberger Exekutionstag 1649–1650: Das Ende des Dreissigjährigen Krieges in Deutschland* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991).

34 Duchhardt, *Das Feiern des Friedens*, 102.

## Peace Was Made Here: The Tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht, 2013–2015

*Renger E. de Bruin*

Performances of Peace, the topic of this volume, has been dealt with in the previous chapters with regard to the period of the Treaty of Utrecht itself. In this contribution, I will deal with the way this peace was commemorated 300 years later. The tercentennial, of which the conference ‘Performances of Peace’ was also a part, gave rise to debates both on its historical meaning and the political message for today. The tension between past and present in the celebration will be a major element of this article. A comparison with the jubilee of the other major peace treaty in early modern history, Westphalia, is easily made.<sup>1</sup> In the previous chapter, Jane O. Newman deals with the tercentennial of the Peace of Westphalia in both France and Germany in the immediate post-war context.<sup>2</sup> In 1998, half a century later, 350 years of Westphalia was commemorated in the two peace cities of Münster and Osnabrück, as well as in the Netherlands. For the celebration of the Treaty of Utrecht, Westphalia 1998 served as a source of inspiration, but was not followed as an example. A major difference was the relative obscurity of 1713 among a wider audience, whereas 1648 had been widely known for a long time. The challenge of commemorating an unknown event is one of the topics in this article. I participated in both the Westphalia and Utrecht commemorations, so, in a way, it will be a personal account of the commemoration projects. The international exhibition ‘Peace Was Made Here’ is the central element. This exhibition was organized by museums in four cities that hosted negotiations leading to treaties in the framework of the Treaty of Utrecht: Utrecht, Madrid, Rastatt and Baden. Like Westphalia 1998, the peace cities of the past were the commemoration venues of today. I will analyse the concept of this exhibition (based on academic research), its organization and its tercentennial context.

---

1 Renger E. de Bruin and Alexander Jordan, ‘Commemorations compared: Münster-Osnabrück (1998) and Utrecht-Rastatt-Baden (2013–2014)’, in *Pax perpetua. Neuere Forschungen zum Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Inken Schmidt-Voges, Siegrid Westphal, Volker Arnke & Tobias Bartke (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010) 81–100.

2 See chapter 14 in this volume.

### Commemorating an Unknown Peace

During the celebrations in 2013 it was impossible to escape the peace of 300 years ago in Utrecht and its surroundings. By the autumn of 2013 most inhabitants and visitors of the city must have noticed the flags, posters, adds, TV programs or the large picture by the British photographer Red Saunders on the town hall, even if they had not participated in one of the numerous activities organized by the commemoration committee, the 'Stichting Vrede van Utrecht' (Foundation Peace of Utrecht).<sup>3</sup> A decade earlier, the Peace of Utrecht was a historical event unknown in the Netherlands and even in Utrecht itself. The few people who had a clue often mixed it up with the Union of Utrecht of 1579. This ignorance of such an important event in the country where it took place, contrasted to the situation in Britain, where the Treaty of Utrecht had long been part of the well-known core of historical knowledge. In an episode of Monty Python's Flying Circus, two miners in Wales get into an argument about whether the Treaty of Utrecht was concluded in 1713 or in 1714, causing a dangerous situation a mile underground. John Cleese and his companions must have taken it for granted that the Treaty of Utrecht was widely known among their audience in order for them to make a point with their sketch.

The reason for this difference in appreciation is quite obvious. For the Dutch the Union of Utrecht as the founding of their nation and the Peace of Münster as the international recognition of their independence were far more glorious than the Treaty of Utrecht. The negotiations in Utrecht were rather humiliating for the Dutch envoys and the final results disappointing. The phrase from the French ambassador Melchior de Polignac: 'nous traherons chez vous, de vous et sans vous' expressed the superiority of the great powers and fed the fear of an Anglo-French deal excluding the smaller allies.<sup>4</sup> In the Dutch collective memory this phrase was symbolic for all the negative connotations with 1713. The Treaty of Utrecht marked the end of the Golden Age and the role of the Dutch Republic as a great power. For in the nationalist view of the nineteenth

3 For an overview of the activities of the Tercentennial Foundation, both the preparations and the celebration in 2013, see: *9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht 2005–2013*, ed. Lieke Hoitink and Petra Orthel (Utrecht: Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, 2013).

4 Cited by J.W. Gerard, *The Peace of Utrecht* (New York – London, 1885) 275–276; David Onnekink, 'The Treaty of Utrecht 1713,' in *In Vredesnaam. De Vrede van Utrecht, Rastatt en Baden, 1713–1714/ Peace was made here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, 1713–1714/ Friedensstädte. Die Verträge von Utrecht, Rastatt und Baden, 1713–1714*, ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Michael Imhoff Verlag, Petersberg, 2013), 65. Exhibition catalogue for Centraal Museum Utrecht, Wehrgeschichtliches Museum Rastatt, Historisches Museum Baden). Alexander Jordan was co-editor of the German edition.

century this peace should be forgotten rather than remembered like glorious periods such as the Eighty Years' War. For the British, on the other hand, the Treaty of Utrecht was an enormous success, creating a balance of power in Europe and a British dominance at sea with an extension of overseas' possessions, notably in Canada. On the European continent, 1713 was overshadowed by the liberation from the French dominance exactly a century later.

So when the governments of the city and of the province of Utrecht decided to celebrate the tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht, it was quite a challenge to commemorate a forgotten event. The task was much more complicated than it had been in 1948 and 1998 for the Peace of Münster, in 1979 for the Union of Utrecht or in 1995, half a century after the liberation from the Nazis. Originally the tercentennial served as a historical occasion for the application to become European Cultural Capital in 2013. Due to the extension of the European Union the Netherlands' next turn was five years later, but the decision was to be made in 2013. The 'Stichting Vrede van Utrecht' was commissioned to organize the commemoration and to bid for European Cultural Capital. The preparations by the Foundation for the tercentennial focused on the current political message of the Treaty of Utrecht rather than holding a primarily historical commemoration such as 350 years Westphalia in 1998. In that sense, the 2013 tercentennial resembled that of Westphalia of 1948 described by Jane Newman: resurrected France and Germany looking for peace as a political message three years after the Second World War.<sup>5</sup> Although European integration was an underlying thought in the 1998 commemoration, this was not as obvious in the festivities as it was in 1948 or 2013.

