

Educating Johan Willem Friso (1687-1711) of Nassau-Dietz Huguenot Tutorship at the Court of the Frisian Stadtholders*

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By the late sixteenth century, following the changes brought about by the Renaissance, such as greater literacy and the rise of the bourgeoisie, the Dutch nobility was being challenged by the new ideals and life-styles proposed by the university-trained humanists. It responded by 'civilizing' the traditional military nobility, which meant acting according to certain moral and civil norms.¹ Nevertheless, the nobility still retained their military function, which meant that a noble should be both a military trained man and a part of the noble society. The training required for those functions could be acquired through a proper education which would address both qualities. At that time, the idea that scholarly knowledge and military functions were incompatible was being slowly replaced by an understanding that a military career could benefit from a scholarly education.² Although the educational programme for the nobles was not as scholarly as that for non-noble office holders, the nobles were eventually better equipped to

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¹ For theories on the transition in the role of the nobility, see: R.G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition, 1550-1700. Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London, 2003) 55-56; M. Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat. The Education of the Court Nobility, 1580-1715* (Princeton, 1990) 6-11. P. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione's 'Cortegiano'* (Cambridge, 1995) 14-15. On the Court society and civilizing process, see: N. Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 2006) 160; N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, E. Jephcott, trans., E. Dunning, J. Goudblom, and S. Mennel, ed. (rev. ed.; Oxford, 2000); R. van Krieken, *Norbert Elias* (London-New York, 1998). Criticism on Elias's theory of civilization and the court society can be found in: J. Duindam, *Myths of Power. Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam, 1995); P. Burke, *History and Social Theory* (rev. ed.; Cambridge, 2005) 149-151. Burke writes that the notion of 'civilization' is hard to define as a simple definition of it as self-control and shame could be also found in every society, and if it is defined more precisely, then it is hard to trace a rise of a civilization, because the standards of the civilization were also changing.

² Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 68. Motley quotes the writer, François d'Espagnet, who wrote in 1613 that the 'false and ridiculous opinion they have that knowledge and arms are incompatible'. See below the discussion on the military revolution in the United Provinces.



Johan Willem Friso, Prince of Orange (*painting, Louis Volders; The House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust*)

fulfil their ambitions.³ In the seventeenth century, together with the growing importance of the French language as an international language of trade, politics and science, the influence of the French court culture, which was well-known and regarded as a model of behaviour for the nobles in Western Europe, created a demand among the noble families to have a native French speaker as a tutor to their children.⁴ Friesland and Holland, whose Stadtholders combined the task of a military commander and the head of a princely court, followed this trend. From the 1630s, it became common practice for the future Stadtholders, such as William II (1626-1650), Hendrik Casimir II (1657-1697), William III (1650-1702) and Johan Willem Friso (1687-1711) to have at least one Huguenot tutor in their educational entourage.⁵ How those ideas were integrated into the educational practices of the Frisian court is one of the focuses of this article.

From the mid-sixteenth and throughout the entire seventeenth century, Huguenots sought refuge in the United Provinces, known for being a safe haven for religious refugees, from Catholic persecutions.⁶ In the second wave of French refugees around the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), many educated Huguenots were employed in educational posts.⁷ Given that the task of these Huguenot teachers was not limited to teaching the French language, it is all the more important to know why the Stadtholders chose specifically to hire Huguenots as tutors, and who those tutors were, since current historiography does not provide us with a clear understanding of this phenomenon. The fashion of employing a French-speaking tutor existed not only in the Dutch Republic but in other countries as well. In 1546, Edward VI (1537-1553), the future King of England, already had a Huguenot tutor named Jean Belmain to instruct him in the French language. Edward advanced so well in his studies that he

³ Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, 60-61.

⁴ Duindam, *Myths of Power*, 162-163. On the importance of French in the seventeenth century United Provinces, see: W. Frijhoff, 'L'usage du français en Hollande, XVIIe-XIXe siècles. Propositions pour un modèle d'interprétation', *Etudes de linguistique appliquée*, LXXVIII (1990) 17-26, esp. 17-19; W. Frijhoff, 'Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, CIV (1989) 592-609.

⁵ William II had as a tutor André Rivet, a Huguenot theologian. See: Royal House Archives, The Hague (RHA), MS. A15-V-1, 'Commissie door Frederik Hendrik in 1632 gegeven aan Andre Rivet, dr in de theologie, hoogleeraar te Leiden, voor opleiding van den jongen Prince Willem II', 12 Feb. 1632. Hendrik Casimir II was tutored by Jean De Morel, Sieur de Longval. See his name mentioned in: RHA, MS. A26-223, Albertine Agnes to Jean de Morel, 5 March 1672, 'Ayant jugé...'. William III had two Huguenot tutors: Abraham Raguineau, son of a Huguenot refugee in England, and Samuel Chappuzeau, a Huguenot theologian. See: C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Abraham Raguineau. Portretschilder en schrijfmeester van Willem III', *Oud Holland*, XVII (1899) 6-9; A. Staring, 'Abraham Raguineau als onderwijzer en portrettist van Willem III', *Oud Holland*, LXV (1950) 203-204; 'Chappuzeau, Samuel', in: Em. and Eu. Haag, ed., *La France protestante* (10 vols.; Paris, 1847), III, 338-340. More on the court of William III in The Hague, see: O. Mörke, 'William III's Stadholderly Court in the Dutch Republic', in: E. Mijers and D. Onnekink, ed., *Redefining William III. The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Aldershot-Burlington, 2007) 227-240.

⁶ On Dutch religious toleration, see: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel, and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, ed., *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden, 1997). The Stadtholders in the United Provinces were called 'guardians of the true faith' which, in the seventeenth century, leaned towards Calvinism. See: H. Schilling, 'The Orange Court. The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic', in: R.A. Asch and A.M. Birke, ed., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450-1650* (Oxford-New York-Toronto, 1991) 452-453.

⁷ The fact that the many of Huguenot refugees were literate is referred to in: W. Frijhoff, 'Uncertain Brotherhood', in: B. van Ruymbeke and R.J. Sparks, ed., *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, 2003) 142. Huguenots were employed as tutors not only in the United Provinces, but also in England, the German States, Russia and other countries. See for example: R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage. The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (2nd ed.; Brighton-Portland, 2001) 105.

was able to write complicated essays on religious subjects within a few years. The same tutor was also in charge of teaching French to Edward's older sister, Elizabeth (1533-1603), who later became Queen of England.⁸ In this article we will focus on the Huguenot tutors of the future Frisian Stadtholder, Johan Willem Friso of Nassau-Dietz, because they offer a well-documented and useful example in enabling us to reconstruct the educational practices at the Nassau court in Friesland. These are particularly interesting, because the Frisian Prince is one of the least researched Stadtholders in Dutch history.⁹ We will also examine the educational programme which Johan Willem Friso followed in order to see how it prepared him for his courtly and military tasks.

Stadtholders in the United Provinces

In order to understand the duality in the Frisian Stadtholder's position, both as a courtier, that is a prince that has a court, and a military leader, that is a commander of the armed forces of the United Provinces, we should understand what the title of Stadtholder actually means and how the person holding it fits both definitions. The Stadtholderate was an institution inherited from the days of Burgundian-Habsburg rule in the provinces of the Netherlands, and the simplest way to translate it into English would be 'deputyship' or 'governorship'. Having driven the Spaniards out of the United Provinces in the late sixteenth century, and after a fierce dispute over inheritance, the two branches of the Orange family divided their titles: the Stadtholders of Holland kept the title of Princes of Orange and resided in The Hague, while the Stadtholders of Friesland were called Counts or Princes of Nassau and resided in Leeuwarden.¹⁰ From that point on, the Nassau Stadtholders of Friesland worked together with their Orange

⁸ D. MacCulloch, *The Boy King. Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 2002) 25. In 1553, completing his work just a few months before the King's premature death, Jean Belmain translated the Book of Common Prayer into French, with a dedication to Edward VI. See, 'Preface', in: J.D. Nichols, ed., *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth, Edited From His Autographed Manuscripts, With Historical Notes, and a Biographical Memoir* (2 vols.; London, 1857), I, cccxxvii-cccxxviii.

