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'Antichrist Stormed': The Glorious Revolution and the Dutch Prophetic Tradition

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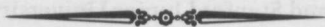
THE WORLD OF
WILLIAM AND MARY

Anglo-Dutch Perspectives
on the Revolution
of 1688-89



William III and Mary II, two oil-on-canvas portraits made one, studio of Godfrey Kneller. Courtesy Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

THE WORLD OF WILLIAM AND MARY



Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688–89

EDITED BY

Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold

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To A. G. H. ("Fred") Bachrach

Predictably, the anniversary of the "Glorious Revolution" is spent in considerable number of lectures, conferences, and exhibitions, to say no more than that historians (even those who actually do participate in these celebrations) tended in effect to use of the well-known cause as historical background concerning the years 1688-89. Thus, what might have been a mere exercise in the discussing of received opinion became instead an impetus to build upon and expand revisionist ideas concerning the origins and consequences of the Revolution, ideas that had begun to emerge during the past two decades. The preliminary result of the new work is a profound change in our understanding not only of the course of the Revolution—its origins, its evolution, and its aftermath—but of its ultimate significance for English and European history. Most important, the long tradition of viewing the events of 1688-89 as a uniquely British affair, which gave birth to liberal England with its contingent political and religious liberties, has been finally put to rest.

Paradoxically, the revisionist effort to dispel the persistent popular treatment of the Revolution and the Whig interpretation it had traditionally received has caused anything but a diminishing of its significance. By virtue of the revisionist attack on older writings on the subject, writing which the Revolution has been the focus of, as well as deeper and broader perceptions of the aims and motives of its participants—the impact of the events of 1688-89 on English and European history has been understood with new proportions. Thus, though the Revolution may no longer be considered

"glorious" in the traditional sense of being the harbinger of liberal England, the crossing by William III of the North Sea takes on an even greater global magnitude.

The scope of such a historical reinterpretation explains why so little of the revisionist effort has hitherto been translated into a synthetic account of the Revolution. The need to probe and scrutinize previous presumptions as well as study afresh archival and printed records has taken precedence over the writing of a new narrative, and wisely so. Previous interpretations of the Revolution were guided more by partisanship and glorious patriotic perceptions than by sound scholarship. Not surprisingly, then, the present volume of fifteen essays presumes neither comprehensiveness nor completeness. Like all other books the tercentenary celebrations have produced, it aims to furnish a series of important interpretative case studies on a variety of political, economic, religious, and cultural issues that will make possible a future synthesis.

The distinctiveness of the volume lies in its offering important insights on topics that have long engaged the attention of scholars as well as others that have not been deemed relevant to our understanding of the Revolution. J. G. A. Pocock's analysis of the significance of the revolutionary impulse in England from the Civil War to the emergence of the new British Leviathan and Howard Nenner's probe into the role of heredity in the issue of the succession shed new light on a variety of ideological and constitutional issues. With equal sensitivity to text and context, Lois Schwoerer provides an insightful reading of contemporary and latter-day perceptions of the Bill of Rights. The financial and economic aspects consequent to the Revolution are addressed in the papers of D. W. Jones and Jonathan Israel, while Gordon Schochet and Bruce Lenman offer reflective interpretations of the issues of toleration, comprehension, and religious discourse.

Essays deepening our grasp of politics and toleration are joined by those inviting us to rethink the common perception of the Revolution as a strictly political and religious event, or even an event within the exclusive domain of rational discourse. What has recently been taken into account is the broad structure of belief systems that informed the opinions and actions of contemporaries. Willem Frijhoff and Ernestine van der Wall, for example, draw attention to the significance of witchcraft and millenarianism in shaping the world view of most seventeenth-century people and our need to take into account such belief systems—alien to modern sensibility—in any rendering of the events of 1688–89. Still other essays seek to bridge

the gulf between politico-social-economic history on the one hand and cultural-intellectual history on the other. John Dixon Hunt, Wijnand Mijnhardt, and Mordechai Feingold point out, in various ways, how learned and material culture (as well as high and low fashion) was conceived by contemporaries as part of, and even an extension of, political life and therefore was capable of coloring perceptions and informing actions.

What emerges from these distinctive essays is the conviction that in spite of differing angles of approach, or perhaps because of them, the process of reinterpreting the Revolution requires a combined study of English and Dutch history within the context of European history. It is toward this task of helping lay the necessary scholarly foundations for a future comprehensive rewriting of the history of the period that the essays in this volume hope to contribute.

If books have lives, this volume was born in Holland early in 1986 when Fred Bachrach, professor emeritus at the University of Leiden and chairman of the Netherlands Executive Committee of the William and Mary Tercentenary Committee, proposed that the college chartered in 1693 by a Dutch king and an English queen be invited to host an event commemorating the 300th anniversary of the revolutionary accession of William III and Mary II. Paul Verkuil, then president of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, enthusiastically accepted the invitation, and it was quickly agreed that an international conference of scholarly distinction be held in Williamsburg on February 8-10, 1989, on themes appropriate to the remembrance of such a historic event. The conference brought together a team of Dutch, British, and American specialists in early modern transatlantic history and culture. Most of that group are represented here; others were recruited especially for this volume.

Among the conferences of 1989 that stimulated the production of books on the Revolution of 1688-89, ours laid claim to a distinctive status, for the Congress of the United States, by resolution, had officially recognized the College of William and Mary as the sole agent for the commemoration of the tercentenary of the Revolution and the accession of King William and Queen Mary. The Williamsburg conference drew unprecedented support from a variety of public and private agencies, support that we gratefully acknowledge here. Joining the College as cosponsors were the British Institute of the United States, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the North American Conference on British Studies. Funding for the conference was

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Among the many people who helped make the Williamsburg meeting a success, Dale Hoak is especially happy to thank Paul Verkuil and Thad Tate for their advice and unflagging encouragement; John Selby for his timely administrative assistance; and Lois Schwoerer, John Pocock, and Moti Feingold for their help in identifying participants. Steven Strickland and Robert Kingston (successive presidents of the British Institute of the United States), James Daniels (cultural attaché at the British Embassy in Washington), and Lena Cowen Orlin (executive director of the Folger Institute) willingly shared their expertise. At the College, special assistance was provided by Anne Pratt, Meredith Wagner, David Kranbuehl, Gloria Talley, and Cheryl Pope in fundraising and the administration of finance; Bill Walker, Barbara Bell, Dean Olsen, Elaine Justice, and Cynthia Tracy in publicity and promotion; Tom Legg, right-hand man par excellence; and Darlene Crouch, who made much paper move. Also, special thanks to Jeanne Netzley who was instrumental in giving the book its present shape.

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M.F. and D.H.

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"Antichrist Stormed": The Glorious Revolution and the Dutch Prophetic Tradition

It is something of a paradox that in the history of the Christian religion the figure of Antichrist has played such an important role. Used to express displeasure with religious, social, and political ideas, as well as institutions and persons, this symbol has functioned as an instrument of criticism. In a dualistic view of history, Antichrist is seen as the eternal opponent of Christ. Though past and present may seem to suggest the contrary, the final outcome of the apocalyptic struggle is certain. One day Christ will emerge from the battle as the glorious victor, while Antichrist will be utterly vanquished.