In this way the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht was meant as an overture for the nomination as European Cultural Capital. All the activities, from festivals and concerts to exhibitions and conferences, should serve to convince the European jury to opt for Utrecht. The presentation of the bid book in October 2012 clearly incorporated the perspective of the tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht and the organization of the Cultural Capital. Great was the disappointment, a month later, when Utrecht did not survive the first round. In the end, the northern city of Leeuwarden won the nomination and will serve as European Cultural Capital in 2018, together with Malta. Although the 'Stichting Vrede van Utrecht' had to give up on its final goal, it went on to make the tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht a success. On 21 September 2013 the tercentennial finished off with a final manifestation, 'Sound of Freedom,' on the former NATO airbase Soesterberg. The evening with singers, speakers

---

5 See chapter 14 in this volume.

and a weapons demonstration, ended like the start of the show on 13 April (The Battle for Peace), with fireworks resembling the fireworks of 1713.<sup>6</sup>

### The Treaty of Utrecht as a Beacon of Peace for the Twenty-First Century

The commemoration committee emphasised the perspective of peace, tolerance and European integration. This program served as a counterbalance to populist tendencies in Dutch society during the preceding decade. In the second half of the twentieth century the Netherlands was considered as a haven of tolerance and liberty, but after the turn of the century ethnic tensions came to the surface. In the wake of 9/11 a right-wing populist movement entered the political stage. Its leader, Pim Fortuyn, was killed in May 2002 by a left-wing activist. In November 2004 the controversial film director Theo van Gogh was assassinated by a Muslim fundamentalist. The rise of a new populist movement led by Geert Wilders made him—an advocate of struggle against the political Islam and for restrictions on immigration—the best known Dutch politician abroad. His opponents desperately searched for arguments to counter his one-liners that brought him great success in the 2006 and 2010 general elections. History might offer such arguments: the tolerance of the seventeenth century protecting freethinkers such as René Descartes or Baruch de Spinoza, the waves of immigrants finding a new home in the Netherlands or the long tradition of ‘polder democracy,’ the politics of consensus dating back to Middle Ages. The Treaty of Utrecht might offer a new inspiration.

Current concerns were central in the events during the long preparation period as well as in the activities during the commemoration between April and September 2013. Central was a document, ‘the Utrecht Principles,’ signed by the then Crown Prince Willem Alexander in 2008. These principles, claimed to be derived from the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, implied: respect for cultural, ethnic and religious diversity; the power of art and multilingualism for social sustainability and, finally, exchange of knowledge of social cohesion and innovation.<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising that the authors of the Utrecht Principles did not quote articles from the 1713 treaty documents to underline the historical origin of these principles. With a more general approach to peace between countries

---

6 *9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht*, 96–101; 231. For a comparison between the fireworks of 1713 and those of 2013, see chapter 13 in this volume.

7 ‘The Utrecht Principles,’ Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, <http://www.vredevanutrecht2013.nl/over/the-utrecht-principles>, accessed 29 March 2015.

and European cooperation, a message for today could have been derived from the preambles of the various 1713 treaties and the writings of the Abbé St. Pierre, who pleaded for a European security system. The opening sentence of the preamble of the British-French treaty of 11 April 1713 could have served as point of departure for a modern peace statement: 'WHEREAS it has pleased Almighty God, for the glory of his name, and for the universal welfare, to direct the minds of Kings for the healing, now in his own time, the miseries of the wasted world, that they are disposed towards one another with a mutual desire of making peace'.<sup>8</sup> However, the condemnation of racism was difficult to find in the original texts. As for the condemnation of slavery and slave trade, the treaty itself was quite to the contrary, since it gave the *asiento de negros*, the monopoly on the transatlantic trade in Africans on the Spanish colonies, to the British for 30 years. Nevertheless, a conference on the topic of slavery was organized on 21–22 June 2013. Other activities in Utrecht related to diversity were the festival Cross Culture (13–14 July 2013) and the project "The Peaceful City" ("De Vreedzame Stad").<sup>9</sup> This project, initiated by the local police, set examples of conflict control and co-operation, particularly in immigration neighbourhoods with high crime rates.

In Rastatt the title of the commemoration had a European peace message: 'Frieden für Europa—300 Jahre Rastatter Frieden 1714–2014'. However, the Rastatt version of 'Peace Was Made Here' at the Wehrgeschichtliches Museum and a staging of the events of 1714 at Rastatt Palace by museum director Alexander Jordan and castle curator Petra Pechacek had a historical undertone. The same was true for the exhibition at the Town Museum.<sup>10</sup> A day devoted to German-French relations was organised in the light of friendship with the neighbouring Alsace. The texts of leaflets and programs were also in French. In Baden the message of peace for today was stronger than in Rastatt. The local government wanted to use the tercentennial for the promotion of the town both as a spa and a conference centre. During the official celebration ('Festakt') on 6 September 2014, the issues of mutual understanding and

8 *The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the most Serene and most Potent Princess Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the most Serene and most Potent Prince Lewis, the XIVth, the most Christian King, concluded at Utrecht, the 11. Day of April 1713.* Wikisource, [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Peace\\_and\\_Friendship\\_Treaty\\_of\\_Utrecht\\_between\\_France\\_and\\_Great\\_Britain](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Peace_and_Friendship_Treaty_of_Utrecht_between_France_and_Great_Britain); accessed 2 April 2015.

9 *9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, 140–147, 180–181.*

10 See: Alexander Jordan and Petra Pechacek, 'Frieden für Europa—300 Jahre Rastatter Frieden, 1714–2014, ein Rückblick,' *Der Bote aus dem Wehrgeschichtlichen Museum* 46 (2014): 4–11.

European cooperation were underlined. Surprisingly enough, the Swiss town of Baden contained the strongest European element of the four cities, and EU bunting carried first in the parade of flags. National, regional and local politicians repeated the necessity of peace and European cooperation in their speeches. The city slogan 'Baden ist' was in this case 'Baden ist. . . Frieden verhandeln' (Baden is negotiating peace).<sup>11</sup> Near the railway station there arose an art project designed by a local sculptor: a peace bridge constructed with panels containing messages. On the closing day of the project, 25 January 2015, the last panel, signed by the curators of the exhibition, was fit in.

The political support was evident in all four venues. Politicians from local, regional and even national levels attended the openings of the commemorations. In Utrecht the commemoration started with minting a special 10 euro coin by the Dutch Secretary of State for Finance in the city hall, followed by an opening act in the Centraal Museum: the unveiling of the showcase with the Franco-Dutch peace treaty of 11 April 1713 by the French ambassador in the Netherlands Pierre Ménat and the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Frans Timmermans. In the evening, a concert in Utrecht Cathedral with Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum* was hosted by Queen Beatrix. It was to be one of her last public appearances before her abdication. The mayor of Utrecht and the head of the provincial government were present at all the opening events, as were foreign ambassadors and delegations from Rastatt and Baden. In Madrid the exhibition was opened by the ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence. In Rastatt the mayor, the prime minister of the state of Baden-Württemberg and Prince Bernhard of Baden (descendant of the last grand duke) hosted the opening. In Switzerland all political levels addressed the audience at the official commemoration of the Treaty of Baden on 6 September 2014 with their pro-European messages.

