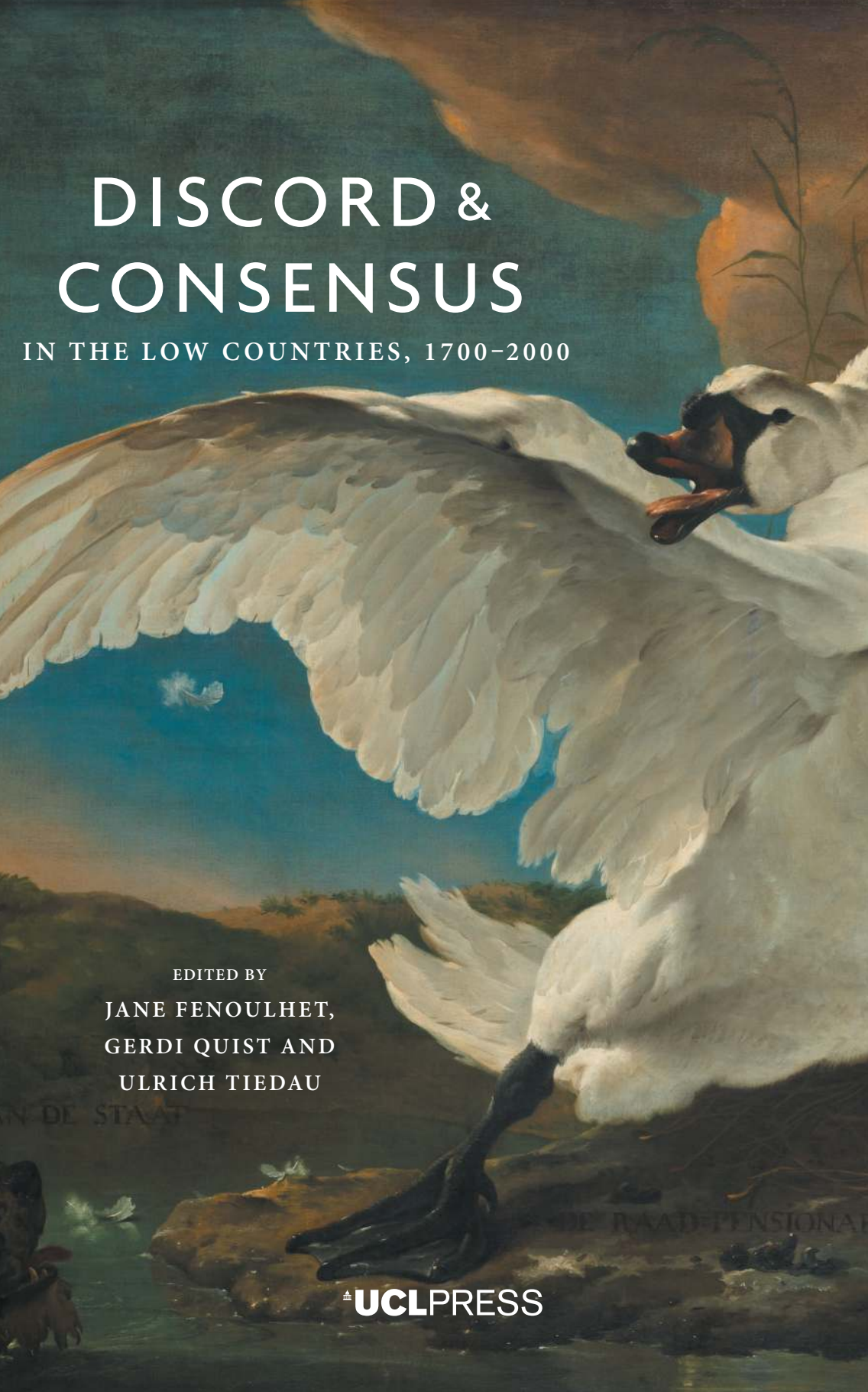

DISCORD & CONSENSUS

IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1700–2000

EDITED BY
JANE FENOULHET,
GERDI QUIST AND
ULRICH TIEDAU

UCLPRESS

Discord and Consensus in the Low Countries, 1700–2000

GLOBAL DUTCH: STUDIES IN LOW COUNTRIES CULTURE AND HISTORY

Series Editor
ULRICH TIEDAU

Global Dutch explores Netherlandic culture and history through an international lens. It covers not only the core Dutch language area in north-west continental Europe but also other places where Dutch culture has had or continues to have an impact, including parts of the Americas, southern Africa and south-east Asia. Global Dutch is especially concerned with relations between Netherlandic cultures and other cultures – particularly Anglophone – in all periods from the Middle Ages to the present day.

Discord and Consensus in the Low Countries, 1700–2000

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Introduction: discord and consensus in the Low Countries, 1700–2000

Ulrich Tiedau

For two and a half balmy days in September 2014, the 10th International Conference of the Association for Low Countries Studies (ALCS) took place at University College London, kindly supported by the *Nederlandse Taalunie* (Dutch Language Union).[1] Accompanied by readings from award-winning poet Ester Naomi Perquin, in part inspired by her experiences of conflict as a Dutch prison warden,[2] and a show-and-tell session with impressive items from peaceful and less-peaceful times in the history of the Low Countries, held by Marja Kingma, the curator of Dutch and Flemish collections at the British Library,[3] the conference brought together researchers from the UK, the Low Countries and further afield (from Budapest to Berkeley), exploring the theme of discord and consensus in the Low Countries through the centuries.

All countries, regions and institutions are ultimately built on a degree of consensus, on a collective commitment to a concept, belief or value system. This consensus is continuously rephrased and reinvented through a narrative of cohesion and challenged by expressions of discontent and discord. The history of the Low Countries is characterised by both a striving for consensus and eruptions of discord both internally and through outside challenges. This volume, based on selected papers from the conference, explores consensus and discord in a Low Countries context along and across broad cultural, linguistic and historical lines.[4]

It has become an accepted truism that after the turmoil of the sixteenth-century Revolt and until the more recent upsets caused by the political murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh in the early 2000s, the Netherlands have largely led a peaceful existence. While consensus loomed large in the political culture of the proverbial Dutch 'polder model', discord and conflict could be found throughout the eighteenth

to twentieth centuries as well, as the contributions to this volume exemplarily show, for a great number of fields.

Lotte Jensen (Nijmegen) turns her attention to consensus and discord in pre-modern Dutch identity, and the conflict between the two factions of Orangists and Republicans that characterised a good part of the history of the Dutch Republic. After the 1748 Treaty of Aachen, this conflict, revolving around the heritable succession of the office of stadtholder, had reached another apex. The installation of William IV as the general hereditary stadtholder of the United Provinces was particularly contentious, as evidenced by numerous satirical writings from the period. Jensen argues that national history was a key theme in these heated debates and that both groups essentially created their own version of the nation's glorious past in order to support their respective political views.

Inger Leemans (Amsterdam) and Gert-Jan Johannes (Utrecht) look at discord and consensus in the eighteenth century from a literary perspective. Traditionally having been regarded as a less important period in Dutch literary production, certainly when compared to the 'Dutch Golden Age' in the seventeenth century, the period has received renewed attention in recent decades, although researchers are divided in their assessment of Dutch Enlightenment culture as either moderate or radical and conflicted. In their contribution, Leemans and Johannes reconcile both views and present the thesis that it is precisely the tension between the search for harmony and mounting destabilising forces that makes eighteenth-century Dutch culture so worthwhile as a subject for study. Using eighteenth-century interest in the natural world – specifically in its smallest creatures (worms) and in one of its most intimidating natural phenomena (thunder) – as a case study, they analyse the dynamics of this tension as represented in different literary genres.

Raphaël Ingelbien (Leuven) and Elisabeth Waelkens (Durham) turn their attention to the brief period in time in which the Low Countries were supposedly harmoniously united in one state (1815–30), and investigate how this period is represented in two versions of Thomas Colley Grattan's *History of the Netherlands*. By comparing different editions published before and after the break-up of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1830, 1833) they demonstrate Grattan's opportunism and how his Irish patriot perspective allowed him to adapt British Whig historiography to the changed European reality after Belgium's independence, thus lending discursive legitimacy to shifts in British foreign policy towards the Low Countries.

Christine Hermann (Vienna) examines graphic novel adaptations of the *Lion of Flanders* (1838), Hendrik Conscience's romanticisation of the most famous conflict in Flemish history, the Battle of the Golden Spurs (1302), which became one of the foundation myths of Flanders. In her intermedial analysis, she traces the ways in which the narrative is transformed in various such adaptations from the 1940s to the 1980s and pays special attention to the representation of conflict in these comics: aspects of violence, focalisation of the opposing parties, and the 'modernisation' of the historic confrontation.

Tanja Collet (Windsor, Ontario) addresses a Low Countries-related conflict abroad by investigating language controversies in the *Gazette van Detroit*, the Flemish daily (nowadays weekly) newspaper in the area of the North American Great Lakes. Her analysis of the editorials of this immigrant broadsheet during the First World War, at a time when Imperial Germany was attempting to exploit Belgium's linguistic divide, demonstrates the conflicts that a distant immigrant community was exposed to during this time, torn between Flemish (linguistic) nationalism and outward political pressures.

Reinier Salverda (Leeuwarden/London) turns his attention to a more recent conflict, the Battle of Arnhem (1944), one of the decisive battles in the last stage of the Second World War. Rather than focusing on the battle itself, which is well known, not the least from cinematic dramatisations such as Richard Attenborough's *A Bridge Too Far* (1974), based on Cornelius Ryan's eponymous account of Operation Market Gardeb, he looks at the aftermath of the battle and its impact on civilian life in the city. Drawing on a range of contemporary eyewitness reports which bring home the brutal realities of forced evacuation, the subsequent large-scale plunder and the destruction of the city between September 1944 and the liberation in April 1945, he analyses how, over the following twenty-five years, Arnhem made a full recovery, rebuilding and reinventing itself until post-war reconstruction was declared complete in 1969.

From a postcolonial perspective Stefanie van Gemert (London) investigates the first and the last novel of the *Grande Dame* of Dutch East Indies literature Hella S. Haasse (1918–2011) and their reception in contemporary Dutch newspaper reviews. Relating Haasse's *Oeroeg* (1948) and *Sleuteloog* (2002) to postcolonial theory about colonial 'belatedness', she argues that Haasse's inside knowledge of colonial society provided her with a critical postcolonial attitude as early as 1948, whereas contemporary Dutch newspaper reviewers remain remarkably uncritical of colonial categories.

Jenny Watson (Swansea) investigates Ben Sombogaart's film *Twin Sisters* (2002), an adaptation of Tessa de Loo's best-selling 1994 novel

The Twins (*De tweeling*), which contrasts Dutch and German experiences of the Second World War. By comparing the movie with the novel, Watson assesses how the priorities of heritage cinema led to fundamental plot changes, transforming De Loo's text, which challenged established narratives of Dutch wartime history, into one that maintains traditional views of the past. The film's reinstating of a 'consensus of blame' is most strongly discernible in the largely missing portrayal of the German wartime experience that played such an important role in the novel, and in the portrayal of the German character Anna, whose culpability is exaggerated by filmic as well as narrative devices. Moreover, the choice to adapt *The Twins* in the form of a romance emphasises cultural memories of Dutch wartime suffering, and reveals heritage cinema's dual commitment to presenting an easily digestible view of national history to both national and international audiences.

Marijn Molema's (Leeuwarden) contribution focuses on the process of consensus-building within the domain of regional development. It concentrates on economic policies in the Dutch–German border region and analyses the similarities and differences in the policy-making process. In the 1950s and 1960s, regional economic policies flourished on both sides of the border, when industrial subsidies and infrastructure investments were provided to help the economic development of these regions that were lagging behind the standards of national growth. Molema investigates this post-war history of regional policy from a comparative and border studies perspective, using the northern Netherlands and north-west Germany as examples. Similar patterns in Dutch and German regions point to a European consensus on how to develop remote and supposedly 'backward' regions.

Suzie Holdsworth (Sheffield) investigates the language policy of the European Union and its governing principle of 'multiple authenticity', the validity of all linguistic versions alike, although in reality most documents are drafted in English first and most other linguistic versions are the product of hybrid translational procedures. By examining the phenomenon of hybridity in relation to Dutch language production, she problematises the notions of multiple authenticity and hybridity, as well as conceptual relationships between Dutch and English, French and German in a discourse narrative on security, and points out the consequences of multiple authenticity for discourse content and the stability of institutional voice at the multilingual interface of discourse.

It remains to express our gratitude to the many helpers the ALCS conference had, especially to Josephine Salverda from the UCL Centre

for Low Countries Studies, the unnamed peer-reviewers for their selfless and helpful scrutiny, as well as to Lara Speicher, Jaimee Biggins and Chris Penfold from UCL Press for their tireless editing and for seeing the manuscript through to publication. Best wishes for good reading!

For the editors, Ulrich Tiedau

1

Pre-modern Dutch identity and the peace celebrations of 1748

Lotte Jensen

The history of the Dutch Republic is characterised by ongoing conflicts between the Orangists, who supported the stadtholder, and the anti-Orangists – or Staatsgezinden – who opposed the hereditary succession of the stadtholder and, consequently, sought to gain more democratic rights. Several times these conflicts became severe, which led to regime changes. This chapter focuses on the conflict between the Orangists and the Staatsgezinden in 1748. The then recent installation of William IV as the general hereditary stadtholder of the United Provinces had marked the end of the stadtholderless period. William IV was celebrated by many, but despised by others, and his opponents expressed their discontent in satirical writings. It is argued that the nation's history was a key theme in the heated debates: to support their political views, both groups essentially created their own version of the nation's glorious past.

Introduction

In general, we can distinguish two different views on the history of the Dutch Republic in the early modern period. The first group of historians lays emphasis on *consensus* and claims that *consensus* was the driving force behind the Republic's rise in the seventeenth century. They use key words such as concord, harmony, tolerance and even 'polder model' to characterise the liberal climate of the Dutch Republic and argue that these characteristics can explain its economic and artistic greatness in the seventeenth century. Examples of this view include *Bevochten*

Eendracht by Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies (1999) and *Nederland en het poldermodel* (2013) by Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van de Zanden.[1]

The second group of historians, on the other hand, points towards *discord*. Marjolein 't Hart, for instance, has argued that international warfare stimulated economic growth in the Republic: 'the organization of their military institutions favoured a high degree of commercialized warfare, stimulated their trade and furthered new capitalist networks. In other words, the Dutch knew how to make money out of organized violence, with continuing profits in the longer term.'[2] Here war and conflict are presented as the key factors behind the Republic's Golden Age. Discord also features prominently in the work of historians who consider the history of the Dutch Republic as an ongoing struggle between different political and religious factions and who therefore tend to criticise the representation of the nation as harmonious and tolerant. This view is mainly propagated by historians who have focused on years of political outburst and regime change, for example Ari van Deursen's *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen* and Luc Panhuysen's *Het rampjaar 1672*, and by nearly all historians who concentrate their research on the eighteenth century, a century known for its many revolts.[3]

Consensus or discord: which one of these seemingly incompatible views is the correct one? This question is impossible to answer because it's all in the eye of the beholder. The Republic's successful struggle for independence automatically leads to the conclusion that some of its success must have been the result of excellent leadership, cooperation and a tolerant climate while, at the same time, religious, moral and political conflicts are just as much part of that same history. In a recent study on religious toleration in the Republic, the literary historian Els Stronks asserts that different denominations and their ideologies coexisted rather peacefully in the Republic while, at the same, the bounds of toleration were constantly under pressure.[4] This ambiguity stems from the wish to situate the specific characteristics of the Dutch Republic within a European context: the fact that such a small nation could become one of the world's leading powers in such short time calls for an explanation. Depending on the historian's interests, he or she will focus on either continuity or moments of rupture to characterise the nation's unique history.

In the research project 'Proud to Be Dutch: The Role of War and Peace in the Shaping of an Early Modern Dutch Identity (1648–1815)' consensus and discord play equally important roles.[5] In this project, we aim to investigate developments and changes in the rise of Dutch national thought in the early modern period by focusing on cultural

and literary reflections on war and peace. On the one hand, we examine the characteristics and qualifications that gave the Dutch Republic a clear profile and identity in relation to other nations. One of the subprojects, for example, investigates the role of peace celebrations and the shaping of national thought.[6] This research shows that writers went to great lengths to symbolise the unity of the Dutch Republic on the occasion of important peace celebrations. In their writings the outline of a Dutch 'imagined community' based upon shared traditions and values becomes visible – to use Benedict Anderson's well-known concept.[7] Here concord, harmony and unity are the key words.

On the other hand, the shaping of this common identity was an ongoing process of negotiating differences and excluding competing identities within the Dutch Republic. Political and religious struggles were constantly smouldering beneath the surface: the representation of a Dutch identity, although mainly homogeneous, was permanently under debate and contested. The political differences between Orangists, who supported the stadtholder, and the anti-Orangists – or Staatsgezinden – who opposed hereditary succession of the stadtholder and, consequently, sought to gain more democratic rights, are visible throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as are the tensions between different denominations.

This chapter will address the permanent tension between consensus and discord by taking the year 1748 as a case study. In this year the peace treaty of Aachen was signed, ending the War of the Austrian Succession. During this war the Dutch Republic had suffered severe attacks by the French in the southern parts of the country. The Peace of Aachen was therefore welcomed by many Dutch authors, who glorified the role of the Dutch Republic and the nation's heroes in the present and the past. Internally, however, political tensions were present everywhere. In 1747 a new stadtholder had been appointed, William IV. His appointment as the general hereditary stadtholder of the United Provinces marked the end of a stadtholderless period, which had lasted forty-five years. William IV was celebrated by many and seen as the great saviour in times of despair but despised by others, and his opponents expressed their discontent in satirical writings.[8] This chapter will look at occasional poetry that represents both political sides. The nation's history was a key theme in the heated debates: to support their political views, each group essentially created its own version of the nation's glorious past.[9] First the dominant discourse of the Orangists will be discussed, before turning to the dissident voices.

Orangist celebrations

The peace treaty of Aachen ended the War of the Austrian Succession, which had swept through Europe for eight years. The war broke out in 1740 after the death of Charles VI, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He had tried to secure the rights of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to the Habsburg throne through the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, but her position was challenged immediately after his death by several princes, including the Spanish king Philip VI, the Prussian king Frederick II and the prince-elector of Bavaria, Charles VII. Initially, the Dutch Republic maintained a neutral course, but things changed when France invaded the Austrian Netherlands in 1744 and rapidly escalated in 1747 when the French besieged several cities in Zeelandic Flanders, including Hulst, Sas van Gent, Axel and Bergen op Zoom.[10]

In response to this threat, William IV was appointed by the States-General as the Captain General and Stadtholder of all districts in the Republic. To celebrate this event illuminations and fireworks were organised throughout the Dutch Republic (Figure 1.1).[11] The

Fig. 1.1 Fireworks in The Hague to celebrate the Peace of Aachen, 13 June 1749, by Jan Caspar Philips. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-60.037

fighting continued, and in April 1748 the French besieged Maastricht. When peace was finally established – the preliminaries were signed on 30 April and officially acknowledged on 18 October 1748 – France had to abandon these cities again.[12]

The Peace of Aachen was warmly welcomed by the Dutch, who had experienced severe losses in the south. The adherents of William IV extensively praised his achievements as commander-in-chief of the army as if it had been the stadtholder himself who had personally liberated the besieged cities. According to his adherents, there were two more reasons to celebrate 1748 as a special year. Firstly, exactly a hundred years earlier the Treaty of Münster had been signed, which meant that the Dutch Republic was celebrating its first centenary as an independent state. Secondly, in March a new prince had been born, the future William V. This made the position of the new stadtholder, who now also had a male successor, stronger than ever.[13] All these factors made 1748 a year of 'miracles' in Orangist eyes.[14]

In the many celebratory writings that were published to commemorate the centenary of the Peace of Münster and the achievement of the Peace of Aachen, the Orangist perspective dominated. At least thirty-five occasional writings were published, including sermons, plays, poems and treatises, and three large anthologies: *Olyf-krans der vrede* (1748, reprint of 1648; Olive Wreath of Peace), *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken* (1748; Poetical Memorial) and *De tempel der vrede, geopend door de mogendheden van Europa* (1749; The Temple of Peace, Opened by the Powers of Europe).[15] Each of these volumes consisted of approximately forty poems, written by authors from different provinces. These anthologies were presented as a luxurious series, and the second volume was offered personally to William IV in The Hague.[16]

All these occasional writings were written from an Orangist perspective. The peace celebrations were filled with praise for the new stadtholder. Many authors stressed that it was the people's wish (*vox populi*) that William IV had been appointed in that position; William IV, for his part, was said to be a true, loving father of his people. One of the poets even called him 'the very best Father of the Fatherland'.[17] This kind of imagery was not new but can also be found in earlier representations of the stadtholders, as Jill Stern has shown in her study on Orangism in the Dutch Republic between 1650 and 1672.[18]

In the many poems, plays and anthologies written on the occasion of the Peace of Aachen, the markers of a Dutch (Orangist) identity clearly become visible. This identity was held together by the repetition of national symbols, myths and recurring themes. The poets went to great

lengths to celebrate the national past and emphasise the strength and endurance of the Dutch inhabitants across many decades. At the same time, they were oriented towards the future. With the appointment of a new stadtholder a new era had dawned, and, so they argued, a new Golden Age was about to come into existence. In this way, they effectively masked the fact that in reality the Dutch Republic had become a minor power in the field of international relations.

The nation's history was one of the key themes: many poems contained a historical outline of Dutch history with the aim of legitimising the position of the stadtholder. Three recurring themes can be distinguished: (1) revolt and liberation, (2) the idea of having been chosen by God or divine providence, and (3) the return of a Golden Age. To start with revolt and liberation: it was argued that William's recent election was the logical outcome of nearly two hundred years of struggle for freedom and liberty, which had started with the Revolt against the Spaniards and now ended with the defeat of the French. Special landmarks in this history included the Union of Utrecht of 1579, which brought together the seven northern provinces into one political union, and the many victories during the Eighty Years' War against the Spaniards, such as the triumphs in De Briel (1572) and Leiden (1574) at the beginning of the war and the victories in 's-Hertogenbosch (1629) and Hulst (1645) at the end of that conflict. The authors constructed an entirely Orangist view of the nation's history, claiming that all previous victories had been the result of superior leadership by the stadtholders. See, for example, how the poetess Sara Maria van Zon writes about the glorious past:

> Wilhelmus of Nassau relives on every tongue
> Who is not conscious of Maurits' bravery
> And Frederik Hendrik's glory, for better or worse?
> No, heroes! No, everyone talks of your brave war acts:
>
> From your laurel wreaths grow olive leaves
> The second William saw, when it was God's wish
> The States declared free, by the treaty of Münster.[19]

The nation's history is summarised in only seven lines, mentioning four different stadtholders in succession. This teleological way of representing the past suggested that the stadtholders (and God's benevolence) were entirely responsible for the Republic's successful struggle for independence.

The sea heroes of the Anglo-Dutch wars were also extensively celebrated as well as the heroic come-back of the stadtholder in 1672, but deep silence shrouded the second stadtholderless period between 1702

and 1747. In the eyes of Orangists, the nation's history was obviously worth remembering only when a stadtholder was in charge of things. They continued their narration with the year 1747, in which William IV was appointed, and praised his excellent leadership in the battles against the French. He was represented as a true hero who had brought new peace and wealth to the country. In the words of the poetess Suzanna Maria Oortman: 'Prince Friso went to the battlefields in order to fight for us, he returned, and brought us peace.'[20]

The bravery of the Dutch was contrasted with the evil nature of the Spanish during the Eighty Years' War and the French during the many Dutch–French Wars in the period 1672–1713 and the contemporary conflicts. Poets compared the noble nature of the stadtholders with the cruelty of King Philip II of Spain, the Duke of Alva, and his successor Luis de Requesens. They repeatedly mentioned the killing by Alva of '18,000 souls', the horrifying sack of Naarden in 1572 and the 'dreadful screaming of widows and orphans', which could be heard everywhere during the Spanish attacks.[21] This litany of crooks and misery seamlessly continued in laments about the wicked nature of the French monarchs Louis XIV and XV and the French general Ulrich von Löwenthal, who had been commander-in-chief during the sieges of Bergen op Zoom and Maastricht. A parallel was drawn between the destruction by the French in 1672 of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam and their relentless attacks on the Dutch Republic in 1747. In this way, a rigid black-and-white scheme was constructed, which could lead only to the conclusion that the present victory was the reward for long and continuous fighting against evil.

The second theme, the idea of being the chosen people and beneficiaries of divine providence, was also prevalent. The argument was that God had not only restored peace in Europe but that the Dutch people were the chosen people. This idea was also often propagated by ministers from the Reformed Church, as Cornelis Huisman has shown in his study on national consciousness in Reformed circles in the eighteenth century.[22] Parallels with the people of Israel, who were rescued by Moses, were drawn by many poets. They depicted the new stadtholder as the new Moses, who led his people through difficult situations:

O God, who so clearly has saved us from
The hands of the enemies
When You restored Orange
To the benefit of the Netherlands
And chose him as general Pastor
O Lord, please continue to protect our prince.[23]

A sense of superiority was expressed by suggesting that the Republic had a privileged position and that God had chosen to protect this people by sending an excellent 'saviour', William IV.

In their representation of the nation's history nearly every highlight was the result of the powerful intervention of a stadtholder, who was supported by God. In this way, it was suggested that an inextricable bond existed between the Republic, God and the stadtholderly family. According to the poet Jacobus van der Streng:

> As long as the Orange Tree is in the Netherlands
> Our Free Territory honours the God of its Fathers
> Then our State has nothing to fear
> Because no Tyrant will ever dominate God's estate.[24]

This 'triple alliance' between God, Orange and the Dutch Republic, which had overcome so many threats in the past and would be able to resist any crisis in the future, would remain one of the most powerful poetical symbols of Dutch identity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The third motive was the return of a Golden Age. It was argued that the peace would bring a new era of economic and cultural prosperity; the Republic that had once been one of the most powerful nations in the world would again rise and dictate the 'world's history'. This stereotypical image had been used in Renaissance lyrics, when poets referred to the classical images of the *aetas aurea* by Ovid and Virgil and argued that they lived in a Golden Age themselves.[25] The crucial difference, however, was that the return of a Golden Age became part of a political argument, namely that the new stadtholder was to thank for this happy development. The poet Joannes van der Heide argued that international trade would flourish again and that Amsterdam would once more become the economic centre of the world: 'Trade relives, the fundament of this nation, which has lifted it up to such height [...], Amsterdam remains the market square of the world.'[26] Other poets emphasised that the arts also would reach new heights as the economic prosperity would automatically give the arts new impulses.

All these themes – Orangism, the chosen people, the superiority of Dutch history and the return of a Golden Age – come together in the following verses by Anna Maria de Jong:

> O great Friso! God will support you
> In the important governance with His mighty hand
> Therefore a new Golden Age will flourish
> As when David's son graced Israel's throne.[27]

Dissident voices

In these writings the markers of a Dutch identity, based upon shared traditions and values, clearly become visible. This identity, however, was challenged by anti-Orangists, who regretted the fact that William IV had been appointed as a general stadtholder of the Dutch Republic. In the course of 1748 many riots and revolts broke out in different parts of the country. The trouble started in Friesland, where rioters plundered the houses of farmers in May 1748, sparking off a series of riots across the Dutch Republic, ranging from the north to the south. The fighting was extremely violent in Amsterdam (Figure 1.2), where the authorities had great difficulty in restoring order as the riflemen refused to protect the farmers' houses. The city magistrate then decided to take severe measures and sentenced some of the rioters to death. Three of them were hung on the Dam Square on 29 June 1748.[28]

Considering these severe outbursts of violence, it is striking how the Orangist voice dominated the occasional poetry written during these years. Critical comments were spread as well, but they constitute a minority compared with the seemingly endless stream of

Fig. 1.2 Riots on Dam Square in Amsterdam, 1748, by Jan Smit, Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1944-1902

celebratory writings about William IV. Nevertheless, there is a series of volumes in which the anti-Orangist voice can be heard loudly and clearly: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen* (1748–54, 6 vols.). This anthology includes some verses in favour of the stadtholder and other poetry against his regime and gives a good idea of the heated debates during these years. It is unknown who the editor and publisher of this volume were, and most of the poems were published anonymously. Further research is therefore needed to unravel who might have hidden behind these dissident writings.

Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel was filled with miscellany: it contained short and long poems, satirical pieces and dialogues between peasants (the so-called 'praatjespamfletten'). Many poems take the form of a 'keerdicht', i.e. a poem that is written in response to another poem and uses the same rhyme. An example of such a 'keerdicht' is a riddle about the Dutch Lion. In the Orangist version the lion is represented as a powerful animal with one head and seven tails while the Patriot version ironically speaks of seven heads and one tail.[29] Another example is a poem about the Virgin of Holland: in the first version she is lamenting the current situation in which the appointment of a new stadtholder has led to misery all over the country; in the second version she is celebrating the stadtholder, who has protected and liberated the nation.[30]

The first two volumes mainly address the turbulent years 1747–8.[31] The criticism of the anti-Orangists was mostly directed against Daniël Raap, the leader of a pro-Orangist revolt in Amsterdam, and at the prince himself, William IV. Furthermore, many local events and riots were described, such as the riots in Leiden, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Arnhem. By collecting all these verses that addressed different regions in a single volume, it was suggested that the dissatisfaction with the stadtholder was nationwide. The Orangists' representation of the nation's present and past was also attacked by the dissident poets. In their view, the appointment of a new stadtholder should be considered as a low point in Dutch history. The Orangist concept of liberty was particularly criticised, for instance in the following verses: 'One praises Liberty, as if it was born hundred years ago; one could better commemorate its death, because it was lost eternally in this year of peace.'[32] Other poets lamented the death of Liberty in graveyard poems. In a satirical tone they wrote about all the medication they had administered in an attempt to save her life, but Liberty was unable to survive in these horrifying circumstances. In one of the poems Liberty chokes because of the smell of Orange balsam.[33]

One of the authors directed his criticism expressly at all poets and poetesses who had contributed to the volume *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken*, in which the Peace of Münster was commemorated. He stated that the 'virtuous' William IV was silencing all his opponents and that his way of achieving unity and concord was rather one-sided.[34] Furthermore, an anti-Orangist chronicle of the year 1748 was published, in which all the so-called 'joyful' events, such as the birth of the new prince and the signing of the peace treaty, were ridiculed. It is noteworthy that most criticism was directed at the current political situation and that the dissident poets did not really succeed in creating an alternative version of the nation's past. Only one dissident hero was frequently mentioned, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. This seventeenth-century statesman who had been beheaded by Prince Maurice represented 'real liberty' in their eyes. Several poems were dedicated to the famous 'walking stick' of van Oldernbarnevelt, which in 1747 was presented to the mayor of The Hague.[35] A strong anti-Orangist counter-narrative of the nation's past, however, was absent.

Although *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel* contains a considerable amount of anti-Orangist poetry, the question remains why nearly all dissident writings were published anonymously and why the Orangist voice became so dominant in such a short time. What happened to all those writers who had not withheld their critical views during the stadtholderless period that had lasted forty-five years? If one compares the occasional writings published in 1748 with the writings published during earlier peace celebrations such as those in 1648, 1697 (Peace of Rijswijk) and 1713 (Peace of Utrecht), the absence of dissident voices is even more striking.[36] It has been suggested by the historian Ton Jongenelen that freedom of the press was restricted severely after the installation of William IV and that the output of publishers can hardly be called representative of the public mood of that period.[37] This interesting suggestion, however, still needs further investigation.

Nevertheless, it is striking how easily the former period was forgotten and how quickly the void was filled with celebrations of Orangism. The coherence of the poetic vocabulary was also remarkable: the poets all used the same kinds of metaphors, stereotypes and historical references in their celebratory writings. History was one of the key themes of their concordant writings: they all argued that continuity dominated the nation's history and that this history was held together by a string of stadtholders, starting with William of Orange and leading up to William IV. They were the pillars of the nation's history and lent the writings a logical structure. Other elements, like

the blessings of divine providence and the return of a Golden Age, could also be found in the poetry of the seventeenth century and now circulated in this new political context.

Perhaps there is another reason for the absence of a clear anti-Orangist counter-narrative. There was no way to tell the story of freedom and liberation from foreign oppression without referring to the earlier stadtholders. How, for example, could one tell the story of the Revolt without referring to William of Orange? That was simply impossible. The main strategy of the anti-Orangists was, therefore, to criticise William IV and his adherents, but they were not able to really undermine the canonical view of the nation's past.[38]

The permanent threat of discord

The dominance of the Orangist voice would not last forever, and if one reads the texts with the knowledge of what happened in the years to come it is striking how many references were made to possible escalation of the internal political conflicts. The Orangist poets wrote about peace and restoration of stability, indeed, but their poems sounded rather warlike and were filled with anxiety. See, for example, the following verse of the Reformed poet Johannes Boskoop:

> The Land is in uproar, all fight each other
> O horrible sight! The one is murdering the other!
> Where will this lead (o grief!), the enemy lurks everywhere,
> The land is in uproar![39]

Boskoop celebrates the Peace of Aachen and the new stadtholder, but he also expresses his disgust with the present situation, which is characterised by serious conflicts between the Orangists and the Staatsgezinden.

The same fear of discord is expressed in two theatre plays written on the occasion of the Peace of Aachen: *Europa bevredigt* by Johannes Smit (1748) and *Leeuwendaal hersteld door de vrede* (1749) by Lucas Pater.[40] In both plays the allegorical figures of War and Discord are competing with good characters, such as Peace and Concord. It is remarkable how much attention is given to discord in these plays, although both plays were written to celebrate the newly established peace in Europe. As might be expected, Peace and Concord overcome the evil powers in the end, but it's clear that they must remain permanently on guard against internal as well as external forces.

In the play by Smit, the god of war, Mars, tries to win the sympathy of Discord in order to create chaos in the United Provinces. Mars has set his eye on Maastricht and estimates that his chances are good because the Republic is exhausted after all the heavy fighting. Discord, however, is frustrated by Concord, who is gaining influence on the European as well as the national level. All European princes are tired of fighting and long for peace. Under the direction of Peace the European princes manage to reach an agreement and make Mars and Discord bow to their needs. A song by the Dutch people ('Rei van Nederlanders') concludes the play by lamenting about the many losses but cheering the moment that William IV came into power and peace was restored.

In the play by Pater, Mars and Discord oppose Peace, Liberty, Loyalty, Alertness and Concord. The focus of his play, however, is not directed at restoring peace at the European level but at the welfare of the Republic. One of the greatest threats is, undoubtedly, internal dispute, which has manifested itself frequently in Dutch history. Concord utters strong warnings against the destructive influence of discord: 'Due to Discord your State has fallen from time to time / By me alone a nation can exist'.[41] His greatest supporter is Generosity, in whose character William IV can easily be recognised. Generosity is wearing orange veils and operates like a true saviour. He accepts the supreme command of his fatherland and is prepared to sacrifice his life for it. He manages to capture his enemies, and in the end peace is established.

The title of Pater's play, *Leeuwendalers*, was a clear reference to the play that the well-known poet Joost van den Vondel had dedicated a hundred years earlier to the Peace of Münster. In Vondel's play reconciliation is the main theme as well, although literary historians still disagree about the political and religious messages Vondel hid in his allegory. However, it is undisputed that stadtholder Willem Frederik (1584–1647) was extensively praised by Vondel for his contribution in the peace negotiations.[42] In the case of Pater, there's no doubt that his sympathies lay with William IV and that his concept of unity and harmony is exclusively defined from an Orangist perspective. His play was met with fierce criticism by anti-Orangists as is illustrated by this cynical comment of an anonymous poet: '[In this play] one hears Friso's [i.e. William IV's] name being recommended as high as the stars/it is, however, difficult to prove that he deserves such praise'.[43] Concord as it was propagated by Pater – namely from an exclusively Orangist perspective – only led to new political tensions and discord.

Cycles of war and peace

Let me conclude with an observation made by Elaine Scarry, professor of English and American literature. She states that every peace contains the opportunity for future wars: 'it has been argued that peace treaties, far from minimizing the possibility of war, instead specify the next occasion of war; they in effect become predictive models or architectural maps of the next war'.[44] This statement holds true for the peace texts of 1748: the fear of new internal political struggles is omnipresent, and, indeed, in the years to come, the internal political struggles would reach new heights. In 1780 the Patriot Revolt broke out, which led to a full-scale civil war between the Orangists and Patriots. These turbulent years constitute another episode in the history of the Dutch Republic in which discord prevailed in spite of the attempt of Orangist poets to create a unifying image of the Dutch Republic in the 'miraculous year' of 1748.

2

Gnawing worms and rolling thunder: the unstable harmony of Dutch eighteenth-century literature

Inger Leemans and Gert-Jan Johannes

In Dutch literary histories, the eighteenth century has always played a minor role. Sadly enough, this is partly due to the eighteenth-century authors themselves. In their struggle against the perceived decline of the Dutch nation, they established the study of Dutch language and literature. In their literary histories they turned towards the past, painting a rather bleak picture of the state of their own literary production compared to that of the seventeenth century (the 'Golden Age'). Nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary historians adopted this comparison, thus reinforcing the idea of a failed century. Since the 1980s, the 'forgotten' eighteenth century has attracted new explorers from various disciplines. However, this revival reveals a historiographical split. On the one hand Dutch culture is labelled as moderate. On the other hand, researchers highlight the radical and conflicted nature of the Dutch public sphere. In this chapter we seek a middle ground between the two historiographical camps. In our opinion it is exactly the dynamic relationship between the search for harmony and the resurfacing of destabilising forces that makes eighteenth-century Dutch culture so interesting. In this chapter, we will describe the dynamics of this tension by analysing the representation of the natural world in eighteenth-century poetry and fiction. We will focus on the constant juxtaposition of two natural phenomena: one of nature's smallest creatures – the worm – and one of its most impressive forces: thunder. We will describe how the mounting tension between discord and harmony dramatically culminates in various genres, e.g. political poetry, sentimental novels and country house poems.[1]

Introduction

It is one of the most persuasive images of the eighteenth-century ideal of harmony and consensus; probably the first 'communal literary selfie', or the first group portrait of the literary guild: the 'Panpoëticon Batavum'. It is a compelling communal project initiated at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Under the inspiring direction of painter Arnoud van Halen, a series of miniature portraits of famous and less famous Dutch writers is collected in a wooden cabinet, thus creating a 'cabinet of curiosities' of Dutch authors. For this portrait exhibition, the poet Lambert Bidloo writes an extensive collection catalogue in verse: a 'temple for all the poets of the Netherlands'. Part of this cabinet of literary curiosities is still on display at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Figure 2.1).[2]

The cabinet is both self-confident and vulnerable. The portraits are not obtrusive: they are rather small and one needs to open the drawers to admire them. But in doing so, the viewer is greeted with a group of authors who seem to present themselves proudly to the world. One only realises how fragile the project was when one considers that at the time of its conception, the Dutch cultural scene had just experienced several major intellectual crises: the 'disaster year' 1672 with its political division between Orangists and Republicans, the radical phase of the Enlightenment with its constant eruptions of public debate and fierce censorship and, last but not least, the 'poëtenstrijd' (war of the poets), the Dutch version of the *Quérelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, which culminated around 1710. At that time, Dutch citizens started to realise that the economic boom of the previous century had come to a standstill.[3]

Hence, the Panpoëticon appears to be a project directed at stabilisation after decades of conflict. By placing all Dutch authors of merit and all authors from other backgrounds who had moved to the Dutch Republic and had been 'Dutchified' in one cabinet and in historical perspective, Van Halen (Figure 2.2) and Bidloo tried to create a convincing image of a long, unified tradition of Dutch literature.

This is the canon of Dutch literary quality around 1700, the image that young and aspiring authors would try to emulate. It is therefore not surprising that later in the eighteenth century, in 1772, the Panpoëticon becomes the showpiece of Dutch literary society – 'Kunst wordt door Arbeid verkregen' ('Art Is Won through Labour'). The learned and artistic societies of the second half of the eighteenth century are important instruments in the development of our modern civil societies. One of

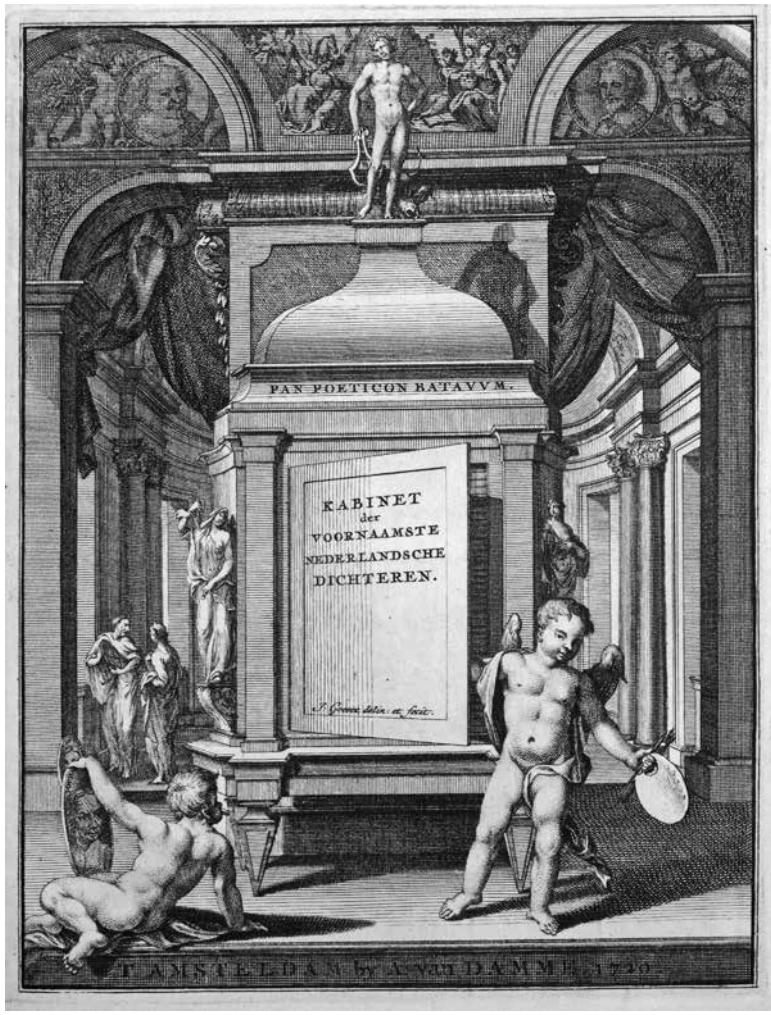

Fig. 2.1 Frontispiece of Lambert Bidloo, *Panpoëticon Batavum: kabinet, waar in de afbeeldingen van voornaame Nederlandsche dichteren, versameld, en konstig geschilderdt door Arnoud van Halen* [. . .]. Amsterdam, Andries van Damme, 1720. Courtesy of University Library Radboud University Nijmegen, OD 442 b 11 no. 1. A part of the cabinet is currently displayed at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

their strategies to reach higher levels of civilisation and artistic output is to stress the ideal of 'gezelligheid' (sociability) as the essential path to welfare and well-being. Learned and artistic societies can and do consist of people from diverse denominations and social backgrounds, who

Fig. 2.2 Portrait of Arnoud van Halen (1673–1732). Painter, engraver, poet, art collector, and founder of the Panpoëticon Batavum. Portrait painted by Christoffel Lubienitzki. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-1738

all try to overcome their differences through their common goal: the betterment of society. The Panpoëticon Batavum thus becomes a focal point of the 'Age of Sensibility', and an example of the eagerly desired harmony in the Dutch Republic of Letters. To underline this aim, 'Kunst wordt door Arbeid Verkregen' holds yearly contests, awarding winners with a portrait in the cabinet (Figure 2.3). Thus the literary family tree keeps on growing.

However, in spite of its glorious history, the Panpoëticon nearly completely disappeared from view. Its fame has been only recently revived in literary histories.[4] The well-intended activities of Lambert Bidloo and his successors notwithstanding, many of the praised authors, especially the eighteenth-century ones, are lost to our cultural memory. The eighteenth century, to put it mildly, has not been the focus in Dutch literary histories ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Fig. 2.3 The Panpoëticon cabinet at the Dutch literary society 'Kunst wordt door Arbeid verkregen' ('Art Is Won Through Labour'). Painting (1772) by P. C. La Fargue. Courtesy of Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal Leiden, S900

Inventing and forgetting the eighteenth century's literary past

This is a bitter state of affairs, since the eighteenth-century authors themselves are responsible for the 'invention' of national literary histories. The inherent paradox, however, is that the reason for this invention is the realisation that the proud days of the Panpoëticon are over. The economy is stagnating and lagging behind other now more prosperous economies, such as the British Empire and France. Since there are hardly any apt economic theories to provide an explanation for this development, cultural critics blame the moral economy of the nation.[5]

Eighteenth-century Dutch authors feel the need to struggle against the perceived decline of the nation by establishing the study of Dutch language and literature. They start to compare their own situation to that of the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, the century they now begin to call the 'Golden Age'. Eighteenth-century authors and researchers feel the need to strive for improvement, by gathering knowledge

about literature. Therefore, university chairs are founded in Dutch Language and Literature. The new professors are supposed to help raise the level of language and literature. Their task is to show that the Netherlands have a rich literary past and that the Dutch language is indeed suitable for writing great literature.

However, in turning towards the past, they paint a rather bleak picture of the state of contemporary literature. The trend thus set by eighteenth-century authors is continued in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary histories. In their narratives, the eighteenth century truly fades away. In the new Dutch monarchy, after the fall of Napoleon, everybody tries to look back beyond the turbulent eighteenth century and keep their eyes fixed on the seventeenth century, the Golden Age, the time of Cats and Huygens, of prosperity and entrepreneurship. And so, the eighteenth century sinks into oblivion.

Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, literary historians increasingly apply aesthetic criteria. Writers are selected and canonised on the basis of the perceived 'universal' literary quality of their work, and not on the basis of their status or the appreciation they enjoyed in their own time, nor the role their work played within broader social developments. The eighteenth century has no place in this scheme: it is the era where the whole idea of *l'art pour l'art* is nonsensical, because art still has a distinct place and function in society.

The disregard for the eighteenth century is especially painful regarding eighteenth-century women: of the string of famous and valued female authors, such as Juliana Cornelia de Lannoy, Petronella Moens and Lucretia van Merken, only Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken can still claim some recognition. An additional unfairness is that as soon as literary historians *do* recognise literary quality, they invariably find an excuse to write it out of the eighteenth century. In this way, interesting authors such as Willem Bilderdijk and Jacobus Bellamy are consigned to a 'pre-Romantic era' not belonging to the eighteenth century proper. The Dutch literary historian G. P. M. Knuvelder even has the eighteenth century end in 1776, when he observes the first twinkling of the 'Romantic era' he holds in such high regard. In this way precious little is left of the eighteenth century.[6]

Knuvelder's peers are even more scathing about the Age of the Enlightenment. In his prestigious and authoritative *General History of the Netherlands* of 1954, his colleague and contemporary, the historian Ph. de Vries, calls the eighteenth century 'the absolute void': 'To the first half of the eighteenth century, not even the terms decline, deterioration, degeneration or decadence can be applied, because all of these terms

still suggest a certain development. Within the history of Dutch culture, it represents the absolute void.'[7]

In order to give a reason for this huge void – to show how, after the glorious seventeenth century, the eighteenth century brought literature down to rock bottom – historians reach back to explanations from the eighteenth century itself. With references to authors such as the early eighteenth-century journalist Justus van Effen, they keep on blaming the presumed moral decline of eighteenth-century Dutchmen. Excessive prosperity and luxury are supposed to have weakened the nation's moral fibre, making it unfit to produce literature of sufficient value. Hence, the eighteenth-century authors dug their own graves: if they had stopped complaining about the moral decline and lack of proper standards and values in their own era, a few authors might have been saved from the censoring forces of canonisation.

Reviving the eighteenth century: harmony or conflict?

The upside of these developments, however, is that they left the eighteenth century as undiscovered territory. Only during the last few decades has it started to attract adventurous explorers. Since the 1980s, a series of researchers from various disciplines has risen to see what it has to offer. New attention has been given to the political culture in the Batavian-French period (1795–1813), to socio-economic developments, to the efforts to keep the East India Company and West India Company afloat, to the international financial crises of 1720 and the 1760s, to the moderate and radical Enlightenment, and to phenomena such as the birth of civil society and the rise of the public sphere. And luckily, there are a large number of researchers who investigate the forgotten authors and scribblers of the eighteenth century and publish new editions of their works.

However, this revival of eighteenth-century studies reveals a historiographical split. On the one hand, textbooks and articles highlight the specificity of the Dutch Republic and its Enlightenment culture. In line with the trend of diversifying the Enlightenment into different 'Enlightenment families', Dutch culture is labelled as moderate. The economic stagnation and the diverse nature of Dutch society, with its large number of religious and social groups occupying a relatively small area, is supposed to have led to a search for harmony, tolerance and stability. Science, philosophy and literature are regarded as means to stabilise society, thus leaving little room for radical voices.[8] This is enhanced by

the fact that the Dutch Republic of Letters, as it focuses more and more on the vernacular, becomes limited in its scope. Catering to a relatively small group of readers, publishers and authors tend to seek common ground, thus publishing, for instance, general cultural journals rather than specialised journals for specific audiences, and trying to avoid open debates and fierce criticism.[9]

Over the last decades a growing number of articles and books has been published that contest this moderate reading of Dutch culture, and that highlight the radical and conflicted nature of the Dutch public sphere. As exemplified by Jonathan Israel's *Radical Enlightenment*, historians recover the silenced voices of Dutch radical thinkers and revive interest in the politics of Dutch literature, in conflict, discord and criticism, thus discovering 'the other eighteenth century'.[10]

In our textbook *Worm en Donder*, we have made good use of this new dynamics in eighteenth-century (literary) history. Seeking a middle ground between the two historiographical 'camps', we would put forward the thesis that it is exactly the tension between the search for harmony, in dynamics with constant and, at the end of the century, even mounting destabilising forces that makes eighteenth-century Dutch culture so interesting. In this chapter, we want to describe the dynamics of this tension through a case study of the eighteenth-century interest in the natural world, specifically in its smallest creatures – worms – and in one of its most impressive forces – thunder.

Worms and thunder

The natural world is one of the central themes in eighteenth-century Dutch literature. At the beginning of the century, authors use pastoral settings, evoking nature as an ideal for their own lives or bringing this ideal home in Dutch arcadias. Authors themselves also start to study the natural world. They employ the telescope and the microscope. They venture out into nature to study the stars and planets, the plants and animals. And they want to stimulate younger and older readers to do the same. Hence, they start to write what we would now call popular scientific publications. Here they follow the ancient tradition of reading the Book of Nature as a second divine revelation. More specifically they call their approach 'fysico-theologie', thus appropriating the title of William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713), published in Dutch translation in 1728.

Perusing the Dutch epic, lyrical and dramatic texts, one is amazed by the frequent occurrence of two natural phenomena from the opposite

sides of the natural order: the tiny worm and the mighty thunder. Often, the worm is the subject of anatomical or biological studies. The worm reminds us of how marvellous is the construction of even the simplest organisms, and how delicately all functions are attuned to each other in the natural world. In religious poetry, the worm can remind the reader of man's insignificance. He who studies the whole of creation is reminded that, within this gigantic whole, man is no more than a trifling worm. And after death, he in turn is consumed by worms.

While worms are mostly highlighted as an indication of God's benevolent way of ordering nature according to the needs of all creatures in the Great Chain of Being, the worm is also presented as a destabilising force. Take for instance the pileworm, or shipworm. Around 1730, the pileworm starts to gnaw at the sheet piling of Dutch dykes, the very foundation of the nation. In so doing, the pileworm becomes a national disaster. Many writings are published about this threat (Figure 2.4). The

Fig. 2.4 Abraham Zeeman, *Pileworms gnawing at the Dutch dykes* (1731–3). Engraving published in P. Massuet, *Wetenswaardig onderzoek over den oorsprongk […] en de verbazende menigte der […] kokerwurmen, die de dykpalen en schepen van enige der Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provintsien doorboren* (Amsterdam, 1733). Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-83.675

pileworm is seen as a plague from God, a punishment for man's sins. It is hardly accidental that the struggle against the pileworm coincides with a wide campaign against homosexuals, or sodomites, as they are called at the time.[11]

On the opposite side of the natural spectrum, we find thunder. In the eighteenth century, research into electricity experiences a boom. The lightning rod is invented. In time, this would make it possible to tame lightning, as it were. But at the same time, people realise that they cannot always go about with lightning rods attached to their heads. Man is still vulnerable to such forces of nature.[12]

In the last decades of the century, worm and thunder start to appear together more frequently, for instance in a story by the Zwolle writer Rhijnvis Feith (1753–1824). It tells us about a man whose wife dies and whose child is subsequently struck by lightning. This makes him doubt his faith. But then, the following happens:

> In nearly total distraction, I gnashed my teeth against heaven. I challenged its Omnipotence to destroy me [. . .] Suddenly, a flash of lightning, brighter than I had ever seen, enlightened the whole of the bleak surroundings. I shivered, I imagined I heard the thunder speak: Proud worm that lives in the dust! Who are you, to fight the Eternal?[13]

In 1788, Elizabeth Maria Post (1755–1812) writes the epistolary novel *Het Land, in brieven* (*The Land, in Letters*, 1788). The theme of the novel is the life of a woman in the country, who ventures out into nature with her binoculars or her pocket microscope to study natural phenomena. She enjoys them, but sometimes is also overwhelmed:

> And yet, not a single place on the whole earth is empty: everywhere, creatures are living. – How many infinitely multiplied millions of creatures are living here! How many are already lying in its soil and have been scattered by the elements! What a dizzying infinity! [. . .] And all of this earth is only a nothing compared to the universe! – Who is the maker of it all! [. . .] Here, I lose myself in his stupefying greatness, and feel myself to be no more than a worm, crawling in the dust.
>
> This beautiful earth (I thought furthermore) will at one time burn with all of its offspring! when the planets will be shocked from their orbits with a dazzling noise; while God's cracking thunders and his constant lightning bolts will shake creation. [. . .]