It is obvious that Protestant believers interpreted the Glorious Revolution as a serious blow to Antichrist. As is well known, since the beginning of the Reformation the identification of Antichrist with the Roman papacy had been part and parcel of Protestant thought. This line of thinking was reinforced by the apocalyptic and millenarian ideas that came to the fore in sixteenth-century Protestant circles, and that remained alive throughout the era of William and Mary.¹

This chapter takes a closer look at the way in which the events of 1688–89 were read in an apocalyptic millenarian light by Dutch divines. The central question is this: Was the Glorious Revolution, like so many other revolutions, seen as a sign of the imminence of Christ's glorious reign upon earth? The fact that in England the Revolution was regarded as an important event in the millenarian scenario indicates that millenarianism did live on. In the Restoration period it had flourished, albeit often in a form other than the politi-

cally radical one usually associated with millenarianism.² In the later decades of the seventeenth century too, many well-known English people were sympathetic, or even deeply committed, to millenarian beliefs. Among them were eminent Anglican divines, above all latitudinarians (some of whom, after the Glorious Revolution, accepted high ecclesiastical offices), but also renowned scholars, scientists, philosophers, and others belonging to the leading circles of English society. Thus one can mention archbishops William Sancroft, John Tillotson, and Thomas Tenison; bishops William Lloyd and Edward Fowler; theologians Daniel Whitby, Drue Cressener, and Pierre Allix; philosophers Thomas Hobbes and Henry More; and scientists Robert Boyle, John Pell, John Evelyn, Thomas Burnet, Isaac Newton, and William Whiston.³

As this impressive list indicates, in the second half of the seventeenth century millenarianism had made its sure entrance into the Church of England; this would have been unimaginable only a few decades before. Beyond the confines of the Anglican Church millenarianism also flourished, as is made clear by the works of Baptists Benjamin Keach and Hanserd Knollys, and by such movements as those of the Philadelphians and the French Prophets, which reinforced the vitality of this radical eschatology well into eighteenth-century England.⁴

In both Anglican and non-Anglican millenarian circles, eschatology was often closely connected with politics; millennial speculations often served as explanations—or justifications—of current events, and thus as ammunition in the intensive propaganda campaigns of William III.⁵ The Glorious Revolution may be called a perfect example of this late-seventeenth-century political eschatology, for millenarianism as an expression of the popular providential view of history now justified the intervention by a foreign prince and the subsequent rejection—or perhaps one should say modification—of the theory of passive obedience and divine-right monarchy. Once again in history prophetic theology and political ideology went hand in hand.⁶

Because of their firm belief in a providential view of history, millenarians knew why something happened and, perhaps more important, why it happened at a particular moment. In this connection it may be pointed out that in the time of William and Mary, millenarianism assumed a new function apart from the eternal one of giving comfort to those who were, for whatever reason, unhappy with their place in history or with contemporary events; in the early

Enlightenment it became part of Christian apologetics, proof to the "atheists" that God was really at work in the world.

As for the timing of the Glorious Revolution, we must bear in mind that contemporaries remembered that several influential millenarians had indicated the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century as the period of Christ's second coming. For example, John Napier had foretold that Christ might return between 1688 and 1700; Johann Heinrich Alsted had set the date for the year 1694. Joseph Mede had predicted 1716 as the wonderful year. Ephraim Huit fixed his hope on 1695, while John Pell calculated that Rome would be ruined at the end of 1688. Undoubtedly such dates were present to the minds of British and Continental millenarians in the later seventeenth century.

Because British millenarianism in the early Enlightenment has received some scholarly attention, I would like to concentrate here on the Dutch prophetic tradition in that period, about which much less is known.⁷ When one talks about apocalypticism and millenarianism in the Netherlands, England is never far out of sight, because Dutch eschatological thinking owes much to the British apocalyptic tradition. For this reason, it would be interesting to make a comparative analysis of British and Dutch eschatological thought and to determine in what way each tradition has a character of its own. This chapter is only meant to be a small contribution to such an analysis, a rough survey of the prophetic tradition in the Netherlands in the time of William and Mary, illustrated by a look at the religious, or better still, eschatological, expectations of some Dutch millenarians at the time of the Glorious Revolution.

Did the Dutch, like the English, view the Glorious Revolution in an eschatological, apocalyptic, millenarian perspective? Or, to put the question more broadly, is there a great resemblance between the Dutch and British prophetic traditions in the time of William and Mary? And if the two traditions do differ, in what way?

Given that politics and religion were so closely allied, one may expect to come across some differences, because the political and religious situation in the Netherlands was quite different from the one in contemporary England. For example: In the Dutch Republic there was no state church, since the Dutch Reformed Church was just a privileged church. Nor was there any equivalent to James II, a monarch whose intense pro-Catholic policies deeply troubled his

subjects and who, it was feared, would join hands with that ally of Babylon, Louis XIV.

However, the Dutch Republic certainly was acquainted with the French king and the effects of his anti-Protestant actions. The sad stories of the Huguenot refugees—who in the 1680's, and especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled to the Netherlands by the thousands—provided the common Dutch people with sufficient knowledge about the harsh dealings of one of Antichrist's most prominent representatives.⁸ And even if the miserable fate of the Huguenots had not confronted Dutch collective consciousness with Louis's cruel deeds, fresh memories of the French invasion of 1672 would have sufficed to intensify their belief in the identification of Rome and its ally France with the apocalyptical beast.⁹

Before turning to the role of eschatology in the time of William and Mary, I shall say a few words about the development of the Dutch prophetic tradition. First of all, one might well ask whether there existed anything like a *Dutch* prophetic tradition: is it not a *contradictio in terminis*? Certainly, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Holland knew millenarians of Dutch origin; Carolus Gallus, Willem and Eewout Teellinck, Gaspar Udemans, Daniel van Laren, Daniel de Breen, Joachim Oudaan, and Jan Zoet all come to mind (as do Coenraad van Beuningen and Jacobus Koelman, who are discussed in more detail below). However, it is no exaggeration to say that millenarianism in the Dutch Republic was by and large a tradition shaped by foreigners. The Dutch had no John Foxe, no Thomas Brightman, no Alsted or Mede. Dutch millenarianism was largely formed by the eschatological visions of the many exiles from England, Scotland, Germany, and Central Europe who settled in the republic. Thus Dutch millenarianism was mainly an imported product, consisting not only of a variety of foreign millenarian elements, but also of mystical, particularly Behmenist, parts; the influence of Jacob Boehme and his followers on mystical and millenarian theology in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was widespread.¹⁰

