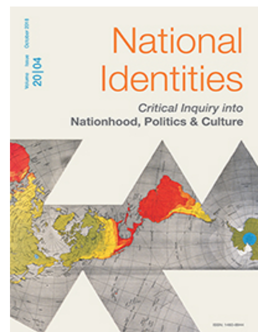

National Identities

ISSN: 1460-8944 (Print) 1469-9907 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cnid20

The experience of state formation. Chronicling and petitioning on the Dutch island of Ameland (c. 1780–1815)

Joris Oddens

To cite this article: Joris Oddens (2019): The experience of state formation. Chronicling and petitioning on the Dutch island of Ameland (c. 1780–1815), National Identities, DOI: 10.1080/14608944.2019.1590809

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2019.1590809

© 2019 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Published online: 04 Jul 2019.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 227

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=cnid20

NATIONAL IDENTITIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2019.1590809

The experience of state formation. Chronicling and petitioning on the Dutch island of Ameland (c. 1780–1815)

Joris Oddens [a,b]

[a]Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies, University of Padova, Padova, Italy; [b]Institute for History, Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands

ABSTRACT
In this article I examine how state formation in the revolutionary and Napoleonic period was experienced by inhabitants of the Dutch island of Ameland. I focus on chronicling and petitioning, two activities that were performed by ordinary people. The microhistorical perspective adopted in this article reveals more continuity in the way political transformations were experienced than an institutional outlook might suggest. Between 1780 and 1815 the Netherlands developed from an oligarchic confederacy of local administrative units into an autocratic and centralized monarchy. Yet the people of Ameland continued to understand political authority and political representation very much in old-regime terms.

KEYWORDS
Age of revolution; civic identity; microhistory; chronicling; petitioning; local republicanism; history of the Netherlands

Introduction

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the island of Ameland was peripheral in more than one respect. While located to the north of Friesland, it did not belong to the Dutch Republic, but to the private possessions of the House of Orange-Nassau. After 1795, Ameland was at the frontier of revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe, and from 1815 onwards it constituted the northern border of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ameland remained entirely rural and about half of its inhabitants were members of the Mennonite Church, which could claim only a tiny percentage of the Dutch population.

The present study looks at Ameland from the old regime to the restoration. There are other local and regional case studies zooming in on the Netherlands during this period. With some important exceptions (Dekker, 2011; Nieuwenhuis, 1986; Rosendaal, 2012; Schutte, 1989; Verstegen, 1989), this literature usually deals with towns (Oddens, 2017). Studies of places elsewhere on the periphery of revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe have likewise been chiefly concerned with urban contexts (e.g. Aaslestad, 2005; Crook, 1991; Davis, 2006; Rowe, 2003a). My focus is on a region that was both peripheral and rural, and my approach is somewhat different from that adopted in most of the available

CONTACT Joris Oddens j.oddens@hum.leidenuniv.nl https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/joris-oddens

© 2019 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

literature. Rather than scrutinizing official documents or printed sources, I have looked for source types that reveal how the people of Ameland experienced political change and state formation on an everyday basis.

The history of experience has long since been a central concern of historians working on the period around 1800. At least three historiographical traditions can be discerned. A first tradition originates in the work of Reinhardt Koselleck and includes advocates and critics of the idea that extreme experiences of rupture caused by dramatic events during the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras may be held responsible for new, 'modern' forms of historical awareness and concepts of time (Baggerman, 2011; Becker, 1999; Berman, 1982; Deseure & Pollmann, 2013; Fritzsche, 2004; Hartog, 2003; Koselleck, 1979; Koselleck & Reichardt, 1988; Terdiman, 1993). A second tradition, which builds on the older German *Alltagsgeschichte*, focuses more in particular on the (military and economic) experience of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars to understand what impact they had on people's lives (Aaslestad & Joor, 2015; Forrest, Hagemann, & Rendall, 2009; James, 2013; Planert, 2007; Planert, 2009). While they ultimately study experience for different reasons, these two traditions have in common that they treat experiences as subjective perceptions and predominantly make use of autobiographical writing to capture these perceptions.

A different approach to experience is taken by social historians who advocate a 'from below' perspective on state formation (Blickle, 1997; Blockmans, Holenstein, & Matieu, 2009; Rowe, 2003b; Te Brake, 1998). In his now thirty year old classic study on the revolutionary movement of the 1780s in the Dutch city of Deventer, Wayne Te Brake – taking his cue from Charles Tilly – declared it the principal task of the social historian 'to reconstruct how ordinary people lived or *experienced* [my italics] the large structural changes, like the formation of national states […], that are fundamental to the course of modern history.' (Te Brake, 1989, p. 6; cf. Tilly, 1985) Interestingly, historians working in this tradition (e.g. for the Netherlands de Jong, 2014; Prak, 1999) hardly make use of autobiographical sources. In this type of social history writing, experience is not reconstructed by looking at (individual) perceptions but through the study of (collective) action. Experience understood in this sense is a concept that, much like 'reception', carries both passive and active connotations (Martindale, 2006, p. 11).

In this article I essentially wish to address Tilly and Te Brake's question – how did ordinary people experience state formation? – combining the social historical and cultural historical approaches to experience. For this I will first and foremost be using an autobiographical source. In recent years much scholarly attention has been devoted to Dutch autobiographies dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but these autobiographies were mostly written long after the events that are described in them took place (Baggerman, 2009, 2011, 2013). One important consequence of this is that such writings tend to focus on dramatic events rather than everyday experiences. A way to capture these instantaneous experiences is to use texts in which authors kept record of events more or less as they happened. A number of these texts are known to have survived from the Netherlands around 1800, but little in-depth study has been made of them so far (a notable exception is Baggerman & Dekker, 2009; cf. for the Southern Netherlands Deseure, 2010; Deseure & Pollmann, 2013). This contribution offers a close reading of one such text, somewhere between a diary and a chronicle, written by Cornelis Sorgdrager, an inhabitant of Ameland.[1]

One extraordinary feature of Sorgdrager's text is that it provides access to numerous instances of collective action, including many moments when petitions were presented to supra-local authorities by groups of inhabitants from his local community. Petitioning as a form of collective action has the advantage that in addition to its performative dimension, it also leaves material traces: the contents of petitions have often been recommended as a means to understand the views and mentalities of ordinary people (Fuhrmann, Kumin, & Würgler, 1998; Heerma van Voss, 2001; Lyons, 2015; Te Brake, 2006; Würgler, 2001), and sometimes also considered as forms of autobiographical writing (Ulbricht, 1996). In this article, I first of all assess the various petitioning *acts* Sorgdrager makes mention of in order to better understand how political change presented itself to the Amelanders; where possible, I consider the *contents* of the petitions as well.

In short, this article investigates, through a study of perceptions and actions, how the inhabitants of an island located on the periphery both of the Netherlands and of revolutionary Europe experienced processes of state formation, such as the imposition of the Dutch unitary state and the incorporation into the French Empire, on an everyday basis. It will show that until well into the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Ameland did not feel that the coming of the nation state should mean the end of local rights and customs (see also Aaslestad, 2005; Broers, 2005; Pröve, 2000; Rowe, 2003a; Weinmann, 2002). I hope for my approach to bring to light that in the case of Ameland this was not, as might be expected, due to the fact that the central state was weaker in the periphery but, quite on the contrary, that the Amelanders' ample experience with the central state institutions of the old regime had instilled in them an unshakeable belief that their local republicanism was not fundamentally incompatible with central state authority.

Cornelis Pieter Sorgdrager (1759–1826), his *Memori Boeck*, and the island of Ameland

At the beginning of 1779, Cornelis Pieter Sorgdrager, a nineteen-year-old inhabitant of Hollum, the largest village on Ameland, started keeping a record of events in a chronicle-like text that he called *Memori Boeck*. Sorgdrager does not inform us about his motives, but it is quite imaginable that he started writing because he believed that a maritime conflict between the Dutch Republic and Great Britain was imminent. Times of war were peak years for chronicling activity (Pollmann, 2016, p. 6), and for the inhabitants of a small island in the North Sea a naval war was obviously an event with great impact. Sorgdrager mentioned the military crisis, however, only at the very end of 1780 when the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in fact broke out (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 6). In the two years that had passed up to that moment he had already recorded a number of events. A selection may be helpful to get a grasp of the diverse contents of the chronicle: a twenty-year-old girl died after having refused to eat for a long time; four young men climbed the church tower to replace the church bell rope (Sorgdrager, who was among them, carved his name in the bell); a new bailiff arrived on the island and was welcomed in its three villages; a horse was thunderstruck and died; dysentery broke out on the island and took its toll; the autumn of 1779 was rainy, the catch of the local fishermen was modest; a ship loaded with various foodstuffs stranded, the crew was saved; a new village council was

elected in Hollum; two inhabitants had a fight, one of them died, an investigation was started; a new medical doctor settled in the village of Ballum; and the summer of 1780 was unusually dry (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 1–6).