> But at that fateful time, God's covenant will be more solid than the shifting mountains. Heaven and earth may pass, but his words will remain whole within. The blessed will experience this, and they will rejoice in his faithfulness![14]

Thus in the study of the natural world, worm and thunder converge constantly.

These passages are of importance, since they once again show us that Enlightenment and religion should not be regarded as opposites. From the quotes in which worm and thunder coincide, it appears that in Dutch Enlightenment culture, scientific interest in the natural world was supposed to impress eighteenth-century man with the realisation that he is a worm and that his redemption from God's thunder is in the hands of the Lord.

The passages also display a high level of electric tension and apparent threat. Although God can perhaps guarantee the salvation of the spirit, the material world seems to be on the verge of breaking or burning down. It is this tension that is building up in the second half of the eighteenth century and that starts to infuse the ordered world of Dutch literature with a sense of doom.

The idyllic nature of Dutch country house poems

One of the favourite genres in Dutch eighteenth-century literature is the country house poem. 'Hofdichten' are long poems about the estates of the *nouveau riche*, who had acquired their wealth in the booming economy of the Dutch Republic and searched for various ways to display their achievements and to formulate the civic virtues of their community. Eighteenth-century authors catered to these needs by writing laudatory poems about the noble virtues and achievements of these merchants and politicians, as exemplified by their houses and fields.

The seventeenth century had already provided illustrious examples, such as Constantijn Huygens' *Hofwijck* (1653), Jacob Westerbaen's *Ockenburg* (1654) and Jacob Cats' *Ouderdom en Buyten-leven* (1655). Their country house poems provide inventive combinations between the ode and the didactic poem. The poet takes the reader on a literary tour around the grounds of the estate, taking breaks for meditations, observations, aphorisms, pleasant anecdotes and moral lessons. The natural world and country life are the main subjects: they are set off against the restless working life in the cities. On the estate, the lord and

his guests can rest and gain wisdom by studying books and the Book of Nature. The ordered natural world of the estate is read as the book of God. Creation is described as a continuous 'Chain of Being', from the tiniest worm to the most exalted angel, with men as the steward over creation. The world is one and indivisible. Through duty and responsibility, every link in the Great Chain of Being is connected.

One of the most famous eighteenth-century country house poems is *Zydebalen* (1740), a poem by Arnold Hoogvliet on the estate Zijdebalen, near Utrecht. In this poem we once again meet our little friends the worms, in this instance silkworms. Zijdebalen was home to a silk factory, yielding great economic value. This industry provides Hoogvliet with the opportunity to take a new path in his poem. Disregarding the traditional genre conventions with their strong opposition between the quiet country life and the rat race of merchants and politicians, Hoogvliet describes the silk factory and the home of the estate holder David van Mollem, thus adding the theme of economy and industriousness to the weave of the country house poem. In this poem, it is the combination of nature and human endeavour – through trade, technology and art – that constitutes the foundation of wealth and happiness.

In the decades that followed, *Zydebalen* would be copied as an example for many country house poems, but the harmonious order that formed the backbone of this idyllic genre, and of the whole of Dutch literature, came under high stress.

Political lightning

The political troubles of the final two decades of the eighteenth century unleash a veritable thunderstorm. The troubles have a profound effect on the dream that the literary authors had created around themselves and their audiences.

It is not always easy to remember how violent these years were, because the nineteenth century largely polished them away from national history. We now rather consider the Netherlands in the light of concepts such as tolerance and quiet sobriety. And those were indeed the ideals of the eighteenth century itself. Its pastoral poetry paints an idyllic world where shepherds and shepherdesses have loving conversations and make music. Children's literature, like Hieronymus van Alphen's famous poem 'Mijn vader is mijn beste vriend' ('My father is my best friend'), summons a world of civilised regularity. But outside of

the safe bourgeois allotments, behind the orderly hedges of the loving children's world, a rapidly changing reality threatens.

The united family of the Panpoëticon is also threatened. The 'family members' now come to realise that they have very different backgrounds, interests and ideologies. The family harbours Mennonites and Lutherans, Calvinists and Patriots as well as Orangists. When political tension mounts and develops into civil war, new dividing lines are drawn, destroying existing societies, groups and poets' friendships. The staunch Orangist Willem Bilderdijk for instance becomes isolated from his Patriot colleagues.

In the 1780s, a cascade of political and satirical journals floods the Dutch market. Thunder and lightning become symbols of the political competition between the Patriot and Orangist parties. This is reflected in the titles of political journals: *The Political Lightning*, *The Veritable Political Lightning*, *Political Thunder*, etc. The Flushing poet Jacobus Bellamy, under his pen-name of Zelandus, is active as a poetical propagandist for the Patriot party. He is not a fan of stadtholder William V. In 1781, he writes a poem about him: 'To the traitor of the Fatherland':

Traitor! monster! mankind's bane!
Of all earth's offspring most degraded
May God now let his thunder reign
And strike you with lightning of hatred!
But no! It only makes you realise
The gruesomeness of all your deeds:
No lightning bolt can singe your eyes –
No thunder can more horror breed!
Your spirit can but cringe and whinge,
And feel what its true nature is.[15]

The political uproar has a severe impact on the way literature is written. Lyrical poetry is reinvented in content and in form. Politically committed authors such as Bernardus Bosch appeal to their fellow countrymen in fierce verse:

Alarum! – the enemy! – run to! – emergency! – emerge!
Every Dutch citizen as soldier wants to serve.
Click clack, – fire, – screaming, – thunder, – drum,
– banging, – Pandur, – Croatin, – Hussar, – all a tumble.
The Sabre in the fist, here come the Batavians brave!
Who choose a death in freedom over living like a slave![16]

Poets start to call themselves bards and draw inspiration from the distant, rugged Germanic past. Jacobus Bellamy's poetry also develops in the direction of noise and sound poetry, with staccato descriptions of military violence:

> Filthy, yellow, lowly slaves bowing, crawling in their chains
> Chains are fit for filthy slaves! Guns are fit for citizens.[17]

Here, a large number of formerly cherished poetical conventions fly out the door. Dutch authors discover new literary forms for the new political genre, which features many more militaristic elements than the poetry that before was considered typical of the Dutch national spirit, and also would be thereafter:

> Sweet and commendable to perish for your land.
> The noble spirit chooses this over a spineless life.
> I also strive for fame and yearn for such an end.
> Oh, to defend the fatherland when danger's rife.[18]

The genre of the novel also takes on another hue. *Historie van Mejuffrouw Cornelia Wildschut* (1793–6), the novel that the acclaimed novelists Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken write during their political exile in France, is a much grimmer novel than their earlier bestselling novel *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart* (1782). The characters are meaner and the tragedy larger. Eventually, Cornelia Wildschut comes to a bad end. After a stormy affair with a rake, she succumbs to remorse and regret. Such is the devastating effect of the thunderstorm. Several enthusiastic Patriot authors give up their pen, shocked by the conflicts engendered by their political ideals. *Cornelia Wildschut* is left on the shelves: far fewer copies of this book are sold than the writers and their publisher had hoped.

Among the most striking examples demonstrating the effect of the turmoil are two country house poems written by father and son Willem and Cornelis van der Pot, on the subject of their estate Endeldijk.

Endeldijk: the destruction of the garden of delight

In 1768 Willem van der Pot publishes his country house poem *Endeldijk*. The occasion is the visit of Princess Carolina, the sister of William V of Orange, to Endeldijk, Van der Pot's estate. It once belonged to one of

the most famous statesmen of the Republic, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. When Van Oldenbarnevelt came into conflict with stadtholder Maurits, and was ultimately beheaded, his wife was forced to sell the estate in order to pay the legal fees for her husband's trial. Subsequently, the estate came into the possession of the Van der Pot family, who restored the house magnificently. What would be more fitting than to publish a country house poem on this garden of delight? Willem van der Pot does not hire a poet: he himself takes the pen in hand.

In his country house poem, Willem van der Pot follows the well-known trajectory of this literary genre. He describes his estate through an idealised order. The birds warble. The milkmaid squeezes the cream from the cow's full udder while singing a song. The humble farmer, performing his duty to God and man, should be envied for the quiet he enjoys and small burden he has to carry. The landowner owns a true paradise:

> Blessed the man who here, from his worries released
> can live in fruitful fields, contented and at ease.[19]

And yet, the country house idyll is coming under political pressure. On the one hand, Van der Pot praises the house of Orange, which he describes as closely related to his own.[20] On the other hand, the sympathies of the rich Remonstrant merchant Willem van der Pot lean towards the republican side. He bought the former home of Van Oldenbarnevelt for a reason, and he furnished his estate as a *lieu de mémoire* for the 'Dutch Drama' of the Grand Pensionary's demise, by hanging portraits of him on an honorary pillar. His son Cornelis van der Pot would later even supplement this modest pantheon with a memorial for the Patriot champion Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol. In his country house poem, with the House of Orange as his witnesses, Willem van der Pot extensively stirs up memories of the time when Oldenbarnevelt, 'The greatest hero of Holland', was awarded with a 'cut through his uncollared throat' and how the Remonstrant 'Religion of Peace' was banned in the tumultuous Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21).

Still, this does not suffice to say that Van der Pot is conducting political polemics. The raking up of violent conflicts from the past functions as a spell against potential disintegration in his own time. Poetry is put forward as a means to create unity. Willem voices the expectation that stadtholder William V will be able to protect the country against civil strife. As a free citizen, he apparently thinks it is his right to lecture the young William V on the subject of politics. In Van der Pot's opinion,

William is to be schooled 'in the power of Holy Right, in the Laws of our land in charter and chronicle, in Established civil duties'. In this way, he may develop wise policy. Van der Pot hopes the stadtholder will blossom into a tall tree, for each and every one to live safely under his branches.

In his country house poem, Van der Pot weaves the bloody division from the past of the Dutch Republic into the fabric of the natural country world, thus reconciling the opposing parties. In the past, wars have passed over the country as a destructive tempest, but now the skies are clear again. In this way, Van der Pot's country house poem constitutes a literary place for meeting and reconciliation of the two rival political factions.

But behind this beautiful idyll, thunder clouds are gathering. The country house poem may represent the country estate as an idyllic place of unity and harmonious coexistence; it is also a battleground. The Arcadian peace of the secluded garden has to be wrung from a world full of threats. This becomes drastically clear at Endeldijk.

During the Patriot Revolution, the house becomes the backdrop for the fierce fight between Patriots and Orangists. The new owner, Cornelis van der Pot, the son of Willem van der Pot, is a committed Patriot, who is dragged into the rapidly developing civil war of the 1780s. At the height of Patriot power in 1787, he even uses the house as a prison: he has his Orangist neighbour temporarily locked up there. But when the situation changes, on the invasion of the Prussian army, Van der Pot is forced to flee to France. By way of retribution, his house is torn down stone by stone.

When, after years of exile, Cornelis van der Pot returns, he vows to restore the estate to its former glory and to write a poem about its destruction and restoration. Not until 1799 is the severely tested poet able to take up his lyre and compose a country house poem: *Endeldijk in Its Destruction and Restoration*. In the poem, he addresses his beloved estate to remind it of the horrors it has suffered:

> You have experienced how you were destroyed,
> the raging mob, while screaming wild and mad, devoid
> of honour and duty both, the predators made you prey
> who heatedly pursued their mischief, robbery;
> whose wanton wilfulness was still not satisfied
> with the destruction of the excellent paintings, pride
> of place, of clothes, of linen and the beds cut up
> the statues and the ornaments, the plates and cups,
> that were all pulverised and scattered to the ground,

but still renewed their rampage, the humble house tore down
the stately chapel – holy poem – the honourable cell
and yet another building, erected there as well
were all demolished totally, torn to the ground.[21]

The eighteenth century had its own disaster tourism, it seems: 'It is certain that [...] many a stranger visited the shameful scene.'[22]

Through his country house poem, Van der Pot tries to revive the estate at least on paper and to restore its place in Dutch cultural memory. Step by step, he revisits his memory of the estate as it used to be, and he has it torn down stone by stone by a furious mob, to rebuild it subsequently, both on paper and in reality:

The mist has lifted, and the enemy is slain.
As much as I was able, I made you new again
and restored your appearance, from rubble and the dust[23]

In the meantime, he uses the poem as a fierce accusation against the injustice perpetrated against himself and his property. Annexed to the poem are a number of trial proceedings, from the legal fight Van der Pot had undertaken against the people who had demolished his country house.

Hence, by the end of the century, the country house poem has developed from an idyllic ode into a legal and political battleground. The form of the country house changed accordingly. The country house poems of the final two decades of the eighteenth century (and there would not be many more, because these are the swansong of the genre) are no longer learned didactic poems, but short, emotional-reflective evocations of nature. They thus develop into the more lyrical poetry that would characterise the nineteenth century.

Epilogue

And what was the fate of the Panpoëticon? The cabinet of portraits was blown up when a ship loaded with gunpowder exploded in Leiden in 1807 (Figure 2.5). Legend has it that bits and pieces were picked up from the streets and the portraits were separately sold to private collectors.[24] The result mirrors the fate of the literary family in real life: for a long time, it was scattered. Luckily for the cabinet the Rijksmuseum bought

Fig. 2.5 Joannes Bemme, *Explosion of the gunpowder ship in Leiden*. This event marked the beginning of the breaking up of the Panpoëticon Batavum. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-1936-579

parts of it at the end of the nineteenth century. Recently, the collection was honoured with its own Wikipedia page. So after centuries, the Dutch literary family has found its place in a successor of one of the most compelling eighteenth-century inventions for collecting and canonising knowledge: the encyclopaedia.

3

A twice-told tale of a (dis)united kingdom: Thomas Colley Grattan's *History of the Netherlands* (1830, 1833)

Raphaël Ingelbien and Elisabeth Waelkens

In discussions of Low Countries historiography, Thomas Colley Grattan's *History of the Netherlands* has remained a blind spot, despite its numerous reprints in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First published shortly before the Belgian revolution, and revised a couple of years after the break-up of King William's United Kingdom, Grattan's work can shed new light on the challenges and pitfalls of 'great-Netherlandic history' in an international context. After sketches of the biographical, discursive and political contexts in which Grattan's *History* emerged, the different versions published in the 1830s are compared. Grattan's revisions show how his opportunism and his Irish patriot perspective allowed him to adapt British Whig historiography to the new realities that followed the creation of Belgium, thus providing discursive legitimacy to shifts in British foreign policy on the Low Countries. The complex afterlife that Grattan's *History* led through translation and re-edition is then considered, giving further insights into the malleability of his version of Low Countries history to different agendas.

Introduction

In 1826, King William I of the Netherlands invited historians to take up a challenge: the production of a new history that, drawing on the wealth of archives available in his dominions, would embrace the destinies of

the Northern and Southern Netherlands, giving a specific discursive legitimacy to the very existence of his United Kingdom. Formulated at a time when a 'common past' and 'shared memories' were becoming central to definitions of the nation, the King's wish for a new, inclusive 'Dutch' history was never to be realised. While rival historians grappled with their outlines, commissions and officials wrote conflicting advice, and archives were being opened, the political rationale behind the project was dashed by the 1830 Belgian revolution. In retrospective accounts of Dutch and Belgian historiography, King William's abortive '1826 contest' is remembered only – if at all – as a suitably ironic epitaph on his doomed policies.[1]

King William's dream of a unifying 'Netherlandic' historiography, however, only appears to have failed because of a focus on the ultimately vain efforts of 'local' historians to devise strategies for a hitherto unattempted joint history of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In the years that followed the King's invitation, one author did in fact produce a history which, though it fell short of the contest's insistence on the centrality of archival sources, certainly fulfilled its requirement for comprehensiveness. Through its complicated afterlives, that history would moreover help shape foreign perceptions of the Low Countries' past for more than a century. Although it has been overlooked in scholarly discussions of Dutch and Belgian historiography, as well as in the more recent histories of the Low Countries that have appeared since the creation of the Benelux, Thomas Colley Grattan's *History of the Netherlands*, first published with ostensibly bad timing in 1830, both met the ideological aim of King William's challenge and inadvertently explored its pitfalls and limitations, to which it would return in the revised edition that Grattan produced later in the decade.[2] Appearing in a reputable popular series (Lardner's Cabinet of History), *The History of the Netherlands*, written by a then fashionable Irish author who resided in Brussels, was initially meant to introduce British readers to the history of an old neighbour and new key ally in the post-Napoleonic European order. Overtaken by the first major blow to that order in the very year of its publication, Grattan's *History* became an opportunity for its author to reflect on the failure of King William's United Kingdom and to put the assumptions of British Whig historiography to the test of new European realities.

For early twenty-first century historiographers wondering what to make of the bicentenary of King William's United Kingdom, and facing fresh questions about the identity of the Low Countries within an increasingly contested European Union, the various incarnations of Grattan's *History* may be worth rediscovering. Although this chapter

will leave it to its readers to draw any contemporary lessons, it will map the ideological complexities, discursive twists and publishing ironies that made it possible for Grattan to write two seemingly contradictory accounts of the Low Countries within years of each other, and for those accounts to influence the understanding of Low Countries history in the wider world until the mid-twentieth century. It will more specifically shed new light on British (and Irish) perceptions of the 'Netherlands' *during* the transformative period around 1830, complementing recent studies that, ignoring Grattan's work, have focused on British views of Belgium *after* the revolution.[3] Through its focus on a blind spot in debates on Low Countries historiography, it will also seek to open those debates onto other questions than those which traditionally arise from tensions between Dutch and Belgian/Flemish schools of thought regarding 'Great Netherlandic' history.[4]

Background to Grattan's *History*

Born around 1791[5] into an Irish Protestant family that boasted connections to the Irish parliamentary leader Henry Grattan and to the future duke of Wellington, Thomas Colley Grattan was educated for the bar. He was, however, drawn first to a military career before becoming a literary adventurer on the European mainland. Although he was dismissed as an 'arrant literary tradesman'[6] by some of the prominent authors whose company he sought, and was also criticised for stylistic or narrative infelicities by some reviewers, Grattan managed to become one of the bestselling authors of travel tales of the 1820s with his *High-ways and By-ways, or Tales of the Road-Side, Picked Up in the French Provinces*. Financial success was short-lived: after the spectacular failure of his debut as a playwright on the London stage in 1827, Grattan repaired with his wife and children to Brussels. Following a volume of *Traits of Travel* (1829) which drew on his experiences in France and the Low Countries, Grattan set out to reinvent himself as a disciple of Walter Scott. Immersing himself in 'local' sources and archives, he would eventually produce two historical novels set in the Low Countries (*The Heiress of Bruges* in 1830 and *Jacqueline of Holland* in 1831), a *History of the Netherlands* (1830, 1833) and a volume of *Legends of the Rhine and of the Low Countries* (1832). The first of his historical romances was hailed by a reviewer as the work of 'the Flemish Sir Walter'.[7]

Grattan left Brussels after his house was sacked during the 1830 revolution and first settled in The Hague, but he came back to Belgium

later in the decade to ingratiate himself to King Leopold I. On the latter's recommendation, he was made a British consul in Boston. His output declined in those years of diplomatic work, but on his return to London he also wrote a two-volume autobiographical memoir (*Beaten Paths*) and commentary on American affairs. After his death in London in 1864, most of Grattan's writings were quickly forgotten – his successful travelogues were, like much of the genre, essentially ephemeral productions, and like many minor historical novelists, Grattan was relegated to an oblivion that would spare only the towering figure of Walter Scott. Despite the fame he enjoyed in his own day, Grattan's many wanderings and the multinational body of work they produced have hampered a scholarly recognition of his contributions to late-Romantic literary culture: as an Irish author writing for British audiences about diverse, largely exotic places and times, and a practitioner of many different genres, he has disappeared down the fault lines that still separate cultural and literary histories.[8] His most lasting work was in fact his *History of the Netherlands*, which was reprinted and recycled in various editions well into the early twentieth century.

Grattan's relative lack of historiographic credentials was no obstacle to his being asked to contribute to Lardner's 'Cabinet of History'. Some of the authors in the series could boast disciplinary expertise: Sismondi, who already enjoyed a reputation as a historian, was commissioned to write a volume on the Italian republics. But as the title page of the volume on the Netherlands announced, the general editor Dionysus Lardner was chiefly 'assisted by eminent literary men'. As the author who had given historical fiction an aura of scholarly respectability, Walter Scott was still an obvious choice to contribute a *History of Scotland*; the selection of Thomas Moore for a *History of Ireland*, on the other hand, owed more to the author's status as the best-known Irish poet of the day than to any experience as a historian. Still basking in the fame of *High-ways and By-ways* and now based in Brussels, where he was familiar with the British ambassador to the Netherlands Sir Charles Bagot,[9] Grattan faced little competition among Lardner's potential candidates. A consummate socialiser who could rely on his connections, and who welcomed assignments after his recent financial debacle, he may well have sought and did at any rate embrace the opportunity to try his hand at a new genre that was closely related to his reinvention as a historical novelist.

If financial considerations and literary politics were undoubtedly Grattan's prime motivations in writing *The History of the Netherlands*, his contribution should also be read within the context of Britain's particular interest in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. King William's

dominions were one of the closest British allies in post-Napoleonic Europe. Britain's influence in the new Netherlands was reflected in the active if covert role that its ambassador (still a rarity in smaller European nations in those days) played in local politics.[10] Grattan's proximity to diplomatic circles in Brussels also helped shape his assignment. A one-volume history of the Low Countries would not just be a popularising compendium of knowledge about the long, eventful history of a specific corner of Europe, it could also mobilise historical knowledge to legitimise a recently created political entity that, in British eyes, functioned as a future bulwark against any resurgent French imperialism or new Prussian expansionism.

The History of the Netherlands: Grattan's Orangist approach

The very choice of title already gives an indication of the book's support for the United Kingdom: it is not a history of the Low Countries (a name still used in some post-Napoleonic British travel accounts),[11] but of the Netherlands. As we will see, Grattan's political bias towards the House of Orange may be neither pervasive nor wholly consistent, but it is undeniably present: *The History of the Netherlands* not only covers the history of King William's dominions from antiquity to the new monarch's advent after Waterloo, it also describes the creation of the new kingdom in favourable and hopeful terms – a feature that probably explained a reviewer's observation that the book was remarkable for its 'admiration for the powers that be'.[12] Grattan had obviously set out to present a picture of the Netherlands that would accord with the support that Britain was still lending to King William's United Kingdom when the book appeared. What is more, such a task also accorded with the celebration of Protestant freedom that had become a pervasive theme of Whig historiography.[13]

Grattan's *History*[14] opens with a short paragraph describing the geography of his chosen topic. The first sentence delineates its borders in a way that, objective though it sounds, also highlights the geopolitical importance of the country to Britain:

> The Netherlands form a kingdom of moderate extent, situated on the borders of the ocean, opposite to the south-east coast of England, and stretching from the frontiers of France to those of Hanover . . . (1)

Grattan then moves on to a sketch of national character(s) which, while granting the diversity of the kingdom's inhabitants, does not imply that it might cause problems for the new structure that links them together:

> Two distinct kinds of men inhabit this kingdom. The one occupying the valleys of the Meuse and the Scheldt, and the high grounds bordering on France, speak a dialect of the language of that country, and evidently belong to the Gallic race. They are called Walloons, and are distinguished from the others by many peculiar qualities. Their most prominent characteristic is a propensity for war, and their principal source of subsistence the working of their mines [. . .] All the rest of the nation speak Low German, in its modifications of Dutch and Flemish; and they offer the distinctive characteristics of the Saxon race – talents for agriculture, navigation, and commerce; perseverance rather than vivacity; and more courage than taste for the profession of arms. They are subdivided into Flemings – those who were the last to submit to the House of Austria; and Dutch – those who formed the republic of the United Provinces. But there is no difference between these two subdivisions, except such as has been produced by political and religious institutions. The physical aspect of the people is the same; and the soil, equally low and moist, is at once fertilized and menaced by the waters. (1–2)

While allowing for internal differences, Grattan's contrastive sketch avoids pitting the Southern against the Northern Netherlands. Its remark on the shaping role of 'political and religious institutions' implicitly leaves the door open for the possible emergence of a more coherent national spirit under the new dispensation. If they cannot change physical attributes, institutions can clearly influence collective psychology, which Grattan – following, in this respect, an Enlightenment rather than Romantic definition of national character[15] – sees as essentially malleable, a long-term product of circumstances rather than of immutable racial features.

Having set the physical and 'racial' scene, Grattan then takes his readers through 'history' proper, starting with sketches of Antiquity that draw on the observations of Roman commentators such as Pliny, Eumenius, Caesar and Tacitus, before moving on to Germanic invasions. After four chapters on the Middle Ages, his *History of the Netherlands* devotes no fewer than fifteen chapters to the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, dwelling on the revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs – an unsurprising choice, given the contemporary popularity of the period among local and foreign commentators on Low Countries history (to which we return), and the fact that Grattan's historical novel *The Heiress of Bruges*, also published in 1830, was subtitled 'a tale of the year 1600'.[16] Much of the eighteenth century is covered by a long, single chapter that shuttles back and forth between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The French period takes up the penultimate chapter, before a short section concludes the book with Napoleon's defeats and the inauguration of William I as king of the reunited Netherlands, which now 'form an arch of common strength, able to resist the weight of such invasions as had perpetually perilled, and often crushed, their separate independence' (351). Grattan's support for the new Orange dispensation thus becomes obvious in the closing pages – his decision to go no further than 1815 may partly owe to a relative lack of usable historical sources about recent events, as compared with the riches on which he could draw for earlier times, but it also allowed him to sidestep the difficulties which, as a Brussels-based observer, he could not help but notice. Like most foreign observers, though, Grattan seems to have been unaware that sporadic Belgian complaints could quickly coalesce into a full-blown revolt, and stuck to the British hope that William's United Kingdom could go on fulfilling its role within Europe.[17]

Grattan's stance oscillates between that of a semi-professional, detached historian, and a more resolute admiration for a (Protestant) love of freedom and independence. Writing at a time when the historical profession in Europe was only just emerging as a full-blown discipline, and was still far from thoroughly institutionalised in British universities,[18] Grattan still gave his work the features of a 'scholarly' approach. He regularly acknowledges sources in footnotes, although his references are limited to names and occasionally titles, while page numbers are often missing. Passages where footnotes appear can turn out to be loose translations of Grattan's sources. Compare Grattan on late eighteenth-century Belgium: 'The whole combinations of European policy were staked on the question of the French possession of this country' (317), and the Abbé de Pradt's *De la Belgique depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1794*: 'défendre la Belgique contre la France, ou lui abandonner cette superbe possession, changeait toute la combinaison de la politique européenne' (7–8). In this respect, Grattan resembles the 'eighteenth-century compilers' who abridged previous work and 'added snippets of information from other sources'.[19] His *History* still partakes of an eighteenth-century historiography where 'the idea of authorship was not yet definitely

established' and where knowledge 'did not belong to the historian who had collected it, but to the subject'[20] – a tradition that persisted into early nineteenth-century popularising work. The review of Grattan's *History* in the *Monthly Magazine* recognised as much with its reference to 'the abridgements which have lately become so common, and which, in nine instances out of ten, are but contrivances for preserving the husks of literature'. It went on to exonerate Grattan's own compilation from the charge, however: due to the proliferation of works devoted to specific aspects and periods, the 'histories of Holland and Belgium are among the fittest for the operation'.[21]

Grattan's synthesis drew on a wide range of sources in many languages (including Dutch, which he obviously mastered to some extent), combining acknowledgements to luminaries of European historiography such as Tacitus, Gibbon, Hume and Voltaire with references to work on the Netherlands by writers as diverse as Schiller, Barante, Wagenaar and the latter's French abridger/translator Cerisier, as well as local sources such as *Oude Vriesche Wetten*. His familiarity with local historiography is also evident from his reliance on such authors as L. L. J. Vandervynckt and Emanuel Van Meteren.[22] Grattan's selection of sources is quite ecumenical: they include Catholics (e.g. Strada, Bentivoglio) and Protestants (e.g. Hooft, Grotius), royalists (e.g. Strada), Patriots (e.g. Wagenaar) and Orangists (e.g. Frederick Henry's *Memoirs*) alike, British Whig historians (Rapin, Robertson) and the more wary and sceptical Hume. He also used Belgian sources that were critical of King William, such as the Catholic priest Joseph-Jean De Smet's *Histoire de la Belgique*.[23] The allegiances of such sources are occasionally flagged in footnotes, as when an unflattering description of Cardinal Granvelle is accompanied by the footnote: 'Strada, a royalist, Jesuit, and therefore a fair witness on this point, used the following words in portraying the character of this odious minister: *Animum avidum invidumque, ac simultates inter principem et populos occulti foventum*' (90).[24]

Grattan had the advantage of being at work on an area of European history that was experiencing a boom in precisely those years. King William's encouragement to historiographers was also reflected in a governmental 'impetus for the organization and publication of records'[25] that led to the disclosure of archival material and the reissue of older chronicles. This followed an already intense period of historiographic activity in the late eighteenth century, stimulated by the Académie Impériale et Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres in the Southern Netherlands and the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde in the United Provinces.[26] Grattan's luck lay in being able to combine direct

access to local sources with a wide reading among European authors. Among the latter, Dutch history had also attracted attention in the late eighteenth century: 'interest in Dutch political feuds' had then been fuelled by 'their possible effects on Dutch foreign policy' at a time when the Netherlands appeared to hesitate between an alliance with France or Britain.[27] Another factor was the Romantic exaltation of national freedom: Schiller's *Revolt of the Netherlands* (to which Grattan often alludes) was an early symptom of a more widespread admiration for Dutch struggles against Spanish tyranny.[28] Grattan's achievement was thus mostly a matter of combining those sources into a readable synthesis that, despite its predictable focus on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spanned the whole history of the Northern and Southern Netherlands up to 1815. The mix of influences is also detectable in Grattan's alternation between the eighteenth-century 'philosophical', Enlightenment history practised by Hume and Voltaire, which 'looked for explanations and stressed causal relationships', and the emergent Romantic historiography influenced by Walter Scott, which was rather 'evocative, seeking to summon up [...] events, situations and individuals from the past, sometimes for moral or political purposes':[29] while Grattan's sheer scope naturally fosters links between periods and events, his novelistic inclinations also make him dwell romantically on the figures he most admires.

The figure who unsurprisingly looms largest in Grattan's *History* is William the Silent – 'one of the wisest and best men that history has held up as examples to the species'. Not only was William a central figure in previous accounts of the rebellion against Spanish rule on which Grattan drew (Schiller being already fulsome in his praise), but as a Protestant national hero, he held obvious attractions for the scion of an Irish Protestant patriot family. Grattan's William 'first gave the country political existence, then nursed it into freedom', and the *History* rebuts any charge of a power grab: 'is it to be believed, that he who for twenty years had sacrificed his repose, lavished his fortune, and risked his life for the public cause, now aimed at absolute dominion, or coveted a despotism which all his actions prove him to have abhorred?' (171). For Grattan's British readers, the murdered Prince of Orange occupied a special place in the pantheon of Protestant heroes: the title page of the *History of the Netherlands* bore an illustration depicting the assassination, thus confirming the centrality of the struggle for Protestant freedom as the defining feature of Dutch history.

Grattan's description of the assassin as 'a bigoted Catholic' (172) is echoed by other passages in the *History* that suggest a resolutely Protestant reading of history, the assassination of Henry IV of

France being another example of 'bigoted atrocity' (229), while James II was an 'obstinately bigoted and unconstitutional successor' (291) to the English throne. At the same time, Grattan's brand of Protestant patriotism could, like that of his illustrious relative Henry Grattan, combine hostility to the Church of Rome's influence on politics with support for Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles.[30] William the Silent is thus characterised in the *History* as 'a conscientious Christian, in the broad sense of the term': 'deeply imbued with the spirit of universal toleration', he 'considered the various shades of belief as subservient to the one grand principle of civil and religious liberty' (173). In other chapters, Grattan sometimes shows accommodation to Catholic sensibilities: he approvingly notes how, in 1566, 'several Catholic priests' put their signatures on the 'muster-roll of patriotism' that condemned the 'illegal establishment of the Inquisition in the Low Countries' (105), and while he devotes some pages to the struggle between William of Orange and James II (291–4), he omits any explicit reference to the Battle of the Boyne that, in an Irish context, would have smacked of Protestant triumphalism.

Grattan's exaltation of Dutch freedom is based on political rather than religious arguments: his *History* has little time for theology ('we do not regret on this occasion that our confined limits spare us the task of recording in detail controversies on points of speculative doctrine far beyond the reach of human understanding', 231)[31] and denounces every form of religious excess, whether from Jesuits or Gomarists. The broadly liberal sympathies of the Irish Protestant patriot lead Grattan to praise Oldenbarnevelt as much he did William the Silent: the Land's Advocate (named Barneveldt in the text) is 'one of the truest patriots of any time or country' (231), who was unluckily pitted against Maurice, a soldier by temperament, whose 'misfortune' it was 'to have been so completely thrown out of the career for which he had been designed by nature and education' (230). Praising Orange and Patriots alike, Grattan's *History* also echoes the renewed Dutch emphasis on national consensus that, following the French occupation, tended to gloss over old disputes.[32]

In its closing chapters, the 1830 version gives ample room to the resurgence of Dutch freedom incarnated by the new king William of Orange, whose addresses to the Dutch nation are quoted at length – including passages that stress British support for the Netherlands and the happy restoration of 'those ancient bonds of alliance and friendship which were a source of prosperity and happiness to both countries' (335).[33] Regarding the creation of the United Kingdom, Grattan does not eschew the difficulties inherent in the 'hard and delicate task

of reconciling each party in the ill-assorted match, and inspiring them with sentiments of mutual moderation' (342). He lists Belgian concerns about religion, the threat posed to aristocratic dominance and old monopolies, hostility to free trade, and the fact that 'pride of national independence was foreign to the feeling of those who had never tasted its blessings' (345). All those objections, however, are said to be dispelled by the Battle of Waterloo, which 'consolidated the kingdom of the Netherlands': the heroic conduct of the Prince of Orange in particular 'acted like a talisman against disaffection' to the new subjects of the Orange monarchy (350). Drawing on contemporary rhetoric about the 'amalgamation' of the Northern and Southern Netherlands,[34] Grattan concluded that 'the different integral parts of the nation were amalgamated from deep-formed designs for their mutual benefit': 'they were grafted together, with all the force of legislative wisdom' (351).

The first reviews of Grattan's *History* started appearing in the very months when insurrection swept Brussels. The *Eclectic Review* of October 1830 still found it a 'well-timed and well-written volume' on a nation 'bound to [Britain] by strong hereditary ties'.[35] Another review dismissed the recent troubles as 'trifling and local' in one paragraph, but concluded with the observation that the 'news from Brussels within the last few days has been alarming',[36] confirming how quickly British commentators had to adjust their views of events. Grattan's own views took some time to adjust too – and when they did, the result would lead to some blatant inconsistencies in the revised version of the *History* that appeared in 1833. While such inconsistencies may confirm the assessment that Grattan was a talented but struggling hack, the revisions that he did carry out can refine our insight into the shifts that British perceptions of the Low Countries underwent in those years, and more particularly into the adaptability of Whig historiography to the new European realities that emerged around 1830.

Grattan's revised *History*

The second version of the *History*, remarkably enough, did not change its opening sentence: 'The Netherlands form a kingdom of moderate extent, situated on the borders of the ocean …' (1833: 21).[37] Neither did the table of contents change: it did not advertise the most striking change in the revised edition, namely, its additional last chapter on the causes of the Belgian revolution. A careful reading, however, shows that Grattan did not only adjust his original opinion of King William's state,

but that he also subtly modified some of the earlier chapters, particularly with regard to the eighteenth century. Taking up his pen while the dust of the 1830 revolution was still settling, the historian declares himself 'unable to sift the complicated mass of motives and impulses': the events 'have not yet found their just appreciation, nor their proper place', 'the voice of history' is 'choked by emotions, and cannot yet speak the truth' (1833: 405). For all these disavowals, Grattan's reworked version and his analysis of the Belgian revolution proceed from a relatively coherent vision – one that squares an apparently remarkable change of heart with the equally sudden shift in British foreign policy towards support for the Belgian state, and with Grattan's Irish Whig patriotic principles.

In 1830, Grattan's concluding paragraph argued that Holland and Belgium had been 'grafted together, with all the force of legislative wisdom' (351). The last clause was wisely dropped in the revised edition (1833: 378), yet Grattan still opined that the 'original conception of the project' was sound, devoting more than seven pages to explanations 'which remove [...] all reproach of evil intention or imprudent calculations from the creators of the Kingdom of the Netherlands'. However, 'manifest mistakes in its plan and execution' ensured its failure (1833: 359). Circumstances had yet been favourable: the passage of time had 'softened down many of the asperities of national character' which had led to internal conflicts in the Renaissance:

> A more tolerant spirit of Christianity, an increased extension of philosophic views, better defined principles of international law, a fairer estimate of commercial interests, a true appreciation of the values of individual sacrifices for general ends, all tended to give encouragement to the newly revived plan. (1833: 361)

Grattan traces the failure of the project to King William's own personal limitations. Echoing the Belgian commentators who defended the revolution as a logical reaction to the King's policies, Grattan confirms that 'it was king William alone who was to blame' (1833: 406).[38] Grattan's account of the reign may not amount to a wholesale character assassination, as he recognises how difficult William's position as monarch of the united Netherlands was. But the King signally failed to rise to the momentous occasion:

> Had he succeeded to the quiet inheritance of his stadtholderate [...] he would most probably have run a course of respectable mediocrity [...] The hereditary dignity to which he was born, or

> the higher station to which he was freely chosen by the country of his birth and his predilection, were neither of them too much for his abilities. It was his having been placed by the confederate sovereigns of Europe at the head of the most difficult experiment of his times, that utterly overthrew his mental equilibrium, by forcing his stunted capacity into a growth which nature never meant it for. (1833: 378)

His new role converted a man of decent if mediocre political instincts into 'a pious and positive believer in all the mysteries of despotism' (1833: 381). Displaying 'vacillation, obstinacy and other marks of incapacity' (1833: 398), possessed of 'no forethought' or 'useful knowledge of the past', William was 'insensible to the force of popular power' and disdained to seek 'support among any class of his subjects' (1833: 400). However, he was forced into a flawed course of action by his duty to act as the European powers dictated: 'an invincible necessity gave rise to the despotism and the defect [...] both are easy to be reconciled with the laws which at the moment regulated the policy of Europe' (1833: 376).

While the original version of the *History* briefly stated that the constitution of the United Kingdom 'was finally accepted by the nation' (350) shortly after Waterloo, the revised version dwells on the 'trick of political jugglery' (1833: 375) that considered negative votes by Belgian notables to be null and void, so that the constitution was now '*declared to have been* accepted by the people' (1833: 377 – our emphasis). To Henry Grattan's relative, a union achieved through the twisting of parliamentary procedures would have sounded familiar: the 1800 Act of Union that put an end to what had been 'Grattan's parliament' came about in similarly dubious circumstances.[39] Whereas the 1830 version saw the restoration of Orange at the head of a newly unified Netherlands as a resurgence of Dutch freedom and independence, the revised edition sees William's reign as a betrayal of the very spirit of liberty that characterises the history of the Low Countries. High-handed Dutch rule in the Southern Provinces meant that Holland committed 'a base renunciation of the principles on which her own greatness had been built'. This was confirmed by the Dutch reaction to the 'heroic attempt of Poland (quickly following the Belgian revolt) to burst from her thraldom under Russian tyranny': while 'all free nations' showed sympathy for the Poles, 'there was but one exception, and that one was Holland': 'The most servile abandonment [...] of the abstract love of liberty which had made that country classic ground, was everywhere proclaimed by its degenerate people' (1833: 408).

Grattan thus manages to give ideological consistency to the shift in British opinion that saw the Whigs, who assumed power in the very year of the Belgian revolution, ratify and guarantee the existence of a new state created through a revolution against a key British ally on the continent. It is of course tempting to see Grattan as simply toeing the British line through its twists and turns, but his appeal to a patriot discourse of national freedom, religious toleration and civic rights remained fairly consistent through both versions of the *History*. Whereas the first version allied those values closely with the mainly Dutch heroes of the revolt against Spain, the second version could recognise those same values in the Belgian revolutionaries of 1830, and even project them back into earlier forms of Belgian resistance against foreign (mostly Austrian) rulers.

Despite the 'questionable commencement and turgid progress' of the revolution, Grattan praises the Belgian 'patriots' who took charge of the movement 'to form themselves into a separate and independent nation' under a constitutional monarch (1833: 413).[40] Their initially peaceful efforts to vent Belgian grievances made sure that 'the people, urged on by their patriot or priestly leaders' first 'showed infinite moderation in the remedial measures they pursued' (1833: 397) – it was only when they were met with the King's obstinacy that discontent boiled over into insurrection. Grattan also details the events that led to that 'extraordinary union between the liberals and the catholics' (1833: 397) against King William, who managed to alienate both constituencies. That alliance generally puzzled foreign opinion, but it seemed less strange to Irish patriots who, from Henry Grattan to the Whig supporters of Daniel O'Connell's Emancipation campaign, sought ways of including a Catholic majority into a civic culture that was originally defined by freedom-loving Protestants.[41] Far from trying to read the newly independent Belgians as quasi-Protestants in a 'little England on the continent', as later British commentators often did,[42] the Irish Grattan does not play down Belgian Catholicism, but traces its paradoxical influence on the development of a Belgian national consciousness that found its expression in the liberal constitution adopted by the newly independent state.

The revised version of the *History* does this chiefly by modifying its account of the Southern Provinces during the eighteenth century. Whereas chapters dealing with earlier periods were left practically unchanged, the chapter on the eighteenth century was expanded to elaborate on the condition of the Southern Netherlands under Austrian rule. Remarkably, Grattan now sketches national feelings in the Belgian provinces which his 1830 edition made no mention of. Both editions

describe how Joseph II's attempted reforms managed to rouse 'a desperate spirit of hostility in the priesthood, which soon spread among the bigoted mass of the people' (310, 1833: 312). In the original version of the *History*, Joseph's policies were 'blindly rejected by a people still totally unfitted for rational enlightenment in points of faith or practices of civilisation' (313), their only fault being their 'attempted application to minds wholly incompetent to comprehend their value' (314). The revised paragraphs describe how in 1833 the same reforms were 'vehemently rejected by a people still totally unfitted for rational enlightenment in points of faith or practices of civilisation, *but at the same time imbued with a powerful hereditary attachment to their national privileges*' (1833: 317 – our emphasis), and the Belgian resistance to Joseph's measures was now also based on 'the technical illegality of their application' (1833: 318).

The enlightened emperor of the first version, whose religious reforms seemed to be endorsed by a supporter of religious toleration like Grattan, becomes much more suspect in the second edition: 'the political and religious reformation desired by Joseph II was one in favour of monarchical power, not popular right; not meant for the purification of religious abuse, so much as for the extension of regal prerogative' (1833: 314). In the original version, 'deep-sown seeds of bigotry' had produced 'the fruit of active resistance' to Joseph II's policies, which were described as well-meant miscalculations (310). Years later, Grattan modified this passage to relate how 'the imperial wrath converted Belgian bigotry *and patriotism* into rebellion' (1833: 314 – our emphasis): the new emphasis on a patriot element seems meant to foreshadow the alliance of priestly and liberal parties that would underlie the creation of an independent Belgium.

At the end of the Austrian period, the impending threat of annexation to France 'brought into consistency the heretofore scattered elements of *national* existence in Belgium' which had been absent in the 1830 edition (1833: 324 – our emphasis). A new focus on the distinct identity of Belgium prior to the creation of the United Kingdom in 1814 similarly mentions 'that longing for independence inherent in all nations' (1833: 347) and states that 'the people of the Austrian Netherlands felt great pride in the notion of their separate identity' (1833: 347–8). The Belgian people, however, did not have a 'legitimate and acknowledged nationality for their inspiration' (1833: 351). This, for Grattan, explains why they did not revolt against the French like Holland did, and why when the Five Powers discussed the settlement of the Belgian provinces, 'unquestionably the most important

subject which occupied the sovereigns of Europe' (1833: 352), no one asked for their opinion on the matter. The creation of the United Kingdom, however, turned out to have underestimated the mixture of deep-seated Catholic feeling and incipient patriotism in the Southern Provinces. To a Protestant liberal like Grattan, the rejection of the proposed constitution by Catholic Belgian notables remained a cause for regret: there was 'something monstrous in the aspect of a nation rejecting even imperfect freedom for bigotry's sake' (1833: 376). But King William's failure to heed that lesson only spelt trouble. 'If King William had Joseph II in mind, it was as a model instead of a warning': failing to learn from the Belgian 'national' history that Grattan took on board in his revised version, the King, who had 'no useful knowledge of history' (1833: 400) made 'a considerable fault' when he decreed that all prospective priests should attend 'his newly-founded "Philosophical College" of Louvain', where lay professors would teach them: 'Heresy was now the cry. The King was accused, not unjustly perhaps, of a design to protestantise the country' (1833: 392).

Grattan's Irish background no doubt helped him appreciate the rashness of King William's policy: while no friend of 'bigotry' himself, the Protestant patriot who supported Catholic Emancipation knew only too well that a Catholic majority could only be coaxed into a civic compact, not forcibly converted to Protestant and/or enlightened freedom. Around 1830, in Belgium as in Ireland, the advancement of patriotic 'freedom' required an acknowledgement of Catholic realities, not their suppression, whether discursive or political. In Grattan's eyes, then, King William had failed where the British government had succeeded: while, in the wake of Catholic Emancipation, the patriot Grattan grew increasingly hopeful about the British–Irish Union despite criticising its initial failures,[43] his early cautious enthusiasm about the United Kingdom of the Netherlands gave way to an assessment of its internal tensions and of the political misjudgements that hastened its undoing.

Despite the obvious challenges that the rewriting of the *History of the Netherlands* entailed after 1830, the inconsistencies of the revised edition were perhaps more a matter of hasty rewriting than of a clash between two incompatible visions. Beyond the opportunism which his eventful career can suggest, Grattan's complex Irish brand of patriotism allowed him to provide an ideologically satisfying way of making the latest events fit into his narrative. In that respect, Grattan made his own distinctive contribution to the Whig interpretation of (European) history – one that, unlike the more familiar English Whig versions, was more prepared to include Catholics as agents in its vision of progress. His revisions actually

allow us to record the shifts within Whig historiography as they occurred around 1830, adjusting to and comforting the new British policy on the Low Countries. Ironically, though, it was chiefly the first version of the *History* that the wider world retained as the basis for further elaborations.

The afterlife of Grattan's *History*

Unlike some of his creative work based on Low Countries history,[44] Grattan's *History* was never translated into either Dutch or French: within the Low Countries, the break-up of the United Kingdom had of course put paid to the perceived necessity of such a work. In the wider world, though, Grattan's *History* had a long afterlife. A German translation by Dr G. Friedenberg was published in the Mylius library in early 1831, and was of course based on the 1830 version. The opening sentence still speaks of a single kingdom ('Die Niederlande bilden ein Reich von mäßigen Umfange . . .', 1),[45] and the translation appears to be quite faithful. The translator added a final chapter on the 'secession of the Southern Provinces', which he chiefly blamed on implacable clerical hostility to King William: pointing out how Grattan's text already demonstrates the 'influence of the fanatical clergy in Belgium' (295 – our translations), the translator recorded its deleterious effects on the United Kingdom, before concluding with the faint hope that the as yet unresolved situation might soon be settled without much further bloodshed (307). In this case, Grattan's initial version was made to serve a decidedly Protestant reading of Low Countries history.

While British reprints were relatively few after 1838, American editions followed at a fast pace; the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 1800–1900* (923–4) lists a dozen (re-)editions appearing between 1831 and 1932. Remarkably, all the copies consulted for this chapter were based on the 1830 text. The oddity of this choice was picked up in an 1840 discussion of the work in the *North American Review*: as the reviewer complained, a more recent text 'with additions which bring the matter down to 1830' was available and should have been preferred: 'Nothing can appear much more absurd than to find in the opening paragraph of a work, bearing the date 1840, a description of boundaries as belonging to the "Kingdom of the Netherlands", which kingdom has actually ceased to exist.' The reviewer, apparently unaware that the opening sentence was unchanged in the 1833 edition, judged the American reprint of the 1830 edition 'extremely unjust, both to the author and to the public'.[46] It was not until the very end of the

century that the first changes were made. Julian Hawthorne (Nathaniel Hawthorne's son, who, not unlike Grattan, was something of a versatile hack)[47] wrote a supplementary chapter for *Holland. The History of the Netherlands*,[48] published in New York in 1899. In the opening sentence, the Netherlands are still a single 'kingdom' stretching between the North Sea and the borders of France. Grattan's chapters are preserved almost intact, with the exception of the footnotes that have almost all been removed. Though the new title announces a focus on Holland, two out of the four new illustrations relate to episodes set in the Southern Netherlands, namely, the deposition of Margaret of Parma by the Duke of Alva (as a frontispiece) and the 'storming of the barricades at Brussels in the Revolution of 1848' [sic]: the latter, which is actually a depiction of an 1830 scene by the Belgian painter Gustave Wappers, is erratically placed in the middle of a chapter on the sixteenth century. The supplementary chapter gives a brief account of the Belgian revolution and its causes, and then goes on to give a short sketch of the history of the Dutch kingdom until the closing years of the nineteenth century. Belgium is left out of the picture.

The 1910 re-edition in the 'History of Nations' series edited by Henry Cabot Lodge made more far-reaching changes. The editor of the volume, Harold Claflin, changed the title to *Holland and Belgium*,[49] and adapted the egregiously anachronistic first sentence to 'The little kingdoms of Holland and Belgium are situated in the low and humid plain which [...] has borne for ages the fit name of the Netherlands – the Low Countries' (1). Although the rest of the text largely follows Grattan's first version, various minor emendations have been made; most notes have disappeared, but illustrations and maps have been added, and a more condensed table of contents has been substituted. The text follows Grattan's chronology up to the Prince of Orange's heroic behaviour at the Battle of Waterloo, which 'consolidated the kingdom of the Netherlands' (290). On the next page, though, Claflin stresses how 'differences of race, speech, religion and political development [...] made the union of Holland and Belgium an unnatural and precarious one' (291) – a list of factors that tallies with the racial and cultural exclusivism preached by Henry Cabot Lodge.[50] After an account of the revolution that rehearses familiar charges against King William, the end of the book goes on to trace the separate histories of the two nations, occasionally stressing kinship with the 'American' values that Lodge held dear: thus, Leopold II, if placed as a private citizen in America, would undoubtedly have ranked as one of its 'captains of industry'. Belgian industry in general is commended, and the 'establishment of a distinct national identity' is

seen as one of the 'cheering signs for the future maintenance of Belgium as an independent state' (312). The pages devoted to the Netherlands focus mostly on monarchs and leading politicians like Thorbecke, the country's thriving colonial empire (which again accords with Lodge's politics), and the Dutch 'love of liberty' and 'capacity for painful, determined labour in the face of obstacles' (322).

If such reworkings provide their own readings of what happened after 1830, they still essentially preserve what they obviously see as the core of Grattan's *History*: its central chapters on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whether out of ignorance or indifference, Grattan's later editors all disregarded his efforts to make sense of the Belgian revolution, but they may have viewed such considerations as secondary at best. In the opening lines of his perfunctory supplement, Julian Hawthorne summarises Grattan's work as

> the history of Holland carried down to the treaty which joined together what are now known as the separate countries of Holland and Belgium. And it is at this point that the interest of the subject for the historian practically ceases. The historian differs from the annalist in this – that he selects for treatment those passages in the career of nations which possess a dramatic form and unity, and therefore convey lessons for moral guidance, or for constituting a basis for reasonable prognostications of the future. The scenery of Dutch history has episodes as stirring and instructive as those of any civilized people since history began; but it reached its dramatic and moral apogee when the independence of the United Netherlands was acknowledged by Spain. (373)

The centrality of the revolt against Spain and of the rise of the Republic obviously contributed to the lasting popularity of Grattan's *History*, which synthesised existing work on the subject. The United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the creation of Belgium, meanwhile, soon became footnotes in popular European histories. For historiographers willing to rediscover his work, however, Grattan's originality lies in his efforts to insert all those episodes into a broader 'Netherlandic' narrative that, in its second incarnation at least, provided British Whig historiography with a distinctively Irish way of making sense of the Belgian revolution that jeopardised the very unity of its subject. It is not the least of history's ironies that, even though both versions were eventually forgotten, the first endured longest, in ideological guises that Grattan himself might have disavowed.

4

A conflict in words and images, or a conflict between word and image? An intermedial analysis of graphic novel adaptations of Hendrik Conscience's *The Lion of Flanders* (1838)

Christine Hermann

One of the most famous conflicts in Flemish history was the Battle of the Golden Spurs (1302) which turned into the foundational myth of Flanders and was romanticised by Hendrik Conscience in his novel *The Lion of Flanders* (1838). As legend has it, Conscience was inspired by a painting by Nicaise De Keyser. Conversely, his novel served as inspiration for another pictorial representation: graphic novels. The first such adaptation, by Bob de Moor, was published in 1949; in the German language the 'Lion' was also adapted in the 1950s by Wilhelm Knoop as part of the series *Abenteuer der Weltgeschichte*. In 1984, Karel Biddeloo published another graphic novel version in the series *De Rode Ridder*, alluding to the film version by Hugo Claus and at the same time shifting the story into the fantasy genre. Meanwhile, Gejo's comic version (1983) is characterised by a strong political tendency and full of contemporary allusions. This chapter analyses and compares the ways in which the narrative gets transformed in these adaptations and pays special attention to the representation of 'conflicts': aspects of violence, focalisation of the opposing parties, and 'modernisation' of the historic conflict.

Introduction: the conflict in history and myth

One of the most famous conflicts in Flemish history was the Battle of the Golden Spurs (1302), in which the rebellious Flemish people fought lion-heartedly against the French oppressor, a conflict which turned into the founding myth of Flanders and was romanticised by Hendrik Conscience in his novel *De leeuw van Vlaanderen* (*The Lion of Flanders*) (1838).

