



‘Here one comes to see, and be seen’* *Flânerie* in the Seventeenth Century

• BIANCA M. DU MORTIER •

Nowadays, if one seeks the origins of the phenomenon of *flânerie*, one will almost immediately find oneself amidst the massive urban regeneration of Paris that took place immediately after the mid-nineteenth century. With its broad boulevards and wide pavements, the French capital presented for the first time a dynamic and diverse aspect, in which servant girls strolled around the shops at the same time as the well-to-do middle class and even the aristocracy. It was in June 1853 that Georges-Eugène, Baron Haussmann (1809-1891) embarked on the immense project to make the old, decaying inner city of Paris more open, more accessible and, most importantly, healthier. His instructions had come from Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1873), proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III a year earlier, whose ambitious plan was to put the capital on an equal, and above all ‘modern’ footing with cities like London and Berlin.¹

Until then Parisians had had to contend with a maze of narrow, unsurfaced streets and mean, filthy alleyways, where fast-moving carriages claimed countless victims (fig. 1).² The Genoese Gian-Paolo Marana (c. 1642-1693), who moved to Paris in 1681, wrote, ‘As regards the coaches, there is an infinite number here which are ramshackle and covered in mud, and

Detail of fig. 9

their only purpose is to kill the living. ... The coachmen are so violent...’³ The German lawyer Joachim Christoph Neimitz (1679-1753), who visited Paris in 1727, warned prospective visitors that ‘in wet and bad weather I would not advise anyone to dress well, the slightest amount of rain renders the Parisian streets impassable because of the mire they are filled with...’⁴ This was certainly not a place in which to go for a stroll or saunter aimlessly.

Walking, idling and sauntering had of old been the preserve of the French royal family, their courtiers, the nobility and the *haute-bourgeoisie* who had private parks and gardens in town at their disposal (fig. 2).⁵ The Parisian

Fig. 1

PIETER VAN BLOEMEN,
Carriage, after 1667.
Black chalk, brown
wash, 120 x 163 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1943-13(R).



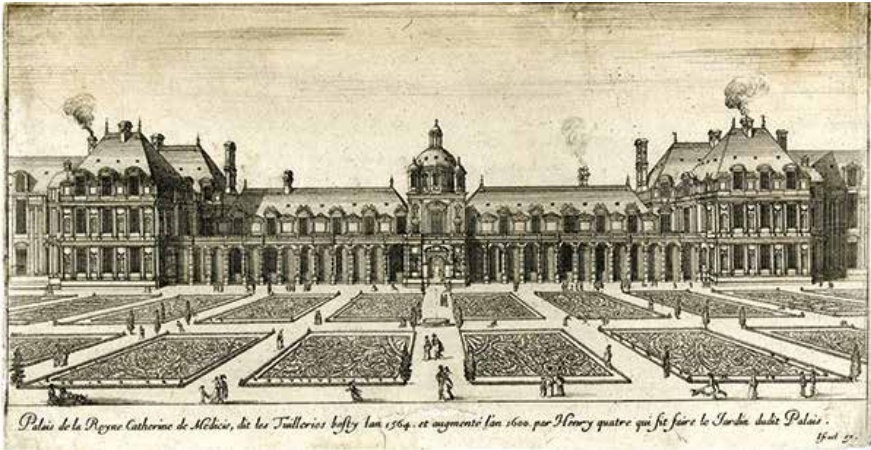


Fig. 2
STEFANO
DELLA BELLA and
JEAN MAROT after
ISRAEL SILVESTRE,
*Palais de la reine
Catherine de Médicis,
dit les Tuileries,
bâti l'an 1564*
(The Palace of
Queen Catherine
de Médicis, called
the Tuileries, built
in 1654), 1650-55.
Etching,
127 x 244 mm.
London, British
Museum, inv. no.
1928,0713.57.

lawyer and historian Henri Sauval (1623-1676) belonged to this privileged elite and had access to the 'Famous Gardens of the Tuileries', where he saw 'an infinite number of persons of consequence who frequented it, a large number of Beautiful Ladies who embellished it, and an extreme number of respectable folk, who always walked there. Entrance is prohibited to lackeys and to the riffraff: it is very spacious and quite capable of holding a large party of people, if they were to gather there at the same time'.⁶

Although the city authorities had gradually started lining some streets with trees during the eighteenth century, the only places Parisians could enjoy a pleasant walk was along the city ramparts or at one of the *promenades du Mail* where they could participate in a game of pall mall or stroll in the shade of the lime trees.⁷ The private and public circuits remained strictly separated.

Growing industrialization and the resultant mass movement of people to the city meant that by the middle of the nineteenth century Paris was bursting at the seams and major projects of urban development had become vital.⁸ At the same time French society was changing: previously predominantly aristocratic and class-bound, it became

increasingly meritocratic. The ensuing social mobility was a new phenomenon. Never before had the middle classes been so influential and wealthy or such a force to be reckoned with.⁹

All the same, these burgeoning middle classes were still excluded from the exclusive *al fresco* pleasures of the nobility and the upper classes. Nevertheless, they wanted to show off and be seen: the *grande avenue des Champs-Élysées* (fig. 3) accommodated an elegant *défilé* of around four hundred carriages in 1838, but by 1842 the number had increased tenfold.¹⁰ As early as 1830 French writer Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) had explained in his *Treatise on the Elegant Life* that 'an elegant life is the perfection of a life of outward show and material wealth'.¹¹

Into this ever expanding urban landscape, which to a growing extent enabled public exposure, in 1859 French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) introduced an artist 'working' this new city landscape: the *flâneur*. He strolled or sauntered along the Parisian boulevards, absorbing the hustle and bustle of the modern town, yet remaining an isolated entity – observing, not participating.¹² Baudelaire's idea caught on and eventually sparked many theories about the impact of the massive social, economic and artistic changes during

the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating in German philosopher and art critic Walter Benjamin's (1892-1940) unfinished *Passagenwerk* written between 1927 and 1940 and published posthumously.¹³ Benjamin's work on *flânerie* became highly influential and is to this day considered one of the most authoritative studies on the subject.

Yet Baudelaire's and Benjamin's perspective is limited to the artist's perception of this 'new' phenomenon of *flânerie*. They fail to include the broader social context and draw attention away from the fact that it may have been new to France, but had existed in other European countries in previous centuries. The link between *flâner* and changes in social mobility was already evident in these earlier periods and this phenomenon can be traced back to the seventeenth-century Low Countries. This article aims to reveal more of the

origins of *flânerie* through the Dutch example – which at the time was unique in Northern Europe, while trying to establish the parameters required for the development of this phenomenon. At the heart of this trend is the need for public display, for showing off either by walking or driving.

The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century

In the Netherlands the political, economic and social developments over the previous centuries had been quite different from those in France. From the seventeenth century onwards this relatively open and democratic society ruled by Stadholders, a States-General and *regenten* allowed for more social mobility. Dutch society became a meritocracy where achievements were prized above land and family history. Some of the hardworking brewers, merchants, traders, printers and even writers managed to climb the

Fig. 3
J. LUBIN VAUZELLE,
*A View of the Tuileries
from the Champs-
Élysées, across the
Place de la Concorde,*
1794-1836.
Watercolour
over black chalk,
252 x 356 mm.
London, British
Museum, inv. no.
1990,0127.15.



social ladder through shrewd deals, marriages, partnerships and ‘friendships’ that allowed them access to local and national government or commercial bodies and enabled them to become *regenten*.¹⁴ The ensuing new layer of society, the *patriciaat*, was basically no different from the other *burghers* save for the offices they held. However, these patricians now felt they needed to set themselves apart from the ‘ordinary’ *burghers* and so they consolidated their interests and status in this new and closed class.¹⁵ A great many of them bought land, built stately homes and country residences and added the names of these estates to their family names, calling themselves ‘Lord of...’ ever since. Others who were knighted by foreign rulers for services rendered saw themselves as aristocrats and began bearing a family crest.¹⁶

A strong commercial spirit and the awareness of the need for good infrastructure to cater for trade in bustling and booming cities such as Amsterdam led to carefully executed town planning. One of the objectives was to provide room for strolling, sauntering or idling, in the sense of aimlessly walking back and forth, now generally practised by high and low alike and, most importantly, at the same time and place. This was a result of the growing wealth of the population in the coastal provinces. In the periods 1500-1650 and 1650-1800 the real wealth per capita tripled, and between the 1570s and the 1620s the population in the Province of Holland nearly doubled while urbanization rose from forty to nearly sixty percent, increasing the percentage of people likely to work for wages. The abolition of the Catholic holidays in the wake of the Reformation meant that the working year had increased from about 260 to 307 days, but this still allowed for six working days and Sunday off. At the same time, the rapid population growth caused a steep rise in the demand for goods and services.¹⁷

In this socially mobile society, public exposure was very important and many contemporary newspaper articles, diaries, plays, songs and sermons attest to its popularity – but also to the criticism it sparked.

Brageeren

Emulation is an indelible part of human nature. At the end of the long Middle Ages, known for the strict systems of class-defining rules, including vast numbers of sumptuary laws, the desire to dress one step up became ever more apparent.¹⁸ In the course of the sixteenth century it was not only the upper and middle classes who strove to dress above their station; even people who earned a much smaller income, those in service, for instance, could aspire to be better dressed. They could inherit or be given expensive or fashionable items of clothing; they could buy them in the flourishing second-hand clothes market, or even steal them.¹⁹ In an edict on the sale, cutting, embellishing and wearing of silk fabrics issued by Emperor Charles v (1500-1558) in Brussels in May 1550, concern is expressed about the ‘intolerable expense’ incurred by many of his subjects to obtain these precious silks – which, according to their rank, most of them were not even entitled to wear.²⁰ Yet despite laws and regulations, the consumption of luxury goods grew steadily, with the urge to show off one’s newly acquired finery keeping pace. Where better to exhibit oneself than in the streets of the towns and cities?

The first reference to parading in the Dutch language can be found in the work of the Flemish lexicographer Cornelis Kiliaan (1529-1607) who in 1599 defined the verb *bragghèren* as ‘to walk in many different ways, walk arrogantly, show off.’²¹ Arrogance and vanity were essential to *brageeren*: ‘They are off to parade in colourful clothes/ They are very pompous/ One is supposed to treat them as gentlemen’ was sung in 1544.²² In another song, a rich young man – facing death – ponders

where his soul would eventually go and 'Who will keep my treasures and my clothes/ In which I used to parade so conceited/ Someone else will use them to my discontent'.²³ And, 'I recently went for a walk, Showing off (with) my pretty Love, A little triumphant'.²⁴ The origin of the surviving printed evidence suggests that the custom of *brageeren* most likely originated in the Southern Netherlands and was probably not introduced into the Northern Netherlands until after the fall of Antwerp in 1585.