⁹ There is only one academic biography on Johan Willem Friso, which was published by Cornelis J. Guibal, in 1938. See: C.J. Guibal, *Johan Willem Friso en zijn tijd* (Amsterdam, 1938). A short biographical essay appears also in: M. Bruggeman, *Nassau en de macht van Oranje: De strijd van de Friese Nassaus voor erkenning van hun rechten, 1702-1747* (Hilversum, 2007).

¹⁰ The Dutch word, 'vorst', in the context of 'vorst van Nassau-Dietz' can be translated as 'prince'. The Latin title as it appears in the student register of the University of Franeker is 'princeps'. See: S.J. Fockema Andreae and Th.J. Meijer, ed., *Album studiosorum academiae Franekerensis* (Franeker, 1968) 270. Hendrik Casimir II was called 'prince' in French by William III, see the reference below. Maurits of Orange (1567-1625) was the son of William I of Orange and the Stadtholder of Holland. Prince Maurits eventually inherited his father's title of Prince of Orange; and the later Stadtholders of Holland kept that title. See: A.T. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau, 1567-1625. De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam, 2000); J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995) 267-271; N. Japikse, *De geschiedenis van het Huis van Oranje-Nassau* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1937), I, 140-144, 154-160. We also see that the Frisian Stadtholders were called Princes of Nassau-Dietz, S. Groenveld quotes William III calling Hendrik Casimir II 'le povere prince de Nassau'. See, S. Groenveld, 'Gemengde gevoelens. De relaties tussen Nassaus en Oranjes als stadhouders en kapiteins-generaal', in: S. Groenveld, J.J. Huizinga, and Y.B. Kuiper, ed., *Nassau uit de schaduw van Oranje* (Franeker, 2003) 27, 38. In this article, I shall therefore refer to Johan Willem Friso as 'prince'. Later, after the death of William III, Johan Willem Friso inherited the title of Prince of Orange. See also: B. Bilker, 'De huwelijken van het huis Nassau-Dietz', in: Groenveld, Huizinga, and Kuiper, ed., *Nassau uit de schaduw van Oranje*, 75; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 301; G. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic. Patronage and William Frederik of Nassau 1613-64* (Manchester-New York, 2008) 31.



King William III
when Prince of
Orange (mezzotint,
Petrus Schenck
after unknown
artist, probably late
seventeenth
century; National
Portrait Gallery,
London)

cousins for the protection of the Republic.¹¹ For example, the task of the first Frisian Stadtholder of the Nassau family, Willem Lodewijk (1560-1620), was to protect the Northern provinces. To achieve this goal, he collaborated in the military sphere with the Stadtholder of Holland, Maurits (1567-1625). Similarly, despite the antagonism between them, Hendrik Casimir II, a Frisian Stadtholder, served in the army of William III, the Stadtholder of Holland, during the War of the Grand Alliance, 1688-1697, against the French.¹² Later, Johan Willem Friso also served in the army of William III,

¹¹ L. Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht. Het hofleven van Willem Frederik van Nassau* (Amsterdam, 2000) 19; G. Parker, 'The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs: Maurice of Nassau, the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600) and the Legacy', *The Journal for Military History*, LXXI (2007) 331-372. More on the relationship between the Princes of Orange and Nassau can be found in: Groenveld, 'Gemengde gevoelens'.

¹² Groenveld, 'Gemengde gevoelens', 28-29; J.W. Van Sypesteijn, *Geschiedkundige bijdragen. Derde aflevering. Eenige gebeurtenissen van gedurende het leven van Prins Hendrik Casimir II Van Nassau 1164-1696* ('s-Gravenhage, 1865) 12-13; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 305-306.

during the War of Spanish Succession 1701-1714, and in fact died during the military campaign of 1711.

The Frisian Stadtholder, Willem Lodewijk, by using a purely humanistic approach, invented new military approaches while basing his tactics on the classical writings of Aelian, more specifically on his *Tactica*, and the interpretation of his work by the Dutch Renaissance scholar Justus Lipsius.¹³ This was the origin of the so-called 'military revolution', which he implemented with Prince Maurits. Their method was to simulate a battlefield with miniature models in various formations, and then to practise the military tactics with real soldiers.¹⁴ These tactics became part of the educational programme for the Stadtholders as will be explained below.

Courtly life

The families of Orange and Nassau were the highest nobility of the land, and therefore very influential. With the creation of the Republic, the influence of the nobility in Friesland increased. Commenting on the appointment of the judicial officers, Jonathan Israel observes that 'from the 1580s on, consequently, the tendency was to prefer [in Friesland, MG] Frisian nobles to others...'.¹⁵ The existence of the nobility and the presence of a *vorst* (prince) in Friesland from the time of Willem Lodewijk onwards suggests the existence of a court, which required the prince and his retainers to be prepared for their task as courtiers.¹⁶ As the German historian, Heinz Schilling, puts it: 'In the Dutch republic there were not only *vestiges* of courtly life: it actually contained a real court. In fact, until the eighteenth century there were two Dutch courts'.¹⁷ In the seventeenth century, Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, had a small but active court of regional importance.¹⁸ Besides constant diplomatic activities, the court hosted painters both local and from the other provinces of the United Provinces.¹⁹ The interior of the Stadtholder's house contained many paintings, including some by Rubens and Netscher.²⁰ Moreover, because of close contacts between the two Stadtholders, there was a constant flow of diplomats from one province to the other.²¹ In Leeuwarden,

¹³ Parker, 'The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs', 338-339.

¹⁴ On the military revolution, see: O. van Nimwegen, 'Maurits, Willem Lodewijk en de tactische militaire revolutie bij de Staatse infanterie', in: *Boeken met krijgshistorie: Op verkenning in het oudste boekbezit van Defensie* (Breda, 2010) 43-61; idem, *The Dutch Army and the Military Revolutions 1588-1688* (Woodbridge, 2010) 85-116.

¹⁵ Parker, 'The Limits to Revolutions in Military Affairs', 337-338.

¹⁶ The image of an ideal courtier was created by Baldassare Castiglione in the early sixteenth century. Among other points, he asserts that a good courtier should also receive a military training. B. Castiglione, *Il cortegiano* (Venice, 1528). The book itself was very popular and saw numerous editions also in the seventeenth century. See: Burke, *The Fortunes of the 'Courtier'*. The account of the editions of the *Courtier* can be found among others in the eighteenth-century translation of the book into English by Robert Samber, see for example the following edition: B. Castiglione, *The Courtier or, the Complete Gentleman and Gentlewoman*, R. Samber, trans. (London, 1729).

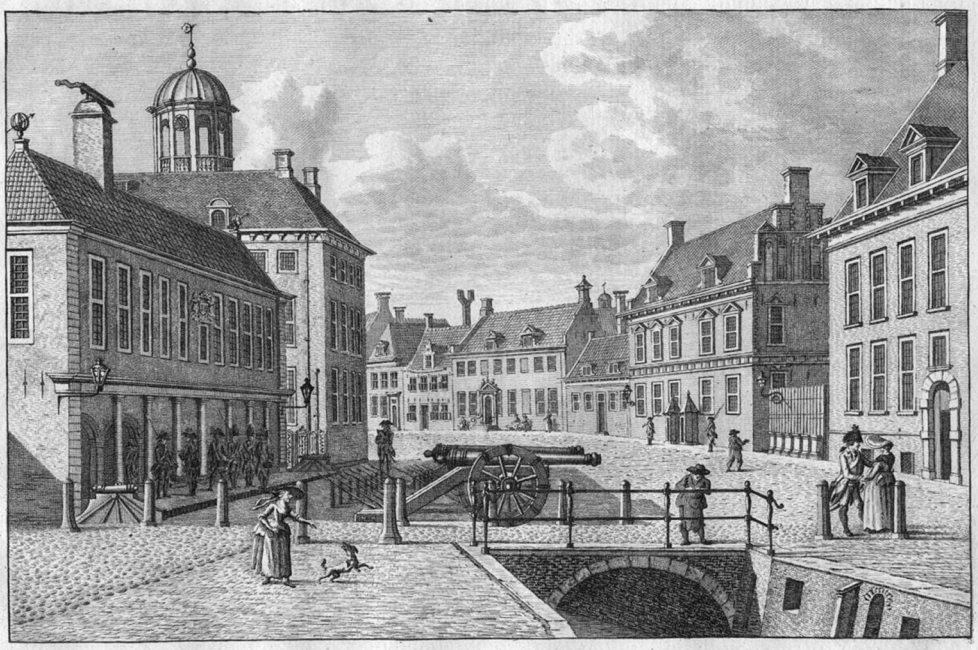
¹⁷ Schilling, 'The Orange Court', 444-445.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 445.