The *Memori Boeck* is an exceptional source because it spans its author's entire adult lifetime, a period of over four decades that includes the Dutch revolutionary era broadly defined (c. 1780–1815). The *Memori Boeck* is not the only text written by Sorgdrager that has survived: in 1773, when he was only thirteen, he started recording events in the Mennonite community that he belonged to (Sorgdrager, 1982). This text deals with church affairs such as church services, baptisms, marriages, and conflicts between members of the community. Sorgdrager was himself at the center of these events. While his family owned a textile shop in Hollum (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 55–56), he was also called to be one of the community's lay preachers at a young age; later he became one of its two elders (Sorgdrager, 1982, p. 27).

Sorgdrager belonged to the *Janjacobsgezinden*, the largest of three Mennonite branches that were represented on the island (Gorter, 1889–1890). He preached in his own Hollum as well as in Ballum and Nes, the two other settlements on the island with the status of village and their own village councils. Though he was never involved in local government himself – for the Mennonites on the island public-office-holding was highly exceptional until 1795 and it remained unusual after that (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 50) – he was a well-respected figure also among members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Sorgdrager must have been one of the better-to-do inhabitants of the island. Though Mennonite lay preacher was an honorary position, citizens holding this office did receive donations from members of the parish, which, according to one contemporary source, provided them with more income than the (salaried) Dutch Reformed ministers on the island (*Hedendaagsche historie*, 1786, vol. 2, p. 386).

When Sorgdrager started keeping his *Memori Boeck* in 1779, Ameland counted about three thousand inhabitants (www.volkstellingen.nl). It had become a possession of the House of Orange-Nassau in 1704 and remained so until 1795. In that year an invasion by a French revolutionary army caused the island's sovereign lord, Prince William V of Orange-Nassau, also stadtholder to the Seven United Provinces, to leave the Netherlands for good. Until that moment Ameland, like several other 'free seigneuries' (*vrije heerlijkheden*), was not part of the confederacy of the United Provinces proper, but it was seen as an associated member (Houwink, 1899; de Meester, 1853; Thomassen, 2015, vol. 1, p. 235). Ameland and the other possessions of the House of Orange-Nassau were administered by the Domain Council of Nassau (*Nassause Domeinraad*), the private audit office of the stadtholder in The Hague (Pennings & Schreuder, 1995). Although formally Ameland did not belong to the Dutch Republic, decrees issued on the island were based on the decrees issued by the States-General (*Staten-Generaal*), the national governing body in The Hague, for the territories over which it exerted direct control (*Generaliteitslanden*) (van der Ven, 2008, p. 73; Thomassen, 2015, vol. 1, p. 235). In a cultural sense, the people of Ameland were considered to belong to the Dutch, and more in particular to the Frisian, nation.[2] Most of the islanders were content with their status as subjects of the Prince of Orange-Nassau, and most remained so when a violent opposition arose against William V, in his capacity of stadtholder, from the early 1780s onwards. While the position of the inhabitants of Ameland on the political spectrum can be linked to the particular constitutional status of the island, it was in itself not a unique position.

Within the Dutch Republic as well there were towns and rural areas where the majority of the population supported the stadtholder, even after 1795, when William found himself in English exile (e.g. Dekker, 2011, pp. 111–118; Kops, 1905; Kuiper, 2002, ch. 6).

In another sense, too, political life on Ameland was on closer inspection less exceptional than its status of 'independent' island suggests. The countryside of the Dutch Republic (its western half in particular) counted many 'regular' seigneuries (*hoge heerlijkheden* and *ambachtsheerlijkheden*) that were governed in a way not so different from that of the free seigneury Ameland (de Blécourt, 1912; Prins, 2015). Like the Prince of Orange, the local lords often did not live in their seigneuries, but only occasionally visited. The daily government was left to local officials who were appointed by the lord. There were, of course, differences between having for a lord a member of the renowned House of Orange-Nassau or a relatively insignificant city-dwelling patrician, but in many cases the reverence paid to local lords seems not to have been dissimilar to that paid to the princes of Orange in the stadtholderian possessions (Dekker, 2011, pp. 54–61).

On the island itself the prince was represented by an official combining the offices of bailiff (*baljuw* or *drossaard*) and steward (*rentmeester*), who was assisted by a substitute bailiff. Furthermore, each of the three villages had a council of twelve members, known as the *vroedschap*, as in parts of the Dutch Republic[3], or simply 'the twelve.' Every other year, the citizens of every village – those whom the prince had granted local citizenship rights – elected the village council. Its twelve members then nominated eight men from their midst, out of whom the prince picked two burgomasters and two proxies (*volmachten*). The prince also appointed the bailiff, the substitute bailiff, and most of the lower officials on the island. The proxies and sometimes the entire village council took care of the daily business of government in the villages; the proxies also represented the interests of the islanders vis-à-vis the sovereign. The six burgomasters formed the court of law (*gerecht*), under the presidency of the bailiff or his substitute and assisted by a secretary.

An important source of income for the island society was the right to participate in the salvage of ships that had stranded on the coast of Ameland. The prince, the island officials, and the islanders who took part in the salvage all had a right to a reward equal to a part of the value of the ships and their cargo. The citizens involved in the salvage were divided into three categories: wagoners, salvors working on the beach, and salvors working in the warehouses. Every year the citizenry of each of Ameland's three villages elected two delegates (*gecommitteerden*) for each of the categories. These elections were important events in the island life. The twelve delegates who oversaw the salvage process received a larger share of the benefits and were looked upon with respect by the island's population (*Hedendaagsche historie*, 1786, vol. 2, pp. 384–386). After every election, Sorgdrager noted in his *Memori Boeck* the names of those who had become the new delegates.

Overall, the prince had extensive powers on the island, but his power was restricted in the matter of taxation. There were no general taxes on Ameland. Each of the three villages collected taxes independently and annually contributed resources for the expenses of the island as a whole according to a quota that the lord established together with delegates from the village councils (*Hedendaagsche historie*, 1786, vol. 2, pp. 378–381; Houwink, 1899, ch. 2).

Island of stability in a sea of storms: 1780–1795

During the 1780s the Dutch Republic came under the spell of the Patriot Revolt, essentially a series of local revolutions organized from the bottom up by citizens who were, for an amalgam of reasons, unhappy with the way their communities were governed. These 'Patriots' concurred in their discontent about the vast powers of the stadtholder Prince William V of Orange-Nassau, including the extensive privileges the stadtholder held in many towns with regards to the appointment of local officeholders (Gabriëls, 1990, ch. 5 and 6). While local communities throughout the Dutch Republic challenged the prerogatives of the stadtholder by dismissing local officials, electing their own 'representatives,' and designing new government regulations, the prince's subjects on Ameland had no such intentions. In 1785 Cornelius Julius van Burmania Rengers, a member of a patrician family of Frisian origin, arrived on the island to become the new bailiff. The next year a Dutch Reformed minister accepted a position elsewhere in the stadtholderian domains and left Ameland. The order the minister maintained when pronouncing blessings during his farewell sermon, carefully recorded by Sorgdrager, who was present at the sermon, probably provides the best indication of the hierarchy as it was still perceived by the inhabitants of the island: mentioned first was the prince, then the prince's wife and children, followed by the bailiff and substitute bailiff, the proxies and burgomasters, and finally the village council (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 24–25).

Sorgdrager's chronicle shows him to be well-informed about the political situation in the world beyond the island and aware of Ameland's ambivalent status on this stage. When referring to the Anglo-Dutch war (1780–84) and Ameland's attempts to maintain a politics of neutrality in this conflict, he states that 'Ameland [is] a free country and does not belong to the Seven Provinces.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 11) When writing about the threat of an invasion by the Habsburg armies from the Austrian Netherlands in 1785, he refers to the Dutch Republic as 'our republic.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 18) The Patriot-Orangist conflict was initially understood by Sorgdrager in the familiar terms of the conflict between supporters and opponents of a powerful prince of Orange (*staatsgezinden* and *prinsgezinden)*, which had periodically cropped up throughout the Dutch Republic's history (Klein, 1995, ch. 7; Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 9, 16, 22, 29). Only in the month of September 1787, weeks before a Prussian army invaded the Dutch Republic, broke the resistance of the Patriot movement, and reinvested power in the institution of the stadtholder, did Sorgdrager make note of a rumor that 'Patriots' were on their way to the island, after which all proxies and burgomasters gathered and declared that they would be welcomed with muskets, pitchforks, and sticks (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 30).

