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Title	The return of the loving father: masculinity, legitimacy and the French and Dutch Restoration monarchies (1813-1815)
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Faculty	FGw: Instituut voor Cultuur en Geschiedenis (ICG)
Year	2012

FULL BIBLIOGRAPHIC DETAILS:
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BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review | Volume 127-1 (2012) | pp. 19-44

The Return of the Loving Father

Masculinity, Legitimacy and the French and Dutch Restoration Monarchies (1813-1815)[1]

MATTHIJS LOK AND NATALIE SCHOLZ

Historians of gender often see the construction of hegemonic images of masculinity as the result of long-term cultural processes. In this article we investigate the influence of short-term political events on the shaping of dominant political masculinities by comparing the representations of the early French and Dutch Restoration monarchies. The events of the political transition of 1813-1815 greatly influenced the competition of different models of masculinity existing in the early nineteenth century. In both countries the newly established monarchs aimed to legitimate their insecure rule by presenting themselves as 'loving fathers' returning to their despairing children after the dark years of exile. The Dutch monarchy differed from the French case with regards to the role of women in the monarchical representation and the duality of the representation of William I as father and hero. Unlike Louis XVIII, William could present his fatherly rule as a return to the national tradition of domesticity (*huiselijkheid*).

Masculinity and political crisis

It has often been observed that in times of deep crisis gender categories play a particularly important role in political discourse. At such moments gendered concepts and images are often used to confirm one's own party's strength and legitimacy, as well as to undermine the credibility and authority of the enemy, whether domestic or foreign. Gender historians of political culture, who soon began to study masculinity intensively, have paid a great deal of attention to this aspect, for example in the context of the French Revolution, the Third Reich or, most recently, the early Cold War. For this reason, the

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URN:NBN:NL:UI:10-1-109769 | www.bmgn-lchr.nl | e-ISSN 2211-2898 | print ISSN 0615-0505

historical debate on the political significance and functions of masculinity seems to be inextricably intertwined with the concept of crisis.[2] The resulting impression is that masculinity feels threatened and often turns into a political weapon particularly during political crises, the concept becoming thereby much more visible and explicit than usual. In the modern historical period this happens most frequently in moments of instability, moments in which the organisational principle of society, the order of the polity as such, is in jeopardy – either from the outside or from the inside – and has to defend itself.[3]

This generally convincing analysis loses its sharpness however, if the concept of political crisis is defined so broadly that ultimately the whole of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries fit into it. Even if there are good arguments to stress the inherently fragile nature of modern polities, such an approach can result in a somewhat static view of masculinity's political role. In the general modern state of crisis then, the same 'hegemonic masculinity' of energy and will power, rationality and courage, establishes itself in the political imaginary with only slight nuances depending on the concrete societal and political circumstances.[4] Yet the strength of Robert Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity consists of the way it theorises the simultaneous existence of different models of ideal masculinity. Today's hegemonic masculinity therefore can easily become tomorrow's marginalised

1 We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, the editors of BMGN - *Low Countries Historical Review*, and the guest editor for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

2 Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Los Angeles 1992); Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien* (Frankfurt am Main 1977-1978); Christopher E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore 2004); Kyle A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York, London 2005); Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst 2001).

3 A similar analysis is formulated by Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford 2003) 151-152.

4 This modern 'longue durée' of an ideal masculinity is at the centre of George E. Mosse's influential *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York 1996). Anne-Marie Sohn has recently formulated a very different overall picture of masculinity's long term development during the nineteenth century: 'Le XIXe siècle voit donc le déclin d'une masculinité fondée sur la force, le courage et l'honneur', Anne-Marie Sohn, *'Sois un homme!': La construction de la masculinité au XIXe siècle* (Paris 2009) 441.

masculinity.[5] The remaining crucial question is how, when and why these kinds of historical transformations occur.[6]

One possible method to shed new light on this problem is to study periods *after* political crises, in the narrow sense of revolutions, wars and civil wars. These periods are generally dominated by attempts to create a new stability and consensus.[7] The legitimacy of the new regime is still far from self-evident, but forms the object of complicated political, symbolic and cultural negotiations. At the beginning of the Restoration period in the Netherlands and in France contrasting concepts of masculinity came to play a crucial role in the ongoing struggle for the reconstruction of political legitimacy. The dominant heroic masculinity of the Jacobin and Napoleonic period in France and of the time of the patriots in the Netherlands was losing ground while other ideals of masculinity, apparently better suited to the huge and urgent political task of reconciliation, became more influential.[8] How exactly did these ideals become part of the political conflicts and negotiations? How were the competing models of masculinity used to create and support, or to attack and undermine the equally competing concepts of political legitimacy?

5 '"Hegemonic masculinity" is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable', Robert W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge 1995) 76. See also John Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in: Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, New York 2004) 41-58.

6 The growing number of historical studies on masculinity shows the complex ways in which masculinities are part of and influence larger societal and cultural developments. John Tosh has recently made an effort to summarise these studies in the case of Britain and propose a periodisation; see his 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005) 330-342 as well as Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Basingstoke 2008).

7 This concept of transitional period is based on Ido de Haan's *Politieke reconstructie. Een nieuw begin in de politieke geschiedenis* (Utrecht 2004).

8 On the heroic models of masculinity during the French Revolution and under Napoleon see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1984); Dourinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, London 1989); Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800* (Translated by Charlotte Mandell; Stanford: 1993); Alex Potts, 'Beautiful Bodies and Dying Heroes: Images of Ideal Manhood in the French Revolution', *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1990) 1-21; Annie Jourdan, *Napoléon: Héros, imperator, mécène* (Paris 1998); M.J. Hughes, 'Making Frenchmen into Warriors: Martial Masculinity in Napoleonic France', in: Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (eds.), *French Masculinities: History, Politics, Culture* (Basingstoke 2007) 51-66. Forth's and Taithe's edited volume conspicuously lacks a chapter on the Restoration.

Studying these problems can also shed light on the diversity of the political meanings of modern masculinity more generally.[9] As is well known, modern politics began in the period around 1800, parallel to the emergence of the so-called two-sex-model in Europe.[10] This model emphasised the fundamental and at the same time *natural* difference between the two sexes, resulting in the stereotypes of complementary gender characteristics: men are strong, brave, active and rational beings acting in the public sphere; women are weak, passive, particularly sensitive beings acting in the private sphere. It has become clear however, that this analysis cannot be understood as a one-to-one description of the dominating gender norms at a given historical moment.