¹⁹ R. Mulder-Radetzky, 'Huizen van Albertine Agnes', in: Groenvelt, Huizinga, and Kuiper, ed., *Nassau uit de schaduw van Oranje*, 100-101, 108-109. For specific information on painters at the Frisian Court, see: R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Schilders aan het hof', in: Groenvelt, Huizinga, and Kuiper, ed., *Nassau uit de schaduw van Oranje*, 113-124.

²⁰ Mulder-Radetzky, 'Huizen van Albertine Agnes', 110.

²¹ G. Janssen, 'Het stadhouderschap van Willem Frederik in de Noordelijke gewesten', in: Groenvelt, Huizinga, and Kuiper, ed., *Nassau uit de schaduw van Oranje*, 52.



Stadtholders' Court in Leeuwarden (*from Hedendaagsche historie of tegenwoordige staat van Friesland, II, Amsterdam etc., 1786*)

Willem Lodewijk held a court which consisted of various officials and pages (sons of local noblemen), as well as a large number of servants and domestic staff, a total of some thirty people. This number was much smaller than that of the personnel at the court in The Hague, who numbered between 140 and 250.²¹ Although the court of the Count of Nassau in Leeuwarden was more modest than that of the Prince of Orange in The Hague, knowing the art of courtly behaviour would allow the Frisian Stadtholders to better maintain their social and political status.

As already mentioned, in the mid-seventeenth century, the French court became the ideal of courtly life. The court had two primary functions—it was the seat of the royal or princely household and the governing and political, as well as cultural centre.²³ The prince used the court to distribute financial benefits and, through them, to control different strata of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The courtier, that is a member of the court, consequently had to have good manners and to have an excellent knowledge of French—partly in order to maintain his diplomatic contacts—as well as a wide knowledge of history, literature and Latin. Louis XIV's court in France became the exemplar of etiquette and courtiership for other European courts.²⁴ Since the reign of

²² Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*, 177-178.

²³ Elias, *The Court Society*, 1-2.

²⁴ Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, 59.

the French Queen Anne of Austria (1615-1643), the French – in the words of Voltaire – were regarded as ‘the most sociable and polite people on earth’.²⁵ For those brought up in the tradition of courtiership, any other type of behaviour was considered to be almost barbarian.²⁶ A good example of this can be found in Johan Willem Friso’s wife, Maria Louisa. She was brought up at the court in Kassel, and was taught French etiquette, which was regarded there as indispensable for a noblewoman whose task was to take care of her children in their first years.²⁷ In the United Provinces, it was Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), Stadtholder of Holland, who promoted French manners, with French being the only language spoken at the Stadtholder’s court.²⁸

Princely education

Having outlined the tasks of the Nassau family in Friesland, we need to understand the means through which they were prepared to fulfil these tasks – the education of the Nassau counts and, more specifically, the education of Johan Willem Friso. The extended household played an important role in the upbringing of the young noble, providing an opportunity for the family to maintain its patron–client relationships. The clients were often employed as tutors or military mentors of the young noble. The interaction with the household also taught the child to communicate with people from different social strata and to develop his skills in socialization. As part of his, training the boy would be taught to control his emotions, gestures and needs, and to behave in a civil manner. The household was also the place where the religious formation of the child took place.²⁹ It was therefore important to choose the right people to be involved in the educational process.

What were the general principles on which noble education was founded? During the Renaissance, and the Reformation, in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, new ideas about the education of children in general and those of the nobility in particular, were developed by humanists, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Juan Luis Vives, and Roger Ascham, to name but a few.³⁰ Their ideas quickly spread across Western Europe and came to form the basis of a humanist education, which included inter alia other subjects: classical languages, history, metaphysics, and mathematics. It was no

²⁵ Quoted from: U. Janssen, ‘French Protestants and Private Societies’, in: J. Häsler and A. McKenna, ed., *La vie intellectuelle aux refuges protestants. Actes de la Table ronde de Münster du 25 juillet 1995* (Paris, 1999) 99.

²⁶ A curious incident took place when a French Prince visited the English court. The French Prince was shocked by the lack of respect, which he felt should have been shown by the French etiquette towards the King by his subjects. Elias, *The Court Society*, 111, 160.

²⁷ F.J.A. Jagtenberg, *Marijke Meu 1688-1765* (Amsterdam, 1994) 23; Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 51.

²⁸ K.J. Riemens, *Esquisse historique de l’enseignement du Français en Hollande du XVIe au XIX siècle* (Leiden, 1919) 80; O. Mörke, ‘Sovereignty and Authority. The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century’, in: Asch and Birke, ed., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility*, 463.

²⁹ Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 19, 22-23, 47-50, on religious upbringing, see: ibidem, 54-55; Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*, 244.

³⁰ See, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (Basel, 1529), and the book on education of a Christian Prince, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Institutio principis Christiani* (Basel, 1516); J.L. Vives, *De disciplinis* (Antwerp, 1531); R. Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake the Latin tong* (London, 1570). There were numerous other books dedicated to princely education, such as the French: J. Talpin, *Institution d’un prince chrestien* (Paris, 1567) or the Spanish: D. Savedra Faxardo, *Idea de vn príncipe politico christiano: representada en cien empresas* (Monaco, 1640). Machiavelli’s *Il principe* (Rome, 1532), presented an ideal portrait of a ruler who was much stronger and more ruthless than the humanist authors had in mind.

longer sufficient for a prince to be only a military leader. Following the humanist ideals of a Christian prince, he would need to be virtuous and well-educated in order to avoid temptations and to dispense justice to his people.³¹ An emphasis was put on the positive encouragement of the pupil to engage in the study process, as well as to the importance of following the pupil's inclinations.³² In his introduction to Erasmus' *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, Verstraete states that the book 'is a Christian humanist reformulation of the classical ideal of a liberal education...'.³³ In addition to those humanist ideals, an emphasis was given also to shaping the prince as a perfect courtier, as we have already discussed above. The Orange and the Nassau families had a long tradition of humanist upbringing of their offspring.³⁴ A head tutor would be appointed to supervise and direct the educational process.³⁵ Under the head tutor, several junior tutors would be employed to teach specific subjects that they could teach—these could include music, languages, horse riding or military affairs. The head tutor's duty was to compose an educational programme suitable for a prince, and to supervise its execution.³⁶ All in all, the goal of a noble education, according to Motley, was to 'fuse education in Latin humanities with physical exercises and practical experience necessary for success in a military career'.³⁷

How was such a head tutor chosen? Willem Frijhoff points out that because the French language had become the *lingua franca* of seventeenth century Europe, and because France was considered to be the role-model of court culture, native French tutors were of particular value to families who wanted their children to receive the best education they could afford.³⁸ This was the trend that developed from the sixteenth century onwards: for example, most of the letters exchanged by Johan Willem Friso and his mother were written in French.³⁹ Historical events in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made it relatively easy to find a French-speaking person to teach one's offspring. Since the Reformation in the second quarter of sixteenth century, numerous French-speaking Protestants, the Huguenots, were seeking refuge from persecutions

³¹ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, L. Jardine, ed. (Cambridge, etc., 1997) 1-4; J.P. Cooper, *Land, Men and Beliefs: Studies in Early Modern History* (London, 1983) 57.

³² Erasmus of Rotterdam, 'A Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children', B.C. Verstraete, ed. and trans., in: *Collected Works of Erasmus. Literary and Educational Writings*, XXVI, J.K. Sowards, ed. (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985), book IV, 3, 16-317. More on Erasmus: B. Mansfield, *Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1750-1920. A Man on His Own* (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1992); J. Trapman and G. Lugtenberg, *Erasmus of Rotterdam. An Introduction*, K. Hagoort, trans. (Rotterdam, 2008).

³³ Verstraete, 'A Declamation', 293.

³⁴ See for example on the educational practices of the early Orange and Nassau princes, E.H. Waterbolk, 'Willem Lodewijk als opvoeder', in: *Omtrekkende bewegingen. Opstellen aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn tachtigste verjaardag* (Hilversum, 1995) 160-178.

³⁵ The French term used in the archives is 'gouverneur'.