Amsterdam poet and playwright Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585-1618) used it in his satirical comedy *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo* (1618), set in Amsterdam, to describe the protagonist, Jerolimo Rodrigo – formerly from Antwerp and an impoverished squire: 'The bachelor is approaching, and treads like a Prince.../ He is well bedecked, and coming to parade/ As if he had a thousand pounds per annum to spend'.²⁵ It is all pretence, however, for Jerolimo is as poor as a church mouse – as is Francisco, the lover of Antwerp prostitute Marie in the play *Trijntje Cornelis* (1653) by Dutch poet, diplomat and playwright Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). The heroine, Trijntje Cornelis – born north of Amsterdam, young, naive and newly-wed – visits Antwerp for the first time.

There she is accosted by Marie and her lover, who steal Trijntje's silk stockings, the proceeds of which allow Francisco to change his worn boots for quality items and subsequently '... parade! Now I can show myself and mingle with the grandees'.²⁶ Similarly the young woman in the song *Ha Bonjour Margriete* – by obscure author J.Z. Baron from Leiden – desperately wants 'to parade,/ Like the Princesses in the Hague/ With silk clothes'.²⁷ Of course these texts exaggerate, after all they are taken from popular comedies and songs, but they clearly demonstrate the constant need for emulation even at the lower levels of society.

Strolling in Town

Where would the fictional Margriete – dressed to the nines – have gone in The Hague? One has only to delve into the diary of widower David Beck (1594-1634), a schoolmaster in the city, to find out.²⁸ Whenever his school duties permitted, Beck – who was fond of strolling – went for walks around his home town, either visiting relatives on the way, dropping in at the wet-nurse's house where his baby daughter was being cared for, or wandering through one of the public parks and gardens while meeting acquaintances along the way.²⁹ Since the early seventeenth century the Haagse Bos (fig. 4) – an oak forest, originally royal hunting grounds, which had been transformed into a park on the edge of the town centre – had been 'a place ... where Princes, Earls, Lords, Counsellors, Advocates and all sorts of people usually walk to refresh themselves after their labours'.³⁰

The presence of such a large variety of people would not have been uncommon in The Hague, as the town was the administrative seat of the Republic and the residence of the Stadholders. One October afternoon Beck and his brothers Hendrick and Steven walked 'deep into the Bos' staying there until six o'clock alternately walking, resting,

Fig. 4

ROELANT ROGHMAN,
*View in the Haagse
Bos, Looking Towards
The Hague, 1637-92.*
Black chalk, grey
wash, 194 x 258 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1899-A-4241.



idling, wrestling, jumping, playing and upon returning 'practising for the health of the body' a game of stick throwing.³¹ Upon entering the Bos they usually passed the pall mall or *pallemagiebane* but never took part in a game or stopped to watch.³² Another of Beck's favourite haunts was the Voorhout, which he usually strolled up and down several times (fig. 5) – the established custom in this avenue of elms, with a growing number of splendid town residences alongside it. It dated back to around 1536 and by David Beck's time the trees had fully matured, providing plenty of shade in summer.³³ Beck's references to the Voorhout are manifold, from seeing passing royalty on horseback to young princes, nobility and young gentlemen playing a ball game and ambassadors in their carriages taking the evening air.³⁴ To accommodate the latter, the Voorhout was paved between 1621 and 1631. It was a cherished spot for many of the inhabitants

of The Hague and so much so that Constantijn Huygens – who had lived on the Voorhout with his parents and siblings – even devoted a famous panegyric to it: 'Batava Tempe, 't Voorhout van 's Gravenhage'.³⁵

During the second half of the 1640s William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz, Stadholder of Friesland (1613-1664), recorded his many walks in the Voorhout – mostly in June – either alone or accompanying Stadholder Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and his wife Amalia of Solms, or Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia. William Frederick occasionally dined with Frederick Henry and the two of them would then stroll along the Voorhout.³⁶

British visitor William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford (1643-1719), wrote in June 1663: 'This town [The Hague] is one of the most pleasant places of Europe ... for here are ... fair large streets all set with trees, everywhere delightful walks out and within the town. The chiefest [walk] is ...

Fig. 5
JAN VAN CALL,
*Lange Voorhout in
's-Gravenhage with
the Minster on the
Right*, c. 1690.
Pen and grey ink,
colour wash,
179 x 278 mm.
The Hague,
Municipal Archives,
inv. no. kl. A 426.



called the Voorhout, where every evening ... after supper, about nine o'clock in the summer only, they [men and women] walk in the same place on foot till 10 or 11 o'clock.³⁷

London

It is not surprising that Fitzwilliam was impressed by the various walks in The Hague. He lived at Milton Hall near the cathedral city of Peterborough (Cambridgeshire) but as a Member of Parliament was called to London regularly. The situation in the English capital was quite different from that in The Hague at this time. The parks in London had traditionally been royal property and private, with the exception of Hyde Park which Charles I (1600-1649) opened to the general public in 1637. London had suffered the consequences of the Civil War (1642-51); previously royal Hyde Park had been occupied for seven years by troops that in 1660 used its grounds to build forts. When Charles II (1630-1685) returned to England from exile in the Netherlands and was restored to the throne, Hyde Park once again became a royal park, was restocked with deer and accommodated grand carriage parades. On 1 May 1661, British writer John Evelyn (1620-1705) wrote in his diary: 'I went to Hyde Park to take the air, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches...'³⁸ On 1 May 1663 the civil servant and diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) went 'towards Hide Park, whither all the world, I think, are going...'³⁹

Upon his return the king had also ordered the redesign of one of the other royal parks, St James's Park between the palaces of Westminster and St James (fig. 6). It was to be laid out with elaborate gardens, a canal, avenues of trees and a Pall Mall which Charles II had been introduced to as 'pelle melle' in France. On 2 April 1661 Pepys recorded in his diary: 'To St James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele, the first

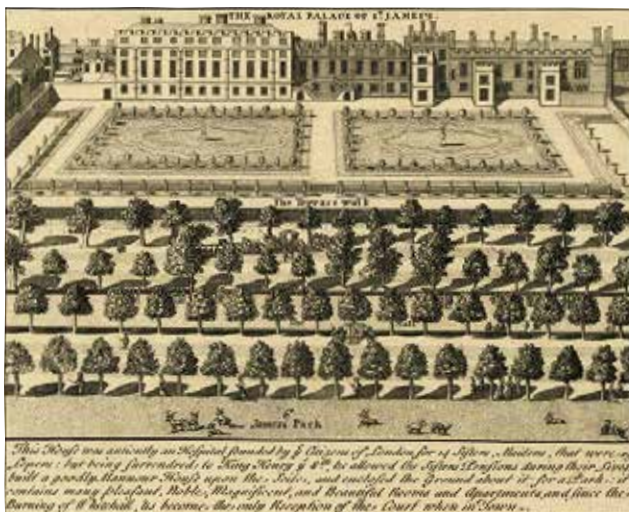


Fig. 6

JOHN BOWLES,
*The Royal Palace of
St James's, 'British
Views', 1724.*
Etching and
engraving,
177 x 218 mm.
London, British
Museum, inv. no.
1880,1113.2134.

time that ever I saw the sport.'⁴⁰ On 15 May 1663 Pepys talked to the 'keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball'.⁴¹ Both park and mall were open to the public.⁴²

During the following decades the Mall became one of the most fashionable walks in London, probably due to loss of interest in the game,⁴³ and at the end of the seventeenth century Sir Francis Child (1642-1713) – banker, politician and jeweller to King William III from 1689 to 1697 – had it in mind when describing the Voorhout in The Hague: '[It] is a walk boarded in like our Mall in St James's Park, but of the shape of an L. Round it is a large road with high elms on each side [of] it ... This Voorhout is an open part of this town, where are many beautiful houses pleasantly situated on account of the noble trees...'⁴⁴

Paris

As we have seen, people simply did not walk in the streets of Paris. When the Parisian writer Charles Sorel, Sieur de Souvigny (1582?-1674), published

Les Lois de la galanterie in 1640, he described the various ways of ‘tackling’ the capital.⁴⁵ Because of the increasing amount of dirt (i.e. faeces) in the streets, ‘the Lords and men of substance’ who used to go on horseback – albeit never without protective leg covers – retired into carriages and, more specifically, the expensive covered *carosses* or coaches. One’s social standing would be determined by the question ‘Does he have a coach?’ and the required answer would have been ‘He keeps a fine coach’. Keeping one’s coach – or preferably two – in pristine condition was essential ‘for the good reputation of a gentleman’.⁴⁶

Even when Russian writer Nicolay Karamzin (1766-1826) visited Paris in 1789-90 he still found that ‘a coach is indispensable here, at least for us foreigners; but the French have found a way of walking amidst the filth without getting dirty; they jump neatly from pavement to pavement, and hide in the shops from passing carriages going fast’.⁴⁷

Strolling amidst flowers and greenery in seventeenth-century Paris consequently remained the preserve of the court, the aristocracy and the upper classes, who gathered in the private gardens of the Palais du Luxembourg or the Tuilleries (fig. 7).⁴⁸ Common Parisians who were brave enough to venture through town to the ramparts – which for military purposes were increasingly planted with trees – found it an agreeable place to saunter in the shade, or they could go to the Pall Mall located near the river Seine, which had been lined with trees to accommodate the game (fig. 8).⁴⁹

Amsterdam and Dutch Town Planning

All this was in sharp contrast to the various walks, forests and public gardens in The Hague that had gradually developed over the past centuries. In Amsterdam, the booming commercial centre, the authorities had to take bold steps to achieve similar

Fig. 7
JACQUES ANDROUET
DU CERCEAU,
*‘Les Tuilleries’, plan
showing the formal
gardens and the
chateau, c. 1570.*
Drawing,
512 x 748 mm.
London, British
Museum, inv. no.
1972,U.872.