It seems, however, that the Dutch, who in more than one respect were internationally oriented, were not unwilling to take up such foreign lines of thinking. Certainly, millenarianism was rejected by the leaders of the Dutch Reformed orthodoxy; thus the Walloon professor of theology, Samuel Maresius (Desmarets)—father of Daniel Desmarets, and William's controller-general—was a vehement opponent of millenarianism.¹¹ However, it found a warm welcome

among religious nonconformists, such as the Collegiants, the Labadists, and the Quakers, or among Remonstrant circles.¹²

According to the German mystical millenarian Friedrich Breckling, millenarianism was openly preached from the pulpit in Holland.¹³ We know that in the 1630's Daniel van Laren preached millenarianism in Zeeland and, when suspended for this reason, moved to Arnhem where he served the Reformed congregation in the same period that the well-known English millenarians John Archer and Thomas Goodwin delivered their famous millenarian sermons to the English congregation in that town.¹⁴ In Rotterdam (or "little London," as it was called by the British exiles), Independents such as Jeremiah Burroughes and William Bridge preached millenarianism, which provoked a negative reaction from the local minister of the Scots Church, Alexander Petrie. But surely not all ministers of the Scots Church were antimillenarians. In the last decade of the seventeenth century another minister of this Rotterdam church, Robert Fleming the younger, one of William III's advisers on Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, preached about Antichrist and the fall of the papacy, thus following in the footsteps of his father, who also had been a millenarian minister in Holland.¹⁵ From these examples it should be clear that millenarianism was indeed preached openly in the Netherlands, if not so much by Dutch Reformed ministers, then at any rate by foreign preachers.

The international orientation of the Dutch prophetic tradition is reinforced by the fact that important works by British—and Continental—prophetic authors were printed in the Dutch Republic. To name only the British literature in the time of William and Mary, one could mention works by James Ussher, Jane Leade, Pierre Allix, and Daniel Whitby.¹⁶

Other characteristics of the Dutch prophetic tradition include its being more scholarly than popular, more individual than collective, and more socially and politically conservative than radical (however limited the value of this last distinction may be).¹⁷ Popular radical millenarian movements did not flourish in seventeenth-century Holland, however, as they did in contemporary England. This can largely be explained by political circumstances. Only when these circumstances were perceived as a threat did a kind of popular political millenarianism arise. For example, in 1672, not only were many prophetic pamphlets published, but also a sort of socially radical Fifth Monarchism came into being, under the leadership of Sir Johannes Rothe, a Dutch millenarian of German descent carrying an

English title—a perfect example of the international character of the “Dutch” prophetic tradition—who gathered quite a following, among them some learned men.¹⁸

Rothe’s reaction to the Glorious Revolution is not known, but one may assume that the events of 1688–89 confirmed him in the truth of his prophetic visions concerning William of Orange—to Rothe not the “darling of mankind” but that “great idol of Holland”—about whose lust for power Rothe had no illusions and whose religious ideas smacked of popery. In the early 1670’s Rothe more than once accused the stadholder of aiming at the English crown and of marrying a popish wife. Our millenarian himself cherished the hope that England and Holland would establish a united kingdom under the rule, not of William, but of Rothe himself, the Dutch John the Baptist, and that so joined, the Dutch and English would march together to the millennium.¹⁹

The vitality of the Dutch prophetic tradition in the time of the early Enlightenment is, however, illustrated less by Rothe’s Fifth Monarchy movement than by the works of learned divines of the period. Setting aside the popular apocalyptic tradition in favor of the more scholarly tradition,²⁰ the sheer number of Bible commentaries and other theological works published during the final decades of the seventeenth century immediately suggests that the study of prophecy had become immensely popular in the Netherlands in the early Enlightenment. It was to remain so during the eighteenth century.

This interest was given impetus by the doctrines of another foreigner, the Leiden professor of theology, Johannes Cocceius. Cocceius’s interpretation of biblical prophecies, his division of the history of the Christian Church into seven periods, and his expectation of future prosperity for the church were all of utmost importance to Dutch Protestant theology in early modern Holland and elsewhere.²¹ Thanks to Cocceius, eschatological thinking, imbued with a subtle millenarian flavor, was received into Dutch Reformed orthodoxy. Moreover, it is mainly among his followers that we find the most important representatives of the Dutch prophetic tradition in the time of William and Mary.

The well-known open-mindedness of the Cocceians to Cartesianism implied that the study of biblical prophecy was regarded as the specific interest of theologians keen on novelties—in no way intended as a compliment.²² Some Dutch divines nevertheless hoped that Cocceian theology, together with Cartesian philosophy, would bring about ecclesiastical peace, but this irenic hope was to be

fulfilled only in the eighteenth century.²³ In the time of William and Mary the debate between the Cocceians and their main opponents, the Voetians, dominated the Dutch theological scene. Yet it should not be forgotten that in due time the line between the two parties faded away, and some prominent divines strove to find a middle way as early as the 1670's and the 1680's.²⁴

Whatever the differences between the Cocceians and the Voetians, theologians in both camps immersed themselves in the study of scriptural prophecies, interpreting Daniel and the Book of Revelation as predictions of the course of history. Among the Cocceians the professors Jacobus Alting, Campegius Vitringa, Johannes Braun, Salomon van Til, Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Ruardus Andala, and Johannes d'Outrein stand out, as do the ministers Henricus Groenewegen, David Flud Van Giffen, and Hero Sibersma. Of the Voetians we may mention professor Johannes à Marck, and ministers Wilhelmus à Brakel and Jacobus Koelman. Furthermore, other well-known theologians, such as Herman Witsius and Balthasar Bekker, who more or less belonged to the middle party, were also engaged in the study of prophecy.²⁵

On the basis of careful exegetical analysis of the Scriptures, quite a number of these learned interpreters came to expect a millennium, or at any rate, a glorious state of the church on earth. Like their English colleagues, they sometimes expressed themselves in a rather cautious, reserved manner, preferring to keep their millenarianism private. However, in the Netherlands a development similar to that in England occurred. Whereas in earlier times millenarianism was found mainly in the circles of religious nonconformists, in the later seventeenth century this special form of eschatology, though never officially receiving the hallmark of orthodoxy, gained a certain respectability previously unimaginable in Dutch orthodox circles.