Conscience's novel has its historical basis in the Middle Ages, when Flanders was occupied by French troops. On 11 July 1302, the army of the Count of Flanders (consisting mainly of town militia and supported by soldiers from Zeeland and Namur) defeated the army of the French king Philip IV near Kortrijk. There were various reasons for the conflict, apart from retaliation for the *Brugse Metten*.[1] Feudal, social, economic and dynastic conflicts were at the basis of the war.[2]

The battlefield (a swampy ground, crossed by numerous streams and ditches) was unfavourable for cavalry, and the Flemish militias (which consisted almost solely of infantry) gained victory. This was the first time since Roman times that an infantry militia had defeated an army of knights, contradicting the conventional military theory of the superiority of cavalry. The large numbers of golden spurs that were collected from the dead French knights gave the battle its name.

The Battle of the Golden Spurs fell into oblivion for several centuries. In the context of the growing national consciousness in the nineteenth century, however, it was rediscovered, turned into a myth and became 'the' symbol of the nation. Nowadays it is still one of the most important 'lieux de mémoire' of Flanders.[3] In 1973, the date of the battle was chosen as the official holiday of the Flemish community in Belgium.

In the course of myth-building, the significance of the battle was reinterpreted. During French occupation, there was a division among the population between French-oriented and anti-French citizens. The choice of camp was determined by political, economic and social motives, not by any 'national feelings' on the part of the Flemish population. After the founding of Belgium in 1830, the new state was in need of historic legitimation, and the Battle of the Golden Spurs was propagated as national symbol and interpreted from a Belgian-national perspective as a fight against French rule and for the independence of the (Belgian) home country. In the *Histoire de Belgique* (Théodore Juste, 1840), the victory over the French occupiers in the Battle of the Golden Spurs was even considered a prefiguration of the September Revolution in 1830.[4]

In the course of time, the dispute was reduced to a conflict between the occupying forces and the oppressed, between the francophone Belgians and the Flemish-speaking.[5] The antagonism 'French' vs. 'Flemish' was accentuated, and the Battle of the Golden Spurs became the symbol of Flemish identity. It was no longer a victory of the 'Belgian' citizens fighting against the foreign (French) oppressor, but of a 'Flemish' army against a French(-speaking) army, which found its way into the collective memory of the people. With this shift of interpretation, the war of liberation was no longer fought against an external enemy, but considered a fight between two (linguistic) groups within the same country, and thus became a 'segregating' myth, by which the Flemings distinguished themselves from the Belgians. The myth gave the Flemish a national history of their own and the possibility to define themselves as different from the francophone Belgians, and thereby contributed to 'nation-building' in Flanders.[6] The commemoration of the Battle of the Golden Spurs became of a symbol of the struggle for Flemish recognition in the French-dominated Belgian state.

The conflict turned into images: an intermedial translation

Conscience romanticised the historic event and made an essential contribution to the development of the myth by popularising the Battle of the Golden Spurs. Inspired by the painting by De Keyser and drawing on contemporary historical works (which were not fully reliable sources, though he could not have known this in his time), he wrote his novel which became the Flemish national epic. In the foreword to the first edition (no longer included in the revised version of 1843), which can be read as a political manifesto, he states his intentions: to inspire national consciousness and patriotism. In this foreword he explicitly addresses the Flemings ('Gij Vlaming…'), whom he exhorts in his famous last sentence not to forget the glorious past of their forefathers. Oddly enough, this novel, inspired by both books and painting (i.e. words and images), served as inspiration for another pictorial representation: comics. This involves a change of medium.

The transposition of the novel into another medium, a form of intermedial translation, requires research situated at the intersection of adaptation studies, intermediality studies and comic studies. An adaptation confirms the status of a canonical text by passing it on to a new readership; at the same time it changes, rewrites the 'canon': 'Adaptation both

appears to require and to perpetuate the existence of a canon, although it may in turn contribute to its ongoing reformulation and expansion.'[7] But not only the 'canon' is rewritten; the adapted work also might appear in a very different way, changed nearly beyond recognition.

The discourse on adaptation has for a long time centred on the concept of 'fidelity' or 'faithfulness' to the 'original' as the main criterion for evaluating an adaptation. What is meant by 'faithful' (to the letter, to the 'spirit', or to an alleged 'essence' of a work?) has often remained unclear.[8] Other approaches consider adaptation as a kind of intertextual reference, where the primacy of the fidelity concept has lost ground. Adaptation scholar Linda Hutcheon, for instance, questions the privileging of the 'source text' and the idea of 'faithfulness' to the prior text and defines adaptation rather as 'an extended, deliberate, announced revisitation of a particular work of art'.[9] In a similar vein, John Stephens refers to it as 'retelling'.[10] Julie Sanders further distinguishes between 'adaptation' and 'appropriation', the latter being 'a more decisive journey away from the informing source'.[11] With this in mind, adaptation studies should not deal with value judgements, but rather with 'analysing [the] process, ideology and methodology'[12] of adaptation.

When a story is 'retold' in a different medium, we have to bear in mind that every medium has its own characteristics and methods for telling a story, its specific narrative potential. Adaptation has to adhere to the narrative conventions of the target medium. This implies both losses and gains in the form of added semantic value. Comics are by definition an intermedial construct which combines two media. Apart from the restrictions and opportunities of a specific medium, any adaptation is at the same time an interpretation of the source text, i.e. one of the many possible interpretations, the view chosen by the adapter, which is of course influenced by the historical and political context of his or her time.

The present chapter deals with a comic adaptation of a literary text. This genre is situated at a point of intersection between the so-called 'low-brow' and 'high-brow' cultural products and involves a 'clash' between comic on the one hand and canonised literature on the other.

Until recently there was not much scholarly attention devoted to comic strips. This is at least partly due to the bad reputation that they have had for quite some time; particularly in the 1950s comics were denigrated as 'filth and trash'. Academic research into comics started in the 1960s and 1970s and was, therefore, mainly psychologically and sociologically oriented. It was not until the 1990s that comic strips were

acknowledged as an art form and appreciated as the ninth art, at least in francophone European countries. During the last twenty years, more attention has turned to the narrative potential of the medium (i.e. the way in which the comic strip tells a story).[13] The language of the comic was investigated by Scott McCloud (*Understanding Comics*, 1994) and Martin Schüwer (*Wie Comics erzählen*, 2008), to name just two of the most important studies.

Even within the field of comic studies, comic adaptations of literary texts have largely been ignored in academic discourse until the last few years.[14] Apart from several case studies, more systematic research was recently done by Monika Schmitz-Emans and Sandra Boschenhoff.[15]

The different comic adaptations

De Leeuw van Vlaanderen, written by a man who has the reputation of having taught his people to read, was turned into a comic strip, an example of genre, which – just to the contrary – was suspected of preventing young people from reading.[16] The novel has been adapted into a comic several times, by

1934: Pink (= Eugeen Hermans)
1949: Bob de Moor (in: *Kuifje*; *Ons Volkske*; 1952 as album)
1949: Wik/Durbin (in: *Robbedoes*)
1955: Buth (= Leo de Budt) (in: *De Post*)
1950s: W. Knoop (in the series *Abenteuer der Weltgeschichte*)
1960s: Jef Nys
1983/84: Gejo (in: *Vlaams Nationaal Weekblad Wij*)
1984: Biddeloo (in the series *De Rode Ridder*)
1994: Ronny Matton/Christian Verhaeghe

In this chapter, I will only deal with those comic versions that were published as albums. I will discuss in which way the narrative gets transformed when it is adapted into a comic. What happens to the 'message' – in particular, the nationalist tendency – of the novel? How do the comic authors make use of the potential of telling a story by visual means?

The adaptations shall be considered as creations in their own right, but with a strong intertextual relation to Conscience's novel. Each adaptation is situated in its specific (historical, social, medial) context, and these are seen to determine the style of adaptation and the tendency of the story.[17]

In my study, special attention will be devoted to the representation of 'conflict': aspects of violence, focalisation and 'modernisation' of the conflict. Focalisation reveals how the visual narrator takes sides in the conflict and determines from whose perspective the readers see the story. Modernisation means that the events are linked with the life of the contemporary reader. Conscience himself established such a connection in his foreword to the first edition (omitted in the revised edition from 1843) in which he stresses the internal Belgian antagonism between Flemings and Walloons, considering the Flemings as the descendants of the glorious heroes of 1302. I will particularly focus on aspects that contribute to the evocation of national feelings (use of national symbols, linguistic conflict between Dutch and French) and guide the identification of the reader.

Bob de Moor

Bob de Moor (1925–92) is mainly known as a staff member and assistant of Hergé. In 1949 he started to work for the weekly magazine *Kuifje*. His drawing style is realistic and resembles Hergé's style of the 'ligne claire' (clear line style). After *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*, De Moor, who as a boy had loved Conscience's novels, also turned a further novel by Conscience, *De kerels van Vlaanderen*, into a comic (1952). The comic was first published in (monochrome) weekly comic magazines as serials:

- first in *Kuifje weekblad* (Sept. 1949–Dec. 1950),
- republished in *Ons Volkske* (from 1950), and
- in *Het Vendel* (from October 1955);
- 1952 published as album (in colour).

As stated in the subtitle, it is freely adapted from the book with the same title. The strip sticks to the plot of the novel quite strictly, but is of course shortened. It starts with the opening scene of the novel: 'Op een mooie zomermorgen reed een groepje Franse edellieden op de weg naar het slot Wijnendaal' ('On a beautiful summer morning, a group of French nobles was riding to the castle of Wijnendaal'). Conscience's 'rode morgenzon' ('red morning sun') can be seen in the panel. The comic ends with the Golden Knight leaving, and the very last panel is formed by a piece of parchment with the famous sentence 'Gij Vlaming . . .'

In a comic, in the same way as in film, the camera position determines the perspective of the viewer. Both the selection of the objects and the angle of view under which they are presented, are determined by the visual narrator. As Will Eisner argues in his *Comics & Sequential Art*, 'the viewer's response to a given scene is influenced by his position as a spectator'.[18] This 'position' is frequently very near to the Flemish (Figure 4.1). In a film, we would call this a point-of-view shot. The reader sees what the focalisator sees, even a small piece of his own sword, and thereby gets mentally involved in the action.

The perspective strikes us particularly when looking at the battle scenes. In the panel in Figure 4.2, the French knights are approaching. Because of the low angle of the camera (a so-called worm's-eye view), they look even more threatening. In the next panel (Figure 4.3), the Flemish hit back – and the viewer stands close to them. As a common feature it can be noted that we see the Frenchmen very frequently from the front and the Flemish from behind (we accompany them, we stand

Fig. 4.1 Focalisation, Bob de Moor, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: De Dageraad, Magnumcolor No. 1, 1984).

Fig. 4.2 Worm's-eye view, Bob de Moor, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: De Dageraad, Magnumcolor No. 1, 1984). © Bob De Moor 2015

Fig. 4.3 Positioning alongside the Flemings, Bob de Moor, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: De Dageraad, Magnumcolor No. 1, 1984). © Bob De Moor 2015

Fig. 4.4 Hidden violence, Bob de Moor, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: De Dageraad, Magnumcolor No. 1, 1984).

literally 'at their side' or stand behind them) – in this way focalisation stimulates the identification of the reader, who is 'pushed' to fight together with the Flemings.

Even in battle scenes, violence is rarely depicted directly. It is rather mentioned in the text than shown in the panels. In Figure 4.4, the head of a soldier is just being stabbed, but the victim is withdrawn from sight by his horse.

Interestingly enough, in the text blocks we often find figures of speech, such as metaphors and similes: 'Ze vechten als razende beren' ('They fight like raging bears'), 'als een stormram' ('as a battering ram'), 'als een moker' ('as a sledgehammer'). In accordance with the realistic drawing style, the comparison is not taken literally and 'depicted', but is made by verbal means. It seems that the image is unable to speak metaphorically. If a metaphor were shown, it would lose its metaphorical power and not be a metaphor any more. It is thus left to the textual narrator to formulate the comparison (which is supported by the illustration).

Wilhelm Knoop

A German version of *The Lion* was released in the 1950s as part of the series *Abenteuer der Weltgeschichte*. The text was written by Wilhelm Knoop and the illustrations were created by Charlie Bood. The comic

was published by Walter Lehning Verlag (1946–68), who is mainly known for publishing 'pulp' magazines.[19] On the cover page we see a knight, fighting against a man with a big axe in his hand, but no trace of a lion anywhere. The subtitle reads: 'Der Freiheitskampf der Flamen' ('the struggle for freedom of the Flemings'). The strip starts with three pages of historical introduction, whereby the first sentence sets the tone: 'Flanders is a Germanic borderland' ('Flandern ist ein germanisches Grenzland'). And the author continues telling us that the Flemish have 'a strong Germanic character that is still alive today' ('einen stark germanischen Charakter, der bis in unsere Tage weiterlebt'), thus linking the past with the present and stressing the kinship of the Flemish with the Germans. In the same way as in the first half of the twentieth century, the Flemish are presented as being of Germanic character; Flanders is considered as 'Grenzland', with the connotation of a German area outside the German state boundaries. Most probably, Knoop's source was not the Flemish original, but one of the German translations in which the 'Germanic' character of the Flemish people was claimed as well.[20]

In the last sentence of this introduction the readers are addressed directly: 'Look back with me, my friends, and project yourselves into the period around 1300' ('Blickt nun mit mir, Freunde, zurück und versetzt Euch in die Zeit um 1300'). It is quite striking to note that this comic is written in the present tense which might have been used better to immerse the reader – having projected himself into the past, as the introduction suggested – in the story and to give him or her the impression of actually witnessing the events described.

In his introduction, the author also refers to Conscience, reminding the readers of 'Charles De Coster, Felix Timmermann [sic] and Stijn Streuvels', Flemish authors they probably already had heard of, 'who celebrate their home country in their novels' ('in ihren Erzählungen und Romanen besingen sie immer wieder ihre Heimat'). But still, before these authors, there was Conscience, 'who fought not only with words, but also as a soldier with the weapon for his native country, in the war of 1830–1836, in which Belgium fought for its independence from Holland'. His being a soldier is at least as important as his being a writer. Conscience's invocation of the Flemish reader is cited in the introduction, omitting, however, the address 'Gij Vlaming', and by this, generalising the exhortation to all readers.

The plot was considerably condensed (the comic has only twenty-four pages) and simplified; only the most basic plot elements were selected. It is a text strip: a strip without speech balloons, where the text is placed in blocks beneath the panels. Speech is narrated by the textual

narrator, using quotation marks. The pictures look rather static (even the battle scenes), and the panels show totally different scenes so that the pictures alone no longer tell a coherent story; it is mainly the text that narrates the story. In the terminology of the comic theorist Scott McCloud, the reader is thus unable to bridge the gutter between the frames, and 'closure' (by which the reader creates a connection between the panels) is no longer possible. The images are rather illustrations alongside the text, often just repeating what has already been told in the text.

Biddeloo (De Rode Ridder)

The Lion appeared also as number 109 (1984) in the popular comic series *De Rode Ridder*, a comic series which takes place in the Middle Ages. The main character is Johan de Rode Ridder,[21] a knight-errant and one of the Knights of the Round Table of King Arthur, roaming all over the country with the only aim of protecting the weak and the oppressed.

The series was first published in 1959, conceived and drawn by Willy Vandersteen. At the end of the 1960s, the comic series was taken over by Karel Biddeloo, who took responsibility for both the drawing and the plot. Biddeloo changes the style of the series: major focus is put on fantasy elements, in particular elements of so-called 'sword and sorcery fantasy'. The series includes mystical elements as well. Eroticism plays an important part; female characters such as Demoniah (the incarnation of evil) and Galaxa (fairy of the light) make their entry. The battle between good and evil continues throughout the whole series. With Biddeloo, the comic series evolves into pulp literature. The series is 'pure entertainment', as he said in an interview. Any explicit reference to Conscience's novel is missing. Elements of the novel were taken over to serve the larger *Rode Ridder* narrative.

Conscience's novel about the Battle of the Golden Spurs certainly lends itself to an adaptation in a series of action comics, relying for its effect on an action-driven plot. Structure and drawing style correspond to the superhero genre. In this adaptation, violence is an important element in the panels. In Figure 4.5, Johan is attacked by bandits who look like ninjas. The layout of the page differs from the classical form; the strokes are broken up, characters fly freely across the panels. Frequently there is no background, as the context is apparently not important in the action scenes.

In contrast to Conscience's rising sun, Biddeloo's story starts with a sunset. Johan makes the acquaintance of Demoniah, who tells him that the Flemish people are suffering under the French yoke and that a

Fig. 4.5 Violence, Karel Biddeloo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*, De Rode Ridder no. 109 (Antwerp/Amsterdam: Standaard Uitgeverij, 1984). © 2016 Standaard Uitgeverij / WPG Uitgevers België nv

revolt is looming, whereupon Johan gravely declares: 'I will never abandon my people!' ('Ik laat mijn volk niet in de steek!'), thereby insinuating that he himself is Flemish. Demoniah, however, takes the side of the Frenchmen. The experienced reader – guided in his or her interpretation by the laws of the series – can easily recognise the Flemish as the good guys, and the French as the bad ones.

The Golden Knight is not Robrecht van Béthune ('de Leeuw van Vlaanderen'); rather it is Johan himself who takes over the part of the hero. Robrecht is already waiting in his golden armour, but unfortunately he falls from his horse, gets injured and therefore has to hand over his arms to Johan, who goes into battle as the golden knight. After the victory Johan disappears, setting off for new adventures.

The story is narrated by an omniscient narrator. The readers are uninvolved onlookers and watch it like a film.

There are even more allusions to film: the comic is full of references to the film version of *The Lion of Flanders*, made by Hugo Claus in 1984; the main characters bear a striking resemblance to the actors in the film. Breydel looks like Jan Decleir (Figures 4.6 and 4.7), De Coninck resembles Julien Schoenaerts, and Willem van Gullik resembles Herbert Flack. The female characters, too, are modelled on

Fig. 4.6 Jan Breydel, Karel Biddeloo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen*, De Rode Ridder no. 109 (Antwerp/Amsterdam: Standaard Uitgeverij, 1984). © 2016 Standaard Uitgeverij / WPG Uitgevers België nv

Fig. 4.7 Jan Breydel, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Hugo Claus, after the novel by Hendrik Conscience), Kunst & Kino/Vintage Films, 1984

actresses: Galaxa on Senta Berger and Demoniah on Barbara Stock. It is interesting to note that this adaptation does not only bear intertextual references to certain comic genres (fantasy comic, adventure comic), but also refers to a previous adaptation of the same source text into another genre, namely film. This creates a certain relation to the present (it is easily recognisable for the contemporary reader). A different route to modernisation has been taken in the following example.

Gejo

This comic was first published in 1983 in the *Vlaams Nationaal Weekblad Wij* (the weekly magazine of the Volksunie). Gejo was one of the caricaturists of this journal. The strip was republished as an album with Soethoudt & Co., a publishing house which published many essayistic and historic books on Flanders and the Flemish movement.

At first glance, this comic seems to tell quite a different story, without any relation to Conscience's plot. Apart from the title and a short sequence in the frame narrative, there is no reference to *The Lion of Flanders*. However, the reader can find a subtle reference to the Battle of the Golden Spurs in the name 'The Golden Spur' written on the signboard of an inn.

The story begins in the zoo ('waar anders vind je nog leeuwen in Vlaanderen'/'where else can we nowadays find lions in Flanders'). A poster on the wall reads: 'Conscience 1983' (it is the anniversary year). A father explains to his son that Conscience wrote *The Lion of Flanders*, a book about the battle of the Flemish people against the French oppressor ('een boek over de strijd van het Vlaamse volk tegen de Franse onderdrukker'), mentioning that the Lion became the symbol of the Flemish rebellion. Behind the family, a lion is listening carefully. The lion falls asleep and begins to dream – a dream in which he himself will be the protagonist. And it is not before the last page that the reader actually sees that the whole story of the strip is the dream of the lion. But there is one indication: in his dream the lion speaks in rhyme. In the embedded narrative, this 'Lion' (called 'our lion' in some of the text blocks) re-enacts the myth of the Lion of Flanders, in his own very special way.

In this dream, we see a tax collector (Figure 4.8), claiming 'Iedereen is hier gelijk voor de wet' ('everybody is here equal before the law'), with an asterisk referring to a footnote in this panel, reading 'Hahahaha'.[22] If we want to be malicious, we can see in the tax collector the Finance Minister of the time of the strip: Willy de Clercq (Figure 4.9).[23]

Fig. 4.8 Tax collector, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

Fig. 4.9 Willy de Clercq, Express.be, 'Slechte week voor: Willy De Clercq' (28 October 2011), http://www.express.be/articles/nl/vipsweek/slechte-week-voor-willy-de-clercq/155231.htm [accessed 30 October 2014]

A poor man explains the situation to the Lion: in this country, two peoples are living in the same territory, the lowlanders and the highlanders, who are on bad terms and speak different languages. The highlanders are constantly in need of money, and therefore a big part of the financial means flows to the highlanders. There is also a king who wants to keep his kingdom together, but among the lowlanders, resistance is growing: 'we konden er veel beter aan toe zijn als we over onze eigen middelen konden beschikken' ('we would be much better off, if we had control of our own financial means').

The Lion helps the lowlanders (without resort to violence). At the end, he addresses the people: 'We moeten dit land splitsen' ('We have to split up this country'). Everybody agrees, even the King. And then it's time for a party: a typical Flemish 'kermis'. After all this excitement, the Lion is tired and falls asleep. When he wakes up, he is back in the zoo, and he thinks 'het is dus maar een droom geweest, dat valt wel erg tegen' ('it was only a dream, what a pity'). But now he feels hungry and, as fate would have it, at the very moment, a cockerel passes by. The lion grabs the cockerel with his paws and eats him up. And that's how the story ends. No explanation is needed (at least for the Flemish readers).

Some of the lowlanders are not just cartoonish characters, but bear resemblance to living people, more precisely to contemporary politicians: the spokesman of the lowlanders (Figure 4.10) looks like Hugo

Fig. 4.10 Spokesman of the Lowlanders, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

Schiltz (Figure 4.11), President of the Volksunie between 1975 and 1979. The magician (Figure 4.12), to whom the king appeals for help, looks like the former Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens.

Fig. 4.11 Hugo Schiltz, President of the Flemish People's Union (*Volksunie*), 1975–9. © BelgaImage

Fig. 4.12 Magician, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

The Flemish readers – who recognise 'their' politicians, find certain similarities between the problems of the oppressed people in the comic and contemporary Flanders, hear the comic characters pronounce the same slogans as the (nationalist) political party in Flanders, and see them imagining a proposed solution (equally advocated by the Flemish movement) – identify the situation described in the comic with the present situation in Flanders. In this comic version, the subject is thus rather a current conflict. Gejo refers not to an event in (national) history, but to the national present, transposing the conflict into a contemporary perspective. Through the caricatures of contemporary politicians, the images are telling a different story from the text. It is no longer about a conflict between low- and highlanders in an imaginary fairyland, but about a contemporary conflict in the country of the readers, and about a (proposed) solution.

Matton/Verhaeghe

To briefly mention the most recent adaptation: R. (Ronny) Matton (scenario and colouring) and Ch. Verhaeghe (drawing) published the *Kroniek der Guldensporenslag* (in four parts), at Farao-Talent (Kortrijk) in 1994. The plot deviates significantly from Conscience's novel. As stated in the foreword, the authors wanted to write a 'different lion of Flanders'.

The adapters decided to choose an unusual perspective: the comic starts with battle scenes from the Battle of the Spurs, but after a few pages it turns out that this is nothing but a nightmare of the French king: we suddenly see the events through the slits of a visor of the helmet of a knight falling down, and on the next page, we see the King waking up in horror. The battle scene is presented from the perspective of the King of France, as a horrible bloodbath in which thousands of knights are killed only to stand up as skeletons, accusing the king of having caused their death. The story is connected with another myth, namely with the Holy Grail and the Sacred Lance[24] – necessary to cure the king from his dreadful dreams.

National aspects read with a comparatist's eye

It was Conscience's declared objective to inspire national consciousness and boost patriotism among his fellow compatriots. One of his techniques was the ample use of national symbols, such as the 'Leeuw'.

In Conscience's novel, the 'lion' as leitmotif is omnipresent: as heraldic emblem on coats of arms and on the flag, as byname for Robrecht van Béthune, as rallying cry and welcome for the count, or metaphorically used (the Flemish fight as lions, etc.). How is this leitmotif transferred into the comics?

In the novel, the 'Lion of Flanders' is presented as a mythical hero, as the Golden Knight, an almost superhuman character, 'in een magisch-mythische sfeer gehuld' ('surrounded by a magical-mythical sphere')[25] when appearing as the mysterious Black or Golden Knight.

The mythical aspects of the Golden Knight lend themselves to use for a comic character with strong mythical features, as in the *Rode Ridder* series. The role of the diabolic woman is taken over by Demoniah. The antagonist of the 'lion' is here mystified as well; it is not the malevolent Johanna van Navarra, but evil par excellence.

De Moor's version has its focus on Breydel; he is by far the most prominently and most frequently depicted character. Though the 'Lion' appears as a deus ex machina, he is only rarely the visual centre of attention. In Gejo's version, the 'lion' is taken literally, as an anthropomorphised animal. Acting like a politician at the end, he is the main character and driving force.

The lion on the flag and coat of arms serves as symbol and identification mark for the two conflicting parties, and as symbol for national feelings and affiliation.

The coat of arms can be rarely seen in *De Rode Ridder* (Johan forms, after all, his own 'trademark'), in contrast to the comic adaption by De Moor in which the symbol is abundantly depicted. The French flag with the fleur-de-lis is often shown here as well, whereas in the German version by Knoop, the coat of arms is only once clearly visible and the flags are usually blurred and look almost pixellated. For Knoop, it is more important to present the Flemish people as a Germanic people than to stress their own national symbols.

In the comic by Gejo, the lion is no longer symbol, but protagonist. But at the same time, in his role as protagonist he turns into symbol again: as the lowlanders have been searching for a 'symbol for our struggle' for quite some time already, they now get the breakthrough idea: 'Een leeuw op ons blazoen'. And this is where the flag with the lion has its origin. The lion provides inspiration for the flag and thereby provokes his own birth as national symbol. While the myth is taken for granted (otherwise the story would not function for the readership), this very same myth just comes into being on the intradiegetic level of this comic.

Fig. 4.13 Urinating boy, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

Other national symbols are various landmarks of Flanders. All adaptations make use of Flemish landmarks and famous buildings, such as the Belfry of Bruges. Gejo uses another landmark (Figure 4.13) – the 'Manneken Pis' is here a character (a little boy pissing right onto the lion's head).

Language conflict

An important aspect of the (historic) conflict and an important aspect for the novel is the linguistic conflict between the francophone Belgians and the Dutch-speaking population. Characteristic for contemporary Belgium as well as for the historical situation described in the novel is the (co-)existence or the clash of the two languages of the linguistic communities in Belgium. Is this linguistic conflict reflected in the comics?

Language acted as distinguishing mark in the Brugse Metten (Bruges Matins), with the famous shibboleth 'Schild en vriend'.[26] The

watchword 'Schild en vriend' can be found in nearly all comics: In the De Moor version (and almost identical in *De Rode Ridder*), it reads 'Schild en vriend?!' – 'Skilde en … aouw!' (in phonetic spelling). In the Gejo version, the lion secretly visits the house of friends, where he is asked for the password. He replies with a variation of the well-known slogan: 'Wij voeren wat in 't schild, doe open mijn vriend' ('We are up to something, open, my friend') – as usual he speaks in rhymes. Apparently this shibboleth is considered so important that even Gejo includes it in his adaptation.

Considering the importance of the language question, we might expect that both languages would be found in the speech balloons. But this is not the case. De Moor presents us with a rather monolingual comic: everybody speaks Flemish. In the speech balloons we hardly ever see French phrases, apart from the French battle cry 'Montjoie St. Denis'. Repeatedly we encounter swearwords. It's mainly the French who swear, but they do it in Dutch: 'Hel en duivel', 'alle duivels', 'Doemnis', only occasionally in French: 'Tonnerre'. In the Knoop version, the text briefly mentions that the knight speaks French and the Flemish answer 'in poor French'. Similarly in the *Rode Ridder*, the reader can only once see a French knight swearing in French: 'Morbleu'.

The Gejo adaptation, however, is somewhat special and presents a language mix: when we see the people on the street chatting or quarrelling, both the Dutch and French languages are used in the speech balloons, but the speakers differ in language competence. Whereas the lowlanders understand French but answer in Flemish (Figure 4.14), the French-speaking highlanders are unable to read the Flemish pamphlets (Figure 4.15).

Fig. 4.14 Bilingualism, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

Fig. 4.15 Monolingualism, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

The lion, in his dream, decides to speak human language: 'voor het vlot verloop van dit verhaal, spreek ik voortaan hun taal!' ('for the sake of a smooth progress of this story, I will from now on speak their language!') (and 'their' language means Flemish).[27] The lion, however, is not bilingual. He deliberately decides to speak 'hun taal' when communicating with the locals, but when he has to appear in court in the highland, he understands, in his own words, 'geen letter van die taal' ('not a word of that language'). And that the Queen sighs in Spanish is a telling detail, alluding to the mother tongue of the Belgian queen.

But Gejo even comes up with one further language variant: when the lion makes his entry into the town, the people in front of the town gate are looking on in amazement, and one voice speaks clearly in an Antwerp dialect: 'Mé hiel Aantwaarpe mo ni mè ma' (Figure 4.16).[28] In this comic, the language conflict is expressed by visual means (it is not 'told', but 'shown' in a mimetic way).

Conclusion

What happened in the course of the various adaptation processes? Whereas De Moor and Knoop maintain the plot of Conscience's novel (even if in abridged form), the comic adaptations of Biddeloo, Gejo and Matton take completely new directions. They do not confine themselves

Fig. 4.16 Antwerps, Gejo, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Soethoudt & Co, 1983). © Gejo/Soethoudt 1983

to the elements of the novel, but insert certain elements into their own story (with Biddeloo, the story had to conform to the style of the *Rode Ridder* series; Gejo used the story for his own nationalist and secessionist objectives; Matton aimed at writing his own, different 'Lion of Flanders'). Using the terminology of Julie Sanders, the De Moor version could be termed an 'adaptation', and the version by Gejo (as well as those by Biddeloo and Matton, to a lesser extent) an 'appropriation' of the source text.

The adapters use different methods for guiding the identification of the reader: perspective ('camera position'), laws of the series on who is the 'good guy', and modernisation (reference to contemporary Flanders). National symbols are usually stressed, with the exception of Knoop who rather presents the Flemish as 'Germans'. Adaptation does not only refer to one 'source', but also to other adaptations (Knoop is connected with earlier German translations; *De Rode Ridder* refers to the film version).

Whereas in De Moor's and Biddeloo's version, text and image collaborate to communicate the message, in the version by Knoop the images are rather illustrations to the text. This, however, is not to be equated with 'fidelity' to the source text, as the Flemish freedom fighters are made German.

The comic adaptation and the adapted literary text stand in a reciprocal relation to each other. The source text is renewed, updated, reactivated; it even owes its status as 'source text' to the adaptations.

The story is told again, but differently, and to a new audience. By making it accessible for a new generation of recipients, the adaptations give life to the original, or, as Gérard Genette puts it, 'constantly relaunch the old works into a new circuit of meaning'.[29]

The 'Lion' keeps changing, and so do the interpretations. This is what keeps him alive. Or, as Hutcheon puts it: adaptation can keep a work in life, 'giving it an afterlife it would never have had otherwise'.[30]

5
Language controversies in the *Gazette van Detroit* (1916–1918)

Tanja Collet

The first issue of the *Gazette van Detroit* was printed shortly after the German invasion of Belgium in August 1914. *Het boterbladje* (the butter sheet), as its readers lovingly called it, would over the following decades become the main source of news from the 'old country' for the Flemish expatriate community in the United States and Canada, outlasting all other Flemish weeklies. It was the brainchild of Camille Cools, a successful member of the community, who was socially engaged but by no means trained in professional journalism. This chapter presents an anylysis of the ideological leanings of the early *Gazette*, which were based on two of the dominant *-isms* of that era: socialism and nationalism. A reading of several editorials and other pieces printed in the *Gazette* between 1916 and 1918 reveals how the *Gazette*'s populism influenced its attitudes towards language and particularly towards Flemish, the community's vernacular. The early *Gazette*'s outspoken Flemish nationalism permeates its views in a number of areas, ranging from editorial decisions on language usage to workers' rights in North America and, of course, the linguistic divide in Belgium. Outside pressures, however, would force the *Gazette* to soften its *flamingantism* at least until the end of the Great War: these pressures included interference from representatives of the exiled Belgian government, and legal and extra-legal means employed by various agents in the United States to censor the immigrant press and curtail foreign-language use.

Introduction

In his survey of the Dutch language press in America, Edelman lists a total of six newspapers established by the Flemish immigrant communities in the United States in the late 1800s and the early 1900s: the *De Pere Standaard*, founded in 1878 and based in Wisconsin, which became *Onze Standaard* in 1898; its local competitor *De Volksstem*, founded in 1890; the *Detroitenaar*, started in 1900; the Illinois-based *Gazette van Moline*, founded in 1907; the *Gazette van Detroit*, which made its first appearance in 1914; and finally *De Nieuwe Wereld*, published for only a short time between 1915 and 1916 from Moline, Illinois.[1] By the 1920s, all but two of these weeklies had folded: the *Gazette van Moline* and the *Gazette van Detroit* were the only survivors. Then, in 1940, at the onset of the Second World War, the *Gazette van Moline* merged with the *Gazette van Detroit* and the latter became the sole surviving Flemish ethnic weekly in North America. It continues to the present day, servicing the Flemish communities in the United States but also in Canada, where the Flemings, who had settled mostly in south-western Ontario, did not found their own ethnic press, quite possibly due to their proximity to the United States and particularly the city of Detroit, which in the twentieth century became home to the largest Flemish expatriate community in North America.[2]

Today's *Gazette* is bilingual, containing articles in both English and Dutch; standard Dutch, in fact, or *Algemeen Nederlands*. The newspaper currently has about 1,200 subscribers, who live, much like in the 1910s and 1920s, in the United States and Canada but also in Belgium, particularly Flanders. At its heyday, however, in the 1950s, the *Gazette* printed more than 10,000 copies of each issue.[3] The newspaper's most recent editors-in-chief, Wim Vanraes and Elisabeth Khan-Van den Hove, see the newspaper as 'politically neutral', that is, not engaged in political debate, whether it concerns North American matters or more importantly Belgian issues, such as the long-standing language question.[4] On its website, for instance, the *Gazette*'s mission statement, which still starts with the slogan coined by its very first editor-in-chief, Camille Cools, *Het Licht Voor 't Volk* (A Light for our Community), reads as follows: 'The *Gazette van Detroit* is an unaffiliated, apolitical, non-profit organization written by and for North Americans of Flemish descent and Dutch-speaking Belgians.'[5]

During the early years, however, the *Gazette* had a somewhat different approach. It was a for-profit organization, or more accurately a 'commercial paper', i.e. 'a paper conducted for the purpose of making

money'.[6] It was politically unaffiliated, as were most commercial papers, in the sense that it was not the official organ of a political organisation. Indeed, each issue of the *Gazette* proudly announced on its title page: 'This is a strictly independent newspaper.' However, it was certainly not 'politically neutral'. The *Gazette* was very much a politically and socially engaged newspaper, one that ran editorials and other pieces that voiced strong opinions on matters, political and social, taking place in either North America or Belgium.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an analysis of the ideological leanings of the *Gazette*, particularly with respect to language, arguably the defining social and political issue amongst Belgians, in the homeland but also, as will become clear, the diaspora.

The time period covered in this study is relatively short, only about two and a half years, stretching from the end of March 1916 to the end of December 1918. The year 1916 was an important one, a pivotal year, for the *Gazette van Detroit*. During it, its founder and editor-in-chief, Camille Cools, died rather unexpectedly, and a new editor-in-chief, Frank Cobbaert, took over. It is also the year during which the *Gazette* positioned itself more clearly on the issue of the Flemish language; particularly with respect to the language question in Belgium, under German occupation since 1914, but also with respect to the language rights of the Flemish immigrants in the United States and Canada. The year 1918, on the other hand, marks the end of the First World War and with it the lifting of certain content restrictions imposed on ethnic newspapers. In October 1917, for instance, the American Congress, increasingly distrustful of the foreign element in American society, had passed a law aimed specifically at controlling the foreign-language press. It required that 'exact translations of all matters relating to the war [. . .] be submitted to the local postmaster until such time as the government was sufficiently convinced of the loyalty of the foreign-language paper to issue a permit exempting it henceforth from the cumbersome and expensive process of filing translations'.[7] Another piece of wartime legislation that was also revoked by the end of 1918 was the infamous *Babel Proclamation*, a drastic measure issued by the then governor of the state of Iowa, William L. Harding, which forbade the use of any language other than English, i.e. 'American', in public.[8] However, the legal debate concerning the public use of immigrant languages, such as German, Dutch and Danish, continued well into the 1920s in many Midwest states, where extra-legal means and intense social pressure had been applied during the war severely to restrict their use.[9]

The chapter is divided into three sections. 'Camille Cools and the founding of the *Gazette van Detroit*' takes a brief look at the founder of the *Gazette* and attempts to situate the newspaper among the other ethnic dailies and weeklies of the early twentieth century. Significantly, the section aims to contextualise the ideological leanings and positions the newspaper was to adopt with respect to language. 'Language and style' gives an overview of the more salient stylistic and linguistic characteristics of the early *Gazette* and shows how these relate to its Flemish immigrant readership of the time. In particular, the section hopes to demonstrate the relationship between the newspaper's populism and its targeted audience. Finally, 'Language attitudes' analyses the *Gazette*'s stance on issues pertaining to the Flemish language, both in Belgium and in North America. Together, the three sections presents a picture of a populist Flemish nationalist diasporic newspaper, which took a very specific position on the Belgian language question, a position very much shaped by events in both the homeland and America.

For both brevity and ease of reading, quotations in the original Flemish or Dutch are provided only in English translation in the main text. The original quotations, mostly from the *Gazette* but also from other Flemish and Dutch ethnic weeklies, are reproduced in the endnotes.

Camille Cools and the founding of the *Gazette van Detroit*

Camille Cools was born in Moorslede, West Flanders, in 1874. About fifteen years later, in 1889, he emigrated with his parents and siblings and settled in Detroit, a city with a growing Belgian (mainly Flemish) community, but which was still overshadowed by Moline, Illinois, then the most popular Belgian (also mostly Flemish) centre in the United States. He became a successful business man in the City, as Detroit was then called, starting a furniture company in 1905, Cools & Co. Furniture.

As an adult, highly aware of the many difficulties, financial, social but also linguistic, that confronted the Flemish immigrants in Detroit and its surrounding areas, Cools became increasingly involved in community organisations. He became a Board Member of the Belgian-American Century Club no. 1, a charitable organisation whose goal it was to enlist at least one hundred members who would assist each other financially and otherwise in case of death or other needy circumstances. Also, concerned over the fact that Belgian diplomats stationed in the

Midwest were mainly French-speaking, while the immigrants were mostly Flemings, he became the president of *Voor Vlaamsch en Recht*[10] (also spelled *Voor Vlaamschen Recht*)[11] (For Flemish and Rights *or* For Flemish Rights), an organisation aimed at defending the rights, and specifically the language rights, of the Flemings in the United States. Under his leadership, the organisation worked diligently to bring Flemish-speaking diplomats to the United States by among other things publishing their demands in Flemish ethnic weeklies:

> 1. Request respectfully of our Flemish senators, our Flemish members of parliament and also of our pro-Flemish societies that they pressure the Belgian government to post from now on, to the United States of America, only consular personnel who are also proficient in Flemish …, and not only in French.
> 2. Request respectfully furthermore that all currently posted consular personnel who unfortunately do not speak the mother tongue of by far the largest number of Belgian immigrants staff their office with a Flemish-speaking secretary.[12]

Then, shortly after the founding of the *Gazette van Moline* in 1907, Cools took up his pen and became that newspaper's Detroit correspondent. Seven years later, in 1914, when partly due to the booming car industry, Detroit had become the largest Flemish settlement in North America, he considered the time ripe for the Detroit community to have another Flemish-language newspaper, the *Gazette van Detroit*.

In 1914, at the outbreak of the Great War in Europe, 'the number of [ethnic] papers started [in the United States] increased more than 60 per cent [. . .] and remained high for the [next] three years'.[13] The increase was caused, according to Park, 'by the great eagerness for news of the warring countries of Europe on the part of [. . .] foreign-born and foreign-speaking immigrants'.[14] However, by the 1920s, 'a high ratio of deaths to births' led to the demise of large numbers of these wartime papers. The explanation for this downward spiral lay, among other things, in 'the financial stringency and the paper shortage which the small foreign-language paper was unable to weather, as well as the lessened interest of readers after the war'.[15] The *Gazette van Detroit*, then, is one of the very few remaining ethnic newspapers from that era.

The first issue of the *Gazette* was published on 13 August 1914.[16] On its first page it carried an editorial written by Cools in which he linked the founding of the *Gazette* to the German invasion of Belgium and the

community's need for news in its own language about the state of affairs in their former homeland.

> TO OUR READERS
> Although we are not ready yet to publish full-length editions of our Gazette, we feel compelled to inform our friends, who are not fully at ease with the English language, about everything having to do with the war in Europe.[17]

Two years later, to commemorate the second anniversary of the *Gazette*, Cools wrote another editorial in which he identified another factor that played a role in the founding of the newspaper: issues of social injustice among the Flemings in Detroit.

> It has now been two years since the terrible war broke out in Europe and the Germans invaded Belgium, events that have brought a lot of suffering upon our people, and that prompted us to start a newspaper that would inform its readers about the war and about humanity in general. A paper that would inform its readers about all that our people have to endure but that would also make its readers aware of all the fraud and deception that is committed among the Belgians in Detroit and to which they all too often fall victim.[18]

The three motivators identified in these two editorials – the First World War, the living and working conditions of the Flemish immigrants and matters of language – were the three main topics covered by the *Gazette* in its editorials and articles from March 1916 to December 1918, the period under review in this study. During those two and a half years, the *Gazette* reported, furthermore, on American internal politics, e.g. Prohibition, and carried bits and pieces of local news, often of the *fait divers* type, covering the American Midwest and south-western Ontario. It also contained a weekly *feuilleton*, i.e. a Flemish novel in instalments, reports on the activities of various Flemish societies, and advertisement and job sections.

Its content, then, was largely like that of other immigrant newspapers of that era. Park, in his classic study of the immigrant press in the United States in the early twentieth century, identifies common themes – the war in Europe; the sufferings of immigrant workers; the political situation at home – and claims that these topics were usually viewed through two dominant ideological prisms: nationalism, on the one hand, and socialism, on the other.[19]

Many of the immigrant groups in the early twentieth century, from the Bohemians to the Norwegians to the Flemish, left a homeland in which their language and culture were denied a role in the official affairs of the state. In the homeland, their nationalist struggle for linguistic and cultural recognition became, 'by a natural course of events', according to Park, 'involved with the economic and class struggle, because everywhere the racial conflict and the class conflict involved the same parties'.[20]

This view certainly applied to Belgium. Strikwerda, for instance, argues convincingly that 'many [Flemish] working class leaders were aware that Flemish linguistic demands and the social and economic demands of the lower class could be closely connected'.[21] Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, socialists in Antwerp readily mixed Flemish patriotism and socialism in their literature.[22] The same can be said of the Catholic Workers' Federation in Ghent, whose 1891 programme also 'included a demand that [Flemish] be made equal with French'.[23]

Similarly, overseas, the immigrant's nationalism also became intertwined with socialist ideas and ideals. Immigration, Park argues, tends to accentuate the national consciousness.[24] In the New World, the immigrant's nationalistic tendencies were intensified by his isolation from the homeland, and tended to find a natural expression in the ethnic newspapers, 'which keep [the immigrant] in touch with the political struggle at home and even give [. . .] opportunities to take part in it'.[25] Moreover, in the New World, the immigrant, who had often been an unschooled farmer at home, found himself often a labourer in an industrialised city. His living and working conditions in the early twentieth century, however, were such that he was very likely to come into contact with the socialist movement and its push for organisation. This social struggle is also played out in the ethnic press.

Nationalist and socialist motives likewise inspired the early contributors to the *Gazette*. Its two first editors-in-chief, Camille Cools and Frank Cobbaert, for instance, were actively involved in the workers' movement. Both considered the *Gazette* a tool to further the interests of the Flemish immigrant workers.

In an editorial, for instance, in which he reminisced about his first meeting with Camille Cools, Frank Cobbaert wrote:

> It is now nearly three years ago that I met Camille Cools and that he spoke to me about his plans to print a Flemish newspaper here in Detroit. After I asked him a few questions about what he intended

to do with his newspaper, he replied that his only objective was to defend the people against the interests of big business; upon hearing that answer I promised him that I would be there to help.[26]

When Frank Cobbaert succeeded Camille Cools as editor-in-chief, he promised the *Gazette*'s readers not to make any changes to the newspaper's main leftist ideology:

> The *Gazette van Detroit* will continue to support and assist the workman. The paper will remain loyal to her slogan, 'A Light for our Community', and will, just like she did before, use her columns to defend the working class against big capital.[27]

The other dominant prism of the time, nationalism, influenced the *Gazette*'s stance on issues as varied as workers' rights and the war efforts at home. Cools and Cobbaert, for instance, printed Flemish nationalist pieces that tackled the *language question*. A wonderful example is the following allegory, written evocatively in Flemish dialect, which intimates that the Flemings expect to be rewarded for their solidarity with the French-speaking Belgians and their efforts at the Front, with equal rights – specifically equal language rights – in a post-war Belgium:

> The Tale of Teuto the Giant
> There was once a Mother and she had two beautiful children. They were twin brothers. The Mother's name was Belgica [Belgium] and her children were called Flamine [Fleming] and Waelken [Walloon].
>
> How this came to be I do not know, but Flamine never got enough to eat from his Mother. Most of the time, he had to make do with bits and pieces of French bread. The little guy did not dislike French bread, but his little stomach nevertheless would have preferred to eat something else.
>
> Little Flamine complained and wept for days on end, and at times made very loud demands because he was so terribly hungry.
>
> Mother Belgica then said sweet things to try to calm him down, but never did little Flamine get what he wanted.
>
> Now in the neighbourhood there lived Teuto [name referring to the Germans], a giant and a low-life who could not be trusted.

One morning he came to their house and wanted to kill Mother Belgica.

Flamine and Waelken ran as quickly as their little legs would allow them to and, side by side and hand in hand, they stood still right in the middle between their Mother and the ugly giant Teuto. [. . .]

'Go away!' yelled the giant, but they would not listen.

Teuto came closer and they started to hit him with their fists.

Suddenly, the giant softened the expression on his awful face and he said with compassion, 'Flamine, my boy', and he winked at Flamine, 'your mother is letting you starve; just come with me and eat to your heart's content.'

'Hands off my mother!' yelled Flamine [. . .]. Then the two boys – Waelken and Flamine – fought the giant so courageously that he had no choice but to flee.

Since then he lies buried in the old Yser [name of the river and region where much of the trench warfare took place in Flanders]. The story has it that afterwards Mother Belgica could simply not continue on in the same manner: instead, she decided to give Flamine everything that he needed to live, just like she had always done with her Waelken. Waelken and Flamine grew up and became two handsome and tall young men and all the neighbours liked them very much.

[. . .] – and this is the end of my tale.[28]

Still another piece, by a certain H. De Wandeleire, called, without mincing words, for an independent Flanders:

> This will strengthen in the true friends of Flanders their belief that only self-governance can save our people.[29]

This piece, incidentally, elicited a strong reply from Albert Moulaert, the Consul General of Belgium, based in Chicago at the time, which was promptly printed by the *Gazette* in its next issue:

> [. . .] all the senior and better-known leaders of the Flemish Movement have indicated that the fight for language rights should be halted for the entire duration of the war.
>
> Later, when Belgium will once again be free, we will discuss and examine these issues and I am sure that we will be able to come to an agreement and that without foreign interference.

[. . .] I am appealing to your love for the old country, dear Sir, in asking that you print my reply to Mr. De Wandeleire's letter.

Sincerely,

Albert Moulaert, Consul General of Belgium[30]

Albert Moulaert's response clearly referred to the official wartime attitude of the three main Flemish leaders, the liberal politician Louis Franck, the Roman Catholic Frans Van Cauwelaert and the socialist Camille Huysmans, which was temporarily to halt the fight for Flemish language rights and in particular to resist the German offers of intervention on behalf of the Flemings. The activist movement, however, of which Moulaert seemingly believed De Wandeleire to be a sympathiser, would not heed the official call for restraint and national unity in a time of war and would, instead, work closely with the German occupier to obtain Flemish self-governance.

The excerpts given earlier provide but a small sample of writings in the *Gazette* that reflect its two main and interlinked ideologies: socialism, on the one hand, and nationalism, on the other. It is important to note again that this ideological mix was rather common amongst ethnic newspapers in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

The nationalist and socialist populism typical of the early *Gazette* mirrors the main concerns of the paper's Flemish expatriate readership, but it also impacts upon another important feature: the *Gazette*'s language.

Language and style

The language of the *Gazette* at this time was definitely Flemish, as opposed to *Algemeen Nederlands* or standard Dutch, a variant only actively propagated in Belgium after the Second World War. At times it was strongly dialectal (as in the allegory reproduced earlier), and often resembled more spoken than written language. This was the language of self-taught journalists – neither Camille Cools nor Frank Cobbaert had any formal training in journalism – and of a readership with little formal education. A piece written by Ben Van Malder, a correspondent from Wallaceburg, a small town in south-western Ontario, presents all of these linguistic traits. Interestingly, it also paints a picture of a readership with low literacy in Flemish.

If only I could read and write!

Many of us have heard someone say: I wish that I also knew how to read and write, and have often heard that person add: I knew how to do it but I have now almost or completely forgotten it. [. . .]

Although we no longer live in a Flemish-speaking country anyone who is interested can get Flemish newspapers and books here to fill some spare time and learn something useful.

Is it not sad that when one wants to write a letter, one first has to reveal everything that one wants to put in it to someone else, and often feel quite ashamed about what one says and then still have to say thank you [. . .].

Is it not unfortunate that we do not know the language well that is most spoken here [. . .].

BEN VAN MALDER
Wallaceburg, Canada[31]

Ben Van Malder's piece confirms Park's observation, in his study of the American immigrant press of the early twentieth century, that 'foreign-language papers [have] a public [. . .] composed of peoples who, in their home country, would have read little or nothing at all'.[32] Park argues further that the editors of ethnic newspapers, such as the *Gazette*, had to adapt the language of their dailies and weeklies to their readership, which was mainly composed of members who spoke dialects and read with difficulty.[33] They had to opt for a language that would appeal to their readers, a language that they would understand. Indeed, 'in order to get [their] paper read, [they needed to] write in the language [their] public [spoke]'.[34] This often meant writing in the vernacular of the immigrant community: the dialect brought from the homeland, but which became quickly permeated with linguistic elements of the language, i.e. English, that was dominant in the community's new environment.

The *Gazette*, in a similar fashion, retained the Flemish vernacular and quickly incorporated in it English loanwords and calques that would have been present in the language of its readership. In the period under review, for instance, the *Gazette* called upon the *beetwerkers* (loan blend or hybrid, *beet worker*) to take part in an *openbare vergadering met meeting* (*vergadering* is the Dutch equivalent of *meeting*); discussed *het droog stemmen* (calque of *to vote dry*) of several cities in the state of Illinois; reported on the war efforts of the *Rumanen* (after *Rumanians*, instead of *Roemenen*); included advertisements for *zachte dranken* (calque of

soft drinks), *Christmas giften* (adapted loan, *Christmas gifts*), bier in *bottels* (adapted loan, *bottles*), *voetwaren* (adapted loan, *footwear*); and described social events taking place on *Zaterdag* or *Zondag achternoen* (Flemish dialectal expression reinforced by *afternoon*).

Edelman, incidentally, in his survey of the Dutch language press in America, notes that the 'low quality of the language of the papers in editorials and, especially in advertising' was already a common complaint among contemporary commentators on the Dutch/Flemish immigrant press of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[35]

Another linguistic and stylistic concession, also identified by Park, is a highly emotional and dramatic language usage to suit the 'sentimental' and 'intellectual' tastes of a poorly educated immigrant public.[36] In this area, as well, the *Gazette* did not distinguish itself significantly from its contemporaries: its language was rarely abstract, always charged with emotion, at times even melodramatic.

> Poverty should not be a source of shame!
> [...] It is one of the most laudable struggles of humanity. Equality for all. – And equal rights for all.
>
> Respect for the poor workman, because the fields of a farmer full of potatoes or corn are worth more than a barren piece of land or the magnificent gardens of a man of leisure. [...]
>
> The great philosopher Lasalle once said: The working class is the rock upon which the church of the future will be built.
>
> SEVEN RUTSAERT[37]

In 1960, Sabbe and Buyse, two members of the Flemish immigrant community, ardently defended the *Gazette*'s early and subsequent editorial decisions in a book dedicated to the history of the Belgians in Detroit:

> Some 'wise-guys' in Belgium have snidely remarked that the 'Gazette' writes archaic Flemish. Let's say that the 'Gazette van Detroit' is written to be read and enjoyed by the Flemings in the United States and Canada [...]. Theirs is a simple Flemish. The Flemish of the immortal Guido Gezelle, Stijn Streuvels, Ernest Claes, Felix Timmermans. [...] They came with an elementary education, but that did not prevent them from reaching the top! [...] That [...] is the type who reads his 'Gazette' every week. He never reads your column nor does he care to read your super-duper, highfaluting Flemish. He would not enjoy it anyway, but he thoroughly understands and enjoys his weekly 'Gazette van Detroit'.[38]

All of these linguistic and stylistic traits are characteristic of a popularised press. Frank Cobbaert seems to have been acutely aware of this. When, after Cools's unexpected death at the age of 43, he suddenly found himself at the helm of the *Gazette* in October 1916, he stated unequivocally: '[. . .] we know that our *Gazette* is a populist paper [. . .]', i.e. a paper for ordinary people, written in their language and dedicated to their concerns.[39] These concerns are all in one way or another linked to *language*. They include the immigrants' predicament in the United States and Canada, as well as the resolution of the political conflict in the homeland.