In the Netherlands and France during the second half of the eighteenth century, a negative discourse on the degeneration of society at large was closely linked to effeminacy being understood as the lack of control of exaggerated passions.[11] While in France the solution to this problem was identified in the new ideal of the *homme nouveau* that centred around the force and self-assurance of the new political subject of the revolution, simultaneously the culture of sensibility reached its apex: many men burst into tears in public and sensibility was seen as an essential characteristic and virtue of men (as well as women) in order to be able to recognise and enforce the value of equality.[12] Conversely, the revolutionaries regarded the *aristocrates*, the opposite and enemy of the *homme nouveau*, as the incarnation of an artificial and hypocrite emotionality, softness and cowardice. Moreover, in the Netherlands a sharp discursive division between a masculine public and a feminine private sphere did not really occur. Since 1760 masculinity was associated above all with domesticity, even if this domesticity did not exclude an active public role.[13]

This ambivalent gendering of certain character traits since the late eighteenth century informed many of the ways in which ideas of masculinity

9 A similar view on the political workings of masculinity is to be found in Rose, *Which People's War*, 151-196.

10 Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA 1990); Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter. Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib 1750-1850* (Frankfurt am Main 1991).

11 De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 131-156 and Anne C. Vila, 'Elite Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century France', in: Forth and Taithe, *French Masculinities*, 15-30; Dorothée Sturkenboom, 'Historicizing the Gender of Emotions: Changing Perceptions in Dutch Enlightenment Thought', *Journal of Social History* 34:1 (2000) 55-75.

12 William Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000) 109-152; Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes XVIIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris 1986).

13 S. Dudink, 'Voor haardsteden en altaren. Mannelijkheid, huiselijkheid en natie in de vroege negentiende eeuw', in: M. Aerts, M. Everard and A. Sneller (eds.), *Sexe. Een begripsgeschiedenis* (forthcoming); see on Dutch domesticity E.J. Krol, *De smaak der natie. Opvattingen over huiselijkheid in de Noord-Nederlandse poëzie van 1800 tot 1840* (Hilversum 1997).

were employed for political purposes after 1813. Although the new gender ideology of contrasting natures and separate spheres remained in place during the Restoration, at least in the sense that it legitimised the exclusion of women from the political sphere, this did not mean that it was in any way clear what *kind* of men the new ruling men of the Restoration should be. It was this question that put its mark on the political discourse of the two post-revolutionary countries struggling to find a common and stable basis for their polities. In this article we will analyse the models of masculinity that can be found in the representations of the monarchies of Louis XVIII (r. 1814-1824) and William I (r. 1813-1840).[14] The monarchy was the central institution both in the practice of government as well as in the symbolic representation of the Restoration regimes. As it turns out, to construct a convincing concept of monarchic legitimacy to a large extent relied on the kind of men the two Kings were imagined to be.

Louis XVIII: a good father or a ridiculous sovereign?

The interlude of the Hundred Days, during which Bonaparte managed to regain power for one last time, is perhaps the single most important event separating the Dutch and French Restorations, so similar in many other ways. Because of this event the years 1814 and 1815 appear to be a period of successive political crises around no less than three regime changes, resulting in the final defeat of the Napoleonic army on the battlefield of Waterloo. On a cultural level, the French could witness a veritable battle of images that took place parallel to the fighting on the battlefields. The growing flow of anti-Napoleonic caricatures that had arrived in France shortly before the fall of the Empire now gave way to a second flow of pro-Napoleonic and anti-royalist images. These political caricatures are an excellent source for studying the role masculinity played in the visual assaults on the main character of the respective 'other' party.[15]

14 See for the comparison between the early French and Dutch Restoration regimes and its methodological problems: M.M. Lok, *Windvanen. Napoleontische bestuurders in de Nederlandse en Franse Restauratie (1813-1820)* (Amsterdam 2009) chapter I; idem, 'L'extrême centre est-il exportable?: Une comparaison entre la France et les Pays-Bas, 1814-1820', *Annales historiques de la Revolution française* no. 357 (2009) 143-159.

15 See Hans-Peter Mathis (ed.), *Napoleon I. im Spiegel der Karikatur. Eine Sammlungskatalog des Napoleon-Museums Arenenberg mit 435 Karikaturen über Napoleon I.* (Zürich 1998); Annie Duprat, 'Une guerre des images: Louis XVIII, Napoléon et la France', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 47:3 (2000) 487-504. On the political functioning of the French Restoration and July monarchy in general: H. Becquet and B. Frederking (eds.), *La dignité de roi: Regards sur la royauté au premier XIXe siècle* (Rennes 2009).

▲
'Le revenant', colored etching 21 June 1815.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Whereas before the return of Napoleon the *légende noire* dominated public discourse presenting the former emperor as a bloodthirsty and megalomaniac tyrant, after the Hundred Days a torrent of caricatures were published with the aim to unmask the great hero as unmanly, that is a small, cowardly figure without honour. That the emphasis shifted in this way was certainly due to the fact that Napoleon's return in 1815 was accompanied by a modified imago – that of the republican soldier (again) rather than the worthy emperor of the later years.[16] Thus Napoleon's image was reconnected with the idealised French soldier already represented during the revolution in portrait prints of anonymous soldiers as the embodiment of the nation. The nation, the army and self-conscious and heroic masculinity became one and the same thing in those prints.[17]

It is against this background that the anti-royalist caricatures of the Hundred Days must be interpreted. Those caricatures accused both Louis XVIII and the noble emigrants who were returning to France in 1814 of lacking heroic manliness.[18] Louis was depicted as a coward because he had fled the country for the second time instead of facing the battle head-on. Furthermore his claim to sovereignty in France was ridiculed by pointing out that he would never have recaptured the throne were it not for the help of foreign armies. The most striking prints are a whole series that updated the revolutionary opposition between *homme nouveau* and *aristocrate* by applying it against the King as, for instance, in the engraving 'Le revenant' which was published shortly before the second return of Louis XVIII.

'Le revenant', meaning both the repatriate and the ghost, shows on the left-hand side the figure of a grenadier who represents the army as a whole and who is closely linked to the figure of Napoleon appearing like a phantom or *deus ex machina* on a cloud. Merely by appearing in that way he completely

16 On the myth and public image of Napoleon in general see Annie Jourdan, *Mythes et légendes: Un destin d'exception, entre rêve et réalité* (Toulouse 2004) as well as, the same author, *Napoléon.*

17 See for instance the print by Levachez 'Et moi aussi je viens de l'Ile d'Elbe', 9 May 1815, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes. Norman Bryson has demonstrated this phenomenon using the example of Géricault's engravings, Norman Bryson, 'Géricault and "Masculinity"', in: Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (eds.), *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Rochester 1989) 228-260. See also Hughes, 'Making Frenchmen into Warriors', 59.

18 Not only the émigrés but also the former Napoleonic officials who took the oath of loyalty to Louis XVIII and became civil servants under the Restoration regime, known as the 'girouettes' (political weathervanes), were considered unmanly as according to critical pamphlet writers they supposedly lacked firm convictions. In Bonapartist journals as *Le Nain jaune* these officials were depicted as women and hermaphrodites. See for instance: *Le Nain jaune*, 15 December 1814 and 20 January 1815. See also: P. Serna, *La République des girouettes. Une anomalie politique: La France de l'extrême centre (1789-1815… et au-délà)* (Seyssel 2005) 196-197.

overpowers Louis XVIII and his two ministers the duc de Blacas and the abbé de Montesquiou.[19] The message of the image is mainly conveyed by constructing two different bodily aesthetics, on the one hand Napoleon and his soldier with calm expressions and postures conveying self-discipline, courage and autonomy, in one word 'sovereignty' in the double political and individual sense of the word; on the other hand Louis and his ministers are shown with bodies either too fat or too skinny cowering in the corner of the image, sliding on the floor or bending inwards with ridiculous expressions on their faces. In the view of this caricaturist Louis XVIII, in contrast to Napoleon, quite clearly was not the kind of man capable of representing sovereignty.

