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## Religious Persecution and Transnational Compassion in the Dutch Vernacular Press 1655-1745

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# Introduction

We are [...] in a world in which power figures and reconfigures; in which human artifice must struggle with human necessities; in which notions of justice, freedom, compassion, and autonomy, authority, legitimacy, security, and force animate, constrain and enable human beings in each and every arena within which they engage with one another.

- Jean Bethke Elshtain (1995)<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the eighteenth century Amsterdam was a gateway to the world in more than one sense. Not only did the city have one of Europe's biggest ports from which ships sailed to all corners of the known world, it was also home to about 150 printers and booksellers, who produced and sold all sorts of literature covering what was going on beyond the borders of the Dutch Republic.<sup>2</sup> One of these printers was Johannes Douci, whose shop was well situated on a junction of the busy Singel, not far from Dam Square, the city's beating heart. Customers browsing the shop's stock in 1714 were likely to stumble upon a small book called *Verhaal der tormenten die men de gereformeerde, welke op de galeyen van Vrankryk zyn, heeft doen ondergaan* (*Story of the torments inflicted upon the Reformed on the galleys of France*), written by the Frenchman Jean-François Bion [Fig. 1]. In case the title did not immediately attract potential readers, the cover further explained why they should buy the work: it had been translated from French into Dutch for the 'common good, but especially for those who take the oppression of Zion to heart'.<sup>3</sup>

In *Verhaal der tormenten*, Bion, a former priest from the village of Urcy near Dijon, shared with the world his experiences aboard *La Superbe*, a royal galley from Marseille, on which he had been chaplain since 1703.<sup>4</sup> Yet most of the *forçats*, the galley slaves who formed the majority

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<sup>1</sup> J. Bethke Elshtain, 'International politics and political theory', in K. Booth and S. Smith (eds.), *International relations theory today* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473–1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers* (Utrecht, 1989); Gruys and De Wolf count 146 active printers in the year 1700.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tot algemeene nuttigheyt, maer insonderheyt voor die geene die Sions verdruckinge ter herte gaet'; J.-F. Bion, *Verhaal der tormenten die men de gereformeerde, welke op de gallyen van Vrankryk zyn, heeft doen ondergaan* (Amsterdam, 1714), p. 1; all translations of primary and secondary literature in this work are the author's.

<sup>4</sup> For more biographical information on Bion see P. Conlon, *Jean-François Bion et sa relation des tourments soufferts par les forçats protestants* (Geneva, 1966), pp. 13–56.

of the ship's crew, were not fellow Catholics. Over half of them were Huguenots from the Cévennes, a mountainous region in south-eastern France that was plagued by a destructive religious civil war against the Crown.<sup>5</sup> The other galley slaves included Turks, deserters, highwaymen, and peasant smugglers. Bion describes the horrendous circumstances on board, where the slaves were reduced to a life of beatings, rotting food, and physical labor so arduous that it quickly ruined their health. One Sunday, after the chaplain had sung Mass, the *comitre*—commander of the slave crew—ordered that the Huguenots were to receive a foot whipping, as punishment for refusing to kneel to the Holy Sacrament. Struck by guilt and pity, Bion realized that the men endured their fate solely for having chosen to obey God rather than men. In a dramatic reversal of roles, the priest converted to the Reformed religion and fled to Geneva.<sup>6</sup>

The refugee's account of the enslavement of Huguenot rebels, engulfed in a religious war against their sovereign Louis XIV, reminds us that sixty years after the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), Europe had not shaken off the specter of religious violence. It used to be a common trope among historians that the Peace of Westphalia (1648) marked the final end of Europe's wars of religion, which had plagued large parts of the continent for four generations. Today, the idea remains widespread among political scientists. Eric Hanson, for one, contended in his 2006 book *Religion and politics in the international system today* that 'the West chose secularism in response to religious war within the society', but that 'Islam did not have a Thirty Years War'.<sup>7</sup> In 2013, Monica Soft similarly argued in the *Oxford handbook of religion and violence* that 'because Islam had no 'Thirty Years' War, the Islamic world did not inherit the West's now instinctive rejection of the idea that violence in the name of religion enhance's one's religious credibility'.<sup>8</sup> The fate of the Cévennes Huguenots exemplifies, however, that the secularization of politics that such researchers believe to have come in Westphalia's wake

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<sup>5</sup> The War of the Camisards (1702–05) is extensively discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>6</sup> Conlon, *Jean-François Bion*, p. 26; Bion does not describe his flight to Geneva.

<sup>7</sup> E. Hanson, *Religion and politics in the international system today* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 107; citation taken from W. Palaver, H. Rudolph, and D. Regensburger, 'Introduction', in W. Palaver, H. Rudolph, and D. Regensburger (eds.), *The European wars of religion. An interdisciplinary reassessment of sources, interpretations, and myths* (Abingdon, NY, 2016), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> M. Toft, 'Religion and political violence', in M. Juergensmeyer, M. Kitts, and M. Jerryson (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and violence* (New York, 2013), p. 340; citation taken from Palaver, Rudolph, and Regensburger, 'Introduction', pp. 1–2.

was a rocky road at best; between ca. 1650 and 1750 Europe continued to witness a considerable number of religious uprisings and devastating persecutions of confessional minorities at the hands of their sovereigns.

There was, moreover, a genuine interest in information about religious persecutions among different strata of early modern society, and writers and publishers were keen to meet this, even if rulers, by contrast, often tried to manage or contain information about the religious conflicts within their realms.<sup>9</sup> Despite their attempts to monopolize public political communication through censorship, monarchs had few means to stop the *foreign* press from covering their persecutory measures. In the wealthy and urbanized but politically decentralized Dutch Republic especially, printers found a relatively comfortable climate in which to produce foreign news and public opinion for both domestic and foreign audiences. By the mid-seventeenth century, the United Provinces had achieved a steady reputation as one of the dominant hubs of the European news market. Throughout the continent political writers knew of it as a literary safe haven, a ‘Mecca of authors’.<sup>10</sup> In 1722 Voltaire, for one, praised Amsterdam to his mistress as ‘storehouse of the universe’.<sup>11</sup>

Bion, too, initially published his work outside France. Living in exile in England, the convert first had his work printed in London in 1708. As a pamphleteer he must have hoped that it would not take long before his account of the *forçats* would also pour from the presses in one of the Dutch merchant cities across the North Sea. And indeed, *Verhaal der tormenten* was an international success. After the first edition in French it was soon translated into English, Dutch, and German;<sup>12</sup> and seven years after the first Dutch edition Douci still saw enough potential in the story to publish it again.<sup>13</sup> In the century after the Peace of Westphalia,

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<sup>9</sup> For a comparative analysis of governmental censorship practices see M. Griesse, ‘Frühneuzeitliche Revolten als Kommunikationsereignisse. Die Krise des 17. Jahrhunderts als Produkt der Medienrevolution’ (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> J. Marshall, *John Locke, toleration and early Enlightenment culture* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 157.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Voltaire to Madame la Présidente de Bernières, 7 October 1722, in J.–J. Tourneisen (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 7 (Basel, 1788), p. 20; a long-overdue comprehensive study of the Dutch Republic’s booktrade was published in 2019 by Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen. Unfortunately, their findings came too late to be incorporated in this study: A. Pettegree and A. der Weduwen, *The bookshop of the world. Making and trading books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2019).

<sup>12</sup> For a list of all editions see Conlon, *Jean-François Bion*, pp. 57–66.

<sup>13</sup> J.–F. Bion, *Verhaal der tormenten die men de gereformeerde, welke op de galejen van Vrankryk zyn, heeft doen ondergaan* (Amsterdam, 1721).

numerous newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals originating in the Dutch Republic continued to confront news consumers throughout Europe with the persecution of religious minorities. Together with their counterparts in other printing hubs, such as London, Hamburg, and Berlin, Dutch printers repeatedly turned the plight of foreign communities into international causes célèbres. Yet to inform and affect their audiences, early modern opinion makers had to answer a fundamental question which we still grapple with in our own times: *Why should we care about distant suffering?*

*Verhaal der tormenten* demonstrates that even individual authors developed different answers to that question. On the one hand, Bion tells a typical story about persecution and religious truth. The convert's account of spiritual steadfastness in a life of hopeless suffering, and his religious enlightenment that was its consequence, must have struck a sensitive chord among a Reformed readership. People who lived close enough to Europe's theological front lines had been confronted with similar stories for almost two hundred years. Narratives about religious minorities who suffered at the hands of their sovereign had been part and parcel of the propaganda wars surrounding the Protestant Reformations as well as the Catholic Counter-Reformation. For all the deep religious divisions, apologists on all sides of the confessional divide agreed that God's Church was a persecuted church. *Verhaal der tormenten* shows that this genre had not lost currency by the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, Bion also used a much more secular language of compassion. In the preface, he warns his readers that he will not only discuss the fate of the Reformed but pay attention to the other *forçats* as well.<sup>14</sup> He elaborates on poor peasants on the galley who had resorted to smuggling salt to feed their families.<sup>15</sup> Readers learned about deserters who, while guilty of an inexcusable crime, could not but incite pity as 'young men, who have been raised tenderly in the arms of their parents, [who] live [...] a life a hundred times more cruel than death'.<sup>16</sup> Bion also gives ample attention to the Turks whom he describes as men who, like all enslaved people, continued to long for their freedom. The author even praises them for taking good care of one another and for the faithfulness they showed toward their religion, even

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<sup>14</sup> Bion, *Verhaal der tormenten*, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>16</sup> 'Jonge menschen die tederlyk opgevoet zynde in d'armen hunner Ouders [die] een leeven [...] lyden, hondertmaal wreder als de doot'; *ibid.*, p. 24.

refusing to relieve their pain with wine.<sup>17</sup> In other words, Catholic peasants and Muslim Turks also invoked pity, despite their utter religious otherness. They are portrayed as fellow human beings, with human desires for freedom, affection, and companionship, and therefore worthy of the reader's sympathy. Bion, hence, used two languages of compassion, encouraging his readers to identify with the *forçats* in different ways.

What was Bion trying to tell his audience and how should we locate his double appeal to religious and human empathy in history? Recent studies on the deep history of human rights have greatly enhanced our understanding of 'common humanity' as a political norm. In her path-breaking 2008 study *Inventing human rights*, Lynn Hunt traced its genealogy to the mid-eighteenth-century proliferation of the novel. Hunt has contended that by reading about the inner lives of characters who were often very different from themselves, people learned to identify and sympathize with others across sex, class, confession, and other social boundaries. The printed encouragement of psychological identification with unfamiliar individuals thus laid 'the foundations for a new social and political order', one that saw 'ordinary secular life as the foundation of morality'.<sup>18</sup>

Was Bion simply ahead of his time, as one of history's many mavericks who formulated revolutionary ideas before they reached wider acceptance? Not necessarily: In Hunt's wake historians have started to trace the normative history of common humanity further back in time. Recent studies have shown that already in the sixteenth century different developments turned the question of mankind's unity into a pressing political concern: Mihai Grigore has demonstrated that from the sixteenth century onwards humanist scholars began to assign intrinsic political and ethical value to humanity; human qualities of solidarity, organization, and political life did not depend on being Christian but came to be regarded as natural traits common to all.<sup>19</sup> John Headley and Mariano Delgado have shown that encounters between Europeans and indigenous Americans shaped the concept of have shown that already in the sixteenth century different developments turned the question of mankind's unity into a

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 19–20.

<sup>18</sup> L. Hunt, *Inventing human rights. A history* (New York, 2008), pp. 38, 57.

<sup>19</sup> M.–D. Grigore, 'Humanism and humanitas. The transition from the humanitas christiana to humanitas politica in the political writings of Erasmus', in F. Klose and M. Thulin (eds.), *Humanity. A history of European concepts in practice from the sixteenth century to the present* (Göttingen, 2016), pp. 73–90.

pressing political concern: Mihai Grigore has demonstrated that from the sixteenth century century onwards humanist scholars began to assign intrinsic political and ethical value to humanity; human qualities of solidarity, organization, and political life did not depend on being Christian but came to be regarded as natural traits common to all.<sup>20</sup>

**Verhaal der Tormenten**  
 Die men de  
**GEREFORMEERDE,**  
 Welke op de  
**GALLYEN van VRANKRYK**

zyn, heeft doen ondergaan,

Beschreven in 't Frans,

Door **J E A N B I O N,**

Gewesene Priester tot Urfy, naderhand Aelmoe-  
 fenier op de Gally genaamt de Hoogmoet.

Welk in duyts is overgeset tot algemeene  
 nuttigheit, maer insonderheyt voor die geene  
 die Sions verdruckinge ter herte gaet en daar  
 aan mede deel nemen,

Waar by nogh gevoegt zyn eenige brieven van en  
 aan de verdruckte broeders op de Gallyen.



Tot **A M S T E R D A M,**

By **JOHANNES DOUCI,** Boekverkoper,  
 op de Singel, by de Gasthuys Moolen-steeg. 1714.

1. J. Bion, *Verhaal der tormenten die men de gereformeerde, welke op de gallyen van Vrankryk zyn, heeft doen ondergaan* (Amsterdam, 1714). Resource: Special Collections, University of Amsterdam.

<sup>20</sup> M.-D. Grigore, 'Humanism and humanitas. The transition from the humanitas christiana to humanitas politica in the political writings of Erasmus', in F. Klose and M. Thulin (eds.), *Humanity. A history of European concepts in practice from the sixteenth century to the present* (Göttingen, 2016), pp. 73–90.

John Headley and Mariano Delgado have shown that encounters between Europeans and indigenous Americans shaped the concept of common humanity as a political argument.<sup>21</sup> A case in point is Bartolomé de las Casas, who around 1550 rejected the cruel treatment and subjugation of the native population of America, arguing that ‘all people in the world are humans’.<sup>22</sup> Headley has also insisted that the Protestant Reformation was pivotal for the development of humanity as a political norm. After the shattering of the *corpus Christianum* in the Reformation and the destructive religious wars that came in its wake, political theorists began to look beyond religion as a basis of community, and some—the most well known being Hugo Grotius—found this basis in natural human sociability.<sup>23</sup>

What these different historiographical narratives share is that they all—to varying degrees of explicitness—contrast the development of ‘common humanity’ with a moral political order based on religion. Human rights historiography either describes how the concept took form through a gradual disentangling from religion, or it approaches it as an explicit *alternative* to religious norms.<sup>24</sup> In other words, the rise of humanity as a foundation of morality is approached in terms of political secularization. By political secularization I mean, to paraphrase John Somerville, the separation of political language ‘from religious associations or ecclesiastical direction’.<sup>25</sup>

To be sure, students of early modern political secularization usually approach the concept not in terms of a decline in religious belief—as Max Weber still did in his seminal secularization theory—but as a differentiation of political and religious norms.<sup>26</sup> Besides common humanity, there are several other normative principles that are associated with

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<sup>21</sup> J. Headley, *The Europeanization of the world* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, 2008), esp. pp. 63–148; M. Delgado, “‘All people have reason and free will’: The controversy over the nature of the Indians in the sixteenth century”, in Klose and Thulin (eds.), *Humanity*, pp. 91–106; see also A. Pagden, *The fall of natural man. The American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. pp. 119–145; see also P. Stamatov, *The origins of global humanitarianism* (Cambridge, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Quotation taken from Delgado, “‘All people have reason’”, p. 93.

<sup>23</sup> Headley, *Europeanization of the world*, pp. 75–79; C. McKeogh, ‘Grotius and the civilian’, in E. Charters, E. Rosenhaft, and H. Smith (eds.), *Civilians and war in Europe, 1618–1815* (Liverpool, 2012), pp. 37–38.

<sup>24</sup> The political theorist Carl Schmitt famously argued that ‘all the quintessential concepts of the theory of the modern state are secularized theological concepts’; quotation taken from P. Ifergan, ‘Cutting to the chase. Carl Schmitt and Hans Blumenberg on political theology and secularization’, *New German Critique* 111 (2010), 150.

<sup>25</sup> C. Somerville, *The secularization of early modern England. From religious culture to religious faith* (New York and Oxford, 1992), p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> See J. Eastwood and N. Prevelakis, ‘Nationalism, religion, and secularization. An opportune moment for research’, *Review of Religious Research* 52–1 (2010), pp. 90–111.

political secularization. As will be discussed in more detail below, we can distinguish four secular normative principles in early modern historiography: (1) sovereignty, (2) rule of law, and (3) reason, and (4) humanity. And as in human rights historiography, there is a tendency to argue that modern secular languages replaced a premodern religious language.

As *longue durée* observations, these secularization theses have significant analytical value. Indeed, few historians would deny that between 1650 and 1750 European societies developed new political norms that were (largely) separate from the religious sphere. However, we should be careful not to assume that the rise of new political languages led to the disappearance of ‘old’ ones. Bion’s pamphlet suggests that opinion makers were comfortable in using a mixture of both religious and secular languages. This study hypothesizes that the four different normative principles briefly outlined above—and discussed at length below—all constitute valid analyses of the main ideological languages of Europe’s political landscape. But if we want to understand when and why people living in early modern times actually referred to such principles, we need to study how they related to each other. For this, religious conflicts provide excellent test cases.

Nevertheless, scholarly attention to early modern news media concerned with religious persecution is remarkably scarce. One reason for this may be that because historians argued that large-scale religious violence had ended by 1648, they have treated instances of persecution after this date as historical anomalies, irrelevant disturbances within the larger narrative of political modernization. Whether contemporaries indeed considered them as anomalies, however, is a question that still awaits an answer. Several historians have studied the political communication surrounding individual episodes of religious persecution after Westphalia, but they have not looked beyond their cases in search of a bigger picture.<sup>27</sup>

For this reason, there are two important strands of historiography that largely fail to communicate. On the one hand, we find the grand narratives of secularization and modernization, which pay little attention to the persistence of religious persecution. On the other hand, there are much more nuanced case studies of political communication, but within short time frames. Some of these works do position themselves in relation to these grand

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<sup>27</sup> Most of these works will be referred to throughout the chapters of this book.

narratives.<sup>28</sup> Microhistories like Benjamin Kaplan's *Cunegonde's kidnapping*, in which he meticulously describes a local religious conflict in 1762, are useful reminders that the broad strokes of secularization and modernization often fail to describe the complexity on the ground. At the same time, case studies usually fail to account for change beyond an inductive demonstration of persistence.

This study tries to combine these two approaches. It analyses international printed engagement with persecuted minorities in Europe between ca. 1650 and 1750, by investigating and comparing a range of case studies. Rather than establish when exactly 'common humanity' and other secular arguments began to emerge in history—or to prove that they did not—it examines how opinion makers used religious and secular normative principles to make sense of specific topical events. By comparing the public communication and evaluation of different events, this study charts and explains the shifts in the use of normative principles underpinning Europe's domestic and international order over the course of a century.

I will investigate how different forms of printed news media, mainly pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, brought distant suffering close. This study scrutinizes these media on three different levels. It asks, first, which normative principles were used to communicate religious persecution in a period that is often approached in terms of secularization. Second, it identifies which stakeholders were engaged in the international production of topical persecution literature and examines who they believed to be their audience; one might expect that preachers, for instance, would usually give religious meaning to news about the persecution of brethren in the faith whereas political officeholders might be more inclined to provide a secular evaluation. Whether this was actually the case, however, is a question that begs to be answered. Finally, tying in with the nascent historiography of early modern 'public diplomacy', this study explores the role which topical persecution literature hoped to play in domestic and international politics.

To understand how, when, and why people turned to the printing press to inform the world about the fate of persecuted people, this study will focus on works published in the United Provinces, which by the seventeenth century had become Europe's most versatile and

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<sup>28</sup> A recent example is Benjamin Kaplan's fascinating work on a border region in the Dutch Republic, B. Kaplan, *Cunegonde's kidnapping. A story of religious conflict in the age of Enlightenment* (New Haven and London 2014).

prolific hub of the printed word. Dutch printers were avid producers of printed opinion about religious violence, matched, perhaps, only by the English—who would merit a study of their own. If an early modern opinion maker wanted to advocate his or her cause in front of a large European audience, the Dutch press was often the preferred choice. Not only did the Dutch have an impressive market share in the international production of printed opinion, they were also an eager audience, for reasons that will be explained in detail below. If the opinion maker in question first turned elsewhere, as Bion did, there was still a good chance that, before long, Dutch or French editions would be produced in the United Provinces. In short, bringing distant suffering close often meant bringing it to the Dutch Republic.

### *The Imperative to Justify*

While making occasional references to canonical philosophers for context, comparison, or clarification—and of course whenever they are referred to in the sources—this study deals with political argumentation rather than theory, and with ephemeral texts rather than full-blown works of philosophy and high scholarship. Since the 1970s, a ‘linguistic turn’ in historical studies broke open the study of political language to include more lowbrow texts to understand the political concepts underpinning societies.<sup>29</sup> In the last decades, historians have increasingly come to argue that the everyday, local event-oriented communication of *Herrschaft* (rule) by political agents and commentators played a decisive role in the negotiation and conceptualization of political order. As Luise Schorn-Schütte suggests, if one studies conceptual change over a longer period of time, political languages become ‘just as tangible in local conflicts as in theoretical treatises and the texts that instituted legal norms.’<sup>30</sup>

Investigating how opinion makers made sense of acute political crises for their audiences, this study engages with a small area in the vast realm of early modern political

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<sup>29</sup> See P. Burke, ‘Cultural history and its neighbours’, *Culture & History* 1–1 (2012), <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2012.006>

<sup>30</sup> ‘Die damit behauptete Existenz einer “politischen Sprache” der Zeitgenossen erschließt sich dem Historiker in der Untersuchung des Wandels von Begriffen, der in den Konflikten vor Ort ebenso gut greifbar ist wie in den theoretischen Abhandlungen oder auch in Texten, die Rechtsnormen setzten;’ L. Schorn-Schütte, *Gottes Wort und Menschenherrschaft. Politisch-Theologische Sprachen im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 2015), p. 14.

communication. Yet—as will become clear—it was a particularly versatile area. Decisions to punish dissenting religious groups were among the most controversial and consequential policies of early modern states. They gave rise to dynamic political communication that invoked many, if not all, of Europe’s main normative political principles, except, perhaps, the relation between gender and political power. The predicament of religious minorities thus provided unmatched occasions for opinion makers to discuss fundamental questions about humans and their attitude toward fellow men, about rulers’ bonds with their subjects, as well as about the relations between different rulers. In other words, religious persecutions acutely laid bare questions about how society is best and most justly ordered and maintained.

Like all evaluations of political decision-making, the public communication of decisions to penalize a religious minority largely revolved around either justifying or rejecting a certain policy—opposite sides of the same coin. As Malte Griesse has argued, the identification of ‘common evils’ is closely interwoven with the articulation of the ‘common good’.<sup>31</sup> Notions of the common good had been part and parcel of the political vocabulary since ancient times, when Aristotle made it the central standard for political justice and the purpose of the city-state.<sup>32</sup> In the early modern period it usually pertained to communal welfare or the shared benefit of people in a given society—increasingly applied to the state—and was measured in terms of concrete issues, such as military defense, peace, and maintaining political independence.<sup>33</sup> As such, it was generally formulated in opposition to private, factional, or individual rulers’ interests. Throughout much of early modern history, the common good continued to be regarded as the highest attainable end of a government’s policy by a wide range of political philosophers, including Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, as well as many lower profile thinkers.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, it was with reference to the common good that different forms of political order were evaluated and legitimated, including ruler-centered theories of

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<sup>31</sup> Griesse, *Frühneuzeitliche Revolten als Kommunikationsereignisse*.

<sup>32</sup> For an elaborate discussion of Aristotle’s conception of the common good, see M. Hoipkemier, ‘Justice, not happiness. Aristotle on the common good’, *Polity* 50–4 (2018), pp. 547–574.

<sup>33</sup> See H. Münkler and H. Bluhm, ‘Einleitung. Gemeinwohl und Gemeinsinn als politisch–soziale Leitbegriffe’, in H. Münkler and H. Bluhm (eds.), *Gemeinwohl und Gemeinsinn. Historische Semantiken politischer Leitbegriffe* (Berlin, 2001), esp. pp. 17–22. For the rudimental stable definition of ‘common good’ as shared benefit see G. Burgess and M. Knights, ‘Commonwealth. The social, cultural, and conceptual contexts of an early modern keyword’, *The Historical Journal* 54–3 (2011), 662; alternative terms for the ‘common good’ include ‘common interest’, ‘public good’, ‘public welfare’, and ‘public felicity’.

<sup>34</sup> B. Diggs, ‘The common good as a reason for political action’, *Ethics* 83–4 (1973), p. 283.

absolutism.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, as a moral guideline for good policy, references to the ‘common good’ served as a check to arbitrary government.