³⁶ RHA, The Hague, B12-27, 'Lijste van de Officiern ende Dienaers van Sijne Hoocht', 3 November 1659. This manuscript lists the members of the household of William III. Among the persons working for him we find: 'De Heer Henricus Bornius, Directeur van Sijne Hoocheijds Studien, Samuel Chapuissau, Preceptor van Sijne Hoocheijdt. Abraham Raguineau, om Sijne Hoocht te leeren Lesen, Schrijven, Cyfferen, Teecken en anders.' It indicates that there were several people involved in the educational process with the head tutor supervising it. Original orthography is kept in all quoted letters.

³⁷ Motley, *Becoming a French Noble*, 68. Although Motley refers to a French noble, this notion can be applied also to the Frisian Court, as we will see below.

³⁸ W. Frijhoff, 'Des origines à 1780. L'émergence d'une image', in: *Le Français dans le Monde* (Jan. 1998) 8-19, here 9.

³⁹ Those letters are located in the Royal House Archives in The Hague.

which they faced in their homeland. After the first wave of refugees following the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve in 1572, another wave arrived just over a hundred years later after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.⁴⁰ The Edict of Nantes (1598) had been signed by King Henry IV of France (1589-1610), and allowed Protestants to exercise their religion on certain terms within the French Kingdom. After the Revocation, the Huguenots were obliged to convert to Catholicism; otherwise they had to escape from France.⁴¹ Following the Revocation, between fifty and seventy thousand Huguenots found refuge in the United Provinces.⁴² Among them were educated people—ministers, journalists and historians—some of whom found places as professors at the universities of the United Provinces, or as tutors to the sons of those rich and noble families who were willing to employ them because of their native French, French manners and Calvinistic belief. The Nassau family was one of these families.⁴³ Some other Dutch nobles also chose to employ a Huguenot tutor, as in the case of Cornelis Van Aerssen Van Sommelsdijk (1637-1688), who hired the Huguenot, Jean Rou, to be the tutor of his two sons.⁴⁴ Jean Rou had also taught French to the sons of the noble German Wittgenstein family during their stay in Paris in 1679.⁴⁵

The education of Johan Willem Friso

Johan Willem Friso was born in 1687 in Dessau, to the Frisian Stadtholder Hendrik Casimir II and his wife, Henriette-Amalia of Anhalt-Dessau (1666-1726). He was the third of nine children. His elder brother Willem Georg Friso (1685-1686) had died a year before Johan Willem Friso was born.⁴⁶ The remaining children were all girls and, after the death of Hendrik Casimir II in 1696, when Friso was not yet nine years old, he was left in the care of his mother, who was also in charge of his education. Friso's tutor and biographer, Isaac Lamigue, states in his biography of the Prince that after the death of Hendrik Casimir II: 'The Princess his mother [Henriette-Amalia, MG], put herself in charge in order to raise the Prince... to make him follow in the footsteps of his glorious ancestors'.⁴⁷

Having no brothers meant that Johan Willem Friso was the only direct heir of the Nassau family in Friesland and therefore the designated Stadtholder of Friesland after his father's death. For one in his position, having a proper upbringing was vital—tradi-

⁴⁰ Frijhoff, 'Des origines à 1780', 11; M. Yardeni, *Le Refuge protestant* (Paris, 1985) 15-20, 26-28.

⁴¹ More on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: E. Labrousse, 'Une foi, une loi, un roi?' *Essai sur la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Paris, 1985); H. Bots, G.H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, and F.M. Wieringa, *Vlucht naar de vrijheid: de Hugenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1985).

⁴² H. Bots and R. Bastiaanse, 'Le refuge huguenot et les Provinces-Unies, Une esquisse sommaire', in: M. Magdelaine and R. von Thadden, ed., *Le refuge huguenot* (Paris, 1985) 64.

⁴³ See Yardeni, *Le Refuge protestant*, 66-71, about the refugees in the United Provinces. For an example of a Huguenot that engaged in tutorship, see: J. Rou, *Mémoires inédits et opuscules*, F. Waddington, ed. (2 vols.; Paris, 1857). Huguenot professors of Franeker can be found in: W.B.S. Boeles, ed., *Friesland's Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker* (2 vols.; Leeuwarden, 1878-1889), II.

⁴⁴ Rou, *Mémoires inédits*, I, 177. Jean Rou and his educational tasks as a Huguenot tutor, are one of the focuses of my doctoral dissertation, written at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Groningen.

⁴⁵ Rou, *Mémoires inédits*, I, 150-152.

⁴⁶ Jagtenberg, *Marijke Meu*, 27.

⁴⁷ I. Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange et de Nassau etc* (2 vols.; Leeuwarden, 1711), I, 7-8. More on Lamigue and his role as a tutor is below.



Henriëtte Amalia of Anhalt-Dessau, Princess of Nassau-Diez (painting, Louis Volders; *The House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust*)

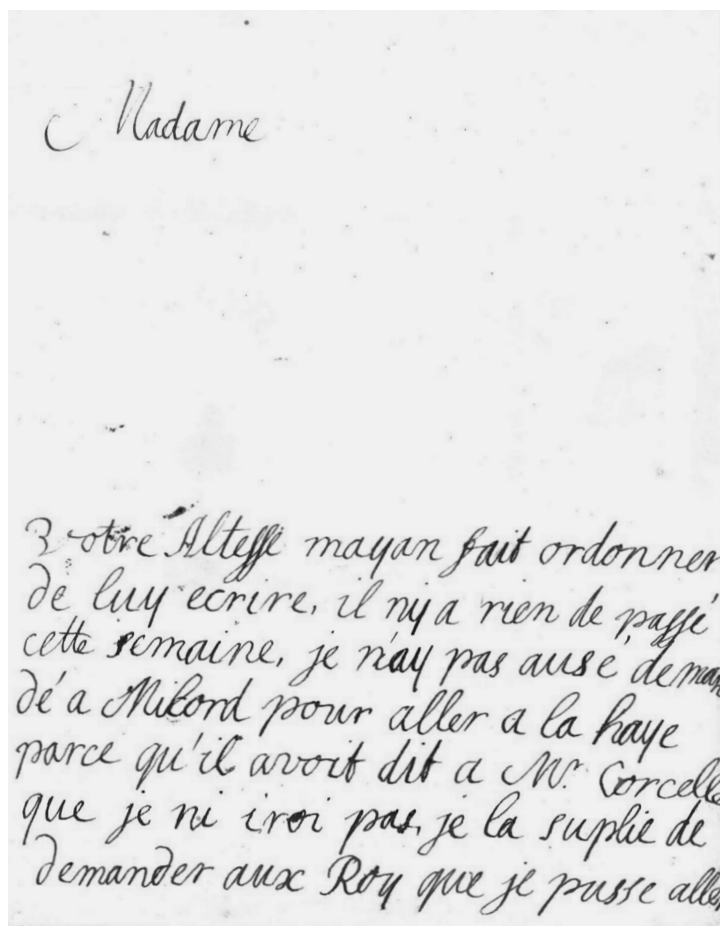
tionally, the Stadtholders were military leaders, and the office had been hereditary in Friesland since 1675.⁴⁸ At the same time, Johan Willem Friso was important not only for the Frisians—Friso's second uncle, William III (1650-1702), the Stadtholder of Holland and the King of England had a substantial interest in the young prince.⁴⁹ The King and his wife were childless, and in 1695, a year before Hendrik Casimir II's death, William III had already named Friso in his will as his successor in the principality of Orange.⁵⁰ William III's involvement in his nephew's life could be regarded as a relationship between mentor and pupil—the Stadtholder-King was personally involved in

⁴⁸ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 968.

⁴⁹ William III (1650-1702) was Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel, and King of England. He was married to Mary II Stuart (1662-1694), daughter of Charles II of England. About his role as the Stadtholder of Holland, see: Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 807-862. His relationship with Johan Willem Friso can be seen in: Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 10, 13, where Lamigue names William III as Friso's 'second father'. More general information on William III is found in: W. Troost, *William III the Stadholder-King. A Political Biography*, J.C. Grayson, trans. (Aldershot-Burlington, 2005); N. Japikse, *De geschiedenis van het Huis van Oranje-Nassau*, II, 67-78; N. Japikse, *Prins Willem III. De Stadhouder-Koning* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1930-1933).

⁵⁰ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 9, 13-14.