The heavy-weight Louis returned to a country that embraced an ideal of masculinity that was at odds with a King who had neither fought in an army nor could use his bodily appearance to connect his person with this ideal. At the same time the extremely strong emphasis on heroic masculinity of the pro-Napoleonic propaganda of the years 1813 to 1815 can also be interpreted as a sign of the same ideal's serious crisis during and after the catastrophic downfall of the *Grande Armée*.[20] Whereas in representations of the army the motif of the anonymous soldier frequently had a melancholic touch without altering the positive picture of the soldiers, the anti-Napoleonic caricatures completely denied Napoleon's own soldierly masculinity and constructed a *légende noire*. Instead of being regarded as the prime *soldat-citoyen*, Bonaparte was now declared to be the biggest possible shame to the manly values of the *soldat-citoyen*.[21]

When Louis ended his exile in the English Hartwell in April 1814 to travel to his homeland after weeks of uncertainty about the future of France, he brought a message of reconciliation with him as well as a self-perception as a paternal King to the French people. Thus he spoke of his 'intentions paternelles' already in his first proclamation to the French in January 1814. Subsequently, countless journal commentators and authors of pamphlets,

19 Another description of the engraving can be found in Mathis, *Napoleon I. im Spiegel der Karikatur*, 180.

20 Frédéric Bluche, *Le Bonapartisme: Aux origines de la droite autoritaire* (Paris 1980) 117. Bluche sees the heroic militarism of the late Napoleonic years as a sort of compensation for the anxieties and insecurities caused by the French defeat and the resulting political crisis.

21 On the melancholy of the images of Napoleonic soldiers see John Sawyer, 'The Return of the Emperor: Bonapartism in Art and Politics', in: *All the Banners Wave: Art and War in the Romantic Era 1792-1851*, an exhibition by the Department of Art, Brown University, 26 February through 28 March 1982 (Providence 1982) 14-19 and Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 'Sad Cincinnatus: *Le soldat laboreur* as an Image of the Napoleonic Veteran after the Empire', *Arts Magazine* 60 (1986) 65-70. On the *légende noire* see Natalie Petiteau, *Napoléon: De la mythologie à l'histoire* (Paris 1999) 31-37.

odes and chansons adopted this attribute. Of course the idea of the King as a 'good father' was a fairly 'traditional' notion, but then, in a country as utterly transformed as France there was no longer any immediately evident 'traditional' notion of what the ideal features of a King should be. After all, Napoleon had created his own version of monarchical leadership in the preceding years.

In the months following, numerous publications, among which many popular lyrical texts, disseminated an image of Louis XVIII as a good, just, gentle, affectionate, sympathetic, virtuous and benevolent father of his people.[22] This image is framed by the specific context of the texts telling the story of a melodramatic turnaround of the French fate, in which a sombre past is followed by a happy present. Napoleon, usually called 'usurper' or 'tyrant', is not only an essential aspect of this negative view of the past but is also presented as the antithesis to Louis. In this opposition the new King's sensibility plays a crucial role. Napoleon, in line with the *légende noire*, stands for the inhumanity of a war he is believed to have waged in an egotistical and ambitious manner, while the sensitive Louis takes seriously the sorrows of his people.[23]

In this discourse Napoleon and Louis embody two different models of male authority. Bonaparte represents the strong, resolute and assertive but also egotistical ruler who is longing for glory and compels his people to follow him on his ultimately fatal path. Louis, in contrast, epitomises sympathy, prudence, the capacity to forgive and above all the care for the wellbeing of the people. The fact that Louis embodied a very different role model of political authority than Napoleon distinguished him in a *positive* way from his predecessor. The opposition of the Napoleonic caricatures of the Hundred Days was thus turned upside down, but the contrast goes even further than that. Louis' specific ability to 'heal our wounds' and 'dry our tears'[24] results from a sensibility that is linked to two further aspects: his painful experience of exile and his

22 Aside from the popular printed images and caricatures, this paragraph is based first and foremost on an analysis of the so-called *pièces de circonstances*, dozens of poems and chansons that were published on the occasion of the return of Louis XVIII and are accessible in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. See also Natalie Scholz, *Die imaginierte Restauration. Repräsentationen der Monarchie im Frankreich Ludwigs XVIII.* (Darmstadt 2006). As one good example of the omnipresent image of Louis as the 'meilleur des pères', see M. Chevallier, *Entrée de sa majesté Louis XVIII dans sa capitale* (Paris 1814).

23 A telling example is Maurin, *À la gloire de l'auguste famille des Bourbons* (Dijon 1814) 3: 'Quel contraste frappant nous offrait la puissance / Du fier usurpateur qui régna sur la France, / Avec les douces lois de ton gouvernement!'

24 Ch. Tancré, *Couplets sur le retour du Roi en 1814* (Paris 1814); Antignac, *Le retour de Louis XVIII* (s.l. 1814) and *Stances sur l'heureux retour en France de sa majesté Louis XVIII et des princes de son auguste famille, au mois d'avril* (s.l. 1814) 2.

'weakness'. A popular chanson expressed this configuration of characteristics as follows:

> If too much forgiving is a weakness;
> Praise your own kindness;
> The usurper will be even more annoyed.
> In history we oppose,
> (And this triumph is due to you)
> To all the crimes of his glory
> The weaknesses of your virtue.[25]

Following up on this image, the texts, and some printed images, published *after* the Hundred Days presented a weak King who even expressed his sensibility in tears, an imagery that was in line with the sentimental melodramas of the time and that furthermore underlines how important Louis' empathy for the people was in the eyes of the public.[26]

The apparent attraction of this discourse about Louis as a loving and fragile father is certainly related to the manner in which the political emancipation and its following crises had been reflected culturally in the figure of the father and its representations. In fact, the cultural image of the father had changed considerably since the second half of the eighteenth century. Lynn Hunt has argued that the declining authority of the King before and during the revolution was closely linked to the arrival of the ideal of the good father. A strict and punishing father fitted in with neither the idea of a family as the emotional centre of child-rearing, nor with the emerging notion of the autonomous individual. In the novels and theatre plays of the years 1760 and 1780 the formerly despotic fathers were systematically replaced by magnanimous and sometimes afflicted fathers, who had to suffer because of their children's actions.[27]

25 'Le retour de Louis-le-Désiré', in: *Le chansonnier du bon français, recueil de romances et chansons nouvelles* (Lyon 1815) 15. 'Si trop pardonner est faiblesse ; / Applaudis-toi de ta bonté ; / L'usurpateur, dans sa détresse, / N'en sera que plus irrité. / Nous opposerons dans l'histoire, / (Et ce triomphe t'es bien dû) / A tous le crimes de sa gloire / Les faiblesses de ta vertu'.