As we will see, episodes of religious persecution were also implicitly and explicitly evaluated by opinion makers with recourse to the ‘common good’. Building upon the ‘justification theory’ developed within French pragmatic sociology, I approach normative principles as moral maxims, or guides to action that are used to attain or maintain a just order in society. In their seminal work *On justification*, Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot provide a systematic analysis of how individuals and groups try to resolve conflict through communication. In their definition, this excludes conflict resolution through bargaining and violence. Boltanski and Thévenot take as their point of departure the premise that human behavior is coordinated and constrained by the imperative to justify one’s actions. In a conflict situation, individuals and groups structurally try to reach agreement by reference to a higher unifying principle. These unifying principles, in turn, appeal to an ideal political order, ‘[which] gives direction to the ordinary sense of what is just’.<sup>36</sup> An action is thus evaluated as ‘worthy’ on the basis of the extent to which it serves the ‘common good’. In order not to confuse contemporary references to the ‘common good’ with the developed methodological categorizations here, I will stick to the term normative principle.

This dissertation does not deal primarily with the justification of action by the actors themselves, that is, those who ordered or devised the persecution of religious minorities. Yet it has a similar dynamic: opinion makers who wrote about persecution built upon the premise that political behavior must stand the public test of justification. Rulers, as will be explored in Chapter 1, often did not agree with the public stage on which this justification test was played out. Yet every public criticism of the public stage simultaneously served as its confirmation.

The analysis in this study will show that the public evaluation of religious persecution revolved around five normative principles. The first normative principle is (1) ‘religion’. The

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<sup>35</sup> See P. Wilson, *Absolutism in Central Europe* (Abington, 2000), esp. p. 50; in England, by contrast, the term ‘commonwealth’ developed into an ideological opposite of absolutism; C. Cuttica and G. Burgess, ‘Introduction. Monarchism and absolutism in early modern Europe’, in C. Cuttica and G. Burgess (eds.), *Monarchism and absolutism in early modern Europe* (London and New York, 2012), p. 16; G. Burgess, ‘Tyrants, absolutist kings, arbitrary rulers and the commonwealth of England. Some reflections on seventeenth-century English political vocabulary’, in Cuttica and Burgess (eds.), *Monarchism and absolutism*, pp. 147–158.

<sup>36</sup> L. Boltanski and L. Thévenot, *On justification. Economics of worth* (Princeton, NJ, 2006), p. 74.

other four are what students of early modern political secularization have identified as its secular justificatory counterparts: (2) ‘sovereignty’, (3) ‘rule of law’, (4) ‘reason’, and (5) ‘humanity’. In the following I will explain what I mean by each of them.

| Normative principles |  |
|----------------------|--|
| I Religious          | II Secular   |
| (1) religion         | (2) sovereignty<br>(3) rule of law<br>(4) reason<br>(5) humanity |

*Normative Principle I: Religion*

Religion is the first of the five normative principles, as it is the only one that historiography has not approached in terms of secularization. As noted above, in the last decades, several studies have been devoted to showing how, after the Peace of Westphalia, religion remained a source of political conflict in Europe. Benjamin Kaplan, for one, concluded his seminal synthesis of early modern religious conflict and toleration noting that by the early eighteenth century ‘the age of religious wars had not yet ended’.<sup>37</sup>

A first strand of scholarly criticism of the idea of a secularized political landscape after Westphalia comes from historians and political scientists who point to continuing practices of religious intolerance in domestic politics.<sup>38</sup> Seventeenth-century efforts to centralize state power more firmly around the monarch—often conceptualized by historians under the term absolutism—did not straightforwardly neutralize religious conflict into a matter of opinion, as Reinhart Koselleck once suggested.<sup>39</sup> They also gave rise to new tensions between rulers and

<sup>37</sup> B. Kaplan, *Divided by faith. Religious conflict and the practice of toleration in early modern Europe* (Cambridge and London, 2007), p. 343.

<sup>38</sup> For an overview of religious conflict after 1648 see *ibid.*, pp. 336–343.

<sup>39</sup> R. Koselleck, *Critique and crisis. Enlightenment and the pathogenesis of modern society* (Cambridge, 1988).

religiously deviant subjects. Absolutist political thought, which flourished in the seventeenth century, was largely developed to provide rulers with a straightforward justification to claim uncompromised religious sovereignty.<sup>40</sup> As the political scientist Daniel Nexon put it, Westphalia ‘did not amount to a secularization of politics, but to a domestication of religious conflict’.<sup>41</sup> The main difference with some of their pre-Westphalian counterparts was that most of these religious conflicts remained domestic, or at least did not evolve into full-fledged international wars of religion. Now that rulers had come to realize that fighting wars over religion only wreaked havoc, states could enforce religious uniformity without the fear of being threatened by external forces.<sup>42</sup>

A second, related strand of criticism derives from constructivist students of political discourse against realist international relations (IR) scholarship. Realist scholars single out ‘objective’ national or state interest—secular by definition—as the sole force behind foreign policy. Writing in the wake of the linguistic turn, constructivists have duly pointed out that this approach is essentialist. Arguing that foreign policy is culturally constructed, they have drawn attention to identity as a constitutive force behind political behavior.<sup>43</sup> They thus tie in with the historiography of political communication, which recognizes that politics is, as Rudolf Schlögl points out, ‘always connected with processes of identity formation’.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> W. te Brake, *Shaping history. Ordinary people in European politics, 1500–1700* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1998), p. 115; D. Grim, *Sovereignty. The origin and future of a political and legal concept* (New York, 2015), pp. 20–21. Heinz Schilling regards confessionalization as the first phase of early modern absolutism, as rulers began to socially discipline their subjects into following a specific creed. Only in the second phase, which, according to Schilling, lasted from the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War up until the early eighteenth century, were religion and politics gradually uncoupled, with the rise of irenicism and Pietism. See H. Schilling, ‘Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 247–1 (1988), pp. 28–30; for an insightful historiographical overview of confessionalization and state building see Ute Lotz–Heumann, ‘The concept of “confessionalization”. A historiographical paradigm in dispute’, *Memoria y civilización* 4 (2001), pp. 93–114.

<sup>41</sup> D. Nexon, *The struggle for power in early modern Europe. Religious conflict, dynastic empires, and international change* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), p. 281; see also D. Nexon, ‘Religion, European identity, and political contention in historical perspective’, in T. Byrnes and P. Katzenstein (eds.), *Religion in an expanding Europe* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 278.

<sup>42</sup> R. Bonney, *The Thirty Years’ War* (Oxford, 2002), p. 531.

<sup>43</sup> For a more detailed analysis of constructivist historiography of early modern international politics see D. Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War, 1672–1713* (London, 2016).

<sup>44</sup> R. Schlögl, ‘Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Zur kommunikativen Form des Politischen in der vormodernen Stadt’, in R. Schlögl (ed.), *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt* (Konstanz, 2004), p. 22.

Confronted with the disastrous sectarian violence of the Yugoslav Wars and the September 11 attacks, religion—a central marker of identity—was rehabilitated as crucial for understanding present and past international politics. In this light, recent Anglo-American and Dutch historiographies have revived the concept of ‘Protestant Internationalism’ to identify a transnational sense of religious community guiding early modern international relations.<sup>45</sup> Studying the mutual constitution of foreign policy and vernacular press in England Tony Claydon has contended that a master narrative of confessional strife between Protestantism and Catholicism continued to shape the boundaries of debate on foreign politics until deep into the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Andrew Thompson similarly argues that Britain’s increased involvement in continental politics and diplomacy in the first half of the eighteenth century was dictated by the desire to defend the ‘Protestant interest’.<sup>47</sup> David Onnekink, Donald Haks, and Jill Stern have shown confessional rhetoric to have been equally persistent in shaping international political discourse in the Dutch Republic, especially in the public negotiation of its struggles with Louis XIV’s France.<sup>48</sup>

It is important to keep in mind that hermeneutical attempts to understand or rationalize individual, group, or state behavior in bygone eras always carries the risk of misinterpretation.<sup>49</sup> To avoid this, Konrad Repgen has given a radically limited definition of religious war. Arguing

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<sup>45</sup> Others have rephrased the term more restrictively as ‘Calvinist internationalism’. See, for instance, M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism 1541–1715* (Oxford, 1987); D. Trim, ‘Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps, 1562–1642’, *History Compass* 4–6 (2006), pp. 1024–1048; T. Claydon, *Europe and the making of England, 1660–1750* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 58–61.

<sup>46</sup> Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*.

<sup>47</sup> A.C. Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant interest, 1688–1756* (Woodbridge, 2006); see also A.C. Thompson, ‘The Protestant interest and the history of humanitarian intervention, c. 1685–c. 1756’, in B. Simms and D. Trim (eds.), *Humanitarian intervention. A history* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 67–88; A.C. Thompson, ‘After Westphalia. Remodelling a religious foreign policy’, in D. Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 47–68; these are examples pertaining to England. For studies of religiously inspired foreign policy in other countries see, for instance, P. Sonnino, ‘*Plus royaliste que le pape*. Louis XIV’s religious policy and his *Guerre de Hollande*’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, pp. 17–24; C. Storrs, ‘The role of religion in Spanish foreign policy in the reign of Carlos II (1665–1700)’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, pp. 25–46.

<sup>48</sup> D. Haks, ‘The States General on religion and war. Manifestos, policy documents and prayer days in the Dutch Republic, 1672–1713’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, pp. 155–176; D. Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum, 2013), pp. 86–114; Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*; J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650–75* (Manchester and New York, 2010).

<sup>49</sup> For an extensive discussion of this problem see G. Murdock, P. Roberts, and A. Spicer (eds.), *Religion and violence in early modern France. The work of Natalie Zemon Davis, Past & Present Supplement 7* (Oxford, 2013).

that inner motives to violence are bound to remain invisible to the historian's eyes, he insisted that one should only regard a war as religious when at least one of the opposing parties explicitly legitimizes it as such.<sup>50</sup> Such an approach is obviously too restrictive to understand the complex nature of religious conflict. The present study, however, does not aim to tackle this question, nor does it seek to answer why religious persecutions took place in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. Instead, it examines how contemporaries referred to religion in general, and their confession more specifically, to justify or condemn political behavior. Therefore, it largely follows Repgen in merely discussing explicit references. However, it is important to do so without shying away from identifying patterns, or contextualizing them within argumentative frameworks not made explicit by the opinion maker in question.

### *Normative Principle II: Sovereignty*

The year 1648 is often identified as a key moment for the concept of sovereignty and the emergence of a 'sovereign-territorial state system'.<sup>51</sup> It is in relation to this narrative that the Peace of Westphalia still serves as reference for political legitimation today. In 1998 nineteen heads of state gathered in Munster to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the signing of the peace treaties.<sup>52</sup> Two decades later, the idea of an eroding 'Westphalian system' is being used as a rallying point for a wide strand of politicians and opinion makers expressing their concerns about modern transnational developments, including globalization, immigration, or the legislative powers of the European Union.

Especially in IR scholarship and within German political historiography, the idea that the Peace of Westphalia was either the cradle or the fulfillment of a modern international order based on normatively equal sovereign states which recognized one another's territorial integrity remains widespread.<sup>53</sup> Volker Gerhardt and Daniel Philpott have pointed out that the 1648

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<sup>50</sup> K. Repgen, 'What is a religious war?', in E.I. Kouri and T. Scott (eds.), *Politics and society in Reformation Europe. Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Hong Kong, 1987), pp. 313–318.

<sup>51</sup> For the term 'sovereign-territorial state system' see Nexon, *Struggle for power*, p. 265.

<sup>52</sup> For the festivities surrounding the 350th anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia see J. Arndt, 'Ein europäisches Jubiläum. 350 Jahre Westfälischer Friede', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 1 (2000), pp. 133–158.

<sup>53</sup> For a recent defence of the 'Westphalian hypothesis' see D. Philpott, 'The religious roots of modern international relations', *World Politics* 52–2 (2000), pp. 206–245; D. Philpott, *Revolutions in sovereignty. How ideas*

peace treaties finally rejected the universalistic claims of pope and emperor. Henceforth, states could declare universal peace among themselves as independent territorial-political entities.<sup>54</sup> Heinhart Steiger has argued that as such the Peace of Westphalia was the endpoint of a *longue durée* political development which started in the fourteenth century, in which domestic and external sovereignty—independent from any transnational power—became the carrying principle of a horizontally conceptualized European order.<sup>55</sup> In this perspective, 1648 was the moment in which Europe disentangled its endlessly fine weave of contested jurisdictions and replaced this with a clear distinction between domestic and international politics.

In the last decades, revisionists have criticized the ‘Westphalian hypothesis’, both for assigning too much conceptual significance to the 1648 treaties and for (implicitly) exaggerating their practical consequences. Andreas Osiander, for example, has stressed that nowhere in the treaties of Munster and Osnabruck is state sovereignty discussed as a principle. Instead, Westphalia institutionalized *Landeshoheit* as a basis for government. Although *Landeshoheit* is close to the concept of sovereignty, it was specifically defined as more limited, so as to fit within the transnational structure of the Holy Roman Empire. Osiander argues that by translating *Landeshoheit* into sovereignty, proponents of the Westphalian hypothesis erroneously assign universal—or at least European—significance to what was first of all a specific legal framework devised for the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>56</sup> Stephen Krasner and Stéphane Beaulac have argued that the political principle that states enjoy full external sovereignty was only developed in the eighteenth century by Emer de Vattel in his 1758 *The law of nations*.<sup>57</sup>

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*shaped modern international relations* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), pp. 82–89; the ‘Westphalian hypothesis’ also remains current among most contributors to the collective volume published at the 350th anniversary of the peace by Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling; K. Bußmann and H. Schilling (eds.), *1648. Krieg und Frieden in Europa*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1998).

<sup>54</sup> V. Gerhardt, ‘Zur historischen Bedeutung des Westfälischen Friedens. Zwölf Thesen’, in Bußmann and Schilling (eds.), *1648*, vol. 1., pp. 486–487; Philpott, *Revolutions in sovereignty*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>55</sup> H. Steiger, ‘Konkreter Friede und allgemeine Ordnung. Zur rechtlichen Bedeutung der Verträge vom 24. Oktober 1648’, in Bußmann and Schilling (eds.), *1648*, vol. 1., pp. 486–487; Philpott, *Revolutions in sovereignty*, pp. 437–446.

<sup>56</sup> A. Osiander, ‘Sovereignty, international relations, and the Westphalian myth’, *International Organization* 55–2 (2001), p. 267.

<sup>57</sup> S. Krasner, ‘Rethinking the sovereign state model’, *Review of International Studies* 27 (2001), p. 17; S. Beaulac, *The power of language in the making of international law. The word sovereignty in Bodin and Vattel and the myth of Westphalia* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2004), pp. 127–183.

Pointing to the friction between theory and practice, other historians have also pointed out that even if the Peace of Westphalia had been designed to give rise to a European order based on mutually recognized sovereignty, it was ultimately a failure. After all, expansionist war—that is, the violation of another state’s sovereignty—remained ubiquitous throughout the centuries that followed.<sup>58</sup> This does not, of course, force us to discard sovereignty as a normative principle. Political scientist Stephen Krasner is right to argue that sovereignty will always be limited or contested by other norms:

The sovereign state model has always been a cognitive script; its basic rules are widely understood but also frequently violated. Normative structures have been decoupled from actual behavior either because actors embrace inconsistent norms such as human rights and non-intervention.<sup>59</sup>

More recently, Benjamin de Carvalho and Andrea Paras have argued that in England, the political norm of sovereignty developed in relation to policies of intervention. Both sovereignty and intervention revolved around questions of identity and the boundaries of moral responsibility, making them mutually constitutive.<sup>60</sup> This account of the justification of interventionist policy ties in with older intellectual historiography on the relation between sovereignty and intervention in the works of Jean Bodin, the father of absolutist thought.<sup>61</sup>

The aim of this dissertation is not to confirm or disprove the ‘Westphalian hypothesis’ on the rise of sovereignty. The mid-seventeenth century is primarily chosen as a point of

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<sup>58</sup> Benno Teschke, for instance, argues that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries international politics remained dominated by dynastic aspirations, based on a competitive logic of geopolitical property accumulation; B. Teschke, ‘Theorizing the Westphalian system of states. International relations from absolutism to capitalism’, *European Journal of International Relations* 8–1 (2002), pp. 5–48; see also Nexon, *Struggle for power*, p. 281; Heinz Duchhardt has similarly argued that Louis XIV’s expansionism had already destroyed Westphalia’s political order; H. Duchhardt, ‘Westfälischer Friede und internationales System im Ancien Régime’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 249–3 (1989), pp. 529–543.

<sup>59</sup> Krasner also contends that ‘logics of consequences driven by power and interest [can] trump logics of appropriateness dictated by norms and principles’. This dissertation does not follow Krasner’s distinction between norm and principle on the one hand, and power and interest on the other. Power and interest are culturally contingent, not objective, fixed, and impregnable blueprints for political behavior. Claims to maintaining sovereignty (or any of the other normative principles) can thus also be a form of power. As Rodney Hall has argued, moral authority gives power to political actors. Krasner, ‘Rethinking the sovereign state model’, p. 17; R. Hall, ‘Moral authority as a power resource’, *International Organization* 51–4 (1997), pp. 591–592.

<sup>60</sup> B. de Carvalho and A. Paras, ‘Sovereignty and solidarity. Moral obligation, confessional England, and the Huguenots’, *International History Review* 37–1 (2014), pp. 1–21.

<sup>61</sup> For an overview see A. Heraclides and A. Dially, *Humanitarian intervention in the long nineteenth century. Setting the precedent* (Manchester, 2015), pp. 19–20.

departure to study public perceptions of religious conflict after the great wars of religion. As this study will argue, however, conceptualizations of sovereignty played a central role in the public evaluation of religious persecution. As we have seen, Nexon argued that a shared norm of state sovereignty could justify international religious peace as well as the (violent) domestic enforcement of religious uniformity. This dissertation will investigate whether contemporary political commentators were aware of these contradictory qualities of sovereignty, and if so, how they negotiated them with recourse to religious persecution. This study ties in with de Carvalho and Paras' approach to sovereignty as a contingent discursive construct, but investigates when it was actually used to justify intervention or non-intervention.

### *Normative Principle III: The Rule of Law*

The wars of religion have often been identified as a watershed that led to the emancipation of law from religious foundations and legitimations.<sup>62</sup> Within German historiography, political secularization has closely been associated with processes of 'juridification' (*Verrechtlichung*).<sup>63</sup> Traditionally focusing on the Holy Roman Empire, scholars have argued that the wars of religion were paradigmatic moments in the development of the early modern legal landscape. To ban religious violence, political elites renegotiated the role of religion as a basis for law and developed a confessionally neutral legal framework. This allowed religious conflict to be settled in court with recourse to public law rather than with swords on the battlefield.

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<sup>62</sup> M. Stolleis, 'The legitimation of law through God, tradition, will, nature and constitution', in L. Daston and M. Stolleis (eds.), *Nature, law and natural law in early modern Europe. Jurisprudence, theology, moral and natural philosophy* (Farnham, 2008), pp. 49, 52.

<sup>63</sup> See M. Heckel, 'Reichsrecht und "Zweite Reformation". Theologisch-juristische Probleme der reformierten Konfessionalisierung', in H. Schilling (ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Das Problem der 'Zweiten Reformation'. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1985), pp. 113–115. Processes of 'Verrechtlichung' have not only been examined in relation to religious conflict. Winfried Schulze, who coined the term, conceptualized it as a consequence of peasant revolts; W. Schulze, "'Geben Aufruhr und Aufstand Anlaß zu neuen heilsamen Gesetzen". Beobachtungen über die Wirkungen bäuerlichen Widerstands in der Frühen Neuzeit', in W. Schulze (ed.), *Aufstände, Revolten, Prozesse. Beiträge zu bäuerlichen Widerstandsbewegungen im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Gerlingen, 1983), pp. 261–285; see also A. De Benedictis and K. Härter (eds.), *Revolten und politische Verbrechen zwischen dem 12. Und 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2013).

The first concrete results of such negotiations were the various religious peace treaties which provided specific answers to the problem of religious difference within the state.<sup>64</sup> These treaties were devised as positive laws, meant to bring an end to a specific conflict. They were not ideological celebrations of toleration but pragmatic compromises granted—often grudgingly—to religious dissenters until the ideal of religious unity could once again be achieved. Accordingly, most edicts of tolerance were issued as unilateral royal grants, allowing minorities to exercise their faith within certain limits as long as they did not question their ruler’s authority.<sup>65</sup>

Religious peace treaties nevertheless turned confessional deviants into legal entities.<sup>66</sup> David Saunders has argued that despite their non-ideological origins, these peace treaties imposed and legitimated a ‘secular “rule of law” in spheres of life previously governed by religion’.<sup>67</sup> As a consequence, theological truth gradually disappeared as a constituent of peace treaties. Within this process, the Peace of Westphalia takes up a somewhat paradoxical position. It may have elevated sovereignty and normative state parity, but it also set a precedent for establishing positivist international laws which served to bind the behavior of sovereign states.<sup>68</sup>

Legal scholar Brian Tamanaha aptly defines the ‘rule of law’ as ‘that government officials and citizens are bound by and abide the law’.<sup>69</sup> In first stance, the normative principle of ‘rule of law’ thus refers to an ideal society that is justly ordered by the particular laws that exist there. But early modern opinion makers did not evaluate persecutions solely on the basis of the positive laws of the polities in which these took place. One of the main strands of early

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<sup>64</sup> The Peace of Augsburg’s (1555) famous principle of ‘*cuius regio, eius religio*’ assured religious unity by decreeing that the religion of a prince was *ipso facto* the religion of the state, avoiding religious violence with the connected *ius emigrandi*. The Edict of Cavour (1561), in turn, gave a territorial concession to a religious minority, allowing them to live and practice their religion within the boundaries of a restricted area.

<sup>65</sup> R. Forst, *Toleranz im Konflikt. Geschichte, Gehalt und Gegenwart in eines umstritten Begriffs* (Berlin, 2003), p. 42.

<sup>66</sup> J.–F. Missfelder, ‘Verrechtlichung, Verräumlichung, Souveränität. Zur politischen Kultur der Pazifikation in den französischen Religionskriegen (1562–1629)’, in D. Hückler, Y. Kleinmann, and M. Thomsen (eds.), *Reden und Schweigen über religiöse Differenz. Tolerieren in epochen–übergreifender Perspektive* (Göttingen, 2013), pp. 139–140.

<sup>67</sup> D. Saunders, ‘Juridifications and religion in early modern Europe. The challenge of a contextual history of law’, *Law and Critique* 15–2 (2004), p. 99.

<sup>68</sup> For an overview of the relation between peace treaties and international law see R. Lesaffer, ‘Peace treaties and the formation of international law’, in B. Fassbender and A. Peters (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of international law* (Oxford, 2012), esp. pp. 72–89.

<sup>69</sup> B. Tamanaha, ‘The history and elements of the rule of law’, *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies* 232 (2012), p. 233.

modern political philosophy concerned the law of nature. Being a wide intellectual movement, natural law thinking defies an easy definition, but as Anthony Pagden aptly summarizes, it typically establishes ‘rationally conceived, and thus universally acceptable, first principles’.<sup>70</sup>

Natural law thinking can also be approached in terms of juridification and secularization. Beginning in the seventeenth century, political philosophers began to develop secular concepts of natural law and—its counterpart for the international stage—the law of nations (*ius gentium*). Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94) and other philosophers built upon the legal settlements that ended the wars of religion and universalized them, giving the secular state and religious coexistence theoretical and ideological currency. Becoming increasingly popular in the 1680s and finding its political zenith in the eighteenth century, natural law aimed to set the boundaries for man to live in society with other men, without being concerned with his salvation after death.<sup>71</sup>

Both on the domestic and on the international level, positivist and natural law could stand in an uneasy relationship to the idea of absolute sovereignty. Ideally, the absolutist ruler was an ultimate lawmaker, a speaking law (*lex loquens*), which to some absolutist thinkers implied that he was not bound by existing legislation (*legibus solutus*).<sup>72</sup> Bodin granted that princes were subject to natural law, but they were—together with God—also the only ones authorized to interpret and enforce it.<sup>73</sup> In other words, he argued that sovereignty was not restricted by natural law, as no one could use it as a normative principle against him. Other theorists, most notably Grotius, argued that sovereignty came with obligations to natural law, whose source lies in universal human nature and can be identified through ‘right reason’ (*recta ratio*).<sup>74</sup> The problem remained, of course, that on the international scene there was no higher

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<sup>70</sup> A. Pagden, ‘Introduction’, in A. Pagden (ed.), *The languages of political theory in early–modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> Saunders, ‘Juridifications and religion’, pp. 101–102.

<sup>72</sup> C. Cuttica, ‘An absolutist trio in the early 1630s. Sir Robert Filmer, Jean–Louis Guez de Balzac, Cardin le Bret and their models of monarchical power’, in Cuttica and Burgess (eds.), *Monarchism and absolutism*, p. 133; this was, however, not commonly accepted. Jean Bodin believed that the sovereign was bound by divine law, natural law, the law of nations, and the laws of reason; R. Jennings, ‘Sovereignty and international law’, in G. Kreijen, M. Brus, J. Duursma, E. De Vos, and J. Dugard (eds.), *State, sovereignty, and international governance* (Oxford, 2012), p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> E. Andrew, ‘Jean Bodin on sovereignty’, *Republics of Letters* 2–2 (2011), p. 78.