The nationalist and socialist ideologies the populist *Gazette* adopted with respect to the main language-based concerns of its targeted audience are the subject of the final section.

Language attitudes

In 1916, the Flemish immigrant community was still struggling to become proficient in the English language, a linguistic challenge alluded to in many of the *Gazette*'s articles and editorials. The following is an example which is also an appeal to the community to learn English but to continue using *Belgian*, i.e. Flemish, in public meetings.

> From Chicago
> The Moving-Pictures show organised by Professor van Hecke was attended by a large number of people last Sunday. We now have a better understanding of what life is really like for the Belgian refugees in Holland. [. . .]
>
> The presentation by Mr. van Hecke was in English! The talk by Dr. Vermeiren was in English! Mr. Streyckmans spoke in English! But there were 500 mothers present, from Flanders [. . .] and Holland who could not understand one word because they only know their mother tongue.
>
> Oh, no, I am not a fanatic Flemish nationalist, we are in America and we need to learn English! . . . [B]ut, when a meeting is exclusively Belgian, I think we should speak: Belgian. [. . .]
> Louis Braekelaere[40]

The lack of linguistic integration is most apparent in the newspaper's many job postings, which often specify that knowledge of English is a must.

> HOUSEMAIDS NEEDED
> For a family of two, must know English and know how to cook. [. . .][41]
>
> Looking to hire a clean and hardworking girl to work as kitchen maid in Pompton Plains, New Jersey, [. . .] for a friendly couple with no children, a good home for a nice (Belgian) girl, it is necessary to speak a little English.[42]
>
> Needed: A FLEMISH GIRL who speaks English and who has worked in a clothing store [. . .][43]

Relatively recent arrivals, the members of this community were not only linguistically, but also culturally and politically still predominantly Flemish. The community's main point of reference being Belgium and not the New World, it projected typically Flemish values onto political events taking place in the United States and Canada. A case in point is the incomprehension with which it views the attempts of the Prohibitionists to ban the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages, such as Belgium's national drink: beer.

> Moline voted dry
> Several cities in the state of Illinois have been voted dry, such as Moline [. . .]. We find this news very surprising since there are so many Belgians that live in Moline, but it is possible that they neglected to vote. Every person who has the right to vote should, in a case like this, see it as his duty to vote, because a Belgian cannot allow that his favourite drink be taken away from him.[44]

The *Gazette*'s stance on language and on language rights needs to be viewed within this context: that of a little-integrated community that maintained strong ties with its homeland. The newspaper, and by extension the community, tackled the language question on two separate fronts: at home, i.e. in the United States and Canada, and abroad, i.e. in Belgium. In the United States and Canada, the language question became an integral part of the Flemish immigrants' struggle for better working conditions. With respect to Belgium, the newspaper and its many contributors remained strongly focused on the country's linguistic divide and positioned themselves firmly as ardent defenders of the language and culture of the Flemings, i.e. as Flemish nationalists.

Both Camille Cools and Frank Cobbaert were actively involved in efforts to unionise the Flemish beet workers employed on both sides, American and Canadian, of the Detroit river.

TO THE BEET WORKERS
DEAR BROTHERS,
In order to try to better our fate, that can be described as miserable and disastrous, we have decided to hold a big public meeting to discuss the situation [. . .]. [. . .]

On behalf of the temporary Committee
FRANK COBBAERT[45]

THE MEETING OF THE BEET WORKERS
[. . .] Mr. Cools presided over all the meetings and called them to order. Then he would give the floor to his friend Frank Cobbaert [. . .].[46]

On 14 April 1916, the *Gazette* printed the beet workers' demands for better work conditions. One of these alluded to a language barrier, akin to the one the Flemish immigrants would have experienced in Belgium with their overwhelmingly French-speaking employers, and made a linguistic request: '6. – That we be assigned Belgian Field Bosses, or people that understand our language [. . .]'.[47]

This request for the apparent promotion of Flemish in the workplace is somewhat surprising within the North American context, but it was an integral part of the Flemish struggle for language rights at home, i.e. in Belgium. Interestingly, Ben Van Malder, one of the *Gazette*'s Canadian correspondents, wrote an appeal for support to the beet workers, published in the *Gazette* of 12 May 1916, in which he seemingly compared their situation in Canada and in the United States to the one experienced by Flemish soldiers in the Belgian army, which in the 1910s *de facto* had only French as the official language. Rumours grew during the Great War that Flemish casualties were very high because the soldiers could not understand the orders given by their officers. These rumours were to play an important role in the escalation of the language conflict in post-war Belgium.

To the Belgian [. . .] Beet Workers
[. . .] To recruit that volunteer corps one has dispatched a number of English-speaking officers who claim, in their letters, that the battalion will be complete in good time.

Although these gentlemen have little or no training in such manoeuvres they are convinced, nevertheless, that they are fully in their right to give orders to so many good beet soldiers.

And because they do not know the language, they get so many of us in trouble. [. . .]

When then equality – only if we unionise.
Ben Van Malder
Wallaceburg, Ont, Canada[48]

As shown previously, the *Gazette* of 1916 often contained Flemish nationalist pieces. Ben Van Malder's piece inspired by the *Frontbeweging* (a Flemish nationalist movement which originated in the trenches of Flanders) and the already quoted 'Tale of Teuto the Giant' provided two poignant examples.

From September 1916 onwards, however, the *Gazette* found itself increasingly pressured by official representatives of the Belgian government to stop reporting on any 'Flemish nationalist' or 'activist' activities taking place in occupied Belgium, or at least not to present these political goings-on in a positive light. Reasons for this may be related to concerns that Flemish diasporic groups might (1) aim to undermine official Belgian and Allied attempts to enlist full American engagement in the war, and (2) conspire to further inflame the political situation in the homeland. The *Gazette van Detroit*, contrary to other Flemish ethnic weeklies, such as *De Volksstem*, obliged and significantly softened its Flemish nationalist rhetoric for the next few years.

On 8 September 1916, the *Gazette* printed a piece by the socialist Member of Parliament, Modeste Terwagne, in which he strongly criticised the rather Machiavellian move by Moritz von Bissing, the German governor-general of occupied Belgium, to grant wide-ranging language rights to the Flemings. Later that same month, the *Gazette* also printed several of Albert Moulaert's letters to Adolph B. Suess, the editor of the militant weekly *De Volksstem*, based in De Pere, Wisconsin. The Belgian consul's letters were written in reaction to articles which seemingly reported on the activities in occupied Flanders by 'activist' members of the Flemish Movement. The following is an excerpt from one such article, published by Adolph B. Suess, which attracted the ire of the Belgian consul:

> THE FLEMISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN FLANDERS. – On 11 July, the Battle of the Golden Spurs of 1302 was commemorated with much enthusiasm in all of Flanders. In Antwerp, the Flemish nationalists met in the Vlaamse Opera [an opera house in Antwerp]. The room was packed with people. [...] All sang the Vlaamse Leeuw [Flemish national anthem] at the end of the meeting [...].

In Brussels, the Flemish nationalists met at the Vlaams Huis [Flanders House]. Not only were the seats in the great hall all taken by a select public [. . .]. Achille Brijs gave a speech in which he severely criticized the anti-Flemish politics of the [exiled] Belgian government in Le Havre. There was much applause. [. . .][49]

The *Gazette*'s willingness to print Moulaert's letters, while *De Volksstem* refused to do so, is significant. Indeed, it can be taken as an indication that the *Gazette* disapproved of the alleged collaboration of some Flemish nationalists with the German occupier and sided with the more moderate leaders of the Flemish Movement – Louis Franck, Frans Van Cauwelaert and Camille Huysmans – who considered it necessary to temporarily halt the language struggle so as not to unduly weaken Belgian resistance to the German occupation.

Albert Moulaert's letters, printed in the *Gazette*, constantly allude to the patriotic quality of that temporary ceasefire at a time of war, as in the following three excerpts:

To the editor-in-chief of the Volksstem, De Pere, Wisc.

Dear Sir,

I have read in your esteemed weekly newspaper of the 9th of this month an article entitled 'The Flemish Nationalist Movement in Flanders', which described the festivities held in occupied Belgium to commemorate the Battle of the Golden Spurs. Allow me to express my amazement at the inexperience and the blindness of these Flemings who take the Huns for defenders of their mother tongue. Luckily most if not all of the senior and better-known leaders of the Flemish Movement have understood that the only objective of our enemies is to divide the Flemings and the Walloons by creating discord and strife so that they can rule more easily over our country. [. . .]

Albert Moulaert

Consul General of Belgium[50]

To the editor-in-chief of the Volksstem, De Pere, Wisc.

Dear Sir,

[. . .] Regrettably there are Belgians, who are so fervently anti-French, that they tie everything to the language conflict and, even in this latest battle between freedom and oppression, between democracy and aristocracy, do they think only of the centuries-long battle between the French kings and the Flemish communes.

It is sad that they do not realise that they are aiding the Huns. Allow me to mention that the Chicago Journal of the 22nd of this month declared in an editorial that anyone who wishes to bring about the administrative division of Belgium acts solely to the advantage of the Germans. [. . .]

Sincerely,

[. . .] Albert Moulaert

Consul General of Belgium[51]

To Mr. Adolph B. Suess, editor of the Volksstem, De Pere, Wisc.

Sir,

[. . .] May I ask why you publish articles that could create conflict between the Flemings and the Walloons and why you do not print my letters written in response to their content? [. . .]

ALBERT MOULAERT

Consul General of Belgium[52]

De Volksstem, not in the least impressed by Albert Moulaert's pleas, continued reporting on Flemish 'activists' activities, and in particular on the political autonomy achieved by Flanders under German occupation. On 10 April 1918, for instance, it printed a list of all 'activist' representatives elected to the *Raad van Vlaanderen*, a Flemish parliament created with German approval. In the same issue, it also mentioned the removal of all French street names in Antwerp.

ANTWERP. – Last week one has started painting over all of the French street names. From now on only Flemish street names will be allowed.[53]

The *Gazette* remained mum on all of these issues and in fact, as already mentioned, significantly toned down its overtly Flemish nationalist content. Instead, one finds articles that are weary of any accusation of *activism*, i.e. of collaboration with the enemy.

RASH JUDGEMENT

Because of the war the Belgian people find themselves in a peculiar situation. [. . .] Let us remember that today there is not a greater insult for a Belgian than to be accused of being a traitor; [. . .] let us remember that to promote national unity, misunderstandings and bitterness have to be prevented as much as possible, and that one should not question anyone's loyalty to the state if one does not have absolute proof to the contrary.[54]

The *Volksstem* ceased publication shortly after the First World War, when it merged in 1919 with the *Gazette van Moline*, which was ultimately absorbed by the *Gazette van Detroit* in 1940.

For some members of the Flemish community in Detroit, the *Gazette*'s stance on the language question during the years of the Great War had not been militant, i.e. not *flamingant*, enough. In the 1920s, this led to two short-lived attempts at militant Flemish publications promoting the Flemish nationalist idea: *De Straal* and *De Goedendag*.[55]

Finally, besides Flemish 'activism', the *Gazette van Detroit* also avoided another linguistic hot potato: extra-legal and legal attempts to curtail the use of immigrant languages in the United States after that country decided to enter the war. One such attempt was the *Babel Proclamation*, issued on 23 May 1918, by the then governor of the state of Iowa, William L. Harding. The *Proclamation* forbade the public use of any language other than English. Specifically, (1) it made English the sole 'medium of instruction in public, private, denominational and other similar schools', (2) it required that 'conversations in public places, on trains and over the telephone' always be conducted in English, (3) it ordered 'public addresses' to always be spoken in English and (4) it advised 'those who cannot speak or understand the English language to conduct their religious worship in their homes'.[56] This piece of wartime legislation quickly became controversial and was repealed a few months later on 4 December 1918. Americans in general did not object to the prohibition of German, but felt that the banning of all foreign languages was somewhat over-zealous. Indeed, many advised the Governor that the languages of America's allies and friends should not be classed with those of its enemies. Several immigrant groups also made strenuous protests: among them the Bohemians, Norwegians, Swedes and Danish, and also the Dutch.

> We do not believe that the Governor has the authority to maintain this proclamation, and even if he did, why would he include all the friendly nations and put them on a par with the Hun? [. . .] To forbid the use of French, Bohemian, Dutch, Italian or Flemish would be a hostile act against many of the best Americans and also against the nations who are our allies in this war.[57]

None of this controversy, however, was reported on in the *Gazette van Detroit*. Today, scholars agree that the *Babel Proclamation* significantly speeded the switch to English of several immigrant groups in the United

States: the Germans, of course, but also the Danish[58] and the Dutch,[59] who were in a sense dealt a double blow by the pervasive confusion of Dutch and German by the American mainstream.

Conclusion

Briefly then, to conclude, in 1916–1918 the *Gazette van Detroit* was the main newspaper of an only moderately integrated community that maintained strong ties with its homeland in the Low Countries. Its language was the vernacular of its readership, i.e. Flemish, and its populist ideology was both leftist and Flemish-nationalist, but not radical (or 'activist'). Its attitude was careful to say the least, and this may well have played a role in its surviving the First World War. This carefulness may be explained by the ban that had been imposed on all foreign-language newspapers by the American Congress in October 1917. Newspapers had to submit to the Postmaster General English translations of their articles and editorials.

> [. . .] we have to abide by the law. As you know, all newspapers written in a foreign language have to translate their articles about the war and file a copy with the Postmaster.[60]

If translations were found not to be exact, the penalties included heavy fines and imprisonment as well as the loss of second-class mailing privileges. It became dangerous for newspapers to print editorials arguing that the draft was illegal, or that big capital had brought on the war, as the *Gazette* had done, for instance, a year before the ban.

> Why War?
> [. . .] Don't you see that the war in Europe totally destroys the quality of life of the working class but puts more money in the coffers of those money-hungry barons. [. . .]
> Albert Baertsoen[61]

The *Gazette*, then, was in an uncomfortable position, being constantly scrutinised not only by representatives of the Belgian government (such as Albert Moulaert), but also by the American government. After the Great War, in the 1920s, the *Gazette*'s overtly Flemish nationalist content increased again. At least two active supporters of the Flemish

Movement, one of them a former member of the Front Movement (or *Frontbeweging*), a Flemish nationalist movement started by Flemish soldiers at the Yser front, would be among its most frequent contributors: Adolf Spillemaeckers and Jozef Segers (Father Ladislas), based in Blenheim, Ontario, who had been a stretcher-bearer during the war.[62]

6
‘Beyond *A Bridge Too Far*’: the aftermath of the Battle of Arnhem (1944) and its impact on civilian life

Reinier Salverda

The subject of this contribution is not the Battle of Arnhem in September 1944, nor the sacrifice of British and Polish troops during one of the last great battles of the Second World War, but rather the aftermath of this battle and its impact on the people of Arnhem, starting from 23 September 1944, when the German military ordered the immediate expulsion of all of Arnhem’s civilians. To understand what happened back then, we will draw on a range of contemporary eyewitness reports which bring home the brutal realities of forced evacuation, of the subsequent large-scale plunder and of the destruction of Arnhem between September 1944 and Liberation in April 1945. We will also analyse how, during the next quarter-century, Arnhem made a full recovery, rebuilding and reinventing itself until in 1969 post-war reconstruction was complete. Beyond the standard narrative of the Battle of Arnhem as given in Cornelius Ryan’s *A Bridge Too Far* (1974) and in Lou de Jong’s Arnhem discussion in his *History of The Kingdom of the Netherlands during the Second World War* (vol. 10A-1, 1980), we have an important source for Arnhem’s destruction and rebuilding in the findings of local historians. Their accounts provide a remarkable insight into the dynamics of conflict and discord versus the traditions of concord and consensus-building in the Netherlands – of which Arnhem’s history before, during and after the war is a paradigm case.

Introduction

In September 2014 the seventieth anniversary of the Battle of Arnhem was commemorated, in the presence of many veterans, with a wide-ranging programme of events of great symbolic and emotional impact, in gratitude, respect and admiration for those very many Allied soldiers who gave their lives for freedom and justice in the bold and daring attack that was Operation Market Garden.[1] While its aim was to shorten the war and finish it by Christmas 1944, in reality the Battle of Arnhem became the last German victory in Europe, and for the many millions of Europeans all over the continent this defeat of the Allies delayed the end of war by another nine months until May 1945.

In what follows, I will focus not so much on the battle itself as on its aftermath, and on the consequences it had for the civilian population of the Arnhem area. In so doing I am following on from an earlier Anglo-Dutch conference held at University College London, in April 1989, under the patronage of HRH Prince Bernhard. During this conference, Piet Kamphuis, Deputy Head of the Military History Section of the Dutch Army, was one of the first to discuss the impact of Operation Market Garden on the civilian population of the Netherlands.[2]

As Kamphuis stated, in a presentation broadly following De Jong's *Koninkrijk*,[3] the airborne landings near Arnhem on 17 September 1944 generated immense excitement among the civilian population, and high hopes of victory and liberation, which, however, were dashed by very heavy fighting, extremely dangerous battlefield conditions, and severe German retribution against the Dutch resistance and civilians; and it all ended with widespread dejection at the Allied defeat. Also, 'in the entire occupied part of the country, a price had to be paid':[4] the defeat at Arnhem split the country in two, with the southern half of the Netherlands enjoying liberation, while for the north it meant the continuation of Nazi occupation for many months until April–May 1945. As punishment for the Dutch national railway strike of September 1944, the Germans prohibited the transport of all goods by barge, so supplies of food in the western part of the country ran out, and the desperate Hunger Winter ensued, which exacted the very high toll of 18,000 dead.[5] Meanwhile, even if by 23 September the battle was lost, fighting continued everywhere; the resistance was heavily involved in organising safe places, food, medical care and escape lines for hundreds of surviving Allied soldiers, and the entire population of Arnhem and surroundings,

some 180,000 people in all, were summarily ejected by the German military command, followed by the wholesale looting and destruction of the city. And of all this – that is, of the heroic Allied defeat, of the terrible toll on occupied Holland during that last winter, and especially of the enduring Anglo-Dutch solidarity in the fight against Nazi Germany – 'Arnhem was and is the symbol', as Kamphuis concluded.[6]

It is now twenty-five years since Kamphuis gave his presentation, and today we know a lot more than he could have presented. It is time, therefore, to try to take his topic further, going beyond battlefield history and focusing on the aftermath of this battle and its impact on the people of Arnhem.

The wider perspective of this contribution is defined by the theme of discord and consensus in modern, post-war Dutch history – a theme with wide-ranging socio-cultural and political ramifications – witness phenomena such as *Verzuiling* (pillarisation), its counterpoint in the polarisation of Dutch society in the 1970s, and the consensus-oriented ways of the *poldermodel*.[7]

Here, the grand narrative which the Arnhem case presents runs as follows. Before the war Arnhem was a provincial town of comfort and leisure. Severely jolted by the German onslaught of May 1940, it had to suffer four years of Nazi occupation, until the battle of September 1944, followed by evacuation and the almost total destruction of the city. When Liberation came in April 1945, there were only ruins in Arnhem; it was a dead city with almost no people. But over the next quarter of a century, the united efforts of rebuilding and renewal have ensured the rebirth of Arnhem, rising Phoenix-like from its ashes, as a new and modern model garden city of the post-war era.[8]

Within this overall narrative, however, we encounter markedly different visions. There is a considerable distance between, on the one hand, the narrative of the destruction of Arnhem in the work of Van Iddekinge and Kerkhoffs, both published in 1981, and on the other hand, the way in which Van Meurs et al. in 2004 have portrayed the Second World War as almost a blip in Arnhem's twentieth-century history.[9] For many people, the battle and its aftermath have been a deeply shattering experience, a catastrophe triggering a lifelong quest for answers as well as a strong and living tradition of commemorations. For others, however, the war and its consequences are something of the past: ruins and devastation have been replaced by a beautiful new city, and in these modern times what we need is to move forward rather than dwell on the past.

These different views may well reflect the very different experiences of people from different generations. But for the historian looking

at Arnhem's recent history, they pose two major questions. First a question of fact: what actually happened to the people of Arnhem in 1944–5, during the evacuation, destruction and plunder in the Arnhem war zone? How did they cope and survive, and how did they pick up the pieces, rebuilding the city and commemorating those terrible events? Secondly a question of interpretation: what can the sometimes very different views and stories of participants as well as historians reveal about the dynamics of discord and consensus in Arnhem before, during and after the war?

Revisiting the Battle of Arnhem: September 1944

After D-Day in June 1944, Arnhem in September 1944 was the toughest battle on the Western Front, and it was here that the Allied drive forward came to a standstill.

Over the past seventy years an entire library has been produced of battlefield history, making Arnhem one of the best documented cases of why and how a battle was fought and lost.[10] What the world knows of this battle is dominated to a very large extent by Cornelius Ryan's standard work *A Bridge Too Far* (1974), its many translations, and the epic, multi-star film this bestseller was made into by Sir Richard Attenborough in 1977.[11] In his book, Ryan, himself a war correspondent, gave voice to the very many participants and eyewitnesses he interviewed, and on this basis presented a painstaking, almost hour-by-hour account of the battle. The first message of his book – namely that everything which could go wrong for the airborne soldiers did in fact go very badly wrong – was strongly reinforced in Attenborough's film. So too was its corollary: the Battle of Arnhem as a story of fighting under impossible conditions, holding out against all odds, with many shining examples of courage and humanity, until the heroic but inevitable defeat of the British airborne troops.

The *Ur*-text underlying this and other histories of the battle is the very thorough investigation by the Arnhem military historian Lt. Col. Theodoor A. Boeree[12] who, from September 1944 onwards, assembled a large collection of documents and information, and systematically interviewed all the military leaders involved, both Allied and German. With this first-hand information, Boeree's work set the standard for all subsequent histories of the Battle of Arnhem – not just those of Ryan and De Jong, but also Kershaw, Middlebrook and many others.[13] However, as there had long been a rumour that the Arnhem defeat was due to

betrayal,[14] Boeree's first priority was to put on record 'incontrovertible proof that there was no betrayal',[15] and that 'King Kong', i.e. the Dutch double agent Lindemans, 'was not the betrayer of Arnhem'.[16] In consequence, many other matters, though noted as important, were relegated to 'what could make up a second book'.[17]

So what about that second book? Here we may think, first of all, of the human dimension of the battle, for example in the story 'Number 4078 Private Malcolm' by Maria Dermoût (1994), written in the autumn of 1944 during her evacuation from Arnhem, about her grandson, Bas Kist, who was then ten years old and for whom 'the world had, in the course of a very few days, changed forever'. One day, the little boy comes home all excited and shows his new-found treasures – a red cap, a leather belt and a canvas bag, all belonging to a British soldier, about to be buried by the farmer with whom they were staying. When the boy, cap on his head, reads out 'Four Nil Seven Eight, Private Malcolm', his grandmother, for a fleeting moment, senses and can almost see the dead soldier. Then quickly she tells the boy to hide away those things, for fear the Germans may find them and take reprisals.

On one level, this is just a simple war story of a dead soldier. But by giving him his name, Maria Dermoût remembers Private Malcolm as an individual person – whereas at Arnhem the dead were so very many.[18] The story may remind us also that even today, seventy years on, there are still some 140 Allied soldiers unaccounted for, missing in action in the fields, the woods, the streets or ruins of Arnhem.

Since then, many other things have come to light. The German side of the battle, for example, has been thoroughly investigated, and with the publications by Tieke, Tiemens, Kershaw and Berends we are today much better informed on the operations of the German military at Arnhem.[19] Further pieces to the battle jigsaw have been added in the book by Irwin[20] on the three-man Jedburgh Special Forces teams, dropped behind enemy lines in support of the fighting at Arnhem; and also in the analysis by Jeffson[21] of how vital intelligence from Ultra was ignored during Operation Market Garden. As a result of this and other new information, we now know far more precisely what went wrong at Arnhem, and how, and why. This in turn has led the Dutch military historian Klep[22] to focus on the many errors in the British planning of this operation and to present a much more critical assessment than Kamphuis gave twenty-five years ago.

In a way, this is the normal course of events in historical research: new questions and new findings, new sources, new insights,

new views and assessments, and new lines of critical scrutiny often necessitate a revision of accepted opinion. The challenge here is for new generations of scholars to identify what research is needed in order to improve the historical record as given in the standard works by Bauer, Ryan and De Jong – and thus to fill the 'second book' Boeree envisaged.[23]

The evacuation and destruction of Arnhem: September 1944 until April–May 1945

If war is the motor and driving force of history, then this is certainly true of Arnhem in the twentieth century. In the 1930s Arnhem was a proud and pleasant city, green, modern and full of enterprise, home to large international companies such as KEMA, AKU and ENKA, and with a new bridge built across the Rhine in 1935.[24] Then, May 1940 brought the German occupation which, with its fascist New Order and *Führerprinzip*, constituted a fundamental attack on Dutch civil society, on its traditional principles of liberty, justice and equality, and its ancient freedoms of religion and association.[25] By the summer of 1944, as a result, there was no mayor, alderman or city council left in Arnhem.[26] The only civil organisation still functioning was the Red Cross under Dr Van der Does.

On Saturday, 23 September 1944, at the end of the battle, the German military ordered the immediate evacuation of the population of Arnhem. According to *Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer* Hanns Albin Rauter, the highest German police and security authority in occupied Holland,[27] this order came right from the top, i.e. from *Generalfeldmarschall* Walter Model, as Rauter stated after the war during his trial as a war criminal[28] – at a time when Model was already dead. The fact is that the order was issued by *SS-Obersturmführer* Helmut Peter of the *Feldgendarmerie* of the 9th SS-Panzer division 'Hohenstaufen'.[29] There has been some debate about who issued that order, whether they had the authority to do so, and the fact that this may well have been a war crime. But no one could be under any illusion as to the seriousness of the German threat attached to it: the Red Cross authorities were given three days to complete the evacuation, after which there would be systematic carpet bombing of the entire city – 'mit Bombenteppichen muss gerechnet werden'.[30] Given what had happened in May 1940 to Rotterdam, and more recently in Stalingrad and Warsaw, such a message, coming from the German *SS-Feldkommando*, could not be taken

lightly. And so, having obtained the order in writing, Dr Van der Does and the Red Cross set out to implement it.

Over the next three days, 150,000 people were evacuated to safer areas. Everybody had to go, young and old, women and children, sick and wounded, but also – and this was extremely dangerous – the many people who had had to go into hiding underground: Jews, students, policemen, as well as a large number of escaped British soldiers[31] and the Dutch civilians who had helped them and now risked summary execution by the German military. From Arnhem, people were fleeing everywhere, ending up in places such as the Zoo[32] and the Open Air Museum,[33] both just north of the city. Many also went to neighbouring villages and cities, expecting to return home after a short while, but then having to stay there until well after Liberation. Many others were forced very much further afield; some as far away as Friesland.[34] Chaos ensued, and the city fell prey to widespread looting and destruction. Meanwhile, a few well-organised people managed to rescue considerable food stocks, which they took to places where large groups of evacuees had ended up; others, at great personal risk, succeeded in rescuing many priceless art treasures.[35]

All this is related in much greater detail in the major scholarly account of what happened in Arnhem during the year 1944/5. This is the standard work by the Arnhem historian Van Iddekinge, which is based on the collection of eyewitness accounts brought together in the municipal archive and library of Arnhem, in the Boeree Collection and other collections. Iddekinge's monograph was, however, not published until 1981, and came out only after the volume of De Jong's *Koninkrijk* dealing with Arnhem in the last year of the war had been published in 1980. This may help to explain why every year in September there is a commemoration of the battle, whereas the subsequent destruction of Arnhem and the suffering of its people appear to be largely outside Dutch national consciousness and memory of the war.[36]

It was only after the publications by Arnhem historians such as Iddekinge and Kerkhoffs in 1981 that the plight of the Arnhem refugees really began to receive scholarly attention. Of particular interest here is the Vroemen Collection, which holds a wide range of materials – photographs, diaries, interviews, reports, letters, eyewitness accounts and personal recollections, from Dutchmen, Belgians, Canadians, Britons, Americans and Germans – all documenting their experiences during and after the Battle of Arnhem.[37] New refugee stories keep coming out and are being actively collected today.[38]

After the battle and the evacuation, the destruction of Arnhem took off and continued until Liberation in April–May 1945. The Netherlands as a whole was plundered too: bridges, railways, church bells, bicycles, radios, industrial installations, railroads, harbours and shipyards, hospitals, universities and research facilities, sluices and dykes – everything was stolen or else destroyed. In 1945 the Dutch claim on Germany for war damages and reparations amounted to 3.6 billion guilders in total.[39]

But Arnhem, according to Konijnenburg, was the town that suffered most. Arnhem and everything in it, in punishment for the support its population gave to the airborne enemy, was declared forfeit by the German leadership – i.e. Von Rundstedt and Seyss-Inquart, according to Konijnenburg[40] and Iddekinge[41] – and made over to plunder crews from Germany. While no civilians were allowed into the Arnhem zone, on pain of deportation or death, these crews and their Dutch helpers proceeded to plunder and destroy Arnhem on a truly colossal scale, affecting all sectors of society and economy: factories, shops, banks, offices, laboratories, machines, stocks and supplies, raw materials, farms and livestock; but also Dutch culture – paintings, libraries, antiques, museums and special collections; as well as all private property, houses, furniture, clothing, valuables, pianos, beds, books, paintings and other household goods.[42] Everything of value was taken and carried off, and the rest was destroyed, thrown out into the streets, put to fire, or left covered in excrement. The loot, systematically collected by a wide range of German organisations,[43] was registered in the *Beutesammelstelle*,[44] the loot-gathering station at the Burgemeestersplein, before being shipped off to Germany in many wagonloads per day.

Because of the administrative thoroughness of the Germans, we are quite well informed about the extent of the destruction. This is also clearly documented in the many eyewitness accounts printed straight after the war, such as the report by De Boorder and Kruiderink and *Arnhem's Calvary* by Frequin et al.[45] There is also the extraordinary photographic record of the actual looting while it was going on, made, at great personal risk, by the Arnhem photographer De Booijs,[46] and the two volumes of pictures of Arnhem's ruins, taken in 1945 by Nico Kramer.[47] The total damage at Arnhem was estimated by the city authorities at 400 million guilders, or more than 10 per cent of the national war claim of 3.6 billion.[48] Outraged, the underground newspaper *Het Parool* of Monday, 16 April 1945 declared on its front page 'Arnhem: de grootste misdaad der Duitschers – stad werd "verbeurd verklaard" en totaal geplunderd. Normaal leven voorlopig onmogelijk.'[49]

To cover up their robbery, the Germans often torched buildings, streets and neighbourhoods. As against this, all through that period, volunteers from the Arnhem Fire Brigade and the *Technische Nooddienst* (Technical Emergency Service), at very grave personal risk, battled to extinguish those fires, doing everything they could to save their city. Directly after the war, however, it was they who were vilified, and who then had to defend their actions and their good name.[50] Those unsung heroes have had to wait very many years before they got any public acknowledgement from the city authorities for their vital service.

The devastation of Arnhem was of course most terrible for its people, who in the summer of 1945 returned to their empty, plundered or destroyed dwellings, when Arnhem had become a city of ghosts, of rats and ruins, weeds and silence. But nothing could stop the evacuees from coming back, walking for days on end if necessary, and starting to clean up and repair with their own hands what was left of their homes and possessions. Today still, quite a few Arnhem people who lived through the ordeal of 1944/5 are very angry about what happened.[51] Their lasting bitterness forms another counterpoint to the assessment given by Piet Kamphuis.

When trying to put things in perspective, two comparisons are relevant. First, on the national level, looking at the loss of life we note that during the Battle of Arnhem some 3,000 airborne soldiers were killed plus 188 Arnhem civilians (of whom about forty were summarily executed by the Germans); during the ensuing evacuation period an estimated 2,000 civilians died, many as victims of summary executions, razzias and deportations, starvation and actions of war; while more than 100,000 Arnhem people were ejected and lost everything. In this respect, Arnhem can be compared to Rotterdam, where, during the German fire-bombing in May 1940, 900 civilians and 185 Dutch soldiers were killed, while 80,000 people had to flee and lost everything.

The second comparison is an international one. We know that in September 1944 there was a widespread fear that Arnhem was set to become a major battle front and would end up as a second Stalingrad or Warsaw. Directly after the war, however, the Arnhem writer Johan van der Woude, in his *Arnhem, Contested City* (1945), a vivid account of life during the war right up until Liberation, came to a different assessment: it had indeed been a terrible period in Arnhem, but not as terrible as in London or Coventry, Sebastopol or Leningrad.[52]

Rebuilding the city and the nation: 1945–1969

After Liberation, freedom and the immense energy it released among the people of Arnhem formed a major impulse and triggered a vast effort at rebuilding and renewal of the city. In 1945, the immediate and overriding priority for which everyone and everything was mobilised was a campaign to clean up what was left of the city. Doelman, a visitor from Rotterdam, wrote that Arnhem in July 1945 was a 'dead town',[53] in need of everything. A report he quoted from the municipal social services department stated that the people of Arnhem did not have anything left: no beds, chairs, windowpanes, pans, cutlery, coffeepots, curtains, pencils, telephones, absolutely nothing. So Doelman's message to the rest of the Netherlands was: Come over and help Arnhem! And that is what happened: the city of Amsterdam, together with the Red Cross, straightaway adopted Arnhem, and all through the summer, the services, the citizens, engineers, nurses, carpenters, cleaners, mechanics, etc. of Amsterdam came over in large numbers and helped the people of Arnhem on their way.

Right from the start, the Arnhem cry for help rang out far and wide across the world. Every week Mayor Matser, a genius at public relations, was in the news worldwide, and help came pouring in from everywhere. By Christmas 1945, many people in Arnhem received aid packages from Switzerland and other countries as far away as the Philippines and Brazil.[54]

From the beginning there was also a strong impulse to commemorate the terrible events of the preceding year. The Arnhem Monument to Justice was inaugurated: a broken pillar of the Court of Justice, which had been destroyed during the battle. The first airborne ceremony, in September 1945, inaugurated a strong tradition, and ever since the battle has been the occasion of airborne commemorations at places of memory in Arnhem, Oosterbeek and surroundings. In 1946, the first film of the Battle of Arnhem was shown, *Theirs is the Glory*, produced by the British Army, using authentic participants – survivors from Oosterbeek and airborne soldiers re-enacting the battle on location. This film has been of iconic significance, with its narrative of the battle as a tragic British defeat, of heroism, suffering and sacrifice, all for the ultimate victory of freedom, justice and democracy over Nazi Germany. What Kamphuis noted in 1990 – namely Arnhem as the symbol of this fight – really has its early beginnings in this film.

The following two decades, from 1945 till 1969, were the years of reconstruction and renewal. Led by the inspirational mayor Matser, all of Arnhem had but one single priority – to rebuild the city. All available energies, manpower, planning, organisation, enterprise and capital were channelled into a concerted effort to repair, rebuild and replace the war damage and destruction. From rubble to clean-up, from ruins to temporary huts, then from huts to new and modern buildings – everything proceeded apace while houses, bridges, schools, churches and offices were being repaired. The central focus throughout this period was to realise the *Arnhems Stadsplan 1953*, the blueprint prepared by Arnhem's chief urban developer, Van Muilwijk.[55] Rebuilding was much more than just undoing the damage. In true modernist fashion it also involved renewal – not just the construction of many new buildings of high-quality architectural design, which today are recognised as modern monuments in Arnhem, but also the engineering of new social values and a new public image of the town as a modern, green, enterprising and industrious model city.[56]

Directly after the war, cultural life picked up again too. The very active WAK organisation united the writers, painters, musicians and sculptors of the artistic community of Arnhem. The theatre was rebuilt and inaugurated through a reunion of artists with the patrons they had been working with underground during the occupation. Modern European art, culture and music were brought in. Marshall Aid was used to develop hotels and stimulate the tourist industry. And there was a considerable English influence: Arnhem entered into a city link with Croydon; the Sonsbeek sculpture garden exhibitions began which brought Henry Moore to Arnhem; and in the streets one would see trolley buses, lunchrooms and tea rooms. It all created an image of Arnhem as a pleasant, cultured, modern garden city.

With this newly built and cultured environment also came a new view of society and education. The secondary school I attended was linked to the Putney School for Girls; education in future would have to be not just academic but also character building, and in addition to very good English teachers we also had lots of sports, like hockey and tennis, and a debating society. There was also a German teacher who brought home to us that the war we fought was with the Nazis, not with the Germans. Here, reconstruction went well beyond restoration and the production of new buildings in a new city: it also brought about a renewal of society and its values.

Unfinished business

Silences and ignorance: the discontents of reconstruction

The immense achievement of the reconstruction era has come at a cost. The priorities of the Matser years had been clear: rebuilding first, second and third – and everything else would have to wait. Many Dutch people, moreover, were too busy anyway rebuilding the city and their lives to have much time for looking back, reflection or critical scrutiny of events in the past. Also, though many people had their memories, their nightmares and their pain, what they had been through was generally not much talked about. As a consequence of these various factors, on many matters to do with the war in Arnhem there is, still today, a lot of ignorance, incomplete knowledge, and misrepresentation of what actually happened back then.

A case in point is the publication in 2004, by Van Meurs et al., of a 400-page book on Arnhem's history in the twentieth century, containing a very short chapter, entitled 'Tweede Wereldoorlog' (six pages, containing eight photographs with short texts), sitting in the middle of the volume, between fifteen other thematic and longitudinal chapters, with a wealth of information on topics such as urban development, city administration, demographic development, health care, education, culture, media, sports and garrison (though not the police).[57] Throughout, the focus of this book is on continuities and long-term trends running through Arnhem's twentieth-century history. As a consequence of this approach, the war and the battle are presented as hardly more than a blip. Compared to the narrative in Iddekinge and Kerkhoffs, which present the war and the battle as a shattering period of absolutely defining importance, the new view of Van Meurs et al. amounted to a complete reversal of analysis and appreciation.

Now, while, of course, there are many continuities linking the pre-war and post-war periods in Arnhem's history, it would be too much to conclude from this that the war was merely a blip in Arnhem's history. In any case, to make this argument, Van Meurs et al. would have had to adduce a full investigation into life in Arnhem under the German occupation for the period 1940–5, showing, for each of the fifteen thematic sectors, *Wie es wirklich gewesen*, and what impact the occupation years have had for the people of Arnhem. Thus, for example, the chapter on

Arnhem as a garrison town would have had to explain its strategic location during the war, its military significance, the many large barracks in and around it, the concentration of many kinds of German troops who came to Arnhem for rest and recreation, the presence of the military airfield and the crucial air control centre nearby at Schaarsbergen and Deelen, and also the number of high-ranking Germans (such as the top general, Christiansen) who were resident in Arnhem during the war, many of whom, after Liberation, were prosecuted there on the *Rennen Enk* estate.

If this kind of investigation had been done for each of the fifteen thematic sectors, then Van Meurs et al. might have had a case. But it has not been done, and so – however interesting the mental exercise of thinking away the war and the battle – their book is lacking a basis in research. So their case is not proven, and those six pages must be seen as untenable, the outcome of amnesia and ignorance rather than of research.

The battle, Liberation and reconstruction have made a real *caesura* in Arnhem's twentieth-century history. On many aspects of this history we are quite well informed, but there is also quite a lot of unfinished business and a need for historical research as a critical counterpoint to ignorance, amnesia and myth-making. In particular, what still needs to be investigated is Arnhem life under occupation, along the lines of the work undertaken by Gerhard Hirschfeld.[58]

A good starting point would be the *Arnhem Freedom Trail* of 2007, an impressive online map of *lieux de mémoire* in Arnhem, containing a great amount of solid but little-known information on places and events to do with all aspects of the war in Arnhem, both before and after that week in September 1944. This holds for the realities of accommodation – e.g. the Arnhem newspaper and its muddling through in order to survive the war[59] – just as much as for the collaboration of the three NSB mayors – Liera, Schermer and Hollaar – who were running Arnhem between August 1944 and April 1945, which would make a very interesting topic for research. In this connection, we should note that the Arnhem city council, ever since the war, has repeatedly demanded – and has been promised several times – an account of the wartime actions of the city authorities, who, however, have consistently remained silent on this.

If we want a full and proper scrutiny of Arnhem's war record, then the following three topics would seem to me to merit further investigation. First of all, with respect to the reign of terror by the occupation regime and their Dutch collaborators, we are fortunate in having the painstaking reconstruction by Diender,[60] more than sixty years after the

event, of one particular case of summary execution of Dutch civilians in Arnhem during the battle. It is true that after the war the two highest police authorities in Arnhem were prosecuted, sentenced to death and executed: first, in 1946, Major Feenstra of the *Marechaussee*, then later Rauter in 1949. Still, one would want to learn more about the realities of terror in Arnhem – the Jew hunts, the *Silbertanne* murders, the razzias during and after the battle, further summary executions, and the role of the various police forces under their command. Note here that, unlike those of Tilburg and other cities in Brabant, the Arnhem police so far have not offered a full historic account of their role during the occupation years.

Secondly, on the role of the resistance during the war years in Arnhem we do not yet have a comprehensive monograph. Information here is often scattered and fragmentary, and so not nearly enough is known, for example, of how school resistance against Nazi takeover attempts began in Arnhem at the Protestant Van Löben Sels Primary School, or how in 1944 the Arnhem jail was twice successfully broken into by the resistance to liberate a number of their friends.[61] The Arnhem municipal archive contains many unpublished reports as well as the invaluable collections of Boeree and Vroemen, which are being digitised at the moment. Those sources contain quite a few names from which further research should start – a roll call of ordinary Arnhem people, men and women from all walks of life, who chose to resist the Nazis, such as Paul Bresser, Bijlsma, De Booijs, Van Daalen, Bart Deuss, Van der Does, Dommering, Dijland, De Greef, Alex Hartman, Mrs Van 't Hart, Hoefsloot, Jonker, Marga Klompé, Han Knap, Van Krimpen, Pieter Kruyff, Laterveer, Harry Montfroy, Onck, Onnekink, Overduin, Johannes Penseel, Sjoukje Tiddens-Hoyting, Tiemens, Versluys, Gé Wunderink, and quite a few others as well.

The third and final topic on which there should be further research concerns the Jews of Arnhem. In this contribution, we have been looking at the aftermath of the Battle of Arnhem and its impact on the civilian population. But we should never forget that long before that battle the Jewish population of Arnhem had already largely been extinguished through Nazi deportation and mass murder. It was not until 2003 that the first monograph on the fate of the Jews of Arnhem was published, documenting how from Arnhem more than 1,500 of its 1,700 Jews were deported and murdered in German concentration camps.[62] Quite a few Arnhem Jews were saved because Johannes Penseel and his wife Maria Elisabeth helped them, very early on, to go into hiding and to escape from German deportation and extermination, and in 2008, in

recognition of their help to the Jews of Arnhem, they were both posthumously recognised as 'Righteous among the Nations' by Yad Vashem, the State of Israel's official Holocaust memorial. Further research can be very revealing, as we can see in the case of Mr Spinoza Catella Jessurun, a Jewish survivor who came back from hiding in the summer of 1945 but then had his house in Arnhem taken from him by the city authorities. When he sued them over this, the Arnhem court emphatically decided in his favour, making it clear that the city government no longer could do as they pleased during the war, since the rule of law was now back in Arnhem.[63]

It is fitting and proper that the oldest and most important war memorial of Arnhem is a tribute to Justice, the broken pillar of the old court building mentioned previously.

The dynamics of discord and consensus

From the perspective of the central theme of discord and consensus, our findings can be summarised as follows.

In general, Arnhem's twentieth-century history before, during and after the war is in line with the national pattern of Dutch history under German occupation[64] and during post-war reconstruction.[65] The Battle of Arnhem in September 1944 and the subsequent forced evacuation and destruction of Arnhem while the Allied and German troops were continuing the war constituted a terrible ordeal which has exacted a very high toll on the people of Arnhem. During that ordeal, a few good men and women stepped forward, from the Red Cross, the fire brigade, the technical emergency service and the resistance. At a time when all other civil institutions and organisations in Arnhem failed or had been destroyed by the Germans, they formed the backbone of Arnhem's civil society, and with their courageous initiatives they managed to save much of the city. But when the war was over, it was they who were blamed and vilified. Over the next twenty-five years, starting with the mass clean-up of 1945–6, there was a great and united endeavour to rebuild the city. Rebuilding in the Arnhem case was much more than restoration, and the city was effectively reinvented as a modern, model garden city, with industry, leisure and international allure. At the same time, the reconstruction years also brought the construction of a new and forward-looking consensus, dominated by post-battle rejuvenation of city and society – but with no time for anything other than rebuilding,

and as a result little attention to important matters which have had to wait a very long time before being investigated.

In these various respects, Arnhem is not very different from the general narrative of post-war Dutch reconstruction. However, whereas shortly after the war an extensive discussion of the Arnhem case was included as a centre-piece in the national survey of war damage by Konijnenburg, it is to be noted that sixty years later, the war is regarded as little more than a blip in Arnhem history as portrayed by Van Meurs et al. (2004) and, at the same time, Arnhem's destruction and rebuilding is conspicuously absent from the narrative on post-war recovery, reconstruction and renewal of the Dutch nation as a whole given in the work by Schuyt and Taverne. In my view – contra Van Meurs et al. and Schuyt and Taverne – Arnhem, its destruction and its recovery after the war should be seen as a paradigm case of these historical processes in the Netherlands.

Arnhem's twentieth-century history is marked by a very special combination of its local, national and international dimensions. The balance between them in Arnhem historiography is tilted towards the international, as if Arnhem were just a theatre for outside actors from Germany and Britain fighting it out with each other. There is a concomitant lack of research into the local dimension, and there are many hidden histories of the war years in Arnhem which still need to be written – in particular the story of the Arnhem resistance, of the German terror against civilians, the war record of the city authorities and the role of the three NSB mayors running Arnhem between August 1944 and Liberation, as well as the involvement of the Arnhem police. In-depth studies of these topics will have much to contribute to a clearer understanding of Arnhem's war history.

Over the past decades, a number of important new studies have been published, and publications such as the online *Arnhem Freedom Trail 2007* and the monograph on the Jews of Arnhem by Klijn present us with lots of unique and valuable information and insights. We know that the past will continue to be contested, and that – as Pieter Geyl said – history is a never-ending discussion. But when we engage in further research and scrutiny of the past, we also know that we have a solid basis upon which to build.

7

‘A sort of wishful dream’: challenging colonial time and ‘Indische’ identities in Hella S. Haasse’s *Oeroeg*, *Sleuteloog* and contemporary newspaper reviews

Stefanie van Gemert

The varied and large œuvre of the Dutch author Hella S. Haasse (1918–2011) is marked at its start by the debut novel *Oeroeg* (1948) and, finally, by her last novel *Sleuteloog* (2002). In these novels Haasse introduces characters from a colonial background that is similar to her own: the stories of *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog* are told by Dutch narrators who were born into colonial families in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). These Dutch narrators struggle with representing their colonised friends: the native Indonesian boy Oeroeg and the mixed-race woman Dee Mijers. This chapter relates Haasse’s *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog* to postcolonial theory about colonial ‘belatedness’ and compares critical stances expressed in Haasse’s works to contemporary Haasse-reception in the Netherlands. It argues that Haasse’s inside knowledge of colonial society provided her with a critical postcolonial attitude early on – as early as 1948. Instead of contrasting Haasse’s colonial perspective in *Oeroeg* with her postcolonial criticism in *Sleuteloog*, the chapter recognises the author’s early awareness of the Bhabhaean ‘colonial split’ in *Oeroeg*, an awareness that is further critically devised in *Sleuteloog*. Dutch contemporary newspaper reviewers, however, are remarkably uncritical of and comfortable with colonial categories (e.g. ‘Indisch’) in their responses to *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog*. Their readings confirm a traditional, colonialist perception of time as straightforwardly progressive. They do not relate Haasse’s

complex, topical stories to political contemporary events, such as the independence wars in Indonesia in 1948 and global migration in the 2000s. Thus these reviewers refuse to reflect on colonial discrimination in the postcolonial present.

Introduction

In this chapter I will differentiate between 'post-colonial' with a hyphen, which I understand as simply the period *after* decolonisation, and 'postcolonial' without a hyphen as a way of critical thinking that is aware of and resistant to colonialist strategies.

With this first, declarative sentence I intend to do more than offer guidance to the reader or key definitions. With it I aim to stress a temporal aspect that is integral to my understanding of postcolonial literature: that the postcolonial novel engages with the politics of colonialism, which exists outside the materiality of the book. It thus confronts contemporary readers with colonial pasts and places, and shows its relevance and urgency in the post-colonial present. In this way, postcolonial literature challenges the traditional consensus on time as progressively chronological, in line with colonialist ideas about colonial development. What comes *post*, this critical form of literature hints, is not necessarily *beyond* colonialism. Posthumanist philosopher Rosi Braidotti explains:

> postcolonial time [. . .] is *not* frozen for the postcolonial subject and the memory of the past is not a stumbling block that hinders access to a changed present. Quite the contrary, the ethical impulse that sustains the postcolonial mode makes the original culture into a living experience which functions as a motor for cultural self styling. [This] produces the core of the world's best literature.[1]

I shall illustrate this postcolonial mode whilst discussing the work of the Dutch author Hella S. Haasse (1918–2011) who was born into a Dutch civil servant family in the colonial Dutch East Indies, focusing on her literary debut *Oeroeg* (1948), her last novel *Sleuteloog* (2002) and the contemporary reception of these works. Haasse's postcolonial standpoints prove to be in contrast with contemporary readers' responses at the time of publication, as expressed in newspaper reviews. My selection of Dutch newspaper reviews is based on Literom,[2] a Dutch online database. Literom enabled me to find reviews that were published in the

Netherlands in response to the original publications of Haasse's *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog*. The reviews thus represent a contemporary response to the novels.[3] I have complemented the Literom reviews on *Oeroeg* with contemporary newspaper clippings from the National Library of the Netherlands, adding up to a total of nine *Oeroeg* reviews; for *Sleuteloog* I found and analysed fourteen reviews on Literom. (In this chapter I cannot include all these reviews, yet I will describe some common contemporary responses and give exemplary quotes.)

During Haasse's lifetime, the East Indies gained independence from the Netherlands and became the Republic of Indonesia – formally acknowledged by the Dutch government in 1949. The young author by then had moved from the Indies to the Netherlands. Her novels, written and published in the Netherlands, and their reception are particularly interesting as Haasse's œuvre spans a lifetime: she was publishing from the end of the Second World War until the first years of the twenty-first century.[4]

Peter van Zonneveld[5] situates some of Haasse's works, including *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog*, in the Dutch literary tradition of '*Indische*' literature: with 'Indisch' being the adjectival form of 'Indië' (the Dutch East Indies). 'Indisch', however, remains a confusing word that means both 'relating to the colonial time and place of the Indies' and 'being of mixed Dutch-Indonesian heritage'. The contested meaning of 'Indisch' itself even appears to be a critical thread in Haasse's last novel *Sleuteloog* (as I shall explain later). In this light I suggest 'postcolonial' as a more apt description of Haasse's work that relates to the former colony: it shows her awareness of and critical attitude towards the violent workings of colonialism.

In this chapter I contend that Haasse used her own 'Indische' colonial background as a jumping-off point for creating *postcolonial* literature with her first novel *Oeroeg* and her last novel *Sleuteloog*, thus challenging traditional colonial understandings of time. My main question is: how does Haasse relate critically to her individual colonial past and to the broader political reality of colonial violence in *Oeroeg* and *Sleuteloog*? I further wonder: how do contemporary newspaper critics then respond to these works?

Oeroeg: narrating a colonial dream

The plot of Haasse's debut novel *Oeroeg* (1948) clearly overlaps with her last novel *Sleuteloog* (2002): both stories are about memories of childhood friends (the Indonesian Oeroeg and the mixed-race Dee Mijers) and of childhood homes in the colonial Dutch East Indies/Indonesia.

There are also clear differences. In *Oeroeg* a young, nameless, Dutch, male narrator relates his relatively recent memories of his Indonesian friend Oeroeg, whereas in *Sleuteloog* the thoughts of an elderly Dutch woman, Herma Tadema-Warner, about her mixed-race, 'Indische' friend Dee Mijers stretch back over more than half a century. Though there is clear thematic overlap, the narrative structure of *Sleuteloog* differs from *Oeroeg*. The memories of the I-figure in *Oeroeg* are mostly chronological. In *Sleuteloog* the reader needs to piece together Herma's meandering memories. Her story is interrupted and openly contested by the inquisitive letters from a journalist, Bart Moorland. The evidence for Herma's memories lies locked away in a wooden chest, which at the end of *Sleuteloog* turns out to be empty. Both Reinier Salverda and Martina Vitáčková have written insightfully about *Sleuteloog*'s complex structure.[6] Haasse compared the two novels herself in an interview from 2002:

> Ik moest nog onder woorden brengen wat Indië in feite voor mij betekende. Gedeeltelijk heb ik dat natuurlijk gedaan met *Oeroeg* [...] *Oeroeg* is geschreven vanuit het standpunt van een kind [...] Wat Indië betreft, kan ik nu pas onder woorden brengen wat ik in de loop van de jaren heb ontdekt en begrepen.[7]
>
> I still had to describe what the Indies actually meant to me. Of course I've done this partially in *Oeroeg* [...] *Oeroeg* was written from the perspective of a child [...] When it comes to the Indies, it is only now that I am able to express what I have discovered and learnt over the years.[8]

In 2009 Haasse further expands on her authorial development, referencing the relatively simple, chronological structure of *Oeroeg*.

> Degene die dat toen schreef, was oprecht en spontaan, het boek [*Oeroeg*] was *recht uit mezelf* geschreven. Maar het is bijvoorbeeld ook een boek zonder bijzondere compositie. Ik ben in de loop der jaren natuurlijk wel gegroeid als schrijver.[9]
>
> The person who wrote [*Oeroeg*] was sincere and impulsive at the time; the book was written *straight out of myself*. But the novel does not have, for instance, an accomplished composition. Over the years I have – of course – grown as an author.