Addressing the question of whether Dutch prophetic exegetes saw any correspondence between the Glorious Revolution and biblical prophecies, one might expect—given their political preferences—to find a providential explanation of the events of 1688–89 among the Orangist Voetians rather than among the Republican Cocceians.²⁶ And this is indeed the case. Though prominent Cocceians such as Vitringa and Groenewegen did regard some current events as the fulfillment of scriptural prophecies, they did not allude to the Glorious Revolution. Nor did Johannes d'Outrein, though he was befriended by William III.²⁷

The picture was different among the Voetians. Thus, Johannes à Marck, in the dedication to William III of his *Commentary on the*

Apocalypse, a dedication dated (remarkably enough) April 11, 1689, wrote about the stadholder in an apocalyptic tone, depicting him as the great victor over the beast.²⁸ The Huguenot theologian Pierre Jurieu also expressed millenarian ideas in his well-known *Accomplissement des prophéties* (1686).²⁹

Pierre Jurieu, who since the early 1680's had been minister and professor in Rotterdam, regarded current events in France and England as the fulfillment of the prophecies of the apocalypse. He interpreted the revocation of the Edict of Nantes as the death of the two witnesses, who after three and a half years would be resurrected and ascend to heaven (Rev. 11). This text predicted, according to Jurieu, that Louis XIV would give the French Reformed Church a prominent position in 1689. In 1694, after this interpretation had proven not to be quite the case, the Rotterdam prophet thought it better to look for another one, which he easily found. Now the two witnesses stood for William and Mary, who had ascended the British throne exactly three and a half years after the revocation. Like all Huguenots, Jurieu was a staunch supporter of William, whom he knew personally. Jurieu's millennial speculations called forth reactions in England, where his works were published in translation and responded to by Benjamin Keach and Drue Cressener, as well as in Holland.³⁰

The best example of Voetian prophetic thinking about the Glorious Revolution is offered by Jacobus Koelman, the influential theologian, philosopher, and pedagogue, who in 1689 published a lengthy exposition of the apocalypse entitled *De sleutel tot opening van de Openbaaring Johannis* ("Key to the Revelation"),³¹ a work written to refute Jurieu. Koelman was a proponent of the so-called Second or Further Reformation (*Nadere Reformatie*), a movement within the Dutch Reformed Church that aimed at experiential religion and devotional piety. Koelman hoped to advance the cause of Dutch Reformed pietism by his many translations of English and Scottish pietist works. The decisive event in his life was his removal from the ministry in Sluis in Zeeland by the States General, occasioned by his defense of extempore prayer and his ideas about Christian festival days. Koelman would neither forgive nor forget this decision—a personal visit to William of Orange was unsuccessful in obtaining its reversal, as was Coenraad van Beuningen's mediating advice to the stadholder—and it confirmed him in his negative view of the magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs.³²

Koelman has been called a kind of Dutch Savonarola,³³ and indeed his message was loud and clear: If the Dutch did not speedily repent,

God's wrath awaited the "Dutch Israel." In an apocalyptic vein he described the miserable moral and religious situation of contemporary Holland, neatly combining his urgent call to repentance with apocalyptic millenarian speculations. Koelman's "Key to the Revelation" might as well have been entitled "Antichrist Stormed." Its central theme is the destruction of Antichrist (that is, Roman Catholicism), which would occur after the pouring out of the sixth vial. Neither his timetable nor his interpretations of the prophecies agreed with those of Jurieu, who, for example, following his "master," Mede, had suggested that Antichrist's downfall would occur during the seventh vial.

The question arises whether, strictly speaking, Koelman may be called a millenarian. He described his own position as an attempt to steer a middle way between antimillenarianism on the one hand and Cocceianism on the other, these two being, according to Koelman, the extreme eschatological positions in contemporary Holland. This middle way had been shown to him by the works of learned Scottish and English expositors of the prophecies, his favorite author being the erudite Scot James Durham. Emphasizing that he was no lover of novelties in theology or philosophy—which indeed is confirmed by his fierce attacks on Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, and Balthasar Bekker—Koelman feared that he might be accused of adhering excessively to the "old novelties" of the millenarians. However, he insisted that by his deviation from his antimillenarian master, Voetius, he only showed his love of the truth.³⁴

For Koelman the millennial reign had already begun, and he knew the date: the year 1560, when the Reformation had settled in several European countries. The millennium would gradually increase in glory, reaching its pinnacle only after the seventh vial had been poured out. Koelman was convinced that Satan had been bound by the Reformation; that is, Antichrist's power to seduce had been restricted, but not actually revoked. This view might have had its repercussions for his thoughts about an event like the Glorious Revolution, but this does not seem to have been the case.

In the preface to his "Key to the Revelation" of November 30, 1688, Koelman referred to William's expedition as a step in God's preordained plan; it helped hasten the glorious fulfillment of the millennium. "We live in an extraordinary time," he wrote:

Our dear Prince has left for England, as the instrument in God's hand to work out the most glorious design which has ever been undertaken by a Christian King. Soon the Lord will appear in order to destroy Babylon with the bright-

ness of his coming and build up Zion. The oppressed people of England will be delivered. The Lord will surely accomplish the good work He has begun, although there are many good reasons why He might reveal his wrath in the midst of this deliverance, in view of the dreadful sins of England, Scotland, Ireland and the Netherlands.³⁵

In this last observation we meet with an argument also anticipated by the English millenarians.³⁶

Elsewhere Koelman pointed out that great changes were about to occur in Europe. God would chastise his church and destroy popery, thus paving the way for the pouring out of the fifth vial onto the throne of the beast, that is, on Rome. The destruction of Rome would be physical and violent, he contended, not figurative, as Jurieu maintained. As to the rest of the scenario, Koelman still expected the ruin of Rome (fifth vial), the destruction of the Turks (sixth vial), and the conversion of the Jews and their return to Palestine. Thereafter the conversion of the gentiles would take place, and then, finally, the church would be in a most blessed state in which all prophecies would be fully understood.³⁷

The Glorious Revolution, then, was seen by Koelman as a step on the millennial path toward the final glory of the church, heralding the ultimate downfall of Antichrist. William of Orange was regarded as the apocalyptic warrior, leading a mighty army to deliver the church from its enemy.

In this connection it is interesting to note a reaction to Koelman's views by a man certainly not unknown to historians of the life and times of William III: the diplomat, economist, and politician Coenraad van Beuningen.³⁸ During the months of the Glorious Revolution Koelman and the Amsterdam regent, known for his great learning, were engaged in a lively discussion about a variety of theological and philosophical issues, among them millenarianism. Indeed, they knew each other well: in the 1650's Koelman had been minister to the Dutch embassy in Denmark during Van Beuningen's tenure as ambassador there. In his capacity as burgomaster of Amsterdam in later years, Van Beuningen protected Koelman, although his own religious ideas certainly did not agree with those of his former, strictly Calvinist minister. Like Koelman, he cherished millenarian beliefs, but from his reaction to Koelman's "Key to the Revelation" it is apparent that his millenarianism was of quite another sort—in every respect, Van Beuningen's millenarianism reflects the rationalistic strain of his thought.