<sup>74</sup> B. Straumann, ‘Early modern sovereignty and its limits’, *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 12–2 (2015), pp. 427–428.

authority to which this obligation could be entrusted; between states, at least according to Hobbes, the state of nature still held sway.<sup>75</sup>

This dissertation is not primarily occupied with political theory. But the question of how to maintain political order and justice on a continent scarred by confessional warfare was not only tackled by great thinkers such as Hobbes, Grotius, and Pufendorf. The normative principle of ‘rule of law’ thus pertains to all public evaluations of religious persecution that had recourse to existing positive laws and universalized conceptions of natural law.

#### *Normative Principle IV: Reason*

The human capacity to reason was not only key in conceptions of natural law. In the course of the early modern period, many European thinkers would come to elevate reason as the principal tool by which humans could make sense of and order the political world in which they lived. Indeed, the Enlightenment’s triumph of reason after an age of religious warfare is one of the central leitmotifs of Europe’s turn toward modernity. Nevertheless, few terms within conceptual history remain as elusive as reason. For instance, in Brunner, Conze, and Koselleck’s magnum opus *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, an article dedicated to reason is conspicuous by its absence.

The genealogy of reason as a guide to political behavior precedes the Enlightenment and can be traced back at least to sixteenth-century conceptions of reason of state. Maurizio Viroli has argued that reason of state refers to the ‘capacity to calculate the appropriate means of preserving the state’.<sup>76</sup> Whether that state is legitimate or behaves legitimately is of no concern.<sup>77</sup> Francesco Guicciardini, who provided the earliest known example of the term, identified reason of state as the exigencies for the maintenance of the state, as opposed to the political virtues of morality, religion, and legality.<sup>78</sup> Closely tied to the idea reason of state was

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<sup>75</sup> See P. Schröder, ‘Natural law, sovereignty, and international law. A comparative perspective’, in I. Hunter and D. Saunders (eds.), *Natural law and civil sovereignty. Moral right and state authority in early modern political thought* (London, 2002), pp. 204–218.

<sup>76</sup> M. Viroli, *From politics to reason of state. The acquisition and transformation of the language of politics* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 4.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> H. Höpfl, ‘Orthodoxy and reason of state’, *History of Political Thought* 23–2 (2002), pp. 214–215.

the concept of political prudence, the art of governing through the use of practical reason, which required, in the words of Jon Snyder, ‘relativism and flexibility in the application of moral and ethical principles’.<sup>79</sup>

One could argue that, as such, reason of state and political prudence were contrary to prevailing normative principles. Reason of state would always remain controversial as a political maxim. Yet as Lisa Kattenberg has recently demonstrated, practitioners would often try to reconcile reason of state and morality by pointing to necessity. As Justus Lipsius—whose works were highly influential—stated, extraordinary circumstances allowed for the suspension of moral or religious laws in favor of reason of state as long as it was for the sake of the common good.<sup>80</sup> The end justified the means.

The interventionist maxim of mercantilism, the period’s dominant economic ideology, was firmly connected with reason of state thinking.<sup>81</sup> The same goes for the free trade-oriented political philosophy of ‘commercial reason of state’, which developed in opposition to mercantilism in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.<sup>82</sup> Both economic maxims were structured around the premise that the preservation of the polity depended first and foremost on its mercantile well-being. As Chapter 3 will show, commerce and reason were therefore often part of the same argument. Economic argumentation against religious persecution will therefore be categorized within the normative principle of reason.

Enlightenment theorists tried to reunite reason with justice politically and democratize its foundations. In England, Thomas Hobbes devised a theory of politics based on ‘right reason’ (*recta ratio*)—in contrast to religion or the persuasion-centered discipline of humanist rhetoric.<sup>83</sup> According to Hobbes, the most important constituent of the scientific theory of

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<sup>79</sup> J. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the culture of secrecy in early modern Europe* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2012), p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> L. Kattenberg, *The power of necessity. Reason of state in the Spanish monarchy, ca. 1590–1650* (unpublished PhD thesis, Amsterdam, 2018).

<sup>81</sup> For a recent analysis of mercantilism and reason of state see P.R. Rössner, ‘New inroads into well-known territory? On the virtues of re-discovering pre-classical political economy’, in P.R. Rössner (ed.), *Economic growth and the origins of modern political economy. Economic reasons of state, 1500–2000* (Abingdon 2016), pp. 3–25.

<sup>82</sup> The term ‘commercial reason of state’ has recently been coined by Jan Hartman and Arthur Weststeijn: J. Hartman and A. Weststeijn, ‘An empire of trade. Commercial reason of state in seventeenth-century Holland’, in S. Reindert and P. Røge (eds.), *The political economy of empire in the early modern world* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 11–31.

<sup>83</sup> Q. Skinner, *Reason and rhetoric in the philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 294–299.

politics is the virtue of justice, which is recognizable within the laws of nature, and thus discernible through reason.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, social contract theory—which became a hallmark of Enlightenment political thought—redefined political authority as stemming from a rational agreement among individuals for the mutual advancement of their own interests.

At the same time, political philosophers tried to explain how the disastrous intolerance that had culminated in the wars of religion had also sprung from the human mind, despite its capacity to reason. Some thinkers pointed to a friction between reason and human nature, and insisted on the importance of education.<sup>85</sup> Others, such as Pierre Bayle, were more skeptical and argued that reason ultimately had to bow to custom and education, the very forces that led persecutors to sincerely believe that their acts of intolerance were just. Bayle contended that, ultimately, the reasoning mind gets stuck in contradictions. Reason was therefore like a ‘runner who does not know when the race is over’.<sup>86</sup> Some forty years later—around the end of this book’s chronological scope—David Hume would argue that reason is merely a ‘slave of the passions’.<sup>87</sup>

Reason-of-state theorists and the skeptics Bayle and Hume thus all suggested in different ways that as a political maxim reason offered little guidance as to where a ‘rational’ policy would or ought to lead. Confronted with the utter destruction brought about by World War II and the Holocaust, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer famously radicalized this idea of the blindness of reason. Equating knowledge with power, they argued that the Enlightenment had given rise to man’s rational sovereignty, but had failed to provide the necessary reflection of what this new human mastery over the world could entail.<sup>88</sup>

The aim of a majority of Enlightenment thinkers was thus to restructure society based on principles developed by the clear-thinking mind, independent of dogmatic tradition, superstition, and unquestioned authority. This took many forms. Harro Höpfl provides an apt summary of the manifold (implicit) definitions of reason by early modern theorists. He claims

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>85</sup> L. Daston and M. Stolleis, ‘Introduction. Nature, law and natural law in early modern Europe’, in Daston and Stolleis (eds.), *Nature, law and natural law*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>86</sup> D. Erdozain, *The soul of doubt. The religious roots of unbelief from Luther to Marx* (Oxford, 2015), p. 124.

<sup>87</sup> S. Buckle, ‘Hume on the passions’, *Philosophy* 87–340 (2012), p. 198.

<sup>88</sup> M. Horkheimer and T.W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical fragments* (Stanford, CA, 2002).

that reason-of-state theorists—and I argue that this can be extended to other political philosophers—thought of reason as including

the activities of reasoning, deliberation, discussion, argument, reflection [...]; the product of such deliberation or discourse; the intellectual faculty that allows these activities or that generates understanding, insight or knowledge; a ground or justification or motive for an action; the inner logic, rationale or nature of something; or a method or way of doing something; reason might even (by metonymy) mean justice.<sup>89</sup>

The normative principle of ‘reason’ thus encompasses any justification or rejection of religious persecution on the basis of whether the rational mind allows or dictates it as a form of policy.

#### *Normative Principle V: Humanity*

The final normative principle pertains to an ideal polity based on the sense or sentiment of shared humanity. Within the theoretical framework of Boltanski and Thévenot, the principle of common humanity is a prerequisite for all normative orders.<sup>90</sup> They argue that agreement can only be established among people if they recognize a fundamental parity between fellow human beings. Of course, all societies are ordered around different forms of inequality among people. These inequalities, however, are always in need of justification. They need to be based on the acceptance that, as human beings, humans recognize and treat each other as suchs.<sup>91</sup>

To some extent, early modern European societies indeed used fundamental human parity as a basis of moral order. Christian theology preached egalitarianism in access to the world to come, but, of course, it depended on one’s religious beliefs. Calvinist theology is illustrative of this complex relationship between Christian doctrine and shared humanity; on the one hand, double predestination makes a clear-cut distinction between the elect and the non-elect—the worthy and the unworthy—were it not for the fact that all men are

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<sup>89</sup> Höpfl, ‘Orthodoxy and reason of state’, pp. 217–218.

<sup>90</sup> Boltanski and Thévenot, *On justification*, p. 38; Boltanski and Thévenot use the term ‘order of justification’.

<sup>91</sup> Hunt, *Inventing human rights*, pp. 38–39.

fundamentally unworthy. On the other hand, the elect group cuts right through most social inequalities and remains difficult, if not impossible, to identify.<sup>92</sup>

Life in early modern Europe was, however, structured around countless forms of inequality and hierarchy, most of which were justified as divinely ordained. Confession was one of the few markers of division that was recognized as a social group which people could join or leave—one that had serious consequences in virtually every early modern society. But Reformed Protestants did not even consider religious belief to be a matter of human choice; it was fixed by God. This study builds on Francisco Bethencourt's observation that to understand the history of human rights, one has to pay attention to the ways in which humanity has been perceived as divided and segmented throughout history. Bethencourt identifies several historical 'divisions of humankind', one of which was the distinction made in ancient Greece between barbarians and the civilized. Bethencourt points out that in Christian Europe, this division was equated with heathens and Christians.<sup>93</sup> Studying early modern society, it therefore makes sense to turn Boltanski and Thévenot's argument on its head; in early modern Europe, human distinctions rather than human parity could be considered as the first foundation of moral order. From this premise, we can investigate when the idea of shared humanity was used as a political argument to cut through prevailing social divisions.

As Miia Halme-Tuomisaari and Pamela Slotte remind us, one should be careful not fall into the teleological trap of approaching all utterances of natural law, benevolence, or compassion as precursors of modern human rights.<sup>94</sup> Above, we have already touched upon the historiography of human rights. A closer look allows us to identify some of the main characteristics of humanity as a normative order. Students of early Spanish imperialism have shown that encounters with the New World led some European thinkers to conceptualize that all human beings were in fact human beings, with (1) the same natural rights and (2) the same

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<sup>92</sup> For a study of social stratification and the development of Reformed Protestantism see M. Zafirovski, 'Society and "heaven and hell": The interplay between social structure and theological tradition during early Calvinism', *Politics, Religion, and Ideology* 18–3 (2017), pp. 282–308.

<sup>93</sup> F. Bethencourt, 'Humankind. From division to recomposition', in Klose and Thulin (eds.), *Humanity*, pp. 29–50.

<sup>94</sup> M. Halme–Tuomisaari and P. Slotte, 'Revisiting the origins of human rights. Introduction', in M. Halme–Tuomisaari and P. Slotte (eds.), *Revisiting the origins of human rights* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1–36.

natural traits—reason.<sup>95</sup> Such criticism also gave rise to the idea of (3) inhumane behavior, that is, acts of cruelty that conveyed the perpetrator’s barbarity, or even lesser humanity.<sup>96</sup> In the seventeenth century, political philosophers developed the idea of (4) sociability as a natural human trait.<sup>97</sup> As we have seen, Lynn Hunt contended that people became sensitized to the inner world of those very different from them around the mid-eighteenth century. This revolution of empathy subsequently found theoretical expression within political philosophy; according to Hunt, Enlightenment thinkers came to regard (5) empathy as central to human nature—even preceding reason—and, consequently, as the central source of morality and community.<sup>98</sup>

Since the late 2000s, this alternative narrative of the Enlightenment has been gaining ground. Michael Frazer, for one, has argued that the Enlightenment was an intellectual revolution characterized by two currents. Alongside the celebration of rationalism, there was also a sentimentalist revolution, which focused on ‘reflectively refined feelings shared among individuals via the all-important faculty of sympathy’.<sup>99</sup> Frazer has shown that from the beginning of the eighteenth century Enlightenment thinkers hotly debated whether normative political standards should be deduced from reasoning or from reflection on one’s sentiments. While insisting that this debate was fundamentally transnational, Frazer has contended that a soft geographical boundary of this debate can be identified between ‘sentimentalist’ Britain and ‘rationalist’ Germany and France.<sup>100</sup> One aim of this study is to investigate how this opposition was negotiated in Dutch pamphlet literature, which stood at the intersection of these cultures.

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<sup>95</sup> A. Pagden, ‘Introduction’, in N. Griffin (ed.), *A short account of the destruction of the Indies* (London, 1992), pp. xiii–xli.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix–xl; for the use of a similar argument in seventeenth-century antislavery discourses see T. Weller, ‘Humanitarianism before humanitarianism? Spanish discourses on slavery from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century’, in Klose and Thulin (eds.), *Humanity*, pp. 151–168.

<sup>97</sup> McKeogh, ‘Grotius and the civilian’, p. 39.

<sup>98</sup> Contemporaries used the term sympathy to refer to what in today’s vocabulary is closer to empathy; *ibid.*, pp. 64–69.

<sup>99</sup> M. Frazier, *The Enlightenment of sympathy. Justice and the moral sentiments in the eighteenth century and today* (Oxford, 2010), p. 4; Ronald Crane has similarly argued that around 1750—under the influence of the Latitudinarians—sentimentalism, expressed through sympathetic compassion, came to be held in high esteem, in a way people would have frowned upon one hundred years before; R. Crane, ‘Suggestions toward a genealogy of the “man of feeling”’, *Journal of English Literary History* 1–3 (1934), pp. 205–230.

<sup>100</sup> Frazier, *The Enlightenment of sympathy*, pp. 4–5.

This study aims to integrate these different strands of human rights historiography and the varying conceptualizations of humanity they describe. It will investigate how, when, and why opinion makers between roughly 1650 and 1750 evaluated topical persecutions in reference to humanity and human nature, describing people as (1) having natural rights, (2) being rational, (3) being non-cruel, (4) being sociable, and/or (5) being empathetic—as well as potentially different characteristics. In doing so, it examines the development of humanitarian argumentation outside the parameters set by Hunt and Frazer.

### *Opinion Makers and Public Spheres*

The five normative principles outlined above form the analytical ground of this study. In order to establish how they were used to make sense of topical religious persecutions in printed news media, it will be examined who applied them, when and where they were applied, and how they were used in relation to each other. Dealing with early modern sources always carries the problem of definition. The terms historians use for certain documents today are often different from the ones used by early modern people. This creates the risk that we lump together media that they considered as essentially different, or that we make unhelpful distinctions between media that they regarded as belonging to the same category. ‘Pamphlet’, for instance, was not a term used by contemporary Dutch people. Yet I agree with Femke Deen, David Onnekink, and Michel Reiners that it remains a useful term to refer to topical publications that were meant ‘to criticize, support, or in general polarise people and groups’.<sup>101</sup>

Although their inclusive definition would allow it, I do not see newspapers and periodicals as pamphlets; the fact that they were published at regular intervals made them essentially different forms of communication.<sup>102</sup> Together, I refer to my main sources as printed news media. The majority of Dutch pamphlets of which we still have copies can be found through the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN)—the largest digital database of Dutch publications before 1800—and are digitized in *Dutch Pamphlets Online* (TEMPO), which

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<sup>101</sup> F. Deen, D. Onnekink, and M. Reinders, ‘Pamphlets and politics. Introduction’, in F. Deen, D. Onnekink, and M. Reinders (eds.), *Pamphlets and politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden 2012), pp. 11–12.

<sup>102</sup> See M. van Groesen, ‘(No) news from the western front. The weekly press of the Low Countries and the making of Atlantic news’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44–3 (2013), pp. 739–760.

contains all titles of the Royal Library and the main Dutch university libraries.<sup>103</sup> For newspapers, I have used the digital platform Delpher as a starting point, combined with trips to Dutch archives and university libraries.<sup>104</sup> I have consulted the *Encyclopedie Nederlandse Tijdschriften* (ENT) to find Dutch periodicals, and *Le Gazetier Universel* (GU) for French titles published in the United Provinces.<sup>105</sup>

It is impossible to analyze all printed news media tackling the episodes of religious persecution discussed in this study, first of all, because not all works have withstood the ravages of time. There is a dark number of pamphlets of which we no longer have any copies.<sup>106</sup> Second, I have not been able to visit every archive to look for incidental new sources. However, I have systematically examined everything that could be found through STCN, ENT, and GU. Following leads found through these digital tools, I have searched for specific sources in university libraries and Dutch archives. As a result, this study surveys a coherent sample of about two hundred pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals in five languages, all of them published between 1655 and 1746.<sup>107</sup>

Dealing with printed news media, this dissertation covers a considerable area of public communication. Yet it is important to keep in mind that such media were not the only carriers of political debate. Recent studies have made us aware of the wide variety of media through which *Herrschaft* and politics were publicly communicated in early modern society. Donald Haks has shown that in the Dutch Republic not only pamphlets and newspapers, but also, among others, sermons, songs, petitions, and calls for public prayer were important carriers of public debate.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, then as now, there was a continuous interplay between printed and

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<sup>103</sup> Short Title Catalogue Netherlands, <http://picarta.nl/DB=3.11/>; Dutch Pamphlets Online, <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/dutch-pamphlets-online>; all pamphlets in TEMPO have a searchable “pflt number”, which is included in the footnotes and the bibliography.

<sup>104</sup> Admittedly, this does not offer an exhaustive overview of the communication of religious persecution in newspapers. Many Dutch newspapers from the seventeenth century are now lost or scattered throughout different archives and libraries in Europe. Newspapers from the eighteenth century are better preserved. As we will see, however, newspapers were not the main printed media used to opionate about religious persecution. I have therefore decided to study a limited number of newspapers per case. For a comprehensive overview of seventeenth-century Dutch language newspapers and their current locations see A. der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century, 1618–1700* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2017).

<sup>105</sup> Encyclopedie Nederlandse Tijdschriften, <https://ent1815.nl/>; Le Gazetier Universel, <http://gazetier-universel.gazettes18e.fr/>.

<sup>106</sup> See Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the world*, pp. 13–17.

<sup>107</sup> See Bibliography.

<sup>108</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*.

oral communication of news and opinion. People discussed what they read in marketplaces, taverns, and churches, and conversely—as we will see—publicists often regarded rumors and the word on the street as valuable news items. Furthermore, handwritten pamphlets and newsletters long existed side-by-side to printed media, often reaching large audiences through public recitation.<sup>109</sup>

In recent years, several studies have taken up an integrated approach, exploring the interaction between these written, oral, and performative forms of public political communication within the boundaries of a civic community.<sup>110</sup> In doing so, they have offered valuable insights into the immensely difficult question of news reception. When taking an international approach, however, such an integrated approach becomes unwieldy. Moreover, as Rudolf Schlögl has rightly pointed out, including ever more sources as constituents of the public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) carries the risk of blurring the concept's historiographical focus.<sup>111</sup> Rather than presenting an exhaustive account of 'Dutch' public debate on religious persecution, this dissertation thus focuses on the production of printed public opinion, taking into account its international dimensions.

This brings us to a second limitation: the focus lies on works produced by printing presses in the United Provinces—which also inescapably causes a gravitation toward Holland, the most prosperous province with the biggest printing industry. Yet the authors of the pamphlets, periodicals, and newspaper articles were by no means all Dutchmen, let alone Hollanders. The works under investigation were authored by a diverse group of people from different parts of Europe, including journalists, printmakers, preachers, and political officeholders from the Holy Roman Empire, France, Savoy, England, and other places. By the seventeenth century, this eclectic group of opinion makers had elevated printed works to be the dominant media of long-distance public debate about political events.<sup>112</sup> After having been

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<sup>109</sup> F. Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand. Amsterdam 'Moorddam' (1566–1578)* (Amsterdam, 2015); M. Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 310–311; H. Love, *Scribal publication in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>110</sup> D. Bellingradt, 'Organizing public opinion in a resonating box. The Gülich rebellion in early modern Cologne, 1680–1686', *Urban History* 39–4 (2012), pp. 553–570; Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda*.

<sup>111</sup> R. Schlögl, 'Politik beobachten. Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 35–4 (2008), p. 583.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 611–612.

published in The Hague, Utrecht, or Amsterdam, printed news media often traveled abroad again.

For many years, early modernists have paid little attention to the international dynamics of the production of public opinion, and even today the majority of works on public debate in the Dutch Republic deal with their domestic dimensions.<sup>113</sup> To a considerable extent, this is a consequence of the Habermasian paradigm from which the study of early modern publicity developed. Jürgen Habermas famously conceived the public sphere to have emerged within the boundaries of the eighteenth-century nation state.<sup>114</sup> In his wake, Benedict Anderson confirmed this close relation between the public sphere and the nation state in his study on the development of nationalism—which depends on an imagined community.<sup>115</sup>

In the last decades, two important historiographical developments have begun to break open this national paradigm, or at least offer the methodological tools to do so. First, there is a nascent historiography on the international production and dissemination of news in early modern Europe.<sup>116</sup> Historians now recognize that a transnational sense of contemporaneity played a pivotal role in structuring the political thought and behavior of both the public and politician.<sup>117</sup> Second, early modernists have begun to distinguish a multitude of public spheres (*Teilöffentlichkeiten*)—in opposition to Habermas’ monolithic national frame—ordered around different institutional, discursive, or geographical boundaries. Several studies have thus identified, among others, a reformatory public sphere, a Puritan public sphere, and an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere which transcended national borders.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> M. Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam, 2010); R. Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2011); C. Harline, *Pamphlets, printing, and political culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, Boston, and Lancaster, 1987); for an insightful historiographical discussion of the Dutch historiography, see D. van Netten, ‘Propaganda, publics, and pamphlets in the Dutch Golden Age – what else is new?’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 22 (2015), pp. 209–221.

<sup>114</sup> J. Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere. An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge, 1992); for a critical evaluation of ‘implicitly national public sphere theory’, see N. Fraser, ‘Transnationalizing the public sphere’, in M. Pensky (ed.), *Globalizing critical theory* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 37–47.

<sup>115</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (New York, 2006).

<sup>116</sup> R. Harms, R. Raymond, and J. Salman (eds.), *Not dead things. The dissemination in popular print in England, Wales, Italy, and the Low Counties* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2013); J. Raymond and N. Moxham (eds.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> B. Dooley, *The dissemination of news and the emergence of contemporaneity in early modern Europe* (Farnham, 2010); J. Raymond and N. Moxham (eds.), *News networks in early modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2016); A. Pettegree, *The invention of news. How the world came to know about itself* (New Haven, CT, 2014).

<sup>118</sup> R. Wohlfeil, ‘Reformatrische Öffentlichkeit’, in J. Metzler (ed.), *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Wolfenbüttel, 1981), pp. 41–52; M. Nieten, ‘Die Wittenberger Reformation als

One important consequence of this dual project of fragmenting public spheres and the widening of their geographical scope is that it allows historians to move beyond the opposition between the representative public sphere (*repräsentative Öffentlichkeit*) and the civil public sphere (*bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit*).<sup>119</sup> According to Habermas, premodern societies were home to a representative public sphere, in which the authorities publicly represented their rule before the people.<sup>120</sup> The civil public sphere, on the other hand, consists of a culture of rational debate about political authority, which is fundamentally independent from it.<sup>121</sup> It has now become clear that these two oppositional models do not hold. Cross-border publicity severely hampered governments' efforts at monopolizing political communication. Authorities have often tried to establish control over news and opinion, but usually failed because they could not control the foreign press. On the other hand, government officials frequently produced textual interventions into foreign and domestic public discussions, blurring the line between official publicity and public debate.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, we have now moved beyond Habermas' idea that the public sphere was necessarily constituted by 'rational debate'.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, as we have seen above, this dissertation will argue that the appeal to 'reason' was just one among five main argumentative strategies in public political debate.

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Medienereignis', *Europäische Geschichte Online* (2012), <http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/europaeische-medien/europaeische-medienereignisse/marcel-nieden-die-wittenberger-reformation-als-medienereignis>; P. Roberts, 'Habermas, "Philosophes", and Puritans. Rationality and exclusion in the dialectical public sphere', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 26–1 (1996), pp. 47–68; H. Helmers, *The Royalist republic. Literature, politics, and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge, 2015). For Prussia, Esther-Beate Körber has differentiated between the public spheres of power, of education, and of information. These existed simultaneously, and whereas some of them remained local, others transcended national borders; E.-B. Körber, *Öffentlichkeiten der frühen Neuzeit. Teilnehmer, Formen, Institutionen und Entscheidungen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Herzogtum Preußen von 1525 bis 1618* (Berlin, 1998).