In the same interview Haasse refers to *Oeroeg* as 'een soort wensdroom' ['a sort of wishful dream'] about a never-existent friendship.

The author indicates she has tried to move away from this wishfulness with *Sleuteloog*. It is understandable how and why Haasse describes her debut *Oeroeg* as 'wishful': looking back, she perhaps wants to underline and define a clear critical development, and therefore has played down *Oeroeg*'s critical complexity. Nevertheless, I relate to *Oeroeg* in a more optimistic manner and argue that Haasse's critical postcolonial understanding is already visible in her firstling, *Oeroeg*.[10] In her debut Haasse highlights the wishful vision of the 'I', a naïve narrator, thus demonstrating her own postcolonial awareness in 1948.

Kees Snoek helpfully reminds us that the author Haasse and the narrator of *Oeroeg* (the nameless I-figure) are not the same.[11] He discusses the I-figure's wishful narrative, and says the independent development of the character Oeroeg is clearly recognisable, even though the narrator himself is often naïve and ignorant. At the end of the narrative, Oeroeg has become an actively involved nationalist and a trained doctor – notwithstanding colonial discrimination. The main theme of *Oeroeg* is estrangement, Snoek says: the Dutch narrator suffers from 'statische visie [. . .] onvermogen om in te zien, laat staan te accepteren, dat Indië een fundamentele verandering ondergaat' ['static vision [. . .] an inability to see or, more so, to accept, that the Indies are fundamentally changing'].[12]

In the context of Haasse's own remark about 'wishful dreams', it is striking that *Oeroeg*'s reception in the Netherlands, in 1948, is somehow dreamlike itself: it mirrors the static and wishful vision of *Oeroeg*'s narrator. Dutch reviewers relate in a personal manner to the I-figure's 'static vision', as he tells his story during the independence wars in Indonesia – still ongoing at the time of *Oeroeg*'s publication. They notably never relate to the Indonesian boy, Oeroeg:

> [. . .] dit boekje, dat men met een gevoel van weemoed sluit na het lezen van de laatste zin, een vraag die vele Nederlanders, verstoten uit het land dat zij nog steeds innig liefhebben zich gesteld zullen hebben: Ben ik voorgoed een vreemde in het land van mijn geboorte, op de grond, vanwaar ik niet verplant wil zijn?[13]
>
> [. . .] one closes this booklet with a sense of melancholia after reading its last sentence, a question many Dutch people must have asked, expelled from the land they still deeply love: Am I forever to be a stranger in the country of my birth, to the soil from which I am loath to be uprooted?
>
> and:

> Zelden drong in enkele zinnen soms, de atmosfeer zo ontroerend-onthullend tot mij door als in deze sobere verteltrant. Een verteltrant die landschappen in de verbeelding oproept – ook landschappen van de ziel – waarvan iemand als ik, die Indië niet kent, hoogstens in exotische dromen gedroomd kan hebben.[14]
>
> Rarely a few sentences managed to disclose an atmosphere to me in such a touching-revealing manner, as this sober narrative did. A narrative that recalls landscapes in the imagination – landscapes of the soul too – of which someone like me, who does not know the Indies, can only have dreamt exotic dreams.

These reviewers seem to suffer from the same 'static vision' as *Oeroeg*'s narrator, which Snoek described as 'an inability [...] to accept, that the Indies are fundamentally changing'.[15] Their wistful and nostalgic responses are illustrative of what postcolonial literary theorist Homi Bhabha described as colonial 'double-think' or 'belatedness'. Bhabha explains what is 'belated' in colonial societies, highlighting colonialism's timeline:

> As a signifier of authority, the English book acquires its meaning *after* the traumatic scenario of colonial difference, cultural or racial, returns the eye of power to some prior, archaic image of identity. Paradoxically, however, such an image can neither be 'original' by virtue of the act of repetition that constructs it – nor 'identical' by virtue of the difference that defines it. Consequently the colonial presence is always ambivalent, *split between* its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference.[16]

Colonial time exposes an ambivalent delay – Bhabha calls it 'belatedness' – that turns a blind eye to political inequality and violence. Exactly therefore – because of its inherent 'split' – colonialism draws critical attention to its insincerity, its double-ness. As such it enables and encourages postcolonial criticism from within.

To Dutch reviewers, however, the Indies remain dear and close and, at the same time, unreal and dreamlike – exotic. These contemporary reviewers of *Oeroeg* seem resistant to the critical pull of colonial time; they are comfortably 'split between'. This is particularly striking because, when *Oeroeg* was published, the Netherlands and Indonesia/the Indies were at war. None of the contemporary reviewers in 1948 mention the (very real) ongoing violence in Indonesia which clearly is

the political setting of the novel. No one relates to the postcolonial perspective of Oeroeg himself, who moves independently of the wishful, naïve narrative of the I-figure.

The author Haasse, however, had recently moved from the Indies and was now witnessing the independence wars from afar, from Amsterdam. She must have been acutely aware of what Bhabha described as the colonial 'split'. She turned 'colonial wishfulness' into a theme of *Oeroeg*, by complicating the naïve nostalgia of the narrator and making him ask this final question: 'Ben ik voorgoed een vreemde in het land van mijn geboorte, op de grond waarvan ik niet verplant wil zijn?' (*Oeroeg*, p. 79) ('Am I forever to be a stranger in the country of my birth, to the soil from which I am loath to be uprooted?' (*TBL*, p. 114)).[17] This is a question ignored in contemporary reception: not one reviewer attempts to articulate answers to the narrator's expressed doubt about colonial relations with the Indies/Indonesia.

Haasse often hints at the dreamlike, 'split' perspective of the narrator. For instance, when Oeroeg and the Dutch narrator, now adolescents, are bathing in the river they used to swim in as children:

> Honderden malen hadden wij ons zo verfrist [...] Met iets als teleurgestelde verbazing merkten Oeroeg en ik echter bij deze gelegenheid dat wij van het baden in de rivier niet meer onverdeeld genoten. Misschien is dat te sterk uitgedrukt. Beter zou ik het zo kunnen zeggen: het baden was op dat moment – en zou in de toekomst blijven – niet meer dan een verfrissende onderdompeling, een handeling [...] Verdwenen was het toverrijk waar wij helden en ontdekkingsreizigers waren geweest [...] Ik keek naar Oeroeg en zag dezelfde ontdekking. Wij waren geen kinderen meer. (pp. 51, 52)
>
> We had done this hundreds of times when we were small [...] This time, however, Oeroeg and I felt a twinge of disappointment. Bathing in the river had lost its blissfulness. [We did not take undivided pleasure in our river baths anymore.] Perhaps that is putting it too strongly, better to say that from that moment on bathing in the river would be no more than a refreshing dip, an activity [...] Gone was the magical kingdom in which we were heroes and explorers. [...] I glanced [looked] at Oeroeg, and saw the same discovery in his eyes. [In Haasse's original it does not say: 'a sense of finality'; this is the translator's addition – SvG] We were children no longer. (*TBL*, p. 69)

The paragraph just quoted underlines many intimate, shared childhood moments between the boys. At the same time, it hints at the underlying

reality of colonial politics that made their shared 'magical kingdom' insincere and unreal. 'Gone was the magical kingdom in which we were heroes and explorers' may well refer to a universal loss of childhood imagination, but – more specifically – the narrator appears to address the colonial project as a straightforwardly progressive story of make-believe, of 'heroes and explorers'. The narrator's disturbed nostalgia points readers towards a colonialist fiction that supports a (supposedly) nurturing colonial regime – what Dutch politicians regarded as their developmental duty, calling it their 'Ethical Movement'.[18] Haasse suggests that the adolescent Oeroeg and 'I' are at the point of looking beyond colonial 'heroes and explorers' and will soon recognise colonialism for what it is: a political construction of hierarchical make-believe.[19]

Esther ten Dolle[20] noted that from *Oeroeg*'s 1953 reprints onwards two new lines appear in the novel, after the two young men have coincidentally run into each other during the ongoing independence wars. I see the insertion of these sentences as another form of Haasse interrupting *Oeroeg*'s seemingly straightforward colonial timeline, only a few years after its first publication. Haasse stresses the 'wishful' perspective of the narrator's one-sided colonial perspective, by adding the following question:

> 'Was het werkelijk Oeroeg? Ik weet het niet en zal het ook nooit weten. Ik heb zelfs het vermogen verloren hem te herkennen.' (*Oeroeg*, 2009, p. 75)[21]
>
> 'Had it really been Oeroeg? I do not know, and never will. I have even lost the ability to recognise him.' (*TBL*, p. 113)

This explicit doubt expressed in later printings of *Oeroeg* allows for more doubt among readers: it encourages a more critical standpoint towards the narrator and his colonialist blindness. I agree with Ten Dolle that these sentences stress the I-figure's inability to recognise and empathise with Oeroeg. They highlight a more general, political blindness in the Netherlands: a Dutch inability to recognise colonial violence when discussing the Indies.

With her debut novel *Oeroeg*, Haasse thus shows an understanding of the ambivalence of colonialism (what Bhabha described as 'belatedness'). She highlights the narrator's naïve and sentimental standpoints by turning 'wishfulness' into a theme of the novel, set in a recent and violent colonial past. She shows that her Dutch narrator is starting to question the colonial Indies as a reliably progressive 'magical kingdom of heroes and explorers'. She further stresses his doubt by, later, adding

two insecure lines about the narrator's inability to recognise Oeroeg's complexity.

Haasse complicates and challenges a limited Dutch viewpoint, by making her nameless Dutch narrator slowly acknowledge his own blindness. And she makes the setting of *Oeroeg* a clearly contemporary and political one: it takes place during the Indonesian independence wars.

Sleuteloog: what does it mean to be 'Indisch'?

Whereas *Oeroeg* can still be described as a Dutch-versus-Indonesian narrative – revisiting a colonial binary opposition – Haasse is more critical of reconstructing colonial categories in *Sleuteloog* (2002). In *Sleuteloog* the author highlights the political complexity attached to the Dutch adjective 'Indisch': a word still used today in the post-colonial Netherlands to describe colonial links with Indonesia – both racial and historical links. It is, confusingly, used to describe both mixed-race people (with Dutch and Indonesian heritage) *and* Dutch colonisers' families who lived in the colonial Indies.

Haasse questions the consensus in the Netherlands about 'Indische' history and 'Indische' literary history; she assesses what it means to be 'Indisch' in the post-colonial Netherlands. Contemporary reviewers of the novel, on the other hand, are less critical of ambivalent categories such as 'Indisch' and 'mixed-race' and their complex connotations.

I regard *Sleuteloog* as a Braidottian 'block of becoming'[22] in which Haasse playfully uses 'blocks' from her individual past and from previous literary work – both *Oeroeg* and its reception history. *Sleuteloog* suggests creative growth, critical development and a process of nomadic becoming as described by Braidotti: 'Remembering nomadically amounts to reinventing a self as other [. . .] differing as much as possible from all you had been before.'[23]

This 'differing as much as possible from all you had been' can be related to the interview from 2009 in which Haasse said *Oeroeg* 'was written straight out of my self. But [. . .] Over the years I have [. . .] grown'. In *Sleuteloog* I recognise Haasse's growth in terms of her critical awareness of colonial politics, violence and guilt, and her literary development as reflected in the novel's more complex structure. Haasse's postcolonial awareness becomes most obvious in her imaginings of alternative memories: in particular, the experiences Haasse

nomadically 'remembers' for Herma's 'Indische' friend Dee suggest 'reinventing a self as other'. Whereas *Oeroeg*'s narrator admits he 'has lost the ability to recognise' his friend Oeroeg, Herma discusses the discrimination the mixed-race Dee (must have) experienced when attending colonial school or when dating Dutch men in the Indies. Unlike *Oeroeg*, *Sleuteloog* is not so much about 'estrangement', but the novel itself seems an active process of admitting the flaws of memories and creatively confronting the inability to represent an other (Dee). This results in an engaging postcolonial story that remains critical of the colonial past. As Vitáčková says, *Sleuteloog* is more nuanced and more empathetic towards other (colonised) viewpoints.[24]

Much has been written about the structure of *Sleuteloog* in comparison to *Oeroeg*, and about how Dee compares to Haasse's earlier character Oeroeg, by, for instance, Salverda, Zonneveld and Vitáčková. I shall, therefore, not further expand on these aspects of *Sleuteloog*, but will instead discuss two elements that are particularly critical of the 'Indisch notion', showing its colonialist limitations. Strikingly, both these elements in the novel are *not* acknowledged in contemporary reception.

First, I shall draw attention to a character in *Sleuteloog*: an 'Indische' writer called Eugène Mijers, who is related to Dee. Mijers became a literary author after Indonesia's independence by writing a fictional 'vermoedelijk autobiografische korte roman "Herkenning"' ['presumably autobiographical short novel, *Recognition*'] in the Netherlands, in 1960. He created a character reminiscent of Dee, called Amy. His (fictional) novel was reprinted, proving to be a popular text on the Indies in the post-colonial Netherlands. Journalist Moorland suggests to Herma that Eugène's literary work may shed light on Dee's character. Herma confirms Eugène's popularity as a writer, saying he was considered 'an assayer of *Indische* identity' (['ijkmeester wat de Indische identiteit betreft'] (*Sleuteloog*, p. 103)),[25] yet she cannot recognise her friend Dee in Eugène's stereotypical descriptions of Amy.

At the time of *Sleuteloog*'s publication, Haasse was considered an established author; her latest novel received much attention. Yet when Haasse stages an author in *Sleuteloog* with a colonial background similar to her own, no one takes notice. Though this *mise en abyme* structure in *Sleuteloog* is hard to miss, I have not found one contemporary newspaper critic in the Netherlands who reflects upon Mijers's character. This is strange because the staging of Mijers can easily be seen as a dig at literary criticism. Salverda later perceptively remarks upon Haasse's character of Eugène Mijers and says she is unmistakably speaking of E. Breton de Nijs, pseudonym of writer and literary historian Rob Nieuwenhuys.[26]

Nieuwenhuys wrote an impressive anthology on 'Indische' literature: the *Oost-Indische Spiegel* (orig. 1972).[27] In this anthology, he skims over Haasse's work as if she were a footnote to Dutch literary history. In passing, he mentions that Haasse's upbringing in the Indies was 'closed-off', 'Dutch' and 'European' (as opposed to what Nieuwenhuys calls 'Indisch'). What I find most concerning, though, is that he argues that Haasse's Dutch background – both her parents were born in the Netherlands – influenced her ability to write about the Indies/Indonesia: Nieuwenhuys says she makes '*fouten*' ['mistakes'].[28] For Nieuwenhuys 'Indisch' is an inflexible category that mirrors colonial hierarchy: only supposedly 'Indische' authors can write about colonial society. Ironically it is Nieuwenhuys himself who defines *who* is 'Indisch' enough to write about the former colony. His definition of 'Indisch' is often male and based on racial lineage.[29] Thirty years later Haasse writes a postcolonial novel critical of inflexible, uncritical understandings of 'being Indisch': Dee rebels against being defined as a limited colonial category ('Indisch', 'mixed-race') and, even though Herma has come to terms with being expelled from her colonial birthplace (Indonesia), she still acknowledges the relevance of her personal colonial experiences in the neo-colonial, global present. For Haasse 'postcolonial time [...] is not frozen'.[30]

In *Sleuteloog* the staged author Mijers reproduces colonialist ideas that countries can be divided along clear racial lines, even *after* decolonisation. Mijers made up a family history in order to claim his country of birth as a literary playground, revisiting Orientalist stereotypes like the sensual but heartless mixed-race mistress (Amy) or the quiet, submissive native nanny (*babu*).

> [...] even [leek er] een constructieve rol weggelegd voor degenen die zichzelf altijd van nature als blijvers hadden beschouwd. Eugène Mijers koos ervoor bij die uiteindelijk teleurgestelde, ontheemde groep te horen, creëerde zijn eigen afstamming van een Indonesische voormoeder, en een apocriefe, sterk door de Indische sfeer en gewoonten beïnvloedde jeugd op Java. (*Sleuteloog*, pp. 107, 108)[31]
>
> [...] it shortly looked as if there would be a constructive role for those who had always considered themselves to be allowed to stay by birth right. Eugène Mijers chose to be part of this eventually disappointed and exiled group, and he produced his own heritage with an Indonesian foremother, and an apocryphal childhood in Java, strongly influenced by the 'Indische' atmosphere and customs.

Mijers's imagined 'birth right' and 'Indonesian grandmother' provide him with a strict identity in the post-colonial Netherlands. Retreating into this set identity, he creates a colonial vacuum within the Dutch literary field *after* decolonisation. 'Indisch' for Mijers as well as Nieuwenhuys seems a rigid political identity that can be used to one's own advantage.

The critically-aware postcolonial *real* writer Haasse, on the other hand, reaches out of the unity of the novel. With the staged colonial author Mijers, Haasse invites readers to reflect upon a shared colonial past and how this past relates to more complex identities in our post-colonial society. These are relevant questions, especially at the time of writing *Sleuteloog*, in the early 2000s, when increasingly right-wing politics made migration and religious fundamentalism central themes to the political debate. The novel questions how identities are used and put to use in the Netherlands to date – politically and culturally. The fact that this is not picked up in contemporary criticism tells us a great deal about the attitudes of the cultural elite in the Netherlands.

The second postcolonial element I would like to draw attention to is the haunting of *Sleuteloog*'s narrative by ghosts. Haasse describes some mysterious ghosts' appearances. Ghosts are a typical 'Indische' aspect in Dutch literature: scary, inexplicable apparitions occur in, for example, *Goena-goena* by P. A. Daum (1887) and *De Stille Kracht* by Louis Couperus (1900). These are Orientalist themes, suggesting that the supposedly inferior culture of the colonised Indies is different and inexplicable to the superior, rational Dutch coloniser. Haasse's ghost appearances, however, are different. When Herma revisits her old family home in Indonesia with Dee's aunt Non, after the decolonisation, the following happens:

> Het huis is bewoond, maar ik zie geen mens. Toch wel: er beweegt iets bij een zijmuur, op een kale plek, ooit een perk vol rode en oranjegele canna's. Er zit daar iemand gehurkt in de aarde te wroeten.
>
> 'Nu moet jij niet kijken!' zegt Non plotseling [. . .] Ik kan mijn blik niet afwenden van de hurkende gestalte, een vrouw wier gezicht verborgen blijft achter haar neerhangende haren, maar die me in houding en beweging plotseling verontrustend bekend voortkomt [. . .] weer kijk ik om naar het huis, maar nu is de plek bij de muur leeg en ik besef dat daar zojuist ook niet echt mijn moeder gezeten heeft. (*Sleuteloog*, pp. 124, 125)[32]
>
> Though the house is inhabited, I cannot see anyone. Or . . . something moves, over there, close to a sidewall, a bare spot where

> once a bed of red and orange cannas was. Someone is sitting there, squatting, digging through the soil.
>
> 'Now you shouldn't look!' Non suddenly says [...] I cannot take my eyes off the crouching figure, a woman whose face remains hidden behind her hair, but her posture and movements are suddenly worryingly familiar [...] once again I look at the house, but now the spot near the wall is empty and I realise that my mother had not really been sitting there, just a while ago.

The ghost of Herma's mother, killed during the *bersiap* (violence directed at the Dutch in Indonesia after the proclamation of independence), is postcolonial: it moves between the remnants of colonisation and the political violence that flared up after decolonisation. This appearance is reminiscent of Bhabha's ideas of the postcolonial 'unhomely'. Bhabha discusses Morrison's *Beloved*, in which the ghost of a former slave's daughter serves as a constant reminder of the very personal and political violence of slavery. Bhabha appreciates that Morrison turns the act of narration of *Beloved* into an ethical act whilst 'keep[ing] the reader preoccupied with the nature of the incredible spirit world while being supplied a controlled diet of the incredible political world'.[33]

Haasse, like Morrison, opens up the present of narration in *Sleuteloog* to a resonating colonial past: something that is both personal and political haunts Herma's narratives about her 'Indische' friend Dee. It is striking that both the Dutch Herma and the mixed-race aunt Non share this 'unhomely' experience: their ability to perceive the 'unhomely' crosses colonialist racial categories. Their present is defined by many shared violent pasts: the violent unrest after Indonesia claimed independence as well as the many occurrences of discrimination and violence suffered during colonial times. I find it telling that the ghost of Herma's Dutch mother only appears once, very briefly. Her 'unhomely' appearance in *Sleuteloog* seems to hint at many more violent incidents when 'Indische' personal and political histories entwined. With this postcolonial apparition, Haasse lifts the ghost appearance from its stereotypical 'Indische' literary setting and situates it in colonial politics.

Though most Dutch critics anno 2002 respond positively to *Sleuteloog*, they do not discuss the postcolonial elements identified here: the author Mijers and the 'unhomely' appearance of Herma's mother. They never reflect on what is to date considered 'Indisch' in the Netherlands. Haasse, on the other hand, highlights stereotypical elements of rigid colonial 'Indische' literature, and playfully interacts with and criticises these elements in *Sleuteloog*.

On the contrary, some reviewers express a peculiar unawareness of rigid 'colonialist' categories and seem to return to the colonial past. I find the use of the passive form strikingly revealing in a review by Vullings – as if no individuals in particular were engaged in the reality of 'colonial relations':

> Het was een tijd van standsverschil en koloniale verhoudingen, waarin het verschil tussen de totok en Indo scherp geregistreerd werd. Anders dan in Haasse's debuut *Oeroeg* (1948), waarin de twee vrienden uit tegengestelde werelden komen, verkeren de twee in Indië geboren meisjes in hetzelfde milieu. Al zijn er verschillen, want Dee heeft een kleurtje. En toen kwam de oorlog, de Japanse bezetting, het Indonesische nationalisme, later de militaire staatsgreep.[34]
>
> It was a time of social inequality and colonial relations, where differences between *totoks* and *Indos* were carefully registered. In contrast to Haasse's debut *Oeroeg* (1948) in which the two friends are from opposing worlds, the two girls, who were born in the Indies, move in similar social circles. However, there are differences, because Dee has a hint of colour. And then the war arrived, the Japanese occupation, Indonesian nationalism and, later, the military coup.

For critics like Vullings and Pam, see below, racism and violent independence wars simply *existed*. They do not embed the fictional events as discussed in Haasse's *Sleuteloog* in a political and societal reality that was endorsed by Dutch colonials:

> *Sleuteloog* beschrijft de gelukkige Indische jeugd van de beide meisjes. Over dat geluk trekt echter een schaduw als Dee er achter komt dat zij, anders dan Herma, niet voor honderd procent blank is, maar dat er ook enkele druppels getint bloed door haar aderen stromen. Door die wetenschap wordt haar plaats binnen de Indische klassenmaatschappij opnieuw bepaald.[35]
>
> *Sleuteloog* describes the happy 'Indische' childhood of the two girls. However, happiness turns into sorrow, once Dee finds out that she, contrary to Herma, is not a hundred percent white, but has a few drops of coloured blood streaming through her veins. Because of this knowledge, her position within the Indische society is redefined.

Whereas Haasse draws attention to 'Indische' stereotypes in *Sleuteloog* and critically adjusts them, Pam's and Vullings's responses to the

friendship between the Dutch Herma and mixed-race Dee are reminiscent of colonial times. They comfortably mirror racial categories ('a hint of colour', 'drops of coloured blood'). Their use of the passive form further shows an inability to reflect on or empathise with individual suffering under colonialism.

Conclusion

Haasse's comments about *Oeroeg* being a 'wishful dream' and *Sleuteloog* stepping away from this 'wishfulness' do not only mark *Sleuteloog* as an important step in her own authorial development. They are also suggestive of her early awareness of colonial complexity and draw attention to colonial violence in both texts, in *Sleuteloog* as well as *Oeroeg*. Early on, in her debut novel *Oeroeg,* Haasse marked and highlighted wishful colonial narratives and colonial belatedness. In her final novel *Sleuteloog*, Haasse critically encourages us to review rigid colonialist categories ('Indisch') in the post-colonial Netherlands of the 2000s. She discusses the complexities attached to identity politics. Drawing attention to the relevance of colonial pasts in our current global society, she shows the violence and workings of discrimination in the colonial past and the post-colonial present, referencing, for example, global migration and religious fundamentalism.

The 'belated' contemporary responses to *Sleuteloog* in Dutch newspaper reviews convincingly illustrate that Haasse's critical and complex postcolonial perspectives on friendship and colonial time still have work to do in the twenty-first century.

8

Reinstating a consensus of blame: the film adaptation of Tessa de Loo's *De tweeling* (1993) and Dutch memories of wartime

Jenny Watson

Since 2000 there has been a proliferation of European heritage films about the Second World War. These films combine a 'Hollywood' aesthetic with a focus on private lives and history behind the front lines, producing films which exhibit national narratives concerning the past to an international audience. In the Netherlands, one of the first films of this type was Ben Sombogaart's *Twin Sisters* (2002), an adaptation of the best-selling 1994 novel *The Twins* (*De tweeling*) by Tessa de Loo. Through a comparison of the film and the original text, this chapter considers how the priorities of heritage cinema lead to a fundamental change to the story of *The Twins*, transforming it from a text which challenges established narratives of Dutch wartime history into one which upholds conservative views of the past. This emerges most strongly in the portrayal of German wartime experience, which is largely missing from the adaptation, and of the German character Anna, whose culpability is exaggerated by filmic as well as narrative devices. The choice to adapt *The Twins* as a romance serves the purpose of bringing cultural memories of Dutch wartime suffering to the fore, revealing heritage cinema's dual commitment to representing an easily-digestible view of national history to a national and international audience.

Introduction

Ben Sombogaart's family melodrama *Twin Sisters*, released in 2002, is a film in which the Dutch imaginative relationship to the national past comes to the fore in a particularly interesting way. It was the first in a series of big-budget period dramas which focused on the collective memory of war in the Netherlands but which were made with an international audience firmly in mind. The film is based on Tessa de Loo's *The Twins*, which was adapted for the screen by Marieke de Pol and follows the experiences of twin sisters Anna and Lotte in a series of flashbacks from their present as old women to the period between roughly 1930 and 1946.[1] Their memories centre on the Second World War, and the fact that the two sisters were traumatically separated and brought up on different sides of the German–Dutch border means that their lives, and therefore the respective histories of the two countries, are placed repeatedly in contrast, giving the reader an impression of both what took place and, through their discussions surrounding it, how these events have been remembered.

In this chapter I will argue that despite the apparent narrative focus on Dutch–German history and relations, the film *Twin Sisters* is one which prioritises Dutch concerns and Dutch collective memory over transnational perspectives, and that its message regarding the past fundamentally differs from that of the original novel in this regard. Although the film retains the theme of reconciliation and presents the German character Anna as the more sympathetic of the two sisters, the basis for this sympathy as created in the novel is largely erased, with the filmmakers relying on more universal aspects of her experience – such as her inability to have children – and her pleasant personality to turn her into a heroine.[2] These decisions, alongside embellishments to the Dutch sister Lotte's story, mean that the film shies away from challenging the primacy of national suffering within Dutch memory culture surrounding the Second World War and as a whole represents an attempt to convey Dutch collective memory conservatively both within the Netherlands and abroad. In an international context, the film is best understood as a Dutch heritage film, which appeals to a broad audience through its simple melodramatic story, rich *mise-en-scène* and the communicative function which it serves in relation to Dutch history.[3]

The Twins (1993) at a turning-point in the Dutch–German relationship

Since 1945, Dutch–German relations have undergone a gradual yet profound transformation and by the 1980s the public conception of the German as aggressor and perpetrator had been moderated by positive visions of Germany as a trading-partner, political counterpart and, increasingly, leading member of the European community.[4] However, there continued to be a tension between this normalisation of political and day-to-day relations and the ingrained collective memory of war, occupation and genocide. Residual unease surrounding the Germans comes to light in the field of cultural representation or remains hidden in private prejudices and unofficial collective memory. At the imaginative level, the Second World War dominates Dutch relations with Germany and Germans as a collective, despite the increasingly differentiated view of the past which prevails publicly. As Ian Buruma wrote in 1991:

> There was never any doubt, where I grew up, who our enemies were [. . .] the enemies were the Germans. They were the comic-book villains of my childhood. When I say Germans, I mean just that – not Nazis, but Germans. The occupation between 1940 and 1945 and the animosity that followed were seen in national, not political terms. The Germans had conquered our country.[5]

Although Buruma was born in 1951, it appears that his description of the Dutch attitude towards Germans remained current, with a survey of young people in the early 1990s which asked the question 'which country is the most likely to act aggressively?' returning the surprising result that the majority of those polled saw Germany as a potential military threat.[6] This was a period in which relations between Germany and the Netherlands were particularly strained thanks (to varying degrees) to fears surrounding reunification, the veto by Germany of Ruud Lubbers as EU presidential candidate, and several contentious football matches between 1988 and 1992.[7] These occurrences, which had no direct connection to memories of the war (even if matches between the countries continued to be accompanied by cries of 'eerst mijn fiets terug'), coincided with the racist attacks in Solingen, after which there was an outcry in Holland as fears of Germany's latent fascist impulses momentarily

appeared to have been realised.[8] Researchers were reaching the conclusion that the third generation 'had as strong or even stronger anti-German feelings than their parents and grandparents', even as European nations prepared to mark fifty years since the end of hostilities.[9] It was in response to this apparent stagnation of Dutch feelings towards Germany that Tessa de Loo wrote *The Twins*, explicitly stating that she did so to counterbalance Dutch anti-German sentiment.[10]

Dutch remembrance of the Second World War both up until and beyond this point has generally revolved around two dominant narratives: that of the suffering faced by Jews in the Netherlands (epitomised in the story of Anne Frank and its public veneration) and that of the resistance. Although the counterparts to the heroic and sympathetic figures within these narratives have always been present within public discourse – the ogre-like German occupiers and their Dutch accomplices – the primary self-image of the Netherlands is of a victimised country whose citizens sacrificed a great deal to fight off fascist Germany. This consensus view was not significantly challenged until the end of the twentieth century, when space began to be made within the mainstream for counter-narratives and more in-depth investigations of topics like collaboration and resistance. In similar ways to critical interventions which had caused controversy in countries such as France (and Germany itself) somewhat earlier, Dutch scholars began to question the role and experience of the average Dutch citizen during the war.[11] Books such as Chris van der Heijden's *Grijs verleden: Nederland en de tweede wereldoorlog* (2001), concerning the often arbitrary reasons behind individual decisions to go along with the occupying regime, as well as studies of those who were marginalised from society following the war, such as the *moffenmeiden* (women who associated with German men) and children of collaborators, have complicated the established narrative of heroism and moral righteousness in the Netherlands.[12] As I shall argue in the following, *The Twins* was in the vanguard of this shift towards a more differentiated view of Dutch wartime history, less because it directly challenged the national self-image but rather because of the way it radically departed from established discourse and broadened what was possible in terms of representation at this time. Dutch memory of the war and judgement of those involved has been famously polarised, with the verdict 'right' and 'wrong' ('goed' and 'fout') irrevocably attached to parties and individuals within post-war discussions of the era. In many ways it is the complication of who or what is 'fout', just as much as the challenging of the absolute goodness associated with the resistance and the Dutch community at large, which destabilises the

consensus on the past in the Netherlands. By moving away from absolutist thinking, *The Twins* implicitly posed a great challenge to long-held Dutch ideas about the war.[13]

De Loo's best-selling novel, published in 1993, focuses on twin sisters, who were separated as children and adopted by relatives on different sides of the German–Dutch border, as they attempt to mend their relationship, which has been soured by the mismatch in their respective experiences of the war. The overtures for reconciliation are made during a chance meeting between the sisters – now elderly women – in the Belgian resort of Spa by the 'German' twin, Anna, who seeks the understanding of her sister Lotte and insists on telling her about her life during the war, repeatedly trying to explain why Germany followed Hitler and how she, as a powerless and basically apolitical person, brought up to be obedient, was not compelled to enter active resistance against Nazi rule. Lotte, whose Jewish boyfriend David de Vries was murdered by the Nazis in Auschwitz, is unable to countenance the possibility of empathising with any German and remains hostile towards her sister and what she regards as her excuse-making. The two women discuss the past over coffee and cake, reminiscing and arguing about their relative experiences until Anna dies suddenly, leaving Lotte to realise that her refusal to give her sister absolution was the product of prejudice and suspicion rather than her feelings towards her as an individual.

> There was so much I still wanted to say to her, she thought, in a crescendoing feeling of remorse. Oh yes, what then, cried a cynical voice, what would you have said to her [. . .] something consoling? [. . .] Would you ever have succeeded in squeezing out those two words: 'I understand . . .?' [. . .] Why had she remained stuck all that time in the resistant position she had adopted from the beginning? Although she had gradually acquired more and more understanding of Anna, she had remained fixed in unapproachability, intentionally obstinate. Out of misplaced revenge, not even intended for Anna?[14]

The central message of De Loo's work and the source of the didactic feel within the novel is the necessity of letting go of fixed narratives and emotions related to the past in order to move on. Lotte's gradual shift towards understanding Anna is a process in which the reader is closely involved, as an external witness to both characters' experiences and behaviour and as a judging subject for whom Lotte functions as a surrogate in asking questions and challenging Anna about her role in the

Third Reich. The conflict between sympathy and historical awareness which troubles Lotte must also be intrinsic to the reader's engagement with the text, with De Loo inviting the latter to go beyond the limited and belated understanding that Lotte feels for her sister. Negative critical responses in the Netherlands at the time were related to the idea that it might validate arguments about the German nation being 'led astray' by Hitler or to the representation of 'good Germans'.[15] As one critic said at the time, 'Good Germans are not real Germans.'[16]

The characterisation of Anna as a figure of sympathy and the representation of her experience caused comment because of De Loo's unusual decision not only to situate sympathy with a German character but to explore her motivations, including her ambivalent attitude towards the Nazi regime. In her reflections upon the past Anna both explains the attraction of National Socialism and offers what Lotte sees as apologist explanations for why people (herself included) were to a greater or lesser extent seduced by the promises of the Nazi party. However, in the sections set in the past, Anna is shown to demonstrate courage in deviating from the party line, for example when she goes undercover in the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* to spy for her local priest, and acting according to her own moral compass, such as when she refuses to treat Poles differently because of their status as 'Untermenschen'. Her greatest flaw, and the one for which she can offer no satisfactory explanation, is that she stood by as crimes were committed in her name and, occasionally, in her presence. On her wedding day she is distressed to see Jews being mistreated in the streets of Vienna and looks away, for example. In her ambivalent and purposefully challenging portrayal of Anna, De Loo works to combat anti-German sentiment less by mitigating German responsibility for what took place than by making their negligence – Anna's naïvety and self-centredness – appear human. In creating a relatable and flawed German character and forcing the reader into a close empathetic relationship with that character De Loo muddies the waters of a long-standing, and arguably all too comfortable, cultural stereotype of Germans as evil-doers.

The controversy surrounding a positive yet flawed German character is understandable, but in hindsight perhaps more challenging still to the status quo was De Loo's focus on German suffering. Since the late 1990s, the question of if and how German suffering can be represented without infringing upon the memorial 'territory' of their victims has preoccupied scholars and critics both in Germany and abroad.[17] To represent German wartime experience was unusual in the Dutch context, where Harry Mulisch's *Stenen bruidsbed*, with its images of the

bombing of Dresden, presents perhaps the most prominent example. In *The Twins*, German suffering is presented in unprecedented detail as Anna is bombed, forced to flee from the Russian army, loses her husband, attempts suicide and witnesses the destruction of the Third Reich. The litany of horrors she experiences (which reads almost as a checklist of the most common narratives of German suffering), as well as the immense trauma and loss of life to which she bears witness makes Lotte's stories of life in the occupied Netherlands appear less dramatic, if no less harrowing.

By the time the adaptation of *The Twins* came out in 2002, the critical climate surrounding German suffering had started to change, and critics responded negatively to the absence of German perpetrators in the story.[18] I contend that the representation (or rather non-representation) of German wartime suffering, alongside changes in plot and characterisation, is key to understanding both the film's position regarding German culpability and how the story of *The Twins* was adapted to suit dominant Dutch narratives about the war. If De Loo's novel reads as an attempt to rebalance the distribution of sympathy with regard to Dutch and German wartime experience, the film adaptation of her work demonstrates a will to redress that balance and return to a consensus of blame in which sympathy for Germans is revealed as historically unsupportable.

Adapting the past

The term 'heritage cinema' was originally coined in British film studies and described the various literary adaptations, period dramas and historical romances produced in the 1980s, such as the Merchant Ivory series. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, the definition of 'heritage film', used to describe films with high production values that communicated national identity was applied to new time periods, such as the Second World War (Koepnick), and new contexts.[19] The idea of European heritage films has since emerged from this discussion, with critics describing them as 'films that combine generic appeal with literary and/or historical credentials' and a production trend of 'historical films offered up by a European nation as it tried to find its niche, both domestically and internationally'.[20] This interest in authenticity and dual commitment to representing the nation to itself and to exporting films conveying national identity to an international audience contribute to the dominance of narratives surrounding the war and fascism,

which are of especial interest in the USA, an important market for European film. Looking at lists of national films which have returned the greatest profits in the USA shows that historical subjects have proven the most popular, with German films leading the way in establishing what could be described as wartime melodramas as a European export genre. As Thomas Elsaesser has discussed in relation to German film, the dominance of Hollywood also contributes to the perception of target audience on the domestic market, with the American film industry determining the 'national exhibition sector' both because of its dominant role in distribution and the fact that cinema infrastructure primarily exists to enable the screening of Hollywood films, the most popular films in European countries.[21] For these reasons, the films designated 'European heritage films', or at least the ones that perform well at the box-office, tend to reflect a 'Hollywood syntax'; they are based around a simple, morally unambiguous melodrama and represent an easily-digestible view of national histories.[22] This trend has also been referred to as 'the cinema of consensus'; a response to the internationalisation of both film and cultural memory.[23]

In the Dutch context, films of this stamp only began to really take off in the late 1990s, which has been identified as the era in which Dutch film as such began to bloom again after decades in which little had come close to matching the successes of the 1970s.[24] In 1998 the editor of *NRC Handelsblad*, Raymond van de Boogaard, argued for the importance of film for the Dutch nation as a whole:

> If the Netherlands does not join in here, the image of our land will shrink to that of a boring province. That would be completely out of step with the general post-war effort [...] to establish a greater role for our country within the concert of nations. [...] Without the export of good Dutch films to other countries we can – to put it bluntly – forget about ever having a Dutch head of the European Central Bank.[25]

This rather overheated opinion about the importance of self-representation abroad, which makes explicit the 'niche-finding' impulse identified by scholars, coincided with discussions concerning the importance of representing and producing national identity within the Netherlands, where the increasingly multicultural community was neither being represented nor being represented to.[26] In an article in *De groene Amsterdammer* in 2000, Gawie Keyser wrote that Dutch national identity was insecure and that a cinema was needed which

'gives form to the collective national experience and memory', with the implicit suggestion that this could then be digested by newcomers.[27] Keyser's remarks are reminiscent of those made by Ed Buscombe in the British context in the early 1980s, in which he said that British cinema had come to be defined by the extremes of art cinema and the lowest common denominator of the *Carry On* comedy films, meaning that the country lacked an accessible, middle-brow *national* cinema which could appeal to a wider audience; mainstream film meant Hollywood movies.[28] The move towards a middle-brow Dutch national cinema with the potential for commercial success abroad was arguably spurred on by the Oscar wins for *Antonia* (*Antonia's Line*, Marleen Gorris, 1995) and *Karakter* (*Character*, Mike van Diem, 1997) which had raised the profile of Dutch cinema, whilst the choice of a historical setting seen in those films would continue to be a feature of big-budget Dutch productions over the next decade(s). *Twin Sisters*, the first big-budget wartime melodrama to find a significant audience abroad since *De aanslag* (*The Assault*, Fons Rademakers, 1986) and *Voor een verloren soldat* (*For a Lost Soldier*, Roeland Kerbosch, 1992), was followed by the much larger hit *Zwartboek* (*Black Book*, Paul Verhoeven, 2006), as well as films such as 2008's *Oorlogswinter* (*Winter in Wartime*, Martin Koelhoven) and 2014's *Oorlogsgeheimen* (*Secrets of War*, Dennis Bots). Looking back over the Dutch films put forward for the Academy Awards since 2000, six films have been period dramas, and other historical films set in the 1940s and 1950s, such as *De Storm* (*The Storm*, Ben Sombogaart, 2006) and *Bruidsvlucht* (*Bride Flight*, Ben Sombogaart, 2008) have proved popular with cinema audiences. All of these wartime films which we see doing well aim at appealing to a broad range of cinema-goers and are characterised by a conservative, non-controversial approach to Dutch history, representing its major narratives of resistance and suffering whilst focusing on minor characters rather than political figures and emulating the 'audience-friendly, identificatory aesthetics of Hollywood'.[29] The choice of women and children as protagonists in such films has been read as typical of the new European heritage film and representative of the desire on the part of film-makers to depoliticise history and provide characters with whom the audience can easily identify.[30] These films, although representing national history, play into a European discourse of remembrance which centres on universal themes such as bravery and sacrifice and is based around the recognition of suffering as well as the mantra 'never again'.[31] As Wilfried Wims writes in connection to German film: 'If we accept the thesis that a fundamental desire for normalization in the age of European integration accompanies

these productions, then the coveted badge of victimhood can more easily be obtained through someone who did not bear arms.'[32]

The Twins as a Dutch wartime romance

The shared European concern with normalisation and de-politicised recognition of the past is clearly central to the story of *The Twins*, which was called a 'European novel' by critics.[33] As Vanderwal Taylor explains, this term was applied to 'a kind of Dutch novel published with foreign markets in mind, in which European history is reflected in a contemporary narrative', an approximate literary counterpart to the heritage production trend.[34] The female leads provide, by dint of their gender, characters with whom the reading and viewing audience can identify freely, their relative lack of historical agency disembroiling them from the complexities of past and present politics. The focus on women within *The Twins* may also have contributed to the film-makers' decision to depart from the content of the novel and focus solely on the romantic storylines, a return to generic convention no doubt designed to broaden the film's appeal and enhance the binary structure of the narrative. As I shall argue, reducing the two women's experience of war to their experience of loving and losing their respective partners is fundamental to the redistribution of sympathy within *Twin Sisters* and smoothes the return to a simplified narrative of blame when it comes to German–Dutch relations.

De Loo's novel is remarkable not only for the potentially contentious way in which Germans are represented but also for its detailed and sympathetic portrayal of war from a female perspective. While heritage cinema certainly prioritises non-combatant experiences for the sake of the opportunities this affords for including lush interiors and sentimental storylines, historiography and memory culture in general is still in the process of compensating for the dominance of male-orientated, 'top down' views of the Second World War. *The Twins* contributes to a reimagining of the past, featuring women who are not just witnesses but also powerful and conscious agents within twentieth-century history. Lotte is a rescuer and helper of Jewish 'onderduikers' (people in hiding), who risks her life to save family friends, distant acquaintances and strangers from discovery and deportation. Anna, meanwhile, finds herself both figuratively and literally on the front line of the war as she volunteers to be a Red Cross nurse following her husband Martin's death. Both are heroic and complex figures whose perspective is marked by what they

have witnessed. Their actions and experiences stand in comparative relation to each other through the format of the novel and are suggestive of the wider stories of their respective national communities.

In the film adaptation, much of the two women's agency is erased as judgement of the national past(s) and the validity of each sister's claim to audience sympathy are transferred onto the figure of each of their partners and their relationships. Anna, whose marriage to Austrian soldier and later reluctant SS officer Martin Grosalie ends with his violent death on the Western Front, is changed by her reduced historical agency (which I will discuss in more detail in the next section) into a character who is fundamentally less sympathetic in historical terms than Lotte, whose fiancé David is deported and murdered by the Nazis. This is compounded by alterations made to the plot and the portrayal of both relationships which redress the balance in a way that privileges the Dutch characters' experience.

Whereas in the novel Lotte and David share a brief romance and only discuss becoming engaged in passing, in the film their relationship is fleshed-out, idealised and made more dramatic, with David promoted from short-term boyfriend to fiancé and Lotte seen repeatedly drawing on the symbolic ink ring that he drew on her finger. He has a nickname for her, 'domme konijn', and offers her advice about her and her sister's relationship. David and Lotte are also shown to have been the first to meet, unlike in the novel where Anna and Martin meet years before Lotte and David and are involved in a long correspondence during the war. This shift in importance towards Lotte and the Dutch side of the narrative is also reinforced by the way in which Anna and Martin's relationship is portrayed, with the film giving the impression that it is *their* relationship that is brief and somewhat superficial, with greater focus on sex and fun than any intellectual connection.

The combined effect of the changes in the nature and seriousness attached to each of the sisters' relationships and, more importantly still, the way they are juxtaposed within the film is dramatic. The fundamental message of the novel, which aimed at promoting reconciliation between the Dutch and their German neighbours on the basis of recognising German suffering, is dismantled in favour of a simplistic calculation of guilt, suffering and moral superiority based around the two sisters' partners. Visually, this is represented in a number of scenes which contrast their relationships and emphasise historical context. The scenes surrounding David's arrest are particularly jarring in this regard, with the arrival of a postcard sent by

him from Buchenwald juxtaposed with a joyful scene in Anna's life, in a way which plays with the audience. Lotte is seen writing to Anna to ask her for information about Buchenwald before the camera cuts to Anna opening a letter and screaming, seemingly aghast. However, the scene changes in meaning when Anna begins to laugh and celebrate; her letter is from Martin and contains a proposal. The severity of the contrast in this scene throws the relative experiences of the two women into sharp relief, and makes Anna and Martin's happiness appear tasteless and inappropriate.

Representing Jewish suffering

In addition to the prioritisation of the romantic storylines and the greater focus on the Lotte/David relationship which makes Jewish suffering more central within the story, several scenes are added and several removed from the narrative, which makes the adaptation of *The Twins* even more weighted against the Anna/Germany side of the plot. The absolute primacy of Jewish experience within the reckoning of suffering is reinforced by a scene which is inserted into the plot of the film and which can be read as metonymic for its entire message. In the early post-war period, when Anna comes to find Lotte in the Netherlands, her sister refuses to speak to her. After being persuaded to hear her out by her husband – the invented character of David's brother, Bram – Lotte is moved by the sight of the embroidered handkerchief which is used throughout the film as a symbol of the sisters' shared early upbringing and emotional connection. However, when she picks it up she uncovers a photograph of Anna and Martin, in which he appears in full SS uniform. The camera then does something interesting, shifting from the picture of Anna and Martin to a portrait of David on the sideboard (Figure 8.1).

The shift in focus and the lingering close-up on the portrait of David invites the viewer to compare the men portrayed and what we know of them. Both are sympathetic characters whose deaths have deeply affected the lives of their respective partners and both are shown to be apolitical and open-minded. However, ultimately the visual evidence (backed up by the changes to the plot made within the film) wins out. David's fate, and by connection the fate of the Jews of Europe, is incomparable to the deaths of members of the German armed forces and Martin is symbolically replaced and erased by the crimes of his country. Obviously in historical and rational terms this is true, but the film-makers reinsert politics into the apolitical, empathetic framework

Fig. 8.1 Still from Tessa de Loo's *De tweeling* (*The Twins*, 1993). © idtv/Miramax

created by De Loo's text, obscuring much of what De Loo was trying to say about Dutch prejudice and the need to recognise German experience in their attempt to make their own position clear – and the film politically palatable.

More interesting still is the choice by the film-makers to bring Lotte and David's experiences into closer association, altering the plot so that rather than disappearing whilst playing music with friends in Amsterdam, David is snatched off the street while Lotte waits for him at the cinema, having returned to a café to find her forgotten handbag. As well as creating more melodrama in the Dutch setting, these changes fundamentally alter the perception of Lotte's suffering so that she appears to have both lost her life partner and potentially caused his demise – by forgetting her handbag. Her closer alignment with him also serves to shore up the credibility of her repeated allusions to Jewish suffering in her conversations with Anna; David's suffering becomes associatively synonymous with Lotte's suffering and sense of grievance.

Reinstating German guilt

In addition to the structural aspects of *Twin Sisters*, such as the use of juxtaposition and the alterations made to the plot during the adaptation process, characterisation plays an important role in conveying the message of the film regarding German guilt and (by connection) Dutch credibility. However, the most dramatic difference between the

film and the novel is undoubtedly the way in which each portrays Anna who, as the character with whom the audience is intended to identify on the German side and root for in her attempts to reconcile with Lotte, is the most important figure when it comes to De Loo's attempt to challenge anti-German sentiment and complicate dichotomies of 'good' and 'bad'.

The issue of Jewishness also plays a role in the film's reimagining of Anna, in an original scene where Lotte and Anna meet in Germany in the weeks leading up to the German occupation of the Netherlands. Lotte has been visiting Anna, who is working for a landowning family near Cologne, and has witnessed the behaviour of German officers who are staying on the family's estate. After hearing the military men drunkenly sing songs about murdering Jews, she invites Anna to leave Germany and join her in the Netherlands, showing her a picture of David during the conversation. Anna recoils, laughingly apologising for thinking that he looked like a Jew. This scene, along with the incident with the German officers, makes Nazism and the Nazi persecution of the Jews into an issue within the twins' relationship from a much earlier point than in the novel. Unlike in the book, where Lotte does not initially associate Anna with problematic Germanness despite her view of Germans as 'barbarians', in the film she comes to see her as indoctrinated and therefore irrevocably alienated from her.

This assumption that Anna is a follower of the Nazi ideology is presented as false within the film, with Anna appearing apolitical and behaving in a good-natured and fair manner towards Poles and forced labourers. However, the film nevertheless makes her appear morally suspect and reduces her credibility through visual juxtapositions and the omission of indicators of her internal ambivalence regarding Nazism. The juxtaposition of Anna's scenes of joy with Lotte's loss of David and the sense that her life and happiness is in ascendancy while David is imprisoned and murdered by her countrymen erodes the potential sympathy of the audience for her experience. This impression of Anna as oblivious to suffering is repeated in another important scene in the film concerning forced labourers.

As Anna leaves her employer's home to visit Martin (Figure 8.2), her cart passes a group of forced labourers, one of whom is a man she has befriended during her stay on the estate. As she waves gaily to the German members of the household he approaches to say goodbye but is beaten to the ground by one of the guards. Anna looks momentarily perturbed but continues her journey, turning away from the man and

Fig. 8.2 Still from Tessa de Loo's *De tweeling* (*The Twins*, 1993). © idtv/Miramax

his suffering. The powerful visual impression of Anna placed above and in front of the prisoners waving happily and her lack of response to the violence inflicted on her friend are telling, as is her attempt to justify the behaviour of the officers to Lotte by saying they have gone mad: she is a fellow-traveller does not choose to recognise what is happening.

As well as imbuing Anna with a greater degree of anti-Semitism and lack of awareness, the makers of *Twin Sisters* erase perhaps the most challenging aspect of the story of *The Twins* and the most important factor in the characterisation of Anna: her experiences as a Red Cross nurse. Among the most disturbing passages in the novel are the ones in which Anna cares for injured and dying soldiers during the final weeks of the war. These passages are important both for the paradigm-shifting first-hand representation of German suffering and the impact they have on Lotte within the novel; they provoke some of the few instances in which Lotte is able to look beyond her anger and prejudice against Anna as a representative of Germany and imagine another perspective on the war.

When Anna describes the destruction of the German armed forces and the sheer scale of human suffering she encountered, Lotte is unable to reject her stories as apologist rhetoric. She hears how Anna was left behind the retreating army with a group of immobile patients, unable to give them pain relief or even clean their wounds effectively, and about rows of hundreds of naked wounded men, left on the floor of the hospital to die because the medics needed their stretchers to bring in more casualties. She also describes her own failed suicide attempt, and the feeling

that her life had ended following Martin's death. Lotte responds to this account in total shock:

> Lotte was staring at her. Behind the face opposite her for the first time she could see the young woman Anna must have been – on a stone bridge in the rain, in a corridor with dying soldiers. It touched her more than she could concede to herself. Making an effort to get her voice to sound matter of fact she said, 'How could all those badly wounded soldiers possibly be left behind?'[35]

In the film there are no exchanges in which Lotte softens in this way by appearing to recognise the suffering of her sister or by connection the German people. There are also no scenes of Anna's service in the Red Cross or of the suffering of German soldiers.[36] Instead she appears in a few brief shots in her uniform, without explanation.

The impact of this choice to omit representations of Anna in the Red Cross goes beyond her characterisation in that it dramatically alters the space given to German experience as a whole. The issue of German suffering, which is fundamental to the message and tone of the book as well as De Loo's reconciliation politics, is not addressed in the film to any extent, leaving Anna's assertion that Germans also suffered because of Hitler unsupported. Other notable omissions include the episodes in which Anna finds herself on the figurative front line of the war during the first aerial bombardment of Berlin and is nearly killed, as well as the allusions made to the mass exodus of Germans from the East ahead of the Red Army and the terrible conditions following the end of the conflict. It is in this failure to represent German suffering that *Twin Sisters* ultimately demonstrates its fundamentally different priorities. Overall the film puts forward a view of Germans (represented primarily by Anna) which is far more partial than the novel from which it is adapted and therefore plays into the types of narratives of 'German equals criminal' which began to be challenged in the 1990s.

However, the decisions the makers of *Twin Sisters* reached regarding what to represent must not be seen as solely the product of prejudice or a desire to reject the challengingly conciliatory tone of De Loo's novel. Anna, despite appearing to be morally culpable and having been stripped of her agency and heroism, remains a sympathetic character, whose gentleness, childlessness and apparent poverty contrasts with the cold, privileged air of the slightly older twin Lotte. Similarly, although her experience and loss of Martin is visually marked as incomparable to that of Lotte and David, the audience are invited to identify with her

through the course of the film. Other priorities must play a role in determining what is represented.