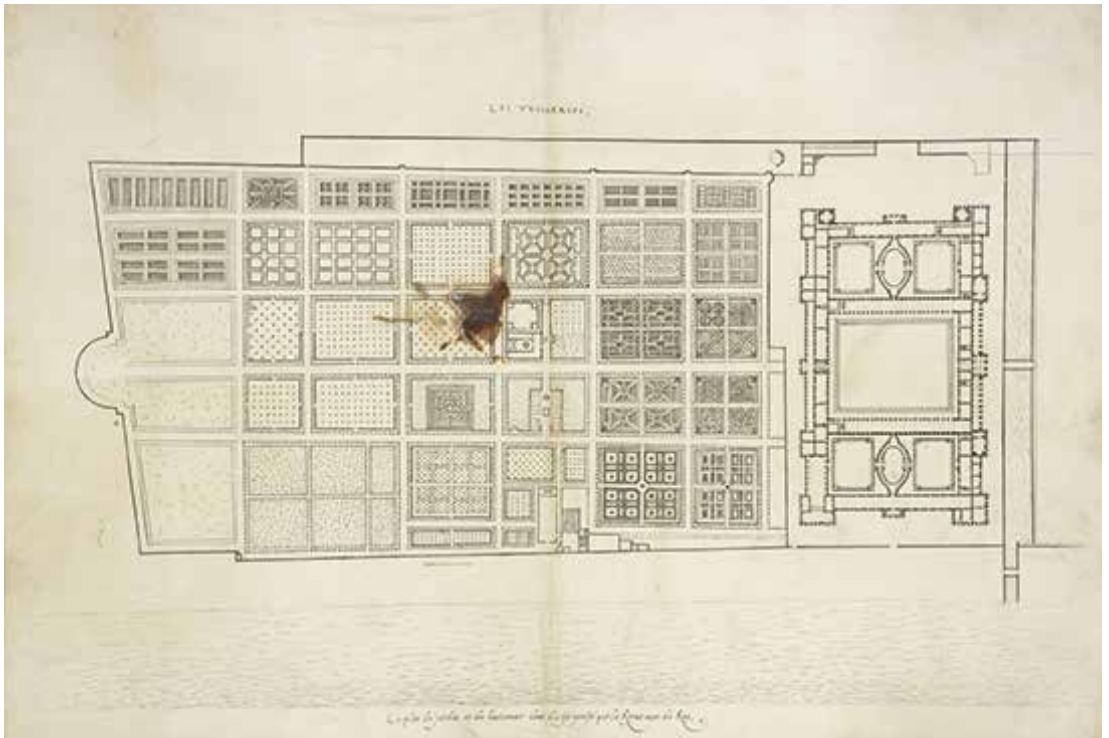




Fig. 8

REINIER NOOMS,
*Maliebaen aan
 de Ceine*, 1656-62.
 Etching and dry
 point, 135 x 246 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-OB-22.414.

surroundings. Between 1580 and 1662 the city grew so fast it had to expand four times. In September 1614 – at the beginning of the third expansion (1600-50) – the city council briefly considered the possibility of laying ‘a wide street with a beautiful view similar to the Voorhout in The Hague’ instead of digging the Keizersgracht.⁵⁰ Although this plan failed, every expansion included an extensive scheme for planting broad-leaf trees, mostly elms, in the public space.⁵¹ Not only did the trees strengthen the construction of the quays and remove dust from the air, above all they embellished the city. The earliest of the three main canals, Herengracht (1613), had been zoned as a prime residential area without any traffic along the canal or on its embankments (fig. 9).⁵² With its large town residences, very wide, paved quays with trees at regular intervals and neat pavements, Herengracht may well have been Amsterdam’s answer to the lack of a walk like the Voorhout. At least the authorities did their best to provide for an undisturbed stroll there.

Amsterdam was among the first cities in early modern Europe to develop such a municipal scheme for greenery and this did not go unnoticed by foreign visitors.⁵³ As early as 1610 the Venetian ambassador to the Dutch Republic, Tommaso Contarini (1542-1617), wrote in his official report that although the canals in the ‘new part’ of Amsterdam reminded him of those in the Canareggio area in his home town, the large trees planted in straight lines along the quays made them much more attractive.⁵⁴ The German poet and writer Philipp von Zesen (1619-1689) who resided in Amsterdam on and off from 1642 to 1648, praised the beauty of the canals with their long rows of trees and well paved streets and pavements.⁵⁵ John Evelyn could not have agreed more; in 1641 he wrote that the Amsterdam ‘streets [are] even, straight, and well paved ... and planted with lime trees, as nothing can be more beautiful. ... The Kaiser’s or Emperor’s Graft, which is an ample and long street, appearing like a city in a forest; the lime trees planted just before each house’.⁵⁶ William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of



Fig. 9
 PIETER SCHENK I,
Herengracht, Looking
from Leidsestraat
towards Vijzelstraat,
 1675-1711.
 Etching, 131 x 164 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-1921-362;
 J.G. de Groot Jamin
 Bequest, Amsterdam.

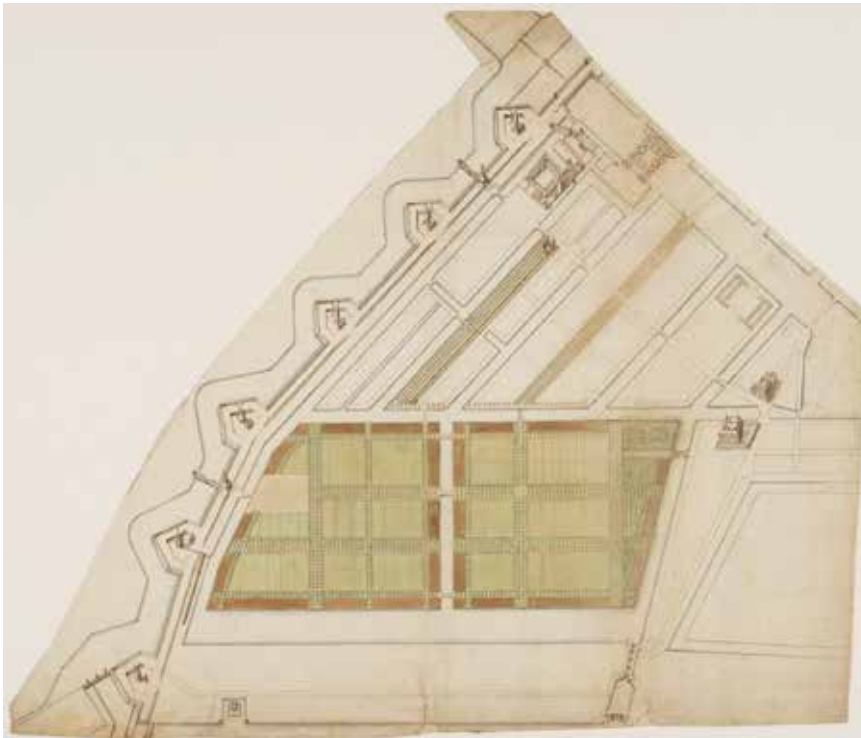


Fig. 10
 Plan of the Plantation,
 between the
 Herengracht and
 the Muiderpoort,
 measured and drawn
 by city engineer and
 surveyor Jacob Bosch
 and engraved by
 B. Stoopendaal, 1682.
 Amsterdam, City
 Archives, inv. no.
 Stadsgedeelten 112.22.



Fig. 11
DANIEL STOPENDAAL
AND A. AND
H. DE LETH,
*View of the Middel-
wegh or Muider Straet
in the New Plantage
towards the Muider
Poort, c. 1725.*
Etching, 146 x 195 mm.
Amsterdam,
City Archives,
no. 010094005751.

Lifford, wrote in his diary some twenty years later (May-June 1663): ‘Most of the streets are planted with trees and through them runs water, which if it was fresh would make Amsterdam the Paradise of the world.’⁵⁷

As the principal canals had already been lined with trees from 1585-90 onwards, in 1682 – after the Fourth Expansion (1656-62) – a hitherto large, empty stretch of land on the outskirts of the city was designated as an area for recreation and called The Plantation (fig. 10).⁵⁸ This design by municipal engineer and surveyor Jacob Bosch provides a clear indication of the fashionable, symmetrical structure of the area with its wide walks and private gardens. The planting scheme

is shown in the bottom right hand corner. True to its name, The Plantation was filled with a large variety of trees, shrubs and flowers, making it a pleasant place to stroll (fig. 11).

In the smaller town of Utrecht the municipality had taken a different course in 1637: ‘Herewith to the adornment of this City, as well as for honest amusement and exercise of the burghers and inhabitants of such, and for those who attend the Academy [university], a mall has been made, with several alleys or walks’ (fig. 12).⁵⁹ As the much later print shows, there were indeed various walks on either side lined with tall elms and separate carriage ways on both sides. The Utrecht *maliebaan* was regarded as

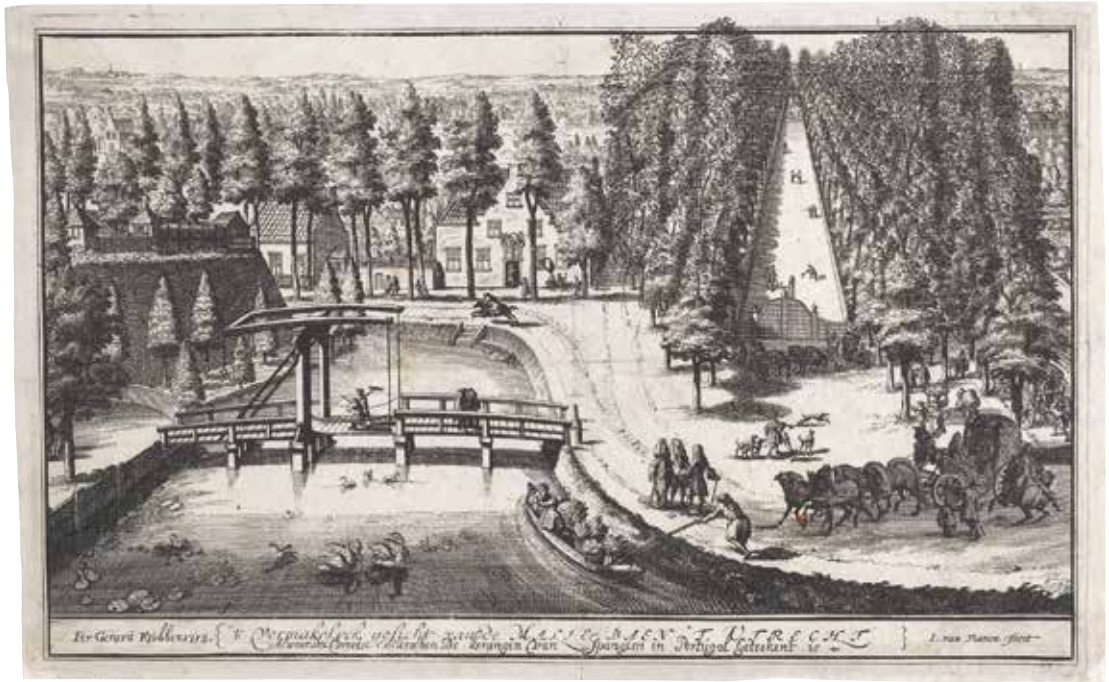


Fig. 12

JAN VAN VIANEN,
*View of the Maliebaan
 in Utrecht*, 1697
 (first state), 1715
 (second state).
 Originally illustration
 in C. Specht,
*De Riddermatige
 Huysen en Gesichten
 in de Provincie van
 Utrecht*, Utrecht 1698.
 Etching, 191 x 308 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-1959-607;
 purchased with
 the support of the
 F.G. Waller-Fonds.