<sup>119</sup> H. Jürgens and T. Weller, 'Einleitung', in H. Jürgens and T. Weller (eds.), *Streitkultur und Öffentlichkeit im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 2013), p. 18.

<sup>120</sup> S. Rau and G. Schwerhoff, 'Öffentliche Räume in der Frühen Neuzeit. Überlegungen zu Leitbegriffen und Themen eines Forschungsfeldes', in S. Rau and G. Schwerhoff (eds.), *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2004), p. 14.

<sup>121</sup> Habermas, *Structural transformation*.

<sup>122</sup> See J. Peacey, *Politicians and pamphleteers. Propaganda during the English Civil War and the Interregnum* (Farnham, 2004); H. Helmers, 'Public diplomacy in early modern Europe', *Media History* 22–3/4 (2016), pp. 402–403.

<sup>123</sup> G. Hauser, *Vernacular voices. The rhetoric of publics and public spheres* (Columbia, SC, 1999), pp. 53–55.

*Identifying with Foreign Suffering*

Dutch printers owed much of their success to the fact that the public sphere transcended borders, that both governments and citizens—and everyone inbetween—sought access to it, and that they did not limit themselves to ‘rational debate’. But although the press in the United Provinces was an international playground, it also remained distinctly Dutch in many ways. After all, the Dutch were ardent consumers of printed opinion. Fueled by high levels of literacy and urbanization, Dutch society was characterized by a pronounced discussion culture. In the words of Willem Frijhoff, there was a

cultural practice of intellectual participation in the problems, the debates, and the social and political development of the commonwealth, and secondly a mental habit of feeling involved in the community act, repeated over and over again, of defining the common good as a shared commodity for the benefit of all.<sup>124</sup>

The United Provinces’ devolved political structure lay at the foundation of the prevalent sense of political involvement among citizens. The Republic was a union of seven sovereign provinces, the most prosperous, populous, and influential of which—chief among them Holland—were politically dominated by a considerable number of proud and largely autonomous cities. Urban elites thus dominated both the provincial states and the States General,—the union’s assembly consisting of provincial deputies—which was responsible mainly for foreign affairs, conducting war, and making peace. Through a weekly rotation, the individual provinces alternately presided over the assembly, and could, as such, dominate the agenda for a week.<sup>125</sup> However, the Grand Pensionary, the leader of Holland’s delegates, served as the *de facto* head of government.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> W. Frijhoff, ‘Calvinism, literacy, and reading culture in the early modern Northern Netherlands. Towards a reassessment’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 95 (2004), p. 255.

<sup>125</sup> J. Koopmans, ‘De vergadering van de Staten–Generaal in de Republiek voor 1795 en de publiciteit’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 120–3 (2005), pp. 388–389.

<sup>126</sup> See J. Grever, ‘The structure of decision-making in the States-General of the Dutch Republic, 1660-1668’, *Parliaments, Estates, and Representation* 2–2 (1982), pp. 125–153.

Local, provincial, and national politics thus stood in a close relationship.<sup>127</sup> As we will see in Chapter 3, cities like Amsterdam could effectively veto a given foreign policy in the interest of its merchant citizens. The civic ruling class, collectively known as the regents, was largely closed, as it perpetuated itself through cooptation. Yet Dutch citizens lived in relative proximity to their regents, due to the networks provided by civic institutions such as the militias, the guilds, and the Church.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the city authorities were dependent on citizens in the maintenance of public order.<sup>129</sup> While not officially part of the political process, there was a rich culture of petitioning and lobbying different levels of government.<sup>130</sup>

The stadtholderate added further complexity to the Republic's political system. Officially, the individual provinces appointed the stadtholder as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Both the provinces and the States General thus remained his official superiors. In practice, however, the princes of Orange had turned the stadtholderate of most provinces into a semi-hereditary office.<sup>131</sup> Based on their prestige as sovereigns of a principality, the Princes of Orange exerted great informal power and repeatedly tried to expand their influence on politics through their patronage networks. This, in turn, often gave rise to opposition. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, factional strife between Orangists and their Statist adversaries over civic, provincial, and national power recurrently dominated Dutch politics.<sup>132</sup>

This fractured political landscape provided a rich feeding ground for printed debate, all the more because it (inadvertently) helped create a unique degree of press freedom—at least

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<sup>127</sup> A good summary of the Republic's political organization is provided by D. Onnekink, 'The body politic', in H. Helmers and G. Janssen (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 107–123.

<sup>128</sup> For Dutch civic culture see M. Prak, 'Urbanization', in Helmers and Janssen (eds.), *Cambridge companion*, pp. 15–31.

<sup>129</sup> For the (political) role of militias in Holland see P. Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutterijen in Holland, 1500–1700* (Hilversum, 1994); for a comparative analysis of the role of militias in early modern Europe see M. Prak, 'Citizens, soldiers and civic militias in late medieval and early modern Europe', *Past & Present* 228–1 (2015), pp. 93–123.

<sup>130</sup> M. Reinders, "'The citizens come from all cities with petitions". Printed petitions and civic propaganda in the seventeenth century', in Deen, Onnekink, and Reinders (eds.), *Pamphlets and politics*, pp. 97–118; J. van den Tol, *Lobbying in company. Mechanisms of political decision-making and economic interests in the history of Dutch Brazil, 1621–56* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Leiden, 2018).

<sup>131</sup> Only Friesland and sometimes Groningen had stadtholders from different house. See G. Janssen, *Princely power in the Dutch Republic. Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613–64)* (Manchester, 2008).

<sup>132</sup> See J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650–75* (Manchester and New York, 2010).

until the Glorious Revolution loosened state censorship in England.<sup>133</sup> The States General, the provincial states, and civic governments all recurrently issued placards forbidding the publication of defamatory works.<sup>134</sup> Due to the patchwork of judicial authorities, however, it was relatively easy to evade censorship, especially since local enforcement was often lax. Moreover, there were no laws requiring texts to be read by the authorities before publication.<sup>135</sup>

Interestingly, the Republic's lenience probably points more to the effectiveness of censorship, than to it being a dead letter. As Simon Groenveld reminds us, not many authors and printers would unnecessarily endanger themselves and their businesses by publishing libel. To a considerable extent, the press was therefore regulated by self-censorship.<sup>136</sup> In times of political stability, it was unusual and rather frowned upon to criticize the authorities in print.<sup>137</sup> Only when political power became contested, most notably during the recurring struggles between Statist and Orangist regent factions—one of which will be examined in Chapter 3—did pamphleteers begin to besmear each other's political elites in public.<sup>138</sup> The prevalent historiographical focus on the printed polemic surrounding the Republic's domestic political crises is therefore understandable, but also sketches a somewhat unrepresentative picture of the role of public opinion in everyday politics.

It appears that the Dutch authorities were even less concerned by printed opinion about foreign governments. Both the States of Holland and the States General recurrently issued placards against insulting neighboring and friendly heads of state—a similar law is still in force in the Netherlands today.<sup>139</sup> At times, foreign ambassadors appealed to these placards, but the

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<sup>133</sup> R. Robertson, *Censorship and conflict in England. The subtle art of division* (University Park, PA, 2009) pp. 197–208.

<sup>134</sup> E. van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid. Een verhandeling over de verhouding van kerk en staat in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden en de vrijheid van meningsuiting in zake godsdienst, drukpers en onderwijs, gedurende de 17<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Groningen, 1972), pp. 154–161.

<sup>135</sup> Harline, *Pamphlets, printing*, p. 128–129; relatively few works were banned after publication. See I. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van de drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (The Hague, 1998).

<sup>136</sup> S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of authors? States assemblies and censorship in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', in A. Duke and C. Tamse (eds.), *Too mighty to be free. Censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1987), p. 80.

<sup>137</sup> H. Helmers, 'Popular participation and public debate', in Helmers and Janssen (eds.), *Cambridge companion*, pp. 136–137.

<sup>138</sup> The most notable example of this has been well-studied by Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos*; for an extensive study of Orangist printed opinion see Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic*.

<sup>139</sup> See 'Voorstel van wet van het lid Verhoeven tot wijziging van het Wetboek van Strafrecht en het Wetboek van Strafrecht BES teneinde enkele bijzondere bepalingen inzake belediging van staatshoofden en andere publieke personen en instellingen te doen vervallen', Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal, Kamerstuk kst–

Dutch authorities only tried to enforce censorship about foreign issues—usually to little avail—if they believed it could harm diplomatic relations or incite foreign retaliation.<sup>140</sup> It is quite possible that pamphleteers practiced a similar restraint when it came to friendly powers, which will be addressed in Chapter 3. Most of the persecutions discussed in this study, however, were not enacted by allies of the Dutch Republic.

The internationalization of the historiography of the public sphere does not mean that historians now deny the importance of national boundaries in printed political debate. On the contrary, it has given rise to new questions as to how people negotiated their religious, civic, or national identity in relation to the world beyond their states' borders. Recently, Helmer Helmers has examined how Dutch, English, and Scottish pamphleteers expanded public debate about the English Civil War to the United Provinces and hotly contested its religious and national identity. Helmers has compellingly shown how international pamphleteering could lead to unexpected political allegiances. After the execution of Charles I, opinion makers in the Dutch Republic—‘ostensibly the logical continental ally of the new, equally Protestant English Republic’—almost univocally supported the Stuart monarchy against Cromwell’s Reformed republic.<sup>141</sup>

This dissertation hypothesizes that topical religious persecutions provided crucial opportunities for opinion makers to negotiate the Dutch Republic’s religious and political identity. Within Europe’s master narratives of confessional strife, the persecution of religious minorities played a central role.<sup>142</sup> The sixteenth-century martyr books by Jean Crespin, John Foxe, and Adriaan van Haemstede provided a literary canon for a transnational Reformed cultural memory—as did Catholic and Lutheran martyr books for their own respective flocks.<sup>143</sup> Beyond the realm of cultural memory, a transnational sentiment of religious belonging was also shaped by the harsh realities of forced migration, which religious

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34456–B, 5 July 2018, Eerste Kamer der Staten–Generaal, <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-34456-B.html>

<sup>140</sup> For an elaborate discussion see J. Koopmans, *Early modern media and the news in Europe. Perspectives from the Dutch angle* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2018), pp. 282–302.

<sup>141</sup> Helmers, *Royalist republic*, p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> See, for instance, Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, pp. 58–61.

<sup>143</sup> B. Gregory, *Salvation at stake. Christian martyrdom in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1999).

intolerance continued to bring in its wake.<sup>144</sup> Heavy persecution in different parts of Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had created a Reformed diaspora in safe havens, such as London, Amsterdam, and Geneva, which were well connected with other parts of the Calvinist world.<sup>145</sup> As Carolyn Chappell Lougee, Johannes Müller, and David van der Linden have shown, subsequent generations of exiles cultivated their history of persecution as a central part of their religious and civic identity.<sup>146</sup> Such pride found confirmation in Scripture; the New Testament repeatedly reminded the followers of Christ that the true Church was a persecuted church. The cherished memory of persecution recurrently inspired people to action. Ole Peter Grell has masterfully demonstrated that in the first half of the seventeenth century notable merchant families with an exile history used their extensive European networks within the Reformed diaspora to start fundraisers for persecuted brethren in the faith in places like the Palatinate and Ireland and put their fates on local political agendas.<sup>147</sup>

But not everyone could easily trace a personal genealogy of past persecution. The Dutch Reformed were (un)fortunate enough to be members of a Church that was supported rather than oppressed by the state in which they lived. Yet that did not stop them from cherishing the memory of a troublesome past. As Judith Pollmann, Erika Kuijpers, and others have shown, the hardships of the Inquisition and the Dutch Revolt were deeply engrained in the United Provinces' cultural memory.<sup>148</sup> Individuals, groups, and communities shaped and negotiated their identity by invoking the memories of their relation with the Revolt and past

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<sup>144</sup> For a recent overview see N. Terpstra, *Religious refugees in the early modern world. An alternative history of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015).

<sup>145</sup> Heiko Oberman calls the Calvinist Reformation a 'Reformation of Refugees'; H.A. Oberman, 'Europa afflicta. The Reformation of the refugees', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992), pp. 91–111; for exile identities see Johannes Müller, *Exile memories and the Dutch Revolt. The narrated diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2016).

<sup>146</sup> Müller, *Exile memories*; D. van der Linden, *Experiencing exile. Huguenot refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham, 2015). For the Dutch Revolt and Catholic experiences of exile see G. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic exile in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014).

<sup>147</sup> O. Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2012).

<sup>148</sup> E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Müller, and J. van der Steen (eds.), *Memory before modernity. Practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2013); J. Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2017); J. van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2015); M. Eekhout, 'Material memories of the Dutch Revolt. The urban memory landscape in the Low Countries, 1566–1700' (unpublished PhD thesis, 2014); G. Janssen, 'The republic of the refugees. Early modern migrations and the Dutch experience', *The Historical Journal* 60–1 (2017), pp. 233–252.

suffering that had led to the formation of their state.<sup>149</sup> This past was by no means conceived of exclusively in religious terms. On the contrary, throughout the seventeenth century it remained hotly debated whether the Dutch Revolt had been a war of religion between the true faith and the Antichrist or a war for ‘liberty’ that transcended confessional divides. Both interpretations, however, were sympathetic to a civic identity based on reverence for the forefathers who had suffered and fought against a persecuting enemy.<sup>150</sup>

Tensions between political and religious identity also permeated discussions about Golden Age politics. The Dutch Republic offered limited religious tolerance to its subjects, granting freedom of conscience, which they regarded as a foundational principle of the state, but not freedom of worship. For most of the seventeenth century, the religious pluriformity of Dutch society was tolerated but not celebrated.<sup>151</sup> The Calvinist Church was hegemonic whereas Catholicism—professed by almost half of the Republic’s population—was officially forbidden. After 1618 Catholics were excluded from public office.<sup>152</sup> Jonathan Israel aptly summarizes that the United Provinces’ religious culture was ultimately marked by ‘ambivalent semi-tolerance [...] [and] seethed with tension’.<sup>153</sup> The Dutch realized that their multiconfessional society contrasted sharply with the ideal of confessional unity that many

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<sup>149</sup> J. Pollmann, ‘Met grootvaders bloed bezegeld. Over religie en herinneringscultuur in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29–2 (2013), pp. 154–175.

<sup>150</sup> See also S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1987), pp. 51–125.

<sup>151</sup> B. Kaplan, ‘“Dutch” religious toleration. Celebration and revision’, in R. Po–Chia Hsia and H. van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 8–26; C. Berkvens–Stevelinck, J. Israel, and G. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *The emergence of tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 1997); M. Gijswijt–Hofstra (ed.), *Een schijn van verdraagzaamheid. Afwijking en tolerantie in Nederland van de zestiende eeuw tot beden* (Hilversum, 1989); for a European perspective of tolerance see Kaplan, *Divided by faith*.

<sup>152</sup> For the relation between Calvinists and Catholics in Holland see C. Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age. Heretics and idolaters* (Cambridge, 2012); for Catholicism in the Dutch Republic see C.H. Parker, *Faith on the margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2008); P. Polman, *Katholieke Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 3 vols (Hilversum, 1968); L.J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord–Nederland in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1947). The recognition of Catholics as a religious community in the second half of the seventeenth century led to new ambiguities. On the one hand, they were now allowed to organize themselves. On the other hand, they were subjected to new forms of institutionalized discrimination; G. Yasuhira, ‘Confessional coexistence and perceptions of the “public”. Catholics’ agency in negotiations on poverty and charity in Utrecht, 1620s–1670s’, *BMGN—Low Countries Historical Review* 132–4 (2017), pp. 3–24; J. Spaans, ‘Katholieken onder curatele. Katholieke armenzorg als ingang voor overheidsbemoedienis in Haarlem in de achttiende eeuw’, *Trajecta* 3 (1994), pp. 110–130.

<sup>153</sup> J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), p. 372.

other European states cherished. For some, it remained a subject of embarrassment and self-criticism. By around 1648, however, others began to take pride in their tolerance.<sup>154</sup>

Past persecution and subsequent tolerance were thus part of what Simon Schama has identified as ‘patriotic scripture’, the stories which some Dutchmen and women told themselves and others to construct their national identity.<sup>155</sup> As Jasper van der Steen and Donald Haks have recently shown, patriotic stories about the Revolt could become powerful political tools. Government authorities and other political interest groups frequently deployed the cultural memories of persecution to legitimate or criticize both domestic and foreign policy.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, as we have discussed above, international confessional solidarity played a considerable role in (the evaluation of) foreign politics.

Although research suggests that the memories of the Revolt to a considerable extent shaped Dutch perspectives on the world across their borders, we know strikingly little about how the Dutch perceived the persistence of religious intolerance in other parts of Europe.<sup>157</sup> Indeed, it is well known that many Dutch cities opened their parts to tens of thousands of Huguenot refugees in the 1680s, hoping for an influx of skilled labor and capital.<sup>158</sup> Yet what the Dutch knew about the reasons that caused these men and women to flee, or the fate of those who were left behind, remains unclear. More importantly, whether opinion makers mainly identified with persecuted Protestants on the basis of shared confession—following the logic of a ‘Protestant internationalism’—is a question that remains to be answered. To understand this, we need to distinguish between the different stakeholders at play. In many cases, it is impossible to retrieve the exact identity of pamphleteers, because they often hid behind anonymity. Still, as we will see, the vantage points from which anonymous authors wrote often gives a clear indication of their background. Dutch authors usually had other reasons for discussing instances of religious repression abroad than persecuted minorities who turned to the Dutch printing presses to make their plight known.

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<sup>154</sup> Kaplan, “‘Dutch’ religious toleration’, p. 9.

<sup>155</sup> Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, pp. 51–125.

<sup>156</sup> Van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries*; Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede*.

<sup>157</sup> See Benjamin Schmidt’s excellent study on Dutch perceptions of the New World: B. Schmidt, *Innocence abroad. The Dutch imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>158</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*.

For the latter group, the Dutch Republic was also an important place for public appeal. In a recent article, Helmer Helmers adopted the term ‘public diplomacy’ from political scientists as a heuristic tool to understand how ambassadors managed international relations and influence foreign policy by employing the press to communicate with foreign audiences—rather than through the secret peer-to-peer contact on which the historiography of diplomacy has traditionally focused.<sup>159</sup> Tying in with recent efforts to include non-state actors—such as merchants, cities and religious orders—in the history of early modern diplomacy, Helmers suggests that news media might even replace ambassadors, especially for actors lacking official diplomatic representation.<sup>160</sup> Writing from the perspective of today’s world, the political scientist Teresa La Porte contends that one can duly speak of public diplomacy whenever ‘non-state actors have a basic organization, clear objectives, stable representation and coordinated activity’.<sup>161</sup> This study will investigate whether persecuted minorities fell within this category and partook in the world of European diplomacy through publicity. It builds on the hypothesis that if they did, the Dutch Republic, with its myriad of printing presses and political office holders, must have been a logical place to do so.

This dissertation is divided into six chapters, taking up four episodes of religious persecution in different parts of Europe between 1655 and 1725—the conclusion will briefly discuss a fifth episode that occurred in 1745. Chapter 1 will examine the publicity campaign that the Waldensians in Piedmont initiated after experiencing a massacre committed by the army of their sovereign Charles Emmanuel II, Duke of Savoy, in 1655. By seeking international attention, the Waldensians assumed political agency and engaged in public diplomacy. By exploring the channels of communication between exiled ministers in the Alps and the Dutch printing presses, the first chapter explores the role of publicizing as an act of political agency in relation to other forms of international political communication. Chapter 2 stays with the Waldensians, providing an analysis of the pamphlets that helped turn a local crackdown into

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<sup>159</sup> H. Helmers, ‘Public diplomacy in early modern Europe. Towards a new history of news’, *Media History* 22–3/4 (2016), pp. 401–420.

<sup>160</sup> See M. Ebben and L. Sicking, ‘Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis van de premoderne tijd. Een inleiding’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 127–4 (2014), pp. 541–552.

<sup>161</sup> T. La Porte, ‘The impact of ‘intermestic’ non–state actors on the conceptual framework of public diplomacy’, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 7 (2012), pp. 449–450.

an international cause célèbre. It will examine how the Piedmont Easter, as the massacre came to be called, was evaluated in reference to the normative principles which have been outlined above. This chapter investigates why Waldensian pamphleteers tried to frame their persecution as a humanitarian disaster rather than a confessional conflict and how the massacre was subsequently reframed and appropriated by Dutch pamphleteers for a Dutch audience.

Chapters 3 and 4 tackle the publicity surrounding the persecution of the Huguenots in the years preceding and following the prohibition of Protestantism in France with Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In contrast to the events in Piedmont in 1655 discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, there was limited public attention for the persecution of the early 1680s. We will see that publicity strongly depended on whether the persecuted themselves regarded publicity desirable, to attain their political ends. Only at a later stage, when domestic and international political circumstances changed, did Huguenot authors and foreign governments begin to take up their pens and polemicize against the persecutory measures of Louis XIV. It will be demonstrated that polemic about the persecutions remained asymmetrical, with foreign observers and refugees attacking what could be regarded as the representative *Öffentlichkeit* of the French court. Finally, Chapter 4 will also explore how the Revocation revived old questions about Europe's confessional divides.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ultimately paved the way to France's last war of religion. The relation between international publicity and political action during the War of the Camisards will be explored in Chapter 5. It will demonstrate that pamphlets not only reflected on events, but were meant to incite people to action. One conclusion will be that it was not only diplomats who engaged in 'public diplomacy'. It was also practiced by various other actors who assumed an unauthorized voice within IR.

Sometimes, relatively small events turned into huge media sensations. Chapter 6 will analyze why this was the case with the Royal Prussian city of Toruń, where in 1724 eleven citizens were executed for their alleged involvement in an anti-Jesuit riot. In order to gain a better understanding of the links between 'Dutch' and 'international' or 'European' public opinion, publicity for the Tumult of Toruń in England and the Holy Roman Empire, alongside the Dutch Republic, will be brought into focus. This chapter will shed light on how Toruń became a case from which Europe's religio-political issues were negotiated as a whole.

The conclusion of this book will begin with an analysis of two counter cases which came before and after the main cases discussed in Chapters 1 to 6. Between 1648 and 1657 tens of thousands of Jews perished in Ukraine, where they were actively persecuted during the Cossack Khmelnytsky Uprising. In 1745, about one hundred years later, Maria Theresa expelled all Jews from Bohemia. Reflecting upon the limited response of the Dutch press to these cases, we will come to see that, then as now, inclusive political vocabulary does not guarantee attention for all kinds of human suffering.

It is important to keep in mind that the cases that this study comprises were by no means the only religious persecutions that were publicized in Protestant Europe: The Waldensians were not only persecuted in 1655, but also in the 1660s, the 1680s, and the 1730s;<sup>162</sup> The persecution of Hungarian Calvinist ministers by the Habsburgs in the 1670s received considerable public attention and ultimately led to a Dutch intervention and the celebrated liberation of 26 Calvinist galley slaves by admiral Michiel de Ruyter.<sup>163</sup> In 1731, the expulsion of 20,000 Protestants from Salzburg led to an impressive outpouring of pamphlets, most of which originated in Prussia—whereas there were surprisingly few Dutch news media commenting on the matter.<sup>164</sup> Many more persecutions of varying degrees and scope could be named, the printed echoes of which all merit investigation. After all, this study will show that the complex interplay between the agency of the persecuted, the appropriation of the news by opinion makers, and the international (religio)political circumstances guaranteed that different persecutions were always discussed through very different patterns of argumentation. However, I have prioritized the thorough investigation of a limited number of cases, spread out over a relatively long timeframe, over an exhaustive account of all instances of persecution and their printed echo in the Dutch Republic. The snapshots 1655, 1680-88, 1702-05, 1725, and 1745 largely cover the persecutions with which the Dutch were most concerned and have good intervals to track potential changes in political argumentation.

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<sup>162</sup> G. Audisio, *The Waldensian dissent. Persecution and survival, c. 1170–c. 1570* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 207–214.

<sup>163</sup> For a good overview of the international reactions to this episode see G. Murdock, 'Responses to Habsburg persecution of Protestants in seventeenth-century Hungary', *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009), pp. 37–52.

<sup>164</sup> See G. Turner, *Die Heimat nehmen wir mit. Ein Beitrag zur Auswanderung Salzburger Protestanten im Jahr 1732, ihrer Ansiedlung in Ostpreußen und der Vertreibung in 1944/45* (Berlin, 2008); C. Lindenmeyer and G. Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/21* (Graz, 1977).

# Chapter 1

## The Piedmont Easter: Sovereignty, Diplomacy, and Publicity (1655-56)

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,  
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old  
When all our fathers worship't stocks and stones.