As I have argued throughout this chapter, this Dutch heritage film is primarily concerned with representing Dutch national identity and memory to *both* a domestic and foreign audience. Seen in this light the decision to remove elements of Anna's experience and to foreground the relationship between Lotte and David can be read as having been driven by the need to conform to the Dutch audience's imaginative understanding of the past as well as their potential reservations about sympathising with Germans. The main experiences represented by De Loo as shorthand for German suffering – aerial bombardment, civilian experiences of loss and the brutality of war – are not easy to reconcile with dominant Dutch narratives surrounding the Second World War.

Aside from the bombings of Rotterdam and Nijmegen, the Netherlands did not suffer significant damage from the air, with the sight of bombers overhead generally welcomed as a sign that Germany was under attack. The Dutch were neutrals until attacked by Germany, and after the occupation basically the only Dutch soldiers who fought did so for the Axis, so most Dutch civilians did not wait for news from members of the armed forces as other nations' citizens did – and those who did are marginalised from collective remembering. Similarly, the setting of the field hospital would not speak to the Dutch national imaginary. On the other hand, the addition of mistreated forced labourers and the greater prominence of David in the film, as well as his relationship with Lotte, can be read as an example of Dutch narratives of war being reasserted. The deportation and murder of Dutch Jews, along with stories of heroism by the resistance and the suffering of forced labourers, represent dominant streams within Dutch memory of the period. The bringing to the fore of David furthermore speaks to collective memory of war both nationally and internationally, shifting the focus found in *The Twins* to one in which pan-European, commemorative memory takes prime position. David is a character who serves the identificatory demands of heritage and whose absence in the second half of the film allows him to serve as a symbolic figure and representation of Lotte's suffering and Dutch wartime experience in general.

Conclusion: a cinema of consensus

In conclusion, the film *The Twins* can be seen as part of a trend towards representing the past at home and abroad which has arisen in Europe

over the past two decades. It is a somewhat toothless adaptation of a more openly political novel which substitutes a kind of conversation about the past and what it means to recognise another's suffering with a melodramatic love story in a period setting which represents at most a rehearsal of established narratives of German evil and Dutch suffering. This approach can be read as a consequence of both a desire to appeal to the middle-brow and a concern with representing an acceptable portrayal of Dutch history on the national and international stage. The result is a film which is conservative in its message regarding the past and pessimistic about the possibility of meaningful reconciliation on anything other than a personal level, relying on private tragedy and universalised, apolitical suffering to make the reconciliation of the two sisters possible.

The omission of particularly German experiences of war can be read as the product of the film-makers' reluctance to risk threatening the primacy of Jewish suffering within the memory culture surrounding the Second World War, but it must also be seen as resulting from a concern with representing a particularly Dutch view of history. The film reduces the agency of the central female characters and identifies them more closely with their respective partners, with Martin's membership of the *Waffen-SS* eclipsing all his and Anna's other actions and, more worryingly, David's death allowing Lotte to take on the mantle of his suffering and speak from a position of moral superiority over her sister even though (as far as the film is concerned) she herself is only a bystander within the context of the war and resistance against the Nazis. Taken as a whole, the film represents a step towards the representation of Dutch cultural memories of war through the syntax of Hollywood and is the precursor to later, more successful films such as *Zwartboek* (*Black Book*, 2006).

9

Harmony and discord in planning: a comparative history of post-war welfare policies in a Dutch–German border region

Marijn Molema

This chapter focuses on the process of consensus-building within the domain of policies and politics. It concentrates on Dutch and German regional economic development policies, to illustrate the similarities and differences in the policy-making processes. Regional economic policies flourished in the 1950s and 1960s, when most developed countries were implementing them. Industrial subsidies and infrastructure investments were intended to strengthen the economic structure of those regions lagging behind the standards of national growth. This post-war history of regional policy will be investigated, using the northern Netherlands and north-west Germany as examples. Parallels and divergences between concepts, instruments and administration will be scrutinised from a comparative perspective. Similar patterns in Dutch and German regions point to a European consensus on how to develop 'backward' regions. Differences in and between the regions will be explained on the basis of variations in planning traditions on a national and even regional scale.

Introduction

> In the peak years of the modern European welfare state, when the administrative apparatus still exercised broad-ranging authority and its credibility remained unassailed, a remarkable consensus was achieved.[1]

This is one of the insights offered in Tony Judt's eminent work on Europe's post-war history. The British historian commenced his narration of socio-economic policies in the 1950s and 1960s by stating that these policies were an act of 'remarkable consensus'. This can indeed be seen from an analysis of broad processes in contemporary history and their underlying structures. Further investigation of these European processes could also encourage comparisons between individual nation-states. Such an intellectual endeavour is rewarding because comparisons between nation-states enable us to draw out more precisely the shared European characteristics, but also to discuss and understand differences between individual countries.[2] We can even go a step further and articulate the regional differences in European welfare state policies. According to the British political scientist Michael Keating, European nation-states are full of 'territorial politics', which means that political needs and goals are formed within territories at a subnational scale.[3] These are brought into national political arenas and influence the construction and deconstruction of consensus.

This chapter records consensus on a particular branch of the European welfare state: the political concern for economic development in regions lagging behind national average growth rates. In a comparison between Dutch and German approaches, a more precise analysis of general assumptions and instruments of regional-economic policies is offered.[4] Moreover, the chapter aims to analyse national and regional particularities within these regional economic policies. Notwithstanding the common ground in regional politics, territorially bounded planning traditions have affected regional economic policies, thus giving rise to subtle but far-reaching differences between and within European countries. To illustrate this, the analysis is concentrated on two regions in the Netherlands (the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe) and two regions in Germany (East Frisia and the Emsland). As regions remote from national industrial centres, they shared a vulnerable economic structure which resulted in policy interventions in the 1950s and 1960s. Consensus on the industrial development of those regions evolved in those two decades. However, there remained differences between the Dutch and German approaches, and policy differences between East Frisia and the Emsland illustrate the regional particularities of economic politics.

The guiding research question focuses on the description and explanation of policy differences: what can explain the differences between regional policies executed in Groningen, Drenthe, East Frisia and the Emsland between 1950 and 1970? After a short description of the regions, we will look at the early phase of regional policies during

the early 1950s. We will then investigate the merging of spatial planning and regional policies in the late 1950s. The last part will depict the 1960s as the heyday of regional industrialisation policies and as marking the end of the old consensus and the beginning of a new era around 1970.

The northern Netherlands and north-west Germany

The border between the northern Netherlands and north-west Germany begins on the shores of the North Sea; the Ems-Dollart Bay marks the divide between the two countries. The River Ems flows on the German side from south to north along the border and ends in the Ems-Dollart estuary. In modern times, *Autobahn* A31, also called the 'Emslinie', has been the most important north–south connection in this border region. The area shares cultural similarities and economic interdependencies, but national differences have increased due to the increasing influence of nationalism from the late nineteenth century.[5] These differences are of particular importance in the administrative structure. Groningen and Drenthe are two of the twelve provinces – the principal level of regional governance – comprising the Dutch constitutional monarchy. Provincial governments consist of five to seven elected deputies and are headed by a Commissioner appointed by the monarch. These Commissioners and their deputies are responsible for the execution of central government tasks, but can also develop economic, cultural and social policies themselves.[6] Regional government is held to account by a regional parliament, the States-Provincial, an old institution which dates back to the Middle Ages. In the period under study, the provincial parliaments of Groningen and Drenthe were not dominated by a single political party or faction, although the Social Democrats were often the strongest party in both provinces.

On the German side of the border, East Frisia (*Ostfriesland*) contains various local administrative districts – *Landkreise* or (in the case of larger cities) *Kreisfreie Städte* – including Norden, Aurich, Wittmund, Leer and the *Kreisfreie Stadt* Emden. The East Frisian people have a strong regional bond and sense of belonging, expressed through local habits such as tea drinking and through their dialect.[7] Regional culture in the Emsland is influenced by Catholic norms and values. From the first national elections in the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic party *Zentrum* was the dominant political force.[8] These well-defined but different regional cultures have hampered cooperation between East Frisia and the Emsland. The latter region owes its name to the River Ems,

which flows through the length of the region, and was made a *Landkreis* in 1977. That year, Aschendorf-Hümmling, Meppen and Lingen merged into the largest German *Landkreis* of the time.[9] Until 1978, East Frisia and the Emsland were part of the governmental districts of Aurich and Osnabrück respectively. These governmental districts were administrative bodies of the State of Lower Saxony, which executes its policies through the districts. At the head of each district is a district president (*Regierungspräsident*) who runs the administrative apparatus. However, in contrast to the Dutch provinces, there is no direct political representation of the people living in the districts.

From an economic and demographic angle, the four regions of Groningen, Drenthe, East Frisia and the Emsland have shared many characteristics, especially since the Second World War. After 1945 the process of population growth, which had stagnated due to the Second World War, resumed at a rapid pace. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Western European population grew by 0.7 per cent each year.[10] The northern Netherlands and north-west Germany were not excluded from this general population growth, as can be seen in Table 9.1. Population forecasts caused people to realise that new jobs would be required in the near future. Economic life in Groningen and Drenthe, as well as in East Frisia and the Emsland, had hitherto been mostly related to agriculture. Cattle and arable farming provided employment for many labourers. Due to the mechanisation of labour, concentration on specific products and increases in scale, the numbers of people needed to work in the agricultural sector decreased. In the early twentieth century, approximately a quarter of the West European labour force worked in the agricultural sector. This number had fallen to 12.8 per cent by 1960.[11] Between 1947 and 1956 the percentage of the nation's male workers employed in the agricultural sector fell from 29.3 to 22.9 per cent in Groningen and from 44.5 to 34.0 per cent in Drenthe.[12] In East Frisia the number declined from 46.4 per cent in 1946 to 30.2 per cent in 1961.[13] The same happened in the Emsland, where more than half the population worked in the agricultural sector after the Second World War; by 1970 this had fallen to less than 23 per cent.[14] Furthermore, many peat diggers, especially in the province of Drenthe, lost their incomes due to the rise of alternative fuels, and the consequent collapse of the peat sector.

These economic and demographic processes had an extraordinary impact on the northern Netherlands and north-west Germany. Industry was not totally absent; in Groningen, and to a lesser extent also in Drenthe and East Frisia, agricultural products were processed into sugar, potato starch, strawboard and dairy products.[15] East Frisia and

Table 9.1 Socio-economic indicators[16]

	(a) Groningen	(b) Drenthe	(c) East Frisia	(d) Emsland
1. Population 1946/47	430,000	262,000	360,000	177,000
2. Population 1987	558,000	434,000	415,000	256,000
3. Migration balance 1950s	–40,000	–20,000	–68,000	–19,000
4. Unemployment rate 1950	3.6%	6.5%	23.1%	–
5. Unemployment rate 1957	3.7%	3.8%	12.1%	8.2%
6. Unemployment rate 1965	1.8%	2.3%	3.3%	2.2%

Note: The numbers at 3c and 3d are for the years 1950–59 and 1949–57 respectively; the unemployment numbers for East Frisia are based on data from the Employment Centre of Emden.

Groningen were also home to some shipyards. However, these industries could only absorb a fraction of the people who lost their jobs in the agricultural sector. This all resulted in higher unemployment rates than the national average. Young people left the region and moved to national economic centres or tried their luck abroad. East Frisia headed the outward migration figures in the 1950s, when it saw a net emigration of 68,000 inhabitants (see Table 9.1). Regional politicians and policymakers were concerned about the future development of their provinces and districts; they feared that their socio-economic problems would further worsen in the near future. Something had to be done to arrest their regions' decline.

Programmatic approach in Groningen and Drenthe

The first ten years after 1945 can be considered to be the 'formative period' of regional economic policy. As a result of post-war reconstruction, this new policy field took root in the administrative system. National parliaments decided on the first measures and an apparatus was established to govern the regional economies. Several development programmes were implemented in the Netherlands and Germany, drawing

partly on pre-war ideas. From a comparative perspective, the most obvious difference between Groningen/Drenthe on the one hand and East Frisia/Emsland on the other is the level of unity in policy programmes. While East Frisia and the Emsland went down different policy paths, the two regions in the north of the Netherlands adopted a joint approach to their development plans. There was striking agreement about the most important direction in which the regional economy had to develop: the attraction of industry was expected to resolve the problems of unemployment and underdevelopment. The path to industrial development was paved in both regional and national debate. Local and regional governors had already begun arguing for industrial incentives in the late 1930s. The Commissioner of the Queen in Groningen, Johannes Linthorst Homan, for example, organised regional conferences in 1938 and 1939 in which the economic development of the province was discussed.[17] Backed by the provincial governments of Groningen and Drenthe, a Northern Economic–Technological Organization (NETO) was founded in 1937. The NETO advised on technological questions but also on more strategic matters, such as the economic prospects of agribusiness. A sense of urgency was also felt in south-east Drenthe, especially in the mid-sized town of Emmen. This was the centre of peat-digging activities, which disappeared almost entirely in the early twentieth century. The local government established an industrialisation committee in the mid-1930s, with the aim of attracting new industries. The reaction of J. A. de Wilde, Minister of Internal Affairs on behalf of the (Protestant) Anti-Revolutionary Party, is representative of the national 'support' for local initiatives. In a letter, De Wilde warned against state subsidies for private companies.[18] Confessional parties, which ruled the national administration, opposed an active role for the state in economic affairs. This position was challenged by the Social-Democrat party.[19] This party, however, did not have enough power to convince the government to actively support local and regional industrialisation policies.

All this changed after a working visit to Emmen from the new Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs, Jan van den Brink, in 1948. Van den Brink was affected by the desolate state of the area, which was the result of the collapse in the region's core economic activity, peat-digging. According to regional and national politicians, the state needed to stimulate the restructuring of south-east Drenthe by shaping and stimulating conditions for an autonomous process of industrial growth. Concrete proposals led to infrastructure investment. The South-east Drenthe Welfare Plan, which was approved by the Dutch Parliament in July 1951 and part-financed by the Marshall Plan, consisted of the improvement of

the Emmen–Zwolle highway, the construction of thirty bridges, and the enhancement of a canal (the *Hoogeveensche Vaart*).[20] Although a member of the Catholic Party, which did not favour political leadership in economic matters, Van den Brink played a supportive role in economic policy. The young politician (he was only 38 when he took up his ministerial post) was unaffected by the liberal dogmas which had dominated the Dutch government before and immediately after the Second World War. Moreover, he was a former professor of economics and an expert in the theories of Keynes, the well-known British economist who argued for an active role for the state in times of recession. He was willing to put parts of Keynesian theory into practice, based on the implementation of financial and non-financial incentives aimed at the industrialisation of the Dutch economy.[21] Regional industrialisation policy became part of this national industrialisation policy, thus giving regional policy the benefit of falling under a larger political project. Taking the South-east Drenthe Welfare Plan as its model, the Ministry of Economic Affairs selected eight 'development areas'.[22] The development areas of south-west Groningen, eastern Groningen and eastern Friesland were all situated in the northern provinces.

Three statistical categories played a significant part in the selection of these development areas.[23] First, the number of registered unemployed was calculated. Second, the workforce which was not registered as unemployed, but was nevertheless jobless, was roughly estimated. Third, regional population forecasts were examined, indicating how great the demand for jobs in a particular region was expected to be up to 1970. In July 1953 another instrument was added to the regional development plans. Industrial entrepreneurs could receive a refund of up to 25 per cent of their investment in new industrial construction. This measure was only applicable in 'centres of industry' (*industriekernen*). Every development area had approximately four centres of industry. In working out the development plans, the Ministry of Economic Affairs relied heavily on the provinces. National policy-makers consulted the provincial boards frequently. Regional politicians relied on advice from the NETO, which evolved into their own administrative apparatus (in 1946, the province of Drenthe decided to leave NETO and establish its own economic–technological institute). In the construction of development plans, the economic–technological institutes functioned as contact points between the national technologically-oriented policy-makers in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the regional politicians on the provincial boards. Instructed by regional politicians, the institutes provided statistical, economical and geographical knowledge about the

development areas.[24] Their recommendations were often incorporated into the official views of the Provincial Boards, which granted a great deal of authority to the expertise of the academically-trained employees of the economic-technological institutes. Their expertise also provided a common ground with national policy-makers. National and regional policy-makers shared an academic, economic approach to reasoning which resulted in well thought out development plans. National policy-makers provided the framework while the economic–technological institutes filled in the details.

Industrial plans for East Frisia

The formative period in north-west Germany was a testament to the greater regional diversity that existed in various policies, resulting in considerable differences between East Frisia and Emsland. From September 1949 on, several parties asked the government to assist economically vulnerable regions called *Notstandsgebiete*, literally 'emergency areas'.[25] This literal meaning reflects the fierce and emotive language in which the Nazis had framed their economic policies. In the late 1930s, the Nazis' anti-liberalist stance shaped regional programmes in the *Notstandsgebiete*.[26] The ideas behind these regional economic policies, and the meaning of the word *Notstandsgebiete* itself, endured into the post-war process of ideological cleansing. Under pressure from the German Parliament, the National Ministry of Economic Affairs led an inter-ministerial committee on questions concerning the *Notstandsgebiete*, which met for the first time in March 1950.[27]

Its first task was to specify the meaning of the word. Some members of the inter-ministerial committee were against the use of statistical standards: they felt that every case should be judged individually. However, officials from the Treasury and the Ministry of Economic Affairs were fiercely opposed to this approach.[28] Objective norms were necessary, in their opinion, because otherwise all of Germany would declare itself one huge 'emergency area', as every region stood to profit from the regional policy measures. This opinion held sway, and a number of statistical criteria were defined for areas containing at least 100,000 inhabitants. These areas needed to have an average unemployment rate above 25 per cent or an average of 2.2 people per residential unit. The East Frisia region was identified as being in need on these criteria.[29] Between 1951 and 1955, the inter-ministerial committee

distributed 9.3 million German marks in East Frisia.[30] In the official policy discourse, the term *Notstandsprogramm* ('emergency programme') was changed to the more neutral *Sanierungsprogramm* ('healing programme'), a metaphor which implied that some German regions needed to recover from economic illness.

As with the regional policy in the Netherlands, the *Sanierungsprogramm* measures consisted of infrastructure investments and subsidies for industrial construction. However, unlike the Dutch development plans, the budget was not allocated to plans after a process of mutual consultation between the regional and national levels. Regional policy in East Frisia was a more ad hoc venture. Every year, community districts (*Landkreise*) in East Frisia were responsible for the submission of concrete projects. A list of projects would be submitted by the *Regierungsbezirk* (Government District) of Aurich, one of the districts in the administrative system of Lower Saxony. After its approval, the Aurich Government District would send the list to the Lower Saxony Ministry of Economic Affairs.[31] From the desks in Hanover, the state capital, the lists were forwarded to the National Ministry of Economic Affairs in Bonn, who decided which projects would be funded and which would not.

The *Emslandplan*

The Emsland received no consideration for the *Sanierungsprogramm*, because this region occupied an unusual place in Germany's economic policy. On 5 May 1950, the German Parliament approved an *Emslandplan* in which the German Ministry of Agriculture, the state of Lower Saxony, and eight *Kreisen* (administrative units made up of several municipalities) all agreed on long-term economic investment in the Emsland.[32] A special agency, the Emsland GmbH, became responsible for carrying out these investment projects. Although the plan envisaged the 'integral' development of the Emsland, industrial measures were subordinated to purposes intended to improve the agricultural structure. During the period 1950–75, only 6 per cent of the budget was spent on industrial parks. Other categories, such as water management (40 per cent) and agriculture (26 per cent), consumed the larger part of the available resources.[33]

The agricultural primacy of the *Emslandplan* was rooted in earlier land cultivation initiatives, which had been carried out from the 1920s onwards. Due to the loss of land after the First World War, the

Prussian state encouraged the 'inner colonisation' of Germany: uncultivated parts of Germany needed to be improved to increase the nation's productive land.[34] Building on individual and private initiatives, regional politicians in the 1930s promoted a more holistic approach aimed at the integral social, economic and cultural development of the Emsland. When the Nazis designated the Emsland as one of their *Notstandsgebiete*, at least part of this development idea was included in a Four Year Plan. All initiatives were ended due to the Second World War, but shortly after 1945 the same integral development ideas flourished again.[35]

Through political cooperation between the *Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück* (one of the administrative districts in Lower Saxony) and the state and national governments in Hanover and Bonn, a new *Emslandplan* was prepared and approved. Konrad Adenauer assigned the principal authority for the *Emslandplan* to the national Ministry of Agriculture.[36] Germany's Chancellor connected the cultivation works to the need to place families of East German refugees. New farms on new land were intended to reduce the refugee problem. The government of Lower Saxony, which covered half the annual costs of the *Emslandplan*, also made their Ministry of Agriculture primarily responsible for the plan. This institutional link between the agricultural ministries and the Emslandsplan, rooted in pre-war cultivation initiatives, resulted in an agricultural focus for these projects.

Spatial planning: the Dutch west/north divide

In its early years, the political legitimacy of regional policy was founded in economic and social arguments. The thinking was that lagging regions should be stimulated to enable them to contribute to national economic growth. In addition, the concentration of unemployment could lead to poverty and social disruption, which should be prevented. However, from the late 1950s onwards, a third element was added: a concern with spatial development. During the early twentieth century, people became increasingly aware of the rapidity of urbanisation. During the inter-war period, the first calls were made for national spatial policies in both the Netherlands and Germany.[37] Such policies were intended to direct the urbanisation process and prevent pollution, overcrowding in cities and congestion. However, it was not until the late 1950s that these calls were reflected in government strategies attempting to direct spatial development on a national scale.

Regional economic policy became an important instrument in spatial planning strategies. Increasing the regions' economic importance was intended to help avoid congestion, prevent migration to already overcrowded cities and distribute the population across the country.[38] These ideas, which were embraced by national politicians and policymakers, were very welcome in the regions. Regional actors, including provincial boards, local political party associations and chambers of commerce, saw the popularity of spatial planning as an opportunity to campaign for increased investments in the regional economy. Regional economic policy and national spatial policy thus crossed paths and intensified each other in the late 1950s.

The Netherlands illustrates this 'cross-fertilisation' between regional industrial policy and national spatial planning. One influential example of the many reports written at the time was entitled *The West . . . and the Rest of the Netherlands*.[39] This concise report, published in 1956, reads almost like a marketing brochure. Its brief, clear text transmitted a simple message: that the Netherlands was in danger of becoming seriously skewed. The west of the country was growing so fast that the quality of the natural environment was threatened, while many other areas had fallen behind on key indicators. Graphs and statistical charts were used to underline the argument, giving scientific authority to the planners' statements. Something had to be done – a policy was needed that would help distribute the Dutch population rationally throughout the entire country.

Soon after the publication of *The West . . . and the Rest of the Netherlands*, the three northern provinces of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe responded with their own report, entitled *The North of the Netherlands*.[40] This communicated the same alarming message: that the north was threatened by emigration, unemployment and an ageing population, while the west was struggling to deal with the consequences of overdevelopment. The report argued that the north could help relieve the west by following a policy which supported provincial development. Instead of new solutions, the report proposed an enlargement and reinforcement of measures that were already being implemented. What was new, however, was the political cooperation between the northern provinces. Groningen, Drenthe and the province of Friesland were all involved in regional policy. Popular attention to the problems of congestion in the western conurbation helped reinforce this policy. Regional politicians decided to join forces and increase their political influence in the national political arena. In this same year, 1958, the Dutch Parliament asked that special attention be paid to the development of

the 'northern part of the country'.[41] The 'northern Netherlands' became a widely used expression in political and social discourse. The whole northern Netherlands was labelled a 'problem area', reflecting the alarming messages of planners and regional politicians.[42] Industrial subsidies were reinforced and directed towards 'primary and secondary development centres'. These centres were intended to be the driving force for the surrounding area, giving the entire region an economic–industrial impulse.

Distance between the region and the state in Germany

Spatial planning was disliked by German politicians and the general public because of its resemblance to the centralistic and compulsive approach of the Nazis before and during the Second World War.[43] The reactivation of spatial politics after 1945 was therefore belated compared to what was happening in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the merger between regional policy and spatial planning also occurred in Germany. German policy-makers at the national level sought the spatial concentration of policy measures, in the same way as the Dutch. The annual *Sanierungsprogramme*, which were renamed *Regionale Förderungsprogramme* ('regional advancement programmes') from 1954 onwards, remained untouched. However, in 1959 the Ministry of Economic Affairs in Bonn started a 'central place programme'.[44] Infrastructural arrangements and factory premiums were concentrated in sixteen 'central sites'. In this sense, German regional policy also intersected with spatial planning. Following recommendations by spatial planners, regional centres were renamed 'federal development sites' (*Bundesausbauorte*) in 1964.[45] However, achieving a political conceptualisation of the divide between a rich core and a poor periphery, similar to the Dutch north/west divide, was not attempted (in the Emsland) or did not succeed (in East Frisia).

In the Emsland there was no direct need to strive for special status. Clear ideas about the development of the region were laid down in the *Emslandplan*, including spatial charts. Its execution was in full swing and its funding was guaranteed for years. For this reason, but also because of inter-regional, cultural differences, it was unlikely that Emsland and East Frisia would join forces as Groningen and Drenthe did. There was mutual suspicion among the respective elites of the German regions. People from East Frisia (who were mostly Protestants and cultivated their own administrative independence) were at odds with Emslanders (who

were predominantly Catholics and cherished their own *Emslandplan*). Instead of having a distinguished, regional plan, East Frisia was an incontrovertible part of the national framework for regional policies. Regional towns such as Aurich, Leer and the city of Emden were 'central places', to which industries were attracted by state subsidies. The district and its president (*Regierungspräsident*) took a bureaucratic approach to their duties and responsibilities. They were therefore remarkably absent from the political arena in which the debate about the scale and the future of regional policy took place.

When Hans Beutz, the new *Regierungspräsident* of East Frisia, took office in 1960, this situation changed. Beutz (1909–97) was an active member of the Social-Democrat Party of Germany (SPD) in Wilhelmshaven, the harbour city in the redevelopment of which he took a leading role in 1947 as city administrator (*Stadtdirektor*). He took his experience in local development planning with him to Aurich, in which he initiated a spatial plan for East Frisia.[46] Although this development plan had a wider impact than economic planning alone, it was a collective reference point for the regional economic outlook proposed by the district of Aurich. To Beutz's disappointment, the development plan did not convince governors at the level of the State of Lower Saxony and the German federal government to adopt additional measures to benefit the region of East Frisia on top of existing national frameworks. The persevering *Regierungspräsident* argued in 1968 again for targeted action, this time launching the idea of an *Ostfrieslandplan*. This argued that a set of coordinated policy actions needed to be taken up to 1975, aimed at the structural improvement of the region's economy.[47] One final attempt at securing additional political support, again unsuccessful, was Beutz's idea of making East Frisia an 'example region' (*Beispielregion*, in modern terminology: 'pilot project'). This status could legitimise the execution of additional policy measures to decrease the welfare differences between East Frisia and the national average.[48]

The reason for Beutz's failed attempts can be located, from a comparative perspective, in the fact that the idea of a spatially unbalanced country was not regarded as such a problem in Germany as it was in the Netherlands. German spatial development was more multiform and contained many urban areas, rural districts and in-between zones. Therefore, it was unlikely that rhetorical concepts, such as the Dutch idea of an overdeveloped core opposed to an underdeveloped periphery, played the same role as in the Dutch debate. Accordingly, north-west Germany had a different connotation from the northern Netherlands: Beutz could not profit from alarm at a 'deprived' East Frisia

within a country as rich as Germany. Moreover, regions within north-west Germany did not enter into political alliances as they did in the northern Netherlands. Related to this was the limited incentive for cooperation. Regional alliances at the scale of north-west Germany could not have had the same political impact as the regional coalition in the northern Netherlands. Compared to the situation in the Netherlands, the political arena in Germany was enormous and much more complex. The states, their administrative districts, and countless pressure groups filled the arena with many actors, but the national state and its administrative apparatus were bigger. Even if the regions in north-west Germany had spoken with 'one voice', the chance that they would be heard by influential political actors was much less than in the Netherlands.

The heyday of regional industrialisation and its aftermath

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the system of subsidising industrial developments in specific towns and cities was extended and brought to perfection in both countries. The consensus on how to develop underdeveloped regions was strengthened and more strongly fixed into policy structures. This process is most visible in Germany, where older concepts from 1954 (*Regional Förderungsprogram*), 1959 ('central place programme') and 1963 (*Bundesausbauorte*) merged from 1968 into annual 'action programmes'.[49] The word 'action' mirrors the political urgency given to regional policy after Karl Schiller was appointed Minister of Economic Affairs in the national government of Germany in 1966. Schiller (1911–94) was a social democrat trained in Keynesian theory. Improvement in the economic structure of less developed regions became one of the characteristic initiatives of Schiller's office.[50] He merged older policy concepts in a new framework, based on action programmes in 'action areas' (*Aktionsgebiete*) from 1968 onwards. Across Germany, twenty-one action areas were designated, one of them north-west Lower Saxony. Both East Frisia and the Emsland were part of this action area. A subsidy of 20 per cent for all industrial investments was provided in Emden and the Emsland town of Lingen. Industrial subsidies of up to 15 per cent of the total investment were available in other towns of East Frisia and the Emsland.[51]

In the same year, 1968, the status of Groningen, Drenthe and the province of Friesland as development areas was extended. As in the German action programmes, subsidies were distributed among ten

first-order and thirteen second-order development towns. Meanwhile, politicians and civil servants at the provincial level worked on social, economic and spatial development plans. The idea of industrialisation was the principal concept in such development plans. Leading concepts of development in the Emsland converged on industrial progress in the late 1960s. While the Emsland GmbH paid increasing attention to industrial infrastructure and facilities, the important towns of the Emsland also became part of the national regional-economic policies. In its formative period, the Emsland was not selected as an industrial development region because it had already received its 'fair share' through the considerable state investments in the *Emslandplan*. However, as regional industrialisation policies became an increasingly regular domain for state welfare policies, the Emsland could also profit from that. In the late 1950s, some parts of the Emsland had already been admitted to the regional advancement programmes of the German government and the State of Lower Saxony.[52] With the proclamation of the action area of north-west Lower Saxony in 1968, there were no longer any differences within East Frisia: both regions could profit from the same industrial policy programmes. The *Emslandplan* continued to exist until 1989 and maintained its agricultural focus. However, in the late 1960s the dominant development aim in all four regions was industrial growth.

Meanwhile, the economic structure of north-west Europe drifted into a process of fundamental change. The post-war 'Golden Age' of economic growth ended with the 1960s, due to a combination of factors including market saturation, stagnating labour productivity related to outmoded production methods, the rise of competing economies in Asia and southern Europe, and a decrease in world trade because of monetary instability.[53] Those macroeconomic developments had a major impact on regional economies. In the province of Groningen, whole sectors, such as strawboard production and textiles, disappeared during the 1970s.[54] Established factories in the province of Drenthe were forced to close.[55] One of the victims of the economic crisis in East Frisia was the Olympia typewriter factory, which closed its doors in 1983. Economic losses in the Emsland concentrated in the construction trade and the textile industry.[56] The process of deindustrialisation had a huge impact on the regional labour market. Unemployment figures increased again, and the peak of the crisis in Groningen and Drenthe came in 1983, with 23.4 and 18.6 per cent of the population of each being unemployed respectively.[57] The employment centre in Leer registered a record unemployment rate of 23.1 per cent in 1984.[58] In the Emsland, 1986 was the peak year with more than 18 per cent unemployed.

The enthusiasm for industrial enterprise was unharmed by economic events. During the 1960s, increasing attention was paid to the negative impact of industrialisation on nature and the landscape. The international report *Limits to Growth* (1972) sparked intense debate on the quality of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources. Environmental politics lodged itself in the consciousness of political parties, policies and ministries.[59] As a consequence of these unforeseen developments, a new state of 'diminished expectations' emerged.[60] Within the field of regional policy, these expectations were built on the assumption that new economic growth was intertwined with industrialisation, and that newly attracted factories functioned as the catalysts of regional development. New circumstances gave way to a process of reflection on the basic assumptions of regional policies. Alternative conceptions of regional development were built upon fresh academic theories.[61] Leading academics argued that regional development was something that could not be achieved by state-led industrialisation policies alone. On the contrary, every sector, such as tourism, agriculture and services, had the potential to become the driving forces for regional economic growth. Regions had to seize the opportunities of 'endogenous growth factors', the set of economic qualities which were special and could be strengthened by strategic interventions.[62]

As in most regions where regional industrialisation policies had been carried out, the 1970s was a decade of fracturing consensus in the border region of the northern Netherlands and north-west Germany. Slowly but surely, the region abandoned the coherent set of ideas that had seen industrial development as spreading evenly across the region from a concentration in key towns and cities. This process was not without political struggles and even social unrest, a process which cannot – for reasons of limited space – be included in the scope of this chapter. The same is true of the new regional economic strategies which filled the void left by the diminished expectations of regional industrialisation policies. In Groningen/Drenthe and East Frisia/Emsland, regional actors organised strategic discussions in the 1980s aiming to recognise their endogenous growth potential.

Conclusion

Without doubt, we can clearly discern a European history of regional industrialisation policies as an aspect of the twentieth-century welfare state. In the 1950s peripheral areas were labelled by national and

regional politicians and policy-makers as regions with weak economic structures. Orientating towards the industrial catalyst of macroeconomic growth, consensus on a subsidy system for regional towns and cities evolved, aimed at the industrialisation of these core areas to make them regional catalysts. The merging of economic policy and spatial planning in the late 1950s strengthened the case for regional development. Individual observations were interpreted with the help of a collective framework in which the underdeveloped and overdeveloped parts of the country were viewed as two sides of the same coin.

Under the surface of European similarities, however, are the structural differences which offer insight into the national and regional characteristics of political consent. This chapter has illustrated that the unfolding of a regional industrialisation policy was remarkably faster and more uniform in the Dutch regions. This stronger position was already in existence in the early days of regional policy. In Germany individual plans and projects were financed on an ad hoc basis. Moreover, the *Emslandplan* served as evidence that national politics did not aim at industrial development in every region. In the Netherlands, regional policy and spatial planning were more likely to merge too, and gave a stronger impetus to policy than was the case in Germany. In the Netherlands cooperation between regional and national actors occurred sooner and more often, enabling the development of a nationwide system of detailed plans. In Germany, however, the distance between the actors was much greater. Important intermediate administrative units, such as states (*Bundesländer*) and their government districts were located between national and regional actors. If regional actors wanted the national government to act, they first needed to convince the district and the state. Communication among all these layers created agreement on general lines, and the details were worked out later. Moreover, a government district was primarily administrative in nature. It did not have a representative body concerned with political interests. This contrasts with the Dutch provinces, which did have political authority. As a result, Dutch provincial politicians were able to discuss their needs with politicians at the national level. In addition, the provinces in the northern Netherlands collaborated and in so doing presented a stronger front towards national actors.

Regional policies were also influenced by the formation of understandings of the geographical structure of both countries. The frightening vision of overdeveloped conurbations and underdeveloped rural regions had a much greater effect in the Netherlands. The image of

spatial development in Germany was more nuanced. The country had more urban areas and more rural regions. The dichotomy in the Netherlands between the urban west and the rural regions in the rest of the country did not have an equivalent in Germany. The idea of an imbalance in spatial growth was therefore easier to propagate within the Dutch debate than within the German one.

To sum up, we have discerned two variables to explain the differences identified. First, historical political-administrative structures are of great importance. The political and/or administrative representation of regions and their political and cultural connectedness to other areas do matter. Second, and intertwined with the first variable, is the geographic scale of regions within a national state. This is an important aspect in determining the extent of the interaction between the region and the state, and to the representation of regional differences within a country. This chapter has provided insight into the European consensus of regional economic policy, but has also revealed that consensus can have national/regional particularities. During the ongoing process of European integration we have been confronted with fundamental differences between countries and regions. Historical knowledge about their causes and origins can help us understand these differences, and may help bridge them.

10
Dutch in the EU discourse chain: mimic or maverick?

Suzie Holdsworth

The language policy of the European Union (EU) represents an intriguing paradox. In order to preserve the ideal of linguistic democracy, multilingual language production is governed by the principle of 'multiple authenticity'. This means that all parallel languages of official documents are equally valid as original policy tools. At the same time, the Language Charter and treaties actively avoid the word 'translation'; all texts are said to be drafted on an equal footing. However, in reality the institutions of the EU currently produce documents in twenty-four different languages increasingly using English as the original drafting language. As a result, most versions are the product of hybrid translational procedures in which there can be several interim source and target texts before final versions are settled. The phenomenon of hybridity is therefore particularly relevant to Dutch language production as, in the EU discourse context, this is a language that is always translated into from another or other languages. The purpose of this chapter is to problematise the notions of multiple authenticity and hybridity, as well as conceptual relationships between Dutch and English, French and German in a discourse narrative on security. The chapter will analyse a number of parallel examples to explore whether Dutch is a mimic or a maverick, producing consensus or discord, in relation to these other languages; it will also describe the consequences this has for discourse content and the stability of institutional voice at the multilingual interface of discourse.

Introduction

Multilingual text production within the European Union institutions is a complex process. It involves currently the production of official documentation in twenty-four languages serving the needs of European public servants, members of the European Parliament, national politicians, European interest groups and lobbies and the wider lay audience of the Union, the ordinary European citizen. A great number of institutional actors take part in the process, which can be described as both political and linguistic. This is because the content of texts is drafted in two phases: first to convey the European policies of the Union (political), usually in English first or concurrently in English and French; and then to convey this same policy content in all the other remaining languages (linguistic).

The process of transforming policy documentation into this series of twenty-four multilingual versions is governed by the European Commission's principle of *multiple authenticity*,[1] which means that all language versions share equal authenticity or are considered equally valid as originals. This also implies that any single language version of an official text can be used as a policy tool either in isolation from or in tandem with any other language version. In other words, all parallel text content, regardless of the specific language selected, is equal in status to that of any other. This view is backed up by the European Union's Language Charter, which does not make any mention of official texts being 'translated' from one language to another; rather all texts are 'drafted'.[2] The distinction between translation and drafting is significant as translation invariably implies the subordination of the source text to the demands of a target text (although, admittedly, the relative merits or legitimacy of target versus source text dominance have also been much debated within translation studies). However, the insistence of EU language policy specifically on the notion of parallel drafting and not translation suggests that translational effects on texts in their different language versions are somehow obviated; or at the very least the linguistic transfer procedure (whether this be source-or target-text-dominant) is not considered to be an issue which may influence the overall content of policy documentation. There is thus a collective institutional denial of the very activity of translation per se.

However, in reality the EU's multilingual language production machine does function to a large extent with the aid of extensive translational procedures. The Commission's Directorate-General for

Translation (DGT), as well as the other institutions, do in fact actively engage in enormous amounts of translation work. What is more, statistically most 'translations' increasingly find their genesis as original drafts in English; French is now used considerably less and German very sporadically.[3] Hence, the remaining twenty-one language versions (of which Dutch is one) are without exception the result of translational transfers only. This has prompted the Orwellian view that some languages are 'more equal' than others.[4]

It is thus primarily the *way* in which these translation activities are carried out that presents an intriguing paradox when considering the effects of language transfer procedures on the interpretation of policy content. Since – officially – there are no source or target texts (all texts are parallel drafts and therefore multiply authentic), no traditional source-to-target relationships between languages are either visible or traceable. The manner in which cross-lingual relationships are then constructed has created a phenomenon referred to by translation studies scholars[5] as *hybridity*. A hybrid translation situation within the EU arena means that one-source to one-target language transfer (i.e. English into French or French into German) does not necessarily take place, and translational procedures may be based on more than one or even several language versions acting as interim source texts; these are also referred to as 'pivot' or 'bridging' languages because they mediate between original drafting language and final destination target language, passing through possibly up to ten so-called source texts.[6] As a consequence, cross-contamination or pollution occur between 'privileged EU working language' versions and those versions that are not among the 'chosen few';[7] as we have said, the precise effects of this are then understandably not traceable using source-to-target methods of analysis.

As an illustration, let us consider the following scenario. When certain segments of a draft in English are adjusted prior to the final version being released for publication, it then follows that other language versions must also be adjusted. For instance, the French version may be based on the English version and the German version on the French; the French text is then used as a 'pivot' or 'bridging' language between English and German. To complicate the matter further, another language, Dutch for example, may then be adjusted on separate occasions and by different translators using two (or even more) languages as source texts (i.e. English and German and perhaps also French). Thus, translational phenomena across language versions at the multilingual interface become hybrid.

In 2008 the former Director-General of the DGT commented that the Union's multilingual mandate was 'too politically sensitive' to be 'dramatically reformed' and was thus 'here to stay'.[8] In other words, the main principle of linguistic democracy enshrined in the policy of multiple authenticity was untouchable; the Union would therefore just have to cope with the incremental pressures of continued linguistic enlargement. However, more recently, in 2012 the current Director-General, Rytis Martikonis, emphasised during the CIUTI annual Forum[9] that in the current climate translation can be very much a challenging political issue. This suggests that the political tide could be changing; there may indeed now be more room for debate around the issue of democratic legitimacy as to this somewhat fictional[10] ideal of multiple authenticity, a concept designed to eliminate the political dominance, subordination or indeed individuality of any language in relation to others. As Tosi has remarked:

> when translations do not say the same as the original, then the law is not equal for all European citizens; and the language of the original and its translation are equally accessible to all Europeans, then the citizens are not equal before the law.[11]

If we then problematise the notions of both multiple authenticity (the principle of linguistic democracy) and hybridity (the means by which the EU purports to achieve such linguistic democracy), we can ascertain whether these two notions add up to some kind of multilingual equivalence. If this is not the case (i.e. language versions do not say the same thing), then Tosi's further remark becomes all the more salient:

> In an arena where Europe champions equality for all, one would expect to find a more critical appreciation of the language issues that concern communication and affect democratic participation, as this can challenge the unity and solidarity of Europe.[12]

The purpose of this chapter is to explore multiple authenticity and hybridity through the prism of the EU's multilingual discourse chain in general; and in particular the behaviour of the Dutch language within this chain in relation to the three official working languages of the European Commission (English, French and German). As we have already said, Dutch is an EU 'minority' language (among the other twenty!) as it is never an original drafting language and is therefore always subject to hybrid translational procedures involving possibly an

incremental number of other languages as interim source texts. While these languages can of course be any of the other twenty-three available official EU languages, in this chapter we confine the analysis to only three others, English, French and German. The cross-lingual comparisons drawn will be between Dutch and these three languages only; the analysis will use a limited number of examples of parallel text excerpts from a citizenship narrative[13] between the European Commission and the European Council to explore the following questions: Is Dutch a mimic or a maverick? Does it base itself on other language versions (thus achieving a form of equivalence) and if so which ones and in what way? Or, does it attain a level of linguistic independence (and thus non-equivalence) at various junctures in relation to these other languages? If so, how does it achieve this and what is the effect on the discursive content of what is being said as a result?

The multilingual chain of discourse: intergovernmental and supranational

One of the central notions underpinning the arguments in this chapter is that multilingualism as an EU ideology is defining for the way in which discourse is produced in parallel language versions – i.e. the phenomena of hybrid text production and hybrid 'translation' discussed in the preceding section. However, to fully appreciate the ideological parameters at work within this process, it is important to understand that the discourse narrative is a dialogue between two different institutional voices (Commission and Council); the Commission is a *supranational* institution (it represents the views of the EU as a whole) and the Council is an *intergovernmental* institution (it represents the views of the individual member states as a whole). Thus, the analysis must be able to identify translational shifts across two separate dimensions: (1) within the same institutional document or discourse stage (*intra-textual hybridity*) and (2) across different documents or discourse stages (*inter-textual hybridity*). Within this, language versions may or may not convey predictable patterns of supranational or intergovernmental ideology. In this respect, we will of course highlight in particular the behaviour of Dutch in comparison to the other languages. For example, mimicking or veering away from the meanings expressed in other languages could be of significance at the Council (intergovernmental) stage; this is because this is the stage where – either intentionally or unintentionally – member states (i.e. the Netherlands and Flemish-speaking Belgium) may be able to achieve

some form of individual voice in their own language. However, should this be the case, it would also be a point of contention as all language versions are deemed to be equally authentic as policy tools; they should therefore not lay themselves open to alternative interpretations on a close reading compared to other parallel versions.

It is therefore also important to consider parallel discourse segments from each document in terms of their chronology. In other words, the dialogue between the Commission and the Council unfolds dynamically as a *chain of discourse*. The chain is initiated by the Commission Proposal (COM 262), which is then converted into an adopted Programme by the Council (C 115); this in turn is then responded to in the form of an Action Plan for implementation, again drafted by the Commission (COM 171). The discourse narrative is thus a continuum, with the second document (or stage) developing (and modifying) what has been set out in the first, and the third replying to (and modifying) what has been set out in the second. Any analysis of the discourse will then firstly need to describe how the discourse chain develops over the three documents as a whole. This is of particular interest as, within the context of the EU's principle of multiple authenticity, each of these documents can be considered as a single authentic narrative stage in any one language version.

Figure 10.1 illustrates how the chain proceeds from the Commission to the Council and then back to the Commission. As we have said, translational shifts can occur on two dimensions, within the same stage of the discourse chain and/or across different stages of the chain. This means that at one stage Dutch may mimic certain language versions but behave independently of others (intra-textual hybridity); at the next stage it may also mimic some language versions and not others but – crucially – not necessarily those same languages or indeed in the same ways. The result can be then that different constellations of languages

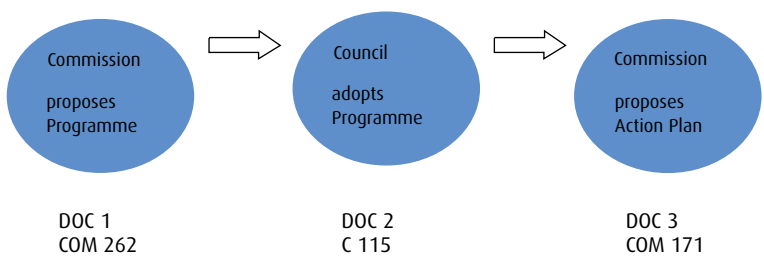

Fig. 10.1 The institutional chain of discourse

are in agreement or not at different stages, and the role of Dutch varies within each of these stages. The following section will briefly describe the methodology used to explore and compare cross-lingual expressions of *conceptual equivalence* among language versions.

Methodology

The way in which language is used to express a particular perception of reality (referred to by cognitive linguists[14] as *construal*) can reveal cross-lingual differences in the conceptualisation of narrative features; this has also been referred to as the construction of a subjective linguistic scene or 'viewing arrangement'.[15] The idea of linguistic subjectivity or 'subjectification' developed by Langacker can be applied as a specific tool for exploring spatial relationships within a discourse narrative. The Discourse Space Theory (DST) suggested by Chilton[16] offers a framework for illustrating these relationships as functions of proximity and distance from one another. Thus, shifts in lexico-grammatical features of language (words and structures) can influence the interpretation and content of policy voices embedded in a political discourse context.

Chilton's theory is essentially a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, which means that it attempts to link micro-linguistic discourse features to the expression of ideology (the macro discourse); discourse spaces are categorised as both 'ideational and ideological constructions in which people, objects, events, processes and states of affairs in the text world are conceptualised' along the three axes of 'space, time and modality'.[17] The 'ideational' is how the speaker linguistically and/or discursively conceptualises the world; the 'ideological' is the political and/or economic beliefs or principles that underlie this conceptualisation of the world.

More specifically, spatial expressions operate on a scale of proximity and remoteness, where expressions such as 'here' and the personal pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our' are located at the deictic centre (the closest in proximity possible to the 'self'). Conversely, expressions like 'there', and the personal pronouns 'they', 'them' and 'their' are found at the remotest end of the scale, the furthest from the deictic 'self'. In political discourse, deictic centre is not necessarily interpreted as 'geographical distance' but more as 'geopolitical or cultural "distance"'.[18]

The data analysis in this chapter applies these notions to explore the extent of conceptual equivalence between cross-lingual versions

from the European Council's Stockholm Programme 2009–14 on an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, with particular emphasis on the role of Dutch (NL). The analysis of data is organised as follows. A number of parallel excerpts in English (EN), French (FR), German (DE) and Dutch (NL) are presented as tables depicting one or more stages of the multilingual discourse chain (Examples 1 to 6); the Dutch version is then successively cross-compared to any or all of these versions as and when specifically relevant. Back translations in English are either wholly or partially given in the tables, depending on whether there is a need to highlight all or only some of the discourse content. Following on from the discussions of separate cross-lingual data examples, the language constellations that best represent the behaviour of Dutch compared to the other languages will be illustrated as diagrams (Figures 10.2 to 10.5).

The next section is the data analysis, which contains tabulated Examples 1 to 6. All these examples deal specifically with the overarching theme of security; they also consider in more detail the role of NL not only across languages but also across stages of the discourse chain (Commission and Council) in terms of the supranational and intergovernmental voices projected.

Data analysis

The first example is taken from one stage only of the discourse chain (stage A – the Commission supranational stage) and concerns the manner in which people – citizens or inhabitants – should be protected from threats that breach European borders.

Example 1: A Europe that Protects – Epistemic Difference

STAGE A Commission Proposal COM 262

Supranational

Action at European level is key to protecting its people against threats which do not stop at borders.

L'Europe offre un cadre indispensable **(offers an essential framework)** *pour protéger ses habitants contre les menaces qui ignorent les frontières.*

Europa stellt die nötigen Rahmenbedingungen **(provides the necessary framework conditions)** *für den Schutz der Bürger vor grenzüberschreitenden Bedrohungen.*

Bewoners in de EU beschermen tegen bedreigingen die geen grenzen kennen ***is alleen mogelijk binnen het Europese kader*** **(is only possible within the European framework)**.

Stage A of the NL version here presents a first discourse segment which is strikingly different in content from all the other versions. The other versions state that in order to protect people/inhabitants/citizens of the EU from cross-border threats that do not stop at/disregard borders, the following scenarios are the case: (1) Action at European level is 'key' (EN); and (2) Europe either 'offers an indispensable framework' (FR) or 'provides the necessary framework conditions' (DE). In other words, the main message of these three language versions is that (the action of) Europe plays a crucial ('key'), indispensable or necessary role in protecting citizens (people/inhabitants). However, here in the NL version the narrative has actually changed and states that: '*bewoners in de EU beschermen tegen bedreigingen die geen grenzen kennen is alleen mogelijk binnen het Europese kader.*' Literally back-translated this segment equates to: 'Protecting inhabitants in the EU against threats which know no borders is only possible within the European framework.' This discursive shift signals that the NL speaker wishes to make it unequivocally clear that the *only* solution to cross-border threats is for member states to work within the European framework. This is very different from stating that Europe's action is 'key' (crucial) or that the framework it provides is indispensable or necessary, as these positions do not rule out any alternative scenarios; the NL version rules out all other possibilities by stating that protection is 'only possible' under the conditions of the European framework it describes.

In this context, we in fact also see that the other versions mutually produce subtle differences in deontic modality in terms of judging degrees of necessity for Europe's action or framework (conditions) to be provided. In the EN version, for example, deonticity is very close to the speaker's self on the modal axis as the term 'key' expresses a necessity of crucial importance; something which is key is normally associated with being the one element needed to make a certain condition workable. The FR version is also very close to this degree of necessity given that something that is indispensable is needed to enable a particular

situation to function (i.e. the situation would definitely not come about in its absence). Finally, the DE version is further away from the speaker's self on the deontic axis, as framework conditions which are merely 'necessary' are not such an urgent requirement as 'indispensable'. When something is indispensable, this means that it cannot be feasibly or usefully replaced by anything else if the same result is desirable. In the DE version, however, 'necessary' framework conditions do not rule out similar conditions perhaps being achieved by other means (other than by Europe). The language versions of EN, FR and DE therefore all express subtly varying degrees of deonticity (necessity for Europe to provide protection for citizens). However, in the NL version, it is an epistemic type of modality that is being suggested; it is not the degree of necessity for European action in protecting citizens that is being emphasised here but the degree of possibility. The NL version closes off all other possible world views of protecting citizens from cross-border threats other than that provided within the European framework.

The distribution of these hybrid language representations is illustrated in Figure 10.2. We see that, despite being a 'minority' language that is always translated into (never acting as an original drafting language), NL attains here a degree of linguistic independence; that is to say its conceptual interpretation cannot feasibly be linked to any one of the possible 'original drafting' languages as a source text for translation. It can then be said to have become not hybrid within the process (i.e. if it had been based on one or more of the other languages) but hybrid within itself. Its interpretation of this particular segment has created a *new* independent hybrid construal not traceable to the other languages.

The next table (Example 2) also deals with one stage only of the discourse chain (this time stage B – the Council intergovernmental stage). The main focus of the excerpt is addressing threats said to be

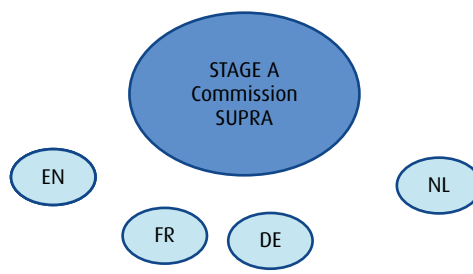

Fig. 10.2 Hybrid language representations

Example 2: External Access to Europe

STAGE B Council Programme C 115

Intergovernmental

Addressing threats, **even far away** from our continent, is **essential** to protecting Europe and its citizens.

*Pour protéger l'Europe et ses citoyens, il est **essentiel** de **faire face aux** menaces, **même lorsqu'elles se manifestent loin de** notre continent.*

Back translation:

To protect Europe and its citizens, it is **essential** to **face** the threats, **even when they manifest themselves far from** our continent.

*Die **Abwehr** von Bedrohungen, **auch fernab von** unserem Kontinent, ist **entscheidend** für den Schutz von Europa und seinen Bürgern.*

Back translation:

Defence from threats, **also far away** from our continent, is **decisive** for the protection of Europe and its citizens.

*De bescherming van Europa en zijn burgers **staat of valt met het beperken** van bedreigingen, **zelfs als zij van ver buiten** ons continent **komen**.*

Back translation:

The protection of Europe and its citizens **stands or falls with (depends entirely on/is decisive for) the limiting of** threats, **even when/if they come from far outside** our continent.

far from the European continent in order to protect the EU's external borders and its citizens.