26 On the melodrama as a cultural mode of the early nineteenth century see Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven 1995); Michel Hays and Anastasia Nikolopoulou (eds.), *Melodrama: The Cultural Emergence of a Genre* (New York 1996) and most recently Denise Z. Davidson, *France after Revolution: Urban Life, Gender, and the New Social Order* (Cambridge, MA 2007), especially chapters 2 and 3.

27 Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 17-52; see also: Jean-Claude Bonnet, 'De la famille à la patrie', in: Jean Delumeau and Daniel Roche (eds.), *Histoire des pères et de la paternité* (Paris 1990) 235-258.

The theme of fatherhood came up again in an adapted form in the period of Thermidor and during the Directoire, reflecting the political upheaval that had just taken place. On canvas as well as on the stage many old father figures appeared who were both wise and just, but primarily vulnerable, suffering, weak and sometimes even helpless and as a consequence no longer had much power at their disposal. On the side of the spectators these figures evoked ambivalent feelings of compassion, guilt and fear.[28] A particularly important and widely spread classical figure in this context was Oedipus. Oedipus had first become famous through a theatre play by Jean-François Ducis dating from 1778 and through Guillard's opera *Oedipe à Colone* from 1785. In these plays Oedipus is already old and ekes out his miserable existence in Athens, banned from Thebes by his sons. In the years after the revolutionary Terror the Oedipus story saw a true renaissance. In 1796 Guillard's opera, where Oedipus is accompanied only by his daughter Antigone, was even staged officially during the *fête de la vieillesse*. The new theatre version focussed on the final reconciliation between Oedipus and his son Polyneikes, during which the past mistakes of the King were recounted. Artists also took up the theme and most often depicted the lonely Oedipus wandering with Antigone supporting him.[29]

While the topic more or less disappeared from the public sphere under Napoleon, the early Restoration saw a true Oedipus-renaissance. Moreover, the story of Oedipus and Antigone was now directly linked to Louis XVIII and his niece, Marie-Thérèse duchesse d'Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI, thereby developing into an omnipresent Leitmotif of the time.[30] A good example is an etching from June 1814 entitled 'L'Antigone française' and showing Louis and Marie-Thérèse walking through an inhospitable and snowy winter landscape during their exile in Russia. Marie-Thérèse is supporting her uncle and both seem to have been abandoned. The manner in which the print focuses on the painful experience of exile not only connects the returning King to the Oedipus figure but is also in line with the contemporary inclination to view Louis' past suffering as a guarantee for his compassion and understanding for the French people. It also illustrates how the image of Louis

28 Carol Duncan, 'Fallen Fathers: Images of Authority in Pre-Revolutionary French Art', *Art History* 4:2 (1981) 186-202.

29 Régis Michel, 'L'art de salon', in: Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel (eds.), *Aux armes et aux arts!: Les arts de la Révolution, 1789-1799* (Paris 1988) 11-101, especially 52-54 and 71-74; James Henry Rubin, 'Oedipus, Antigone and Exiles in Post-Revolutionary French Painting', *The Art Quarterly* 36:3 (1973) 141-171. The texts of the two versions of *Oedipus at Colonnus* were published as well: Nicola Guillard, *Œdipe à Colone, opéra en trois actes* (Paris 1786) and Jean-François Ducis, *Œdipe à Colone, tragédie remise en trois actes* (Paris 1826). On the cultural significance of the concept of paternal authority during the Restoration see also Elisabeth Fraser, *Delacroix, Art and Patrimony in Post-Revolutionary France* (Cambridge 2004).

30 Louis XVIII was a widower in 1814. His wife Marie-Joséphine of Savoy had died in 1810.

L'ANTIGONE FRANÇAISE

XVIII as a tender father was linked to its female counterpart. The duchesse d'Angoulême indeed played a crucial role as a figure of reconciliation in the early years of the French Restoration.[31]

In this specific historic moment of political transition, and by reacting to the existing insecurities concerning the ideal model of male leadership, the paternal model of masculinity with its emphasis on sensibility apparently fulfilled a need of the public. Emotions were of crucial importance in this transitional discourse that invested with negative connotations the anti-sentimentalism of the Napoleonic model of male authority revolving around the idea of self-command.[32] While this ideal continued to be influential with respect to the soldier as the embodiment of national sovereignty, Napoleon himself was depicted as a tyrant without any compassion.[33] Yet the paternal sensibility ascribed to Louis XVIII had another advantage concerning the reconstruction of political legitimacy. Against the backdrop of the country's political division with respect to its (pre-)revolutionary past, a Bourbon King with a more forceful appearance might easily have aroused the (pre)-revolutionary stories of the despotic King(s) of absolutism. The figure of a tender, sensitive and weak King on the other hand could reconnect to the cultural ideal of a father, which during and after the revolution had already served to picture the reconciliation between a paternal authority and the emancipation of the sons.

31 See in more detail on this aspect Natalie Scholz, 'Past and Pathos: Symbolic Practices of Reconciliation during the French Restoration', *History & Memory* 21:3 (2010) 48-80. On the revolutionary origin of Marie-Thérèse's popularity see Hélène Becquet, 'La fille de Louis XVI et l'opinion publique en 1795: Sensibilité et politique', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* no. 341 (2005) 69-83; on the role of women in the French Restoration Monarchy more generally see Jo Burr Margadant, '"La monarchie impossible" revisitée: Les mères royales et l'imaginaire politique dans la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet', in: Christine Le Bozec and Eric Wauters (eds.), *Pour la Révolution française, en hommage à Claude Mazauric* (Rouen 1998) 411-420.

32 Unfortunately, a thorough study of the relation between emotions and politics under Napoleon has yet to be written. In his pioneering study on the history of emotions William Reddy argues that the fall of Robespierre, and the end of the Jacobin rule of *terreur* meant 'the end of almost all attempts to establish a positive role for emotions in politics', see William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge 2001) 200.

33 On the symbolic role of the male body see Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven 1989).

◀ 'L'Antigone française', etching by Paroy, 15 June 1814.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

In spite of all these apparent advantages, the King as a good and sympathetic father remained under fire from the military-heroic ideal of the manly soldier, as it was used by the clandestine Bonapartist movements. It is perhaps due to this ambivalence that aside from the image of Louis as the good father there was another influential political symbol of male royal authority, namely the historic French King Henri IV. In the mythic image that was constructed around him Henri IV combined the quality of sympathy with the glory of a courageous commander-in-chief, he embodied at one and the same time the good and compassionate father of his people and its heroic military leader. Henri IV was given symbolic weight that, for many different reasons, was quite impossible for Louis XVIII to acquire.[34] However, as a national myth of the monarchy, the figure of Henri IV also formed an easy target for the Bonapartist movement that was gaining strength just when the cult of Henri IV reached its apex.