Fig. 13

DANIEL STOPENDAAL
 AND IJSACK GREVE,
*View of the
 Maliebaan*, c. 1725.
 Etching, 141 x 184 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 City Archives,
 no. 010097004805.

Fig. 14
 DANIEL STOPENDAAL,
*The Inn at the Malie-
 baan, Amsterdam,*
 c. 1725.
 Etching, 142 x 189 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 City Archives,
 no. 010097004803.



the finest in the country.⁶⁰ William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford, considered it to be quite exceptional: 'There is likewise a very curious long pall-mall; on each side of it trees and fair walks.'⁶¹

Amsterdam also had a *maliebaan* which was situated not too far from The Plantation but outside the city walls in the so-called Diemermeer, a polder of reclaimed land (fig. 13). The location was perfect, for it was surrounded by the country houses of wealthy Amsterdam merchants. The distance from town could be covered by private carriage or by a regular coach service which, towards the end of the seventeenth century, seems to have been particularly busy on Sundays.⁶² This *maliebaan* was centred between tall, leafy trees with branches clipped in a straight vertical line on the side of the actual mall to accommodate the players.⁶³ There was a pleasant inn where those who strolled or played could buy refreshments (fig. 14).

Walking is Healthy

To some extent what we have read here bears witness to the fact that certain circles had become more aware of the benefits of walking for one's physical and mental health. In 1637 the physician Johan van Beverwijck (1594-1647) published *Schat der Gesondheit*, his famous treatise on health, in which he recommended keeping the body in shape with 'all manner of work and exercise, such as walking, running, jumping, riding'.⁶⁴ Of course, women and the elderly should practise this in moderation. Van Beverwijck particularly directed his advice at the rich upper and middle classes, who obviously did not have to perform any physical labour and had recently adopted a new means of 'walking' by coach, which in its most refined form was called the *Tour à la Mode*.⁶⁵

Promenading by Coach and the *Tour à la Mode*

The Dutch word *karos* or *karosse* is derived from the French *carosse*, which



in turn was a corruption of the Italian *carozza*, meaning a particular kind of carriage on leather springs, covered with a fixed leather top (see fig. 1). This derivation perfectly illustrates the origin and rise of this extraordinary status symbol in northern Europe. It started in the sixteenth century, when Italian royalty, aristocracy, important clergy and ambassadors became accustomed to travel in beautifully decorated coaches with four or six horses according to their rank (fig. 15).

Marie de' Medici (1575-1642) accordingly switched to a coach with four horses as soon as her engagement to the French king Henry IV (1553-1610) was announced in Florence.⁶⁶ She is credited with the introduction of the coach in France after her marriage in 1600. Like most Italians, Marie was accustomed to take the air in her coach at the end of the afternoon, so in 1618 she installed the *Cours la Reine* between the gardens of the Palais des Tuilleries and the river Seine, consisting of three walks lined with trees, 1,813 metres long and 38 metres

wide. The central walk was the widest, allowing for five coaches to pass at the same time.⁶⁷ This instantly became the most fashionable place in Paris to meet, parade, find a suitor or a prospective bride: 'Reflect a little on her [lady] who arrives in her gilt coach, I judge from her expression & her comportment, that she considers herself to be the idol of all those who look at her...'⁶⁸ The *Cours la Reine* enabled women to go out alone in their coaches. This new fashion also caught on in England and even before King Charles I opened Hyde Park to the public in 1637 he had already created the Ring – a circular carriage walk – which became extremely popular with the ladies over the next decades.⁶⁹

During the first decade of the seventeenth century coaches were also introduced into the upper echelons of society in the Netherlands. When Stadholder Maurice, Prince of Orange (1567-1625) received the Italian commander of the Spanish troops, Ambrogio Spinola (1569-1630), in The Hague in 1608, Spinola arrived on horseback whereas

Fig. 15
A. VAN DE VENNE,
*Ambassadors, Seven
Carriages, Pulled by
Teams of Six Horses,
Leaving The Hague*
(the figure in the first
carriage is probably
Charles d'Espesses,
French ambassador
from 1624 to 1626),
c. 1620-26.
Watercolour
with bodycolour,
over black chalk,
heightened with
gold, 96 x 152 mm.
London, British
Museum, inv. no.
1978,0624.42.11;
accepted by
HM Government in
lieu of Inheritance
Tax and allocated to
the British Museum,
1978.

Fig. 16
FRANS HOGENBERG,
Prince Maurice
Receives Spinola and
his Retinue at Rijswijk
on 1 February 1608,
1608-10. Engraving,
230 x 280 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-78.784-332.



Maurice and his retinue arrived in coaches and covered carriages (fig. 16). In the end, though, it was Marie de' Medici's exile in 1631 and her stay in Brussels with her extensive retinue that seems to have set the seal on the practice of 'promenading' by coach in the Netherlands (fig. 17).⁷⁰

As the seat of the Habsburg monarchy, Brussels was a cosmopolitan city with many Flemish and foreign aristocrats. French fashions had gradually diluted the strong Spanish influences and this, coupled with Marie de' Medici's presence, explains why it was that Brussels started its *Tour à la Mode* at an early stage.⁷¹

Fig. 17
J. MARTSZEN DE
JONGE, Marie de'
Medici's Entry into
Amsterdam in 1638,
1638-39.
Pen and grey ink,
grey wash, over
a sketch in black
chalk, 197 x 314 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-T-00-195.



It required a fixed route which the coaches would cover several times. In 1646 the Jesuit priest and author Adriaan Poirters (1605-1674) gave a full account of what he regarded as a disreputable event: 'A waste of time... This *Tour* is done crosswise, to allow the Squires to see the faces of the Young Ladies... And while the *Tour* passes they carefully ogle one another. That one appears to be all right, and does not need any changes. ... You *Tour* every day, and drive around *Brussels* as if you had an allowance of a thousand pounds a year...' ⁷² Poirters also rebukes those without one of these expensive coaches who pay large sums of money to hire them for the occasion. ⁷³

Eight years later, the Antwerp-born writer Geeraerd van Wolsschaten (1603-1660) considered taking part in the fashionable *Tour* to be a sign of vanity and practised only by those young women who slept till midday, followed every new fashion and were exceedingly interested in the latest fripperies from Paris, sleeve lengths, the cut of the neckline and the bodice and its decoration instead of good housekeeping. ⁷⁴ Middelburg-born poet and lawyer Simon van Beaumont (1574-1654) supported this view; his love should preferably be an unspoilt, unpretentious girl who 'does not drive in a ... coach/ But walks to the forest on her dainty feet'. ⁷⁵

Despite criticism in the Spanish Netherlands, The Hague was soon to follow suit. The increased use of coaches caused hitherto unknown problems: in the afternoon of Sunday, 12 August 1657 the coaches of the French ambassador Jacques-Auguste de Thou, comte de Meslay (1609-1677) and his Spanish counterpart Don Estevan de Gamarra y Contreros (1593-1671) met head on in the Voorhout in The Hague. When the Voorhout was paved between 1621 and 1631, a single traffic rule had been introduced: coaches meeting head on

were supposed to pass each other on the right-hand side. However, neither ambassador wanted to give right of way – De Thou's coach having had to leave the side of the railing – and a row ensued. Apparently De Thou refused on the grounds that, in France, his side counted as '*le haut de pavé*' to which his status entitled him. ⁷⁶ Finally some of the fencing along the Voorhout was removed on one side allowing the two coaches to pass simultaneously on each other's right-hand side. ⁷⁷

In the spring of 1664 Sir George Downing (1623-1684) – King Charles II's envoy to The Hague – became involved in a similar incident with the Duke of Holstein at the Voorhout. This time the lackeys of both parties fought for their respective master's honour, and two of Downing's men and one of the Duke's were wounded in the brawl. Fortunately Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt was on hand to straighten out the situation and persuade the Duke and Downing to have their coaches turned. This episode even made the *Opregte Haerlemsche Saterdagse Courant* and was included in the Hague writer and lawyer Aernout van Overbeke's (1632-1674) *Anecdota sive historiae jocosae* (1672-1674). ⁷⁸

On 17 May 1660 Pepys 'took a tour or two about the Forehault [Voorhout] where the ladies in the evening do as our ladies do in Hide Park. But for my life I could not find one handsome, but their coaches very rich and themselves so too'. ⁷⁹ According to William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford, the *tour* in The Hague started 'every evening before supper, men and women meet in their coaches for to make the tour à la mode'. ⁸⁰

Around the same time Johan Aleman – *castelijn* or caretaker of the Hague residence of William Frederick of Nassau (1613-1664), Stadholder of Friesland – wrote to his patron to tell him how one Sunday Amalia of Solms (1602-1675) – widow of Stadholder Frederick Henry – had first attended

church, then visited her sister and finally taken part in the *cours des carosses* 'for a long time around the Voorhout until after seven o'clock in the evening with a retinue of so many coaches, that it was unbelievable'.⁸¹ By that time Amalia of Solms was already sixty-one and by no means the young single lady the *tour* had originally been designed for. Princess Mary II of England (1662-1694) on the other hand was only fifteen years old when, shortly after her marriage in 1677 to Amalia of Solms's grandson Stadholder William III of Orange (1650-1702), 'her Highness rode her first Tour a la Mode in the Voorhout, where hundreds of people and a large number of coaches had gathered'.⁸² John George III, Elector of Saxony (1647-1691) came to The Hague in 1688 for talks with William of Orange, and on the afternoon before his departure 'the Elector together with many important Gentlemen [drove] the *Tour a la Mode* in the Voorhout'.⁸³

Sir Francis Child visited The Hague in June 1697 and witnessed the *tour* in the Voorhout, 'where all the quality of this place appear about six at night in their best coaches and equipage, and come as constantly hither as our ladies go to the Hyde Park. I have seen one hundred coaches here of a night. This Voorhout ... where are many beautiful houses pleasantly situated on account of the noble trees, but more because of the noble tour the fair sex make round this place'.⁸⁴ Child's stay took place during the talks that preceded the Peace Treaty of Rijswijk on 20 September, so 'the ambassadors of all the princes of Europe ... resided here ... and they [the ambassadors] all used to appear at the Voorhout, where everyone endeavoured to be the most admired for richness of liveries ... sometimes the French came to this rendezvous of fine fellows with finer coats' (fig. 18).⁸⁵ The city of The Hague prepared itself

Fig. 18
ADRIAEN
SCHOONEBEEK,
*Arrival of the
Ambassadors at
the Royal Palace
in Rijswijk, 1697.*
Etching,
232 x 287 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1885-A-9023.