Johan Willem Friso to
Henriette-Amalia:
'Votre Altesse
mayan...', undated
manuscript, probably
1701 (coll. Royal
House Archives,
The Hague)



appointing military tutors to the young prince. The extensive correspondence between Friso and his mother, Henriette-Amalia, which is preserved in the Royal House Archives in The Hague, allows us to experience the atmosphere of the Stadtholders' courts. These letters, for the most part previously unpublished, shed light on the relationship between the family and the tutors, as well as provide a more or less detailed picture of the prince's education.

What did the educational programme of Johan Willem Friso look like and what were the subjects he studied? The biography of Johan Willem Friso, written by Lamigue, tells us that he studied Dutch, German, French, Latin, geography, history, mathematics, military fortifications, aiming weapons, and heraldry.⁵¹ Moreover, he received instruction in physical exercise—horse riding and using weapons which, according to Lamigue, contributed to strengthening his body and preparing him for the forthcoming difficulties of his task.⁵² The studies listed above can be divided into two

⁵¹ Ibidem, 8. Translation by the author.

⁵² Ibidem, 8-9.

main groups—humanist studies, which correspond with his task as a courtier, and practical education, which corresponds with his future as an army leader. It means that those subjects would have been taught by a number of different tutors, as it would be highly improbable that one person could teach them all.

The guidelines to the educational programme of Johan Willem Friso can be found in the memoirs of Jean Rou, a Huguenot refugee in the United Provinces and a translator at the States General in The Hague. In his memoirs, published in 1857, we find a curious passage regarding the search for a tutor for the son of the ‘count and countess of Friesland’.⁵³ Alas, Rou gives no specific details, either about the parents or about the son. Nevertheless, because he lists the event among other affairs of 1690-1691, it is certain that he was speaking of Hendrik Casimir II and Henriette-Amalia, the parents of Johan Willem Friso, then a three- or four-year old. Although one might wonder why they were already looking for a tutor for their son at such an early age, it is very likely that finding the right person and settling the various practical issues, such as finances, accommodation, and agreeing upon a teaching and education programme was very time-consuming. Friso’s parents appointed their son’s first teacher when he was six years old, apparently not wishing to lose any time regarding his education. This tender age corresponds well with the ideas of Erasmus, who said that no time should be wasted regarding the education of children.⁵⁴

Rou mentioned in his memoirs that a certain unnamed person—a ‘proselyte’—was recommended to teach Johan Willem Friso.⁵⁵ The candidate for the post was asked to write an essay in which he would explain his educational principles. According to Rou, the naturally shy tutor asked one of the ministers of the Huguenot community in The Hague to help him with this task; he, in his turn, asked Rou to do it.⁵⁶ On behalf of this proselyte, Rou wrote an educational programme for the potential tutor, in which he expressed the idea that a religious education was the basis for all the knowledge that the pupil would gain. He advocated a good relationship between the tutor and the pupil and, in order to promote understanding, suggested the use of numerous examples in the educational process.⁵⁷ It is not known whether this programme ever reached the Court in Friesland, and whether the unnamed proselyte that Rou mentioned was appointed to the post, because there were no proselytes among the known tutors of Johan Willem Friso. Taking into consideration that those events happened in The Hague where William III in his role as a Stadtholder had a major influence, it could have been that this proselyte was recommended as a tutor by the Stadtholder-King himself. There is, however, no evidence to support this assumption.

⁵³ Rou, *Mémoires inédits*, I, 299.

⁵⁴ Erasmus, ‘A Declamation’, 313; Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 24.

⁵⁵ Proselyte means a person who converted to a new religion. In this case it refers to those who converted from Catholicism to the Reformed religion. The seventeenth century definition of the word ‘proselyte’ was, according to *Dictionnaire de l’académie françoise*: ‘un homme nouvellement convertie à la Foy Catholique’. Yet, it is highly probably that the Huguenots used the same term in its Biblical connotation of a convert to the true religion (which was Judaism for the Jews), in: *Dictionnaire de l’académie françoise* (2 vols.; Paris, 1694), II, 536.

⁵⁶ Rou, *Mémoires inédits*, I, 299.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, 300-302.

On the other hand, we do have sufficient information on the actual tutors of Johan Willem Friso. He had at least two private Huguenot tutors during his educational process; and two other tutors, also native French speakers, may well have been Huguenots, though this is not proven. The first that we know of is Jean Lemonon (1653-1716), who taught Friso from 1693, when he was six years old. Lemonon was born in France to a bourgeois Huguenot family in Pont de Vesle. He had already, at fifteen, started teaching French, accompanying a nobleman named Creilsheim on his trip around Europe. Upon Creilsheim's death, Lemonon became a tutor of French to a Silesian nobleman named Marawitski. Afterwards, Lemonon studied languages, theology, philosophy and history in Poland. He continued his theology studies in Cracow and eventually, in 1683, he came to study in Franeker, where he became a preacher in the French community of that city three years later. In 1688, he was appointed professor of the French language at the University of Franeker, where he taught, until he was employed as a head tutor to Johan Willem Friso in 1693; this means that Lemonon was in charge of his pupil's entire educational process. Having taught Johan Willem Friso for seven years, his appointment ended in 1700, when the prince was thirteen, about a year before he started his university course.⁵⁸

Concerning Lemonon's abilities as a teacher, Lamigue writes that he was 'very capable of instructing and planting in his [Friso's, M.G.] spirit the seeds of piety, by the knowledge of the Truths of Christianity'.⁵⁹ From this description we learn that Lemonon taught his pupil not only French, but also religion and morals. Education was a tool which helped to shape the child's mind according to the correct religious attitude. The Nassau family belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. It is not surprising that Lemonon taught religion to Friso since he had also been a minister in Franeker before his appointment as professor at the university; it is possible that he combined the two positions in the later years. As mentioned above, one of the tasks of the Stadtholders in Friesland was to 'maintain the Reformed Church', which could be achieved only through proper education.⁶⁰ Moreover, having been a tutor to noblemen in his past, Lemonon was acquainted with the noble ideals of courtly behaviour and courtesy, which he could teach to his Frisian pupil. Lamigue writes that Henriette-Amalia wanted her son to be brought up in the spirit of his glorious ancestors who, as we have seen, were captains-general.⁶¹ Thus, Lemonon was the instrument which was supposed to teach Friso basic subjects, religion and manners, as well as to plant in him the seeds of bravery.

The second known tutor was Isaac Lamigue (d. 1728), who later wrote a biography of Johan Willem Friso.⁶² He was a Walloon minister and the prince's field preacher

⁵⁸ See also: Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool*, II, 329-330; H. Bots, 'Liste des pasteurs et proposants réfugiés dans les Provinces-Unies', in: Häslér and McKenna, ed., *La vie intellectuelle aux refuges protestants*, 49; Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 7.

⁵⁹ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 7. Translation by the author.

⁶⁰ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 305.

⁶¹ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 8.

⁶² The aforementioned biography was written in French and published in 1711. Five years later it was translated into Dutch by W.V.R. Naaukeurig, with a preface written by François Halma, and published by Johannes Oosterwijk, under the title: *Het Leven van zyne hoogheit Johan Willem Friso* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1716). In some modern books this biography is mistakenly attributed to Halma, for example in Jagtenberg, *Marijke Meijer*, 28 (footnote 65).

during military campaigns. Lamigue was born in Mauvezin near Toulouse in France, to the family of a Huguenot minister. In 1677, he became a student of the famous Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) at the Huguenot Academy of Sedan, where Bayle was a professor of philosophy.⁶³ In a letter to his brother Jacob, Pierre Bayle refers to Lamigue as a 'garçon'; it would thus be safe to assume that at the time of his arrival in Sedan he was probably not older than thirteen or fourteen, which means that he was born around 1664-1665.⁶⁴ On 21 September 1685, he registered as a theology candidate at the University of Franeker, Friesland. He was a minister in Sneek, Franeker and Leeuwarden between 1686 and 1728. In 1709, he married Fille Philipponneau, the daughter of Henri Philipponneau de Hautecourt (1646-1715), a Huguenot refugee and a minister from Saumur in France. In the United Provinces, Philipponneau settled in Franeker where he became professor of theology in 1686, at the same faculty where Lamigue was studying.⁶⁵ One might wonder whether Lamigue and Lemonon knew each other before their appointments as tutors to Johan Willem Friso, since both of them were at the University of Franeker at the same time.