Sorgdrager also mentions disagreements between inhabitants of the island and the new bailiff Burmania, but these conflicts had little to do with the Patriot-Orangist conflict. Rather, disagreements happened when the inhabitants felt that the status quo on the island was being challenged. In 1787, inhabitants protested about the number of *hofdiensten,* labor services they were legally bound to perform for their sovereign lord, the bailiff required of them.[4]

In December 1791, when in the Dutch Republic the Patriot movement had been suppressed and the stadtholderian oligarchy had been fully restored, a more serious conflict arose, this time between the bailiff and the village councils. At the biannual election of the councils, the bailiff insisted in the council meetings of the three villages that the

traditional nomination of eight of the twelve elected council members would not take place because, he argued, this procedure had always been a source of conspiracy and disorder (Minutes, 1791–1793). Instead he proposed that the prince would henceforth be free to choose the new proxies and burgomasters not from the eight nominees but from all twelve members of the village council. The council members did not dare to stand up against the bailiff during the meetings. However, when Burmania subsequently drafted a petition to the Domain Council requesting that this change of procedure be approved, in Hollum only seven members agreed to sign it, while the other five refused (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 44).

The counter-petition that the five dissenting council members of Hollum in turn sent to the Domain Council gives insight into their thinking. They argued that since time immemorial and at the very least since Ameland had belonged to the House of Orange-Nassau, it had been the custom to nominate eight members from among the twelve council members. As village council they represented the body of the citizens, and they dreaded the judgement of the distinguished citizens of the community, who would accuse them of giving away civil liberties should they accept this violation of established privileges. They assured the Domain Council that the citizens of Hollum were satisfied with the current procedure and begged the Domain Council and the prince to honor their privileges (Minutes, 1791–1793).

The practice of petitioning the highest political authority for intervention in case of local conflicts or infringement on traditional rights was widespread in early modern Europe (Holenstein, 2009, pp. 25–26; Würgler, 2001, pp. 31–32). When treating such authorities as appellate institutions citizens and local authorities granted legitimacy to the central state. The people of the *vrije heerlijkheden* and the *Generaliteitslanden* sent their petitions directly to their overlords in The Hague – the Domain Council (representing the Prince of Orange) and the States-General respectively – so even in geographically and economically peripheral areas such as Ameland, they were more used to interacting with central government institutions than the inhabitants of the seven provinces constituting the Dutch confederacy, who appealed to the respective sovereign States in their provincial capitals.

Early in 1792 a member of the Domain Council came to the island to hear both parties. This visit resulted in a decree, issued the following November, that the nomination procedure provisionally remained suspended (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 46). While preservation of the status quo was of such importance to the citizens that they did not shy away from a confrontation with a bailiff to secure their rights, the office of the bailiff was itself an integral part of the state of affairs they wished to preserve, and their adversary Burmania became an ally as soon as the status quo faced a more serious threat.

Resisting democracy: 1795–1798

In January 1795 the Dutch Republic was invaded by a French revolutionary army supported by troops of Patriots. The stadtholderian oligarchy was dismantled, and William V saw himself forced to go into English exile. In exchange for an indemnity the French left the government to the Patriots, who had started to call themselves 'Batavians' – after an ancient Germanic tribe – and founded the Batavian Republic (Grijzenhout, van Sas, & Velema, 2013; Jourdan, 2008; Rutjes, 2012).

For the inhabitants of the – now former – stadtholderian domains this 'Batavian Revolution' inaugurated a period of insecurity about their constitutional status. Their sovereign lord had left, and the Domain Council was dissolved (Pennings & Schreuder, 1995, pp. 51–52). In March 1795 officials from the new regime arrived on Ameland from the Frisian capital Leeuwarden to assess William V's former possessions. Sorgdrager reports great anxiety among the islanders because they believed that Ameland would be incorporated into Friesland (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 53). It is clear from his writings that he himself, as much as the other islanders, was struck by the speed with which the world around him was changing: 'I would have to write oh so much,' he wrote six months after the start of the revolution, 'if I were to record everything that is currently happening.'[5] (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 57). At the end of 1795 he concluded that it had been an extraordinary year (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 66).

Yet, while food on the island was scarce and the islanders were burdened by the quartering of French and Dutch soldiers, the actual impact of the revolution on the way Ameland was governed was low when compared to the situation in the former Dutch Republic, where local rulers were dismissed and new local governments were constituted by popular vote (e.g. de Bruin, 1986). The bailiff and his substitute remained in office as did the members of the village councils. In early August the citizens of Hollum were summoned to its Dutch Reformed church where they were addressed by a delegation from the States-General in The Hague, which had been revolutionized and now provisionally served as the supreme power in the Batavian Republic. The delegates informed them that the elections for the village councils would take place at the usual time, but there would be no nomination procedure and the new council members receiving most votes would immediately be proclaimed proxies and burgomasters. Furthermore, they were told that existing laws and regulations as well as the tax system were to remain in place (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 61–62). Sorgdrager noted that all inhabitants of the village were reassured by this outcome.

Sorgdrager's report of what had gone on at the village gathering was based on hearsay, because as a Mennonite he was not allowed to take part. This was another indication that the revolution on Ameland proceeded at a slower pace than in the Dutch Republic, where the privileged status of members of the Dutch Reformed Church had formally been abolished in the first months of 1795 (van der Burg, Boels, & Loof, 1994). That Sorgdrager now enjoyed full citizenship rights as far as the new regime in The Hague was concerned became clear when he received, toward the end of March 1796, an official letter that he was considered eligible to take part in the election for the National Assembly. This assembly, which replaced the States-General and can be considered the first modern parliament in Dutch history (Oddens, 2012), had started its sessions on 1 March. Due to fierce resistance to this new institution in Friesland, the election of deputies from this province had encountered a delay (Kuiper, 2002, ch. 3). Two months later than elsewhere in the Batavian Republic, however, elections also came to Ameland, which for administrative purposes was now considered to be part of Friesland. Sorgdrager, under the impression that a militia that had arrived on the island shortly before the election was there to force all citizens to vote, went to the Dutch Reformed church where the voting was taking place and, going by an unusually personal entry in his *Memori Boeck,* passed the most terrible moments of his life.

He describes how, filled with anxiety and unease, he joined others in the church. The doors were closed, and a guard 'who was very cruel' saw to it that no one left, 'not even to urinate'[6] (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 70–72). The procedure was explained, and when Sorgdrager asked whether something bad would come of it were he to refuse, he got the ominous reply that he was to await what would happen. They voted twice through secret ballot and from their midst elected an elector and a substitute elector who turned out to be among the present proxies and burgomasters. They were to travel to an electoral college in Friesland. That day Sorgdrager went home, distressed and with a guilty conscience, because he had taken part in a procedure that he did not understand out of fear of the consequences of an abstention. Looking back at the event a few weeks later, he added that the citizens of Hollum considered themselves 'the unhappiest people,' because they had been forced to vote against their will[7] (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 72).

The mental state of the citizens of Hollum seems to point to a sense of rupture caused by revolutionary events. There is, however, another way of looking at their experience. The citizens of Hollum had undergone a crisis of conscience when they were called to participate in the elections for the National Assembly. This was not so much due to the fact that they were now dealing with the political enemies of their former sovereign lord, the beloved Prince of Orange-Nassau, but because of their strong belief that it was not in the natural order of things for them to interfere in matters of sovereign power. Once it had become clear that the National Assembly in The Hague presented itself as the new supreme power at the national level, the citizens of Hollum, though they declined the principles of representative government, in a sense immediately recognized its legitimacy through their actions. Until 1795, when they were dissatisfied with the way business was dealt with on the island, inhabitants and local authorities alike had appealed to the Domain Council by sending a petition. Now, with the Domain Council gone, they continued to dispatch petitions to The Hague.