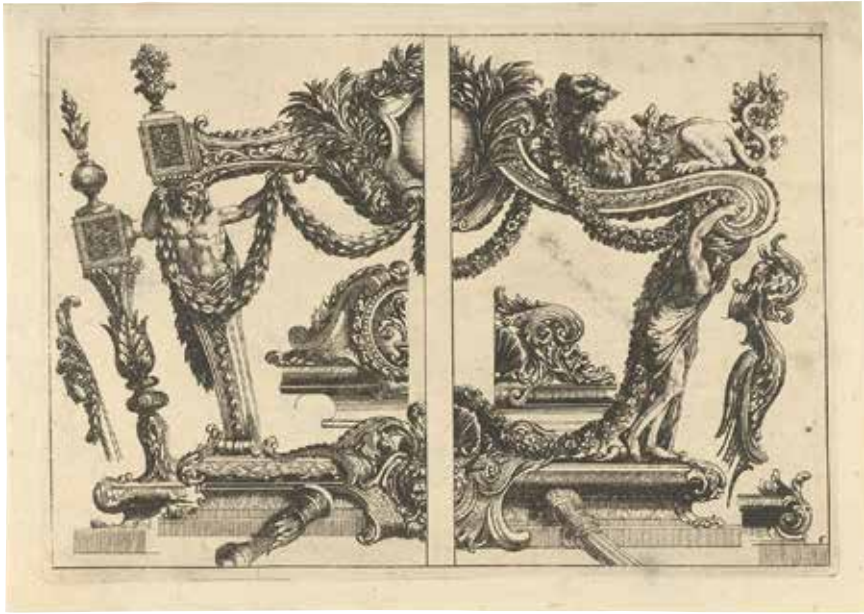


Fig. 19
 ANONYMOUS AFTER
 JEAN LEPAUTRE,
*Nouveaux Dessings
 Pour Orner et Embelir
 les Carosses et
 Chaires Roullantes*
 (New Designs for
 Ornamenting and
 Embellishing Coaches
 and Carriages),
 1680-1701.
 Etching, 169 x 241 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-1904-1875.

for this influx of dignitaries and the accompanying problems of precedence: '7. In the areas designated for promenading [in coaches], such as the Voorhout and the *Maliebaen*, the recognized procedure of passing on the right hand side is continued ... without any difference or precedence to one's office.'⁸⁶ When Child 'had occasion to make any public visits, as to go to the Voorhout', he hired 'a handsome chariot with a pair of good Flanders horses, the coachman having a good large coat which would serve for any livery, for four guilders and a half per diem'.⁸⁷

It is obvious one could not take part in the *Tour* without a splendid coach. In the summer of 1660 William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz, Stadholder of Friesland (1613-1664) – who resided on and off in The Hague – could barely make ends meet. Despite his penury, he ordered a new open carriage for the following summer even though he already owned three coaches. Unfortunately he could not afford the model he preferred, which was priced at 2,200 guilders, so he had to make do with a coach for four that 'only' cost 1,200

guilders. The coachbuilder reassured him that the gilded woodwork on the outside would still be as beautiful and the special camel hair lining would not fade and was moth-proof (fig. 19).⁸⁸

Stop Promenading!

When the *tour* was at its height in Brussels, Jesuit authors Adriaan Poirter and Geeraert van Wolsschaten opposed it vehemently, but there were no such strong reactions in the Northern Netherlands. This may have been because in the 1660s in The Hague, great care was taken never to start the *Tour à la Mode* on Sundays before the end of the sermon; at this point the church service was deemed to be over. According to an authoritative history of The Hague published in 1711, this rule was always strictly adhered to.⁸⁹ No members of the Orange family ever forsook their religious duties in favour of such amusements. Orthodox elements in the Reformed Church nevertheless demanded that Sundays should be devoted exclusively to the worship of God, so any public displays of vanity and wealth had to be quashed. In 1679 one of their ministers, the

hard-liner Jacobus Hondius (1629-1691), published a book titled *Black Register of One Thousand Sins*.⁹⁰ Hondius did not confine his blacklist to the upper classes: 'As regards the Craftsman, or anyone who toils six working days, [he] is not at liberty to stroll for his pleasure on the Day of Rest.'⁹¹ Apparently, however, even members of his own church were fallible: 'Those people sin, who adhering to our Church, nonetheless ... go out walking on the Sabbath for their amusement'.⁹²

Conclusion

Introduced in the nineteenth century as a novelty, the French concept of *flâner* and its protagonist the *flâneur* – the brainchild of Charles Baudelaire – had several seventeenth-century precursors: *brageeren* (Antwerp), the *Tour à la Mode* (Brussels) and the Dutch *wandelen* or strolling and sauntering around town. While the Northern Netherlands only had a relatively recent court without any tradition of parading for ceremonial or other purposes, Brussels had long been the seat of the ruling Spanish sovereigns.⁹³ It was in this environment that *brageeren* was initiated: showing off whilst strolling. Whether or not it caught on in the Republic remains unclear, especially since contemporary authors in Holland primarily associated it with such places as Antwerp and Brussels. The latter was also the perfect breeding ground for the *Tour à la Mode* which required money, taste and, of course, a fashionable audience out in the streets.

What David Beck's diary had already inadvertently shown is confirmed by Jacobus Hondius: in the early modern Netherlands even members of the lower middle class walked not just out of necessity but also for their pleasure or amusement. No wonder that the Dutch word *uitspannen*, to relax, and its opposite *inspannen*, to exert oneself, date from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, when the Netherlands and especially the coastal

provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland prospered.

As was later to happen in nineteenth-century Paris, a growing, largely urbanized and increasingly wealthy population in the seventeenth-century Netherlands had turned to walking for their recreation. There are many similarities between the Dutch Republic and nineteenth-century France: the highly skilled craftsmen of the seventeenth century and the white collar workers and shop assistants of the industrial age all toiled during the week. To them strolling without aim and purely for pleasure – either marvelling at the coaches on the Voorhout or window-shopping in a boulevard – was an inexpensive and easy way to relax on a Sunday. Local governments in the Netherlands offered their populace opportunities for recreational walking and even incorporated planting schemes into their urban development programmes. Georges-Eugène Hausmann later followed suit – albeit in a much grander fashion – with parks like the Bois de Boulogne and the *Buttes Chaumont*.

The Dutch seventeenth-century towns and nineteenth-century Paris also catered to those who had amassed fortunes, gained status and felt the need to flaunt them: in The Hague they gathered in such places as the Voorhout for a stroll or for the *Tour à la Mode*; in Paris they drove their cabriolets up and down the Champs-Élysées or sauntered along the spacious boulevards.

It is therefore not surprising that as early as 1842 the Dutch verb *flaneren* was defined as 'without purpose, to saunter and to nose about, to view here and look there'.⁹⁴ What is extraordinary, though, is that this definition predated by a full ten years the building of the great Parisian boulevards.