We do not know the exact dates of Lamigue's tutorship, but it seems that it was in August 1702 that he was called to become Friso's tutor.⁶⁶ In that case, he was teaching after Lemonon's departure. Although it is unclear which subjects he actually taught Friso, we do know that he was also the tutor to his son, Willem Karel Hendrik Friso, whom he taught the beginnings of Latin and probably French.⁶⁷ Perhaps Lamigue's task was to educate Friso in religion in his capacity as a minister, and possibly in French and Latin, as a successor of Lemonon. Lamigue's university education, combined with his qualification as a minister and being a Frenchman with his 'sociability' were probably among the reasons to hire him as a tutor to the prince. The fact that he remained at Friso's side as his field minister probably shows that he was tutoring Friso until his majority, and was highly esteemed and trusted by his pupil.

Military education

The military education of the young prince lay in the hands of the two other tutors. These were the lieutenant colonel Sieur Essaie de Corcelles Chandieu (d.1705), and Mr. Dupui. The source for these names is the biography of Lamigue, who unfortunately gives no details about these two tutors, apart from praising the outstanding virtues of Corcelles.⁶⁸ While it was impossible to trace any information regarding Dupui, who

⁶³ See: Letter from Pierre Bayle to Jacob Bayle, 12 Jan. 1678, in: P. Bayle, *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, E. Labrousse, e.a., ed. (9 vols.; Oxford 2000-ongoing). Online edition: <http://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?Lettre-147-Pierre-Bayle-a-Jacob&lang=fr> (accessed 1 May 2012). For more information on Pierre Bayle, see: H. Bost, *Pierre Bayle* (Paris, 2006); E. Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1963-1964), second updated edition in: 'Bibliothèque de L'Évolution de l'humanité' (Paris, 1996); E. Labrousse, *Notes sur Bayle* (Paris, 1987).

⁶⁴ In comparison, Jean Rou went to study at the Huguenot *collège* in Saumur at the age of fourteen. See: Rou, *Mémoires inédits*, I, 16.

⁶⁵ Further details of Lamigue's biography are unknown. See: E.O.G. Haitsma and G.A.C. van der Lem, ed., 'Lamigue', in: *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800* (The Hague, 1990) 232. See also: 'Philipponneau, Henri', in: Haag, ed., *La France protestante*, VIII, 225.

⁶⁶ Bots, 'Liste des pasteurs', 47.

⁶⁷ S. van Tuinen, *In Prins wurdt student* (Leeuwarden, 1986) 9.

⁶⁸ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 10. His name was indeed Corcelles, and not Courcelles, as stated, for example, in: Bruggeman, *Nassau en de macht van Oranje*, 24.

probably came from the Huguenot family of Dupuy, there are some sources regarding Corcelles-Chandieu.⁶⁹ He was the second son of Paul de Chandieu, son of a French Huguenot, and Louise Polier, of a noble French Huguenot family that found refuge in Switzerland. It is likely that he was born in Switzerland, as his father was a captain in the Swiss army.⁷⁰

It is not clear when exactly the two tutors were appointed—Lamigue does not mention the dates, only stating that Corcelles-Chandieu was the head tutor and Dupui was the junior. According to another source, Essaïe de Corcelles-Chandieu was appointed to be a military tutor of Johan Willem Friso in 1699.⁷¹ They were both appointed to their positions by William III, who, as we have noted, had a keen interest in the upbringing of his Frisian relative. William III's position as the patron of the Frisian Stadtholder also allowed him to influence his choice of tutors. Both of the military tutors had been officers in the Dutch army. In his biography of Johan Willem Friso, Lamigue writes that their goal was to develop in the young prince the qualities that were to be his by birth, to form his mind and heart.⁷² The biographical dictionary of Huguenots, *La France Protestante*, states that Corcelles was appointed by William III as a chamberlain to Johan Willem Friso, without specifying the date of appointment.⁷³ By receiving a military education, Johan Willem Friso followed the tradition of his forefathers, Willem Lodewijk, Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, who had been renowned military leaders and created the so-called 'military revolution'.

The sources are not uniform in their descriptions of the positions that Corcelles-Chandieu occupied, they name three: chamberlain, tutor, and military tutor. It is most likely that he actually filled all three at the same time. Keeping in mind that a Stadtholder was foremost a military post, together with the less famous title of Captain-General, and that his prestige depended on military action, there is no reason to think that Corcelles-Chandieu did not indeed combine these positions. In 1699, Johan Willem Friso was twelve years old, and had to be trained as a commander. William III assigned him his own officer, because he wanted to make sure that Friso received the proper military training that would allow him to inherit William III's position of Stadtholder of Holland in the future.⁷⁴ One year later, while continuing his studies at the University of Franeker, Friso still had Corcelles-Chandieu and Dupui as his tutors.

⁶⁹ There are two men named Du Puy mentioned in the army of William III: François Du Puy, sieur of Cambon, in charge of the fortifications until 1692, and Charles Du Puy in charge of the fortifications until 1695. See: F.J.G. ten Raa, *Het Staatsche Leger, 1568-1795*, I (Breda, 1911) 393. It is unclear whether one of them was Johan Willem Friso's tutor mentioned here.

⁷⁰ See: 'Chandieu, Antoine de', in: Haag, ed., *La France protestante*, III, 334.

⁷¹ See: *Leger museum*, <http://collectie.legermuseum.nl/str.hoefer/strategien/1001110.html> (accessed 24 Sep. 2010) from: B.M. Vallière, *Honneur et fidélité. Histoire des Suisses au service étranger* (Neuchâtel, 1913) 361, 367, 369; Ten Raa, *Het Staatsche Leger*, I, 230.

⁷² Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 9.

⁷³ 'Chandieu, Antoine de', in: *La France protestante*, III, 334.

⁷⁴ William III named Johan Willem Friso as his successor, see: L. Frey and M. Frey, ed., *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession. An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Westport, 1995) 318; H.H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange. The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge-New York-Melbourne, 1988) 149.

While neither Lemonon nor Lamigue is mentioned in the correspondence between Johan Willem Friso and his mother or father, the name of Corcelles surfaces several times. One example can be seen in a letter to Henriette-Amalia, his mother, written probably in 1701, during his stay at the University of Utrecht: ‘...I did not dare to ask Milord to go to The Hague, because he has already told Mr. Corcelle that I would not go there, I will beg the King [William III, MG] to go with him to Friesland to see Your Highness and my sisters...’.⁷⁵ This letter shows William III’s personal attention to the educational process, which emphasises the aforementioned idea of his seemingly close relationship with his nephew.⁷⁶

Furthermore, Mr. Dupui is mentioned by Johan Willem Friso in another letter to his mother: ‘Monsieur Dupuis having returned from England, told me that according to the King [William III, MG], I will take part in the campaign, I did not want to wait much longer to tell Your Highness the news, which is advantageous for me, and where I will profit a lot under such an experienced general as the King...’.⁷⁷ An interesting fact about this letter is that the Prince wrote it on 11 March 1702, three days after Willem III had died in England, but it is obvious that the news had not yet reached the Dutch shores. What this letter clearly shows is that Johan Willem Friso, first of all, saw William III as a great general, who could teach him much on the battle field, and, second, that Friso understood the importance of his military training and position.

Relationship with the tutors

As mentioned before, the family correspondence sheds some light on the relationship between the various parties in the educational process. The correspondence of Henriette-Amalia relates a curious anecdote regarding the tutors of Johan Willem Friso. In an undated letter to an unknown person at the court in The Hague, she complained about the behaviour of her son’s tutors, and urges the person to whom the letter is addressed to take steps against them:

I even dare to remind you Sir that when I saw you during my last visit to The Hague, you assured me that you would take measures to make the tutors show the respect that they owe me and to take steps so that I will have no more trouble with them. It is in consequence of this declaration that I ask you to support by your vote the justified complaints that I believed to be _____⁷⁸ posed to His Majesty [William III, MG], regarding the behav-

⁷⁵ ‘...je n’ay pas ausé demandé a Milord pour aller a la haye parce qu’il avoit dit a Mr. Corcelle que je ni iroi pas, je la suplie de demander aux Roy [William III, MG] que ne pusse aller avec en Frie pour voir votre altesse et mes sœur...’. Translation by the author. RHA, MS. A26a-2 no.3, Johan Willem Friso to Henriette-Amalia: ‘Votre Altesse mayan...’, undated manuscript, probably 1701. It is not known to whom Friso refers as ‘Milord’. Unfortunately, many manuscripts in the Royal House Archives in The Hague bear no date. Identification of the time-frame can sometimes be based on the contents of the letter itself. In this case, I suggest 1701 because William III is still mentioned; we know he died in 1702. On the other hand Corcelle was appointed governor of Johan Willem Friso in 1699, which leaves a gap of three years.