### A European Exhibition as the Historical Anchor of the Commemorations

Whereas the Utrecht and the Baden commemorations had a strong contemporary, political character, the exhibitions in the Centraal Museum Utrecht and the Historisches Museum Baden emphasized historical elements. In their educational programs a link to the present was clearly made, but the presentation of the objects was historical. A slide show with images of war and peace

11 For a project description of the Swiss venue see: Stafanie Brunschwiler and Carol Nater Cartier, *Frieden verhandeln* (Baden: Historisches Museum Baden, 2014).

from the War of the Austrian Succession to the Syrian Civil War connected past and present. At the venues in Madrid and Rastatt the commemorations were not embedded in a contemporary context, although Rastatt presented the slide show and, like Utrecht and Baden, offered visitors the possibility to leave a personal peace message. The European exhibition project had as a common title in English: 'Peace Was Made Here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Madrid, Rastatt and Baden'. Each partner was free to choose a name in the vernacular: 'In Vredesnaam', 'En Nombre de la Paz', 'Frieden für Europa' and 'Frieden verhandeln'.

All four venues had a chronological story line. In Utrecht and Rastatt European history was shown from the Reformation onwards, placing the Treaty of Utrecht into the perspective of the Wars of Religion and modifying the opinion that Westphalia was the end of this period. Both exhibitions started the show with a portrait of Martin Luther and ended with announcements of the peace in 1713/14 and an allegorical painting on the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. The difference between the two venues was the geographical focus (the Low Countries vs the Upper Rhine region) and the selection of objects, but the structure of the two was basically the same. Madrid showed a shorter time span (starting around 1660) and a geographical focus on Southern Europe, although the North Sea coasts and Rhine/Danube basin were not neglected. A painting of the Battle of Oudenaarde in Flanders even served as the logo of the Spanish exhibition.<sup>12</sup> The Madrid venue focused on the war in Spain but placed it in the perspective of the pan-European conflict, adjusting the common view in Spain to see the War of the Spanish Succession primarily as a civil war. Their colleagues in Baden opted for more or less the same period, but paid much more attention to the aspect of the Swiss mercenaries that served both sides during the war. The new director of the Historisches Museum, Carol Nater Cartier, who took over from Barbara Welter in the spring of 2013, added a gender element, the role of women in the creation of policy at the courts. Although the Swiss venue did not start with the Reformation, the emphasis on religious conflict was as strong as in Utrecht and Rastatt. Iconic was a statue of Louis XIV trampling Heresy, a loan from the Palace of Versailles.<sup>13</sup>

The historical content of the selection was that of authentic artefacts. In all venues documents, paintings, sculptures, prints, medals etc. from the time

12 The Battle of Oudenaarde by Joseph van Bredel, oil on canvas (1716), MOU City Hall, Oudenaarde, inv. nr. 01261, see: *In Vredesnaam*, ed. De Bruin & Brinkman, 144.

13 Louis XIV trampling Heresy, marble statue by Thomas Gobert, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. nr. MV 8679. See De Bruin and Brinkman (ed.), 116.



itself told the story. Central were original treaty documents with seals and signatures from the national archives of Austria, Spain and the Netherlands. In the Utrecht venue we showed the original Dutch-French treaty of 11 April 1713. To emphasise the point that the Peace of Utrecht was not a single treaty we displayed this document together with printed versions of other bilateral treaties concluded in Utrecht, as well as printed editions of the treaties of Baden and Rastatt. We also showed a (contemporary) Dutch translation of the French text.

It was a long search for authentic objects; working through catalogues, books, articles, on-line databases, old-fashioned card-index boxes, and endless talks with colleagues at home and abroad. The aim was to find authentic artefacts to tell the story of war and peace. Most obvious were the abovementioned key documents, as well as portraits of protagonists (such as Louis XIV, Queen Anne, Prince Eugene of Savoy and the main negotiators in Utrecht). Pictures of events during the long period covered by the storyline of the exhibitions, from the tyranny of Alba to fireworks celebrating the peace of 1713 were welcome finds in the search. A challenge was to find a painting of the negotiations or the signing, similar to those of Münster and Nijmegen. For Utrecht, however, we only found engravings. A request for a loan of a painted group portrait of negotiators in Baden from the collection of the Château de Versailles was refused because of its fragility. In a private collection in Hamburg we found an allegory on the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt. It was a *modello* for a large painting by the Neapolitan artist Paolo di Matteis, of which only a fragment has survived. The painting shows a self-portrait of di Matteis working on the allegorical marriage of Habsburg and Flanders surrounded by traditional symbols of peace and references to the results of the treaties, e.g. the Vesuvius for the transfer of Naples to Austria.<sup>14</sup> The painting was shown at all four venues. During the exhibition it was bought by the Centraal Museum Utrecht from the collector.

As in the 1948 and 1998 exhibitions on the Treaty of Westphalia, the number of objects representing war outnumbered those representing peace. For the 2013–2015 exhibition the most striking war-related element was a selection from a private collection of battlefield archaeology related to the Battle of Blenheim in 1704. The owner, a contractor in the Bavarian village of Blindheim (Blenheim), who permanently loans objects to Blenheim Palace and Schloss Höchstädt, generously offered a few hundred objects (bullets, weapons and even human remains) for the venues in Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden. For the visitors the Blenheim scenery, together with an animation of the battle, was one

---

14 Liesbeth M. Helmus, 'Allegories on Peace: Nijmegen, Ryswick and Utrecht-Rastatt,' in *In Vredesnaam*, ed. De Bruin & Brinkman, 94–96.

of the elements in the exhibition that most impressed them. The Blindheim collection was one of the elements shown in most or all venues. Some objects, for example the portraits of Prince Eugene of Savoy and Marshal Villars, who fought as commanders against each other, but who made peace in Rastatt and in Baden as envoys for their sovereigns, served to illustrate both warfare and the peace negotiations.

In Madrid the picture of a battle (Oudenaarde 1708) served as the icon of the exhibition on banners, posters, leaflets and the catalogue, while Utrecht used a fragment of the allegorical painting by Paolo di Matteis, Rastatt a photo of the Residential Palace and Baden an engraving made on the occasion of the negotiations in 1714.

The artefacts representing war and peace came from eighty-six collections from eight different countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom). It was a wide range of collections, including those from famous institutions like the British Museum, the Prado, the Château de Versailles, the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Alte Pinakotek. However, local museums and private collectors, such as the contractor in Blindheim, also offered their contributions to the exhibition. A small selection travelled along all four venues, a larger number was shown on two or three venues and some only by one of the participants. The differences in selection had to do with the focus, costs of transport, and the availability of objects. Works on paper or textiles, for example, can be shown only for a limited period for conservation reasons. Despite these differences the exhibitions on the four venues all told the story of the Treaty of Utrecht as the end of a large European conflict.

### Research as a Base for an Exhibition

The team preparing the international historical exhibition strove vigorously for a content based on recent academic research. In that sense, the project resembled the commemoration of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1998. The Münster and Osnabrück shows in particular were rich in objects and information fed by the work of many scholars and counselled by a 'Wissenschaftlicher Beirat'.<sup>15</sup> The research was published in a three volume catalogue.<sup>16</sup> In the exhibition

15 De Bruin and Jordan, 82–86.

16 Klaus Bußmann & Heinz Schilling (ed.), *1648, Krieg und Frieden in Europa/1648, War and Peace in Europe* 3 vol. (Münster-Osnabrück: Verlagsgesellschaft 350 Jahre Westfälischer Friede mbH, 1998).

a large number of artefacts was shown, 1260 of which were described in the catalogue. It was all impressive, maybe overwhelming for the common visitor. For the 1713 commemoration we wanted to avoid this. It was our aim to make an exhibition that derived its content from recent research, but presented in an understandable and easy way. We wanted to filter the information, so to speak. Alexander Jordan, Bernardo García and I served as intermediaries between the specialists in the field and the exhibition teams. We attended conferences and spoke intensely with the participants. David Onnekink in particular was an important partner in this respect.