This segment discusses the protection of Europe and its citizens from threats that lie beyond Europe (our continent). The NL version of this is particularly interesting; the reason for its salience is that it includes the dynamic verb '*komen*' (come), which plays a decisive deictic role in determining the rhetorical stance of the speaker. The NL version of this segment and its back translation read as follows:

> 'De bescherming van Europa en zijn burgers staat of valt met het beperken van bedreigingen, zelfs als zij van ver buiten ons continent komen.'

> 'The protection of Europe and its citizens stands or falls with (depends entirely on) the limiting of threats, even when/if they come from far outside our continent.'

There are a number of discourse features in the above segment that suggest a subjective reproduction of a source text for translation into NL. The first and most overriding of these is, as already indicated, the use of the dynamic verb '*komen*'; this makes it clear that, despite these threats being conceptually positioned 'far outside' our continent, they are – in the perspective of the speaker – moving, do (regularly) move or are likely to move into our continent (Europe).

In all the other language versions, the distal position of the threats is described as 'far (away)', which of course indicates a considerable distance from the deictic 'here' coordinate of the speaker; however, this does not conceptualise in any way whether the threats are or should be excluded from the conceptual space of the speaker. This brings us to the second point of difference between this NL version and the other versions: the use of the locational preposition '*buiten*' (outside), which categorically positions the threats beyond the borders of Europe ('our continent'). Therefore, these threats are strongly associated with a sense of 'otherness' from a space beyond Europe from which those within Europe are separated; the 'us' and 'them' discourse of inclusion (equals safe and protected) and exclusion (equals dangerous and threatening) is thus constructed in an indirect way.

The third particularly striking point of difference with all the other versions is the speaker's discursive positioning that the protection of Europe's citizens depends categorically (stands or falls) on the limiting of these threats. Even though the other versions state that addressing/facing these threats is 'essential' (EN and FR) or 'decisive' (DE: *entscheidend*) for protecting Europe and its citizens, they in no way imply, as the NL version does, that 'limiting' these threats will determine the ultimate success or failure of protecting citizens within Europe.

Figure 10.3 shows the distribution of languages according to similarity of conceptual representation in this segment. As we can see, the EN and FR versions are very close collaborators in this respect, with the DE version offering a variation (not discussed here). However, crucially, the NL version is dissimilar conceptually to all three other versions in the constellation. We therefore conclude that it has achieved an independent voice not directly traceable to a possible source text provided by the other parallels here – and can thus be qualified as maverick in this instance.

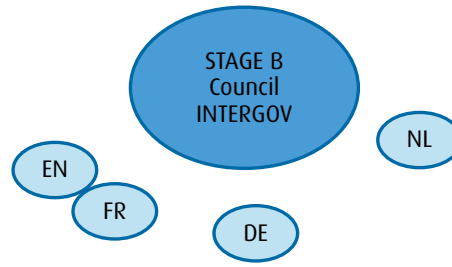

Fig. 10.3 Faraway threats

Examples 1 and 2 each concerned only one stage or document (the intra-textual) of the discourse chain and its parallel multilingual versions. Nevertheless we have already seen that even within these two intra-textually hybrid scenarios, the NL version achieved an independent voice, whether this was the institutional voice of the Commission (stage A – Example 1) or that of the Council (stage B – Example 2). This means that the institutional voices of Commission and Council (supranational and intergovernmental, respectively) were equally unstable in NL compared to the other languages. This is highly relevant from a CDA perspective; this is because in both cases the protection of citizens within the EU framework (stage A) and from threats external to Europe's borders (stage B) were emphasised more strongly in the NL version and the particular construals used could not be directly traced back to other languages as source texts. Given that NL is always translated into, we note that the version generated was not conceptually equivalent either from a translational or a conceptual viewpoint. The NL voice was linguistically independent of other language voices despite being said to be multiply authentic with all other EU parallel versions.

The next table contains Examples 3 and 4, which now compare not only intra-textually (cross-lingual comparison within stages) but also inter-textually (across two stages of the discourse chain – stages A and B).

Here in the NL version, like the FR and DE versions, the semantic description 'internal' is maintained across stages A and B to describe the security strategy that should be developed: '*een strategie voor interne veiligheid*' (a strategy for internal security). In addition, at stage A, like the DE version, the title of this section characterises Europe as an entity which offers protection ('*een Europa dat bescherming biedt*') rather than 'that protects', which is the title maintained in the EN and FR versions. However, at stage B in this NL version, the text neither reverts nor homogenises to stage B in EN and FR (a Europe that protects); this is indeed the case in the DE version, where the text equates to 'a Europe that offers protection' at stage A only. The NL in fact introduces at stage B a new

Example 3 **STAGE A** **Commission Proposal** **COM 262 Supranational**	**Example 4** **STAGE B** **Council Programme** **C 115 – Intergovernmental**
Protecting citizens – a Europe <u>that protects</u>: **A <u>domestic</u>** security strategy should be developed in order further to improve security in the Union and thus to protect the life and safety of European citizens.	**A Europe <u>that protects</u>**: An **<u>internal</u>** security strategy should be developed in order to further improve security in the Union and thus protect the lives and safety of citizens of the union and to **tackle** organised crime, terrorism and other threats.
***Protéger les citoyens – une Europe <u>qui protège</u>* (that protects):** *une stratégie de sécurité **<u>intérieure</u>** (**internal**) devrait être développée pour améliorer encore la sécurité au sein de l'Union et protéger ainsi la vie et l'intégrité des citoyens européens.*	***Une Europe <u>qui protège</u>* (that protects)**: *une stratégie de sécurité **<u>intérieure</u>** (**internal**) devrait être développée afin d'améliorer encore la sécurité au sein de l'Union et, ainsi, protéger la vie des citoyens de l'Union et assurer leur sécurité, et en vue de **<u>lutter contre</u>** (**fight against**) la criminalité organisée, le terrorisme et d'autres menaces.*
***Schutz der Bürger – ein Europa, <u>das Schutz bietet</u>* (that offers protection)**: *Es sollte eine Strategie für die **<u>innere</u>** **(internal)** Sicherheit entwickelt werden, um die Sicherheitslage innerhalb der Union zu verbessern und damit das Leben und die Unversehrtheit der europäischen Bürger zu schützen.*	***Ein Europa, <u>das schützt</u>* (that protects)**: *Es sollte eine Strategie der **<u>inneren</u>** **(internal)** Sicherheit entwickelt werden, um die Sicherheitslage innerhalb der Union weiter zu verbessern und damit das Leben und die Sicherheit der Unionsbürger zu schützen und um **<u>gegen</u>** **(against)** organisierte Kriminalität, Terrorismus und sonstige Bedrohungen **<u>vorzugehen</u>** **(act)**.*

De burger beschermen – een Europa <u>dat bescherming biedt</u>* (that offers protection): er moet een strategie voor **<u>interne</u> (internal)** veiligheid worden ontwikkeld om de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te verhogen en zo het leven en de integriteit van de Europese burgers te beschermen.*	***Een <u>beschermend</u>* (protective) *Europa:*** *Een strategie voor **<u>interne</u> (internal)** veiligheid moet worden ontwikkeld om de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te verhogen en zo het leven en de integriteit van de burgers van de Unie te beschermen, en om georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme en andere dreigingen **<u>het hoofd te bieden</u>* (offer 'the head' – resistance)**.

construal equating to 'a protective Europe' (*een beschermend Europa*). Thus, Europe is cast in the role of a 'protective' parent as it were; the adjectival description 'protective' endows Europe with the quality of *being* protective – or of protector – rather than simply describing action taken in a particular instance (i.e. A Europe *that* protects).

Nevertheless, there is still a subtle grammatical difference between NL '*beschermend*' (literally 'protect*ing*') and an alternative adjectival form 'protect*ive*'. The NL version is a present participle (but functions here as an adjective); this means that 'a protecting Europe' could also easily be defined in the relative clause form used in EN, FR and DE: 'a Europe that protects' (in NL: *een Europa dat beschermt*). We are also bound to note that the adjective 'protect*ive*' is not possible lexically in NL, so the present participle must be used. Notwithstanding, the NL still opts for an adjectival description of Europe as 'protecting' rather than taking action *to* protect. As we have already said, 'a Europe that protects' is not grammatically ruled out in NL. Coupled with the fact that this structure is also not used at stage A – in favour of a Europe that only 'offers' protection (i.e. there is no guarantee that this protection will be forthcoming), we conclude that this slightly weakens the role of Europe as the agent of protection in the NL version only.

Returning to stage A, the need to enhance security within the Union is expressed differently to the other language versions in two respects. The first of these is the way in which the desired further enhancement of Union security is lexically described using a verb equating to the semantic domain of 'increase'; this is in contrast to all three of the

other languages, which state that security should be further 'improved'. Thus, in the NL version the desired aim is '*de veiligheid binnen de Unie verder te verhogen*' (to further increase security within the Union). While both lexical choices equating to 'improve' and 'increase' are included in the semantic domain of 'enhancement', from a conceptual viewpoint there is a subtle difference between the two. This is because the notion of improving security is open to the interpretation of the speaker (or hearer) as to the precise quality and/or quantity of action required to achieve this improvement. However, the notion of 'increasing' security is far less open to such interpretation in the sense that 'increase' suggests the stepping up and actual quantitative multiplication of resources for security measures. This difference in lexical construal is also carried over to Council stage B and is not homogenised to other language versions.

Another salient element of this NL discourse strand concerns the lexical alternatives of protecting either the 'integrity' (FR, DE and NL at stage A) or the 'safety' (EN version *only* at stage A) of citizens. Initially, and in parallel with the FR and DE versions, the NL deviates here at stage A from the EN lexical choice of 'safety'; it therefore also suggests that citizens are whole and that this wholeness may be disintegrated if sufficient protection is not achieved: '*en zo het leven en de integriteit van de Europese burgers te beschermen*' (and in this way protect the life and the integrity of the European citizens). However, this discourse strand also remains the same (using the lexeme 'integrity' – *integriteit*) at stage B (Council); this means that it is not modified to equate lexically to safety and thus homogenise to the other three language versions. The NL version thus deviates from the EN version *with* the other two languages at stage A (Commission); but it then retains this deviation *even when the remaining parallel versions then modify* lexically to harmonise with the EN 'original drafting language' at stage B (Council).

One final point of interest in this same discourse strand relates specifically to the text at stage B, where the need to confront threats to security is expressed. Here a metaphorical conceptualisation is used in that a second positive outcome of increased security will be '*om georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme en andere dreigingen het hoofd te bieden*' (in order to offer resistance – literally: 'to offer the head', based on the movements of a bull or stag confronting an opponent – to organised crime, terrorism and other threats). It is worth noting here that this expression is perhaps more adversarial – by virtue of its metaphorical imagery – than other less metaphorical expressions of offering resistance, such as the FR '*lutter contre*' (fight against) and the DE '*vorgehen gegen*' (act against).

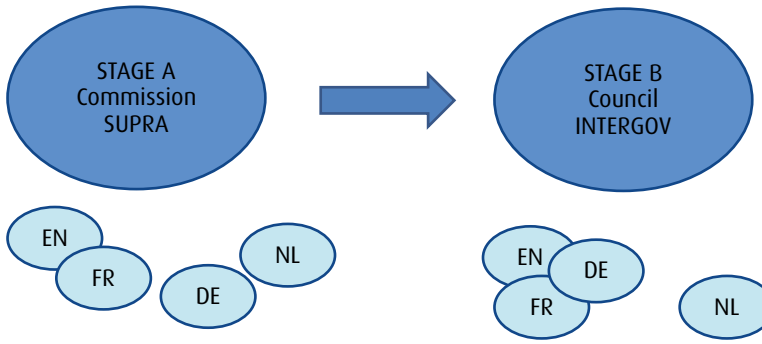

Fig. 10.4 Supranational and intergovernmental relationships

The cross-lingual hybrid relationships described above and the role of NL within these are depicted in Figure 10.4. We can clearly see from this diagrammatical representation that, at the supranational stage A of the discourse chain, NL allies itself with (thus mimics) the DE version. In contrast, at stage B, the intergovernmental stage, the NL 'parallel' achieves a degree of independent construal (acting as a maverick) in relation to the three other languages; these all form one homogeneous cluster in their similar interpretation of the protection of Europe and the life and safety of citizens. This also means that NL appears to attain its independence more at the intergovernmental stage, where it is rather the voice (and interests) of individual member states (i.e. its own language users) and not that of the European Union as a whole (the Commission) that is being expressed.

The next two examples (5 and 6) also deal with the inter-textual dimension but this time we examine stages B to C (Council intergovernmental stage to Commission supranational stage) rather than the reverse scenario of stages A to B dealt with in the last two data analysis examples. Our focus here is the distribution of lexical choice among languages between 'citizens, people and Europeans'; we discuss in particular the relative conceptual representations of these terms as they relate to notions of protection and security and the specific role of NL within this.

The purpose of these two examples is not so much to examine the discourse surrounding the approach to security but to see how the lexical item 'European citizen' may be utilised differently across different stages of the discourse chain (Council intergovernmental stage B and Commission supranational stage C). At these two stages, the notion of the European citizen is also being mentioned in two different discursive

Example 5 STAGE B Council Programme C 115 – Intergovernmental	Example 6 STAGE C Commission Proposal COM 171 – Supranational
An internal security strategy should be developed in order to further improve security in the Union and thus protect the lives and safety of **citizens of the union** and to tackle organised **crime, terrorism** and other **threats**.	The entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty enables the Union to demonstrate greater ambition in responding to the day-to-day concerns and aspirations of **people in Europe**.
… et, ainsi, protéger la vie des ***citoyens de l'union*** **(citizens of the Union)** *et assurer leur sécurité, et en vue de lutter contre* ***la criminalité organisée, le terrorisme*** *et d'autres* ***menaces***.	*L'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne permet à l'Union d'être plus ambitieuse dans la réponse à apporter aux préoccupations et aspirations quotidiennes des* ***citoyens européens*** **(European citizens)**.
… und damit das Leben und die Sicherheit der zu schützen und um gegen ***organisierte Kriminalität***, ***Unionsbürger*** **(citizens of the Union)** ***Terrorismus*** *und sonstige* ***Bedrohungen*** *vorzugehen.*	*Nach dem Inkrafttreten des Vertrags von Lissabon kann sich die Union nunmehr mit größerem Ehrgeiz den alltäglichen Anliegen und Erwartungen der* ***Unionsbürger*** **(Union citizens)** *zuwenden.*
… en zo het leven en de integriteit van de ***burgers van de Unie*** **(citizens of the Union)** *te beschermen, en om* ***georganiseerde misdaad, terrorisme*** *en andere* ***dreigingen*** *het hoofd te bieden.*	*Door de inwerkingtreding van het Verdrag van Lissabon kan de Unie meer ambitie tonen in haar reactie op de dagelijkse beslommeringen en verlangens van* ***Europeanen*** **(Europeans)**.

scenarios. Stage B concerns the need to develop an internal security strategy to further improve security and protect the lives and safety/integrity of citizens. This is seen as an imperative in the light of what is mentioned in the second part of the segment (to tackle/fight/act

against/resist organised crime, terrorism and other threats). We see then at this intergovernmental stage that all language versions (including NL) are in agreement that the collective voice of the European citizen should be utilised; the threat to member states and the security of their citizens (who are denoted here specifically as European citizens) is very real and overtly categorised: organised crime and terrorism, which is presumably pan-European and requiring a pan-European response. The inference then here is that a collective European voice should deal with such threats. However, at stage C, no specific security threats are spelt out and the discourse is relatively generalised, alluding to the fact that the Lisbon Treaty will enable greater ambition in responding to everyday concerns and aspirations of 'people in Europe' (EN version). What is interesting to note here is that two language versions (FR and DE) retain the sense of European/Union citizenship, respectively, whereas both EN and NL do not. These latter two versions then seem to suggest that there is no need to specify this European 'citizenship-ness' here as the discourse no longer concerns overt threats to security requiring a collective intergovernmental 'member states together' reaction. Even so, the NL version does not mimic the alternative EN lexical choice (people in Europe); it has yet another alternative, which is not equivalent to any other version. The lexical choice of 'Europeans' generalises beyond European citizens but does not go as far as the EN version's 'people in Europe'; the latter could mean any persons physically in Europe, thus even those who could never qualify as belonging to any state or political entity that is European (e.g. an American). However, the NL version 'Europeans' does designate those referred to as at least having a legitimate affiliation with Europe, even if they are in a state outside the EU and are thus not European citizens. NL then achieves here an independence in lexical choice – and indeed conceptualisation of European citizenship – that does not follow FR or DE but, crucially, does not either follow EN (the likely original drafting language).

Figure 10.5 shows the constellation of languages and their relationships to one another across intergovernmental stage B and supranational stage C. As we have indicated, NL is a mimic to all the other languages at stage B and a maverick (even to EN, which is already significantly distinguishable from FR and DE) at stage C. The NL version then also exhibits not only translational hybridity by virtue of its independence even from EN at stage C. What is particularly salient is that it also exhibits conceptual instability of institutional voice (Council and Commission) across discourse stages: it was equivalent to the other language versions at stage B in its translational representation of 'European

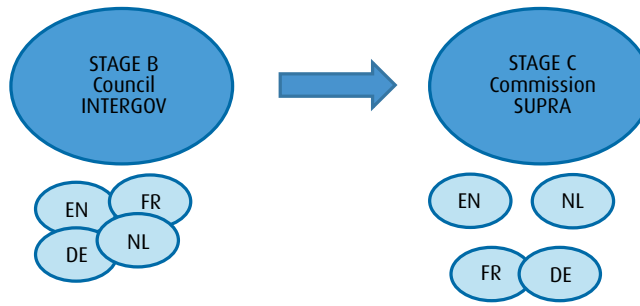

Fig. 10.5 Intergovernmental and supranational relationships

citizens' but not at stage C (even though this equivalent was still available in FR and DE).

The verdict: mimic or maverick?

From the examples, we have seen that Dutch oscillates between mimicking any combination or configuration of the three other languages analysed at varying points (or stages) of the discourse. However, we have also noted that it displays maverick tendencies (or indeed precisely not!) in places where security issues involve perceived threat or danger; this is particularly the case when 'us' and 'them' internal/external EU border polarities are at stake.

A more systematic comparative analysis of a larger corpus of data would of course be needed to explore the mimic/maverick behaviour of Dutch more fully. Nevertheless, important conceptual differences were identified within and between the two institutional voices of the Commission (stages A and C) and Council (stage B). This is significant as the Commission is a supranational body and is expected to retain a stable narrative voice in support of the interests of the EU as a whole; neither should it portray any evidence of alternative stance-taking in any one particular language and/or in the interests of any one national or language community. Its narrative is therefore said to be multiply authentic and neutral in all languages and in respect of all national politics. On the other hand, the Council is an intergovernmental body and, as such,

represents the views of the heads of state and government of the individual member states. In this capacity, its institutional narrative may then be anticipated to be more susceptible to conveying subjectivity at particular discursive junctures. Notwithstanding, regardless of the possibility (or even expectation) of linguistically representing intergovernmental interests, the narrative in each language version should also be multiply authentic; moreover, it should in principle remain stable in the conceptual representations it portrays within each parallel text segment. We can then at least conclude that the mimic and maverick tendencies of a so-called 'non-drafting' minority language such as Dutch can – via hybrid translational mechanisms – still considerably affect the conceptual stability of the Commission and Council's institutional voices.

Notes

Introduction

1 ALCS 2014 <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dutch/alcs2014/> [last accessed: 5 October 2015].
2 Ester Naomi Perquin <http://www.esternaomiperquin.nl/> [last accessed: 5 October 2015].
3 British Library, 'Dutch Printed Collections, 1501–1850' <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/prbooks/dutchprintedcoln1501/dutchprintedcoln1501.html> [last accessed: 5 October 2015].
4 Some thematically related papers presented on other occasions were also included. Collet's paper originated from a paper from the Netherlandic section of the Modern Language Association (MLA) <https://commons.mla.org/groups/dutch/> [last accessed: 5 October 2015] and Ingelbien and Waelkens's article was originally submitted to *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, the leading international peer-reviewed research journal for interdisciplinary Low Countries Studies, published in English <http://www.maneyonline.com/loi/dtc> [last accessed: 5 October 2015].

Chapter 1

1 Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*. Met medewerking van Wiep van Bunge en Natascha Veldhorst (The Hague: SDU, 1999); Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Nederland en het poldermodel. Een sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Nederland, 1000–2000* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013).
2 Marjolein 't Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence: Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands, 1570–1680* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 6.
3 Ari van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 1998); Luc Panhuysen, *Rampjaar 1672. Hoe de Republiek aan de ondergang ontsnapte* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2009).
4 Els Stronks, *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 10–11.
5 For a detailed description of the project, which is headed by Lotte Jensen and funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), see <http://www.proudtobedutch.org/>.
6 'Peace Treaties and Literary Representations of Nationhood, 1648–1815', conducted by Lotte Jensen. See, for instance, Lotte Jensen, 'Visions of Europe: Contrasts and Combinations of National and European Identities in Literary Representations of the Peace of Utrecht (1713)', in Renger de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink (eds.), *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), DOI: 10.1111/1754-0208.12338.
7 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).
8 See on William IV: G. J. Schutte, 'Willem IV en Willem V', in C. A. Tamse (ed.), *Nassau en Oranje in de Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Alphen aan de Rijn: A. W. Sijthoff, 1979), 187–228; H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange: The Stadtholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 163–85.

9 This issue is also addressed in Lotte Jensen, 'Ambivalente vrede. Gelegenheidsgeschriften rondom de Vrede van Aken (1748)', *Vooys* 32 (2014), 15–24, and Lotte Jensen, '"Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leven Oranje! riep". Orangisme in het vredesjaar 1748', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 128 (2015), 1–22.

10 For a detailed account of the diplomatic activities of the Dutch Republic during these years, see P. Geyl, *Willem IV en Engeland tot 1748 (Vrede van Aken)* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924). For the close relationship between diplomacy and cultural media during these, see Lotte Jensen and Marguérite Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy: English Translations of Willem van Haren's Political Translations during the War of the Austrian Succession', *Journal of Eighteenth Century Studies* (2015), forthcoming.

11 Frans Grijzenhout, 'Beeldvorming en verwachting: feestdecoraties bij de inhuldiging van Willem IV tot stadhouder van Holland, Zeeland en Utrecht in 1747', in *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (Delft: Delftsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1987), 111–25.

12 On the War of the Austrian Succession, see Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995) and M. S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748* (London: Routledge, 2013). On the peace negotiations: Thomas R. Kraus, *"Europa sieht den Tag leuchten …" Der Aachener Friede von 1748* (Aachen: Verlag des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, 1998). On the Dutch position during the peace negotiations, see Heinz Duchhardt, 'Die Niederlande und der Aachener Friede (1748)', in Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *Tussen Munster & Aken. De Nederlandse Republiek als grote mogendheid (1648–1748)* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2005), 67–73.

13 William IV and his wife, Anna of Hanover, already had a daughter, Wilhelmina Carolina, who was born in 1743. On the official acknowledgement of a hereditary stadtholdership in the different provinces of the Republic, see Bearn Bilker, 'Het erfstadhouderschap', in J. J. Huizinga (ed.), *Van Leeuwarden naar Den Haag: rond de verplaatsing van het stadhouderlijk hof in 1747* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 1997), 123–34.

14 See, for instance, Jacobus van der Streng, 'Zegezang op de vrede, geslooten in den jare 1748', in *De tempel der vrede geopend door de mogendheden van Europe […]* (Amsterdam: G. en J. de Broen, P. Meyer en W. Gla, 1749), 281–92, quote on 288.

15 This inventory is mainly based upon two library catalogues: the Dutch central catalogue Picarta and The Early Modern Pamphlets Online (TEMPO), both hosted by the Royal Library in The Hague.

16 Marleen de Vries, 'Pieter Meijer (1718–1781), een uitgever als instituut', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 28 (2005), 81–97 (85).

17 'Vorst en allerbeste Vader/Van 't Vaderlandt'. See Joachim Oudaen, 'Olyftak of vredegroet […]', in *De tempel der vrede*, 69–82, quote on 70. The 'vox populi, vox dei' argument was also referred to in the illumination on the town hall in The Hague. See Grijzenhout, 'Beeldvorming en verwachting', 121.

18 Jill Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in Word and Image, 1650–75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 156–79.

19 'Wilhelmus *van Nassau* herleeft op alle tongen. / Wie blyft 'er onbewust van Maurits oorlogsmoed, / En Fredrik Hendriks roem, in voor- en tegenspoed? / Neen, Helden! neen, elk meldt uw dappre krygsbedryven: / Uit uwe Lauren sproot het loof van vette Olyven. / De tweede Wilhem zag, op Gods bestemden stond, / De Staaten vry verklaard, by 't Munsters Vreverbond'. Sara Maria van Zon, *Gedachtenisviering, der Nederlandsche vryheid: op het eeuwgetyde van den Munsterschen vrede […] En op den tegenwoordigen vrede […]* (Utrecht, 1748), 5.

20 'Prins Friso trok voor ons ten stryde, […] Hy keerde, en bragt aan ons den Vree'. Suzanna Maria Oortman, 'Lier-zang op de vrede', in *De Tempel der vrede*, 9–15, quote on 13.

21 'Het ysselijke gekerm van weduwen en wezen'. N. V. Frankendaal, 'Op de vrede, geslooten te Aken, in de jaare 1748', in *De tempel der vrede*, 192–3, quote on 192.

22 Cornelis Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht: J. P. van Tol, 1983), 52–60.

23 'O God, die Ons zo Zigbaarlyk / Gered hebt uyt des vyands handen. / Toen Gy tot heil der Nederlanden / Oranjen hieft, als uit het slyk, / En koost tot algemenen Herder / O Heer, bescherm den Prins ook verder'. Ireniphilus, *Zegezang over het verkondigen der geslote vrede tusschen de hoven van Wenen, Vrankryk, Spanje, Engeland en de verenigde Staten van Neerland getroffen binnen Aken den 18 Oct. 1748. En openbaar gemaakt te Groningen den 13 Juny 1749* (Groningen, 1749), 8.

24 'Zo lang de Oranje Stam in Neêrland blyft in weezen,/Ons Vry Gewest den God van zyne Vaadren eert,/Heeft ons Gemeenebest voor geen gevaar te vreezen,/Want geen Tieran heeft ooit Gods erfdeel overheert'. Jacobus van der Streng, 'Op het eeuwgetyde', in *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken voor de Nederlandsche vryheid, op haar eerste eeuwgetyde […]* (Amsterdam: Pieter Meyer, 1748), 168–78 (quote on 178).
25 Sipko Melissen, 'De hedendaagsche Goude-eeuw', *Spekator* 11 (1981/82), 30–60.
26 'de Koopmanschap herleeft,/Die grondzuil, die dit Land tot zulk een hoogte heeft Verheven […] Dus blyve ons Amsteldam het marktplyn van de waereld'. Joannes van der Heide, 'Eeuwgetyde, ter nagedachtenisse van Nederlands duurgekogte vryheid', in *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken*, 100–16, quote on 115.
27 'ô Groote Friso! […] God wille u onderschragen/In 't wigtig Staatsbewind door zyn geduchte hand!/Dat we onder uw bestier een gouden Eeuw zien bloejen/Gelyk toen Davids Zoon op Is'rëls Ryksstroon blonk!'. A. M. de Jong, 'Lier-zang op de vrede. Geslooten den 18. van wynmaand des Jaars 1748', in *De Tempel der vrede*, 16–25, quote on 23–4.
28 Arie Wiltschut, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties 1700–1800* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 91–4; Jan den Hartog, *De Patriotten en Oranje van 1747–1787* (Amsterdam: G. L. Funke, 1882), 94–115. For a contemporary account of the riots see *Kort dog zakelyk verhaal, van alle de plunderingen en verwoestingen van de huizen en goederen der pagters, en het gene verders over het vernietigen der pagten in alle steden voorgevallen is, in de provintien van Groningen, Vriesland, Overyssel, Holland, Zeeland en Utrecht* (Leiden: wed. en zoon van J. vander Deyster, Cryn Visser en Philippus Bonk, 1748).
29 J. M., 'Uitlegging van het raedzel […]' and 'Keerdigt op het voorgaande', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen* (Embden, s. l., 1748), vol. 1, 177–8.
30 'De klagende maegt van Holland, verzeld van Keer-dicht, Waer in de Lateringen van dezelve tegen de Hooge Overigheid op een bondige wyze weerlegd worden', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen* (Embden, s. l., 1753), vol. 2, 245–76.
31 The first volume also contains some poems about earlier years from 1742 onwards, for instance Willem van Haren's well-known poem *Leonidas* (1742), in which he urged the Dutch Republic to abandon neutrality and support the queen of Hungary with armed forces.
32 'Men Roemt de Vryheid als voor honderd Jaar gebooren,/Men had met meerder Recht aan zyne dood gedacht,/Wyl zy in 't Vreede Jaar voor Eeuwig ging verlooren'. 'Op het eeugety van Neerlands Vryheid. Geviert op den Juny 1748', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, vol. 2, 265.
33 'Het ongelukkig sterfgeval', 'De groote graf-tombe', 'De stervende vryheid, verkwikt en getroost', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, vol. 1, 172–5.
34 'Aan de dichteren en dichteresse, Van het Eegety 1748 van Neerlands vryheid', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, vol. 2, 264–5.
35 It was sold by Joachim Oudaen, who supported William IV. He was the grandson of the well-known seventeenth-century poet Joachim Oudaen, who had been a fierce adherent of the so-called 'staatsgezinden' (the opponents of the stadtholder). Poems on Oldenbarnevelt: 'Hercules of de geklopte patriotten'; K. H. Patriot, 'Aan de maker des Rotterdamsche Hercules'; J. Oudaen, 'Toewyding van het stokje des heeren Johan van Olden-barneveld, vader des vaderlands, aan den edelen agtbaaren heere Mr. Jan Hudde Dedel, Burgemeester in 's Hage'; Joachim Oudaen, 'Algemeene Brief of verantwoording aan den auteur van Herkules of de geklopte patriotten', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, vol. 2, 276–92.
36 Compare, for instance, with the celebratory verses written on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht: Jensen, 'Visions of Europe'.
37 Ton Jongenelen, 'Vuile boeken maken vuile handen. De vervolging van persdelicten omstreeks 1760', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 2 (1995), 77–96.
38 For a similar argument, see Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014), 233–5.
39 ''t Landt wordt alöm beroert; men Vegt nu met elkander; / O allernaarst gezicht! Den Een' Vermoord den ander! / Waar wil dit heen! (ô smart!) waar op de Vyandt loert, / 't Landt wordt alöm beroert!' J. van Boskoop, *Neerlandts herstelde luister noch merkelyk aangewasschen, door de blyde opdaging eener lang-gewenschte vrede-zon […]* (Rotterdam: J. van der Laan, 1749), 9.
40 Johannes Smit, *Europa bevredigt. Zinnespel* (Amsterdam: Johannes Smit, 1748); Lucas Pater, *Leeuwendaal hersteld door de vrede; zinnespel*. Met zang en dans (Amsterdam: Izaak Duim, 1749).

41 De Pater, *Leeuwendaal hersteld*, 15.
42 See Henk Duits, 'Vondel en de Vrede van Munster: ambivalente gevoelens', *De zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997), 183–92; Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1560–1700* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008), 502–3.
43 'Daar hoort men Frisoos naam tot aan 't gesternte reyzen/Dog dat hy sulks verdient dat kan geen mensch bewyzen'. Uit Vriendschap, 'Op het zinspel genaamt Leeuwendaal, hesteld door de vrede, door den digter Lucas Pater', in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, vol. 1, 109–10.
44 Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the Modern World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 142.

Chapter 2

1 This chapter is based on a lecture for the ALCS conference on Discord and Harmony and on Inger Leemans and Gert-Jan Johannes, *Worm en Donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur: de Republiek. 1700–1800* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013).
2 Lambert Bidloo, *Panpoëticon Batavum, kabinet, waar in de afbeeldingen van voornaame Nederlandse dichteren, verzameld, en konstig geschilderdt door Arnoud van Halen, en onder uytbreyding, en aanmerkingen, over de Hollandsche rym-konst* (Amsterdam: A. van Damme, 1720) <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bidl002panp01_01/>.
3 J. I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). See for the war of the poets: T. van Strien, 'Normen en waarden – Letterpesten! Ellendige prulpöeten! Verwaande vitters! De poëtenoorlog (1713–1716)', *Literatuur. Tijdschrift over Nederlandse letterkunde* 20 (2003), 23–5.
4 After R. van Stipriaan gave a compelling description of the Panpoëticon in his textbook on Dutch early modern literary culture (R. van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur ten tijde van de Republiek (circa 1550–1800)* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2002)), the cabinet has received more attention. Recently, T. van Strien published a comprehensive description: 'De schatkist. Lambert Bidloo's Panpoëticon Batavûm', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 130 (2014), 237–60. In the annex to this article, L. van Deinsen and T. van Strien published a summary of Bidloo's poem: L. van Deinsen and T. van Strien, 'Lambert Bidloo, Panpoëticon Batavûm (1720) Samenvatting met annotaties' <http://www.tntl.nl/addenda/Add_VanStrien_2014_130_3.pdf>.
5 This is one of the main theses of J. Kloek and W. Mijnhardt, *IJkpunt 1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague: SDU, 2001). One might state that current reactions towards the financial crisis are comparable to those of the eighteenth century. Since people have trouble grasping the highly complex wizardry of the world of finance, they tend to focus on moral issues such as bonuses, guilt and greed. Or, as the recent movie *The Wolf of Wall Street* aptly demonstrates, the actions of traders and brokers are mostly explained in terms of excessive drug and alcohol abuse.
6 G. P. M. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde*, vol. 3 ('s-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 1979).
7 Ph. de Vries, 'De Nederlandse cultuur in de eerste helft van de 18e eeuw', in J. A. van Houtte et al. (eds.), *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 7 (Utrecht, Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Leuven: W. De Haan, 1954), 248–76.
8 This thesis of the Dutch Republic as a moderate enlightened culture is for instance put forward in Kloek and Mijnhardt, *IJkpunt 1800*. See also E. G. E. van der Wall and L. Wessels (eds.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding. Religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650–1850* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007).
9 G. J. Johannes, 'The Development of the Literary Field and the Limitations of "Minor" Languages: The Case of the Northern Netherlands, 1750–1850', *Poetics* 28 (2001), 349–76.
10 One of the staunch advocates for this radical re-reading of Dutch literature was A. Hanou. See his *Nederlandse literatuur van de Verlichting* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2002), or C. van Heertum, T. Jongenelen and F. van Lamoen (eds.), *De andere achttiende eeuw. Opstellen voor André Hanou* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2006).

11 Th. van der Meer, *Sodoms zaad in Nederland. Het ontstaan van homoseksualiteit in de vroegmoderne tijd* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1995).
12 On the fascination for electricity in Dutch eighteenth-century literature and culture see B. Peperkamp, '"Bald wird komen dat Feur!" Over de representatie van natuurwetenschappelijke en medische kennis in de klucht *De electriciteit; of Pefroen, met het schaepshoofd geelectriceerd* (1746)', in B. Peperkamp and R. Vermij (eds.), *Wetenschap en literatuur.* Special issue of *Gewina* 29, no. (2006), 269–92; D. Sturkenboom: *De elektrieke kus. Over vrouwen, fysica en vriendschap in de 18de en 19de eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2004).
13 R. Feith, 'De Hermiet', in R. Feith, *Julia*, ed. J. J. Kloek and A. N. Paasman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 208.
14 E.M. Post, *Het land, in brieven*. Amsterdam 1788, p. 135–136.
15 J. Bellamy, 'Aan een verrader des vaderlands', *Post van den Nederrhijn*, 106.
16 B. Bosch, *Eigenbaat* (Bergen op Zoom, 1785).
17 J. Bellamy, *Gezangen* (Amsterdam, 1785).
18 J. Bellamy, Poem written in 1777, Manuscript, Zeeuwsch Genootschap te Middelburg. Quoted in: J. Aleida Nijland, *Leven en werken van Jacobus Bellamy (1757–1786)*. Leiden:E.J. Brill, 1917, p. 15.
19 W. van der Pot, *Endeldijk, hofdicht, en andere gedichten* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1768).
20 Interestingly enough, the Van der Pot family and the royal family were neighbours: Princess Carolina's brother had presented her with the 'garden of delight', Hondsholredijk, near Endeldijk. Also in the past, the Orange family had been neighbours to the Republican 'Loevenstein' faction: in 1612, stadtholder Frederik Hendrik had bought Hondsholredijk.
21 C. van der Pot, *Endeldijk in zijne vernedering en herstelling* (Amsterdam, 1799), 7–8.
22 van der Pot, *Endeldijk* 8.
23 van der Pot, *Endeldijk* 38.
24 Some, however, state that the cabinet had already been sold before Kunst wordt door Arbeid Verkregen closed its doors in 1800.

Chapter 3

1 P.A.M Geurts, 'Nederlandse overheid en geschiedbeoefening 1825–1830'. *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 9 (1982), 304–328; F. Vercauteren, 'Le concours historique de 1826 organisé dans le royaume des Pays-Bas'. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* 5.62 (1976), 303–319.
2 There is some confusion in bibliographies as to the dating of the revised edition. Some library catalogues give 1838 as the date; however, a revised text bearing a date of 1833 is available in digitised format, and a review of the revised edition appeared in 1836 in the *British and Foreign Review*. This chapter will use 1833 as the date for the second edition of Grattan's *History*.
3 For the views of Belgium in British travelogues and journalism after 1830, see Pieter François, 'Belgium – Country of Liberals, Protestants and the Free: British Views on Belgium in the Mid Nineteenth Century', *Historical Research* 81 (2008), 663–78, and his *A Little Britain on the Continent: British Perceptions of Belgium, 1830–1870* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2010); Francis Clarke, 'Grattan, Thomas Colley'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography* http://dib.cambridge.org. Grattan, who was a frequent contributor to organs like the *Westminster Review,* may well be the anonymous author of several unattributed pieces from the 1830s that François discusses.
4 See P. B. M. Blaas, 'De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen', in J. Craeybeckx et al. (eds.), *'1585: op gescheiden wegen …': Handelingen van het colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden op 22–23 november 1985, te Brussel* (Leuven: Peeters), 197–220; Jo Tollebeek, 'Begreep Geyl de Vlamingen?', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* (2009–10), 68–70; Louis Vos, 'Een kritische analyse van de Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving'. *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* 42 (1983): 176–192; Lode Wils, 'De groot-Nederlandse geschiedschrijving'. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*. 61.2 (1983): 322–366.
5 The biographical sketch of Grattan provided here relies on: Anon., 'Our Portrait Gallery, no. LXXI: Thomas Colley Grattan, Esq.', *The Dublin University Magazine* (December 1853),

658–65; George Clement Boase, 'Grattan, Thomas Colley (1792– 1864)', *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*, vol. 22; Francis Clarke, 'Grattan, Thomas Colley'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography* http://dib.cambridge.org; Thomas Colley Grattan, *Beaten Paths; And Those who Trod Them*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1862); Raphaël Ingelbien and Vincent Eelen, 'Literaire bemiddelaars in bewogen tijden. Thomas Colley Grattan, zijn bronnen en vertalers in de (ex-)Nederlanden (1828– 1840)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 128 (2012); Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650–1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006). Grattan's date of birth is sometimes given as 1792.

6 Quoted in Boase, 'Grattan, Thomas Colley'.

7 Anon., 'Living Literary Characters, no. VII: Thomas Colley Grattan', *The New Monthly Magazine* 32 (1831), 77–80 (77).

8 For a recent discussion of his historical novels, see Ingelbien and Eelen, 'Literaire bemiddelaars in bewogen tijden'.

9 Bagot's skills as British ambassador to Brussels and The Hague are praised in the second edition of the *History* (401) and in Grattan's autobiography *Beaten Paths* (vol. 2, 234–5).

10 See Van Sas for a detailed account of Britain's role in the affairs of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, N.C.F. Van Sas, *Onze Natuurlijkste Bondgenoot: Nederland, Engeland en Europa*, 1813–1831 (Groningen, 1985).

11 For a sense of how flexible such travelogues were in their references to the Low Countries, see Anon., *Rambles abroad, or, Observations on the continent: made during the summers of the years 1816, 1817, 1818, in excursions through part of the north of France, the Low Countries, along the Rhine and the Prussian rontier* (London: J. Carpenter & Son, 1823); James Mitchell, *A Tour through Belgium, Holland, along the Rhine, and through the North of France, in the Summer of 1816; in which is Given an Account of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity, and of the System of Education of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, with Remarks on the Fine Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures* (London: T. and J. Allman, 1819).

12 Anon. 'The Netherlands'. *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register* 10.58 (Oct 1830): 434.

13 Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell, 1931); John Burrow, *A Liberal Descent. Victorian Historians and the British Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

14 In the rest of this chapter, references to the original edition will be indicated parenthetically as page numbers. References to the revised second edition will be indicated parenthetically as '1833: page number'. The original edition is, Thomas Colley Grattan, *The History of the Netherlands* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1830). The revised edition is Thomas Colley Grattan, *The History of the Netherlands*. 2nd edition, revised (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1833).

15 For a contrast between those definitions of national character, see Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 125–6.

16 The considerable attention devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Grattan's *History* qualifies François's claim that the 'exclusive focus on Belgium's sixteenth century' among British writers was 'a typical post-1830 phenomenon' and that 'before 1830 […] all centuries got their fair share of attention' (*A Little Britain on the Continent*, 103).

17 Van Sas, *Onze Natuurlijkste Bondgenoot*.

18 Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael, eds. *Atlas of European Historiography. The Making of a Profession, 1800–2005* (London: Palgrave, 2010); John Kenyon, *The History Men. The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance*. 2nd edition (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1993).

19 See G.J. Schutte, 'The History of the Dutch Republic interpreted by non-Dutch authors', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1985), 120. Grattan's possible source in the example given is De Pradt's *De la Belgique, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1794* (Bruxelles: Lecharlier, 1820).

20 Tom Verschaffel, 'The Modernization of Historiography in 18th-Century Belgium', *History of European Ideas* 31 (2005), 135–46 (138).

21 Anon., 'The Netherlands', *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register* 10.58 (Oct 1830), 434.

22 Unsurprisingly, Vandervynckt's *Histoire des Troubles des Pays Bas* is the source Grattan alludes to most, given his own focus on the Dutch Revolt. Grattan's various sources have been mapped by Jolien Raskin, whose MA thesis must be acknowledged as providing the groundwork for our paragraphs on Grattan's use of previous 'Dutch' histories.

23 On De Smet's latent hostility to King William, see Jo Tollebeek, 'Historical Representation and the Nation-State in Romantic Belgium', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998), 329–53 (332–3).
24 The footnote appears to be based on a similar footnote in J. J. De Cloet's translation of Schiller's *Revolt of the Netherlands*, published in Brussels in 1821.
25 P. B. M. Blaas, 'The Touchiness of a Small Nation with a Great Past: The Approach of Fruin and Blok to the Writing of the History of the Netherlands', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zatphen: Walburg, 1985), 133–61 (134).
26 Verschaffel, 'Modernization', 140; Tom Verschaffel, *De Hoed en de Hond: geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715–1794,* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1998), 66–72.
27 Schutte, 'The History of the Dutch Republic interpreted by non-Dutch authors', 120.
28 A.E.M. Janssen, 'A Trias Historica on the Revolt of the Netherlands: Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor and Everhard van Reyd as Exponents of Contemporary Historiography', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1985), 16.
29 Blaas, 'The Touchiness of a Small Nation', 134.
30 Thomas Colley Grattan's support for Catholic Emancipation is evident in his autobiographical volumes *Beaten Paths*, where, despite hostility to the Repeal campaign that followed, he describes O'Connell as an enfranchiser (vol. 1, 25–6), and from recollections of his conversations with Coleridge, who defended the alliance between the British State and the Anglican Church (vol. 2, 135–6). For Henry Grattan's early support for the gradual emancipation of Catholics, see R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972* (London: Penguin, 1989), 261–3.
31 The reviewer for the *Eclectic Review* took Grattan to task for his neglect of the doctrinal aspects of the Reformation in the Low Countries: 'a Protestant historian ought not to have overlooked the important fact that what chiefly characterised the new doctrines, was the direct appeal to the Scriptures as the ultimate standard and authority in all matters of faith' (Anon., 'Art III: *The History of the Netherlands', Eclectic Review* 4, Oct 1830–322.
32 Lotte Jensen, *De verheerlijking van het verleden. Helden, literatuur en natievorming in de negentiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: Van Tilt, 2008).
33 Anglo-Dutch conflicts are generally described as unnatural; Grattan thus writes of how the Dutch republic had to endure the 'mortification of another war with England' (1830: 310).
34 François De Bas and Jacques T'Serclaes de Wommerson. *La campagne de 1815 aux Pays-Bas d'après les rapports officiels néerlandais*. Volume 1 (Bruxelles : A. De Wit, 1908).
35 Anon., 'Art III: *The History of the Netherlands', Eclectic Review* 4 (Oct 1830), 315.
36 Anon., 'The Netherlands', *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register* 10.58 (Oct 1830), 438–439.
37 This either confirms the view that Grattan could sometimes be careless or short of time, or points to the printer's practical wish to preserve as much of the original text as possible.
38 Grattan's revised edition refers to Nothomb's *Essai historique et politique sur la révolution belge* (1830: 347), which was noted for the explicit criticisms it levelled at the King (Jo Tollebeek, *De ijkmeesters: Opstellen over de geschiedschrijving in Nederland en België* [Amsterdam: Bakker, 1994], 58).
39 Foster, *Modern Ireland* 1600–1972, 284.
40 Leopold was of course even better placed than William to preserve British interests, and Grattan would soon ingratiate himself to the King of the Belgians.
41 Other Irish Whigs and supporters of Catholic Emancipation who showed a measure of sympathy to Belgian Catholicism include Lady Morgan (see Raphaël Ingelbien, 'Paradoxes of National Liberation: Lady Morgan, O'Connellism, and the Belgian Revolution', *Éire-Ireland* 42 (2007), 104–25.
42 See François, 'Belgium – Country of Liberals, Protestants and the Free'.
43 In *Beaten Paths*, Grattan argues that the Union was initially 'a total failure for all the purposes of national amalgamation' (vol. 1, 25–6).
44 See Ingelbien and Eelen, 'Literaire bemiddelaars in bewogen tijden'.
45 *Geschichte der Niederlande. Fortgeführt bis zur Belgischen Revolution im Jahre 1830 von Dr.Friedenberg* (Berlin: Mylius, 1831).
46 Anon. 'Art. V. *History of the Netherlands', Eclectic Review* 4 (Oct 1830), 142.
47 On Julian Hawthorne's frantic use of writerly skills to escape from constant financial difficulties, see Gary Scharnhorst, *Julian Hawthorne: The Life of a Prodigal Son* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

48 *Holland. The History of the Netherlands. With a Supplementary Chapter of Recent Events by Julian Hawthorne* (New York: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1899).
49 *Holland, Belgium, Switzerland*. Eds. W. Harold Claflin and Elbert Jay Benton (Chicago: H.W. Snow and Son, 1910).
50 See William C. Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 59–60.

Chapter 4

1 It was a French retaliatory campaign to put down the rebellion of Bruges and take revenge for the Brugse Metten, where thousands of Frenchmen had been killed by the Flemish.
2 Cf. Véronique Lambert, *Lezing 1302: tussen werkelijkheid en mythe, tussen symbool en identiteit*, 22 November 2009, Sincfala, Museum van de Zwinstreek (2009), <http://www.sincfala.be/sf/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=477:lezing-1302-tussen-werkelijkheid-en-mythe-tussen-symbool-en-identiteit-zondag-22-november-2009-10u&catid=48:activiteiten-2009&Itemid=71> [accessed 30 October 2014].
3 Cf. Jo Tollebeek, 'De Guldensporenslag. De cultus van 1302 en de Vlaamse strijd', in Anne Morelli (ed.), *De grote mythen uit de geschiedenis van België, Vlaanderen en Wallonië* (Berchem: EPO, 1999), 191–202.
4 Cf. Tollebeek, 'De Guldensporenslag', 193.
5 Cf. Lambert, *Lezing 1302*.
6 Cf. Gevert H. Nörtemann, '"Flamen, feiert die Schlacht der Goldenen Sporen!" Die Schlacht von Kortrijk als flämischer Gründungsmythos im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in Nikolaus Buschmann and Dieter Langewiesche (eds.), *Der Krieg in den Gründungsmythen europäischer Nationen und der USA* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2003), 233–67 (266).
7 Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 8.
8 Cf. Brian McFarlane, *Novel to Film: An Introduction to the Theory of Adaptation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
9 Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 170.
10 John Stephens and Robyn McCallum (eds.), *Retelling Stories, Framing Culture: Traditional Story and Metanarratives in Children's Literature* (New York: Garland, 1998).
11 Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 26.
12 Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 20.
13 For example, in studies by Thierry Groensteen, Benoît Peeters and Pascal Lefevre.
14 However, literary comics are in no way a new phenomenon. As early as in the 1940s, the first issues of the (highly popular) series 'Illustrated Classics' were published, a simplified and thus easily comprehensible presentation of the plot of the classics of world literature, with the intention to encourage the reader to subsequently read the original (the 'real' book). More recently, French collections like Gallimard's *Fétiche* and Delcourt's *Ex Libris* published comic adaptations of literary texts. For the Dutch-speaking world, Dick Matena has to be mentioned, who retained the complete text of the novel. Other famous examples are the comic adaptations of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* by Stéphane Heuet (Delcourt, 1998), or the comic version of Paul Auster's *City of Glass* by Paul Karasik and David Mazzuchelli (Neon Lit, 1994).
15 Monika Schmitz-Emants, *Literatur-Comics. Adaptationen und Transformationen der Weltliteratur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); Sandra Eva Boschenhoff, *Tall Tales in Comic Diction: From Literature to Graphic Fiction – An Intermedial Analysis of Comic Adaptations of Literary Texts* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013).
16 At least from reading 'real' books, if we accede to the view of psychologist Frederic Wertham who in *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954) claims: 'All comic books have a very bad effect on teaching the youngest children the proper reading technique, to learn to read from left to right. This balloon print pattern prevents that. So many children, we say they read comic books, they don't read comic books at all. They look at pictures [...]. In other words, the reading is very much interfered with' (Wertham, cited in Martin Schüwer, *Wie Comics erzählen* (Trier: WVT, 2008), 3–4).
17 Versaci identified precisely this question as a desideratum for research: 'to examine how a given historical and cultural climate might have impacted the adaptation of a specific title'.

Rocco Versaci, *This Book Contains Graphic Language: Comics as Literature* (New York and London: Continuum, 2007), 211.
18 Will Eisner, *Comics & Sequential Art* (Paramus: Poorhouse, 1985), 89.
19 Lehning published e.g. the series *Tarzan*, *Sigur* and *Tibor* as well as cheap crime fiction. In the 1950s and 1960s he had a big share in the comic market in Germany.
20 For example translations by: Schowalter 1898 (München: Lehmann), s.n. 1911 (Saarlautern: Hausen), Van der Bleek 1916 (Berlin: Borngräber), Reichhardt 1917 (Berlin: Meidinger).
21 A figure from the juvenile book series of the same name written by Leopold Vermeiren (1946).
22 A footnote as irony marker is quite unusual in comic strips, as comment of the narrator.
23 PVV – Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang, Belgian liberal party.
24 The Sacred Lance (Lance of Longinus) pierced the side of Jesus as he hung on the cross.
25 Walter Gobbers, 'Consciences "Leeuw van Vlaanderen" als historische roman en nationaal epos in Europees perspectief', in *De Leeuw – universeel symbool en wapen van Vlaanderen* (Antwerp: Stadsbibliotheek, 1983), 61–72 (67).
26 On 18 May 1302, the rebellious citizens of Bruges murdered every Frenchman they could find in the town, an act known as the Brugse Metten. According to legend, they singled out the French by asking them to pronounce the Flemish shibboleth 'schild en vriend' ('shield and friend'), which the French could not pronounce correctly. (It is sometimes said that the words must have been rather ''s gilden vriend', meaning 'friend of the guilds'.)
27 This is a self-reflexive element: a character is aware of his role as a character in a story.
28 The expression 'Me hiel Antwaarpe, moar nie me mai' ('Met heel Antwerpen, maar niet met mij'/'with all Antwerp, but not with me') is a typical Antwerp idiom, used to indicate that one does not let others pull one's leg.
29 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes, la littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 558 (my translation).
30 Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 176.

Chapter 5

1 Hendrik Edelman, *The Dutch Language Press in America: Two Centuries of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1986).
2 Cornelius J. Jaenen, 'The Belgian Presence in Canada', in Leen d'Haenens (ed.), *Images of Canadianness: Visions on Canada's Politics, Culture, Economics* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998), 67–90 (86).
3 'Gazette van Detroit hoopt nieuwe sponsors te vinden op Knoks event', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 June 2013, <http://www.nieuwsblad.be/article/detail.aspx?articleid=DMF20130621_00631671> [accessed 5 October 2015].
4 Wim Vanraes, 'Editor's Notebook', *Gazette van Detroit*, 18 October 2012, p. 2.
5 'Mission Statement', *Gazette van Detroit* <http://www.gazettevandetroit.com/mission-statement/> [accessed 4 July 2013].
6 Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970) (reprint of New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 328.
7 La Vern J. Rippley, 'F. W. Sallet and the Dakota Freie Presse', *North Dakota History* (1992), 2–20, <http://library.ndsu.edu/grhc/history_culture/history/rippley.html> [accessed 5 October 2015].
8 Stephen J. Frese, 'Divided by a Common Language: The Babel Proclamation and its Influence in Iowa History', *The History Teacher* 39 no. 1 (2005), 59–88.
9 Frederick C. Luebke, 'Legal Restrictions on Foreign Languages in the Great Plains States, 1917–1923', in Paul Schach (ed.), *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 1–19.
10 Arthur Verthé, *150 Years of Flemings in Detroit* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1983), 107; Robert Houthaeve, *Camille Cools en zijn Gazette van Detroit. Beroemde Vlamingen in Noord-Amerika* (Moorslede: R. Houthaeve, 1989), 16.
11 Bernard A. Cook, *Belgians in Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007), p. 45.