⁷⁶ Another letter which mentions Corcelles is: ‘...que Mr de Corcelle m’assure que vous vous estes par vostre bonne conduite (attiré) pendant que vous avez etez a la Court lhonneur de la bienveillance du Roy...’; RHA, MS. A27-3, Henriette-Amalia to Johan Willem Friso, ‘Mon Cher fils j’ay...’, 27 Aug. 1701.

⁷⁷ ‘Monsieur Dupuis etant revenu d’Angleterre et m’aïant dit de la part du Roi [William III] que je ferais la campagne, je n’ai pas voulu atandre plus longtems pour faire part de cette nouvelle a Votre Altesse qui m’est avantageuse et ou j’aurai beaucoup a profiter sous un général aussi expérimenté qu’est le Roi...’. Translation by the author. RHA, MS. A26a-2, no.6, by Johan Willem Friso to Henriette-Amalia: ‘Votre Altesse maïant fait l’honneur...’, 11 Mar. 1702.

⁷⁸ Illegible in the text of the manuscript.

jour of the tutors of my son, who, despite the rights that I possess as mother and by law, deigned to fire without grounds his most faithful members of the household.⁷⁹

This is indeed an unflattering description of the tutors' behaviour, and shows that Henriette-Amalia was utterly annoyed by their attitude. Does this description suit a respected professor at a university, military officers or a minister? We do not know as the names are omitted. However, since Henriette-Amalia uses the word 'gouverneurs' in the plural, it might indeed refer to the two military officers. The possible confirmation of this assumption appears in that earlier letter previously mentioned, naming 'Mr. de Corcelles', dated 27 August 1701, from Henriette-Amalia to Johan Willem Friso, where she accepts his apology.⁸⁰

Assuming that Henriette-Amalia referred to Corcelles and Dupui as the trouble-making tutors, she probably demanded a sincere apology from Corcelles, if he wished to keep his position. Although she accepted his apology, after the death of William III in March 1702, she decided to change the tutors. In his biography, Lamigue does not state who of the educators were fired. In their place, Henriette-Amalia nominated a Frisian nobleman, Colonel Schelte van Heemstra, aged thirty-five, a person 'known for his virtues and qualities'.⁸¹

It seems quite possible that Henriette-Amalia, who was not satisfied with the tutors' performance and what she considered their lack of respect, dismissed them as soon as their protector was dead. I would suggest that the explanation for this apparent lack of respect might lie in the orders given by William III to the tutors. It is possible that Henriette-Amalia demanded other emphases in the education of her son, and the incident could have been a result of conflicting orders coming from the mother and the patron. This interpretation seems probable, given that a similar situation occurred in the education of Friso's father, Hendrik Casimir, a situation which is worth exploring in some detail.

Hendrik Casimir II was raised at the Frisian Stadtholder court, located in Leeuwarden. Like his son after him, Hendrik Casimir lost his father, Willem Frederik, at an early age; in his case he was seven years old. This death occurred in 1664, and

⁷⁹ '...J'ose même Mr. vous faire souvenir que lorsque je vous ay vue a mon dernier voyage de la Haye vous mavez assure que vous prendriez soin de faire observer aux gouverneurs le respect que me doivent et de faire en sorte que je naurois plus de chagrin a attendre de leur part. Cest en consequence de cette declaration que je vous prie d'appuyer de vostre suffrage les justes plaintes que j'ai cru de voir _____ (illegible in the text) passer a S.M. [William III, MG] touchant la conduite des gouverneurs de mon fils qui malgré les droits attachés a ma qualité de mere et de justice se sont mis sur le pied de congédier sans raison ses plus fidels domestiques...'. Translation by the author. RHA, MS. A26a-123: Letter from Henriette Amalia to an unknown person 'Quoy que par plus...', no date.

⁸⁰ 'My dear son... about the rest, you can tell Mr. de Corcelles on my behalf that his letter pleased me by the news that he brought me about your health and your behaviour, and that I will add the good and beautiful objections which he made to me hoping that his behaviour will comply, and saying that if it changes for the better, it will be more advantageous for him than the one that was disadvantageous for me, the one that he had until now. God, I forgive him...'. Translation by the author. ('Mon Cher fils... du reste pouvez vous dire de ma part a Mr de Corcelles que sa lettre ma été bien agreable par raport aux nouvelles qu'il ma appris de vostre santé et de vostre conduite et que j'ajouterai soit aus bonnes et belles protestations qu'il me fait avenant que sa Conduite y repondra, qui si elle ce change en mieux, luy sera plus avantageur que ma été desavantageuse celle qu'il a tenu jusques apresent, Dieu je luy pardonne...'). Translation by the author. RHA, MS. A27-3, Henriette-Amalia to Johan Willem Friso, 27 Aug. 1701.

⁸¹ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, 14; Guibal, *Johan Willem Friso*, 69; Bruggeman, *Nassau en de macht van Oranje*, 24, mentions the name 'Schelto', but this is certainly a mistake.

left Hendrik Casimir's mother in charge of his upbringing. She, Albertine Agnes (1634-1696), was a sister of the Stadtholder of Holland, Willem II. On 5 March 1672, Albertine Agnes wrote that she had appointed Jean de Morel, Sieur de Longval, as head tutor to the fifteen-year old Hendrik Casimir II.⁸² We know that the De Morels were a Huguenot family: François Morel had been a sixteenth-century minister at the church of Sainte Marie aux Mines, and another person, Jean Morel, had been a sixteenth-century Huguenot martyr.⁸³ Although we can assume that this tutor was a Huguenot, there is unfortunately no biographical information available on Sieur De Morel himself. The short biography published in 1865, by J.W. van Sypesteyn, as an introduction to the letters of Hendrik Casimir II, names two other De Morels as possible tutors—Gabriel and Isaac, who both fled from France to the United Provinces.⁸⁴ However, this option is improbable, because the appointment document explicitly names Jean de Morel.⁸⁵

This situation, which came to pass eight years after Willem Frederik's death, shows that there was tension between the different parties involved in the education of his son. An exchange of letters between Albertine Agnes, and Prince Johan Maurits, his uncle, sheds some light on the struggle to control the educational process. In these letters, we see that Johan Maurits asked Albertine Agnes to allow her son to stay with him and the army of William III. She agreed to this arrangement, sending De Morel to take care of the count's education even while her son was away from home.⁸⁶ It seems that this did not work the way it was intended by Albertine Agnes. In the letters written between 15 September 1673 and 7 October 1673, we find that Johan Maurits was strongly opposed to the teaching methods of De Morel, who was supported by Albertine Agnes. He was accused of treating the sixteen-year old count as a 'child or a little schoolboy', and not allowing him to 'run in the ring'.⁸⁷ The response of Albertine Agnes was firm, asserting that the tutor had her full support, and was following her orders in instructing her son. She repeatedly stressed in her letter that the education of Hendrik Casimir II was her main goal, and that she would not tolerate any interference.⁸⁸ Her cousin, on the other hand, wanted his nephew to have more physical exercise and less general education.⁸⁹ Eventually, the count was brought back to Leeuwarden, and only one year later did he join the army of William III.⁹⁰

This argument between Albertine Agnes and Prince Johan Maurits indicates that the conflict between court education and military education was already apparent in the generation before Johan Willem Friso. The Frisian Stadtholders were always under

⁸² RHA, MS. A26-223, 'Ayant jugé...', Albertine Agnes to Jean de Morel, 5 Mar. 1672. Unfortunately, I could not discover De Morel's date of birth and death.

⁸³ See: 'Morel, François', 'Morel, Jean', in: *La France protestante*, VII, 500-501.

⁸⁴ Van Sypesteyn, *Geschiedkundige bijdragen*, 5 (footnote 1).

⁸⁵ See: RHA, MS. A26-223, 'Ayant jugé...'