- John Milton, 'On the late massacre in Piedmont' (1655)<sup>165</sup>

In the spring of 1655 Protestant Europe was shocked by the news of a massacre that had occurred amongst the Reformed Waldensians in the Alpine valleys of Piedmont. Around Easter, an army under Savoyard command, consisting of 18,000 Savoyard, French, and Irish soldiers, had entered the Pellice Valley, some sixty kilometers south-west of Turin, where they wreaked carnage among the local men, women, and children. According to modern estimates, about two thousand people were killed and entire villages were razed to the ground. The survivors fled into the mountains, where many more died in the extreme weather conditions of the early spring.<sup>166</sup>

Much to the chagrin of the Duke of Savoy, the Piedmont Easter did not remain a domestic affair. News of the macabre fate of the Waldensians quickly crossed the Alps, traveling north to Geneva, Paris, Amsterdam, and London, where it was widely discussed in the print media. Dozens of pamphlets circulated throughout Protestant Europe, the majority of which regarded the persecutions as a scandal. Attention was soon followed by action. The States General and the Commonwealth of England declared national days of prayer for the

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<sup>165</sup> J. Milton, 'Sonnet 18, "On the late massacre in Piedmont" (1650)', *The explicator* 52–2 (1994), p. 70.

<sup>166</sup> M. Laurenti, *I confini della comunità. Conflitto europeo e guerra religiosa nelle comunità valdesi del Seicento* (Turin, 2015), pp. 175–176; estimations of the death toll include those who froze to death; D. Trim, 'Intervention in European history, c. 1520–1850', in S. Recchia and J. Welsh (eds.), *Just and unjust military intervention. European thinkers from Vitoria to Mill* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 36.

persecuted ‘brethren in the faith’ and organized national collections, raising impressive amounts of money to aid the survivors.<sup>167</sup> Contemporary observers were struck by the intensity of the transnational solidarity. In his 1658 *History of the Evangelical churches of the valleys of Piemont*, Samuel Morland—who was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Turin to support the Waldensian cause on behalf of Oliver Cromwell—revealed ‘that from the first beginning of the Reformation, there was never known such a marvellous unity in the cause of Religion’.<sup>168</sup>

By summer, it appeared that the massacre might lead to an international political crisis, as Protestant governments started negotiations to jointly confront the attack on their confession, under the leadership of the Lord Protector.<sup>169</sup> Cromwell pressured France to make Savoy stop its persecutions, threatening that he would scupper ongoing negotiations for an English–French alliance against Spain.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, he made preparations to send the English fleet to Nice and declare war on Savoy if the privileges of the duchy’s Protestant subjects were not restored, their losses compensated, and the perpetrators punished.<sup>171</sup> Tensions rose so high that notable observers began to worry that Europe was again standing on the brink of religious war. Ministers at the court of the young Louis XIV feared that England would incite a Huguenot rebellion in France and send Swiss mercenaries to Savoy.<sup>172</sup> Willem Boreel, the Dutch ambassador to the French court, repeatedly insisted to Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt that he should deal with the matter prudently, lest the conflict escalate and lead to a new age of confessional warfare between Catholics and Protestants in Europe:

It was about one hundred years ago, namely in 1561 and 1562, that they started to massacre the believers in [France]. God wants to save us from a similar century, that

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<sup>167</sup> N. Kist, *Neêrlands bededagen en biddagsbrieven. Eene bijdrage ter opbouwing der geschiedenis van staat en kerk in Nederland*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1849), p. 334; collections were also held in France and Switzerland; N. Greenspan, *Selling Cromwell’s wars. Media, empire and godly warfare, 1650–1658* (London, 2012), p. 137; for an introduction to Dutch charity initiatives see E. Boersma, ‘Yrelandtsche traenen gedroogd. Transnationale solidariteit en lokale politiek in Zeeland, 1641–1644’, *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 2 (2015), pp. 201–222.

<sup>168</sup> S. Morland, *The history of the Evangelical churches in the valleys of Piemont* (London, 1658), p. 540.

<sup>169</sup> H. Rogge, ‘De Waldenzen—moord van 1655 en de zending van Rudolf van Ommeren naar Zwitserland en Savoye’, *Verslagen en mededeelingen der koninklijke akademie van wetenschappen* 4–5 (1903), pp. 303–312.

<sup>170</sup> D. Smith, ‘Diplomacy and the religious question. Mazarin, Cromwell and the treaties of 1655 and 1657’, *E-rea. Revue électronique d’études sur le monde anglophone* 11/2 (2014), <https://journals.openedition.org/erea/3745>; D. Trim, ‘“If a prince use tyrannie towards his people”’. Interventions on behalf of foreign populations in early modern Europe’, in Simms and Trim (eds.), *Humanitarian intervention*, p. 54.

<sup>171</sup> For Cromwell’s reaction to the Piedmont Easter see T. Venning, *Cromwellian foreign policy* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 94–101.

<sup>172</sup> Trim, ‘“If a prince use tyrannie”’, p. 59.

could also begin with an event like that, and this nation, which is bigoted and impetuous, should not be excited to such more than barbarian cruelties, which we have already seen way too much here.<sup>173</sup>

In short, the massacre seemed to open a scar on Europe's international religio-political landscape. Only seven years earlier representatives of the continent's main powers had optimistically believed they had established a perpetual 'Christian peace' between the confessions after the destructive Thirty Years' War. In the Holy Roman Empire laws had been established which considerably extended the rights of Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic minorities. The Reich's princes had agreed that any future confessional conflict was to be settled through negotiation rather than violence. In 1648, Europe had broken loose from the deception that religious uniformity could be acquired by the power of the sword. Its days of confessional warfare were over. This, at least, was what the peacemakers had hoped to achieve in Munster and Osnabruck.<sup>174</sup>

The Piedmont Easter made tangible some of the ambiguities and limitations of the political norms prevalent in Westphalian Europe. The massacre compellingly showed the territorial limits of the 1648 peace settlements, reminding contemporaries that despite the settlements' claims to universality, states like the Duchy of Savoy remained unshackled by its regulations for religious peacekeeping. In fact, one could even argue that the Peace of Westphalia, as a landmark in the long-term reification of state sovereignty as a normative principle, had facilitated the bloodbath. It had confirmed the increasingly popular idea that princes were absolute lords and masters within their own domains: how they treated their subjects was no one's business, within or outside of their territory.<sup>175</sup>

At the same time, the Protestant powers' reactions to the massacre demonstrate that a mutual respect for territorial sovereignty was not the sole guiding principle of Europe's international political landscape. Reinforcing recent criticism of the Westphalian hypothesis,

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<sup>173</sup> 'Il y a environ cent ans, savoir en 1561 & 1562 qu'on commença à massacrer les fideles dans ce Royaume. [...] Dieu veuille nous préserver d'un pareille siècle, qui pouroit aussi commencer par quelque événement semblable, & que cette Nation, qui est bigote et fougueuse, ne soit pas excitée à ces cruautés plus que barbares, qu'on n'a que trop vues ci-devant'; Letter from Willem Boreel to Johan de Witt, 11 June 1655, in *Lettres et négociations entre mr. Jean De Witt, conseiller pensionnaire & garde des sceaux des provinces de Hollande et de West-Frise et messieurs les plenipotentiaires des Provinces Unies des Pais-Bas aux cours de France, d'Angleterre, de Suède, de Danmarc, de Pologne &c. depuis l'année 1652 jusqu'à l'an 1669 inclus*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 330.

<sup>174</sup> D. Croxton, *Westphalia. The last Christian peace* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 383.

<sup>175</sup> See the Introduction for a more detailed discussion on the Westphalian hypothesis.

David Trim argues that the Peace of Westphalia ‘did not create a norm of non-intervention as part of the concept of sovereignty’.<sup>176</sup> He presents the Waldensian case as a prime example that early modern governments firmly held on to the belief that they had the right or duty to intervene in the domestic policy of other states if its subjects suffered tyranny.<sup>177</sup>

Of course, accusations of massacre and tyranny are by definition polemical in nature; whether the terms applied to a certain event or situation was usually hotly contested and this was certainly the case with the Waldensians. In this light, Enea Balmas and Grazia Zardini Lana have suggested that the internationalization of the conflict was largely an effect of what they refer to as ‘propaganda’—the texts and images created and disseminated by the survivors of the massacre to further their cause abroad.<sup>178</sup> Antonella Amatuzzi has similarly claimed that the pamphlets circulating in Europe were ‘the arms with which the Reformed of Piedmont won their combat’.<sup>179</sup> But what kind of arms were these? What strategies did the persecuted use to advocate their cause abroad and urge foreign powers to intervene? Although they were definitely not the first to do it, turning to the printing presses to raise international attention was by no means a standardized practice, nor was it without risks. Publicity surrounding massacres was often directed or backed by representatives of a sovereign government or, in cases of civil war, a political body that was in open confrontation with that government. The 1641 massacres in Ireland, for instance, were made into an international media event by the English colonial administration.<sup>180</sup>

As this chapter will show, religious groups seeking foreign help stepped into a complex communicative landscape through which they had to steer carefully and reckon with the rules of the game. This chapter follows the European echo of the massacre from the refugees who first wrote down their experiences in the mountains to the printing presses in Amsterdam. It examines how the Waldensians assumed international political agency as a non-state actor and

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<sup>176</sup> Trim, ‘Intervention in European history’, p. 39.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>178</sup> E. Balmas and G. Zardini Lana, *La vera relazione di quanto è accaduto nelle persecuzioni e i massacri dell'anno 1655. Le 'Pasque Piemontesi' del 1655 nelle testimonianze dei protagonisti* (Turin, 1987), p. 70.

<sup>179</sup> A. Amatuzzi, ‘Les libelles vaudois sur les Pâques piémontaises. Des armes efficaces dans le conflit avec la cour de Savoie (1655)’, in S. Alan–Stacey (ed.), *Political, religious and social conflict in the States of Savoy, 1400–1700* (Oxford and Bern, 2014), p. 239; see also Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 73.

<sup>180</sup> J. Ohlmeyer and M. Ó Siochrú, ‘Introduction—1641. Fresh contexts and perspectives’, in M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland. 1641. Contexts and reactions*, Studies in Early Modern Irish History (Manchester, 2013), p. 2.

how international observers reacted to this diplomatic engagement. I will argue that rather unexpectedly, conceptions of sovereignty played a decisive role in international communication and evaluation of the conflict in Piedmont.

### *The Poor of Lyon*

Let us begin by taking a step back to briefly consider the history of the Waldensians and explore the tensions that led up to the tragedy of 1655.<sup>181</sup> The Waldensians—originally a pejorative term used by their confessional adversaries to discredit them as sectarians—styled themselves the Poor of Lyon. They originated in the twelfth century as followers of a man named Peter Waldo, probably once a member of the Lyonese elite who had given up his wealth to preach the merits of poverty and of basing one's faith on Scripture only.<sup>182</sup> The *sola scriptura* premise made the Waldensians doctrinally very different from their better-known contemporaries, the Cathars, with whom they were often—purposefully or inadvertently—confused.<sup>183</sup> In fact, with their strong tradition of popular preaching the Waldensians provided one of the strongest voices against the Albigensian heresies of the twelfth century.<sup>184</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1184 Pope Lucius III excommunicated the Waldensians, a move which was soon confirmed by the emperor.<sup>185</sup> Things could have gone differently. Francis of Assisi, who was a three-year-old at the time of the excommunication, would eventually be canonized by the same Church for a very similar emphasis on poverty.<sup>186</sup> In the following decades the

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<sup>181</sup> There is an impressive number of regional publications on specific aspects of the history of the Waldensians. Most postwar general literature on the Waldensians describes their history until the sixteenth century. See, for instance, E. Cameron, *Waldenses. Rejections of Holy Church in medieval Europe* (Hoboken, NJ, 2001); G. Audisio, *The Waldensian dissent. Persecution and survival, c. 1170–c. 1570* (Cambridge, 1999); A. Molnár, *Die Waldenser. Geschichte und europäisches Ausmaß einer Ketzerbewegung* (Göttingen, 1985); E. Roll, *Die Waldenser. Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1982).

<sup>182</sup> C. Touzellier, 'Considérations sur les origines du Valdésisme', in Società dei studi valdesi (ed.), *I Valdesi e l'Europa* (Torre Pellice, 1982), p. 7; Samuel Morland has transcribed the Waldensian confession of faith from a manuscript dated 1120, see Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, p. 34.

<sup>183</sup> The Cathars held a Manichaean doctrine, the belief that there were two tantamount gods. For a good introduction to Cathar theology see E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou. The promised land of error* (New York, 1979).

<sup>184</sup> Audisio, *Waldensian dissent*, p. 14.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>186</sup> For a comparison between the Waldensians and the Franciscan movement see B. Marthaler, 'Forerunners of the Franciscans. The Waldenses', *Franciscan Studies* 18–2 (1958), pp. 133–142.

movement dispersed and an era of active persecution began with the foundation of the Papal Inquisition in the thirteenth century, forcing the Waldensians into hiding. Yet unlike most other medieval ‘heresies’, remnants of the movement managed to persist, mainly in the Cottian Alps, where its adherents lived as shepherds and farmers. However, centuries of persecution had transformed the Waldensians from a charismatic movement, involved in public propagation and persuasion, into a secluded people, who passed their faith from parent to child in relative social isolation.<sup>187</sup>

They had not, however, lost all contact with the world beyond their communities. In the sixteenth century the Waldensians took special interest in the news of revolutionary reformations in the German lands and, closer to home, in Switzerland. In 1530 they declared themselves Reformed and rethought their creed and church order in a Calvinist fashion.<sup>188</sup> Supranational religious unification did not, however, bring political protection; the now Reformed Waldensians continued to live under Catholic rulers, first under Francis I of France and, after 1559, under the dukes of Savoy, who insisted on religious unity within their realm. The threat of persecution therefore remained, hanging like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the small groups of Alpine Protestants.

Following Europe’s first religious peace settlements in Switzerland and Germany in 1529 and 1555, the Waldensians initially found some form of legal protection as a religious minority under the 1561 Treaty of Cavour—which we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2—after a military campaign by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy (1528–1580), had failed to extirpate the Reformed religion within his lands. The treaty stated that the Waldensians were allowed to practice their religion in a restricted number of valleys. Attempts to expand into other areas were strictly forbidden and although the Reformed were permitted to freely communicate with other subjects in the realm, they were not allowed to try to convert them. Today, a plaque on the fortified house where the peace was concluded proudly presents the

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<sup>187</sup> Audisio, *Waldensian dissent*, p. 68.

<sup>188</sup> E. Cameron, *Reformation of the heretics. The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 202–215; G. Audisio, ‘Des Pauvres de Lyon aux vaudois réformés’, *Les Vaudois. Revue de l’histoire des religions* 217–1 (2000), pp. 155–166; C. Zwielerlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkrabmen und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland, 1559–1598*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 74 (Göttingen, 2006), p. 359.

Treaty of Cavour to visitors as the ‘first example of religious liberty in modern Europe’.<sup>189</sup> Indeed, it was a fundamentally different religious settlement than the 1529 Landfriede in Switzerland and the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which stipulated that the ruler was allowed to decide the religion of his subjects, according to the principle that was later summarized as *cuius regio, eius religio*. In most cases this led to an enforcement of religious uniformity.<sup>190</sup> In 1561, by contrast, this Catholic sovereign for the first time officially agreed to protect rather than persecute his ‘heretical’ subjects, albeit within a restricted territory.

Despite the treaty, the Waldensians were repeatedly threatened with violence in the decades that followed. But whereas the Protestants in other parts of the Duchy of Savoy continued to suffer intense persecutions—dramatically demonstrating the geographical limitations of the Treaty of Cavour—the Reformed in the assigned valleys of Piedmont enjoyed relative peace. Strong religious tensions remained, however, partly because of the presence of Catholic clergy in the region, who increasingly engaged in missionary activities.<sup>191</sup> According to Morland, ‘the enemy of our salvation’ changed shape from a roaring lion into a ‘cunning serpent, subtilly intruding himself, and secretly wounding the faithfull’.<sup>192</sup> Whether or not the duke or other Catholics truly indulged in serpent-like behavior, open confrontation largely remained absent. While the specter of religious warfare haunted different parts of Europe between the 1560s and 1640s, the Waldensians successfully kept armed conflict at bay. They did so by repeatedly requesting their rights to be reconfirmed by the subsequent dukes of Savoy.

### *The Massacre and its Aftermath*

This uneasy but relatively stable stalemate came to a sudden and dramatic end in the spring of 1655. What had happened? In the absence of large-scale persecution, the Waldensian community thrived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Faced with overpopulation,

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<sup>189</sup> ‘Qui, il 5 giugno 1561 Filippo di Savoia Racconigi a nome del duca di Savoia e I rappresentanti delle chiese valdesi stilarono l’accordo detto “di Cavour”, primo esempio di libertà religiosa nell’Europa moderna’.

<sup>190</sup> W. te Brake, *Religious war and religious peace in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 44–64.

<sup>191</sup> Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, pp. 268–271.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

communities had begun to settle beyond the localities assigned to them through different ducal concessions.<sup>193</sup> Although in doing so they arguably broke the law, the expansion was not met with repercussions from the Savoyard court. This must have given the Reformed the idea that the duke tolerated it. This impression was strengthened by the fact that on 19 May 1654 Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy had again reconfirmed earlier concessions, without mentioning the recent transgressions into forbidden territory.<sup>194</sup>

This presumed toleration was suddenly exposed as false on 25 January 1655, when a judge named Andrea Gastaldo ordered the Waldensians to convert to Catholicism or recede to the localities first yielded to them in the Treaty of Cavour within three days, on penalty of death.<sup>195</sup> Despite pleas that retreating into the mountains in the midst of winter was too dangerous, the Waldensians were forced to leave their homes and goods behind.<sup>196</sup> But upon noticing that their abandoned homes were being plundered, they returned to protect them and stayed to work the land. This understandable yet bold return would prove fatal. On 17 April the Marquis of Pianezza, the Savoyard army's commander and a zealously anti-Waldensian Catholic,<sup>197</sup> led 700 soldiers—strengthened by Irish mercenaries and armed peasants who were recruited with the promise of loot—to the Pellice Valley to punish those who had stayed.<sup>198</sup> Waldensian apologists would later claim that the attack had come as a surprise. They argued that the duke had requested them to accommodate an army that was crossing the Alps on its way to Milan to prove their loyalty.

This was not, however, what had actually happened. Warned by Swiss brethren in the faith about the approaching army, the Waldensians had vacated their villages and had entrenched themselves in Torre Pellice, something which the Waldensian envoys in Turin

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<sup>193</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>194</sup> A. Muston, *The Israel of the Alps. A complete history of the Vaudois of Piedmont*, vol. 1 (Glasgow, 1857), p. 335.

<sup>195</sup> For a full translation of Gastaldo's ordinance into English see J. Stoppa, *A collection, or narative, sent to His Highness, the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, &c concerning the bloody and barbarous massacres, murthers, and other cruelties, committed on many thousands of Reformed, or Protestants dwelling in the vallies of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's forces, joynd therein with the French Army, and severall Irish regiments* (London, 1655), pp. 7–8.

<sup>196</sup> The following summary of events is largely based on Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, pp. 15–35.

<sup>197</sup> Laurenti, *Confini della comunità*, p. 180.

<sup>198</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, pp. 32–33.

admitted in the course of the ensuing peace negotiations.<sup>199</sup> A battle ensued, which was won by the Savoyard army, but because they were limited in numbers the following days remained rather quiet. About a week later, however, a French army was passing by, which joined the troops under Pianezza's command in the hope of taking a share in the spoils. A massacre ensued. The broken survivors either converted to Catholicism or fled into the mountains. The valleys were left looted, burned, and depopulated, and on 6 May Pianezza wrote to the regent that he had been victorious:

The signs of victory have already been planted within the confines of these Alpine mountains [...] No longer do we feel rebel weapons, everything is deserted, the felony has been suppressed completely, the perversity is extinct.<sup>200</sup>

On 28 May Gastaldo published another edict forcing all Waldensians to remove themselves from the archduke's lands in an effort to finally extinguish all heresy from Savoy.<sup>201</sup> It was around this time that rumors of a massacre in the valleys of Piedmont started reaching the United Provinces, with the event mentioned for the first time in the States General on 19 May.<sup>202</sup> Reorganized in the Dauphiné in France, where they were guaranteed Louis XIV's protection, the Waldensian refugees retaliated. Aided by local Huguenots, they managed to win several victories over the Savoyards.<sup>203</sup> Yet despite international support, their situation remained dire and in the course of the summer several military expeditions ended in defeat. From the beginning of August, French ambassador Abel Servien mediated peace negotiations in Pinerolo between a Savoyard, Waldensian, and a Reformed Swiss delegation. Two weeks later, on 18 August 1655, the Waldensians' religious and military leaders signed the 'Patent of grace and pardon'.<sup>204</sup> The treaty ended the hostilities and restored the Waldensians' right to free worship in the three valleys. England and the Dutch Republic were wary of the patent,

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<sup>199</sup> B. Peyrot, 'Giosué Giavenello, ovvero il Leone di Rorà', in C. Mornese and G. Buratti (eds.), *Banditi e ribelli dimenticati. Storie di irriducibili al future che viene* (Milan, 2006), p. 209.

<sup>200</sup> 'Già si sono piantate le insegne vittoriose in tutto il recinto di questi alpestri monti [...] Non si sentono più armi ribelli, ogni cosa è deserta, oppressa affatto la fellonia, estinta la perversità'; quotation taken from Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>202</sup> Rogge, 'Waldenzen—moord van 1655', p. 307.

<sup>203</sup> Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, vol. 1, p. 356.

<sup>204</sup> For a transcription of the Italian original and an English translation see Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, pp. 652–663.

however, as it had been signed so hurriedly. Special envoys from the two republics had been on their way to Turin to take part in the negotiations on behalf of the persecuted and the terms of the peace were detrimental to the Waldensians.<sup>205</sup> Although the duke had pardoned the insurgents and reconfirmed their liberties, the treaty stated that the Waldensians had indeed taken up arms against their rightful sovereign and were thus guilty of rebellion.<sup>206</sup>

The Waldensian delegation sent letters of gratitude to the powers from whom they had received aid, confirming that they were again living under the archduke's protection and were no longer in need of support. Morland, the English ambassador who had failed to reach the Alps in time, would write three years later that these letters had been dictated by Servien; he had forced the Waldensian delegation to sign them. In doing so, to Morland's dismay, the French ambassador prevented further foreign intercessions and made it impossible for the Waldensians to recant.<sup>207</sup> The relationship between the duke and his subjects was once again reduced from a European scandal to a local affair, albeit stamped with the signatures of French and Swiss officials.

### *Appealing to Foreign Courts*

What do you do when you have fallen from your sovereign's favor? Since the right of resistance was among the trickiest questions occupying political theorists in the early modern period, the Waldensians could rely on a rich tradition in answering this question. Spurred by persecution and war, Reformed thinkers had developed an impressive number of resistance theories. These included theological arguments, aimed against rulers who disobeyed the laws of God, and more secular approaches, directed against tyrants who oppressed all their people.<sup>208</sup> Recent history provided the Waldensians with ample examples of how such theories had been put into practice. The Dutch had built a republic upon the precepts of resistance

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<sup>205</sup> For a description of the Dutch envoy's mission to Switzerland and Savoy see Rogge, 'De Waldenzenmoord van 1655'. The single monograph dedicated entirely to Morland focuses mainly on his scientific career. H. Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland. Diplomat and inventor, 1625–1695* (Cambridge, 1970).

<sup>206</sup> For a copy of the Patent see Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, pp. 652–662.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 667.

<sup>208</sup> R. Kingdon, 'Calvinism and resistance theory, 1550–1580', in J. Burns and M. Goldie (eds.), *The Cambridge history of political thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 193–118.

theory—a state that had at last become universally recognized in 1648—and the Huguenots had successfully fought for extensive rights as a religious minority in France. More recently, Calvinist Parliamentarians—themselves inspired by the Dutch Revolt—had ended the English Civil War by executing King Charles I.<sup>209</sup>

In the seventeenth century political theorists increasingly came to reflect on Europe's era of revolt and confessional warfare as proof that the rights of subjects to resist their rulers should be drastically limited, but few went as far as to deny them fully. Three decades before the Piedmont Easter, Hugo Grotius had argued in his influential *On the law of war and peace* (*De iure belli ac pacis*) that natural law allowed subjects to wage war against their ruler in cases of extreme and imminent danger.<sup>210</sup> Yet he strongly preferred that in such cases foreign sovereigns intervene militarily on behalf of the subjects in question, an idea the Dutch jurist had borrowed from Jean Bodin—and which would later be adopted by John Locke.<sup>211</sup> Grotius, in fact, believed that rulers had a duty to intervene,—especially if the foreign subjects in question were persecuted for their religion—having an obligation to care not only for their own subjects, but for humanity as a whole.<sup>212</sup> In other words, political thinkers generally regarded the compromising of external sovereignty as less problematic than the fracturing of domestic sovereignty.