12 *Gazette van Moline*, 15 October 1908.
1. Verzoek eerbiedig onze Vlaamsche senators, Vlaamsche volksvertegenwoordigers en ook Vlaamsgezinde societeiten bij het Belgisch bestuur aan te dringen, dat voortaan voor de Vereenigde Staten van Amerika, slechts consulaire ambtenaren benoemd worden die Vlaamsch ook . . ., en niet alleen Fransch kennen.
2. Verzoek eerbiedig ook de tegenwoordig dienstdoende consulaire ambtenaren die zelven ongelukkiglijk de moedertaal van ver uit het grootste getal Belgische landverhuizers niet kennen, eenen Vlaamschsprekenden sekretaris op hun bureel te houden.

13 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 309.
14 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 309.
15 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 312.
16 The Leon Buyse Library of the Genealogical Society of Flemish Americans in Roseville, MI, a suburb of the city of Detroit, houses the archives of the *Gazette van Detroit*. The archives, available only on microfilm or on paper, consist of nearly all of the issues published since 1914, the year the newspaper was founded.
17. *Gazette van Detroit*, 13 August 1914, p. 1.
AAN ONZE LEZERS
Nog niet gereed zijnde om onze Gazet op haar geheele groote te laten verschijnen Kunnen [sic] wij toch niet nalaten onze vrienden die nog niet al te wel met de Engelsche taal uit voeten kunnen over alles wat den Oorlog in Europa betreft in te lichten.
18. *Gazette van Detroit*, 4 August 1916, p. 1.
Het is twee jaren geleden dat den schrikkelijke oorlog uitbrak in Europa, en dat de Duitschers in België vielen, die ons volk zoo veel doen lijden hebben, en de gedachte kwam bij ons op van een Nieuwsblad te drukken, die het volk zou lich [sic] geven over alles wat den oorlog en het menschdom aangaat. Een blad die het volk zou inlichten over alles wat ons volk te verduren had en ook terzelvertijd om het volk licht te geven over de bedriegerijen welke gepleegd werden onder de Belgen in Detroit, die er maar altijd en te dikwijls moesten door lijden.
19 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 14–48.
20 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 47.
21 Carl Strikwerda, 'Language and Class Consciousness: Netherlandic Culture and the Flemish Working Class', in William H. Fletcher (ed.), *Papers from the First Interdisciplinary Conference on Netherlandic Studies* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 161–8 (162).
22 Strikwerda, 'Language and Class Consciousness', 163.
23 Strikwerda, 'Language and Class Consciousness', 163.
24 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 49.
25 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 50–1.
26. *Gazette van Detroit*, 20 October 1916, p. 8.
Edoch nu omtrent drij jaren geleden kwam ik in kennis met den heer Camille Cools, die mij zegde het gedacht te hebben opgevat hier een Vlaamsch blad in Detroit te stichten. Na een korte ondervraging op welke weg hij zijn blad ging vooruitsteken antwoorde hij mij dat hij enkel en alleen de verdediging van het volk tegen het kapitaal ging voor doel hebben, waarop ik hem mijne medehulp verzekerde. [. . .] Frank Cobbaert
27. *Gazette van Detroit*, 20 October 1916, p. 1.
Zij [Gazette van Detroit] zal voorts als voorheen de steun en den onderstand zijn van den werkman. Zij zal haar opschrift 'het licht voor 't volk' getrouw naleven, en zal voort hare kolommen openhouden om den arbeid tegen het kapitaal te verdedigen. [. . .] Frank Cobbaert
28. *Gazette van Detroit*, 4 August 1916, p. 6.
't Sprookje van den reus Teuto
Daar was 'nen keer eene Moeder en zij had twee schoone kinderen. 't Waren tweelingbroerkens. De Moeder heette Belgica en hare kinderen heetten Flamine en Waelken.

Hoe het kwam weet ik nu niet, maar Flamine kreeg geen eten genoeg van z'n Moeder. Hij moest bijna uitsluitend leven van een beetje franschbrood. 't Jongetje was tegen dit franschbrood niet, maar zijn maagsken wilde in de eerste plaats toch iets anders.

Flaminesken kreunde en kriepte gansche dagen en somtijds maakte het groot lawijt, klaar van de honger.

Moeder Belgica sprak dan zoete woordekens om het te paaien maar Flaminesken kreeg toch niet wat het nodig had.

In de gebuurte nu woonde Teuto, een reus en een schavuit van een vent.

Op een zekeren morgen kwam hij af en hij wilde Moeder Belgica dooden.

Flamine en Waelken liepen zoo hard hun beentjes rekken konnen en, zijde aan zijde, hand in hand, bleven ze staan, pal, tusschen hun Moeder en dien lelijken reus Teuto. [. . .]

'Uit den weg!' riep den reus, maar wat zouden zij wel.

Teuto kwam nader en ze sloegen op hem.

Dan verzoette de reus al met eens zijn afschuwelijk gelaat en 'Flamine', mijn kind, zei hij zacht en hij trok een oogsken naar Flamine, 'je moeder laat je sterven van den honger; kom mee met mij, eet je buiksken vol.'

'Blijf van m'n Moeder!' beet Flamine hem toe [. . .]. Toen hebben zij zich alle twee – Waelken en Flamine – zoo moedig bedragen dat de reus wegvluchten moest.

Sindsdien ligt hij begraven in 't oud ijzer. De histoire zegt dat Moeder Belgica het naderhand over heur hart niet meer kon krijgen: Zij gaf aan haar Flamine de volle maat van alles wat hij noodig had om te leven; juist lijk aan haar Waelken.

Waelken en Flamine groeiden op en werden twee schoone en struische jonge mannen en al de geburen zagen hen doodgaarne.

[. . .] – mijn vertelselken is uit.

29. *Gazette van Detroit*, 18 August 1916, p. 7.
Het zal de ware vrienden van Vlaanderen sterken in hunne overtuiging dat zelfbestuur voor ons volk het eenige redmiddel is.

30 *Gazette van Detroit*, 25 August 1916, p. 8.
[. . .] al de betergekende en oudere leiders der Vlaamsche Beweging zijn't akkoord om te wenschen dat zoo lang de oorlog duurt, alle taalstrijd worde opgegeven.

Later dus, in ons vrije Belgie, zullen wij deze vragen bespreken en onderzoeken en wij zullen wel weten, zonder vreemden raad, hoe ze te regelen.

[. . .] Ik reken op uwe liefde voor het oude land, Waarde Heer, om mijne antwoord op den brief van Mr. De Wandeleire te doen verschijnen.

Met aller achting,

ALBERT MOULAERT, Consul Generaal van België

31 *Gazette van Detroit*, 21 April 1916, p. 6.
Kon ik maar lezen en schrijven!

Dat er vele onder ons al hebben hooren zeggen, ik wilde dat ik ook kon lezen en schrijven er meest bijvoegende, ik heb het gekunnen maar ik heb het nu geheel of ten deele vergeten. [. . .]

Alhoewel wij hier in geen Vlaamsch land zijn kan elk die er voor is, hun Vlaamsche gazetten en boeken aanschaffen om wat ledigen tijd door te brengen, en er groot nut uit te trekken. Is het niet ongelukkig genoeg wanneer men moet doen een brief schrijven eerst zijne zaken aan een ander moet wijsmaken, met dikwijls er nog moeten beschaamd voor te spreken, en daarna nog den meesten dank eischen [. . .]. [. . .]

Is het al niet slecht genoeg dat wij de taal niet machtig zijn die wij hier het meest vandoen hebben [. . .]. [. . .]

BEN VAN MALDER

Wallaceburg, Canada

32 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 77.

33 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 71–2.

34 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 71.

35 Edelman, *The Dutch Language Press in America*, 36.

36 Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, 72.

37 *Gazette van Detroit*, 13 October 1916, p. 4.
Arme zijn, is geen schande!

[. . .] Het is eene der schoonste strevingen van het menschdom. Gelijke Waarde aller menschen. – Voor allen gelijke Rechten. [. . .]

Eerbied voor den armen werkman, want het aardappel – of korenland van den boer, is meer waard dan een dorre grond of een prachtig bloemenperk van den niets doener. [. . .]

De groote geleerde Lasalle zegde: De Arbeiders zijn de rots waarop de kerk der toekomst zal gebouwd worden.

SEVEN RUTSAERT

38 Philemon D. Sabbe and Leon Buyse, *Belgians in America* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1960), 113–14.

39 *Gazette van Detroit*, 20 October 1916, p. 1: '[. . .] wij weten dat ons blad een volksblad is [. . .]'.

40 *Gazette van Detroit*, 24 November 1916, p. 2.
Uit Chicago.
De Moving-Pictures Vertooning van Professor van Hecke [. . .] heeft zondag l. l. veel bijval gehad; het leven onzer Belgische uitwijkelingen in Holland gaf ons een helder denkbeeld hoe het daar werkelijk gaat. [. . .]
De voordracht van den heer Van [sic] Hecke was in het Engelsch! de Redevoeringen van Dr. Vermeiren was [sic] in het Engelsch! Mr. Streyckmans sprak in het Engelsch! En daar waren 500 moeders tegenwoordig, Vlaamsche, [. . .] en Hollandsche die er geen woord van begrepen omdat zij maar alleen hunne moedertaal kenden.
O, neen, ik ben geen fanatieke flamingant, wij zijn in Amerika en moeten Engelsch leeren! . . . maar ik zou in eene uitsluitelijke Belgische Volksvergadering: Belgisch spreken. [. . .]
Louis Braekelaere

41 *Gazette van Detroit*, 21 April 1916, p. 5.
DIENSTMEIDEN GEVRAAGD
Voor een familie van twee, moet kunnen Engelsch spreken en kunnen koken. [. . .]

42 *Gazette van Detroit*, 7 July 1916, p. 5.
Een net, neerstig meisje gevraagd als keukenmeid in Pompton Plains, New Jersey, [. . .] bij treffelijk volk zonder kinders, eenen goeden thuis voor een goed meisje (Belgisch) het is noodig een weinig Engelsch te kunnen spreken.

43 *Gazette van Detroit*, 14 July 1916, p. 5.
EEN VLAAMSCH MEISJE Wordt gevraagd die kan Engelsch spreken en nog in eenen Kleerwinkel gewerkt heeft [. . .]

44 *Gazette van Detroit*, 7 April 1916, p. 7.
Moline drooggestemd
Bijzondere steden in den staat Illinois zijn droog gestemd zooals Moline [. . .]. Het is met groote verwondering dat wij zulks vernemen, daar er in Moline zooveel Belgen zijn, mogelijks hebben zij verzuimd te gaan stemmen. Iedereen die stemrecht heeft zou het in zulk geval zich moeten ten plicht nemen te gaan stemmen want eene Belg mag toch zijn geliefkoosde drank zich niet laten ontnemen.

45 *Gazette van Detroit*, 21 April 1916, p. 1.
AAN DE BEETWERKERS
WAARDE BROEDERS,
Ten einde de poging aan te wenden om ons lot, dat zoo ellendig en rampzalig mag genoemd worden, wat te verzachten, hebben wij besloten eene groote openbare vergadering met meeting, te houden [. . .].[. . .]
Namens het voorlopig Comiteit
FRANK COBBAERT

46 *Gazette van Detroit*, 12 May 1916, p. 1.
DE VERGADERING DER BEETWERKERS
[. . .] Op al de vergaderingen zat de heer Cools voor en opende de meeting. Daarna gaf hij het woord aan vriend Frank Cobbaert [. . .].

47 *Gazette van Detroit*, 14 April 1916, p. 2.
6. – Dat wij Belgische Fieldbazen hebben, of menschen die ons kunnen verstaan [. . .]

48 *Gazette van Detroit*, 12 May 1916, p. 7.
Aan de Belgische [. . .] Beetenwerkers
[. . .] Om dat vrijwilligers corps aan te werven, heeft men eenig Engelschsprekende officieren uitgezonden die naar hun schrijven, beweeren, dat het battalion zal ten volle zijn, op geschikten tijd.
Ofschoon deze Heren, weining of niets geoefend zijn in zulke manoeuvres denken zij, ten volle, het recht te bezitten te besturen over zoo vele goede beetensoldaten.
En bij gebrek aan taalkunde, aan velen van ons, moeielijkheden veroorzaken. [. . .]
Wanneer dan gelijkheid, enkelijk door Vereeniging.
Ben Van Malder
Wallaceburg, Ont. Canada

49 *De Volksstem*, 9 August 1916, p. 8.
DE NATIONALE BEWEGING IN VLAANDEREN. – Op de 11 den Juli j. l. werd door heel Vlaanderen met veel geestdrift de Gulden-Sporenslag van 1302 herdacht. Te Antwerpen vergaderden de Vlaamsch-gezinden in de Vlaamsche Opera. De zaal was geheel gevuld. [. . .] De vergadering eindigde met het zingen van den Vlaamschen Leeuw[. . .].

Te Brussel vergaderden de Flaminganten in het Vlaamsch Huis. Niet alleen was daar de groote zaal door een uitgelezen publiek geheel bezet [. . .]. Achille Brijs sprak de feestrede uit, waarin hij in scherpe bewoordingen de anti-Vlaamsche politiek der Belgische regering van Le Havre veroordeelde. De bijval was buitengewoon. [. . .]

50 *Gazette van Detroit*, 22 September 1916, p. 2.
Mijnheer de Hoofdopsteller van de Volkstem [sic], De Pere, Wis.
Waarde Heer,
In Uw geëerd weekblad van 9den dezer maand, heb ik het artikel gelezen over 'De Nationale Beweging in Vlaanderen' aangaande de herinneringsfeesten in het bezette België van den Guldensporenslag. Laat mij toe U mijne verwondering uit te drukken over de onervarendheid en de blindheid dezer Vlamingen die de Moffen aanzien als de verdedigers onzer Moedertaal. Gelukkiglijk het grootste getal, om niet te zeggen alle de oudere en betergekende leiders der Vlaamsche Beweging hebben wel verstaan dat het eenige doel onzer vijanden is twist en tweedracht te zaaien tusschen Vlamingen en Walen om gemakkelijker heer en meester in ons land te blijven. [. . .]
ALBERT MOULAERT
Consul Generaal van België.

51 *Gazette van Detroit*, 22 September 1916, p. 2.
Mijnheer de Hoofdopsteller van de Volksstem, De Pere, Wis.
Waarde Heer,
[. . .] Ongelukkiglijk zijn er Belgen, wiens anti-fransche hartstochten zoo vurig laaien, dat zij alles tot den taalstrijd terugleiden en zelfs in dezen laatsten krijg tusschen vrijheid en dwingelandij, tusschen democratie en aristocratie, denken zij alleenlijk aan den eeuwenlangen kamp tusschen de Fransche koningen en de Vlaamsche gemeenten.
'T is beklagenswaardig dat zij niet beseffen hoe zij de Moffen helpen. Laat mij toe U aan te duiden dat de Chicago Journal van 22sten dezer, in eenen editorial verklaarde dat alwie de bestuurlijke verdeling van België wenscht te weeg te brengen, uitsluitelijk ten voordeele der duitschers [sic] werkt. [. . .]
Met aller achting:
[. . .] ALBERT MOULAERT
Consul Generaal van België

52 *Gazette van Detroit*, 22 September 1916, p. 2.
Mijnheer Adolph B. Suess, opsteller van de Volksstem, De Pere, Wis.
Mijnheer,
[. . .] Mag ik u vragen waarom gij artikels verhandigt die Vlamingen en Walen zouden kunnen ophitsen en waarom gij mijne brieven niet drukt die op deze artikels antwoorden? [. . .]
ALBERT MOULAERT
Consul Generaal van Belgie

53 *De Volksstem*, 10 April 1918, p. 8.
ANTWERPEN. – De vorige week is een aanvang genomen met het uitschilderen van de Fransche straatbenamingen. Voortaan worden nog alleen de Vlaamsche straatnamen geduld.

54 *Gazette van Detroit*, 10 November 1916, p. 2.
LICHTVAARDIG OORDEEL
De oorlog heeft het Belgische volk in 'n eigenaardigen toestand gesteld. [. . .] Laat ons bedenken dat er tegenwoordig geen grootere beleediging bestaat voor 'n Belg dan als verrader te worden uitgemaakt; [. . .] laat ons bedenken dat het belang der nationale eenheid vergt dat misverstand en verbittering zooveel mogelijk wordt voorkomen, en dat men ook nooit zonder volstrekte zekerheid de nationale trouw van wien ook mag verdenken.

55 Verthé, *150 Years of Flemings in Detroit*, 109–11.

56 Nancy Derr, 'The Babel Proclamation', *The Palimpsest* 60.4 (1979), 98–115 (106).

57 *Sioux Center Nieuwsblad*, 13 June 1918, p. 1.
Wij geloven niet dat de gouverneur eenige autoriteit heeft om deze proclamatie te handhaven, maar zelfs al had hij dit, waarom zou hij er al de bevriende naties bij insluiten en ze gelijkstellen met de Hun? [. . .] Het spreken van Fransch, Boheemsch, Hollandsch, Italiaansch of Vlaamsch te beletten zou een onvriendelijke daad zijn tegen vele van de beste Amerikanen, zoowel als tegen de naties die onze bondgenooten zijn in dezen oorlog.

58 Peter L. Petersen, 'Language and Loyalty: Governor Harding and Iowa's Danish-Americans during World War I', *The Annals of Iowa* 42 no. 6 (1974), 405–17.

59 Philip E. Webber, 'An Ethno-Sociolinguistic Study of Pella Dutch', in *Third Annual Conference of the Association for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies*, <http://www.aadas.nl/sites/default/files/proceedings/1981_01_Webber.pdf> [accessed 5 October 2015].

60 *Gazette van Detroit*, 17 May 1918, p. 3.
[. . .] dat wij ons moeten gedragen aan de Wet. Zoo als [sic] men weet moeten alle nieuwsbladen die in eene vreemde taal zijn opgesteld de artikelen over den oorlog vertalen en aan de Post-Meester eene kopij overhandigen.

61 *Gazette van Detroit*, 7 April 1916, p. 6.
Waarom Oorlog?
[. . .] Ziet gij nu niet dat den oorlog in Europa de vernietiging is van allen werkenden welstand, en meer geld brengt in de koffers van die geldzuchtige barons. [. . .]
Adolf Baertsoen

62 Joan Magee, 'The Flemish Movement in Southwestern Ontario, 1927–1931', in Margriet Bruijn Lacy (ed.), *The Low Countries: Multidisciplinary Studies* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 175–81.

Chapter 6

1 Robert Kershaw puts the total number of casualties during Operation Market Garden in September 1944 at 13,330 soldiers (Robert J. Kershaw, *It Never Snows in September: The German View of Market-Garden and the Battle of Arnhem, September 1944* [London: Ian Allen, 1990], 311). According to Will Irwin (*Abundance of Valor: Resistance, Liberation, and Survival, 1944–45* [New York: Random House, 2010], xvii): 'More Allied soldiers and airmen died during the battle known as Market Garden than died on D-Day of the Normandy invasion three months earlier – some seventeen thousand men killed, wounded or missing.' As for Arnhem: 'Of the roughly ten thousand paratroopers of the British First Airborne Division alone, dropped near Arnhem at the opening of the battle, all but two thousand were killed or captured' (Irwin, *Abundance of Valor*, xviii).

2 See Piet Kamphuis, 'Operation Market Garden', in M. R. D. Foot (ed.), *Holland at War against Hitler: Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1940–1945* (London: Frank Cass, 1990), 170–85).

3 Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* [The Kingdom of the Netherlands During World War II] (Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, 1969–91) (Vol. 10A-1, 1980).

4 Kamphuis, 'Operation Market Garden', 176.

5 Henri A. Van der Zee, *The Hunger Winter: Occupied Holland, 1944–1945* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1982), 305.

6 Kamphuis, 'Operation Market Garden', 176. In Arnhem today, German participation in the airborne commemorations, although accepted, is still a sensitive issue. In 1989, at the Anglo-Dutch UCL conference mentioned earlier, only two 'good' Germans were allowed to take part, namely London-based diplomat Count Von Stauffenberg, and Dr Gerhard Hirschfeld, a German historian then working in Britain. Cf. Gerhard Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration: The Netherlands under German Occupation, 1940–1945* (Oxford: Berg, 1988) and Foot, *Holland at War against Hitler*. In Arnhem in 1990, great commotion ensued when Mayor Scholten wanted to allow Germans to take part in the airborne commemorations. Unlike in Coventry, the people of Arnhem were not prepared to accept even a 'good' German like President Richard von Weizsäcker, and it was not until September 2009 that the ambassadors of Austria and Germany were allowed, for the first time, to lay a wreath at the airborne monument in Arnhem.

7 See K. Schuyt and E. Taverne, *Prosperity and Welfare* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004).

8 To mark the completion of the reconstruction of Arnhem, the sculpture *Phoenix*, by Ossip Zadkine, was placed next to the new Arnhem Town Hall in 1964.

9 P. R. A. van Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45: evacuatie, verwoesting, plundering, bevrijding, terugkeer* (Arnhem: De Gelderse Boekhandel, 1981); Bert Kerkhoffs, *Arnhem, stad van dakloozen: dossier '44–'45* (Amsterdam: Vroom en Dreesmann, 1981); Martin van Meurs et al., *Arnhem in de twintigste eeuw* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2004).

10 Relevant websites: <http://www.arneym.nl/>; Freedom Trail Arnhem; <http://www.geldersarchief.nl/>; <http://www.pegasusarchive.org/>; and <http://www.rozet.nl/>.

11 Cf. Feit en Fictie, <http://www.strijdbewijs.nl/market-garden/arnhem2.htm>, and *After the Battle* magazine issue nos. 17 and 58.
12 Published in Cornelis Bauer, *The Battle of Arnhem* (New York: Stein & Day, 1968).
13 Cornelius Ryan, *A Bridge Too Far* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974); de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Vol. 10A-1; Kershaw, *It Never Snows*; Martin Middlebrook, *Arnhem 1944: The Airborne Battle, 17–26 September* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).
14 Cf. Allard Martens and Daphne Dunlop, *The Silent War: Glimpses of the Dutch Underground and Views on the Battle of Arnhem* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961).
15 In Bauer, *Battle of Arnhem*, 82.
16 As confirmed by H. J. Giskes, *London Calling North Pole* (London: William Kimber, 1953), 171; cf. also M. R. D. Foot, *SOE in the Low Countries* (London: St Ermin's, 2001), 396–9).
17 Boeree in Bauer, *Battle of Arnhem*, 241–2.
18 Cf. Kate A. Ter Horst, *Cloud Over Arnhem, September 17th–26th 1944* (London: Allan Wingate, 1959).
19 Wilhelm Tieke, *Im Feuersturm letzter Kriegsjahre: II. SS-Panzerkorps mit 9. u. 10. SS-Division 'Hohenstaufen' u. 'Frundsberg'* (Osnabruck: Munin-Verlag, 1976); Willem H. Tiemens, *Facetten van de slag om Arnhem* (Weesp: Gooise Uitgeverij, 1984); Kershaw, *It Never Snows*; Peter Berends, *Een andere kijk de slag om Arnhem: de snelle Duitse reactie* (Soesterberg: Aspekt, 2002).
20 Irwin, *Abundance of Valor*.
21 Joel J. Jeffson, 'Operation Market Garden: Ultra Intelligence Ignored', Master's dissertation, Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2001.
22 Christ Klep, 'Een iconische mislukking'. In: *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, Sept. 2014, no. 9, 62–71.
23 Bauer, *The Battle of Arnhem*; Ryan, *A Bridge Too Far*; de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Vol. 10A-1.
24 Cf. Ton Schulte and A. G. Schulte, *De verdwenen stad: Arnhem voor de verwoesting van 1944–1945* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2004), 13.
25 S.J.R. de Monchy, *Twee ambtsketens. Herinneringen uit mijn burgemeesterstijd*. (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1946), 275–77.
26 Peter Dijkerman, 'De gemeenteraad opgeheven op last van de Duitse bezetter', in *Arnhem de Genoeglijkste*, vol. 21, no. 4 (December 2001), 160–165; J. Vredenberg, *Wederopbouw. Stedenbouw en architectuur in Arnhem 1945–1965*. Utrecht: Matrijs [Arnhemse Monumentenreeks 14], 2004.
27 Rauter was active, with his troops, in Arnhem during the battle (Berends, *Een andere kijk op de slag om Arnhem*, 236). Earlier in the year, he had moved from Wassenaar, with his family, to a villa in Arnhem. When his new address was published in June 1944 by the underground newspaper *Trouw*, Rauter retaliated with the summary trial and execution, on 9 and 19 August 1944, of twenty-three men who were in prison for distributing *Trouw* (see *Trouw*, 9 August 2014).
28 Dirck van Eck, *Het Proces Rauter* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1952), 320.
29 Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45*, 55.
30 Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45*, 52.
31 Cf. Leo Heaps, The Grey Goose of Arnhem (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976).
32 W. van Rijn, *Het Burgers Dierenpark te Arnhem in het frontgebied, wilde dieren in een doode stad*. (Arnhem, 1946).
33 A.A.M. de Jong, 'Gesloten wegens bewoning: Arnhemse evacués in het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, september 1944 - januari 1945', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkskunde 'Het Neerlands Openluchtmuseum'* vol. 47 (1984), no. 2, 2–18.
34 Piet Tuik, 'Tweemaal bevrijd, een jeugdige Gelderse evacué in Leeuwarden', in *Leovardia* no. 43 (January 2014), 8–10
35 Gerrit Daniel Van der Heide, *Onder de handen der roovers vandaan. De redding van Arnhems kunstschatten uit de stervende stad*. (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1946).
36 Another contributing factor is that in the parliamentary inquest into the Dutch government's handling of the war (*Enquête commissie Regeringsbeleid 1940/1945* (Verslag in 8 delen, 1949–56), Arnhem came up only in connection with the alleged betrayal of the Market Garden operation by Lindemans, alias King Kong. In the inquest's proceedings concerning September 1944, all attention was focused on the Dutch national railway strike. What happened in Arnhem from September 1944 to April 1945 – the battle itself, its impact

and aftermath; the German order to evacuate Arnhem; Seyss-Inquart's decision to declare all of Arnhem forfeited, and the subsequent large-scale and well-organised German plunder and destruction of Arnhem continuing until Liberation; the Dutch government's reaction to these events – was not covered during the inquest.

37 Cf. C. A. Dekkers and P. L. J. Vroemen, *De Zwarte Herfst: Arnhem 1944* (Arnhem: Gijsbers and van Loon, 1989).
38 Harry Kuiper, 14 vluchtelingen na de slag om Arnhem 1944–1945 (Leeuwarden: PENN Uitgeverij, 2009); Tuik, 'Tweemaal bevrijd, een jeugdige Gelderse evacué in Leeuwarden', 8–10.
39 Emile van Konijnenburg, *Roof, restitutie, reparatie*. Arnhem: Van der Wiel [PhD Dissertation, University of Utrecht], 1948, vii.
40 Konijnenburg, 1948, 52
41 Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45*, 205–7.
42 Konijnenburg, 1948, 45–6.
43 Konijnenburg, 1948, 57,
44 See Iddekinge, 2004, 39.
45 Tj. de Boorder & W. Kruiderink, *Rovers plunderen Arnhem. Een verhaal van Oorlog, Ballingschap, Vernieling en Massale Roof*. Arnhem, 1945; Frequin et al., *Arnhems Kruisweg*, (Amsterdam: Promotor, 1946) [Reprint: Arnhem: Gysbers & Van Loon, 1969].
46 Iddekinge, 2004,
47 Wim Verhoeff and Paul Vroemen, *Arnhem voorjaar 1945: Wandelen door een verlaten* stad (Wageningen: Veenman, 1998).
48 Cf. Kerkhoffs, *Arnhem, stad van daklozen*, 125.
49 'Arnhem: the gravest crime of the Germans – town was "declared forfeited" and totally looted. Normal life impossible for the time being.'
50 A. Jonker (ed.), *Gemeente Brandweer Arnhem. Jubileum 1802–1952*, (Arnhem:Gemeente Brandweer, 1952); G. J. Veenstra, *Wat gebeurde er in Arnhem tijdens de evacuatie van de stad? De waarheid over de Technische Nooddienst te Arnhem*. Arnhem, 1946.
51 See Kerkhoffs, *Arnhem, stad van daklozen*, and the letter by Loek van der Sande in *NRC-Handelsblad* of 23 September 2014.
52 Johan van der Woude, *Arnhem, betwiste stad* (Amsterdam: Veens, 1945), 14–15.
53 Cornelis Doelman, *Arnhem: stad der bezitloozen* (Arnhem: Gouda Quint, 1945), 21.
54 C.A. Dekkers & L.P.J. Vroemen, *De Zwarte Herfst - Arnhem 1944. De worsteling van mensen in oorlogstijd. Authentiek relaas van ooggetuigen*, (Weesp: Gooische Uitgeverij/Unieboek, 1984, 1989).
55 J.P. Van Muilwijk, 'Arnhem'. In: *Publieke Werken*, vol. 13 (1944–45), 99–103.
56 Bob Roelofs, *Vernieling en vernieuwing. De wederopbouw van Arnhem 1945–1964*, (Utrecht: Matrijs , 1995); Scheffer, 1963 (Bulletin IFH, no. 2); Vredenberg, 2004.
57 van Meurs et al., *Arnhem in de twintigste eeuw*.
58 Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration*.
59 Cf. Hans Bekkers and Maureen Hommersom (eds.), *Spiegel van Arnhem* (Arnhem, 1989)
60 Jo Diender, (March 2006). 'De vergeten executie' (online), In: *Historie van park Sonsbeek*, online at: studiodi.home.xs4all.nl.
61 Jan Hof, *De dubbele slag in Arnhem. De KP-kraken van de Koepel en het Huis van Bewaring*, (Baarn: Ten Have, 2004).
62 Margo Klijn, *De stille slag: joodse Arnhemmers 1933–1945* (Westervoort: Van Gruting, 2003, 2nd edition 2014).
63 Cf. J. Barendsen and D. Venema, *De rechtbank Arnhem en de Duitse bezetting* (Nijmegen: Wolf, 2004).
64 Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration*.
65 K. Schuyt and E. Taverne, *Prosperity and Welfare*.

Chapter 7

1 Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, 2nd edn. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 60, emphasis added.
2 LiteRom: Nederlandstalige literatuur <http://literom.knipselkranten.nl/> is a commercial database of articles on literature from Dutch and Belgian newspapers; it does not include the original page numbers of the articles.

3 Other Dutch online resources such as the Bibliografie Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde (BNTL) and Digitale Bibliotheek Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL) are helpful when trying to find secondary sources on Dutch literature: academic reception, such as literary-historical and critical responses to Haasse's work from a later date. These resources do not include contemporary newspaper reviews, however.
4 Frank de Glas convincingly explains the unique position of Haasse in the post-war Netherlands: Frank de Glas, 'De materiële en symbolische productie van het werk van moderne literaire auteurs. Bouwstenen voor de reputatie van de jonge Hella Haasse', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 10 (2003), 103–20.
5 Peter van Zonneveld, 'Een proces van innere Dekolonisation. Hella S. Haasse en de Indische literatuur', in Arnold Heumakers, Anthony Mertens and Peter van Zonneveld (eds.), *Een nieuwer firmament: Hella S. Haasse in tekst en context* (Amsterdam: Querido, 2006), 95–113.
6 Salverda, for instance, mentions Haasse's intertextual references to other 'Indische' writers such as Maria Dermôut and Louis Couperus: Reinier Salverda, 'Een Indisch Testament', *Ons Erfdeel* 46 (2003), 448–51. Vitáčková regards *Sleuteloog* as a 'postcolonial rewriting' of *Oeroeg*: Martina Vitáčková, 'Postkoloniale herschrijving van land van herkomst in het werk van Hella S. Haasse', *Praagse Perspectieven* 5 (2006), 399–404.
7 Haasse in: Margot Dijkgraaf, 'Mensen-van-daar: Hella Haasse over haar nieuwe roman *Sleuteloog*', *NRC Handelsblad*, 1 November 2002 <http://vorige.nrc.nl/nrc.nl/archief/artikel/1062393638255.html> [accessed 5 October 2015].
8 Translations in-between square brackets are mine, unless noted otherwise.
9 Haasse in: Arjen Fortuin, 'Met Nederlands-Indië zijn wij nog lang niet klaar', *NRC Boeken*, 8 January 2009, <http://vorige.nrc.nl/kunst/article2115312.ece/Met_Nederlands-Indie_zijn_wij_nog_lang_niet_klaar_> [accessed 5 October 2015].
10 This sets my argument apart from Vitáčková's, who says *Oeroeg* shows a singularly 'colonial' perspective as opposed to *Sleuteloog*'s postcolonial perspective.
11 Kees Snoek, '"Een vreemde in het land van mijn geboorte": Over Hella S. Haasse en Indië/Indonesië', in *Ik maak kenbaar wat bestond. Leven en werk van Hella S. Haasse (1993)* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1993), 16–24.
12 Snoek, '"Een vreemde in het land van mijn geboorte"', 24.
13 Anon., 'Vriendschap in de tropen – Oeroeg, Novelle. Geschenk 1948', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 21 February 1948, p. 588.
14 C. J. E. Dinaux, 'Literaire kanttekeningen – Oeroeg. Het geschenkboek der Nederlandse Boekenweek', *Haarlems Dagblad*, 6 March 1948, p. 1.
15 Snoek, '"Een vreemde in het land van mijn geboorte"', 24.
16 Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985), 144–65 (emphasis added).
17 If not noted otherwise, I have used *Oeroeg*'s first print: Hella S. Haasse, *Oeroeg* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels, 1948). Translations into English are from: Hella S. Haasse, *The Black Lake*, trans. Ina Rilke (London: Portobello, 2012) (*TBL*).
18 H. W. Van den Doel explains in *Afscheid van Indië: De val van het Nederlandse Imperium in Azië* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2000), 19–22, that, at the start of the twentieth century, the Dutch began to see it as their colonial duty to 'develop' the Indies and its inhabitants. The name 'Ethical Movement' ('Ethische koers') originated in a 1901 publication by Pieter Brooshooft: *De Ethische koers in de koloniale politiek*.
19 Ina Rilke's choice to translate where it says 'undivided pleasure' as 'blissfulness' proves to be unfortunate. It is significant that the boys were previously 'undivided' in their playful imagination, *before* they recognised the political reality. As children, the two boys playfully ignored contemporary colonial frameworks, allowing the two of them to be 'heroes and explorers' in a shared, 'undivided' manner.
20 Esther ten Dolle, 'Was het werkelijk Oeroeg?', *Indische Letteren* 20 (2005), 222–31.
21 Hella S. Haasse, *Oeroeg*, 50th edn. (Amsterdam: Stichting CPNB, 2009), 75.
22 Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 157.
23 Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 33.
24 Vitáčková, 'Postkoloniale herschrijving van land van herkomst in het werk van Hella S. Haasse', 404.
25 Hella S. Haasse, *Sleuteloog* (Amsterdam: Querido, 2002).

26 Salverda, 'Een Indisch Testament', 449.
27 Rob Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel – Wat Nederlandse schrijvers en dichters over Indonesië hebben geschreven vanaf de eerste jaren der compagnie tot op heden*, 3rd edn. (Amsterdam: Querido, 1978).
28 Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, 532 and 535.
29 In his *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, Nieuwenhuys endorses Tjalie Robinson's review ('Nogmaals Oeroeg', *Oriëntatie – Cultureel Maandblad* 9 (1948), 56) who famously criticised Haasse's *Oeroeg* for being 'insincere'. The support and acknowledgement Tjalie Robinson received for defending 'Indische' identities explains why, for Pamela Pattynama, Robinson's name remains inextricably linked to 'Indische' identity politics in the Netherlands. Pamela Pattynama, '26 februari 1948: Oeroeg van Hella Haasse verschijnt als boekenweekgeschenk', in Rosemarie Buikema and Maaike Meijer (eds.), *Cultuur en migratie in Nederland. Kunsten in beweging 1900–1980* (Den Haag: SDU, 2003), 207–21 (208).
30 Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 60.
31 Haasse, *Sleuteloog*, 107–08.
32 Haasse, *Sleuteloog*,124–25.
33 Homi K. Bhabha, 'The World and the Home', *Social Text* (1992), 141–53 (147).
34 Jeroen Vullings, 'Ebbenhouten kist zonder inhoud', in *Vrij Nederland*, 29 November 2002, emphasis added [accessed via LiteRom, 5 October 2015].
35 Max Pam, 'Herinneringen in ebbenhout', *HP/De Tijd*, 14 November 2002 [accessed via LiteRom, 5 October 2015].

Chapter 8

1 Marieke de Pol and Ben Sombogaart worked together again on the film *Bride Flight* (2008), a film with a similar heritage aesthetic created by de Pol.
2 Anna is left unable to conceive after she is brutally beaten by her uncle and guardian Heinrich.
3 Jaimey Fisher, 'German Historical Film as a Production Trend: European Heritage Cinema and Melodrama in *The Lives of Others*', in Jaimey Fisher and Brad Prager (eds.), *The Collapse of the Conventional: German Film and its Politics at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 186–215 (191).
4 Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor, 'Nature, Nurture, and Narcissism in Two Recent Dutch "European" Novels: Nelleke Noordervliet's *De naam van de vader* and Tessa de Loo's *The Twins*', in Blake Lee Spahr, Thomas F. Shannon and Wiljan de Akker (eds.), *Vantage Points: A Festschrift for Johan P. Snapper* (Publications of the American Association for Netherlandic Studies, vol. 10) (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 239–54 (240); Liesbeth Minnaard, *New Germans, New Dutch: Literary Interventions* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 28.
5 Ian Buruma, *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), 3, quoted by Vanderwal Taylor, 'Nature, Nurture, and Narcissism in Two Recent Dutch "European" Novels', 240.
6 A survey of 15- to 19-year-olds carried out by the 'Clingendael' research institute found that nearly half of respondents saw Germany (and Germans) as warlike ('oorlogzuchtig', 46 per cent) or as wanting to take over the world (47 per cent). Figures are taken from Lutsen B. Jansen, *Bekend en onbemind. Het beeld van Duitsland en Duitsers onder jongeren van vijftien tot negentien jaar* (The Hague: Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael, 1993), 26.
7 Krijn Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View: On the Dutch Reactions to German Victimhood', in Helmut Schmitz and Anette Seidel-Arpacı (eds.), *Narratives of Trauma: Discourses of German Suffering in National and International Perspective* (German Monitor 73) (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2011), 181–200 (193).
8 Following attacks on various individuals and refugee centres in the German former East, members of the Dutch public sent postcards to the German government with the statement 'I am angry' written on them as a way of communicating Germany's responsibility to fight right-wing extremism in light of its history. Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View', 193; Minnaard, *New Germans, New Dutch*, 101.

9 Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View', 193.
10 Reinjan Mulder, 'Een koppige voorkeur voor de waarheid', *NRC Handelsblad*, 5 November 1993, quoted by Vanderwal Taylor, 'Nature, Nurture, and Narcissism in Two Recent Dutch "European" Novels', 246.
11 For example Henry Rousso, *Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (New York: Knopf, 1995).
12 Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor, *A Family Occupation: Children of War and the Memory of World War II in Dutch Literature of the 1980s* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Anette Waring, 'Intimate and Sexual Relations', in Robert Gildea, Olivier Wieviorka and Anette Waring (eds.), *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe* (New York: Berg, 2007), 100–28; Monika Diederichs, 'Stigma and Silence: Dutch Women, German Soldiers and their Children', in Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen (eds.), *Children of World War II: The Hidden Enemy Legacy* (New York: Berg, 2005), 151–64; Monika Diederichs, *Wie geschoren wordt moet stil zitten. De omgang van Nederlandse meisjes met Duitse militairen* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2006); G. Hirschfeld, 'Bezetting en collaboratie. Nederland tijdens de oorlogsjaren 1940–45 in historisch perspectief' (Thesis, Doctoral University Dusseldorf, 1980); J. C. H. Blom, *In de baan van goed en fout? Wetenschappelijke geschiedstrijving over de bezettingstijd in Nederland* (Bergen: Octavo, 1983).
13 The way in which the novel was discussed in the 2012 edition of literature programme *Benali Boekt* dedicated to it is suggestive of its importance within Dutch memory culture and the challenge it posed to conservative visions of the national past in the Netherlands. In the programme, historian Willem Melching describes *The Twins* as part of the ongoing normalisation of Dutch–German relations and suggests that the relativisation of German guilt which takes place in the novel was taboo-breaking, since it destabilised the binary idea of Germans as perpetrators and the Dutch as victims.
14 Tessa de Loo, *The Twins*, 14th edn. (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1994), 434, trans. Ruth Levitt, *The Twins* (London: Soho Press, 2001).
15 Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View', 193–4.
16 Albert de Lange, 'Mogen wij nog anti-Duits zijn?', *Het Parool* (6 November 1993), quoted by Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View', 194.
17 A reassertion of memories of suffering within the public sphere took place in the 1990s as part of a political and cultural shift towards shared trauma as common identity in post-unification Germany, with public figures such as Martin Walser, Günter Grass and W. G. Sebald claiming to break taboos by writing and talking about the German experience of war. Bill Niven, 'Introduction', in Niven (ed.), *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1–25 (6, 10). Foreign powers at first responded positively to the moves to remember German suffering, with the United Kingdom raising funds to repair damage to the city of Dresden and Germany invited to commemorations of the Second World War in 1995. Niven, 'Introduction', 19. A backlash against German suffering followed both within Germany and abroad, with Tony Blair suggesting in 2005 that Germany risked assuming a culture of victimhood and the *Daily Mail* suggesting that Germany wallowed in the role of victim. Niven, 'Introduction', 8; Paul Cooke, 'The Continually Suffering Nation? Cinematic Representations of German Victimhood', in Niven (ed.), *Germans as Victims*, 76–92 (77).
18 Thijs, 'Holland and the German Point of View', 194.
19 Lutz Kopenick, 'Reframing the Past: Heritage Cinema and Holocaust in the 1990s', *New German Critique* 87 (2002), 47–82; Fisher, 'German Historical Film as a Production Trend', 192; Belén Vidal, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 36.
20 Vidal, *Heritage Film*, 37; Fisher, 'German Historical Film as a Production Trend', 190.
21 Thomas Elsaesser, *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 39.
22 Fisher, 'German Historical Film as a Production Trend', 187.
23 Matthias Uecker, 'National Identity for International Audiences? Identity Construction in Post-Unification German Cinema', in Julian Preece (ed.), *Re-Forming the Nation in Literature and Film: The Patriotic Idea in Contemporary German-Language Culture* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 137–56 (139).

24 Patricia Pisters, *Lessen van Hitchcock: een inleiding in mediatheorie*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 215.
25 Quoted by Bart Hofstede, *Dutch Film Abroad: The International Position of Dutch Film* (Amsterdam: Boekmanstudies, 2000), 9.
26 Pisters, *Lessen van Hitchcock*, 218. Pisters says that the growing tendency to reflect multicultural society in literature and television has yet to reach the world of feature films.
27 *De groene Amsterdammer* 124/43 (2000), 40–3, quoted by Pisters, *Lessen van Hitchcock*, 218.
28 Buscombe (1981), quoted by Elsaesser, *European Cinema*, 66.
29 Uecker, 'National Identity for International Audiences?', 139. Uecker relates these features to the concept of 'cinema of consensus' put forward by Eric Rentschler.
30 Wilfried Wims, *'Dresden*: The Return of History as Soap', in Fisher and Prager (eds.), *The Collapse of the Conventional*, 136–56 (136).
31 Elsaesser, *European Cinema*, 72–3.
32 Elsaesser, *European Cinema*, 72–3.
33 Hugo Brems situates *The Twins* within decidedly international trends for realism and historical writing which converged between 1985 and 1995 and contributed to a 'sustained and even expanding' trend towards producing novels about the Second World War. Brems, *Altijd weer vogels, die nesten beginnen: Geschiednis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1945–2005* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), 557.
34 Bakker, 'Recensie van Noordervliet', *Haagsche Courant*, 3 December 1993, quoted by Vanderwal Taylor, 'Nature, Nurture, and Narcissism in Two Recent Dutch "European" Novels', 245.
35 *The Twins*, pp. 353–4.
36 Scenes were made of Anna nursing a dying soldier who is fixated on the promise of final victory but these were removed in the final cut.

Chapter 9

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3 Michael Keating, 'A Regional History of Modern Europe: Territorial Management and the State', in Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle: Northumbria University Press, 2007), 149–64 (153).
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14 Heidi Ricke, 'Arbeitsmarkt und Beschäftigung', in Franke et al. (eds.), *Der Landkreis Emsland*, 689–701 (689).
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Chapter 10

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6 Koskinen notes the sheer complexity of this nebulous flux between source and target texts as 'a textual network or web-like texture comprising all different versions of the text that have been functioning as source texts during the drafting process that can easily include five to ten (or more) stages involving translation'. Kaisa Koskinen, 'How to Research EU Translation?', *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 9, no. 4 (2001), 293–300 (294).
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Notes on contributors

Tanja Collet is Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Windsor in Windsor, Ontario. She is the president of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies (CAANS/ACAEN) and has published several articles on the language use and attitudes of the Flemish immigrant community in North America. Correspondence to: Tanja Collet, Associate Professor in Linguistics, Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, University of Windsor, 401 Sunset Ave, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4, Canada. E-mail: tcollet@uwindsor.ca

Jane Fenoulhet is a professor of Dutch Studies at University College London. She has published widely on Dutch and Comparative Literature as well as on Translation Studies. Her most recent monographs are *Nomadic Literature*: *Cees Nooteboom and his Writing* (2013) and *Making the Personal Political: Dutch Women Writers 1919–1970* (2007). She served as Vice-President of the International Vereninging van Neerlandici (IVN) and as a Member of the Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren. Correspondence to University College London, Dept. of Dutch, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom. Email: j.fenoulhet@ucl.ac.uk

Stefanie van Gemert is a research associate at UCL's Centre for Low Countries Studies. Her PhD thesis in Comparative Literature (2014) discussed nostalgia in postcolonial theory and in the work of two authors from colonial backgrounds, Hella S. Haasse (born in the Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia) and Jean Rhys (from Dominica, the former British West Indies). It argues that critical-nostalgic engagements with colonial pasts can inform our post-colonial present. Stefanie is keen to share and discuss her research with diverse audience groups: she initiated a programme for London migrants at UCL Museums and the Wallace Collection, wrote for the Centre's *Dutch Walks in London* mobile app and has co-curated many exhibitions and literary events. Correspondence to: Stefanie van Gemert,

c/o University College London, Dept. of Dutch, Gower St, London, WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom. E-mail: stefanie.gemert@ucl.ac.uk

Christine Hermann studied Dutch and translation studies at the University of Vienna, Austria, with which she has been affiliated as a lecturer and researcher since 2007. Currently, she is investigating adaptations of Hendrik Conscience's *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* into German, for young people and in the form of graphic novels as part of the international research project 'Circulation of Dutch Literature' (CODL), funded by the Netherlands research council NWO. Correspondence to: Christine Hermann, Universität Wien, Institut für Europäische und Vergleichende Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft/Abteilung für Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft, Sensengasse 3a, A-1090 Vienna, Austria. E-mail: christine. hermann@univie.ac.at

Suzie Holdsworth has recently undertaken a PhD in Translation Studies and Comparative Linguistics at the University of Sheffield, focusing on EU citizenship narratives at the multilingual interface of discourse. In 2010 she was awarded an MA in Translation Studies by the University of Sheffield, which led to her current doctoral research area. Correspondence to: Suzie Holdsworth, University of Sheffield, School of Languages and Cultures, Translation Studies, Western Bank, Sheffield, S10 2TN, United Kingdom. E-mail: ldp09seh@sheffield.ac.uk

Raphaël Ingelbien is a reader in English and Comparative Literature at the University of Leuven, Belgium. His research focuses on the European contexts of Irish writing. Correspondence to: Raphaël Ingelbien, University of Leuven, Literature, Discourse and Identity, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium. E-mail: raphael.ingelbien@arts.kuleuven.be

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 the formation of Dutch national identity. Her publications in English 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* (2010). She is Principal Investigator of the NWO (Netherlands research council) funded research project 'Proud to be Dutch: The role of war and propaganda literature in the shaping of an early modern Dutch identity' that charts the rise and development of Dutch national thought between 1648 and 1815. Correspondence to: Lotte Jensen, Radboud Universiteit, afd. Nederlandse taal en cultuur,

Postbus 9103, NL-6500 HD Nijmegen, The Netherlands. E-mail: l.jensen@let.ru.nl

Gert-Jan Johannes is a researcher at the Research Institute for Culture and History (OGC) of Utrecht University. He has published widely on Dutch literary and cultural history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g. *De lof der aalbessen. Over (Noord-)Nederlandse literatuurtheorie, literatuur en de consequenties van kleinschaligheid, 1770–1830* (The Hague: SDU, 1997); and, together with Inger Leemans, *Worm en Donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700–1800: de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum, 2013)), and on the history of businesses and foundations (e.g. *Why Not? Oscar van Leer and his Quest for the Ideal Synthesis of Business and Philanthropy* (Meppel: Boom 2009). He is currently preparing a book on the history of the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds and its impact on the financing of culture in the Netherlands. Correspondence to: Gert-Jan Johannes, Universiteit Utrecht, Dep. Geschiedenis en Kunstgeschiedenis, Janskerkhof 13, NL-3512 BL Utrecht, The Netherlands. E-mail: g.j.johannes@uu.nl

Inger Leemans is Professor of Cultural History and Director of the Graduate School of Humanities at the VU University Amsterdam. She is president of the Dutch-Belgian Society for the study of the eighteenth century, and one of the directors of the Amsterdam Centre for Cross-Disciplinary Emotion and Sensory Studies (ACCESS). At VU University, she helps coordinate the research programme in Digital Humanities. She has published extensively about the history of Dutch literature, early modern pornography and the (radical) Enlightenment. Her interest in cultural economics has resulted in research about censorship, journalism, literary criticism and the literary 'bubble' that accompanied the financial bubble of 1720. Correspondence to: Inger Leemans, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Faculteit der Letteren (Geschiedenis), De Boelelaan 1105, NL-1081 HA Amsterdam, The Netherlands. E-mail: i.b.leemans@vu.nl

Marijn Molema completed his PhD at the VU University Amsterdam in 2010. His thesis on the history of regional-economic policies in the Northern Netherlands and North-West Germany (1945–2000) was published in 2011 and translated into German in 2013. After working for the Wiardi Beckman Foundation, an academic think-tank linked to the Dutch Labour Party, he joined the Fryske Akademy, the academic centre of the Dutch province of Frisia (Fryslân), where he is working as a historian of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and conducting

a comparative research programme on spatial economic transformations and regional politics in the Northern Netherlands from 1870 onwards. Correspondence to: Marijn Molema, Fryske Akademy, Postbus 54, NL-8900 AB Leeuwarden/Ljouwert, The Netherlands. E-mail: m.molema@fryske-akademy.nl

Gerdi Quist is a lecturer in Dutch at University College London (UCL). Her research focuses on language pedagogy and intercultural communication. Her publications include the monograph *Reading with my Eyes Open: Embracing the Critical and the Personal in Language Pedagogy* (2013). Correspondence to: University College London, Dept. of Dutch, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom. Email: g.quist@ucl.ac.uk.

Reinier Salverda studied Dutch and obtained his PhD in Linguistics at VU University Amsterdam in 1985. From 1981 he taught Dutch and Linguistics at the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta before, in 1989, he was appointed to the Chair of Dutch Language and Literature at University College London (UCL). From 2006 until 2013 he served as Director of the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden, the Frisian research institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW). He is Honorary Professor of Dutch Language and Literature at UCL, honorary research fellow of the Fryske Akademy, and deputy editor of *The Low Countries*, the yearbook on art and society in Flanders and the Netherlands published by the *Ons Erfdeel* foundation in Rekkem, Belgium. Correspondence to: Reinier Salverda, University College London, Dept. of Dutch, Gower St, London, WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom. E-mail: r.salverda@ucl.ac.uk

Ulrich Tiedau is a Senior Lecturer in Modern Low Countries History and Society at the Department of Dutch, University College London (UCL) and an Associate Director of the UCL Centre for Digital Humanities. Since 2006 he has served as chief editor of *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* which was awarded an honourable mention in the 2009 Phoenix Prize for Significant Editorial Achievement by the Council of Editors of Learned Journals (CELJ). Correspondence to: Ulrich Tiedau, University College London, Dept. of Dutch, Gower St, London, WC1E 6BT, United Kingdom. E-mail: u.tiedau@ucl.ac.uk

Elisabeth Waelkens holds an MA in Western Literature from KU Leuven and is currently studying translation at Durham University. Correspondence to: Elizabeth Waelkens, c/o KU Leuven, Literature, Discourse and Identity, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium. E-mail: elisabeth.waelkens@gmail.com

Jenny Watson is a PhD candidate at Swansea University, writing on German literature. She previously studied German and Dutch at the University of Sheffield with an MA thesis on authors of migration literature, including Hafid Bouazza. She plans to seek funding for a postdoctoral project on memories of the Second World War in the Netherlands, focusing on autobiographical writing by children of collaborators. Since 2014 she has been the postgraduate representative of the Association of Low Countries Studies and she organised their first postgraduate conference in Dutch in July 2015. Correspondence to: Jenny Watson, Centre for Contemporary German Culture, Swansea University, Singleton Park, Swansea, SA2 8PP, United Kingdom. E-mail: gea07jrw@gmail.com

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JANE FENOULHET is Professor of Dutch Studies at UCL. Her research interests include women's writing, literary history and disciplinary history.

GERDI QUIST is Lecturer in Dutch and Head of Department at UCL's Department of Dutch. Her current research focuses on language and culture teaching and learning which take cultural complexity and critical intercultural awareness as a starting point.

ULRICH TIEDAU is Senior Lecturer in Modern Low Countries History and Society at UCL. In addition, he serves as editor-in-chief of *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*.

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