As it turned out, reintegrating heroism in the representation of monarchy in the figure of Henri IV virtually provoked Bonapartist chansonniers like Pierre-Jean Béranger to react critically to it in an ironic manner. It was an easy task since one only had to allude to the fact that Henri's praised heroism had virtually nothing to do with Louis XVIII, who had 'conquered' his throne only by grace of the allied forces – unlike the implicitly present Bonaparte. As a consequence Louis' tenderness simply turns – once again – into a ridiculously failed heroism:

> Finally, for his extreme clemency,
> Let us drink to the greatest of all Henrys,
> To this King who could by himself
> Conquer both his throne and Paris.[35]

34 On the significance of the myth of Henry IV for the popular imaginary of a nationalised Restoration monarchy see Scholz, *Die imaginierte Restauration*, 155-169. Denise Turrel has recently published a insightful overview of Henry IV as political symbol from the seventeenth through the twentieth century, see Denise Turrel, 'L'Invention d'un signe politique: Le panache blanc d'Henri IV', in: Denise Turrel et al. (eds.), *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques du Moyen Âges à nos jours* (Rennes 2008) 437-458.

35 This song by Béranger is cited in Charles Lenient, *La poésie patriotique en France dans les temps modernes*: II, *XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris 1894) 232. 'Enfin, pour sa clémence extreme, / Buvons au plus grand des Henris, / A ce rois qui sut par lui-même / Conquérir son trône et Paris'.

Fathers and heroes: masculinity in the representation of William I

In his official declaration upon his entrance as the new sovereign of the Netherlands made in Amsterdam on 2 December 1813, William I stated that after his exile of nineteen years he felt like a 'father in the midst of his family household'.[36] The image of the sovereign as a 'father' however was not only conveyed in official statements, but also forms a central element in many of the hundreds of pamphlets published in the years 1813-1815 to celebrate the newly won independence of the Netherlands after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire.[37] Just as with the representation made of Louis XVIII, at the start of his reign William I was seen by the Dutch public as a 'good father' who had returned to his 'despairing children' – his subjects – after the 'dark years' of exile and revolution. The pamphlets and poems that were published between 1813 and 1815 do not form unique works of original political thought, but make use of rhetorical conventions and stereotypes. However they are relevant as historical sources as they played an important role in constituting and representing the new monarchy.[38]

36 'Teruggegeven aan het volk, dat ik nimmer opgehouden heb te beminnen, zag ik mij na negentien jaren als een vader in het midden van zijn huisgezin', Declaration of 2 December 1813. William in the exercising of his duties as King performed the role of an enlightened 'Landesvater'. Good illustrations of this performance are his famous audiences, when all his subjects – high and low – could make personal requests to the King. J.A. Bornewasser, 'Koning Willem I', in: C.A. Tamse (ed.), *Nassau en Oranje in de Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Alphen aan den Rijn 1979) 249. When this article was written, no modern scholarly biography of William I was yet available.

37 This paragraph to a large extent is based on the analysis of ca. sixty pamphlets concerning the return of William and his family and the establishment of his monarchy for the years 1813-1815 in the Early Modern Pamphlets Online collection (Tempo), accessible through the website (www.kb.nl) of the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek).

38 The representation of the Dutch nineteenth century monarchy has long been a neglected subject. One of the most important biographers of William I, Bornewasser, writes scornfully of the 'image' of William I as a subject not be taken too seriously. Bornewasser, *Willem I*, 249. Recently there has been a growth of scholarly interest in the subject: R. Aerts, 'Een staat in verbouwing. Van Republiek naar constitutioneel koninkrijk 1780-1848', in: R. Aerts et al., *Land van kleine gebaren. Een politieke geschiedenis van Nederland 1780-1990* (Nijmegen 1999) 68-72; E.J. Krol, '"Verdienste blinkt op Neêrlands troon". Gelegenheidsgedichten rond de komst van Willem I', *De Negentiende Eeuw* 23 (1999) 23-35; Maria Grever, 'Van Landsvader tot moeder des vaderlands. Oranje, gender en Nederland', *Groniek* (2000) 131-145. See for some theoretical reflection on the role of the pamphlets and caricatures in the representation of the Restoration monarchy: Scholz, *Imaginierte Restauration*, Einleitung.

▲
J.L. Gouband, King William I surrounded by his family and members of court, 1830.
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague.
Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague.

The Dutch nation is represented in these publications as a 'withered' and 'suffering' household that was rescued from further catastrophe by the return of the 'loving father William'. The Dutch were described as 'children', who due to the absence of paternal authority had fought amongst themselves and thus had caused the ruin of the nation. Only the return of the father William had ended the internal strife and the suffering of the 'orphans' and had opened the way to unity and prosperity. 'What great news reaches our ears! Orange has chosen us again as his offspring, what a joyful reversal of fortune!' is the typical expression of one author.[39] The return of the son of the last Stadholder is often portrayed in terms of weather metaphors as the rising sun that disperses the rain and the dark clouds and ends the thunderstorms symbolising the political turmoil in the last decennia. The dark and light metaphors are reminiscent of French publications supporting the house of Bourbon. The Netherlands was a dying plant that started to enjoy new life and growth again under the benign rule of Orange. In many pamphlets the country is described a 'beloved home' (*geliefde woning*), that was invaded by a foreigner but had now been returned to its rightful owners. The Dutchmen were described as siblings united in their love of a common father.[40] Typical of this paternal discourse in the Dutch pamphlets of 1813-1815 are the following lines from a celebratory song for William's first birthday as the new sovereign written by Cornelis van Epen (1774-1841):

> We wish to honour our father
> With our childlike minds;
> If we will live together as brothers;
> We not be stricken by disaster or need,
> Then God will give us his blessings,
> The Netherlands will be truly great![41]

The spouse and the mother of William I, both named Wilhelmina of Prussia, as 'mothers of the nation' are sometimes mentioned in the pamphlets, but do not figure very prominently in the representations of the early Dutch monarchy

39 *De verheugde en God loovende Amstellaren, bij gelegenheid van de komst van Zijne Doorl. Hoogheid, Willem Fredrik, prins van Oranje, &c. &c., te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1813).

40 *Hulde aan Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid, Willem Frederik, Prins van Oranje, door de maatschappij Felix Meritis* (s.l. 1813). In 1815 the theme of brotherly love was used to describe the unification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands under William I. Northerners and southerners were seen as 'brothers', sadly divided by the events of the Dutch Revolt.

41 Cornelis van Epen, *Feestzang bij de heugelijke eerste verjaring van Z.K.H. Willem Frederik* (Amsterdam 1814). 'Wij willen onzen Vader eeren, / Met kinderlijken geest; / Als Broeders steeds te zamen leven, / Zo treffe ons ramp, noch nood; / Zoo zal ons God zijn' zegen geven, / Wordt Neêrland waarlijk groot!'

in the years 1813-1815.[42] The King and especially his eldest son, the heir to the throne, are the key-figures in the publications on the returned house of Orange. Unlike the French case with its emphasis on the niece of Louis XVIII, the imagery of the Dutch monarchy to a large extent was a men's world.