In April 1796, Sorgdrager makes mention of a petition being presented in The Hague in which the village council requested that the quartering of militia members be suspended (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 73). In October many citizens from across Ameland signed a petition to the National Assembly, drawn up this time by bailiff Burmania, in which they complained against the introduction of a customs officer and a number of other 'novelties.' The petitioners claimed that they had been a free people since 1400 and reminded the National Assembly of the promises that had been made to them by delegates from the States-General the previous year (*Dagverhaal*, vol. 4, 1796, p. 453; Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 77–78). The arguments developed by Burmania and sanctioned by the citizens with their signatures were not fundamentally different from those employed by the village councils *against* Burmania in 1792.

The way the citizens of Hollum conceived of their place in politics did not alter significantly even after January 1798, when radicals in the National Assembly staged a coup d'état with the support of the French ambassador and high-ranking military officers of the French-Batavian army. The coup was primarily directed against moderate members of the assembly and those provincial governments that had since 1795 resisted all attempts to turn the former confederacy of the Seven United Provinces into a unitary state, as had been the ambition of the radicals from the start of the revolution. The leaders of the coup installed a regime that pushed through its political agenda by carrying

out purges on all levels of government (Oddens, 2012, ch. 7 and 8). The first real effect of the new political wind blowing from The Hague was the imposition of a one-off income tax of 8 per cent intended to restore the Dutch fleet (Enthoven, 2012). This national tax was the first of its kind not only on Ameland but also in the rest of the Batavian Republic. In response, the citizens of Hollum decided in a village meeting to send delegates to The Hague to present a petition in which they requested to be exempted and listed, as Sorgdrager put it, 'the former liberties that we have always had.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 85)

In early April an agent of the new government arrived on the island. He was shocked by what he found: 'On the island of Ameland everything had remained in its old despotic state [...] as if [the revolutions of] 18 January 1795 and 22 January 1798 had not happened.' (quoted in Kuiper, 2002, p. 470) After that, things on Ameland were rapidly brought onto an equal footing with the situation in the rest of the republic. The bailiff Burmania and his substitute were arrested and taken to the mainland. The thirty-six members of the three village councils, whom the islanders had previously agreed to continue in office as long as the revolution was going on, were dismissed, and twelve others were provisionally appointed (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 85). Only two members of this new government were from Hollum; most of them were from the village of Nes, where support for the new regime was stronger than elsewhere on the island. The government in The Hague also had a proclamation posted confirming that Ameland now belonged to the Batavian Republic. Soldiers planted a liberty tree in Hollum, as had happened throughout the republic three years earlier. The liberty tree was of great symbolic significance because it served to show to the villagers that the revolution had prevailed at last. A tree that had been planted by the first militia that had come to the island in 1795 had been removed by the villagers as soon as the militia had left (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 64). This time it was announced that damaging the tree was a capital crime. Sorgdrager recorded that the entire community of Hollum – so Dutch Reformed and Mennonite inhabitants alike – refrained from joining in the festivities that accompanied the planting ceremony, leaving it to soldiers and 'young girls from Nes' to dance around the tree. When a few days later all citizens were summoned to swear an oath against the stadtholderian oligarchy, no one in Hollum showed up (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 86–87).

Petitioning without end: 1798–1813

The 'Batavian reign of Terror,' as the most revolutionary phase of the Batavian Era has been dubbed (van Sas, 2011), was to be short-lived. Before it was ended by a moderate countercoup that took place in June 1798, the radical regime produced and ratified a constitution based on the principles of unitarism. The new moderate regime preserved the constitution and adopted the unitarist agenda of its predecessor, but took the sharpest edges off its divisive politics. On Ameland the most ardent members of the municipal council were dismissed, but the rest stayed on. In August Burmania temporarily returned to the island as steward of the former possessions of the Prince of Orange-Nassau on Ameland (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 90–92). In his *Memori Boeck* Sorgdrager again turned to writing about food scarcity, the burdens of quartering, and the dangerous situations local fishermen found themselves in as a result of the ongoing war with England.

In the summer of 1799 a coalition of British and Russian troops landed near Den Helder and invaded the northernmost part of the province of Holland (van Uythoven, 1999). On

Ameland this led to a full counterrevolution. A false rumor that Amsterdam had been taken by the English and the visit of an agent who claimed to represent the Prince of Orange were enough to set events in motion on 9 October. In Hollum all citizens wore orange ribbons and openly rejoiced at the news. The liberty tree was immediately cut into pieces and festively replaced by an 'orange tree' crafted by village women two days later. A publication was read on behalf on the municipal council in which the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange was reconfirmed. It all proved wishful thinking a few weeks later, when the news arrived that the Anglo-Russian troops were evacuating the Batavian Republic after an armistice had been signed. The erection of a new liberty tree in early December led the islanders to conclude that Ameland had returned to the Batavian Republic (Records, 1799; Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 104–109).

In the spring of 1800 new taxes on property and income were announced. The islanders immediately took action and presented a petition to the Representative Body, the successor to the National Assembly in The Hague, requesting exemption (Oddens, 2015, pp. 263–270). When this proved of no avail, Sorgdrager himself drew up another petition that was presented to the municipal council, which was sent on to the newly formed departmental government of the Eems of which Ameland was now part (Kamphuis, 2005, ch. 2) – the provinces had ceased to exist as administrative units in 1799 – and finally again to the Representative Body. When the islanders got no response and instead continued to be pressed to pay, third and fourth petitions followed soon after that (Petitions, 1801). The Representative Body finally declined all their requests for exemption in March 1801, and dispatched a commission to the island that was to enforce payment. Islanders who were made to pay a fine in addition to overdue taxes responded with a petition of complaint (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 114–120).

The recurrent taxations brought great unrest to the island communities, but Sorgdrager also saw cause for optimism. In 1801 a new coup in The Hague essentially ended the Batavian Revolution, restored the old provinces – a new constitution also stipulated that Ameland now belonged to the countryside of Friesland, which returned as an administrative entity – and paved the way for the return of erstwhile supporters of the stadtholder (Alkemade, 2014; Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 121). The liberty tree in Hollum went missing at night only days after the coup. In the spring of 1802 Sorgdrager still felt that 'everything slowly seems to be returning to the old ways of government,'[8] but initial hopes that the prince would return proved illusory (William V was to die in Brunswick in 1806) (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 124). What was more, the structure of local government continued to be subject to changes. First an official with the title of *drost* arrived on the island with a secretary. This official released the municipal council from its duties and appointed a new council of only two members for the entire island, but then left the island to accept a position elsewhere and was not replaced. In 1804 the Frisian government appointed a council of two burgomasters in each of the three villages (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 126. 130, 133).

Major institutional shifts at the national level of government followed again in 1805 and 1806. Napoleon tightened his grip on the Dutch state and in April 1805 installed Rutger-Jan Schimmelpenninck, a former Patriot, as the powerful head of state in a presidential system (Hagen, 2012). Schimmelpenninck's regime lasted little over a year but was very productive in terms of legislative activity. During this year a national tax system was introduced for the first time in the history of the Netherlands (Postma, 2017, ch. 9; van Sas, 2004, p. 301). Sorgdrager writes that 'ordinances [and] publications were read in great

numbers with regards to general taxes for the Republic including our Ameland where so far we have never known such a thing.'[9] (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 138–139) The burgomasters, though they had received their mandate from authorities on the mainland and no longer from the citizens, were all the same natives of the island, and they behaved just like the local officials before them had always behaved: they presented multiple petitions on behalf of the local community to the supra-local authority they deemed competent in the matter, in this case the Frisian government, and requested exemption from the *verponding*, a land tax that had previously existed in the Dutch Republic – if not on Ameland – and was maintained in the new tax system.[10] When none of their requests were granted, the six burgomasters of the three villages called a meeting with representatives of the three local communities and decided that a new petition was to be drawn up and presented to Schimmelpenninck in The Hague (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 138–139).

Schimmelpenninck handed the matter over to the Frisian government's audit chamber, but though this was chaired by Ameland's former bailiff Burmania, the islanders never heard of their petition again. The pressure to pay the *verponding* intensified after Napoleon had replaced Schimmelpenninck with his brother Louis, who was proclaimed king of the newly created Kingdom of Holland (van der Burg, 2010; Jourdan, 2010). In addition to mentioning the land tax, which all citizens continued to refuse to pay, Sorgdrager writes about the poverty on the island and the islanders' fear of forced conscription, a particularly pressing issue among the non-arms-bearing Mennonite community. In the autumn of 1806 their worries proved justified when the citizenry was summoned to gather in the school and volunteers for the army were called for, while it was announced that more coercive measures would be taken should a sufficient number of volunteers fail to present themselves (Forrest, 1989; Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 142; van der Spek, 2016). When indeed no Amelanders enrolled, the burgomasters were made to understand that the island would have to contribute thirteen men. They responded by calling citizens of the different local communities to Ballum for an island gathering, which decided to dispatch a delegation to the mainland to request an exemption. Another delegation was commissioned to once again ask for exemption from the *verponding* and present their request directly to the king. This time the islanders had a petition drawn up by a professional scribe (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 149). The delegation traveled with the petition to the Loo palace in the east of the kingdom, where Louis Napoleon resided at that moment, but they were not granted access to the king himself and ended up handing their petition to his master of requests instead.