NOTES

- * 'Hier komt men om te sien, en om gesien te zijn', quote from Jacob van der Does, 'Gravenhage, met de voornaemste Plaetsen en Vermaecklijckheden, The Hague 1668, p. 26.
- 1 Napoleon III followed in the footsteps of Napoleon I who initiated public works during his reign, see S. Fillipetti (ed.), *Mémoires de Madame de Rémusat (1802-1808)*, Paris 2013, pp. 217-18.
 - 2 A. Farge, *Vivre dans la rue à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1992, pp. 15-22.
 - 3 C.A. Giroto, 'Marana (Marrana), Gian Paolo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 69 (2007); *ibid.*, p. 17.
 - 4 Farge, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 17.
 - 5 L. Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 2007, pp. 33, 37-39, 55-57, 72-78, 79-89.
 - 6 Farge, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 71: 'Jardin Fameux de Tuileries ... une infinité de personnes considérables qui le fréquentent, d'un grand nombre de Belles Dames qui l'embellissent, et d'une quantité extrême d'honnêtes gens, qui s'y promènent toujours. L'entrée en est interdite aux laquais et à la canaille; il est très spacieux et quasi capable de contenir une grande partie du peuple, s'il y venait en même temps.'
 - 7 Turcot, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 67-72. Pall-mall was a popular mallet-and-ball game, originating from Italy (*pallamaglio*) where it was first recorded in 1582. G. Bruno, *Candelaio*, Milan 2000 [originally Paris 1582], 2nd Act, Scene VIII: 'Bartolomeo: Dico io: "A stracquare a pall'e maglio." Disse egli: "Come, a pall'e maglio?...";' and note 19: '*Pall'e maglio* is the Neapolitan word for *pallamaglio*, a game played on a level stretch of land with wooden balls which are shot by hitting them with a mallet.'
 - 8 A. Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante ou la formation du Tout-Paris 1815-1848*, Paris 1990, pp. 325-87, esp. pp. 326-32.
 - 9 D. Roche, *Histoire des choses banales: Naissance de la consommation XVII^e-XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1997, pp. 43-91.
 - 10 Martin-Fugier, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 331, note 23. This 'promenading' in a carriage had a distinctly noble and aristocratic origin (as will be discussed later).
 - 11 'La vie élégante est la perfection de la vie extérieure et matérielle'. H. de Balzac, *Traité de la vie élégante*, Paris 2012, p. 29. Balzac's essay appeared in five instalments in *La Mode* between 2 October and 6 November 1830.
 - 12 Baudelaire wrote *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne* in 1859, but it was not published until the daily newspaper *Le Figaro* ran it in three instalments on 26 and 29 November and 3 December 1863. Baudelaire mentions the *flâneur* in 'Le croquis de moeurs' in relation to painters and in 'L'artiste, homme du monde, homme des foules et enfant' in relation to dandyism. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* the word *flâneur* does not exist in the Dutch language. For the present day *flâneur* and references to the original, see E. White, *The Flâneur: A Stroll through the Paradoxes of Paris*, London 2001, pp. 35-52. I am grateful to Carla Zoethout for suggesting the book and kindly lending me her copy.
 - 13 W. Benjamin, *Kleine filosofie van het flanereren*, Amsterdam 1992. I am grateful to Jenny Reynaerts for introducing me to this work and for kindly lending me her copy of the book.
 - 14 L. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 7-220.
 - 15 D. Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand. Het patriciaat van Leiden*, Hilversum 1994, pp. 79-85.
 - 16 J. Zijlmans, 'Aan het Haagse hof', in M. Keblusek and J. Zijlmans (eds.), *Vorstelijk vertoon. Aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia van Solms*, Zwolle 1997, p. 31.
 - 17 K. Davids and L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*, Amsterdam 1993; M. Prak, *Gouden Eeuw. Het raadsel van de Republiek*, Nijmegen 2002, esp. pp. 86-124. However, throughout the period a large discrepancy in income remained between the pre-industrial trade centres in the provinces bordering the sea, and the inland provinces that remained primarily agricultural. The latter was where most old noble families resided, although they had always been a small group. Their main assets were their land and their offices in the States General, the Admiralty, the Provincial States and the Knighthood.
 - 18 A. de Botton, *Status Anxiety*, London 2004, pp. 45-51, 67-71. De Botton clearly illustrates how social expectations grew with the rise of the meritocracy towards the end of the long Middle Ages.
 - 19 I.H. van Eeghen, 'Haes Paradijs en de uitdraagsters', *Vrouwenlevens 1500-1800*, Nijmegen 1987 (*Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis*, vol. 8), pp. 125-34; B.M. du Mortier, 'Tweedehands kleding in de zeventiende eeuw',

- Textielhistorische Bijdragen* 31 (1991), pp. 39-60; I. van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648-ca. 1748)*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 66-77; B.M. du Mortier, 'Costumes in Gabriel Metsu's Paintings', in A.E. Waiboer (ed.), *Gabriel Metsu*, Dublin et al. 2010, p. 127, cf. note 43; V. de Laet, *Brussel binnenskamers. Kunst- en luxebezit in het spanningsveld tussen hof en stad, 1600-1735*, Amsterdam 2011, pp. 157-65.
- 20 *Ordonnantie ende Edict des Keyzers Kaerle die V. vernyeuwt te Brussel den xxviii den dach van Meye, int iaer 1550. Opt dragen ende usaige vande zijde lakenen*, Brussels 1550 (Amsterdam, International Institute of Social History, Van Deventer Bibliotheek, inv. no. vDB-5320). Another of the edict's goals was to prohibit or at least curb the use of gold and silver thread, silk embroidery and silk bands. For a seventeenth-century comment on Charles v's sumptuary laws in relation to showing off ones clothes, see H.F. van den Brandt's play *Eertijds, maer en tegenwoordig* (1684), in J.F. Willems (ed.), *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche taal- en letterkunde en de Geschiedenis des vaderlands*, Ghent 1845, vol. 9, p. 279. This desire for luxury and maintaining outward appearance was not limited to the profane, see E. Schlotheuer, 'Best Clothes and Everyday Attire of Late Medieval Nuns', in R.C. Schwinges and R. Schorta (eds.), *Fashion and Clothing in Late Medieval Europe*, Riggisberg (Abegg Stiftung) 2010, pp. 139-55.
- 21 C. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae*, Antwerp 1599: 'Speciose ingredi, superbe incedere, ostentare se.' J. Hofman, *Nederlandsche woorden-schat*, Haarlem 1650: 'Brageren, proncken, pralen.'
- 22 'Si gaen brageren met bonte cleeren/ Si zijn seer opgheblasen/ Men moetse eeren ghelijcken heeren', in J. Roulans, *Een schoon liedekens-boeck*, Antwerp 1544, no. 169, verse 4; De Botton, op. cit. (note 18).
- 23 'Maer niet en weet ick waer mijn siel sal varen,/ Wie sal nu mijn schatten en cleeren bewaren,/ Daer ick soo hooverdich mede plach te brageren,/ Een ander salse ghebruycken tot mijn beswaren,/ En ick moet naeckt en bloot wt de Werelt passeren', in N. Janssens, *Een nieu devoot geestelijck lietboek*, Antwerp 1605 (first edition 1594), p. 157; E. Ellerbroek-Fortuin, *Amsterdamsere derijkersspelen in de zestiende eeuw*, Groningen 1937, pp. 65, 104-06; H.E. van Gelder, 'Satiren der xvde eeuwse Kleine Burgerij', *Oud-Holland* 29 (1911), pp. 201-52, esp. pp. 250-51.
- 24 'Onlanghs gingh ick spanceren/ Met mijn schoon Lief brageren/ Een luttel triumpheren', in J. Mommaert, *Het Brabants nachtegaelken*, Brussels 1650, p. 43.
- 25 'De jongman komter an, en treet ghelijck een Prins.../ Hy is wel uyt ghedost, en comt hier an brageren/ Al had' hy duysent pont on jaerlijcx te verteeren', in F.A. Stoett and B.C. Damsteegt (eds.), *G.A. Bredero's Spaanschen Brabander*, Zutphen 1980 (first edition 1618), p. 74, ll. 548, 550-51.
- 26 '...braghere!/ Nou magh ick ommers bij de groote comparere', in Constantijn Huygens (eds. H.M. Hermkens and P. Verhuyck), *Trijntje Cornelis. Een volkse komedie uit de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 1997, ll. 537-38.
- 27 'brageren./ As de Haechs-Princesse/ Mette zyse kleeren', in J.Z. Baron, *Leyts-prieeltje, ofte Cupidoos sinlickheyt*, Leiden 1651, verse 4. As early as 1623 Adriaen van de Venne described The Hague as an extremely fashionable town: 'Laete wy, toch wat brageren/ Deur, en deur de Haegsche feest ... Daerment puyc je siet van pronc/ Onder oudt, en onder jonck', in P.J. Meertens and P.J. Verkrujssse (eds.), *Zeeusche Nachtegael en bijgevoegd A. vande Venne Tafereel van Sinne-mal*, Middelburg 1982 (first edition 1623), p. 312, 'Boertich-Liedt van Hollandts-Trijntje, en Zeevse Leunis'. In 1697 Sir Francis Child wrote that 'this is the only town in all the provinces for people of fashion, for pleasure and gallantry, so no rich man ever lets his family come hither before he has left off all manner of business, and designs to turn gentleman, live on his rents, and suffer his wife and children to follow the court fashions', in K. van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 193.
- 28 David Beck (ed. S.E. van Veldhuijzen), *Spiegel van mijn leven. Een Haags dagboek uit 1624*, Hilversum 1993 (first edition 1624). I am grateful to Huigen Leeftang who recommended this publication a long time ago.
- 29 For any trips further outside The Hague Beck took one of the coaches or towed barges (*beurtveren*) with destinations in various cities, many of which had regular timetables.
- 30 'The park ... is in length 1,500 paces but nothing so much in breadth; they grow oaks, elms, ash and other trees ...; there are deer, hares and conies ...', in H. van Haestens and J. Orlers, *The Triumphs of Nassau*, London 1613, p. 14.
- 31 Beck, op. cit. (note 28), p. 180.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 146, 169, 180. British visitor William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford, wrote in June 1663: 'Without The Hague is