Moreover, Van Beuningen's reaction shows that his interpreta-

tion of William's expedition differed remarkably from that of Koelman. Van Beuningen rejected any prophecy that could be interpreted as pointing to a worldly ruler as a deliverer of the church. He referred to prophecies by Nostradamus and others (which, according to Van Beuningen, had been recently published in England and elsewhere) as indicating that such a deliverer would arise in the days in which he, Van Beuningen, lived—obviously a reference to predictions concerning William of Orange. His political ideas and his bad personal relationship with the stadholder would have made it difficult enough for Van Beuningen to proclaim William a messianic deliverer, but the reason he gave for rejecting the idea was essentially religious. He maintained that it was un-Christian to wage war, any war. It was this pacificism, cast in apocalyptic language, that formed the basis for his rejection of the Glorious Revolution, however bloodless that event might have been. All these factors led him to contend that the preface to Koelman's "Key," in which William's expedition was glorified, should be labeled "un-Christian."³⁹

Apparently Van Beuningen's rejection of a positive interpretation of the events of 1688–89 was closely allied to his ideas about Antichrist, a figure who in his opinion comprehended both Rome and the Reformation—a radical view diametrically opposed to Koelman's optimistic, millennial interpretation of the Reformation. The notion of Antichrist had immediate repercussions for the concept of toleration. When all religious parties are seen as part of Antichrist, they may as well tolerate one another instead of fighting one another. Better still, one should formulate a belief containing the essence of Christianity, an essence that makes all differences among the various confessions meaningless. Van Beuningen attempted to formulate such fundamental, universal doctrines of faith. Given his radical view of Antichrist, he would have regarded the Glorious Revolution as a meaningless event. One limb of Antichrist had replaced another; the second apocalyptic beast of Rev. 13 had succeeded the first one. Hence he probably did not agree with the observation that "one drop of Orange juice works greater effects than a whole barrel of holy-water."⁴⁰

Also unlike Koelman, Van Beuningen was convinced of the imminence of Christ's heavenly kingdom upon earth. Just like Jurieu and Jurieu's grandfather, Du Moulin, whose works he admired, Van Beuningen expected Antichrist's downfall in 1689.⁴¹ The lucid—though repetitive—way in which Van Beuningen set down his religious and philosophical thoughts shows that the combination of

millenarianism and melancholy does not necessarily imply madness. Rather it seems that this millenarian went mad because of the heavy financial losses he suffered when the Amsterdam Stock Exchange crashed in the late summer of 1688.⁴²

In short, in the era of William and Mary the prophetic tradition flourished as much in Holland as in England. In several respects, however, the Dutch tradition was different from earlier prophetic traditions. The main difference was that millenarianism was transformed into a creed respectable among the religiously orthodox and politically and socially conservative. In the course of this transformation it often lost its sense of urgency, its deep desire to see the kingdom of Christ established on earth in the near future. That change is reflected in the rather formal tone in which millenarians wrote out their thoughts. Moreover, these prophetic exegetes could hope for a future time of prosperity and glory for the church in this world without identifying such a glorious state with the millennium. Nor did the millenarians of the 1680's and 1690's do anything to bring about the prophetic scenario: political activism was not among their priorities. These and other characteristics of late-seventeenth-century eschatology do not make the problem of defining millenarianism any easier; the late-seventeenth-century transformation of millenarianism describes a many-faceted phenomenon.

The popularity of the prophetic tradition in the later decades of the seventeenth century may be explained by observing that prophetic theology was endowed with a new function in the Enlightenment. It became part of Christian apologetics as a device to prove to a growing number of skeptics and atheists that the Scriptures were divinely inspired and God was indeed at work in the world. This knowledge about divine Providence provided the certainty so dearly needed in times of intellectual change. It also gave meaning to political upheavals such as the Glorious Revolution and, a century later, the French Revolution.⁴³

Finally it may be observed that Dutch prophetic theologians were less interested than their English counterparts in giving an apocalyptic millenarian interpretation to the Glorious Revolution. This may be largely explained by the fact that the Dutch did not need to justify a farewell to a divine-right monarchy.

In the early 1660's some Dutch and English millenarians hoped that the restoration of the Stuart monarchy would foreshadow the restitution of a Jewish kingdom in Israel. Perhaps in 1688-89 Dutch

and English millenarians held a similar opinion in connection with the accession of William and Mary to the English throne. However this may be, one thing was certain to prophetic interpreters on both sides of the North Sea: the ultimate Glorious Revolution was still to come.

23. James E. King, *Science and Rationalism in the Government of Louis XIV, 1661-1683* (Octagon Reprint, New York, 1972), p. 225.
24. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 436-46.
25. "An Essay Upon Universal Monarchy," in *The Political and Commercial Works of that Celebrated Writer Charles D'Avenant, LL.D.*, ed. Sir Charles Whitworth (1771), vol. 4, pp. 34, 38-39.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
27. "Tom Double Returned Out of the Country: Or the True Picture of a Modern Whig Set Forth in a Second Dialogue Between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double," *ibid.*, pp. 197-98.
28. "Liberty," in *The Poetical Works of James Thomson with His Last Corrections, Additions, and Improvements: With the Life of the Author* (1794), pp. 157, 160, 216, 239.
29. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 56, pp. 246-54 (on Thompson), 99-100 (on Davenant).
30. Sir Josiah Child, *A New Discourse of Trade* (1698), p. 201.
31. Queen Mary to King William, Whitehall, 26/16 July 1690, Pullen Collection, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
32. Helene Koon, *Colley Cibber* (Lexington, Ky., 1986), p. 9.
33. Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 36.
34. Stanley E. Hilton, "The United States and Brazilian Independence," in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood (Baltimore, 1975), p. 112.
35. J. E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America* (Baltimore, 1974).
36. David Bindman, Hogarth (New York, 1981); Paul Monod, "Painters and Party Politics in England, 1714-1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1993), pp. 367-98, esp. pp. 389-93.
37. The two engravings are conveniently reproduced, with their captions, in Derek Jarrett, *England in the Age of Hogarth* (1974), pp. 42-43.
38. Reproduced *ibid.*, p. 20.
39. Bruce P. Lenman, *The Eclipse of Parliament: Appearance and Reality in British Politics Since 1914* (London, 1992).

Van der Wall: The Dutch Prophetic Tradition

1. See C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (1971). See also Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden, 1978); Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979).
2. See Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (New York, 1976); J. G. A. Pocock, "Time, History and Eschatology in the Thought of Thomas Hobbes," in J. H. Elliott and H. G. Koenigsberger (eds.), *The Diversity of History, Essays in Honour of Sir Herbert Butterfield* (1970), pp. 149-99; Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (London and Boston, 1979); J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second*

Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850 (1979); Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, 1980); D. Brady, *The Contribution of British Writers between 1650 and 1830 to the Interpretation of Revelation 13.16-18* (Tübingen, 1983); Paul J. Korshin, "Queuing and Waiting: the Apocalypse in England, 1660-1750," in C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (eds.), *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature* (New York, 1984), pp. 240-65; Robert G. Clouse, "The Millennium that Survived the Fifth Monarchy Men," in Jerome Friedman (ed.), *Regnum, Religion et Ratio: Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdon* (Kirksville, Mo., 1987), pp. 19-31; B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (1972); R. H. Popkin, "The Third Force in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy: Scepticism, Science and Biblical Prophecy," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1983), vol. 3, pp. 35-63. See also Ignacio Escribano-Alberca, *Eschatologie von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*, in M. Schmaus, et al. eds., *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Faszikel 7d (Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna, 1987), esp. chaps. 1 and 4-6.

3. On these millenarians, see Jacob, *Newtonians*, esp. chap. 3; Schwartz, *French Prophets*, pp. 37, 42, 43, 50, 234; Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 191, 225-27.