As is so often the case, the facts on the ground quickly blurred the apparent clarity and consistency of political theory. It was not easy to translate pervasive political norms of resistance and intervention into practice. As mentioned, the Waldensian refugees reorganized in the Dauphiné—where they were granted protection by Louis XIV—and took up arms. Yet they refrained from publishing a manifesto justifying their resistance. Nor did they initially sent

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<sup>209</sup> H. Dunthorne, 'Resisting monarchy. The Netherlands as Britain's school of revolution', in R. Oresko, G.C. Gibbs, and H.M. Scott (eds.), *Royal and republican sovereignty in early modern Europe. Essays in memory of Ragnbild Hatton* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 125–148.

<sup>210</sup> D. Baumgold, 'Pacifying politics. Resistance, violence, and accountability in seventeenth-century contract theory', *Political Theory* 21–1 (1993), p. 10; M. Barducci, *Hugo Grotius and the century of revolution, 1613–1718. Transnational reception in English political thought* (Oxford, 2017); three years before the Waldensian massacre, Thomas Hobbes suggested something similar. See P.J. Steinberger, 'Hobbesian resistance', *American Journal of Political Science* 46–4 (2002), pp. 856–865; S. Sreedhar, *Hobbes on resistance. Defying the leviathan* (Cambridge, 2010).

<sup>211</sup> P. Piirimäe, 'The Westphalian myth and the idea of external sovereignty', in H. Kalmo and Q. Skinner (eds.), *Sovereignty in fragments. The past, present and future of a contested concept* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 68–70.

<sup>212</sup> R. Vincent, 'Grotius, human rights, and intervention', in H. Bull, B. Kingsbury, and A. Roberts (eds.), *Hugo Grotius and international relations* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 246–247.

out requests for aid to foreign governments. Instead, they sent several messages to Savoyard officials pleading for the hostilities to cease.<sup>213</sup> The reason for this indecision was that the Waldensians were stuck in what I will call a paradox of intervention. Since foreign intervention was preferable to domestic revolt, it made sense for subjects to stress that they were passive victims. Such passivity not only implied that they were defenseless in a military sense, but also that they had not taken the diplomatic initiative. During the course of the seventeenth century, non-state actors began to lose formal access to Europe's increasingly differentiated spaces of diplomatic communication.<sup>214</sup> If the subjects of a state sought the help of any foreign power they *ipso facto* subverted their ruler's authority.

The Waldensians had already broken this taboo by seeking foreign aid before the massacre had taken place. Upon hearing the news of Gastaldo's order from January—to convert or return to the assigned valleys—the Swiss Evangelical cantons had jointly written a letter to the Duke of Savoy, requesting him 'to look upon his pitifully afflicted subjects with an eye of commiseration', allow them freedom of conscience, and let them live within their old habitations.<sup>215</sup> The duke replied that 'the boldness that [the Waldensians] take to make their addresses to forraign states' only made matters worse.<sup>216</sup> He admonished the Evangelical cantons to mind their own business and reminded them of the 1653 Swiss peasant revolt:<sup>217</sup>

And as in the last revolt of your own subjects, the horror that we had of their rebellious attempt, moved us not to afford them any help or favour, either directly or indirectly; so likewise We hope, that your prudence will move you to testifie the same affection and deportment towards us, in abstaining from giving any foundation or appearance of reason, to uphold their vain and insolent temerity.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 49; one of these pleas has been translated in Stoppa, *A collection, or narative*, p. 38.

<sup>214</sup> M. Anderson, *The rise of modern diplomacy, 1450–1919* (London and New York, 1993), p. 42.

<sup>215</sup> '[...] de regarder vos dits sujets si pitoyablement affligés, d'un oeil de commiseration'; J. Léger, *Histoire générale des églises evangeliques des vallées de Piemont, ou Vaudoises*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1669), p. 203.

<sup>216</sup> Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, p. 542; translation by Morland. Léger has copied the first part of this letter in French in his *Histoire générale*. Because Morland has included the entire letter, I quote from his *History of the Evangelical churches*.

<sup>217</sup> See A. Holenstein, 'Der Bauernkrieg von 1653. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen einer gescheiterten Revolution', *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 66 (2004), pp. 1–6.

<sup>218</sup> Translation by Morland; Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, p. 542.

Some weeks after the massacre a similar letter was sent to the cantons after a Waldensian minister had been caught in the Susa Valley during his return from a mission to Lausanne. Doctor Querino, as the man was called, had carried various *mémoires*, drafts for treatises against the court.<sup>219</sup> In a magnanimous gesture Susa's governor set the minister free. The documents he had carried were sent back to Bern with an accompanying letter exposing the hope that the authorities had not been involved in anything that could endanger the harmony that existed between allied states.<sup>220</sup> The fact that writing to foreign governments with pleas for help was understood as a form of *lèse-majesté* helps explain why the Waldensians long refrained from doing so. In one of their first pamphlets, the *Relation veritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions et massacres faits cette année, aux Eglises Reformées de Piemont* (True account of what has happened during the persecution and massacres this year of the Reformed of Piedmont)—which will be investigated in further detail below—they actually used this as proof of their unconditional loyalty to the Duke of Savoy:

They have accused the said Reformed Churches of having sought the protection of foreign princes or states, but they are no less wrong than in the preceding impositions: Because it is true, as the said princes and states are willing to testify, that they have never received a letter or even the smallest note from these churches. If they [the foreign princes and states] have written letters in their [the Waldensians] favor to His Most Serene Highness, then this has only sprung forth from their holy zeal and ardent charity.<sup>221</sup>

In May—the month in which the Waldensians began their military offensive against the duke—they reiterated this argument of obedience in the *Relation dernière authentique & tresveritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions et massacres* (Latest authentic and very true report of what has happened

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<sup>219</sup> [Dottore Querino] munito di varie memorie e progetti di trattato pregiudizievole al servizio del duca, e con mandato di fomentare, il più che possibile, la guerra dei valdesi'; G. Claretta, *Storia del regno e dei tempi di Carlo Emanuele II, duca di Savoia*, vol. 1 (Genoa, 1877), p. 138.

<sup>220</sup> 'Il governo sperava che l'autorità loro non avesse avuto mano in un fatto, il quale avrebbe potuto avventurare la buona armonia che deve esservi fra stati alleati'; *ibid*, p. 138.

<sup>221</sup> '[...] on a imputé ausdites Eglises Reformées qu'elles aboyent recherché la protection des princes ou estats estrangiers, mais on ne leur fait pas moins de tort que dans les precedentes impositions : Car il est veritable, comme lesdits princes & estats sont prests à le declarer, qu'ils n'eurent jamais ni lettres ni mesmes le moindre billet de ces eglises. Que s'ils ont escrit quelques lettres en leur faveur à S.A.R. elles sont procedées purement de leur saint zele & charité ardente'; Anonymous, *Relation veritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions et massacres faits cette année, aux Eglises Reformées de Piemont* (s.l. 1655), pp. 45–46.

during the persecutions and massacres) [Fig. 2]. This pamphlet stated that foreign princes and states had interceded on their own initiative ‘out of pity with their poor brothers’.<sup>222</sup>

Finding themselves in a dire military situation, the Waldensian committee finally sent a letter to the States General on 27 July 1655. In it, they apologetically explained once again why they had not sought the Dutch Republic’s help before:

This has not happened because shortly after the start of our miseries, the enemies of the true religion have accused us of having sought help from foreign powers, in order to better charge us as malefactors against the state. Because we were staggered by this we have resolved to suffer their raging raid (to give less place to this calumny) than to give them the advantage to make us look bad and to brand us with a crime of which we are completely innocent.<sup>223</sup>

Ironically, despite the letter’s explicit warning of the dangers pleas for help might entail, the States General decided to publish the letter both in the French original and in Dutch, to stir people for the upcoming prayer days and collections.<sup>224</sup> The Waldensians’ decision to directly address the States General, despite this potentially serving as evidence of subversion, gives us a sense of the value that they put on receiving support from as many powers as possible. With the publishing of the letter, the names of the leaders of the Waldensian resistance were now for the first time publicly circulating throughout Europe—albeit without evidence that they actually fought in the mountains. The States General must have believed that publicity outweighed the dangers of evidence of lèse-majesté.

This does not mean that the Dutch Republic had been idle before. The States General had already sent a letter to Charles Emmanuel II via Willem Boreel, the Dutch ambassador to

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<sup>222</sup> ‘[...] par commiseration de leurs povres freres’; Anonymous, *Relation dernier authentique & tresveritable de ce qui s’est passe dans les persecutions et massacres, faits ceste année, es Eglises Reformées du Piedmont, avec refutation des calomnies* (s.l., 1655), pfl 7633.

<sup>223</sup> ‘T is dan nae gebleven / om dat korts near het begin van onse ellenden / de Vyanden vande ware Religie ons te laste leyden / dat wy hulpe by vreemde ende Uytheemsche Machten hadden gesocht / om ons des te beter uyt te kwijten voor Misdadigers jegens den Staet / ende dat wy hier over gantsch ver stelt zijnde (om te minder plaets te geven aen die lasteringh) resolveerden liever haren rasenden overval te dulden / dan haer dat voordeel te laten / van ons te konnen swart maecken en beswaren met een misdaet daer van wy gantsch onschuldich waren’; Anonymous, *Translaet uyt den Françoische, vande missive, geschreven aen de Hooge en Mogende Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden. By de predikanten, ouderlingen, ende andere getrouwe ledematen der verwoeste kercken in Piemont* (The Hague, 1655), pfl 7626.

<sup>224</sup> Rogge, ‘Waldenzen—moord van 1655’, p. 315.

RELATION  
Derniere  
AUTHENTIQUE  
&  
TRESVERITABLE.

De ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions  
& massacres, faits ceste année, es Eglises Re-  
formées du PIEDMONT, avec refutation  
des calomnies, dont les adversaires de la verité,  
taschent de les norcir.



l'An M. DC. Lv.

2. *Relation derniere authentique & tresveritable, de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions & massacres, faits ceste année* (s.l. 1655). Resource: Dutch Pamphlets Online.

Paris, on 27 May, nine days after they had first discussed the rumors of the massacre in Piedmont.<sup>225</sup> They requested an immediate cessation of the violence committed against the Waldensians and the restitution of their goods and territories.<sup>226</sup> However, the letter had been judged inadmissible by the Savoyard court, because it had made the insulting mistake of not addressing the duke as King of Cyprus, a title he claimed.<sup>227</sup> On 13 July the States General had also decided to send a special envoy, Rudolf van Ommeren, to Turin, to advocate the

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 307–308; for a transcription of this letter see Léger, *Histoire générale*, vol. 2, p. 231.

<sup>226</sup> Rogge, 'Waldenzen—moord van 1655', p. 308.

<sup>227</sup> Claretta, *Storia del regno*, vol. 1, p. 140.

Waldensian cause and provide the States General with reliable information from a court in which they had no resident ambassador.<sup>228</sup>

Despite all the diplomatic and financial support Dutch regents gave, they were not insensitive to the possibility that they might be supporting a revolt. This became painfully pressing when news of the ‘Patent of grace and pardon’ reached the Republic. We have seen how the document, signed by all parties, officially stated that the Waldensians had indeed rebelled. The *vroedschap* (city council) of Amsterdam thereupon initially decided to freeze the money raised for charity, to make sure that they were not supporting rebels.<sup>229</sup> Early modern observers had become aware of the disruptive potential of religious intolerance, but they were equally wary of the specter of revolt that had recently haunted France, England, and Naples.<sup>230</sup>

On 15 October, Willem Boreel, the Dutch ambassador at the court of Paris, forwarded a letter written by Waldensian representatives to the States General. Boreel included a personal note in which he stressed that the document had been handed to him ‘under the particular recommendation that both the letter and the sender [...] will be kept strictly secret, because—[as] your High Mightinesses will sufficiently notice from the content—[it] would suffice to bring the poor people to utter ruin and misery’.<sup>231</sup> The letter was another request for help and argued that the peace treaty had been signed under severe pressure. Clearly hoping to still receive the raised money, the Waldensians implored the States General ‘not to diminish their compassion shown to [them]’.<sup>232</sup> This time, as requested, the States General refrained from

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<sup>228</sup> Individual provinces’ squabbles over finances and the death of Van Ommeren’s father delayed the envoy’s departure until 21 August; Rogge, ‘Waldenzen–moord van 1655’, pp. 313–314.

<sup>229</sup> Resoluties met munimenten of bijlagen, 1 and 4 oktober 1655, Archief van de vroedschap 5025, inv. nr. 21, Stadsarchief Amsterdam; the *vroedschap* ultimately followed the States of Holland, who decided that the money would be sent to Piedmont; I thank Erica Boersma for providing me with this source.

<sup>230</sup> For other examples and contemporary perceptions of the so-called General Crisis of the seventeenth century see G. Parker, ‘Crisis and catastrophe. The global crisis of the seventeenth century reconsidered’, *American Historical Review* 113–4 (2008), pp. 1055, 1060–1064.

<sup>231</sup> The letter, including Boreel’s introductory note, is published in Rogge, ‘Waldenzen–moord van 1655’, p. 341; ‘Dese ingesloten brief [...] is mij behandicht door publique handt en onder sonderlinge recommendatie, dat soowel de Brief als d’afschriften [...] ten ernstichsten secreet mogen werden gehouden, want haer Ho. Mo. uit den inhoudt genouchsaem sullen gelieven te bemercken, dat soodanigen secreet teenemael noodich sij, ten waere de arme luyden souden werden geprostitueert tot uiterste ruïne ende miserien’.

<sup>232</sup> Rogge, ‘Waldenzen–moord van 1655’, pp. 342–343.

publication. Finally, in early 1656, almost a year after the massacre, the Waldensians received their money, which was transferred via the consistory of Geneva.<sup>233</sup>

### *Public Diplomacy*

Clearly, keeping up the appearance of passive obedience while at the same time asking foreign governments for aid was a tricky thing to do, especially if the governments in question rashly published your pleas. There were no laws in early modern Europe, however, that forbade subjects communicating with foreigners per se. On the contrary, Francisco de Vitoria and Hugo Grotius had both argued that humans had a natural right to communication beyond the polity in which they lived.<sup>234</sup> To a considerable extent, every state's economic well-being depended on the freedom of communicating with people across political borders. This meant that then, as today, there was always a grey area between 'innocent' cross-border communication—which might advertently or inadvertently draw the attention of another country's government—and illegal pleas for foreign intervention. Resistance theorists generally did not really touch upon the lawfulness of international communication. Grotius stressed that states did not have to wait for requests for help to intervene against tyranny.<sup>235</sup> But what was perhaps the more interesting question, whether subjects were allowed to ask for foreign help—the very bridge between resistance and intervention theory—he left untouched.

Resistance theory focused on the clash of arms. How a foreign power was to know about the misbehavior of a ruler toward his subjects in the first place remained undiscussed. Grotius did argue that in times of civil war, when a people's loyalties are equally divided, both sides had a 'right of legation', the right to send and receive envoys.<sup>236</sup> Yet the Waldensians were but a small minority within Savoy and would always remain far from abjuring their sovereign.

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<sup>233</sup> H. Rogge, 'Vervolging der Waldenzen in 1655 en 1656', *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 2 (1903), pp. 152–155.

<sup>234</sup> A. Pagden, 'Human rights, natural rights, and Europe's imperial legacy', *Political Theory* 31–2 (2003), pp. 184–188.

<sup>235</sup> P. Piirimäe, 'Just war in theory and practice. The legitimation of Swedish intervention in the Thirty Years War', *The Historical Journal* 45–3 (2002), pp. 515–516.

<sup>236</sup> T. Hampton, *Fictions of embassy. Literature and diplomacy in early modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2009), p. 121.

In Roman law, violating the honor or rule of one's sovereign through libel was an act of *lèse-majesté*.<sup>237</sup> However, the pamphlets which the Waldensians disseminated internationally were published anonymously and included no explicit indications of authorship. They were not manifestos—an example of which we will see in Chapter 5—that claimed to speak with the official voice of the Waldensians' leadership. Moreover, they were published far away in cities like Amsterdam, which enhanced, in the words of Barbara Tralster, the dispersal of authorship.<sup>238</sup> It would thus be easy to deny that the Waldensians engaged in *lèse-majesté* through libel.

This helps us to understand why writing to foreign governments with pleas of innocence—to some extent a contradiction in terms—and requests for aid had not been the Waldensian leaders' main strategy for drawing attention to their predicament. Instead, they had, first and foremost, focused on making their cause publicly known. As we have seen above, these Waldensian pamphlets implicitly acknowledged that sending requests to foreign governments constituted *lèse-majesté*. The dissemination of print media, by contrast, was not considered an act of rebellion. After the massacre, prominent minister Jean Léger—who had managed to flee with his wife and eleven children to the French Val Chisone—brought together the surviving religious and secular Waldensian leaders in an assembly and convinced them to gather eyewitness accounts and make their stories public.

Having studied in Geneva, Léger was probably a well-connected man. Moreover, his uncle, Antoine Léger, had served as chaplain to Cornelis Haga, Dutch ambassador to Istanbul, for eight years.<sup>239</sup> These family credentials must have helped Léger to get appointed to travel north and advocate the Waldensian cause across Europe. Interestingly, the assembly provided the minister with a letter of credence, an object of accreditation which ambassadors carried with them as a sign that they represented their sovereign.<sup>240</sup> This indicates that Léger's mission

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<sup>237</sup> K. Härter, 'Political crime in early modern Europe. Assassination, legal responses, and popular print media', *European Journal of Criminology* 11–2 (2014), p. 149.

<sup>238</sup> M. North, 'Anonymity in early modern manuscript culture. Finding a purposeful convention in a ubiquitous condition', in J. Starnier and B. Tralster (eds.), *Anonymity in early modern England. What's in a name?* (Abingdon, 2011), pp. 25–28.

<sup>239</sup> L. De Michelis, 'Léger, Jean', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64 (2005).

<sup>240</sup> Léger, *Histoire générale*, vol. 2, p. 365; for some information on early modern letters of credence, which as objects of diplomatic practice desperately require more historical investigation, see W.J. Roosen, *The age of Louis XIV. The rise of modern diplomacy* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 100–101.

was indeed regarded as a form of diplomacy, despite the risks it entailed of him being judged a rebel; to refer to Grotius' *De jure belli ac pacis* once more, only sovereign actors were entitled to dispatch ambassadors, as this proved their supreme power.<sup>241</sup>

In his book on the persecutions, the *Histoire générale des églises evangeliques des vallées de Piemont*, published in Leiden in 1669 by the Huguenot refugee Jean Baptiste le Carpentier, Léger recounts his wanderings to disseminate the story of the massacre across Europe.<sup>242</sup> Initially, he hoped to have the manuscript published in Geneva, but the canton's authorities forbade it.<sup>243</sup> Probably they did not want to worsen the political situation in the Swiss Confederation, where religious tension was mounting between the Protestant and Catholic cantons—who, in fact, suspected each other of fomenting the crisis in Piedmont.<sup>244</sup> Léger therefore set course to Paris, where he met with the Dutch ambassador Willem Boreel. The latter advised the pastor to abbreviate his account of the persecutions, probably to make it a more inviting read as a pamphlet. With Boreel's help, the manuscript was translated into several languages and sent to publishers across Europe's main Protestant states.<sup>245</sup> The relationship between Léger and Boreel is a striking example of the indirect and, above all, unofficial relations non-state political actors such as the Waldensians had with other states. They were both ambassadors—although the latter was, of course, not universally recognized as such. But the Dutch diplomat seems to have helped the minister on his own account. He undoubtedly had the welfare of the United Provinces in the back of his mind, but he did not, in this case, act directly on the States General's behalf. Accordingly, Boreel does not mention his dealings with Léger in his correspondence with De Witt.

Léger's first account, the *Recit véritable de ce qui est arrive depuis peu aux vallées de Piémont* (*True story of what has recently happened in the valleys of Piedmont*), was first published anonymously at an unknown location.<sup>246</sup> It was translated into Dutch in The Hague as *Waerachtich verhael van*

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<sup>241</sup> B. Stollberg-Rillinger, 'State and political history in a culturalist perspective', in A. Flüchter and S. Richters (eds.), *Structures on the move. Technologies of governance in transcultural encounter* (New York, 2012), p. 52.

<sup>242</sup> Léger's work shares many similarities with Morland's account. See D. Tron, 'Jean Léger e la storiografia valdese del Seicento', *Bolletino della Società di studi valdesi* 172 (1993), pp. 82–90.

<sup>243</sup> Léger, *Histoire générale*, vol 2., pp. 365–366.

<sup>244</sup> This tension would ultimately result in the First Villmergen War (1656). See W. Oechsl, *History of Switzerland 1499–1914* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 216–221.

<sup>245</sup> Léger, *Histoire générale*, vol 2., pp. 365–367.

<sup>246</sup> Anonymous, *Recit véritable de ce qui est arrive depuis peu aux vallées de Piémont* (s.l. 1655); Balmas and Zardini Lana have identified five different editions of the French edition of the *Recit véritable*; Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera*

't gene eenigen tijdt herwaerts inde valeyen van Piemont is voor-ghevallen.<sup>247</sup> The *Recit veritable* was soon followed by the aforementioned *Relation véritable*, a similar but more extensive narration of the events, which was translated into Dutch as *Waerachtich verhael van 't gene gepasseert is in de vervolgingen ende moorderyen, aen de gereformeerde kercken in Piemont*.<sup>248</sup> Together, the *Recit* and the *Relation* provided the basic narrative of the persecution, which subsequent pamphlets drew from.<sup>249</sup>

The arguments raised in these two pamphlets will be extensively discussed in Chapter 2. For now, it is important to remember that the Waldensian leadership had made explicit in their letter to the States General in late July, that they had chosen a policy of defending their innocence and passive obedience. Accordingly, the two pamphlets make no mention of a (military) leadership, resistance, or skirmishes. As such, the rhetoric of these works starkly differs from manifestos, through the publication of which non-state actors clearly postulated themselves as political actors.<sup>250</sup> In fact, although Léger is in all likelihood the author of the *Recit veritable* and the *Relation véritable*, he does not portray himself as one of the Waldensian victims. Instead, he emphasizes that he recounts what he has heard about the massacre ‘from those who experienced this disastrous desolation’.<sup>251</sup> The works do make a direct appeal to their readership, albeit of a rather innocent sort; they ask all believers to support the victims through prayer and charity. They are, however, not presented mainly as pleas, but as truthful

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*relazione*, pp. 435–437; Enea Balmas and Grazia Zardini Lana argue that the document is not from the hands of Léger, because he does not state that he is the author in his history. They also claim that Léger arrived in Paris too late to have written this work. However, I argue that the omission of his name likely springs from a genre-typical convention. Moreover, Léger does argue that the dissemination of his work was all the more necessary because the massacre had already been discussed in a manner unfavorable for the Waldensians in the *Gazette de France* on 8 May 1655. Corresponding with this concern, the *Recit veritable* alludes to the *Gazette*. In this light, I believe it is likely that Léger is indeed the author of the work; Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, pp. 95–96.

<sup>247</sup> Anonymous, *Waerachtich verhael van 't gene eenigen tijdt herwaerts inde Valeyen van Piemont is voor-ghevallen* (The Hague 1655), pfl. 7631.

<sup>248</sup> Anonymous, *Waerachtich verhael van 't gene gepasseert is in de vervolgingen ende noorderyen, aen de gereformeerde kercken inde valeyen van Piemont dit iaer 1655 geschiet* (The Hague 1655), pfl. 7630.

<sup>249</sup> See, for instance, Anonymous, *Rechte beschryvingh van de wreede vervolgingh en schrickelijke moordt, aende Vaudoisen in Piedmont geaen in 't jaer 1655* (Amsterdam, 1655).

<sup>250</sup> A. Tischer, *Offizielle Kriegsbegründungen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Herrscherkommunikation in Europa zwischen Souveränität und korporativem Selbstverständnis*, *Herrschaft und Systemen in der Frühen Neuzeit* 12 (Berlin, 2012), pp. 25–26.

<sup>251</sup> ‘[...] de ceux qui se sont rencontrés dans cette funeste desolation’; Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, p. 1.

accounts of what had happened in Piedmont. Coupling this too closely to requests for political aid and intervention would only harm the image of passive obedience.