Most authors of the exhibition catalogue were recruited from the conferences on peace in early modern Europe held in Osnabrück, Madrid and Utrecht between 2008 and 2013. Maarten Brinkman and I edited the catalogue, which was published in Dutch, German and English, serving the Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden venues.<sup>17</sup> This catalogue was much smaller than the Münster-Osnabrück one previously mentioned: only 190 pages, containing nine essays and 95 descriptions of artefacts, a selection of the objects shown at the venues. The separate catalogue (in Spanish only), issued by the Fundación Carlos de Amberes and edited by Bernardo García, also benefited from the conference series. This publication had the same outline: essays by specialists and descriptions of the artefacts, in this case all 78.<sup>18</sup>

The curators of the exhibition adapted the information further with their educational colleagues. It was their task to tell the story of the peace to specific target groups. This was a new stage in translating knowledge. While the curators had used the results of academic research to develop a comprehensible exhibition concept, this concept now had to be tailored to specific groups such as school children, elderly visitors etc. Also, the educational staff developed products like an audio guide or games for the general audience. They checked and adapted the texts and animations for the visitors, e.g. the target groups. A European Negotiation Game was developed especially for the exhibition. Guided by a game master, visitors could act like participants at the negotiation table. This table was a world map, which roughly represented the situation of 1712. The players had to fulfil their assignment with cards, dices and pawns. Families as well as staff members of the history department of the Rijksmuseum played this game with great enthusiasm. By doing so they processed the knowledge acquired during the exhibition visit. Their conversations

---

17 *In Vredesnaam*, ed. De Bruin & Brinkman.

18 Bernardo García (ed.), *En Nombre de la Paz. La Guerra de Sucesión Española y los Tratados de Madrid, Utrecht, Rastatt y Baden 1713–1715* (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2013).

with the game masters also contributed to digest the impression the exhibition made, sometimes in quite an emotional way. The way artefacts were presented proved important for bringing across the message to the audience. An attractive design makes the message stronger, but it should not be too dominant. Curators need to find a balance between aesthetics and content. For 'Peace Was Made Here,' the Utrecht and Baden venues hired professionals from respectively Amsterdam and Zurich. Rastatt and Madrid made the presentation in-house, although Rastatt used elements of the Utrecht presentation, as did Baden. The designs were very much appreciated. The designers of the Utrecht venue, De Vrijer & Van Dongen, were even awarded a silver medal by the European Design Awards in Cologne, on 24 May 2014.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the popularization of the topic, essential new conclusions from the research front were incorporated: the questioning of the Treaty of Westphalia as the end of religious warfare with a stronger emphasis on the confessional element in the politics of Louis XIV and his adversaries, the impact of war on society, the role of the financial sector and the culture of peace conferences in early modern Europe. To demonstrate these conclusions, the curators selected appealing objects such as the sculpture of Louis XIV trampling Heresy, skulls from the Blenheim battlefield and a money carriage used at the Amsterdam stock exchange from the Dutch Royal Collections. These artefacts stand for the continuity in religious warfare, the atrocities of war and the financing of warfare. The labels given to these objects, the descriptions in the catalogue, the related essays in the same catalogue, the audio guide, the children's program; all these elements served to translate the results of academic research to the various target groups. From questionnaires and reactions of visitors to the game master, guards and curators it was evident that visitors understood and appreciated the new insights. A relatively unknown episode in history had been brought to the attention of professional historians, policy makers and the general public.

During the conference of which this volume is the book of proceedings, the international experts could reflect on the exhibition. The final session took place in the Centraal Museum and after an introduction the participants visited the exhibition. Such an interaction also took place with students. David Onnekink and I gave a BA/thesis course on the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht at the History Department of Utrecht University for three years entitled 'World War 0.1'. One of the tasks given to students was to develop an exhibition concept on a subject related to the theme of the course,

---

19 'De Vrijer van Dongen,' Centraal Museum, Utrecht. <http://www.devrijervandongen.nl>, accessed 26 April 2015.

for example Queen Anne's War, the role of the Duke of Marlborough, the court of Philip v or religious propaganda. The participants of the third year (2013–2014) could visit the exhibition in the Centraal Museum a few weeks before its dismantling at the end of September 2013. The students could match their ideas about transferring academic knowledge to an exhibition with what they saw in the museum.

### The Exhibition as a European Cooperation Project

From the start it was evident that the commemoration project had to be a European event. The initiative was taken by Utrecht, but foreign contacts were made at an early stage. In keeping with the cultural capital bid, connections with Brussels and the cultural capitals during the preparatory period were self-evident, but connections were also made with Malta, the EU Member State co-organizing the event in 2018. Utrecht had already developed common projects with Maltese counterparts from 2006 onwards. On the academic research front the international conference series and the contacts connected to these have just been mentioned.

For the curators of the historical exhibition a European dimension was intended from the start, not only in content, but also in organization, even in the choice of venues. Museums in Rastatt and Baden were contacted at an early stage since the treaties of Rastatt and Baden of 1714 are so closely connected to the Treaty of Utrecht in the realm of historiography. Both the Wehrgeschichtliches Museum Rastatt and the Historisches Museum Baden responded enthusiastically to the Utrecht request to join the project. The Rastatt Museum was later joined by Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg (SSG). Talks with French and British museums eventually did not result in cooperation, but via the conference line the preparation group came into contact with the Fundación Carlos de Amberes in Madrid. The foundation has as its mission the fostering of cultural historical ties between Spain and the former Spanish Netherlands. According to its website 'the Foundation cooperates via all sorts of cultural, political and scientific initiatives with those countries—Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg and northern France—in the adventure of building a common space: a united Europe.'<sup>20</sup> In view of this, an exhibition on the Treaty of Utrecht fitted in with the core of its mission. So, the Fundación entered the project in the Summer of 2011. Since one of the

---

20 'The Objectives of the Foundation,' Fundación Carlos de Amberes. [http://www.fcamberes.org/paginas/en/en\\_stc\\_pre.htm](http://www.fcamberes.org/paginas/en/en_stc_pre.htm), accessed 12 April 2012.

separate treaties constituting the complex that formed the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in Madrid, the concept for the exhibition cooperation was that the cities of peace in 1713–1715 were to be the venues of the commemorations three hundred years later.