4. For the millenarianism of Benjamin Keach and Hanserd Knollys, see Hill, *Antichrist*, p. 151; Jacob, *Newtonians*, p. 106; Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 92-93, 105, 182, 200, 201, 203, 213, 225, 226. On the Philadelphians, see Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Uppsala, 1948). See also Schwartz, *French Prophets*.

5. On propaganda and the Glorious Revolution, see Lois G. Schwoerer, "Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89," *American Historical Review* 82 (1977), pp. 843-79.

6. Cf. Jacob, *Newtonians*, pp. 73, 75, 80.

7. The prophetic tradition in the Netherlands has been studied by only a few (church) historians until now, their studies focusing upon the seventeenth century. Apart from the article by W. Frijhoff, mentioned in note 9, see J. van den Berg, "Eschatological Expectations concerning the Conversion of the Jews in the Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century," in P. Toon (ed.), *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970), pp. 137-53. Several "prophets" have been dealt with in the older studies by C. B. Hylkema, *Reformateurs: Geschiedkundige studiën over de godsdienstige bewegingen uit de nadagen onzer Gouden Eeuw*, 2 vols. (Haarlem, 1900-1902), and Cornelia W. Roldanus, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche geestesbloei* (Amsterdam, 1938). See also the impressive work by Leszek Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans église: La conscience religieuse et le lien confessionnel au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1969).

8. See, for example, the pamphlet in which Louis XIV is depicted as the beast of Rev. 13 (Bibliotheca Thysiana Leiden, reprinted in H. Bots, G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, and F. Wieringa, *Vlucht naar de vrijheid: De Hugenoten en de Nederlanden* [Dieren, 1985], p. 71). See also Hans Bots, "L'Echo de la Révocation dans les Provinces-Unies," in R. Zuber and L. Theiss (eds.), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685* (Paris,

1986), p. 293; P. J. A. N. Rietbergen, "William III of Orange (1650-1702) Between European Politics and European Protestantism: The Case of the Huguenots," in *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685* (Amsterdam-Maarsse, 1986), pp. 35-40, 43-46.

9. On Dutch prophetic literature in the 1670's, see W. Frijhoff, "Prophétie et société dans les Provinces-Unies aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," in Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, Willem Frijhoff, and Robert Muchembled, *Prophètes et sorciers dans les Pays-Bas XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1978), pp. 265-362, esp. chap. 2.

10. On the international circle of millenarians and the influence of mystical theology in the Netherlands, see Hylkema, *Reformatours*, and E. G. E. van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) en zijn wereld* (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 1987), esp. chaps. 3 and 7. On the influence of Behmenism in the later seventeenth century, see also M. Petry, "Behmenism and Spinozism in the Religious Culture of the Netherlands, 1660-1730," in K. F. Gründer and W. Schmidt-Biggemann (eds.), *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner religiösen Wirkung*, Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung 12 (Heidelberg, 1984), pp. 111-47. Quirinus Kuhlmann is a good example of the way in which Behmenism and millenarianism could go hand in hand in the time of William and Mary. Kuhlmann, who traveled widely and lived in England and Holland, was a great admirer of Johannes Rothe. He died at the stake in Moscow in 1689.

11. Antonius Walaeus, professor of theology in Leiden and one of the authors of the influential dogmatic handbook *Synopsis purioris theologiae* (Leiden, 1625), rejected millenarianism, as did Gisbertus Voetius in his disputation "*De regno millenario*" (1636), in which he showed himself to be deeply versed in millenarian literature, especially English writings. On Samuel Maresius, who next to Voetius was the main pillar of orthodoxy in the Dutch Republic, see D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius* (Ph.D. diss., Free University of Amsterdam, 1935), pp. 332-35. On his antimillenarianism, see also van der Wall, *Mystieke chiliast*, chaps. 7 and 8.

12. Important adherents to millenarian beliefs in the later seventeenth century included Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, Joachim Oudaan, Anna Maria van Schurman, Antoinette Bourignon, Quirinus Kuhlmann, and Stephanus Curcellaeus (Etienne de Courcelles).

13. Friedrich Breckling, *Synagoga satanae* (n.p., 1666), p. 19. Breckling received a pension from Queen Mary. Compare his observation with that of John Durie: "As for the Low-Countries, you know that there are manie there, whose eies are opened to look this waie" (that is, "after the fulfilling of the Revelation"): "An Epistolical Discours from Mr. John Durie to Mr. Samuel Hartlib concerning this Exposition of the Revelation by Waie of Preface thereunto," *Clavis apocalyptica* (n.p., 1651), p. 6.

14. On Daniel van Laren, see J. P. de Brie et al. (eds.), *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, 5 vols. (The Hague, 1903-49) (hereafter BWPGN), vol. 4; C. Sepp, *Het godgeleerd onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Leiden, 1874), p. 462; W. J. op 't Hof, "Eewout Teellinck een chiliast?" *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 12 (1988), p. 49; on John Archer and Thomas Goodwin, see Toon, *Puritans*; K. L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 331-32. It is

usually assumed that Goodwin is the author of *A True Glimpse of Sions Glory*. His *Opera* was translated into Dutch by Jacobus Koelman.

15. See Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 30-31; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 332, 427. On Robert Fleming, see *BWPGN*, vol. 4; Brady, *Contribution*, pp. 31-34; Jacob, *Newtonians*, pp. 127-28; W. H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790's to the 1840's* (Oxford, 1978), p. 39; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 126, 177, 323, 417; W. Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1833), pp. 113-37. Fleming's often reprinted work is entitled *The Rise and Fall of Rome Papal and the Destruction of the Turkish Empire Predicted in a Discourse Delivered in 1701*.

16. It is remarkable how much important millenarian literature of British origin, such as works by John Napier, Thomas Brightman, Hugh Broughton, Patrick Forbes, William Cowper, and James Durham, was printed on Dutch presses in the seventeenth century and translated into Dutch. For a general view of eighteenth-century Dutch translations of British works, see J. van den Berg, "Eighteenth Century Dutch Translations of the Works of Some British Latitudinarian and Enlightened Theologians," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* (hereafter NAKG) 69 (1979), pp. 194-212.

17. For a critical evaluation of such distinctions, see Schwartz, *French Prophets*, introduction.

18. On Johannes Rothe and his followers, see K. H. D. Haley, "Sir Johannes Rothe: English Knight and Dutch Fifth Monarchist," in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 310-22; Hylkema, *Reformateurs*; Frijhoff, "Prophétie et société," pp. 314-22. Among Rothe's followers was Alhard de Raedt (1645-99), a disciple of Cocceius and in 1671-84 professor of theology at the Illustre School in Harderwijk; his millenarian ideas, about which he got embroiled in controversy with Samuel Maresius, led to his deposition.

19. See Haley, "Sir Johannes Rothe." A satirical print depicts William as an idol, adored by inhabitants of The Hague. Rothe was convinced that the establishment of the millennial reign was delayed because of this idolatry (*ibid.*, p. 326).