Two types of representation of William I can be discerned in these pamphlets that celebrated the establishment of the Orange rule in 1813-1815. The division between these two types, however, is not absolute. One type of pamphlet, often but not always written by a reformed pastor, interpreted the return of the son of the last Stadholder in essence as a return to Christian religion ('The God of our fathers') and morality after an age of atheism and moral corruption of the revolution and especially Napoleonic rule. The return of Orange, usually described in biblical terms as the 'redemption' (*verlossing*), was seen as a moment of religious and spiritual renewal of Dutch society, the 'new Israel'. In these religiously inspired pamphlets implicit parallels were often drawn between father William who ruled over the nation and God the father who ruled over mankind with fatherly love, without of course implying that William himself had divine characteristics. The Christian faith was depicted as a 'dearly beloved mother' who stood next to the 'fatherly throne' of William as the parents of the Dutch nation. In these writings the sovereign was a caring shepherd as well as loving father. His emphasis of forgiveness (of political sins) and healing of wounds was reminiscent of Christ himself.[43] In the second type, William is seen in first instance as the slayer of despotism and tyranny and the bringer of freedom in the political tradition of the Dutch revolt of the sixteenth century. In this type of pamphlet 'liberator' William made free citizens from the Dutch 'slaves' of the Napoleonic Empire.[44]

Unlike the French situation, in the first years of his rule this image of William as the good father is hardly contested in Dutch public opinion. The image of the sovereign as the father fitted very well into a Dutch enlightened tradition that made 'domestic life' one of the essential characteristics of

42 In the pamphlet *Willem Fredrik, prins van Oranje-Nassau, op den throon der Nederlanden, bij den algemeenen vreede van Europa* (Alkmaar 1815) Wilhelmina, the wife of William, is asked by the poet to be like a mother to her subjects.

43 See for example: B. Verwey, *Plegtige dank- en bidstond na de heuchelijke terugkomst van Zijne Doorl. Hoogheid Willem VI […] in Nederland* (The Hague 1813); idem, *Vaderlandsliefde, godsvrucht, eerbied voor den koning* (The Hague 1815); J.A. van Waenen, *Biddags-leerrede, op bevel van Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid Willem den Eersten, souverainen vorst der Vereenigde Nederlanden, gehouden den 13 van louwmaand, 1814* (Utrecht 1814); 'Dit [vergeven en vergeten van Willem I] volgt zoo grootsch des Heilands treên': Jan Cornelis Venema, *De geboortedag van Z.K.H. Willem den Eersten, souverein vorst van Nederland, plegtstatig gedacht en godsdienstig gevierd […]* (Zwolle 1814).

44 For example: *Willem Fredrik, prins van Oranje-Nassau, op den throon der Nederlanden, bij den algemeenen vreede van Europa* (Alkmaar 1815).

the nation.[45] This emphasis on 'domesticity' (*huiselijkheid*) can at least be traced back to the last half of the eighteenth century. In constructing the 'character' of the Dutch Nation, enlightened authors described the nation as a loving household. Domestic virtues were seen as essentially Dutch virtues.[46] Especially after the disillusionment with revolutionary ideals and the depolarisation of the notion of the fatherland after 1800, the metaphor of the nation as a household gained new importance in the cultural climate of the Napoleonic years.[47] By representing himself as a 'father', William I upon his return connected with an already existing cultural tradition. As no native monarchical tradition or model existed in 1813, the cult of the father was used for the consolidation and legitimation of a political regime that originally had no firm basis.[48] As William himself very well realised, most Dutchmen had all but forgotten the Orange-dynasty during the revolution and Napoleonic era. Only the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire as a result of military defeat against the allied armies had made his elevation first as sovereign Prince, and from 16 March 1815, as 'King' possible.[49] The political discourse of the loving father in the Dutch case did not only function as a means to 'heal' the bond between the nation and the dynasty, as was the case in France, but served as the ideological underpinnings of a new monarchical institution in a very recently unified national state.[50]

45 Krol, '"Verdienste"', 30-31.

46 As Ellen Krol has demonstrated, this emphasis on 'homily life' and domesticity in Dutch literature and cultural life would only grow after 1813. Krol, *De smaak der natie*, 141-189. See also for more information on the political context of the discourse on domesticity: J.C. van Zanten, *Schielijk, Winzucht. Zwaarhoofd en Bedaard. Politieke discussie en oppositievorming, 1813-1840* (Amsterdam 2004) chapter 2.

47 See for an extensive treatment of the Dutch concept of 'Fatherland' (*Vaderland*) in the (post) revolutionary era: N.C.F. van Sas, '"De vaderlandse imperatief". Begripsverandering en politieke conjunctuur, 1763-1813', in: idem (ed.), *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis van de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940* (Amsterdam 1999). Remarkably the author pays hardly any attention to the gender connotation of the concept 'fatherland'.

48 Of course there was some sort of a monarchical tradition: Louis Napoleon had ruled the Netherlands as 'King of Holland' between 1806-1810, but his monarchy – after 1813 – was regarded as foreign and William would rather forget his royal predecessor, although he continued many practices of the Napoleonic state. See for the monarchical experiment of Louis Napoleon: M. van der Burg, 'Transforming the Dutch Republic into the Kingdom of Holland: The Netherlands between Republicanism and Monarchy (1795-1815)', *European Review of History* 17: 2 (2010) 151-170.

49 For establishment of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands: N.C.F. van Sas, *Onze natuurlijkste bondgenoot. Nederland, Engeland en Europa, 1813-1831* (Groningen 1985) 26-112; Lok, *Windvanen*, chapter 2.

50 The Netherlands became a legally a unified national state only with the Batavian constitution of 1798. See for the 'construction' of the Dutch national state. N.C.F. van Sas, *De metamorphose van Nederland. Van Oude Orde naar moderniteit 1750-1900* (Amsterdam 2004).