Shortly after the Fundación joined the cooperation, we applied for a European grant. The program Culture 2007 of the European Commission offered the possibility of a substantial financial support for the exhibition. Unfortunately the Swiss partner could not be a beneficiary since Switzerland was excluded from the program, not being an EU Member State, associate or candidate Member State, nor being part of the European Economic Area.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless Baden remained a full partner in the project. For the application, this was all rather complicated. It had to be stated that the Swiss partner would not benefit from the grant, but on the other hand we made clear that Baden was the final stage of the exhibition tour. This was solved by planning the Baden commemoration after the end of the grant period. This period was set for July 2012 till June 2014 and the signing of the Treaty of Baden was 7 September 1714 making the opening of the tercentennial exhibition 7 September 2014.

Essential to the application was the meaning of the Treaty of Utrecht for European history as a crucial moment in the development between a continent torn apart by religious conflict and the pursuit of hegemony, to a system of balance between great powers. Three hundred years later the cities hosting negotiations in 1712–1715 were the venues of the commemoration exhibition. In the application the link between past and present was made clear with a historical role for the exhibitions and catalogues and the transfer to the present through educational programs. The application was awarded with 87 points out of 100 (with a threshold for granting at 76 points). The grant was 200,000 euros on a total budget of 1.2 million (including salaries and overhead costs). The EU funded part of the project started in July 2012 and ended two years later. During the period the realization of three exhibition venues (Utrecht, Madrid and Rastatt) took place as well as two conferences (Madrid and Utrecht).<sup>22</sup>

Writing the application and the final report was complicated and time consuming. Complicated forms had to be filled out in order to meet the financial and legal rules of the EU. In the final report emphasis was placed on the

---

21 In the new program *Culture 2014–2020* the rules have been changed; Switzerland is now included.

22 For the proceedings of Madrid conference (2012) see: *Visperas de Sucesión. Europa y la Monarquía de Carlos II*, ed. Bernardo J. García García and A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariano (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2015). This volume is the book of proceedings for the Utrecht conference of April 2013.

financial figures, showing that the project management was sound. However, we also demonstrated, through the number of visitors, reactions and press reviews, that we had succeeded in bringing across the meaning of the Peace of Utrecht as a milestone in European history. This indeed has been the accomplishment of the commemoration project: to have placed Utrecht in line with the great peace treaties, between Westphalia and Vienna. In the report we emphasized the importance of new academic research translated to a general audience of museum visitors, readers and event participants.

Apart from the international connection, the exhibition project also had a local embedding. The shows in the Centraal Museum Utrecht and in the Wehrgeschichtliches Museum Rastatt were related to other museums in town. In Utrecht this happened under the umbrella of the 'Stichting Vrede van Utrecht'. The Utrecht Archive showed the impact of the negotiations on local society, the National Museum on Religious Art and History Catharijneconvent worked with the topic of tolerance in early modern history, the Dutch Railway Museum displayed the role of trains in warfare and the University Museum showed the dilemmas of justice and reconciliation after conflicts (Yugoslavia, Uganda).<sup>23</sup> The Rastatt exhibition was related to a common presentation at the local museum and the local archive on war and peace in the Upper Rhine Region.

### Reactions from Press and Visitors

In the application to the EU the importance of good communication and a sound promotional plan was emphasized. It was stated that the exhibition as well as the education and participation program could be considered as communication tools: to communicate the abomination of war, the importance of the Treaties, and of dialogue and diplomacy in general for a peaceful and tolerant Europe. The 'Peace Was Made Here' project provided a unique opportunity to have older and younger target groups interacting: it combined a topic which had the natural attention of the elderly, with the use of digital media which appealed to the younger target groups. In the 'Studio,' interaction was stimulated and elderly became more familiar with digital media. An international symposium discussing the experiences with participation based on the 'Studio' concept, was held in Utrecht on 23 September 2014. The symposium was organized by the Centraal Museum and presided over by director Edwin Jacobs.

---

23 9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, 70–79.

The 'Peace Was Made Here' project and its message were disseminated by press releases, press conferences, interviews, presentations, flyers, posters, advertisements on radio, TV, magazines and newspapers etc. In these messages the topicality of a historical subject and the thrill of authentic objects were emphasized. The media picked up on it eagerly. None of the four venues could complain of a lack of media attention. Local, national and international journalists came to the exhibitions and interviewed the curators. The national eight o'clock news in the Netherlands and Germany filmed in the exhibitions and interviewed the curators. There was even a film crew from Canada at the Utrecht venue. The result was broadcast from 25 August 2014.<sup>24</sup> The attention of the media was also wide in Spain. Already at an early stage the foreign media were informed, through an international press conference in Utrecht in September 2012. The articles in the press and other media were mostly very positive.

In Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden the exhibitions could benefit from the communication and promotion activities for the tercentennial in the three cities. The 'Stichting Vrede van Utrecht' and the cities of Rastatt and Baden promoted the commemoration for months, from April to September 2013, from March to July 2014 and from September 2015 to January 2015 respectively. The three museums closely cooperated with the local tourist offices and other museums in town. The closest link was that between the Wehrgeschichtliches Museum and the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg (SSG). The Castle Foundation was in charge of the communication for both the exhibition 'Frieden in Europa' and the scenery in the Palace.

Crucial events were the openings of the exhibitions. The first was on 11 April 2013 in Utrecht with the already mentioned ceremony attended by Dutch Foreign Minister Timmermans and the French Ambassador Ménat, as well as a commemorative concert in Utrecht Cathedral in the presence of Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands (three weeks before her abdication). The opening of the Madrid venue with the ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence and a row of European ambassadors attracted wide press attention. The third inauguration took place in Rastatt on 6 March 2014 with the prime minister of Baden-Württemberg and Prince Bernhard of Baden, member of the grand ducal dynasty that built the Palace of Rastatt. This event also drew wide media attention. Local, regional and national media paid attention to 'Frieden für Europa'. From the opposite banks of the Rhine *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* paid attention to the tercentennial in Rastatt. Furthermore, the local newspapers in Rastatt wrote about the exhibitions in Utrecht and Madrid.

---

24 *Les Sceaux d'Utrecht*, produced by Mozus Productions, Moncton, N-B.



The communication resulted in rising visitor numbers. In Utrecht more than 53,000 people visited the exhibition, in Rastatt WGM welcomed 15,000, SSG also 15,000 for the peace location in the Palace and 10,000 people attended the 'Schlosserlebnistag'. The exhibition in the city museum drew 4,000 visitors. A few hundred of visitors attended the lecture program. The exhibition in Madrid attracted almost 8,000 visitors while the museum in Baden counted over 5,000. The Madrid and Baden numbers seem to be disappointing, but these two partners are small institutions. For the Historisches Museum 'Baden ist Frieden verhandeln' even resulted in an all-time high record of visitors.