20. As early as January 1679 Sir William Temple in his *Memoirs* quoted this French prophet as predicting the future British kingship of William of Orange (Frijhoff, "Prophétie et société," pp. 296-97). Among other prophecies that were reprinted were those of Antonio Magino, Johannes Lichtenberger, and James Ussher, whose *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies and Predictions*, published posthumously in 1678, was translated into Dutch and published twice, in 1686 and 1688. There is a pamphlet in which an anonymous author shows, through a very ingenious way of juggling with letters and numbers ("*cabalische letter wisselingh*"), that he knew as early as 1681 that the sentence "William Henry will become King of England" would become true one day. Furthermore, some English astrological millenarian pamphlets such as John Partridge's *Mene Tekel* were translated into Dutch.

21. On Johannes Cocceius (1603-69) and his followers, see *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Walter de Gruyter (Berlin and New York, 1981), vol. 3; Gottlob Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus vor-*

nehmlich bei Johannes Coccejus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pietismus und der heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie (Gütersloh, 1923; reprint, Giessen and Basel, 1985); Grete Möller, "Föderalismus und Geschichtsbetrachtung im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 50 (1931), pp. 393-440; J. W. Moltmann, "Jacob Brocard als Vorläufer der Reich-Gottes-Theologie und der symbolisch-prophetischen Schriftauslegung des Johann Coccejus," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960), pp. 110-29; W. J. van Asselt, *Amicitia Dei: Een onderzoek naar de structuur van de theologie van Johannes Coccejus (1603-1669)* (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1988). On the influence of Coccejians in the Dutch Republic, see also C. Graafland, "De toekomstverwachting der puriteinen en haar invloed op de Nadere Reformatie," *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 3 (1979), pp. 65-95.

22. Thus, for example, see the many anti-Cocceian writings by Henricus Brinck, a fierce Voetian polemicist, who is said to have delivered the first fundamental attack on Coccejus's prophetic theology.

23. Balthasar Bekker, *Kort begrip der algemeene kerkelyke historien, zedert het jaar 1666 . . . tot den jare 1684* (Amsterdam, 1739), p. 36.

24. As an example of irenicism between the two parties, the Amsterdam ministers drew up an agreement in 1677 between Coccejians and Voetians in order to further peace in their congregations.

25. On Jacobus Alting (1618-86), see P. H. Roessingh, *Jacobus Alting, een bijbelsch godgeleerde uit het midden der 17e eeuw* (Ph.D. diss., University of Groningen, 1864). Alting's *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1687) was edited by his disciple, Balthasar Bekker. On Campegius Vitringa (1659-1722), see D. Nauta et al. (eds.), *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch Protestantisme*, 3 vols. (Kampen, 1978-88) (hereafter *BLG*), vol. 3; W. J. C. van Heel, *Campegius Vitringa* (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht: The Hague, 1865); Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund*. Vitringa was well versed in British millenarian literature. On Johannes Braun(ius) (1628-1708), see *BWPGN*, vol. 1; Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund*, pp. 21, 302, 309. On his millenarianism, see Graafland, "De toekomstverwachting," pp. 84, 94 n. 116. On Salomon van Til (1643-1713), see P. C. Molhuysen et al. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, 10 vols. (Leiden, 1911-37) (hereafter *NNBW*), vol. 10; G. D. J. Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht* (Utrecht, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 17-60; W. P. C. Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker: De bestrijder van het bijgeloof* (The Hague, 1906; reprint, Amsterdam-Castricum, 1979), pp. 138, 139. On Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683-1729), see *BLG*, vol. 3; G. A. Sniijders, *Friedrich Adolph Lampe* (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht: Harderwijk, 1954). On Ruardus Andala (1665-1727), see *BWPGN*, vol. 1; *BLG*, vol. 3; C. Sepp, *Johannes Stinstra en zijn tijd* (Amsterdam, 1865-66), vol. 1, pp. 38-39; Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker*, p. 260. On Johannes d'Outrein (1662-1708), see *BLG*, vol. 1; Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, vol. 2, pp. 117-60; C. Sepp, *Godgeleerd onderwijs*, vol. 2, p. 100ff; R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam* (Baarn, 1965-78), vol. 4. On Henricus Groenewegen (c. 1640-92), leader of the so-called "Groene" (after his name) or "Leidse" Coccejanen, see *BWPGN*, vol. 3; *BLG*, vol. 3; Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund*, p. 302; Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker*, pp. 137, 240, 241; van den Berg, "Eschatological Expectations," pp. 145-46. On David Flud van Giffen (1653-1701), leader of

the "new" or "serious" Cocceians, see *BLG*, vol. 3; Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund*, p. 302; Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker*, p. 118; A. Eekhof, "David Flud van Giffen en Johannes Braunius," *NAKG* 20 (1927), pp. 65-71. Flud van Giffen's works were edited by the Utrecht professor of theology, Albert Voget, who greatly admired this Cocceian. On Hero Sibersma (1644-1728), see *NNBW*, vol. 1; *BLG*, vol. 3; Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam*, vol. 4, pp. 37, 85, 115, 180, 192, 277. Sibersma, since 1683 a minister in Amsterdam, had many contacts with Jews and was devoted to the cause of the mission to the Jews. In the notorious affair in Nijmegen in 1716, Sibersma was among those Christians who vehemently denied the blood accusation made against the Jews (Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam*, vol. 4, p. 277).

On Johannes à Marck (1656-1731), see *NNBW*, vol. 9; *BLG*, vol. 3; van Genderen, *Herman Witsius*. During 1686 and 1687, à Marck was embroiled in a controversy with his Groningen colleague, Johannes Braunius. In 1689 à Marck moved to Leiden. In the lengthy preface to his *In Apocalypsin Johannis commentarium seu analysis exegetica* (Amsterdam, 1689), à Marck gives a learned, critical survey of Cocceian historical thinking. In 1730 à Marck published a work entitled *Exspectatio gloriae futurae Jesu Christi*, in which he discussed a variety of eschatological notions. On Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635-1711), see *BWPGN*, vol. 1; J. van Genderen, "Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635-1711)," in T. Brienens, et al. *De Nadere Reformatie: Beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers* (The Hague, 1986), pp. 165-91; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 151, 153-55, 157.

On Jacobus Koelman, see text below and note 32.

On Herman Witsius (1636-1708), see J. van Genderen, *Herman Witsius: Bijdrage tot de kennis der gereformeerde theologie* (The Hague, 1953); J. van Genderen, "Herman Witsius (1646-1708)," in Brienens, *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 193-216; Stoeffler, *Rise*, pp. 146, 153, 156, 178. Witsius was befriended by Everard Weede van Dijkveldt, whom he had accompanied on the diplomatic journey to James II in 1687. Witsius dedicated one of his main works (*De oeconomia foederum*) to William III, describing the king-stadholder as a truly irenical man, able to unite all Christendom.

On Balthasar Bekker, see Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker*.

26. Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker*, p. 99.