This did not, of course, mean that the duke could only stand by as this narrative gathered pace, although, initially, this was more or less what he did. One government-ordained pamphlet, *La conversione di quaranta heretici*, had been published in Turin in May, around the same time as the publication of the *Recit veritable* and the *Relation veritable*, but the work dealt exclusively with the glorious conversion to Catholicism of forty captured Waldensians [Fig. 3]. It gives a lengthy description of how these converts-to-be were paraded through the streets of Turin, past the city's main churches, cheered by trumpets and thousands of people lining the sides of the physical path to their conversion.<sup>252</sup> In other words, the pamphlet firmly framed events within the normative principle of religion. Where these recent converts had come from and how they had ended up in a Turin prison in the first place remained undiscussed. The fact that Pianezza presided over the celebration was the only implicit reminder that this was, in fact, the epilogue to a military campaign.<sup>253</sup>

As the pamphlets telling of a massacre started spreading throughout Europe, however, the court's silence over what had happened in the valleys became increasingly difficult to sustain. Observing the rising tensions, Savoy representatives at Louis XIV's court tried to convince the duke that further silence could prove dangerous. The clergyman Albert Bailly, a confidant of Christine Marie of Savoy, the duke's influential mother, wrote that one

cannot believe the malice of the rebels of the Lucerne valley and they have sent relations of the executions done by [the duchess's] troops [...] and they present them as so horrible, one has never seen an emotion quite like that false pity excited in the minds of the Huguenots.<sup>254</sup>

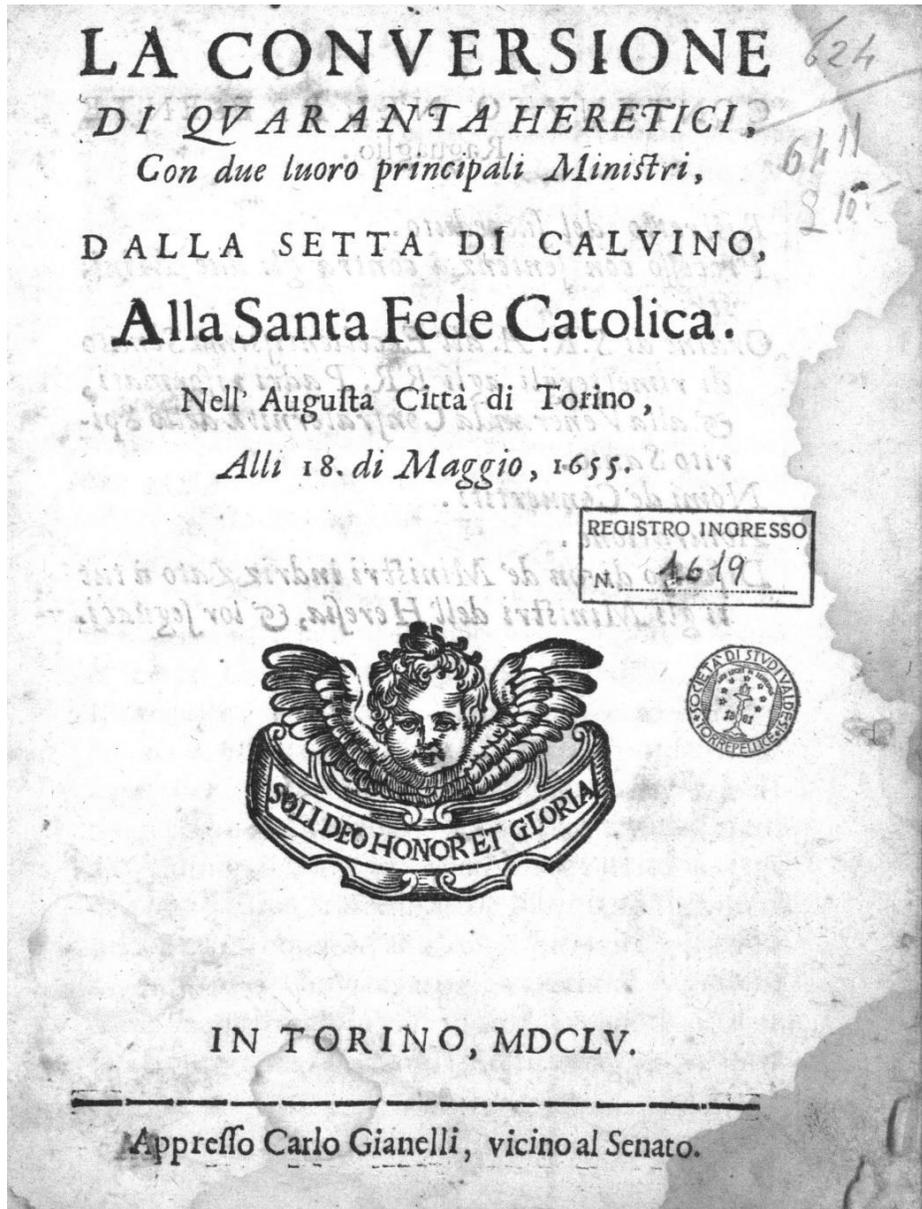
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<sup>252</sup> Anonymous, *La conversione di quaranta heretici, con le due luoro principali ministry, dalla seta di Calvino, alla Santa Fede Catolica, alla 18 di Maggio 1655* (Turin, 1655).

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> '[...] ne saurait croire la malice de vos rebelles de la vallée de Luserne et ont envoyè en Bèarne en Bretagne et à toutes leurs eglises prétendues de ce royaume les relations de l'exécution que vos troupes ont faire dans leurs pays, et ils la representent si horrible, qu'on n'a jamais vu d'emotion pareille à celle qu'une fausse pitié a excite dans les esprits des huguenots'; Claretta, *Storia del regno*, vol. 1, p. 137; Vallé de Luserne is the former name for the Val Pellice.

Bailly warned Turin that a Huguenot nobleman from Bretagne had told him that his people were waiting to ‘take up arms and organize themselves’.<sup>255</sup> He concluded with the claim made by the nuncio at Louis XIV’s court that ‘never had anything made such a noise throughout the



3. *La conversione di quaranta heretici con due luoro principali ministri, dalla setta di Calvino, alla santa fede catolica* (Turin 1655). Resource: Fondazione Centro Culturale Valdese, Torre Pellice.

<sup>255</sup> [...] et me dit que ceux de sa créance jettaient feu et flammes et n’attendaient sinon de se mettre sous les armes et de se ranger; *ibid.*

north like this'.<sup>256</sup> Savoy's ambassador in Paris, the Abbot of Agliè, began to exhort the court to engage in the public discussion on 18 June, after having come across a Dutch publication, the *Wreede vervolginge en schrickelijcke moordt aende Vaudoisen in Piedmont* (*Cruel persecution and terrible murder of the Waldensians in Piedmont*), about which he was severely worried.<sup>257</sup> The duke had probably initially refrained from issuing an apology, because he believed that sovereigns were not to be held publicly accountable for their policy. By responding to the accusation he lowered himself to the position of a discussant rather than standing above the popular slander in cheap print. Moreover, we must in keep in mind that for the duke there was little to be gained in making the story public. Publishing an account now merely served as a counterstrategy.

Persuaded by the foreign reports, however, the court decided to make an official public statement, aimed at an international public with translations into Latin and French.<sup>258</sup> The *Relatione de' successi seguiti nella Valle di Luserna* (*Account of what happened in the valley of Luzern*) was probably written by the Marquis of Pianezza himself and was published in mid-July.<sup>259</sup> It reiterated that after the Treaty of Gastaldo the Waldensians had written letters 'to some foreign states, desiring their counsel on what do to in this matter'.<sup>260</sup> According to the statement, they had written to the Reformed Church in Geneva, enclosing letters destined for the city's governors. The ministers advised the Waldensians to keep pleading with the duke and concluded that 'if after all, they could obtain nothing, they should nevertheless obey their sovereign'.<sup>261</sup> Moreover, they had refused to deliver the letters to the city's magistrates 'lest it should redound to their prejudice'.<sup>262</sup> All this, the pamphlet argues, bears witness to the fact that they were dealing with an act of rebellion, even in the eyes of Calvinists.<sup>263</sup> The apology also discredits the Waldensians' search for public attention:

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<sup>256</sup> '[...] et monsieur le none a dit à un de nos pères que jamais chose n'avait fait tant de bruit dans tout le Septentrion que celle ci'; *ibid.*

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.* p. 135; the *Wreede vervolginge* will be discussed at length in Chapter 2.

<sup>258</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 169; Claretta, *Storia del regno*, vol. 1, p. 135. For the Italian original as well as an English translation of this pamphlet see Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, pp. 385–403.

<sup>259</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 173.

<sup>260</sup> '[...] scrivero ad alcuni Stati stranieri, chiamando loro Consiglio di ciò, che dovessero fare in questo caso'; Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, p. 389.

<sup>261</sup> '[...] ma alla fine se non potevano ottenre cos'alcuna, ubbidissero al loro Sovrano'; *ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> '[...] per non mettergli in colpa'; *ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 389–390.

They now think to spread these strange reports, which they do not only to excite the compassion of the world toward them for their well-deserved chastisement, but also to give a sinister impression of those, who justly and moderately put them right.<sup>264</sup>

Three hundred copies of the pamphlet were made, which Savoy's ambassadors distributed among Europe's diplomatic network. Boreel was one of the first to receive a copy from Agliè. After reading the pamphlet, however, the Dutch ambassador maintained that the Waldensians had been innocent of rebellion and that their freedom of conscience had been violated. Moreover, he confronted the abbot by arguing that only those who fail to keep agreements use propaganda.<sup>265</sup> If he wanted to persuade, Boreel concluded, the abbot would need to back up his stories with documents and good testimonies.<sup>266</sup>

There is no evidence that the *Relatione de' successi* ever circulated in the United Provinces. The court of Turin had probably not taken the initiative to provide a Dutch translation. Perhaps they had hoped that the document would be picked up in Paris and spread northwards in the same manner as the pro-Waldensian pamphlets had. However, a few weeks after the publication of the *Relatione de' successi*, the United Provinces saw the publication of another pro-Savoyard pamphlet, the *Manifest of verhael van het bedrijf der Vaudoisen* (*Manifesto or story about the business of the Waldensians*). The *Manifest* stands out as the only known printed pro-Savoyard attack on the Waldensians that was not orchestrated by the court of Turin. It was published in August by an unidentified Catholic from Amsterdam with help from Bailly—who had provided him with sources—and was intended as a response to the *Wreede vervolginge*.<sup>267</sup> The *Manifest of verhael* had probably been devised for a Catholic public; the sneers made about the Reformed faith made it unlikely that it would convince a Reformed audience of the Savoyard case. The pamphlet consists of two translated letters and a general treatise on the events; the first letter is anonymous and was allegedly sent from Paris on 31 July 1655. The other claimed to have been written by Christine Marie of Savoy. Interestingly, the *Manifest of verhael* attacks

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<sup>264</sup> 'Pensino di disseminare quei strain racconti, che vanno facendo per eccitar, non solo comiseratione del loro tanto meritato castigo, ma sinistro concetto contro chi l'hà loro giustamente, e moderatamente stabilito'; *ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>265</sup> Claretta, *Storia del Regno*, vol. 3, p. 136.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> See P. Cifarelli, 'Bailly et les pâques piémontaises', in M. Costa (ed.), *Monseigneur Albert Bailly quatre siècles après sa naissance, 1605–2005. Actes du Colloque international d'Aoste (8 et 9 octobre 2005)* (Aosta, 2007), pp. 73–93.

the Waldensians' publicity campaign by pointing out what disruptive effect it had had in the Dutch Republic:

All these collected tidings have caused a great overflow of bile in the pious tempers of the simple-hearted, who otherwise live together in peace, love, and civic unity, no matter what religion they profess, [but] now treat each other with fiery words, picking up these paraded lies like mud from the gutters, throwing it in the faces of their fellow citizens, neighbors, friends, yes, relatives, even though they know so little about a duke of Savoy, of Waldensians, of a valley of Lucerna and so forth [as if] a common man is due to answer for the deeds of kings and princes in the lands where they rule.<sup>268</sup>

No matter what the truth of the matter may have been, so the argument goes, it was not something which common people living in foreign lands should form an opinion on the first place, especially when this opinion-making implied accusations toward a sovereign prince. According to the manifesto, the Waldensians had spread lies about being maltreated by the archduke in order 'to excite the tempers of foreign princes and countries in helping the Waldensians, while belittling his Royal Excellence [the Duke of Savoy] and slandering his procedures'.<sup>269</sup> It is worth noting that the *Manifest of verhael* does not present the Waldensian pamphlets as upsetting the relation between ruler and ruled, as the letters written to foreign governments were perceived to have done. Instead, they are presented as upsetting the civic harmony of the country in which they circulated. Despite the prevalence of print media in the Dutch Republic, the idea that pamphlets were potentially hazardous to society was widespread.<sup>270</sup> Pamphlets invited people to form an opinion on things they were not supposed to have an opinion about, making them potential sources of civic unrest. By their polemical nature, pamphlets were easily regarded as being filled with lies that upset the public order.

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<sup>268</sup> 'Alle die opgheraepte tijdingen hebben veroorsaect een grooten overloop van gal / inde vroomme gemoederen der eenvoudigen / de welke andersints te samen levende in vrede / liefde en burgerlijke eendracht / onaengesien wat religie zy belijden / bejegenen tegenwoordich malkanderen met woorden vol vier en vlam / en opnemende dese ghepronckte logens / als slijck uyt de goote / die werpen in't aensicht van hunne mede-burgers / Buren / vrienden / ja verwanten / schoon zy meerendeels soo weynich weten te spreekken van een Hartoch van Savoyen, van Vaudoisen van een Valleye van Lucerna &c. [...] of de ghemeene man schuldich was te verantwoorden wat Coningen en Princen bedrijven / inde landen daer zy ghebieden'; Anonymous, *Manifest, of verhael van het bedrijf der Vaudoisen, tegens syne conincklijke den bertoch van Saoye* (1655), pfl 7627.

<sup>269</sup> '[...] om de gemoederen van uytheemsche Princen en Landen te bewegen tot bystant der Vaudoisen / kleynachtige van sijn Con. Hoocheyt en lasteringe van sijne proceduren'; *ibid.*

<sup>270</sup> M. Meijer Drees, 'Pamfletten. een inleiding', in J. de Kruijf, M. Meijer Drees, and J. Salman (eds.), *Het lange leven van het pamflet* (Hilversum, 2006), p. 26.

There were laws, repeatedly issued by the Councils of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, that forbade the publication of ‘seditious and defamatory pamphlets’.<sup>271</sup>

Students of Dutch publicity have often pointed to the limited enforcement of such prohibitions.<sup>272</sup> Yet the fact that the *Manifest of verhael* refers to civic unrest to defame the Waldensian pamphlets suggests that these prohibitions reflected a norm. Virtually everyone agreed that a certain degree of censorship was necessary for the stability of society. In fact, Dutch pamphleteers often accused one another of having resorted to printed media, a low move to which the other side could only respond, albeit reluctantly, by providing their own public answer.<sup>273</sup> The danger of sedition was most often associated with pamphlets reflecting on domestic politics. As discussed, pamphlets on foreign issues could also face censorship.<sup>274</sup> Such prohibitions, however, were usually aimed at ensuring the United Provinces’ international relations remained stable—they were not concerned with domestic tranquility. The fact that the manifesto nevertheless points to domestic civic unrest to make a point about something that had happened about one thousand kilometers from Amsterdam gives us an indication of the intensity with which some must have reacted to the news, a topic which will be explored in further detail in Chapter 2.

### *Conclusion*

With the signing of the Westphalia treaties, Europe’s mid-seventeenth-century diplomatic landscape had not suddenly turned into a realm exclusively inhabited by sovereign states. The Waldensians’ pleas with foreign governments to further their cause show that non-state actors still found ways to engage in diplomacy. At the same time, we have seen that although the parameters of external sovereignty were contested, it was a norm taken very seriously by all sides in the conflict—persecuted, persecutor, and intercessor. Religious brotherhood was not enough to ensure Dutch political solidarity. The persecuted also had to convince the Dutch

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<sup>271</sup> ‘seditieuse en lasterlijke boeckjes’; cited from Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, p. 151.

<sup>272</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>273</sup> Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, pp. 51, 102.

<sup>274</sup> See Introduction.

authorities, who were willing to help persecuted Protestants but not rebels, that they respected the normative principle of sovereignty.

In order not to be accused of rebellion, the Waldensians thus had to, first, present themselves as passive victims rather than warriors and, second, raise attention for their cause without giving the impression that they were pleading with foreign governments for help. Disseminating public reports about one's fate to a general international audience, served as an effective way of circumventing this political problem. General communication with the world abroad was not in and of itself an act of subversion. Printed media were thus deployed to draw the attention of foreign powers while at the same time maintaining an image of remaining loyal to one's sovereign. Moreover, by turning to the printing presses the Waldensians created a space of international observance, indirectly compelling the Savoyard authorities to internationally account for their deeds. They may have been deprived of official legation, but by using the printing presses they nevertheless had a firm grip on Europe's diplomacy, ultimately receiving ambassadorial missions from three different states to act on their behalf.

We cannot know whether the Waldensians would have managed to gather the support of the States General without publicity. What has become clear, however, is that foreign interest groups managed to advocate their cause in the Dutch public sphere and through this, encouraged the authorities to act on their behalf, and not without success. In other words, the Dutch not only publicly discussed the fate of the persecuted abroad, the Republic's public sphere was actively influenced by them. The normative principles in reference to which they justified their cause in their pamphlets, and how Dutch pamphleteers reacted to those arguments, will be investigated in the next chapter.



## Chapter 2

### Mirrors of Past and Present: Framing a Massacre

If tragic matter is what poets seek,  
To adorn their pompous plays  
Let them go to Savoy's garden bleak,  
Where upon martyrs' blood they'll gaze.

- Joannes Six van Chandelier, 'Savooische tyrannye' (1655)<sup>275</sup>

In 1656, Haarlem painter and publisher Pieter Casteleyn (1618–76) published the sixth edition of his popular almanac *Hollandse Mercurius* (*Hollander Mercury*), providing a 150-page-long overview of what he considered to have been the most important news of 1655. As in all other editions, the frontispiece gives readers a glimpse of some of the most important events of the past year through a series of original prints, crafted by the author himself.<sup>276</sup> Below an image showing the coronation of Pope Alexander VII, two prints seem to depict the burning of Waldensian villages in the valleys of Piedmont. Casteleyn arouses his readers' curiosity without giving away too many details. In the first image's left corner, we see a lone man walking away from the flames. In the other one, nothing but the fire itself suggests some form of human presence.<sup>277</sup> Only the mountainous surroundings help to somewhat pinpoint the destruction on Europe's map. Other than that, the images are a blank slate, devoid of context. We see no human suffering, no political symbols to identify victim or perpetrator, and no signs of confessional animosity. One would almost think that the printmaker felt insecure about the

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<sup>275</sup> 'Soekt poësy nu treurens stof, om die hooghdraavende op te tooijen? Sy volge my naa 't bloedend hof, van martelaaren, in Savooijen', J. Six van Chandelier, 'Savooische tyrannye', (1655), in A.E. Jacobs (ed.), *J. Six van Chandelier. Gedichten* (Assen, 1991), pp. 712–716.

<sup>276</sup> G. Verhoeven and S. van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius. Een Haarlems jaarboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem, 2011), p. 39.

<sup>277</sup> P. Casteleyn, *Hollandse Mercurius, bebelzende 't geen aenmerckens waerdigh in Europa, en voornamelyck in 't stuck van Oorloch en Vrede 't gantze Jaer 1655 voorgefallen is* (Haarlem, 1656).

details of the Piedmont Easter and cautiously left out visualizations of information that he could not verify.

The abstracted visualization of the massacre and its aftermath contrasts sharply with the textual accounts provided by the author. In the fourteen pages devoted to events in Piedmont, Casteleyn connects an impressive number of official documents, public accounts, and works of diplomatic correspondence to sharp statements about the nature of the violence. At the very start of the account, the *Hollandse Mercurius* claims that the massacre had been orchestrated by the Jesuits.<sup>278</sup> Casteleyn provides a precise body count of 2278, found by a preacher who had returned from hiding in the mountains to bury the dead as ‘sad relics of Christian love to their fellows and a bad encouragement for Jews and heathens to become Roman Christians’.<sup>279</sup>

Discussing some of the reactions to the massacre throughout Europe, Casteleyn shows how it stirred up old confessional animosities. Quoting what is probably an excerpt from a newspaper from the Southern Netherlands he asserts that the Brabanters mocked the attempts of Protestants to help rebellious peasants and claimed that the Lord Protector strived to become the ‘universal chief of all sectarians and heretics throughout the different parts of Christendom’.<sup>280</sup> The almanac describes how in the small Catholic canton of Schwyz about forty Catholics, among whom were several noblemen, renounced their faith upon hearing about the cruelties in the valleys of Piedmont and converted to the Mennonite and Reformed religions.<sup>281</sup> Casteleyn observed that Switzerland quickly lapsed into confessional violence after the Reformed cantons began to intercede in Piedmont.<sup>282</sup> Indeed, the *Hollandse Mercurius* concluded that the Piedmont Easter was an ‘eternal stain for the Catholics of our century’.<sup>283</sup>

In short, the almanac provided an account of events in which Europe’s confessional divide took center stage—probably counting on little appreciation by Catholic readers. To some extent, such a confessional perception of the Piedmont Easter was inevitable. After all,

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>279</sup> ‘[...] jammerlijcke Reliquien van Christenen liefde aen hun even naesten / en slechte aenlockselen voor Joden en Heydenen om Rooms Christen te worden’; *ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

the violence was ordered by a Catholic prince, carried out by Catholic soldiers, and directed against a Reformed minority, who could have averted their fate by converting. Yet Casteleyn went further by universalizing the conflict with confessional truth claims. Through the lens of massacre, the author offered a perspective of Europe's social and political landscape along hostile confessional lines.

Casteleyn's perception of events contrasts sharply with the characterization of the international impact of the conflict in recent historiography, which has stressed a confessionally neutral perception of events. David Trim has suggested that the reaction of the Commonwealth of England to the Piedmont Easter was an early example of government policy that was legitimized with reference to humanitarian principles. According to Philippe Rosenberg, Protestant polemic began to shift in the second half of the seventeenth century 'from martyrology to humanitarianism'.<sup>284</sup> Although Cromwell effectively aided coreligionists, they argue, the language used to justify this was not religiously specific. The massacre was communicated as unjustifiable because it was inhumane.<sup>285</sup> In other words, Trim and Rosenberg suggest that the normative principle of humanity replaced the normative principle of religion. This raises the question as to how we should interpret Casteleyn's perception of events. Are we confronted here with two different discursive spheres—one Dutch, the other English—, the latter a step further in the turn to secularism than the other?

In Chapter 1, we have seen how polemic about the Waldensian massacre was strategically produced to meet an international normative principle regarding loyalty and domestic sovereignty. This chapter shifts attention from the practices to the discourse of public diplomacy. It asks, first, how the Waldensians tried to convince their international audience that the violence they had suffered was unjust. Second, I will examine how Dutch pamphleteers appropriated the news of the massacre to tell their own versions of the story. In doing so, this chapter sheds light on the strategic deployment of confessional and secular political discourse in printed news media in the mid-seventeenth century. It will be argued that rather than seeing shifts in polemic, we should distinguish between different kinds of Protestant polemic and respective strategies of argumentation used by various commentators.

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<sup>284</sup> Trim, "If a prince use tyrannie", p. 38.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., pp. 64–65.

*Beyond Legal Boundaries*

When the Waldensian minister Jean Léger took up his pen to inform the world about the tragedy that had befallen him and his people, he had to reckon with the fact that nowhere in Europe existed full freedom of religion. Adhering to a confession other than the one dominant in the state in which one lived always entailed at least some degree of discrimination. This way of ordering society found virtually universal acceptance. Of course, almost all religious minorities believed that—as members of the true faith—their being discriminated against was uncalled for. Yet there were few people who would argue that princes or states should not politically favor one confession over another, or not curtail anyone for religious dissidence. That the Waldensians were tolerated only within the limits of a set number of valleys in Piedmont may have saddened Protestants throughout Europe, but few would have considered it an outrage.

Religious tolerance and discrimination took form first and foremost in the everyday coexistence between common people as they went about their daily lives. As Benjamin Kaplan reminds us, even during the wars of religion, interconfessional violence remained an anomaly rather than a rule.<sup>286</sup> Yet in the second half of the sixteenth century the experience of violence led rulers to regulate the confessional divisions within their states through new laws in the form of peace treaties. These religious peace treaties were not the products of a shared value of toleration.<sup>287</sup> On the contrary, most legal settlements that ended the individual wars of religion were grudgingly devised as provisional necessities after military impasse. They were pragmatic and highly experimental settlements which were temporary solutions until a long-term ideal of religious unity could once again be attained.<sup>288</sup>

This gave religious peace treaties a somewhat paradoxical nature. On the one hand, they did not employ a language of justice—Randall Lesaffer argues that this was, in fact, the case for early modern treaties in general. They did, however, provide a legal framework for both

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<sup>286</sup> Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, pp. 76, 237–265.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8; R. Po–Chia Hsia, 'Introduction', in R. Po–Chia Hsia and H. van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 2–4.