### Conclusion

Maybe I was a bit ironical about the peace message in the tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht. Some elements, such as the claim of the 'Utrecht Principles' to be derived from the treaty, were indeed rather far-fetched. However, a commemoration of an event hitherto unknown outside the circle of professional historians would never have been possible without the broad support that was generated by the political interest in the subject. 1713 was simply not as well-known as 1648 to justify an elaborate and costly historical commemoration. Local, regional and national authorities facilitated the preparations and the realization of the project and the EU- grant even lifted it to an international level. This support gave us the time to prepare an exhibition that translated the results of recent research to a wider audience. The link with the academic research front was a series of conferences, one of which was 'Performances of Peace'. Curators of the exhibition participated and transferred the knowledge to concepts and contents of the museum shows. The story was told with authentic objects from dozens of collections in eight European countries. Closest to the realm of research were the catalogues with descriptions of objects and essays by participants of the conferences. The exhibitions with texts, labels and animations made the information highly accessible to the visitors and the confrontation with the authentic objects gave them the thrill of experiencing the past. The skulls and bullets from the battlefield of Blenheim and the seals and signatures on the treaty documents made the early Eighteenth century visible. Reactions from the visitors and reviews in the media confirmed our opinion that we had conveyed the story to the public. This worked in The Netherlands, Spain, Germany and Switzerland. The tercentennial of the Treaty of Utrecht was thus a successful performance of peace at four different national stages.



# Index

- Adams, John 34  
Addison, Joseph 17, 100, 103, 123, 125–129,  
132–133, 135–138, 140–141  
Alba, duke of: see Toledo, Fernando  
Albemarle, countess of: see Duijn, Geertruid  
Albemarle, earl of: see Keppel, Arnold  
Joost van  
Alburquerque, duke of: see Cueva, Francisco  
Al-Shayban, Samia 17, 253  
Amelot, Michael-Jean, marquis de 42  
Anderson, Benedict 165  
Anjou, Philip of: see Philip v  
Anne, queen of England 1, 17, 95, 97, 109,  
118–119, 123, 125–126, 136–142, 148–149,  
151, 155–158, 207–222, 273, 277  
Anne of Austria, queen of France 237  
Antoine I, prince of Monaco 59  
Arnold, Karl 261–262  
Artagnan, comte d': see Batz Castelmore,  
Charles de  
Auckland, Lord: see Eden, William  
Augustine of Hippo 220  
Austin, J.L. 7  
Avril Pellisier, d' 62–63  
Ayerst, William 149
- Bacher, Théobald 29  
Bacon, Francis 251  
Balzer, Richard 187  
Batz Castelmore, Charles de, comte  
d'Artagnan 235  
Baume Le Blanc, Charles François de La,  
Marquis de Vallière 62–63  
Beatrix, queen of the Netherlands 271, 280  
Béchu, Claire 27  
Beethoven, Ludwig van 262  
Bély, Lucien 9, 15, 27–28, 33, 36, 116, 122, 253  
Bergh, van den 88  
Béringant, Mr. Le Commandeur 95  
Bernhard, prince of Baden 271, 280  
Berry, duc de: see Charles, duke of Berry  
Bevernage, Berber 5  
Bezout, Étienne 32  
Black, Jeremy 3, 33, 66  
Blanning, T.W.C. 32, 34, 54  
Blé, Nicolas du, marquis d'Huxelles 1, 72,  
81–82, 86  
Bois, abbé du 148  
Bolingbroke, viscount: see St. John, Henry  
Bombelles, Marc-Marie 29  
Bonnac, marquis de: see Usson, Jean Louis d'  
Bonrepas, marquis de: see Usson, Francois de  
Booth, Ken 71  
Bots, Hans 99, 101  
Bouchu, Ettiène-Jean 58  
Bouillon, cardinal de 122  
Bourgoing, Jean-François 29  
Boyle, John, earl of Orrery 143  
Braibant, Charles 257–259, 260, 261, 265  
Braubach, Max 263  
Bray, comte de: see Gabriel, François  
Brinkman, Maarten 275  
Brogie, duc de: see Victor-François 25  
Brogie, comte de: see Victor-Maurice 33  
Bruin, Renger de 20–21, 95, 252–253, 258,  
275–276  
Bruno, Giordano 251  
Burg, Herman van den 168  
Burgundy, duc de: see Louis  
Burke, Edmund 36–37, 156  
Burke, Peter 166  
Burman, Pieter 244  
Burnet, Gilbert 215  
Butler, James, 2nd duke of Ormonde  
148, 158  
Buys, Willem 72, 85–86  
Bye, P.J. de 169, 178
- Cabrera, Juan Tomas Enriquez de, 7th duke of  
Medina de Rioseco 200  
Caesar, Caius Julius 17, 123–126, 128–141  
Callières, François de 13, 25, 29–31, 35, 183,  
185  
Callot, Jacques 259  
Camillo, Giulio 251  
Camus, Étienne, cardinal Le 58  
Carlos II, king of Spain 2, 46, 67, 117, 199,  
202, 205  
Caryll, John 123  
Cassard, Jacques 50

- Castellodosrius, Marquis of: see Oms y Santa Pau, Manuel de
- Castiglione, Baldasare 34
- Cato, Marcus Porcius (Uticensis) 17, 123–126, 128–141
- Cato, Marcus (son) 129–130, 134, 139
- Cato, Portius 129–130, 135–136
- Cato, Marcia 136, 139
- Chamillart, Michel de 43, 60, 62
- Chamoy, Louis Rousseau de 29
- Charlemagne, emperor 75–76
- Charles, duc de Berry 202
- Charles I, Landgrave of Hessen Kassel 193
- Charles II, king of England 46, 211
- Charles Martel, Frankish ruler 75–76
- Charles V, emperor 73, 205
- Charles VI, emperor 44, 72, 145, 197, 204–205
- Charles VIII, king of France 75
- Chaunu, Pierre 41
- Christian V, king of Denmark 33
- Churchill, John, duke of Marlborough 3, 27, 86, 123, 126, 138, 140, 145, 148, 154, 156, 170, 193, 277
- Churchill, Sarah, duchess of Marlborough 154
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius 251
- Clark, Wesley 132
- Clausewitz, Carl von 181
- Cleese, John 267
- Clement XI, pope 119
- Clignet, Herman 86
- Clodius Long-Hair, Frankish king 74
- Clovius, Frankish king 74
- Cohen, Raymond 34
- Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, marquis de Torcy 13, 28–29, 33, 45–46, 48, 72, 121, 146–147, 149
- Comenius, John Amos 239
- Conbruch, Caspar Florenz von 97
- Corneille, Pierre 105n
- Cortés, Hernán 205
- Cousser, John Sigismund 158
- Crozat, Antoine 50
- Cueva, Francisco v Fernández de la, duke of Alburquerque 204
- Custine, Adam Philippe, comte de 29
- Daubenton de Villebois, M. Ambroise 42
- Decius 130, 137–140
- Defoe, Daniel 46, 126, 150, 152
- Descartes, René 251, 269
- Dijk, Susan van 16, 116n, 253
- Dongen, Jody van 276
- Dönhoff, comtesse de 111
- Droste, Coenraet 169–170
- Drummond, John 47, 49–50
- Duchhardt, Heinz 6, 17, 253, 255, 261, 263–265
- Duguay-Trouin, René 50, 199n
- Duijn, Geertruid van der, countess of Albemarle 110–111
- Duindam, Jeroen 18, 31
- Dumas, Alexandre 235
- Dussen, Bruno van der 72, 85–87
- Duviols, Jean-Paul 44
- Eden, William, 1st Baron Auckland 30
- Eden, Morton Frederick, Baron 29
- Effen, Justus van 100
- Elias, Norbert 31
- Elizabeth I, queen of England 210, 213
- Elliott, John. H. 66
- Ellison, Julie 125
- Erdmannsdörffer, Bernhard 262
- Erdődi, János, Gróf Pálffy 28
- Estrées, Jean d', abbé de Saint Claude 26
- Estrées, César d', cardinal 26
- Eugene of Savoy, prince 3, 38, 121, 156, 193, 273–274
- Ferguson, Julie 19, 253, 255
- Faßbaender, Joseph 260
- Faulkner, George 156
- Favret, Mary 186
- Ferdinand, infant of Spain 202
- Ferdinand II, emperor 234
- Ferguson, Robert 151
- Finch, Daniel, earl of Nottingham 154
- Fludd, Robert 251
- Fokke, Simon 183
- Ford, Charles 153
- Fortuyn, Pim 269
- Francis I, king of France 75, 257
- Frederick I, king of Prussia 51, 170
- Frederick II, king of Prussia 28, 263