27. When D'Outrein was minister in Arnhem, he accompanied William when the latter hunted nearby.

28. The dedication in the first edition was dated April 10, 1689, that in the second edition (Utrecht, 1699) April 11, 1689. On à Marck, see also note 25.

29. On Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), see F. J. R. Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu: Theoloog en politikus der refuge* (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden: Kampen, 1967). For a synopsis of this work, see F. R. J. Knetsch, "Pierre Jurieu: Theologian and Politician of the Dispersion," *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 5 (1971), pp. 213-42. On Jurieu's views on the Glorious Revolution, see F. R. J. Knetsch, "Pierre Jurieu and the Glorious Revolution according to his 'lettres Pastorales,'" in J. van den Berg and P. G. Hoftijzer (eds.), *Church, Change and Revolution: Transactions of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch Church History Colloquium* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, and Cologne, 1991), pp. 145-66. See also Jacob, *Newtonians*, pp. 105, 106, 257-58; Oliver, *Prophets*, pp. 39-40.

30. Titles of the English translations of Jurieu's works are *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1687) and *A Continuation of the Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1688). Benjamin Keach's work is entitled *Antichrist Stormed or Mystery, Babylon, the Great Whore and Great City Proved to Be the Present Church of Rome . . . Also an Examination and Confutation of What Mr. Jurieu Hath Lately Written Concerning the Effusion of the Vials* (1689). On Drue Cressener's millenarian ideas and his reaction to Jurieu, see J. van den Berg, "Glorious Revolution and Millennium: The 'Apocalyptic Thoughts' of Drue Cressener," in van den Berg and Hoftijzer, *Church, Change and Revolution*, pp. 130-44.

31. Full title: *De sleutel tot opening van de Openbaaring Johannis in de donkerste kapitelen. En tot wederlegging van 't boek van Petrus Jurieu van de Vervulling der profetien (—) Met een naschrift over de Tijd-be-perkingen, en Tijd-uit-rekeningen van D. Henr. van Wezel, in zijn Verklaring van de Openbaaring alsmede een Bericht nopende het tweede lasterschrift van Dr. Johannes Swart* (Amsterdam, 1689). The publisher was Johannes Boekholt. This work was reprinted in 1768 in Amsterdam.

32. On Jacobus Koelman (1632-95), see BWPGN, vol. 5; BLG, vol 3; A. F. Krull, *Jacobus Koelman: Eene kerkhistorische studie* (Sneek, 1901; reprint, Amsterdam, 1972); W. van 't Spijker, "Jacobus Koelman (1632-95)," in Brien et al., *De Nadere Reformatie*, pp. 127-63; J. B. H. Alblas, *Johannes Boekolt (1656-1693): The First Dutch Publisher of John Bunyan and Other English Authors* (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 50-59 and throughout; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 433, 435, 437. See also A. Eekhof, "Jacobus Koelman: Zijn verblijf in Amsterdam en zijn beroep naar Noord-Amerika," NAKG 10 (1913), pp. 289-327; 11 (1914), pp. 13-40. Among the many translations made by Koelman is that of Gilbert Burnet's sermon preached before the Prince of Orange on December 23, 1689 (published in Amsterdam in 1689). A portrait of Koelman was made by Jan Luyken.

33. The characterization is given by C. Serrurier, *Pierre Bayle en Hollande* (Lausanne, 1912), p. 49 ("*une espèce de Savonarola hollandais*").

34. Koelman, *Sleutel*, pp. 5, 141, 147-48.

35. See his "Aanspraak aan d'opzienders van de gereformeerde kercken van Nederlandt," which serves as a preface to the *Sleutel*. In his dedication to William III of his translation of Samuel Clarke's *Annotations upon the New Testament* (1692), Koelman expressed his joy about the new religious situation in England and Holland, caused by William's accession to the British throne. He also referred to his request to be reinstituted to his clerical profession. William was not willing to consent, which shows that he did not always favor the Voetians as much as they wanted.

36. Jacob, *Newtonians*, p. 100.

37. Koelman, *Sleutel*, pp. 40-41, 78, 152, 282, 347, 154-61.

38. On Coenraad van Beuningen, see C. W. Roldanus, *Coenraad van Beuningen: Staatsman en libertijn* (The Hague, 1931). On his diplomatic activities, see M. A. M. Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's politieke en diplomatieke activiteiten* (Groningen, 1966).

39. "Derde Sendbrief aan Jac. Koelman," January 30, 1689 in van Beuningen, *Alle de brieven ende schriften* (Amsterdam, 1689), pp. 88-89.

40. For this observation by the Whig astrologer John Walley, see Capp, *Astrology*, p. 97.

41. Van Beuningen, *Alle de brieven ende schriften*.

42. As is well known, Van Beuningen was put in confinement in the autumn of 1688 because of some strange actions, which were inspired, as he himself believed, by his millenarianism. However strange these actions might have been, the tracts in his *Alle de brieven ende schriften* are certainly not written by someone who is mad, but rather by a deeply disappointed prophet.

43. See, for example, the remark by Henricus Groenewegen in the Preface to his *Keten der prophetische godgeleerdheid* (Enkhuizen, 1682) that the prophetic word is the surest proof of the truth and certainty of the Christian religion. Such observations are to be found in many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works on scriptural prophecies. On "prophetic theology" and its apologetic function in the early Dutch Enlightenment, see Ernestine van der Wall, "Orthodoxy and Scepticism in the Early Dutch Enlightenment," in Richard H. Popkin and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden and New York, 1993), pp. 121-41.

Schochet: Toleration and Comprehension

This paper has grown out of my work on John Locke's writings on religious toleration, the research for which has enjoyed the generous support of both the Research Division and the Fellowship Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Rutgers University, and the Folger Institute of the Folger Shakespeare Library. Some of my arguments here draw upon but are different from those in my "From Persecution to 'Toleration,'" in J. R. Jones (ed.), *Liberty Secured? British Liberty Before and After 1688* (Stanford, 1992), chap. 4. That essay was written under the auspices of the Center for the History of Freedom of Washington University, to which I am further very much indebted. Henry Horwitz and John Spurr have made a number of important suggestions that they may no longer recognize, and I am especially grateful to Moti Feingold, who has played Job to the delays I have inflicted upon him. Finally, I thank Dr. Williams's Library, London, for permission to quote from Roger Morrice's "Entr'ing Book."

1. Citizens of the United States tend, mistakenly, to identify their constitutional guarantee with "toleration." I cannot begin to address this conceptual and vocabularistic error here other than to make the obvious remarks that it blurs important distinctions, causes serious misunderstandings, and invites the creation of a specious past into which we can read our own, contemporary ideals. W. K. Jordan's important, classic work, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1932-40), is profoundly flawed in precisely this respect; the title alone illustrates the point. I have discussed this distinction further in "Samuel Parker, Religious Diversity, and the Ideology of Persecution," in Roger Lund (ed.), *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writings and Cultural Response, 1660-1800* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995).

2. The text is conveniently available in Andrew Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714* (1954), doc. 151, pp. 400-403.