- a little wood and pall-mall', in Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 189. Close to the *maliebaan* was an inn kept by the *Malie-meester* who also lived there, see *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 11 October 1689, p. 2. A few months later the *maliebaan* seems to have been renovated and the tenancy is advertised, *ibid.*, 28 January 1690, p. 2; whereas in the summer of 1690 all gentlemen having left mallets in the *Malie-huys* are requested to remove these within a fortnight as all lockers will be opened and the remaining mallets sold to cover the arrears, in the same announcement gentlemen are invited to visit the renewed *maliebaan*, *ibid.*, 1 June 1690, p. 2.
- 33 T. Wijsenbeek (ed.), *Het Lange Voorhout. Monumenten, Mensen en Macht*, Zwolle 1998, pp. 45-75. I am grateful to Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis who recommended this book to me. G. de Cretser, *Beschrijvinge van 's Gravenhage*, Amsterdam 1711, p. 16, note 4: 'Want het Voorhout is geplant in 1536. vande Monniken van dat Klooster, dat nu hedendaegs noch is de Kloosterkerck'. For the inhabitants of the town residences, see Zijlmans, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 32-33. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, in winter the Voorhout was the scene of sleigh rides by young aristocrats and members of the Holland nobility, see *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 2, 7 and 16 February 1692.
- 34 Beck, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 65, 69, 91, 102, 111, 112, 120-01, 125, 133, 143, 151, 171.
- 35 C. Huygens (ed. L. Strengholt), *Voorhout, Kostelick Mal en Oogentroost*, Zutphen 1978 (eerste uitgave *Kostelick Mal Middelburg* 1622), pp. vii-xi, 1-30.
- 36 J. Visser and G.N. van der Plaats (ed.), *Willem Frederik, Gloria parendi. Dagboeken van Willem Frederik, stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643-1649, 1651-1654*, The Hague 1995, pp. 232, 235, 240, 395-97, 525, 529, 531.
- 37 C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke As Tourists in the United Provinces*, Leiden 1993, note 45, p. 279.
- 38 J. Evelyn (ed. W. Bray), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 2 vols., London 1901 (first published 1818), vol. 1, p. 346. Evelyn reports that in 1653 (during the Commonwealth of England) 'every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse sixpence, by the sordid fellow who had purchased it [Hyde Park] of the state...', *ibid.*, p. 281. Londoners could, though, go to the 'Spring Garden', originally a bowling-green, later a so-called pleasure garden: a rural garden with a spring and a tea garden. E. Walford, *Old and New London*, 6 vols., London 1878, vol. 4, pp. 77-80; A.E. Wroth and W.W. Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, London 1896, pp. 94, 286-88; S.J. Downing, *The English Pleasure Garden 1660-1860*, Oxford 2011, pp. 5-14.
- 39 T. Griffith (ed.), *The Concise Pepys*, London 1997, p. 209. For *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* see also <http://www.pepysdiary.com>.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 98. The Mall was at the approximate site where Charles I had created a road in front of St. James's Palace, which enabled easy access to the Palace of Westminster and vice versa.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- 42 H.W. Lawrence, *City Trees: A Historic Geography from the Renaissance through the Nineteenth Century*, Charlottesville 2006, p. 33, cf. note 5; P. Borsary, 'Walks and Promenades in London and Provincial England during the Long Eighteenth Century', in C. Loir and L. Turcot (eds.), *La Promenade au tournant des XVIIIe et XIXe Siècles (Belgique, France, Angleterre)*, Bruxelles 2011, pp. 79-96, esp. pp. 82-85.
- 43 Between 1689 and 1693 the Dutch statesman and scientist Constantijn Huygens Jr (1628-1697) – who became secretary to William III in 1689 – recorded walks in the Mall with his wife, friends and fellow scientists, see C. Huygens Jr, *Journal van 21 oktober 1688 tot 2 september 1696*, 3 vols., Utrecht 1876, vol. 1, pp. 152, 159, 262, 423, 424; *ibid.*, Utrecht 1877, vol. 2, pp. 161, 166, 168.
- 44 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 192. Further on Childs refers to the time of the Peace Treaty of Rijswijk (20 September 1697) when 'they [the ambassadors] all used to appear at the Voorhout, where everyone endeavoured to be the most admired for richness of liveries ... sometimes the French came to this rendezvous of fine fellows with finer coats', see *ibid.*, p. 193.
- 45 C. Sorel, *Les Lois de la Galanterie: Satire ingénieuse et en même temps code du bon ton à l'usage de petits maîtres*, Paris 1644 (first edition 1640).
- 46 *Ibid.*, unpaged, vii: '... c'est aussi une chose tres-utile à un homme qui veut estre dans la bonne reputation d'entretenir un carrosse, voire deux'. There is a tinge of regret about this abandonment of riding in Sorel's account, because it had provided a better view of the rider's physique, his fine clothes and his horsemanship: 'L'on faisoit alors mieux voir sa taille et ses beaux habits, et son adresse à manier un cheval.'

- 47 'Une voiture est indispensable ici, au moins pour nous autres étrangers; mais les français savent d'une façon merveilleuse marcher au milieu des saletés sans se salir; ils sautent artivement de pavé en pavé, et se garent dans les boutiques des voitures qui vont vite.' N. Karamzine, *Voyages en France, 1789-90*, Paris 1885, p. 85. For the emergence of shops in Paris, see N. Coquery, 'Promenade et shopping: la visibilité nouvelle de l'échange économique dans le Paris du XVIII^e siècle', in Loir and Turcot, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 61-75; Farge, op. cit. (note 2), p. 18, where a quote by L.S. Mercier from his famous *Tableau de Paris* (1783) describes how the Parisians tiptoe down the roads while their taffeta parasols protect them from the contents of the gutters.
- 48 Turcot, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 36-38. Interestingly, English writer John Evelyn noted on 1 April 1644 after visiting the Palace of Luxembourg that 'the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it [the palace and its gardens], and to whom all access is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walks and retirements full of gallants and ladies; in others melancholy friars; in others, studious scholars; in others, jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on the grass, others running and jumping; some playing at bowls and ball, others dancing and singing...'; see Evelyn, op. cit. (note 38), pp. 62-63. By 1631 Maria de Medici had gone into exile, but the palace remained the property of the royal family.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 68-71; according to Lawrence, op. cit. (note 42), p. 32, it was the French king Henry IV (1553-1610) who had this mall adjacent to the Arsenal created. Evelyn, op. cit. (note 38), recorded malls in St Germain (p. 53), Blois (p. 69) and Lyon (p. 77) during his travels in France in 1644. Quite often the walks on the ramparts were the first stage towards walks within the urban surroundings, see A. Lelarge, 'De la promenade des ramparts à la promenade des boulevards: le cas bruxellois (XVII^e-XIX^e siècle)', in Loir and Turcot, op. cit. (note 40), pp. 41-59, esp. pp. 42-45.
- 50 '... een brede straat ende une belle vedere gelyck het Voorhoud is in Den Hage', in J.E. Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam. Stadsontwikkeling in de zeventiende eeuw*, Bussum 2011, pp. 68-69, note 256.
- 51 John Evelyn, who has been quoted extensively in this article, was also a keen botanist and in 1664 published *Sylva: or a Discourse of Forest Trees & the Propagation of Trees*, 2 vols., in which he discussed the trees best suited to vistas and walks (elm, oak, beech) while drawing upon his experiences from his recent travels through mainland Europe, see vol. 1, pp. 22, 63, 68-69. On p. 106: '... the readiness of the people in Holland to furnish and maintain whatsoever may conduce to the publick ornament, as well as convenience; that their plantations, are better preserv'd and entertain'd (as I my self have been often an eye-witness) ... And in effect it is a most ravishing object, to behold their amenities in this particular ...'.
- 52 Abrahamse, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 58-59, 64, 152-56.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 289-93; B. Bakker, 'De zichtbare stad', in W. Frijhoff et al., *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam, vol. 11-1: Centrum van de Wereld 1578-1650*, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 17-103, esp. pp. 85-90. According to Turcot, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 68-69, in the sixteenth century the city state of Lucca (Italy) became the first town in Europe to offer its inhabitants specially planted lanes for walking instead of the ramparts which had been in use previously. However, H.W. Lawrence states that the trees in Lucca and Antwerp were planted on the ramparts. On the same page he refers to 'rows of trees used ... at the urban edge or along canals' that 'were all variants on the allées of trees that figured so prominently in gardens of the Renaissance and Baroque eras', see H.W. Lawrence, 'Changing Forms and Persistent Values: Historical Perspectives on the Urban Forest', in G.A. Bradley (ed.), *Urban Forest Landscapes: Integrating Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Washington 1995, pp. 17-43, esp. p. 18.
- 54 '... nella parte nova [the canals] sono larghi et dritti con le sue fondamenta da ogni banda larghissime, che rappresentano a punto il sito de Canareggio, ma tanto più vago, quanto da ogni parte del canale nell' estremità delle fondamenta usano di piantar una fila dritissima di grandi arbori, chiamati 'lind', che et per l'ombra et per la verdura agiongono vaghezza grandissima a quella...'. in P.J. Blok, *Relazioni Veneziane. Venetianse Berichten 1600-1795*, The Hague 1909, p. 35.
- 55 F. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1664, p. 32. For the paving of Amsterdam, see Abrahamse, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 277-81.
- 56 Evelyn, op. cit. (note 38), p. 21.
- 57 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 33.
- 58 Bakker, op. cit. (note 53).
- 59 *Utrechtisch Placcaetboeck* [1637], vol. 3, p. 308. Provincial surveyor Jan Jansz Dou (1615-1682) made a map (1643-45) of the 700 metre-long

- Palmailge baen* just outside the university town of Leiden, created by the university for its students: Leiden, University Library, Special Collections, BPL 1823 (026). I am grateful to Suzan Meijer for drawing my attention to this map. William, 3rd Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford, visited the university town of Leiden in 1663 and observed: 'This town is likewise surrounded ... chiefly with very pleasant walks, set with trees; and a very long and well-made pall-mall is not far from the gates of this town', see Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 229.
- 60 J. ter Gouw, *De Volksvermaken*, Haarlem 1871, p. 331. The story goes that French king Louis XIV – who after the surrender of Utrecht to the French troops in 1672 – stayed in a nearby country house from 1-10 July was so impressed by the *maliebaan* in Utrecht that he regretted not being able to take it with him to Versailles. According to Lawrence, op. cit. (note 42), p. 32, Louis XIV ordered his troops to spare the *maliebaan*, maybe he misinterpreted a quote by an anonymous Utrecht student from 1699-1700 concerning the Utrecht cingle: 'The present King of France, when he was hereabouts with his army in 1672, thought the planting about this place so well worth preserving that he forbade any of the soldiers to cut or destroy any of it on very severe penalty.' See Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 336.
- 61 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 332.
- 62 J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, scholen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe*, Amsterdam 1765, vol. 2, p. 546.
- 63 Ter Gouw, op. cit. (note 60), p. 332.
- 64 'Met den naem van bewegingen des lichaems verstaen wy alderhande arbeydt en oeffeninghe, gelijk wandelen, loopen, springen, rijden', in J. van Beverwijck, 'Schat der gesontheyt', in *Alle de wercken*, Amsterdam 1660, p. 147.
- 65 'Ick gedrage my tot de genegent-heden van alle wandelaers, soo te voet als te peerde, maer insonderheit te Wagen ende te Koetse', in C. Huygens (ed. L. Strengholt), *Zee-straet*, Zutphen 1981 (first edition 1667), p. 72.
- 66 F. Kermina, *Marie de Médicis: Reine, régente et rebelle*, Paris 2010, pp. 35-36. On the day of her marriage (16 December 1600) she was accompanied to the cathedral by eighty coaches.
- 67 Turcot, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 33-40, 43-44, 55-57, 71-78; Kermina, op. cit. (note 66), p. 190. The walled *Cours la Reine* was closed at either end with monumental gates, see P. Aveline, *Le Cours la Reine*, late seventeenth century, engraving, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, inv. no. rv-607825. According to Lawrence, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 36-37, the *Cours la Reine* was widely imitated. One version was the *Cours de Vincennes*, which was developed in 1622 but not planted with trees until the 1660s. This *Cours de Vincennes* was supposedly open without invitation and frequented by those who could not get into the *Cours la Reine*. Aix-en-Provence, Marseille and Madrid (Paseo del Prado) soon followed suit. However, Turcot – in his authoritative publication – does not mention the *Cours de Vincennes*.
- 68 J. Puget de La Serre, *Le Réveille-matin des dames*, Paris 1638, p. 83.
- 69 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 192. In *The Man of Mode* (1676) by the English playwright Sir George Etherege (1636-1692), the protagonist Sir Fopling Flutter tells his friends at a fashionable assembly that 'All the world will be in the Park tonight. – Ladies, 'twere pity to keep so much beauty longer within doors and rob the Ring of all those charms that should adorn it.' After which he leaves for Hyde Park, see W.B. Carnochan (ed.), *George Etherege, The Man of Mode*, Whitstable 1971, p. 68. H.B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions*, Cambridge 2011 (first edition 1891), pp. 163-65, esp. p. 164: 'The other diversion was merely for the eyes, for it was going round and round in the Ring in the Hyde Park, and bowing to one another, slightly, respectfully, or tenderly, as occasion required.'
- 70 She left France in a coach drawn by six horses and was followed by fifteen carriages holding her retinue and her belongings, see Kermina, op. cit. (note 66), pp. 233-34. When Constantijn Huygens Jr arrived in Antwerp in May 1649 he 'went at five o'clock in the evening for a walk with Mr de Rame in a carriage', see C. Huygens Jr, *Journalen*, 4 vols., Utrecht 1888, vol. 3, p. 88: 'May 23 sond./ ... ging savonts te vijff uren wandelen met Mr de Rame in een koets.'
- 71 For these French influences see De Laet, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 164-74. Constantijn Huygens later (1667) referred to the towns where the *Tour* was also taking place: '... soosy haren *Tour à la mode*, gelijk men by Parijs ende andere groote Steden van Italien doet', C. Huygens, op. cit. (note 62), p. 72. The *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 26 May 1676, p. 2, reports on a coach incident in Rome involving a Duchess of Bracciano doing the *Tour à la Mode*.