Both requests for exemption were promptly denied, but the islanders were only really put to the test from 1810 on, when Napoleon, after having incorporated the Kingdom of Holland into his own Empire, confronted them with a much more pro-active administration than his brother had been able or willing to impose (Joor, 2000; Verheijen, 2017, ch. 7–9). Sorgdrager's entries during the three years of incorporation display a constant tone of pessimism and despair. They are dominated by the forced conscription of ever more and younger men; the frequent visits of customs officers who raided the houses of the islanders in search of contraband and arrested the smugglers; and the escalating conflict over the land tax: a first tax collector was threatened and left the island, but a second collector came with police officers whom he quartered in the houses of those still resisting until they finally gave in. 'Oh how we are living dark times these days,' Sorgdrager summarized the situation at the end of 1811, 'there is no money to be made, our

children are being forced to fight, foodstuffs are expensive and there is no prospect of improvement.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 162)

The persistence of local republicanism: 1813 and after

When change finally did come, it took the islanders by surprise, but it did not take them long to respond (cf. Uitterhoeve, 2013). On 17 November 1813 word reached Ameland, falsely it would later turn out, that the principal northern towns Groningen and Leeuwarden had been taken by the Prussians. Immediately people took to the streets singing Orangist songs and the church bells were rung. Sorgdrager thanked and praised the Lord for their salvation. A few days later local youngsters planted a tree that symbolized the House of Orange. This happened at a moment when it was by no means clear, not even in Amsterdam or The Hague, that the Orange family would return to power. Almost a month passed before it was officially announced on the island that Willem Frederick, the late stadtholder's son, had arrived in the province of Holland and agreed to take upon himself the sovereignty of a new kingdom of the Netherlands. A strong indication that the islanders saw the founding of the Kingdom of the Netherlands through the conceptual lens of the old regime can be found in the fact that only a week later local officials from the island traveled to the prince in The Hague to reclaim, as Sorgdrager reported from hear-say, 'our old liberties.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 170–171).

I found no traces of this request, but we might be able to get a faithful impression of the message conveyed in it by looking at a petition that was drawn up six months later in the county of Buren, in the center of the kingdom. The situation of Buren was in many respects comparable to that of Ameland. Buren and Ameland had about the same number of inhabitants (www.volktellingen.nl). Like Ameland, Buren had been one of the autonomous free seigneuries that recognized for their lord stadtholder William V, who held the title count of Buren. During the 1780s both the Amelanders and the Burenaars had overwhelmingly rejected the Patriot movement.[11] Moreover, whereas during the Batavian revolution Ameland had been incorporated into Friesland against the will of the islanders, the inhabitants of Buren had fruitlessly resisted the annexation of their county by the province of Gelderland. In June 1814 two citizens claiming to speak on behalf of almost the entire community of Buren presented to the Sovereign Prince William Frederick (as was his official title at the time) a petition in which they requested that

> the established county of Buren and its citizens be reinstated in their old and lawful rights and privileges, give them back their own government and local rulers, and that everything be restored to its former state, such as it was before the ill-fated year 1795, so that the citizens may respire again under the much-prayed-for sovereign rule of Your Royal Highness. (van Schilfgaarde, 1935, p. 274)

The monarch responded that he could not grant the request of the citizens of Buren because this would go against the new constitution, which united the entire Dutch people under one government, while adding that he would, 'in light of the longstanding relations between the country of Buren and His ancestors, gladly take their objections [*sic*] into consideration as much as the makeup of the state allows for.'[12] (quoted in van Schilfgaarde, 1935, p. 275).

It seems safe to assume that his subjects on Ameland received a similar answer. Perhaps more so than in the case of Buren, the monarch was also in a position to accommodate the Amelanders. In 1815 King William I (as had become his title a month earlier) sent to the island a member of a patrician family originating from Gelderland whose noble status had been confirmed in the new kingdom. Walraven Robert Jacob Dirk, baron of Heeckeren, who at a young age had been page to stadtholder Willem V, was appointed *grietman* of Ameland. The office of *grietman* was new to the island of Ameland, but it had a long history in the province of Friesland, where *grietmannen* had held administrative and legal powers since the Middle Ages (Eekhoff, 1848). To the islanders the new official title meant little; Sorgdrager simply penned in his *Memori boeck* that 'our new steward ("rentmeester") […] has arrived on the island.' (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 174) The Van Heeckeren family would remain on the island until 1894, when the third baron in succession, by that time holding the title of *burgemeester*, was finally replaced.[13]

In the perception of the islanders much else seems to have returned to its old state as well. In December 1814 new delegates overseeing the marine salvage were elected by the citizens of Ameland's three villages, something that, as Sorgdrager pointed out, 'had not been done for some years'; the previous time it took place seems to have been in 1807 (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 173, 146). The reprise of this old practice is a good example of the persistence of local republicanism in the new Kingdom of the Netherlands. The election was a local event in which members of the island community were united; it was a significant event in the life of the islanders because the salvage was crucial to the island economy, and those entrusted with the responsibility of serving as a delegate consequently enjoyed a position of status in the island society. It was a democratic practice that continued regardless of the form of government, with the exception of the short interval during the Napoleonic years. It long preceded and outlasted the Batavian type of representative democracy, which the islanders rejected. It also survived the coming of the centralized restoration monarchy under King William I, as is testified by the very last sentence of Sorgdrager's *Memori Boeck*, written two months before his death: 'On 13 June 1826 new delegates have been elected here, but they have remained the same.'[14] (Sorgdrager, 1983, p. 192)

Conclusion

In 1803 Cornelis Sorgdrager painted a dramatic picture of the situation the people of Ameland found themselves in. They worried that conscription would be imposed on the islanders to man the warships that were preparing for an expedition to England. Meanwhile the English had lined up a great number of ships off the Dutch coast. The local fishermen sailed out with immense fear of being captured. Food had become unaffordable, and diseases afflicted the island, claiming many victims. Sorgdrager ended this entry with the statement that 'we nor our ancestors haven't even come close to ever experiencing times such as the times that we are now living.'[15] (Sorgdrager, 1983, pp. 130–131) It is precisely statements of this type that have long been taken as evidence for the supposition that around 1800 the unsettling experience of the political revolution and the disruptive effects of the revolutionary wars caused people to feel for the first time in history that they were once and for all cut off from their own pasts. We now understand that this is too schematic a view. Experiences of rupture as recorded by Sorgdrager are not

unique for people living in the period around 1800, nor do they necessarily indicate a permanent state of consciousness (Pollmann, 2017; Pollmann & Kuijpers, 2013).

This does not alter the fact that the Netherlands, over the course of four decades, made a profound transition from a confederacy of local administrative units to a centralized monarchy. This contribution has attempted to provide a microhistorical perspective on how this transition was experienced, taking into account both perceptions and actions. The example of the inhabitants of the village of Hollum on the island of Ameland shows that for a local community with a strong attachment to the hierarchical order of the old regime, political novelties such as national elections and the extension of citizenship rights, introduced against the backdrop of food scarcity, the burdens of quartering, and intimidation, could indeed be experienced as deeply distressing. The people of Hollum reacted by turning away from all things new in the sphere of politics. After the highly traumatic experience they had undergone at the occasion of the elections for the National Assembly in 1796, no one or only a handful of citizens appeared at later moments of democratic participation, such as elections for subsequent legislative assemblies or referendums about draft constitutions. When national feasts were organized (Grijzenhout, 1989), the inhabitants of Hollum abstained from taking part and left the stage entirely to members of the militia that were quartered in their village.