To what extent can sentimentalism, characteristic of the representation of Louis XVIII, be found in the Dutch pamphlets of 1813-1815? The melodramatic overtones in French discourse as well as the Oedipus-narrative are absent from the Dutch case. Nonetheless sentimental elements did exist in the representation of William's paternal rule.[51] In many pamphlets and lyrical poems 'tears' are mentioned when Dutchmen-children reunite with their returned father. Former radical Batavian revolutionary Willem Anthonie Ockerse (1760-1826) for instance wrote in his *Napoleóntische Redevoeringen* (1815): 'The most beautiful reconciliation [*schoonste zoen*] was reached between the Sovereign and the people under a flood of *tender, manly* tears [*teedere, mannelijke tranen*]'.[52] Interestingly with regards to the topic of masculinity Ockerse explicitly mentions that the tears were tender as well manly thereby avoiding giving the impression that the tears were signs of effeminacy (*verwijfdheid*).[53] The tears were shed by William as well as his subjects. In the lyrical poems and pamphlets William is depicted as full of compassion (*deernis*) en sensitivity (*teerhartigheid*): 'behold, in his fatherly eyes, there is pity [*deernis*] for our fate [...] his heart is deeply moved', the poet Hajo Albert Spandaw (1777-1855) wrote in his *Vaderlandse poëzij* (poetry of the fatherland).[54] According to the poets the Dutch shed many tears in their years of 'suffering' under Napoleonic rule but these become tears of joy when William arrives on Dutch shores. Other sentiments are also expressed. Just as Louis XVIII, William I is a King who 'heals' the 'wounds' of the past era of strife and turmoil. William is often depicted as a 'sympathetic' and 'sensitive' ruler, sharing the sorrows and

51 See for Dutch enlightened sentimentalism in the eighteenth century in relation to gender: D. Sturkenboom, *Spectators van de hartstocht. Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 1998).

52 W.A. Ockerse, *Napoleóntische redevoeringen* (second edition; Amsterdam 1815) 115. My italics.

53 See for effeminacy and manliness in Dutch eighteenth century discourse: Sturkenboom, *Spectators*; S. Dudink, 'Masculinity, Effeminacy, Time: Conceptual Change in the Dutch Age of Democratic Revolutions', in: Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh, *Masculinities*, 77-95.

54 H.A. Spandaw, 'Het lied van Nederland', in: idem, *Vaderlandsche Poëzij en liederen* (Groningen 1817) 11-12.

joys of his subjects.[55] Manly sensitivity, to sum up, was an integral part of the representation of William I as the good father.[56]

In contrast to France, however, this Dutch discourse of the compassionate father was not used to counter the representation of Napoleon as the embodiment of true military masculinity. In the Dutch pamphlets and caricatures between 1813-1815, William I was never depicted as effeminate and lacking in masculinity.[57] Nevertheless, also in the Dutch pamphlets a stark contrast was drawn between the good Dutch manliness of father William and the evil bloodthirsty manliness of the 'tyrant' and 'monster' Napoleon. Both types of manliness were explicitly contrasted in the publications: 'We did not see a tender father, we only saw a warlord', one author wrote about Napoleon as ruler of the Netherlands.[58] In the eyes of the Dutch authors Napoleon was a 'man eater', unable to control his insatiable lust for power. His type of manliness was seen as typically foreign and distinctly 'unDutch' by writers after 1813.[59] The only ruler whose masculinity was actually questioned in the Dutch public opinion after 1813 was the first King of the Netherlands: Louis Napoleon (r. 1806-1810). Louis was described by the pamphleteers as a 'weakling' who lacked 'manly strength' and was associated with 'effeminate extravagance [*luxe*]'.[60] Just as Napoleon could not control his thirst for fighting

55 See for example: *Hulde aan Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid, Willem Frederik, Prins van Oranje, door de maatschappij Felix Meritis* (s.l. 1813); *De verheugde en God loovende Amstellaren, bij gelegenheid van de komst van Zijne Doorl. Hoogheid, Willem Fredrik, prins van Oranje, &c. &c., te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1813); M. Westerman, *Lierzang bij de komst van Zijne Doorl. Hoogheid Willem Frederik George Lodewijk, erfprins van Oranje, in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1813); H.F. Tollens, *Bij de verheffing van Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid Willem Frederik, prins van Oranje en Nassau, op den troon der Nederlanden* (The Hague 1815); *De wensch der Nederlanders, bij de verjaardag van Z.K.H. Willem Fredrik, prinse van Oranje en Nassau, souverein vorst der Vereenigde Nederlanden […]* (Alkmaar 1814).

56 Interestingly there is a notable contrast between the sentimentalist representation of King William and the self-image the political and administrative elite of the Restoration regime. (Male) members of the Dutch post Napoleonic elite were valued above all for the capability to control their political passions and their composure ('bedaardheid'). Political passions were seen after 1813 as the main cause of the 'excesses' of the revolutionary era. Also 'bedaardheid' and deliberate decision making were the salient characteristics of the father-figure. Van Zanten, *Schielijk*, 9; For the French case: Lok, *Windvanen*, 274-275.

57 The body of the King was actually instrumentalised for the staging of the Dutch monarchy. See the contribution of Stefan Dudink in this volume.

58 *Ter blijde inkomste van Zyne Majesteit Alexander, keizer aller Russen […]* (Amsterdam 1814).

59 For example: D. van Staveren, *De Hollandsche tuin door het Fransche roofdier verwoest; door den Oranje-hovenier opgeluisterd: eene allegorische dichtgedachte* (Zaandam s.a.). There existed in 1813-1815 a tradition of anti-Napoleon pamphlets: Lok, *Windvanen*, 127-131.

60 Ockerse, *Napoleóntische redevoeringen* (first edition 1814) 39; (second edition 1815) iv.

and blood, his brother Louis could not control his sexual desires. As a result of his supposed depraved cravings and 'whoring' (*hoereren*) Louis was described as 'exhausted' and 'weak' (*ontmergd*) in caricature.[61]

The loving father however, was not the only articulation of Dutch royal masculinity in the Restoration. As Stefan Dudink has pointed out, there was also a military dimension to the emphasis on Dutch domestic life.[62] Especially in the years 1813-1815, when the young state of William I still felt threatened by French armies, the Dutch housefather was called upon to do his military duty for the fatherland. Especially during the Hundred Days of the return of Napoleon in the spring of 1815, many pamphlet writers urged Dutchmen to defend their homesteads against the tyrant and be willing if necessary to make the ultimate sacrifice, martyrdom for the patria. This military aspect can also be traced to the representation of William I in the public opinion. 'His heart loves peace, but does not fear war', the poet Spandaw writes about William.[63] This emphasis on the willingness to fight for his country does not conflict with his image as sensitive father. Precisely because he is a father who loves his household, William is willing to defend it with every means necessary and to sacrifice himself to protect it. William's manly bravery was not only articulated in words, but also in physical objects: at the end of a meal William was offered upon his first visit to the city of Rotterdam on 9 December 1813, the dessert was decorated with a Corinthian temple with four statues representing manliness (*manhaftigheid*), victory, unity and religion.[64]

The embodiment of the true heroic masculinity in the pamphlets and poems, however, was not the sovereign, but his eldest son, Prince William Frederick (the future King William II) (1792-1849). In many poems the Prince, who had fought with Wellington against the Napoleonic armies in Spain before his return to the Netherlands, is extolled as the true military hero, valiant and brave. For instance he is depicted as a medieval knight slaying the Napoleonic dragon or as a Dutch Theseus defeating the French Minotaur.[65] After Waterloo, where the Prince was wounded, this glorification knew no

61 *De Helsche raadsvergadering met Pluto aan 't hoofd bij de aankomst van Murat in 't rijk der schimmen* (Amsterdam 1815) 5. See for the representation of Louis Napoleon in Dutch Restoration discourse: M.M. Lok, '"Un simulacre de roi". Les représentations néerlandaises du roi Louis sous la Restauration', in: A. Jourdan (ed.), *Louis Bonaparte, roi de Hollande* (2010) 199-211. In some aspects, Louis as King foreshadowed William in his role of father of the nation, for instance in his public visits to great calamities such as floods.