- Freeman, Lisa 124  
 Freschot, Augustin 106  
 Freschot, Casimir 17, 95, 97n, 106, 110–111,  
 114, 116–122  
 Frey, Linda 5, 8, 15, 252  
 Frey, Marsha 6, 8, 15, 252  
 Frijhoff, Willem 11n, 20, 253, 255  
 Füssel, Marian 181
- Gabriel, François, comte de Bray 32  
 García, Bernardo 275  
 Gat, Azar 163  
 Gaultier, abbé François 46, 148  
 Gay, John 127  
 George I, king of England, elector of  
 Hanover 50, 216–218  
 George of Denmark, prince consort 217  
 Gerard, James W. 5  
 Gittings, John 6  
 Godolphin, Sidney 126–127  
 Goeree, Jan 114  
 Goes, Robert 86  
 Gogh, Theo van 269  
 Goldwyn, Henriette 16, 116n, 253  
 Goodman, Rob 127  
 Goslinga, Sicco van 69  
 Gournay duc de: see Amelot, Michel-Jean  
 Graminaeus, Theodorus 238  
 Gregg, Edward 137  
 Groot, Jacobus de 169–170  
 Gropello, Giovanni Battista 59  
 Grote, Thomas 217  
 Gueudeville, Nicolas de 101  
 Gustavus II Adolphus, king of Sweden 259
- Halma, François 159, 169–170, 172, 177–178,  
 234  
 Hamilton, Earl J. 41  
 Handel, George Frederic 12, 19, 216–219, 261,  
 271  
 Hansen, Lene 70, 90  
 Harley, Robert, 1st earl of Oxford 4, 46–47,  
 49, 123, 125–127, 136–138, 140, 142, 147,  
 150, 152–153, 155–158, 208  
 Harley, Edward, 2nd earl of Oxford 156  
 Hatton, Ragnhild 47  
 Haven, Cornelis van der 18, 253  
 Heinsius, Anthonie 45, 47, 49, 83, 85–90
- Helvetius, Johannes Fredericus 87  
 Henley, baron: see Eden, Morton Frederick  
 Henry II, king of France 75  
 Henry IV, king of France 31, 75, 78  
 Hessen Kassel, Landgrave of: see Charles I  
 Hompesch, Reinhart Vincent Freiherr  
 von 27, 193  
 Hooghe, Romeyn de 190, 234, 238–239  
 Hooper, George 219–221  
 Hop, Jacob 86, 88  
 Hoppit, Julian 145  
 Hostun, Camille d', comte Tallard 27  
 Huger Capet, king of France 74, 76–78  
 Husson, Pierre 106  
 Huxelles, marquis d': see Blé, Nicolas de
- Jackson, Clare 17, 253  
 Jacobs, Edwin 279  
 James Francis Edward Stuart, the  
 Pretender 52, 140, 151, 208  
 James II, king of England 210  
 Jensen, Lotte 17–18, 185, 253  
 John William Friso, stadtholder of  
 Friesland 168, 193  
 Johnson, Samuel 150  
 Johnson, Mark 167  
 Jordan, Alexander 270, 275  
 Joseph I, emperor 44, 145  
 Juba, prince of Numidia 125, 133–136, 139  
 Juba, king of Numidia 136
- Keppel, Arnold Joost van, earl of  
 Arbemarle 110–111  
 Kerkrade, W. 261–262  
 King, William, bishop of Dublin 142, 152, 157  
 Kirchner, Michael Achaz, Freiherr 97  
 Klopp, Onno 262–263  
 Knopper-Gouron, Françoise 114, 122  
 Koch, Christophe Guillaume 29  
 Kristeva, Julia 70  
 Krook, Enoch 19, 173, 176, 178, 185, 192, 195  
 Kroon, Daniël 192
- Ladislas IV Vasa, king of Poland 235  
 Lakoff, George 167  
 Leake, John 11  
 Leerssen, Joep 163  
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 251