The nonparticipation of (almost) the entire village community shows that this attitude should not – or at least not only – be seen in the context of the Mennonite tradition of political non-involvement. More in general, Mennonitism and revolutionary enthusiasm were certainly not mutually exclusive around 1800. Mennonites in the Dutch Republic did not refrain from actively taking part in the various phases of the Dutch revolution, and were often even at the forefront of it (e.g. Kuiper, 1973; Kuiper, 2006; Oddens, 2010; Van Cleave, 2014; cf. also Urry, 2006) While the Mennonites present on Ameland belonged to more conservative branches that disapproved of those challenging the existing social and political order, they had this in common with most of the Dutch Reformed islanders (and also with more homogeneously Dutch Reformed communities such as the county of Buren). The status quo on Ameland entailed the Mennonites' exclusion from the sphere of formal politics, but not a stance of political non-involvement on their part. As a Mennonite community leader and role model, Sorgdrager discussed politics and participated in activities that aimed to defend the 'old liberties' of the community; he was the author, for instance, of at least one petition.

The inhabitants of Hollum rejected representative government in the new, national way it was now conceived. To them political representation happened on the level of local government – as it had since time immemorial – or not at all. The paradox here is that while they refused to have any part in the new form of government by participating in its new rituals, they did grant legitimacy to the subsequent new regimes by resorting to the older ritual of petitioning. They were not indifferent to the new nation state (Zahra, 2010) because they actively engaged with its institutions. The legislative assemblies of the Batavian Republic and the French-born king of the Kingdom of Holland, however, represented to them what the Stadtholder-Prince of Orange-Nassau and his domain council had represented under the old regime: a supra-local sovereign authority that served as an appellate institution for local conflicts and that had the power to rule as it saw fit.

Knowing the outcome of the process of state formation that took place around 1800, one is easily led to conclude that the citizens of Ameland were missing the very point

of the political transformations they were confronted with when they continued to petition for exemption from national taxes and other novelties. It is tempting to discard their actions as an aberration and to consider the many Dutch – and European – citizens who appeared more sympathetic to change to be more in tune with the times. It is true that Ameland was an island with an unusual constitutional status. Yet, even if we accept that Ameland presents us with an exceptional case, this case does invite us to think, in general, more carefully about the meanings that ordinary citizens attributed to sudden institutional changes around 1800. From a distance it is easy to see how profound these changes were at the level of (central) government, but we still have little understanding of the extent to which their horizons of expectation enabled ordinary people at the periphery to really fathom the novelty of the new institutions as they were being introduced.

One possible scenario suggested here was that citizens continued to see the nature of political authority, citizen-ruler relationships, and practices such as elections and petitioning very much in old-regime terms. They continued to conceive of new forms of government and new types of officials, whatever their titles and formal powers, in terms of their old-regime predecessors. They consequently experienced the introduction of new institutions as less profound ruptures than we might expect, not least because the new officials who constituted the new forms of government on the local level were usually themselves native citizens. Their institutional memory, which prescribed that they were to promote the interests of the islanders and to act, for instance, as intermediaries between the local communities and the supra-local authorities when a petition was drawn up, outweighed directives and instructions that were to turn them into civil servants of the state.

Notes

1. The original manuscript rests in the Regional Archives of Northeast-Friesland in Dokkum, but I have used a modern edition published in 1983 on the island of Ameland, where Sorgdrager belongs to the collective memory and where his house has even been turned into a museum.
2. For instance, in an ambitious multi-volume ethnographical book series that continued to be published throughout the eighteenth century Ameland figured in the volume about Friesland: *Hedendaagsche historie*, 1786, vol. 2, pp. 349–395.
3. See Prak (1994), van Nierop (1997), on the structure of local government in the Dutch Republic.
4. The labor services were also at the heart of the Patriot-Orangist conflict in some rural areas of the Dutch Republic, but there it was the custom of the labor service as such that was attacked: Te Brake (1977, pp. 20–21), Dekker (2011, pp. 108–110).
5. 'Ja heel veel soude ik moeten schrijven als ik alles wat tans gebeurt zou aannoteren.'
6. Entry 30 March: 'wat een benautheid intussen er liep een schilwagt bij de kerk die zeer wreet was, met een banjenet of snaphaan, de kerke deur wiert gesloten en niemand mogte er uit nog in'. Entry 14 April: 'Erinnere mij nog, hoe beangst men daar was met besloten deuren, de representant zijde dat niemand mogte er uit selfs niet te wateren, dat zou hij in de kerk moeten doen.'
7. 'Zo waren wij de ongelukkigste mensen, zo dat wij waren gedrongen om te stemmen.'
8. 'Alles komt zo langzamerhand zo het schijnt tot de vorig wijs van regeering'.
9. 'zijn alhier ordinantien publicatien in hoe veel heit afgelesen strekkende tot een algemeene belastingen van de Republijk en ook van dit ons Eijland Ameland daar wij tot heden toe, voor desen nooit van geweeten hebben.'
10. See on the position of native public officials vis-à-vis the French central state in other parts of Napoleonic Europe: Rowe (1998), Rowe (1999), Joor (2000), Forrest (2003), Broers (2005).

11. In 1787, at the height of the Patriot-Orangist conflict, 640 citizens of Buren sent the stadtholder a petition in which they expressed their loyalty to him: Veerman (1987).
12. 'zal echter uit hoofde der veeljarige betrekkingen tusschen het Land van Buren en Hoogstdeszelfs voorvaders, gaarne op der Rekwestranten bezwaren regard slaan en hun, zoo veel de gesteldheid van den Staat toelaat, tegemoet komen.'
13. See for other examples of such local ruling 'dynasties' on the Dutch countryside during the nineteenth century Dekker (2011, p. 72), de Bruin (2011, p. 302).
14. 'Den 13 Junij zijn hier nieuwe Commiteerde gestemt maar dezelve gebleven.'
15. 'wij nog onse voorouderen zulke tijden als wij nu hebben op verre na noijt beleeft hebben.'

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Judith Pollmann, Henk te Velde, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier versions. Matthijs Deen deserves the credits for pointing out the existence of the Sorgdrager manuscript to me.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This article was written in the context of the project *The Persistence of Civic Identities in the Netherlands, 1747–1848*, based at Leiden University and funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.

Notes on contributor

Joris Oddens is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Padova, and a guest researcher at the Leiden University Institute for History. He has widely published on the political culture of the Dutch Revolution. His main interests at the moment are petitioning in the Netherlands around 1800, and the representation of republican state power in the Dutch Republic during the long seventeenth century.

ORCID

Joris Oddens http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0518-2136

References

Aaslestad, K. (2005). *Place and politics: Local identity, civic culture, and German nationalism in north Germany during the revolutionary era*. Leiden: Brill.

Aaslestad, K., & Joor, J. (Eds.). (2015). *Revisiting Napoleon's continental system: Local, regional and European experiences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alkemade, D. (2014). *De Bataafse reactie. Bataafs constitutioneel denken en de staatsregeling van 1801*. Unpublished master's thesis. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Baggerman, A. (2009). 'Zo een vrijheid begeer ik nimmer meer te beleven'. Het witwassen van het verleden in Nederlandse ego-documenten (1800–1850). *De Negentiende Eeuw*, *33*(2), 74–95.

Baggerman, A. (2011). Lost time: Temporal discipline and historical awareness in nineteenth-century Dutch egodocuments. In A. Baggerman, R. Dekker, & M. Mascuch (Eds.), *Controlling time and*

shaping the self: Developments in autobiographical writing since the sixteenth century (pp. 455–535). Leiden: Brill.

Baggerman, A. (2013). De dynamiek van de herinnering. Autobiografische terugblikken op een tijdperk van revolutie. In F. Grijzenhout, N. van Sas, & W. Velema (Eds.), *Het Bataafse experiment. Politiek en cultuur rond 1800* (pp. 275–302). Vantilt: Nijmegen.

Baggerman, A., & Dekker, R. (2009). *Child of the enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe reflected in a boyhood diary* (D. L. Webb, Trans.; Dutch ed. 2004). Leiden: Brill.

Becker, E. W. (1999). *Zeit der Revolution! Revolution der Zeit? Zeiterfahrungen in Deutschland in der Ära der Revolutionen 1789–1848/49*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Berman, M. (1982). *All that is solid melts into air: The experience of modernity*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

de Blécourt, A. S. (1912). Over heerlijkheden, leenen, heerlijke rechten en leenrechten. In A. S. de Blécourt (Ed.), *Ambacht en Gemeente. De regeering van een Hollandsch dorp gedurende de 17e, 18e en 19e eeuw* (pp. 191–205). Zutphen: Wansleven.