⁸⁶ Van Sypesteyn, *Geschiedkundige bijdragen*, 5 (footnote 1). Sypesteyn writes that De Morel might have been one of the Morel brothers—Gabriel and Isaac. This, however, is probably wrong as in the appointment letter, the name Jean De Morel is mentioned. See: RHA, MS. A26-223, 'Ayant jugé...'

⁸⁷ Sypesteyn, *Geschiedkundige bijdragen*, bijlagen, IX. Letter from Johan Maurits to Albertine Agnes, 15 Sep. 1673. Running in a ring was a kind of Early Modern game, related to tournaments.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, bijlagen, X, XII. Letter of Albertine Agnes to Johan Maurits, 20 Sep. 1673, 7 Oct. 1673.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, bijlagen, IX, XI. Letter of Johan Maurits to Albertine Agnes, 15 Sep. 1673, 26 Sep. 1673.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, 6.

pressure to perform well in the army, in order to justify their position. It is possible, therefore, that Henriette-Amalia made the same demands as did Albertine Agnes, regarding the focus of her son's studies.

University education

Johan Willem Friso received his education at home until the age of thirteen. This was in 1700 after which time he continued his studies first at the University of Franeker, in Friesland, and then at Utrecht University. While at these universities, he was still under the supervision of his head tutor. Lemonon quit his position in 1700, just when Friso was starting his studies in Franeker but it is possible that Lamigue, Corcelles and Dupuis continued their task there. The *Album studiosorum academiae Franekerensis* shows the name of 'Johannes Guiliemus Friso, Princeps Nassaviae', among the students registered in the year 1700.⁹¹ In Franeker, he was educated by two Dutch professors – Willem Coutier and Bernardus Fullenius junior. Willem Coutier was professor in history and rhetoric between 1699 and 1723.⁹² He taught Friso the *Commentarii* of Caesar who, according to Lamigue, was an example of an extraordinary conqueror, strategist and hero.⁹³ The book describes the military tactics and strategies which helped Caesar to win the war against the Gauls, and therefore could be a helpful tool in Friso's future military career.⁹⁴

The second professor was Bernardus Fullenius junior, professor of mathematics, who taught between 1684 and 1707.⁹⁵ During his maths lessons Johan Willem Friso studied the *Elements* of Euclid and the art of fortifications, 'knowledge that was so necessary to those who are called to command armies, and from which Prince Maurits gained such advantages against the Spaniards'.⁹⁶ Thanks to the tactics of Maurits and of Willem Lodewijk, the Dutch Revolt against the Spaniards was a success. Maurits was regarded as one of the best military leaders of his age and as an example for the future princes of Orange and Nassau, as we see from Lamigue's words. Essentially, both professors used classical sources to teach the Prince military strategy and tactics, and historical examples to emphasise the virtue of a leader. It is also important to note that these were the subjects mentioned in Friso's biography, which means that its author, Lamigue, saw them as the most important ones for the Prince.

A year and a half later, Johan Willem Friso enrolled at Utrecht University, where he was taught once again by a Huguenot preceptor – the minister and scholar Elie Saurin (1639-1703), who taught him mathematics and probably catechism.⁹⁷ Saurin was a notable figure among the Huguenots in the United Provinces because of his quarrel with another Huguenot, Pierre Jurieu, professor at the Illustrious School in

⁹¹ S.J. Fockema Andreae and Th.J. Meijer, ed., *Album studiosorum academiae Franekerensis* (Franeker, 1968) 270.

⁹² Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 11; R.E.O. Ekkart, *Franeker professorenportretten* (Franeker, 1977) 249.

⁹³ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 12.

⁹⁴ There were numerous editions of the book, for example: J. Caesar, *Commentariorum de bello Gallico quatuor posteriors* (Cologne, 1589).

⁹⁵ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 12; Ekkart, 'Schilders aan het hof', 237.

⁹⁶ Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, I, 12.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, 13; Guibal, *Johan Willem Friso*, 69.

Rotterdam.⁹⁸ Friso's other educator in Utrecht was Joannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703), professor in history, rhetoric, and governance. Graevius was born in Naumburg, and became a well-known Classics scholar.⁹⁹ Under his supervision, Friso learned ancient geography and the *Historiae Philippicae* of Justinus, a Roman historian. Classical education reflected the need of a courtier, an aristocrat, to be able to maintain a conversation on any subject.

With the death of William III in 1702, Johan Willem Friso inherited the title of Prince of Orange, in addition to his former titles of Prince of Nassau-Dietz and Stadtholder of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe. It was also the time when his education was almost complete. The right to hold the title of Prince of Orange was disputed by Frederick I, King of Prussia, who claimed that he had the right to inherit it.¹⁰⁰ Soon enough, Johan Willem Friso became involved in the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1709, he married Maria-Louisa of Hessen-Kassel, who bore him a daughter, Anne Charlotte Amalia, in 1710, and a son, Willem Karel Hendrik Friso, the future Willem IV, who was born in 1711, after his death.¹⁰¹ However, on 12 July 1711, in the middle of the military campaign, Johan Willem Friso and his close entourage left the French city of Lille which was occupied by the Dutch troops. Two days later, he arrived at the town of Moerdijk, where he boarded a barque that was to take him across the river Hollands Diep. This simple endeavour had tragic results—a strong wind overturned the barque, causing the Prince to fall into the water and drown. His last words were: 'God, have pity on me, we perish'.¹⁰² The Prince's body was found only nine days later; he was buried in the Jacobijner Church in Leeuwarden.¹⁰³

Conclusion

In this article, we have seen why Huguenot tutors were hired, as well as what the ideas and the practices in the educational programme of Johan Willem Friso were. It seems that this case, the circumstances brought together two opportunities: a job for the refugee and a French Calvinistic tutor for the noble family. Employing a Huguenot tutor became a common practice among the Dutch nobility because having a native speaker of French as a tutor was an advantage; the ability to speak this language was particularly valued at the time. This was due, on the one hand, to its importance on the international scene and, on the other, to its necessity for life as a courtier. French was necessary for the prince to maintain his status, and the Huguenot tutors provided teaching services. The Huguenots' French background and manners were another reason for their popularity, as these features were important elements of any future courtier's education. However, those tutors were chosen not only for their knowledge of French, their intellectual qualities or military skills, but also because they were

⁹⁸ 'Elie Saurin', in: Haag, ed., *La France protestante*, IX, 174-175; F.R.J. Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu. Theoloog en politikus der Refuge* (Kampen, 1967), more specifically: 333-335, 338-342, 433-434.

⁹⁹ 'Graevius', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, ed. (10 vols.; Leiden, 1911-1937), IV, 669.

¹⁰⁰ Japikse, *De geschiedenis van het Huis van Oranje-Nassau*, II, 84-85.

¹⁰¹ 'Johan Willem Friso', in: *Oranje-Nassau van A tot Z* (Utrecht, 2002) 45-46.

¹⁰² Lamigue, *Histoire du Prince d'Orange*, II, 278.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, 282-283.

Calvinists. The tutor had to share the religious views of the family who were the guardians of the faith. The Nassau family in Leeuwarden, just like their Orange cousins in The Hague, and like many other Calvinist noble families in Europe, employed a Huguenot tutor for those reasons.

Regarding the educational programme, it is clear that the Nassau family wished to instruct its heirs both in humanistic studies, befitting a prince and courtier, and in the military arts, necessary for a soldier and military leader. In the case of Johan Willem Friso, the choice of subjects to be studied, as well as the testimony of Lamigue, his biographer, show that the educational programme was designed to achieve this goal. The Prince's parents and uncle thus appointed several personal head and sub-tutors, from various backgrounds—preachers, scholars, nobles and military men. Four of the five whose names are known were French-speaking Protestants, which corresponds well with the ideas presented above. Of course, apart from the qualities of the tutors, much depended on Johan Willem Friso and his personal inclinations which, in his case, were more on the military and less on the intellectual side. Nevertheless, he succeeded in achieving a good command of French and became a good army leader, a position that he maintained until his premature death in 1711. The tradition of employing a Huguenot tutor involved in the educational process continued with the son of Johan Willem Friso—Willem Karel Hendrik Friso, who had Isaac Lamigue as his tutor.¹⁰⁴ All in all, Johan Willem Friso therefore had a balanced educational programme, one aimed at preparing him for his future role as the Prince of Orange-Nassau.

¹⁰⁴ Van Tuinen, *In Prins wordt student*, 9.