- Leopold I, emperor 2, 40, 44  
 Lespagnol, André 43  
 Lewis, Erasmus 155–156  
 Lexington, earl of: see Sutton, Robert  
 Limandre, comte de 62–63  
 Lisola, Franz-Paul 73, 79, 86, 89  
 Litto, Frederic 124  
 Loftis, John 125  
 Loofs, Pierre 234  
 Louis, duke of Burgundy 202  
 Louis the Pious, emperor 75  
 Louis XI, king of France 75, 78  
 Louis XIII, king of France 237  
 Louis XIV, king of France 1, 11 25, 31, 33–34,  
 38, 40, 46, 54–55, 60, 62–63, 66–69,  
 72–74, 77–78, 95, 99, 116–119, 121–122,  
 138, 140, 144, 146–147, 149, 153, 157, 165,  
 170, 173, 176, 202–203, 205, 213, 235,  
 272–273, 276  
 Lucius 131, 136–137, 140  
 Luis, prince of Asturias 197, 202, 204, 206  
 Luther, Martin 272
- MacLachlan, A.D. 147  
 Malen, Jetske Reinou van der 172  
 Manley, Delavier 4  
 Marchal, Madame 111–112  
 Maria Luisa of Savoy, queen of Spain 19,  
 109, 202  
 Maria Teresa, queen of France 205  
 Mariana of Austria, queen of Spain 234  
 Marie Adélaïde of Savoy, princess of  
 France 109  
 Marie Louise of Orleans, queen of  
 Spain 205  
 Marlborough, duke of: see Churchill, John  
 Marlborough, duchess of: see Churchill, Sarah  
 Marot, Daniel 234, 241  
 Martens, Georg Friedrich 33  
 Mary II, queen of England 211, 239  
 Matteis, Paolo di 273–274  
 Mauricius, Jan Jacob 173, 175, 178  
 Max Emanuel, elector of Bavaria 193  
 McCluskey, Philip 16, 253  
 McKenzie, Jon 8  
 Medina de Rioseco, 7th duke of: see Cabrera  
 Juan
- Meer, Albert van der 86, 88–89  
 Ménat, Pierre 271, 280  
 Mesnager, Nicolas 40–42, 45, 51, 105, 118, 148  
 Methuen, John 43  
 Metternich, Clemens Wenzel Lothar,  
 prince 29  
 Millar, Andrew 156  
 Moeglin, Jean-Marie 57  
 Moncolva, count of 205  
 Monségur, Jean de 44  
 Montgelas, Maximilian Joseph, Freiherr  
 von 29  
 Morineau, Michel 41  
 Mothe, comte de la 189–190  
 Müllenbrock, Heinz-Joachim 150–151
- Napoleon, emperor 12, 25, 28  
 Nater Cartier, Carol 272  
 Newman, Jane O. 12, 20, 266, 268  
 Nottingham, earl of: see Finch, Daniel  
 Noyer, Madame du 16–17, 95–96, 98–103,  
 105–107, 109–112, 119
- O'Connor, Nancy 99, 107  
 Olivas, Aaron 19, 253, 255  
 Oms y Santa Pau, Manuel de, marquis of  
 Castellodrosius 204  
 Onnekink, David 16, 95, 252, 275–276  
 Oort, Frans van 162n  
 Ormonde, duke of: see Butler, James  
 Orrery, earl of: see Boyle, John  
 Oxford, 1st earl of: see Harley, Robert  
 Oxford, 2nd earl of: see Harley, Edward
- Paratte 60  
 Patoulet, Jean-Baptiste 41  
 Pauw, Adriaan 264  
 Pechacek, Petra 270  
 Pecquet, Antoine 26, 30, 32  
 Peter, prince of Brazil 103  
 Peter II the Great, tsar of Russia 240  
 Petit, Anne-Marguerite: see Noyer,  
 madame du  
 Phélypeaux de Verger,  
 Raimond-Balthazar 27–28  
 Philip II, king of Spain 28  
 Philip IV, king of Spain 234

- Philip v, king of Spain 2, 9, 19, 40, 43n, 44,  
47, 52, 72, 144–146, 197–199, 200n,  
201–206, 277
- Philip of Anjou: see Philip v
- Pieper, Paul 264
- Pippin, Frankish king 76
- Pitt, William 157
- Polignac, Melchior de 1, 72, 81–82, 86, 149,  
267
- Pontchartain, Jérôme de 42, 44
- Pook, Jan 187
- Poolsum, G. van 114, 116, 121–122
- Poot, Hubert Korneliszoon 172
- Pope, Alexander 123–124, 127
- Prior, Matthew 45–46, 118, 147–148
- Purcell, Henry 216, 218
- Rákóczi, Ferenc II 52
- Raumer, Kort von 263
- Rechteren, Adolf Hendrik, count 87, 89,  
104
- Reede van Renswoude, Frederik Adriaan  
van 88
- Renard 50
- Richelieu, cardinal 63, 77, 257
- Robinson, John, bishop of Bristol 1, 120
- Roche, Daniel 35
- Rohr, Julius Bernhard von 184
- Roman, Pieter 234
- Rosenthal, Laura 124
- Rouillé, Pierre 72, 86, 121
- Sacheverell, Henry 147
- Saint-Saphorin, François-Louis de  
Pesmes 27
- Salles, marquis de 58
- Salust, Caius Sallustius Crispus 135
- Saunders, Red 267
- Schmidt-Voges, Inken 116n
- Schoepflin, Jean-Daniel 29
- Schönemann, Bernd 262
- Schonenberg, Francisco 87
- Schurman, Anna Maria van 109
- Scott, Francesca 95n
- Scott, Hamish 37
- Ségur, Louis-Philippe, comte de 29
- Sempronius 131–133, 140
- Shakespeare, William 34
- Silva, João Gomes da, count of Tarouca 10,  
27, 97, 103–104, 105n, 107n
- Simonides of Ceos 251
- Sinzendorff, Philipp Ludwig Graf von 120
- Smith, Anthony 163
- Snyder, Henry 27, 34
- Soni, Jimmy 127
- Spartacus 131
- Spinniker, Adriaan 18, 173, 178
- Spinoza, Baruch de 269
- St. John, Henry, 1st viscount of Bolingbroke  
52, 95, 147–148, 152–153, 158, 208
- St. Pierre, Abbé 270
- Steele, Richard 100, 103
- Stella (Esther Johnson) 144–145, 148, 150,  
152–154
- Stork-Penning, Johanna 69
- Storrs, Christopher 66
- Strafford, earl of: see Wentworth, Thomas
- Stratford, William 150
- Surendonck, Jacob 83–86, 90
- Sutton, Robert, 2nd earl of Lexington 9
- Swift, Jonathan 4, 17, 48, 126–127, 137,  
142–158
- Syphax 131–134
- Tallard, comte de: see Hostun, Camille d'
- Tarouca, count of: see Silva, João
- Terborch, Gerard 264
- Tessé, Maréchal de 56, 58
- Timmermans, Frans 271, 280
- Toledo, Fernando Alvarez de, duke of  
Alba 273
- Torcy, maruis de: see Colbert, Jean-Baptiste
- Tour d'Auvergne, Henri de la, Vicomte de  
Turenne 259
- Trapp, Joseph 151
- Trelawny, Jonathan 214
- Turenne, vicomte de: see Tour d'Auvergne,  
Henri de la
- Usson, Francois d', marquis de Bonrepas 26
- Usson, Jean Louis d', marquis de Bonnac 26
- Val, Pierre du 260
- Valckenier, Petrus 71, 73–79, 84, 86, 89–90

- Vallière,marquis de: see Baume Le Blanc,  
Charles
- Vattel, Emerich de 32
- Virbert 61–62
- Victor Amadeus II, duke of Savoy 16, 27–28,  
50–51, 53–54, 57–59, 63–68
- Villars, Claude-Louis-Hector, duc de 38, 121,  
274
- Vintimille du Luc, Charles-François, comte de  
36
- Virilio, Paul 181
- Voetius, Gisbertus 243
- Vollenhove, B. 78
- Vondel, Joost van den 167–168, 176
- Vrigny, Philippe de 244
- Vrijbergen, Martinus van 87–88
- Vrijer, Marianne de 276
- Walpole, Robert 150
- Wassenaer, Johan Hendrik, count 88
- Watkins, John 252
- Weber, Ottocar von 5
- Welter, Barbara 272
- Wentworth, Thomas, earl of Strafford 1, 97,  
105, 108–109, 148
- Wicquefort, Abraham de 13, 183
- Wier, Susanna van der 172
- Wilders, Geert 269
- Willem Alexander, crown prince of the  
Netherlands 269
- William III, king of England, stadtholder in  
the United Provinces 46, 126, 168–169,  
170, 178, 211, 239–240
- William IV, stadtholder in the United  
Provinces 168–170, 237
- William V, stadtholder in the United  
Provinces 237
- Witt, Johan de 170
- Wren, Christopher 214