62 Dudink, '"Voor haardsteden en altaren"'; idem, 'After the Republic: Citizenship, the Military and Masculinity in the Making of the Dutch Monarchy, 1813-1814', in: S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and A. Clark, *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture* (New York 2007) 89-109.

63 Spandaw, 'Lied van Nederland'.

64 *Het verheugd Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 1813) 61.

65 A.N. van Pellekom, *Lierzang aan Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid, den heere Willem Frederik George Lodewijk, prins van Oranje […]* (Schiedam 1815).

bounds. The near martyrdom of the Prince at Waterloo is depicted in almost religious terms.[66] This glorification of the concrete military deeds of the son stands in contrast with the image of heroism of the father. In poems the sovereign was named a 'hero' (*held*) but his heroic deeds were described in general and abstract terms and no specific heroic deeds or battlefields were named.[67] This was not possible as William I in essence was an administrator and could not boast of an impressive military career. Nonetheless in many writings William is attributed with military courage. As he was a sovereign with the dignity of King since 1815, William must be a hero, so the poets seem to imply. William's heroism was 'inherited' from his illustrious forefathers ('heldenteelt'), above all the *pater patriae* William the Silent. The heroism and military deeds of his ancestors were somehow embodied in the returned William of Orange.[68]

The contrast between the type of heroism of the father and the son in Dutch representation had a two-sided effect on the Dutch monarchy. On the one hand, the youthful and romantic heroism of the young Prince confirmed the rule of the House of Orange. William I claimed that the blood shed by his sons at Waterloo and Quatre-Bras played an important role in the foundation of the new Dutch state.[69] On the other hand, the boundless glorification of the military deeds of the young Prince no doubt stimulated his self-willed behaviour and his increasing independent stance towards his father, the sovereign, in the years after Waterloo, creating tensions within the Dutch monarchy.[70]

66 See for instance: V. Loosjes, *De veldslag bij Waterloo en dichtproeven* (Haarlem 1817); C. van Epen, *Feest-zang bij de eerste verjaring der overwinning van Waterloo* (Groningen 1816); C. Loots, *Ter eerste verjaring van den gedenkwaardigen veldslag bij Waterloo, op den 18den Junij 1815* (s.a. 1816).

67 For the concept of heroism in Dutch literature of the early nineteenth century see: L. Jensen, *De verheerlijking van het verleden. Helden, literatuur en natievorming* (Nijmegen 2008). Jensen focuses only on historical heroes and not contemporary heroes as the Prince of Orange. Contemporary heroes as Prince William were seen through the prism of historical heroes.

68 See for instance: I. van Haastert, *De schim van Willem den Eersten aan de nakomelingschap, in de staatsomwenteling van 1813 en 1814* (Delft 1814). See also: *Verheugd Rotterdam*.

69 'Eens zal de historie van Quatre-Bras en Waterloo twee schitterende zuilen van den nieuwen Nederlandschen Staat aanwijzen, en gelukkig de vader, wiens zonen het te beurte viel, die zuilen met hunnen arm te helpen vesten en met hun bloed te besproeijen', William I in a speech to the Estates-General on 8 August 1815, J.J.F. Noordziek (ed.), *Handelingen van de Staten-Generaal gedurende de vergaderingen van 1814-1815* (The Hague 1889).

70 Originally the young Prince was the favourite candidate of the British government to be the new Dutch monarch. In 1813 Britain decided to support the more composed and experienced father, despite his services to Napoleon. Bornewasser, 'Willem I', 241-242.

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Willem van Senus (after Joseph Odevaere, Brussels), His Royal Highness William, Prince of Orange, wounded at the moment of victory at the famous battle of Waterloo on 18th June 1815, 1817. Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam.

Conclusion

In both cases the competition of the models of manliness that existed in the early nineteenth century was greatly influenced by the political events of the years 1813-1815. During this relatively short moment of the political transition from Napoleonic Empire to Restoration monarchy French and Dutch political masculinities took shape as part of the attempt to establish the new regime's legitimacy (or to undermine it). The restoration of the Bourbons and the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo gave the loving father-model the upper hand in France over the Napoleonic type of masculinity – for the moment, although the latter certainly did not disappear. The father-type of manliness was represented in the culture of the French Restoration by three figures: the sensitive father Louis XVIII, his niece 'Antigone' Marie-Thérèse duchesse d'Angoulême and the valiant and sympathetic King Henri IV. In the Netherlands the militaristic manliness of Napoleon as well as the supposed effeminate manliness of his brother Louis-Napoleon was discarded after the collapse of Napoleonic rule in the Dutch Departments as 'unDutch' and against the national character. Two types of political manliness would surface as a result of the 'revolution' of November 1813, partly complementary and partly contrasting – the type of the loving father embodied by William I and the young hero-martyr represented primarily but not uniquely by his son, the future William II.

The comparison between the representation of the French and the Dutch Restoration monarchs furthermore demonstrates that the paternal King and the cult of domesticity were not a unique Dutch phenomenon as is often assumed in Dutch historiography. In both the French and the Dutch Restoration the image of the good and forgiving father returning to his despairing children after a period of darkness is central in the early discourse that provided legitimacy for the new regimes. In both cases a language of sentiment and emotions was used in the representation of the father-King. Although only in France this representation acquired more melodramatic overtones and placed more emphasis on mourning and grief over the victims of the revolution, it served in both cases to overcome the legacy of the past political divisions and conflicts.[71]

What was unique, however, in the Dutch example was the way in which William could present his fatherly rule as a typical *national* monarchy. The fact that William I's paternal government was seen by public opinion as a return

71 See the recent study on the significance of mourning for the political culture of the Restoration and July monarchy by Emmanuel Fureix, *La France des larmes: Deuils politiques à l'âge romantique (1814-1840)* (Seyssel 2009).

to native traditions and domestic customs after years of foreign rule forms an important explanation for the uncontested nature of the Dutch royal imagery in the first years of the reign. Also the less important role of women in the Dutch royal representation stands out in comparison to France. It is beyond the scope of this article to explain why the female members of the house of Orange were relatively unimportant in the monarchical representation. Possible explanations might be found in the Protestant tradition of manliness but perhaps also to a certain extent in the (unspoken) continuation of the Napoleonic model of manliness in the representation of William I. One can assert that in France the figure of the duchesse d'Angoulême made it possible to place even more emphasis on the image of the monarchy as forgiving, tender and compassionate, attributes that were also associated with Louis XVIII. In contrast to the personal representation of the French King, which focussed exclusively on his image as a good father, the manliness of William I had a dual character, partly loving and compassionate father with strong (Protestant) religious connotations and partly a hero descending from a long line of (fatherly) heroes. ◀

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