Blickle, P. (Ed.). (1997). *Resistance, representation, and community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Blockmans, W., Holenstein, A., & Matieu, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Empowering Interactions: Political cultures and the emergence of the state in Europe 1300–1900*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Broers, M. (2005). *The Napoleonic empire in Italy, 1796–1814: Cultural imperialism in a European Context?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

de Bruin, R. E. (1986). *Burgers op het kussen. Volkssoevereiniteit en bestuurssamenstelling in de stad Utrecht, 1795–1813*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

de Bruin, R. E. (2011). Utrechtse bestuurders tussen ware vrijheid en democratie. *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, *41*, 286–304.

van der Burg, F. H., Boels, H., & Loof, J. P. (Eds.). (1994). *Tweehonderd jaar rechten van de mens in Nederland. De verklaring van de rechten van de mens en van de burger van 31 januari 1795 toegelicht en vergeleken met Franse en Amerikaanse voorgangers*. Leiden: F.M. van Asbeck Centrum voor Mensenrechtenstudies.

van der Burg, M. (2010). Transforming the Dutch Republic into the Kingdom of Holland: The Netherlands between republicanism and monarchy (1795–1815). *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, *17*(2), 151–170.

Crook, M. (1991). *Toulon in war and revolution: From the ancien régime to the restoration, 1750–1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dagverhaal der handelingen van de Nationaale Vergadering representeerende het Volk van Nederland (1796–1798) (Vols. 1–9). The Hague: Van Schelle & Comp.

Davis, J. A. (2006). *Naples and Napoleon: Southern Italy and the European revolutions (1780–1860)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dekker, J. (2011). *Onderdanig en opstandig. Desurbanisatie en de politieke verhoudingen op het platteland in Zeeland, 1750–1850*. Zwolle: Waanders.

Deseure, B. (2010). 'Den ouden luijster is verdwenen'. Geschiedenis, herinnering en verlies bij Jan Baptist Van der Straelen (1792–1817). *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis*, *40*(4), 517–555.

Deseure, B., & Pollmann, J. (2013). The experience of rupture and the history of memory. In E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, & J. van der Steen (Eds.), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of memory in early modern Europe* (pp. 315–329). Leiden: Brill.

Eekhoff, W. (1848). *De Grietmannen in Friesland. Bijdrage tot de kennis en waardering van het plattelands-bestuur der Grietenijen in die provincie*. Leeuwarden: Eekhoff.

Enthoven, V. (2012). 'Tot behoud van het lieve vaderland'. De nationale heffing op inkomen van 1798. In H. Boels (Ed.), *Overheidsfinanciën tijdens de Republiek en het Koninkrijk, 1600–1850* (pp. 137–162). Hilversum: Verloren.

Forrest, A. (1989). *Conscripts and deserters: The army and French society during the revolution and empire*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Forrest, A. (2003). State formation and resistance: The army and local elites in Napoleonic France. In M. Rowe (Ed.), *Collaboration and resistance in Napoleonic Europe: State formation in an age of Upheaval, c. 1800–1815* (pp. 35–54). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Forrest, A., Hagemann, K., & Rendall, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Soldiers, citizens and civilians: Experiences and perceptions of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, 1790–1820*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fritzsche, P. (2004). *Stranded in the present: Modern time and the melancholy of history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Fuhrmann, R., Kumin, B., & Würgler, A. (1998). Supplizierende Gemeinden. Aspekte einer vergleichenden Quellenbetrachtung. In P. Blickle, R. Fuhrmann, & A. Würgler (Eds.), *Gemeinde und Staat im alten Europa* (pp. 267–323). Munich: Oldenbourg.

Gabriëls, A. J. C. M. (1990). *De heren als dienaren en de dienaar als heer. Het stadhouderlijk stelsel in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw*. Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks: The Hague.

Gorter, K. S. (1889–1890). Uit de vroegere geschiedenis der Doopsgezinde gemeenten op Ameland. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, *29*, 1–50, & *30*, 1–38.

Grijzenhout, F. (1989). *Feesten voor het vaderland. Patriotse en Bataafse feesten 1780–1806*. Zwolle: Waanders.

Grijzenhout, F., van Sas, N., & Velema, W. (Eds.). (2013). *Het Bataafse experiment. Politiek en cultuur rond 1800*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Hagen, E. (2012). *President van Nederland. Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1761–1825*. Amsterdam: Balans.

Hartog, F. (2003). *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expériences du temps*. Paris: Seuil.

Hedendaagsche historie of tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren; XXXIVste deel. Behelzende de beschrijving der Vereenigde Nederlanden, en wel in 't bysonder van Friesland. (1786). (2 Vols.). Amsterdam: Schouten.

Heerma van Voss, L. (2001). Introduction. *International Review of Social History*, *46*(9, Suppl.), 1–10.

Holenstein, A. (2009). Introduction: Empowering interactions: Looking at statebuilding from below. In W. Blockmans, A. Holenstein, & J. Matieu (Eds.), *Empowering interactions: Political cultures and the emergence of the state in Europe 1300–1900* (pp. 1–31). Farnham: Ashgate.

Houwink, J. (1899). *De staatkundige en rechtsgeschiedenis van Ameland tot deze eeuw*. Leiden: Eduard IJdo.

James, L. S. (2013). *Witnessing the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in German central Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

de Jong, E. H. (2014). *Weldenkende burgers en Oranjeliefhebbers. Patriotten en prinsgezinden in Leiden 1775–1795*. Hilversum: Verloren.

Joor, J. (2000). *De adelaar en het lam. Onrust, opruiing en onwilligheid in Nederland ten tijde van het Koninkrijk Holland en de inlijving bij het Franse keizerrijk (1806–1813)*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw.

Jourdan, A. (2008). *La Révolution batave entre la France et l'Amérique*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Jourdan, A. (Ed.). (2010). *Louis Bonaparte. Roi de Hollande (1806–1810)*. Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions.

Kamphuis, H. A. (2005). *Stad en Lande tijdens de Bataafse Republiek. Bestuurlijke en gerechtelijke verhoudingen in Groningen, 1795–1807*. Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum.

Klein, S. R. E. (1995). *Patriots republikanisme. Politieke cultuur in Nederland (1766–1787)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kops, W. P. (1905). De Oranje-oproeren te Hoorn 1786 en 1787. *Bijdragen Voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis En Oudheidkunde*, *4*, 222–288.

Koselleck, R. (1979). *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*. Frankfurt am Main: Zuhrkamp Verlag.

Koselleck, R., & Reichardt, R. (Eds.). (1988). *Die Französische Revolution als Bruch des gesellschaftlichen Bewußtseins*. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Kuiper, J. (2002). *Een revolutie ontrafeld. Politiek in Friesland 1795–1798*. Franeker: Van Wijnen.

Kuiper, W. H. (1973). De Almelose doopsgezinden en het beginsel der weerloosheid in de patriottentijd. *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Recht en Geschiedenis*, *88*, 60–66.

Kuiper, Y. B. (2006). Menisten in 't geweer. Een schets van de doopsgezinde elite van Harlingen in de patriottentijd. In M. Ebben, & P. Wagenaar (Eds.), *De cirkel doorbroken. Met nieuwe ideeën terug naar de bronnen: opstellen over de Republiek* (pp. 181–194). Leiden: Instituut voor Geschiedenis.

Lyons, M. (2015). Writing upwards: How the weak wrote to the powerful. *Journal of Social History*, *49* (2), 317–330.

Martindale, C. (2006). Introduction. Thinking through reception. In C. Martindale, & R. F. Thomas (Eds.), *Classics and the uses of reception* (pp. 1–13). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

de Meester, G. A. (1853). Onderzoek naar den staatsrechtelijken toestand en de betrekking der onafhankelijke heerlijkheden onder de vrije republiek. *Nieuwe bijdragen voor regtsgeleerdheid en wetgeving*, *3*(1), 49–69.

Minutes. (1791). Minutes of the members of the Domain Council of Nassau concerning their annual inspection journeys of the island of Ameland. Collection *Nassause Domeinraad*, coll. no. 01.08.11, inv. no. 1790 (minutes of the years 1791–1793). National Archives, The Hague.

van Nierop, H. (1997). Political participation in politics in the Dutch republic. In P. Blickle (Ed.), *Resistance, representation, and community* (pp. 272–290). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nieuwenhuis, T. (1986). *Keeshonden en Prinsmannen. Durgerdam, Ransdorp en Holisloot. Drie waterlandse dorpen in de Patriottentijd en de Bataafs-Franse tijd*. Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Oddens, J. (2010). Menistenstreken in het strijdperk. Het eerste parlement van Nederland en de mythe van de moderate middenpartij. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (new series), *35/36*, 337–361.