- 72 'Tijdt-verquistinghe... Desen Tour gheschiedt kruyswijs, om dat de Jonckers de Joffrouwen in 't aensicht souden ontmoeten... Terwijl den Tour passert soo moet' op eenen letten. Die schijnt wel wat te zijn, en heeft niet bij te setten. ... Maer gy Tourt alle daegh, en rijdt heel Brussel rondt Al had je alle jaer een rent van duysent pondt ...', in P.A. Poirters (eds. J. Salmans and E. Rombouts), *Het Masker vande Wereldt afgetrocken*, Oisterwijk 1935, pp. 25-26, 28, 31.
- 73 Ibid., p. 29. For *huurkaros* the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* refers to the *Utrechts Placcaetboeck* of 1694, 536a.
- 74 G. van Wolsschaten, *De doodt vermaskert met des Werelts ydelheyt*, Antwerpen 1654, p. 38: 'De longhe Vreijster/ Overdenkinghe./ ... slapen tot den noen, sijn sonder sorghe om de keucken te stofferen ende hunnen tijdt nievers in en besteden, als om de mode te volghen, ... op den tour te rijden, ... ofte met hunne speelghenooten te couten vanden nieuwen snuff, wat men nu van Parijs ghecregen heeft, oft de mouwen corter, de armen blooter, den hals veel naeckter ...; in summa eenen Doolhoof van de Mode ...'; see also Van den Brandt, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 280-81, and B. Timmermans, *Een elite als actor binnen een kunstwereld*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 174-75.
- 75 Meertens and Verkrujssse, op. cit. (note 27), p. 132: 'Het tweede deel, ofte stem vande Zeevsche Nachtegael: ghenaeemt: Seden-sang./ XIII: "Ick soeck een soete meysjen naer mijn sin,/ Daerick op setten mocht mijn soete min;/ Een meysjen niet van costelicken toy,/ Maer onghelhult, en sonder ciersel moy;/ .../ Die niet en rijt in rosbaer of caros,/ Maer wandelt op haer voetjes naer het bos...".
- 76 R. Downing and G. Rommelse, *A Fearful Gentleman, Sir George Downing in The Hague, 1658-1672*, Hilversum 2011, pp. 78-79. Sir George Downing considered De Thou 'a person of great quality, allyed to the best families in France', *ibid.*, p. 42.
- 77 De Creter, op. cit. (note 33), p. 50: '... worden de ontrent het ryden der Karossen, en het myden van malkander in de ontmoetinge, altyd [in Princess Mary Stuart's time, after 1677] een nauwkeurige order (die daar toe gestelt is), geobserveert'. As coaches had always been status symbols, they played an important role in diplomacy and politics: when Marie de' Medici met Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), Archduchess of Austria and sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, in Brussels, she offered her the front-facing seat in her carriage and entered the city *à reculons*, see Kermina, op. cit. (note 66). French civil servant Antoine de Courtin published his *Nouveau traité de la civilité* in 1671 in Amsterdam and offered guidelines to coach etiquette, see M.-C. Grassi (ed.), *Antoine de Courtin: Nouveau traité de la civilité*, Saint-Étienne 1998, p. 147.
- 78 Ibid., p. 79, note 90. Downing also refers to an episode in 1664 involving French ambassador Louis-Godefroy, comte d'Estrade (1607-1686) and the young Prince of Orange in which De Witt yet again played an important part. R. Dekker et al. (eds.), *Aernout van Overbeke, Anecdota sive historiae jocosae*, Amsterdam 1991, p. 83, no. 462. The impact of these events seems to have lingered on: when the *Haegse Mercurius* reported on the rain trickling down on the fireworks for the Peace of Rijswijk on the 6th of November 1697, the rockets continued their way upwards 'with such contention and stubbornness, like Ambassadors, meeting heads on, and not willing to give way: but the case has been mediated, just as the railing was cut in the Voorhout...' ('By occasie van den regen die ten half achten begon te vallen (...) de pylonen..., begeerden naar omhoog te zyn; en dat met sulken opiniaterheid en obstinaetheit, als Ambassadeurs, die malkander tegen komen ryden, en de pas niet willen cederen: maer de zaek is bemiddelt, gelyk doe de baly uyt het voorhout wierd gezaegt...', H. Doedijns, *De Haegse Mercurius, 7 augustus 1697-1 februari 1698*, Leiden 1996, p. 200, episode 28, 9 November 1697.)
- 79 See note 39.
- 80 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), note 45, p. 279.
- 81 L. Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht. Het hofleven van Willem Frederik van Nassau*, Amsterdam 2000, note 42, p. 316: '... een langhe tijdt rontom het Voorhoudt tot over sevenen toe, met een gevolg van soo veel karosse, dat het ongelooftlijk is'.
- 82 *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 18 December 1677, p. 2: 'Desen achter-middagh heeft hare Hoogheyt voor de eerste mael den Tour a la Mode in 't Voorhout gereden, alwaer sigh honderden van Menschen ende een groote menigte van Karossen deden bevinden.' The same newspaper reports that the next day the couple rode the *Tour* together. Creter, op. cit. (note 33), p. 50: '... gelyk ten tyde van Koning William glorieuser memorie, die de gewoonte had by schoon weër des zondags naar de middag aldaar ettelijke maalen die Tour rond te ryden, zo als bevorens zyne doorluchtigste Koninginne, noch Princesse van Orange zynde, ook gewoone was geweest te doen'.
- 83 *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 18 May 1688.
- 84 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 192. Compare the entry in an anonymous Dutch diary of

- 1683 in which the author states that the multitude of coaches and people strolling in Hyde Park and St James's equals that of the Voorhout in The Hague, see D. Haks, 'Nederlanders over Engelsen. Een natiebeeld in de aantekeningen van Lodewijk van der Saan 1695-1699', *De zeventiende eeuw* 15 (1999), pp. 222-38, esp. p. 230, note 32. One unusual and undated pamphlet titled *Den Haagsen tour a la mode, of karos-praatjen, over den voorval der vryagie, tusschen juffrouw Stevenon en monsieur G. de Lalande* gives a detailed account of a tragic and notorious love affair in Amsterdam in 1661. As the title suggests it could be used as a topic of conversation during the *Tour*, see B. Hekman, *De affaire de Lalande-Lestevenon. Feit en fictie over een spraakmakend schandaal in het zeventiende-eeuwse Amsterdam*, Leiden 2010, p. 299.
- 85 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 193.
- 86 *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*, 18 June 1697, p. 1: '7. In de Plaetsen, tot de Wandeling geschickt, als het Voorhout en de Maliebaen, sal de gewoonte, die nu is, plaets hebben en de passerende aen beyde zijden de rechterzijde houden: ... sonder eenigh Verschil of Vorrangh van yemants Ampt, geobserveert werden.'
- 87 Van Strien, op. cit. (note 27), p. 194.
- 88 Kooijmans, op. cit. (note 39), pp. 253-54: '... datter nooit geen motten in komt'. The Leiden newspaper *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* ran a report from Berlin on 23 July 1697 that a new horse-drawn carriage seating twelve persons had been invented and was taken on the *Tour à la Mode* by the Margrave of Brandenburg and had attracted many spectators and compliments.
- 89 De Cretser, op. cit. (note 33), pp. 49-50: '... 't welk zoo constant is, dat geenig groot Personagie die in den Hage komt, oyt mankeren zal aldaar mede de Tour te ryden...'
- 90 J. Hondius, *Swart Register van duysent Sonden*, Amsterdam 1679.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 336: 'Wat aengaet een Ambachtsman, ofte yemandt die al de ses werck-dagen de handen vol heeft, die staet het nochtans niet vry om op den Rust-dagh tot sijn playsier te wandelen.'
- 92 *Ibid.*: 'Sondigen soodanige menschen, die Ledematen zijnde, nochtans op den Sabbath ... gaen uyt wandelen, om sich wat te vermakken.'
- 93 The household of the Oranges had only moved from their seats in Brussels and Breda to The Hague in 1580, due to the war with the Spanish. See O. Mörke, 'Het hof van Oranje als centrum van het politieke en maatschappelijke leven tijdens de Republiek', in Keblusek and Zijlmans, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 59-60.
- 94 To date this is the earliest reference to *flaneren* in the Netherlands: '... zonder doel, om rond te zwerfen en rond te snuffelen, om hier te zien en daar te kijken, met een woord om te flaneren', in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 September 1842, on the annual fair in the Botermarkt in Amsterdam. The first reference in the authoritative *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* – which states that the verb *flaneeren* was first introduced in the sense of strolling out in the streets, without aim, for pleasure – dates from 1865: 'Zonder doel, voor zijn genoeg, op straat rondslenteren.'