Oddens, J. (2012). *Pioniers in schaduwbeeld. Het eerste parlement van Nederland 1796–1798*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Oddens, J. (2015). Zoeken naar eendracht. Parlementaire vertegenwoordiging in Nederland tot 1815. In R. Aerts, C. van Baalen, J. Oddens, D. Smit, & H. te Velde (Eds.), *In dit Huis. Twee eeuwen Tweede Kamer* (pp. 253–277). Amsterdam: Boom.

Oddens, J. (2017). De Nederlandse revolutie in dorp en stad. Lokale revolutiegeschiedschrijving over de patriots-Bataafse tijd, 1875 tot heden. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, *130*(4), 565–591.

Pennings, J. C. M., & Schreuder, E. A. T. M. (1995). Heer en meester van Ameland tot de Zwaluwe. Beheer en bestuur van de goederen en rechten van het huis Oranje-Nassau door de Nassause Domeinraad (eind 15*de* eeuw – begin 19*de* eeuw). *Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau*, *1994*, 45–75.

Petitions. (1801). Petitions presented to the legislative assemblies of the Batavian Republic, 1796–1801. Collection *Wetgevende Colleges*, coll. no. 2.01.01.01, inv. no. 381 (5–30 January 1801). National Archives, The Hague.

Planert, U. (2007). *Der Mythos vom Befreiungskrieg. Frankreichs Kriege und der deutsche Süden. Alltag, Wahrnemung, Deutung 1792–1841*. Paderborn: Schöningh Paderborn.

Planert, U. (Ed.). (2009). *Krieg und Umbruch in Mitteleuropa um 1800. Erfahrungsgeschichte(n) auf dem Weg in eine neue Zeit*. Paderborn: Schöningh Paderborn.

Pollmann, J. (2016). Archiving the present and chronicling for the future in early modern Europe. *Past & Present*, *230*(suppl. 11), 231–252.

Pollmann, J. (2017). *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500–1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollmann, J., & Kuijpers, E. (2013). Introduction: On the early Modernity of modern memory. In E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, & J. van der Steen (Eds.), *Memory before modernity: Practices of memory in early modern Europe* (pp. 1–23). Leiden: Brill.

Postma, J. (2017). *Alexander Gogel (1765–1821). Grondlegger van de Nederlandse staat*. Hilversum: Verloren.

Prak, M. (1994). Verfassungsnorm und Verfassungsrealität in den niederländischen Städten des späten 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts. Die Oligarchie in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Deventer und Zutphen. In W. Ehbrecht (Ed.), *Verwaltung und Politik in Städten Mitteleuropas. Beiträge zu Verfassungsnorm und Verfassungswirklichkeit in altständischer Zeit* (pp. 55–84). Cologne: Böhlau.

Prak, M. (1999). *Republikeinse veelheid, democratisch enkelvoud. Sociale verandering in het Revolutietijdvak 1770–1820*. Nijmegen: SUN.

Prins, M. (2015). Heren van Holland. Het bezit van Hollandse heerlijkheden onder adel en patriciaat (1500–1795). *Virtus*, *22*, 37–62.

Pröve, R. (2000). *Stadtgemeindlicher Republikanismus und die 'Macht des Volkes'. Civile Ordnungsformationen und kommunale Leitbilder politischer Partizipation in den deutschen Staaten vom Ende des 18. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Records. (1799). Records concerning the English invasion at Lemmer and on Ameland, 1799. Collection *Tjaardastate te Rinsumageest*, coll. no. 313, inv. no. 614. Tresoar Frisian Centre for History and Literature, Leeuwarden.

Rosendaal, J. (2012). *Tot nut van Nederland. Polarisatie en revolutie in een grensgebied, 1783–1787*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Rowe, M. (1998). Divided loyalties: Sovereignty, politics and public service in the Rhineland under French occupation, 1792–1801. *European Review of History: Revue Européenne D'Histoire*, *5*(2), 151–168.

Rowe, M. (1999). Between empire and home town: Napoleonic rule on the rhine, 1799–1814. *The Historical Journal*, *42*(3), 643–674.

Rowe, M. (2003a). *From Reich to state: The Rhineland in the revolutionary age, 1780–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowe, M. (Ed.). (2003b). *Collaboration and resistance in Napoleonic Europe: State formation in an age of Upheaval, c. 1800–1815*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rutjes, M. (2012). *Door gelijkheid gegrepen. Democratie, burgerschap en staat in Nederland 1795–1801*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

van Sas, N. C. F. (2004). *De metamorfose van Nederland. Van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750–1900*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

van Sas, N. C. F. (2011). *Bataafse Terreur. De betekenis van 1798*. Vantilt: Nijmegen.

van Schilfgaarde, A. P. (1935). De incorporatie van het graafschap Buren 1795–1814. *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen*, *38*, 249–275.

Schutte, G. J. (1989). *Een Hollandse dorpssamenleving in de late achttiende eeuw. De banne Graft 1770–1810*. Franeker: Van Wijnen.

Sorgdrager, C. P. (1982). *Memorij. Het dagboek van Cornelis Pieter Sorgdrager (W. J. Maas, Ed.)*. Hollum: Maas.

Sorgdrager, C. P. (1983). *Memori Boeck. De wereld van Cornelis Pieter Sorgdrager 1779–1826 (W. J. Maas, M. C. Rappard, P. B. Schuringa, C. Sorgdrager et al, Eds.)*. Hollum: Maas.

van der Spek, C. (2016). *Sous les armes. Het Nederlandse leger in de Franse tijd 1806–1814*. Amsterdam: Boom.

Te Brake, W. (1977). *Revolutionary conflict in the Dutch republic: The patriot crisis in Overijssel, 1780–1787*. Ann Arbor, MI: n.p.

Te Brake, W. (1989). *Regents and rebels: The revolutionary world of an eighteenth-century Dutch city*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Te Brake, W. (1998). *Shaping history: Ordinary people in European politics 1500–1700*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Te Brake, W. (2006). Petitions, contentious politics, and revolution in early modern Europe. In C. Nubola, & A. Würgler (Eds.), *Operare la resistenza. Suppliche, gravamina e rivolte in Europa (secoli XV-XIX)=Praktiken des Widerstandes. Suppliken, Gravamina und Revolten in Europa (15.-19. Jahrhundert)* (pp. 17–27). Bologna: Il Mulino.

Terdiman, R. (1993). *Present past: Modernity and the memory crisis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Thomassen, T. (2015). *Onderzoeksgids: Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576–1796* (Vols. 1–2). The Hague: Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis.

Tilly, C. (1985). Retrieving European lives. In O. Zunz (Ed.), *Reliving the Past: The worlds of social history* (pp. 11–52). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Uitterhoeve, W. (2013). *1813 – Haagse bluf. De korte chaos van de vrijwording*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Ulbricht, O. (1996). Supplikationen als Ego-Dokumente. Bittschriften von Leibeigenen aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts als Beispiel. In W. Schulze (Ed.), *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte* (pp. 149–174). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Urry, J. (2006). *Mennonites, politics, and Peoplehood: Europe – Russia – Canada, 1525 to 1980*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

van Uythoven, G. (1999). *Voorwaarts, Bataven! De Engels-Russische invasie van 1799*. Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek.

Van Cleave, P. (2014). Revolt, religion, and dissent in the Dutch-American Atlantic: Francis Adrian van der Kemp's pursuit of civil and religious liberty. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.

Veerman, W. (1987). De aanhouding van prinses Wilhelmina van Pruisen in 1787, of hoe in de patriottentijd een 'Oranje' bevolkingsoverzicht van het Burense graafschap ontstond. Ondertekenaars van een adhesiebetuiging. *De drie steden*, *8*, 48–52.

van der Ven, F. A. J. (2008). 'It takes three generations to make a gentleman'. Ofwel enige opmerkingen en mededelingen over de rechtsgeschiedenis van Ameland. *Groninger Opmerkingen en Mededelingen*, *25*, 51–74.

Verheijen, B. (2017). *Nederland onder Napoleon. Partijstrijd en natievorming 1801–1813*. Nijmegen: Vantilt.

Verstegen, S. W. (1989). *Gegoede ingezetenen. Jonkers & geërfden op de Veluwe 1650–1830*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Weinmann, B. (2002). *Eine andere Bürgergesellschaft. Klassischer Republikanismus und Kommunalismus im Kanton Zürich im späten 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Würgler, A. (2001). Voices from among the 'silent Masses': Humble petitions and social conflicts in early modern central Europe. *International Review of Social History*, *46*(9 suppl.), 11–34.

Zahra, T. (2010). Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis. *Slavic Review*, *69*(1), 93–119.