<sup>288</sup> Te Brake, *Religious war*, pp. 7–8.

parties to fall back on.<sup>289</sup> As such, religious peace treaties had significant normative value. Early modern people were used to mining the past when searching for legitimacy. They drew heavily on historical settlements when negotiating social order and justice.<sup>290</sup> Privileges, edicts, and treaties formed society's customary legal blueprints. Indeed, in many parts of Europe, authority itself was imagined to derive from contracts.<sup>291</sup> Individuals, groups, or third parties could be unhappy with the terms of a given settlement—as we have seen in Chapter 1 with the 1655 Patent of Grace—but would not be quick to question its overall validity as long as they believed or accepted that it had been drawn up by mutual consent.<sup>292</sup> In the words of Saliha Belmessous, treaties played a crucial role in 'construct[ing] legitimacy from actual power'.<sup>293</sup>

In the case of the Waldensians, finding a legal foothold for their cause was a difficult undertaking. Indeed, the religious peace treaty most commonly associated with the Waldensians, the 1561 Peace of Cavour, provides a compelling example of the ambiguity of early modern religious peace.<sup>294</sup> Issued after Emmanuel Filibert (1528-1580) could no longer finance his war of attrition against a guerilla enemy that had the high ground in their native Alps, the Peace of Cavour was the typical half-hearted product of a military stalemate.<sup>295</sup> Unlike the religious peace settlements issued around the same time in France and Germany, however, the creation of the Peace of Cavour remains shrouded in mystery. It appears that the document was a draft settlement, drawn up and signed by a ducal representative and four Waldensian pastors. It should have been—but probably never was—formalized in an actual edict of toleration promulgated by the Duke of Savoy.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> R. Lesaffer, 'Gentili's *ius post bellum* and early-modern peace treaties', in B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann (eds.), *The Roman foundations of the law of nations. Alberto Gentili and the justice of empire* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 24–25.

<sup>290</sup> Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe*, p. 1.

<sup>291</sup> L. Schorn-Schütte, 'Confessional peace as a political and legal problem in the early modern period', in G. Hellmann (ed.), *Justice and peace. Interdisciplinary perspectives on a contested relationship* (Frankfurt and New York, 2013), p. 107.

<sup>292</sup> For early modern conceptions of 'consensualism' and treaty-making see R. Lesaffer, 'The medieval canon law of contract and early modern treaty law', *Journal of the History of International Law* 2–2 (2000), pp. 178–198.

<sup>293</sup> S. Belmessous, 'The paradox of an empire by treaty', in S. Belmessous (ed.), *Empire by treaty. Negotiating European expansion, 1600–1900* (Oxford, 2015), p. 12.

<sup>294</sup> See Chapter 1 for an introduction to the Treaty of Cavour.

<sup>295</sup> Zwiwerlein, *Discorso und Lex*, pp. 363–364.

<sup>296</sup> R. De Simone, 'La Pace di Cavour e l'Editto 1° di San Germano nella storia della tolleranza religiosa', *Bollettino della Società di studi Valdesi* 110 (1961), pp. 40–41.

It is therefore impossible to determine whether the Peace of Cavour, the very document that first differentiated between religious dissidence and rebellion in the Duchy of Savoy, was juridically speaking a treaty or an edict.<sup>297</sup> It lacked, for instance, the clauses of amnesty and perpetuity which were part and parcel of early modern treaties.<sup>298</sup> Although designed to transform the Waldensians from a foreign body that needed to be extirpated into a discriminate group of subjects with a geographically bounded legal status—at least for the time being—the Peace of Cavour thus remained a rather elusive document. In the decades after Cavour, the legal relation between the Waldensians and the court of Savoy would become ever more complex. Demographic realities soon began to put pressure on the arrangements of 1561. As the Waldensian communities prospered and grew they began to feel cramped in the nine valleys allotted to them, leading them to work lands and buy estates beyond these.<sup>299</sup> Whether the Cavour settlement permitted this was controversial: Articles 20 and 21 allowed the Waldensians to purchase houses outside of the valleys, but they were not allowed to permanently live and preach there.<sup>300</sup>

Before 1655 Savoyard policy swung back and forth between chasing the Reformed from ‘forbidden’ areas and leaving them be.<sup>301</sup> In April 1603 a Waldensian committee successfully petitioned the Duke of Savoy to reconfirm the valleys that were tolerated.<sup>302</sup> In 1633, by contrast, the Duke for the first time expressly forbade the Waldensians from owning property outside the tolerated valleys, thereby breaking with the Cavour settlement.<sup>303</sup> In 1637, 1641, 1650, and 1653 the duke issued similar decrees, which were, however, barely enforced. Moreover, in December 1653—five months after the last restriction—the Waldensians again successfully petitioned Charles Emmanuel II to reconfirm the concessions granted in 1603 in

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<sup>297</sup> Zwielerlein, *Discorso und Lex*, p. 370.

<sup>298</sup> Lesaffer, ‘Peace treaties’, pp. 85, 89.

<sup>299</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 17.

<sup>300</sup> Zwielerlein, *Discorso und Lex*, p. 371.

<sup>301</sup> Most notably, around 1620 the Waldensians were heavily persecuted in the Marquisate of Saluzzo. See M. Battistoni, ‘Reshaping local public space. Religion and politics in the marquisate of Saluzzo between Reformation and Counter-Reformation’, in M.A. Vester (ed.), *Sabaudian studies. Political culture, dynasty, and territory, 1400–1700* (Kirksville, MO, 2013), pp. 240–258.

<sup>302</sup> For a transcription of the petition and the grant see W. Gilly, *Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piedmont in the Year MDCCCXXIII and researches among the Vaudois, or Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Cottian Alps* (London, 1825), pp. xxix–xxxii.

<sup>303</sup> Balmas and Zardini Lana, *Vera relazione*, p. 19.

exchange for a fee.<sup>304</sup> In short, the Order of Gastaldo from January 1655, which once again ordered the Waldensians to leave the valleys outside the limits of toleration, was not unprecedented. That an army was suddenly sent to the valleys to enforce the order must have, however, come as an unpleasant surprise.

Although the legal status of the Waldensian settlements was thus ambiguous—if not outright confusing—it had for some decades been relatively stable in practical terms; the Waldensians had probably become used to being presented with the same prohibitions every few years, while their successful petitions against them had become a ritual negotiation of conflict. It was a repetitive play of disunion and reconciliation that confirmed and stabilized the relationship with the duke, who demonstrated that the Waldensians could not only rely on presumed privileges, but remained dependent on his mercy.

After the breakdown of this *modus vivendi* and the subsequent massacre both the Waldensians and the court of Savoy elaborated on the legal nature of the settlements drawn up between both parties to convince foreign audiences of their cause. Extraordinary ambassador Samuel Morland—whom we met in Chapter 1—and Léger tellingly referred to the Peace of Cavour as an ‘edict’ in their histories of the massacre. It is likely that they likened it to the 1598 Edict of Nantes, which provided a sound basis for Reformed minority rights in France by having been declared ‘perpetual and irrevocable’ by Henry IV.<sup>305</sup> The *Relation véritable*, one of the two main pamphlets published by the Waldensians, devoted some seven of its twenty-five pages to the details of the settlements and decrees issued between 1561 and 1653 to convince its foreign audiences that the 1655 crackdown had been a breach of contract.<sup>306</sup> In other words, great attention is paid to the normative principle of rule of law.

When the court of Savoy finally engaged with international public polemic in July 1655, as discussed in Chapter 1, they put even more emphasis on the conflict as a legal issue. One of the two court-issued pamphlets, the *Somma delle ragioni & fondamenti con quali S.A.R. s’è mossa a*

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<sup>304</sup> For an overview of the different concessions issued between 1561 and 1655 see A. Blair, *History of the Waldenses; with and introductory sketch of the history of the Christian churches in the south of France and north of Italy, till these churches submitted to the pope, when the Waldenses continued as formerly independent of the Papal See*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh and London, 1833), p. 620.

<sup>305</sup> The different terms used for the Peace of Cavour throughout history are discussed in T. Pons, ‘Sulla Pace di Cavour del 1561 e suoi storici’, *Bollettino della Società di studi Valdesi* 110 (1961), 127–148; D. Margolf, *Religion and royal justice in early modern France. The Paris Chambre de l’Edit, 1598–1665* (Kirksville, MO, 2003), p. 4.

<sup>306</sup> Anonymous, *Waerachtich verbael van ‘t gene eenigen tijdt herwaerts inde Valeyen van Piemont is voor-gevallien*.

*prohibire alli heretici della Valle di Luserna l'habitatione fuori de limiti tolerate* (*Sum of the reasons & foundations which has moved his most serene highness to prohibit the heretics of the valley of Lucern to live beyond the tolerated limits*) exclusively presents a positive legal history of the toleration of the Waldensians, on the basis of which the Order of Gastaldo is justified.<sup>307</sup> The pamphlet emphasizes, among other issues, that the Peace of Cavour had never been ratified by Duke Emmanuel Philibert.<sup>308</sup> It further argues that later edicts promulgated by the dukes of Savoy confirmed that ‘no privilege, grace, or toleration [was] granted to the inhabitants’ apart from those that had been ratified, and that the last edict of 1653 had in fact been formally accepted by the Waldensians.<sup>309</sup> Moreover, the Order of Gastaldo did nothing more than force those who broke contract to move and comply again.<sup>310</sup> Disobeying the order was therefore a move ‘full of injustice and rebellion’:<sup>311</sup>

After all this, how can anyone question or doubt, but that their chastisement was most just, and that simply to transport themselves out of one place into another, between which there is so exceeding little distance, was the mildest punishment that could be inflicted upon them for so great a stubbornness?<sup>312</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to argue which of the two warring parties provided a more truthful or coherent legal case. The point to stress here is that such legal details were considered important. Modern Western readers are likely to judge that the positive legal position of a discriminated minority—the domestic rule of law—becomes fully irrelevant in the face of mass murder.<sup>313</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 1, however, both the court of Savoy

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<sup>307</sup> Anonymous, *Somma delle ragioni & fondamenti con quali S.A.R. s'è mossa a prohibire alli heretici della Valle di Luserna l'habitatione fuori de limiti tolerate*, transcription in Morland, *History of the Evangelical churches*, pp. 405–422.

<sup>308</sup> Anonymous, *Somma delle ragioni*, p. 406.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421.

<sup>312</sup> Translation by Morland; *ibid.*, p. 420.

<sup>313</sup> This is not to say that positive legal argumentation no longer plays a significant role in public debate on persecution. In 2016 the Myanmar government partly justified its persecution of the Rohingya by arguing that they are not Burmese citizens and have immigrated illegally into the Rakhine state; A.H. Milton, M. Rahman, S. Hussain, et al., ‘Trapped in statelessness. Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh’, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 14–8 (2017), p. 2; many Western observers counter this positive legal justification by pointing to human rights. The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), for one, judged that ‘Myanmar’s security forces [...] have a duty to respect and to protect the human rights of all persons in northern Rakhine State [...], regardless of their official citizenship or residency status, without any form of discrimination’; ICJ Global Redress and Accountability Initiative, ‘Myanmar. Questions and answers on human rights law in Rakhine

and the Waldensians were greatly concerned with the question of whether the latter had ‘rebelled’ and so deserved some kind of punishment. To some extent this question was bound to remain unresolved. Whether treaties made by sovereign predecessors did or did not have to be ratified by current ones, whether fees were paid as punishments or as guarantees, or whether and how concessions—which were always issued as a merciful gesture—could be revoked, were questions about which there was no clear-cut consensus or an authoritative and detailed European tradition.<sup>314</sup> As Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger notes, early modern Europe had no equivalent of the ‘self-evident cosmos of formally established written legal norms through which we continuously move in the modern world’.<sup>315</sup> Despite efforts to legally define the boundaries of religious coexistence, toleration remained dependent on a benevolent interpretation of a sometimes inconsistent system of laws.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the parties involved—the persecuted Waldensians and the persecuting court of Savoy—based their arguments to a large extent on the normative principle of rule of law, fighting over the niceties of positive laws in the form of historical contracts. Both parties, however, also tried to transcend this framework, albeit in different ways. The court of Savoy argued that the ruler’s power went beyond maintaining existing positive laws; the *Somma delle ragioni* argues that historical contracts are only of consequence if they have been ratified by the current ruler. This argument fits within a tradition of absolutist thought in which toleration is dependent on the sovereign’s will—which we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4. However, the court did not go as far as to completely settle the question by arguing that the sovereign’s will is law—the Roman legal principle that *rex est lex loquens*.<sup>316</sup> Responding *in extenso* to the Waldensians’ legal reflections, Savoyard apologists did not completely subordinate the normative principle of rule of law to the normative principle of (the ruler’s undivided) sovereignty. Considering their intended readership, this was probably

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state briefing note, November 2017’ (Geneva, 2017), <http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs23/ICJ-2017-11-Rakhine-Advocacy-Briefing-Paper-2017-en-.pdf>.

<sup>314</sup> H. Mohnhaupt, ‘Privileg, Gesetz, Vertrag, Konzession. Subjektives Recht und Formen der Rechtserteilung zwischen Gnade und Anspruch’, in T. Chiusi, T. Gergen, and H. Jung (eds.), *Das Recht und seine historischen Grundlagen. Festschrift für Elmar Wadler zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 635–638.

<sup>315</sup> B. Stollberg-Rilinger, *The emperor’s old clothes. Constitutional history and the symbolic language of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 2015), p. 6.

<sup>316</sup> V. Kahn, *Wayward contracts. The crisis of political obligation in England, 1640–1674* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), p. 42.

a sensible move;<sup>317</sup> it is unlikely that audiences in the Dutch Republic and England, countries with strong contract-oriented political traditions, would have found such reasoning very convincing.

### *Necessity*

By providing an almost exclusively positivist legal response to the Waldensian pamphlets, the duke's apologists provided their readers with a rather particular sense of the justness of the situation. Justice was weighed almost entirely on the basis of whether positive laws had been adhered to or broken. To a lesser extent, as we have seen, it was also conflated with the duke's sovereign will. However, why these laws were just was not an object of discussion in the Savoyard pamphlets. The duke's right was legitimized through the normative principle of rule of law, not through political prudence or reason of state—the normative principle of reason. And although they had initially provided a religious account of events for a domestic public, they did not fall back on the normative principle of religion to justify their actions abroad either. In other words, the court did not aim to publicly justify its policy of territorially bounded toleration. Although the court's pamphlets meticulously pointed out why the duke had the right to force the Waldensians back into the three valleys, they did not explain his motivation for doing so with rigor.

The Waldensian pamphlets, by contrast, went beyond rule of law argumentation by elaborating on the facts on the ground. The *Relation véritable* argues that those who lived within the tolerated valleys—and were therefore innocent—almost succumbed under the population pressure of those who were forced to return.<sup>318</sup> The Order of Gastaldo was thus delegitimized because it forced the Waldensians into unlivable circumstances. The *Suite de la relation véritable*—which was issued several months later—also argues that the sudden obligation to abandon the settlements and return to the tolerated valleys, which could not support so many people,

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<sup>317</sup> In Chapter 1 we have seen that the Savoyard court issued their account of events after having been warned about a Dutch publication. Moreover, the Savoyard ambassador to Paris ensured he presented a copy of the first apology to his Dutch counterpart. This indicates that the Savoyards had devised the pamphlets with, among others, a Dutch readership in mind.

<sup>318</sup> Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, p. 21.

effectively amounted to a death sentence.<sup>319</sup> In other words, above the positive laws, the Waldensians adopted, without conceptualizing it, a Tacitan notion of necessity and the right to self-preservation.<sup>320</sup> Savoyard apologists did not directly engage with the problem of overpopulation as a pragmatic argument against the living restrictions. On the contrary, they stated that the fact that the Waldensians resorted to reasons of ‘remote distance, incommodity, and barrenness’ to dissuade the duke from enforcing the Order of Gastaldo, only proved that they lacked a legal foothold.<sup>321</sup> In short, whereas the Waldensians rhetorically distinguished between legal right and human necessity, the Savoyard apologists refused to recognize the latter as a proper justification, at least not as this applied to the Waldensians.

So far, we have seen how both parties tried to convince an international audience of what they saw as the true causes of the conflict, whether the Waldensians had rebelled and, consequently, whether the duke had had the right to punish his subjects for *lèse-majesté*. Pamphleteers also went to great lengths to describe the nature of the violence itself. Savoyard apologists argued that the punishment, the quartering of soldiers, had been non-violent. According to the author of the *Somma de’ successi* the soldiers behaved like ‘an army of friends are wont to do, when they come in a great body into a village forsaken by the inhabitants, which was, to make use of what they there found’, but refrained from harming people.<sup>322</sup> Indeed, Pianezza argued that he had let villagers ‘see [rather than] [...] feel their deserved punishment’.<sup>323</sup> When the army met armed resistance, however, things inevitably turned violent, yet the commander insisted that only those who had taken up arms had been killed.<sup>324</sup> However, this argument sat uncomfortably with the territorial nature of the settlement between the duke and his Reformed subjects. The *Somma delle ragioni* recounts how most illegal settlers,

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<sup>319</sup> Anonymous, *Suite de la relation veritable contenant une briefve refutation de l’invective du Marquis de Pianesse contre les Reformés des vallées de Piemont*, incorporated in Anonymous, *Relation veritable de ce qui s’est passé dans les persecutions & massacres faits cette année, aux Eglises Reformées de Piemont, avec la refutation des calomnies dont les adversaires de la verité taschent de les noircir* (s.l. 1655), pp. 60–61. The *Suite de la relation veritable* was also published in Dutch in The Hague; Anonymous, *Vervolch van het waerachtich verhael, inhoudende een pertinente wederleggingh, vande lasteringen van der marquis van Pianesse, tegens de gereformeerde vande valeyen van Piemont* (The Hague, 1655), pfl 7632.

<sup>320</sup> L. Ashworth, *A history of international thought. From the origins of the modern state to academic international relations* (London and New York, 2014), pp. 32–33.

<sup>321</sup> Anonymous, *Somma delle ragioni*, p. 409.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>323</sup> ‘[...] più tosto per fargli veder, che provar il meritato castigo’; *ibid.*, p. 401.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., p. 402.

in an unfounded fear of quartering, fled into the three tolerated valleys with all their belongings. The Savoyard army was therefore forced to follow and occupy villages within the tolerated valleys, lest they themselves starve.<sup>325</sup> Here, the court's apologists did acknowledge that necessity trumped positive law.

In short, the Savoyard apologies made a clear distinction between punishment and violence. The latter was only resorted to out of necessity and was not part of the punishment. Accordingly, the pamphlet argues that most casualties had resulted from an unnecessary and dangerous flight into the mountains, where the Waldensians were overtaken by the harsh weather. Pianezza insists that the children found alive were taken care of, and that the women were protected from the soldiers, who were given a monetary reward instead. All in all, the commander claims in his apology, not more than two hundred perished 'taking together those frozen to death in the snow and those killed by iron'.<sup>326</sup>

### *Communicating Cruelty*

Of course, the Waldensians had communicated a very different perspective on events to their audiences across the Alps, namely that a 'massacre' had taken place. The actual accounts of violence had a relatively modest place in the Waldensian pamphlets. The *Relation véritable*, for instance, devotes only ten of its 83 pages to recounting the atrocities themselves.<sup>327</sup> Of course, the number of pages devoted to a subject does not always correspond with its relative importance. It reveals little about the desired or actual impact on the reader. Yet the relative brevity of the description of violence tells us that what made a massacre a massacre depended to some extent on the legal details of the conflict and not just on the violence itself. The author

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., pp. 393–398.

<sup>326</sup> '[...] se mettiamo insieme i morti nella neve dal freddo con li uccisi dal ferro'; Ibid., p. 398.

<sup>327</sup> Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, pp. 26–35; four out of twenty–five in Anonymous, *Waerachtich verhael van 't gene gepasseert is*; five of forty–eight in Anonymous, *Waerachtich verhael, van 't gene eenigen tijdt herwaerts*, pfl 7631; three out of eighteen in Anonymous, *Wreede vervolginge en schrickelijcke moordt aende Vaudoisien in Piedmont geschiet in 't Jaer 1655* (1655), pfl 7622.

of the *Relation veritable* accordingly argues that ‘to see with more certainty whether it was with reason that they came to such rigor [...] depends on knowledge of the law’.<sup>328</sup>

Whether an act of violence was legitimate did not, however, depend only on whether those who suffered it were guilty. Some acts of violence were illegitimate in and of themselves and could, as such, suggest the innocence of those who suffered it. In recent years, historians have greatly enhanced our understanding of how early modern individuals and communities remembered and communicated the violence they suffered. Judith Pollmann and others have shown that memories of violence were often structured within a Christian framework of redemption. Prevalent narratives of religious suffering allowed some early modern people to reframe their experiences of extreme violence as having a spiritual purpose.<sup>329</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists all canonized stories about the violent deaths of their respective martyrs.<sup>330</sup> Such stories provided proof for the righteousness of one’s beliefs. After all, Christ himself had said that the true Church was a persecuted church. Moreover, the faithfulness of those who were willing to suffer a violent death for their beliefs made them worthy, if not of emulation, at least of admiration. It is important to note, however, that religious communities did not recognize each other’s martyrs. Dying for one’s faith was not enough; to become martyr, one had to die for the true faith. They followed Augustine’s adagium: ‘Not the punishment but the cause makes a martyr’.<sup>331</sup>

Early modern Europeans did not only communicate their experiences with violence in order to confirm the purity of their religious beliefs. The fact that one had suffered atrocities could also be used as a political tool to denounce the perpetrator in a way that transcended the confessional divide. As Ramon Voges has recently argued, representations of massacres were not neutral or innocent.<sup>332</sup> Research suggests that if there was no political capital to be gained

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<sup>328</sup> ‘[...] pour voir plus assurément si c’est avec raison qu’on est venu à telle rigueur [...] dépend de la connoissance de du droit’; Anonymous, *Relation veritable*, p. 41.

<sup>329</sup> Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe*, p. 166; E. Kuijpers, ‘Fear, indignation, grief and relief. Emotional narratives in war chronicles from the Netherlands (1568–1648)’, in J. Spinks and C. Zika (eds.), *Disaster, death and the emotions in the shadow of the apocalypse, 1400–1700* (London, 2016), p. 95.

<sup>330</sup> Gregory, *Salvation at stake*.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330; Pierre Jurieu—who we will discuss in more detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5—would repeat this argument in the face of the Huguenot persecutions; Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, p. 163.

<sup>332</sup> R. Voges, ‘Macht, Massaker und Repräsentationen. Darstellungen asymmetrischer Gewalt in der Bildpublizistik Franz Hogenbergs’, in J. Baberowski and G. Metzler (eds.), *Gewalträume. Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand* (Frankfurt and New York, 2012), p. 39.

from communicating the memory of atrocity, communities' initial response was often to remain silent about the violence they had experienced, or at least not discuss it outside the private domain.<sup>333</sup> If they publicized their fate, they did so as a political counterattack to the military force they had experienced.<sup>334</sup>

I want to argue that even—or especially if—the perpetrator belonged to a different religion, such counterattacks in the form of pamphlets describing an atrocity depended on a shared notion of what constituted unacceptable violence. On no side of the confessional divide in early modern Europe would one find authoritative political thinkers or theologians who argued that cannibalism, infanticide, or rape were legitimate acts of violence or legal punishment.<sup>335</sup> As such, having suffered such acts of violence provided a secular argument against the adversary who had purportedly indulged in it. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) illustrates this dynamic in a reflection on his experiences during the French wars of religion; in his essay *Of cruelty* he chooses to desist from pointing to a specific confession in his denouncement of the extreme violence he witnessed:

I live in a time wherein we abound in incredible examples of this vice, through the license of our civil wars: and we see nothing in ancient histories more extreme than what we have proof of every day, but I cannot, any the more, get used to it. I could hardly persuade myself, before I saw it with my eyes, that there could be found souls so cruel and fell, who, for the sole pleasure of murder, would commit it; would hack and lop off the limbs of others; sharpen their wits to invent unusual torments and new kinds of death, without hatred, without profit, and for no other end but only to enjoy the pleasant spectacle of the gestures and motions, the lamentable groans and cries of a man dying in anguish.<sup>336</sup>

This non-religious approach to excessive violence could nevertheless be used as a polemical tool in the Reformation. Protestants often blamed Catholics not only for being theologically errant, but also for being cruel. As an essentially secular argument, such narratives proved

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<sup>333</sup> E. Kuijpers and J. Pollmann, 'Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt', in Ó Siochrú and Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641*, pp. 177–178.

<sup>334</sup> Voges, 'Macht, Massaker', p. 40.

<sup>335</sup> A. Coudert, 'The ultimate crime. Cannibalism in early modern minds and imaginations', in A. Classen and C. Scarborough (eds.), *Crime and punishment in the middle ages and the early modern age. Mental–historical investigations of basic human problems and social responses* (Berlin and Boston, MA, 2012), pp. 521–522.

<sup>336</sup> M. de Montaigne, 'Of cruelty', in W. Hazlitt (ed.), *Michel de Montaigne. Selected essays* (Mineola, NY, 2011), p. 89.

resistant to the eventual mellowing of Europe's religious divide; secular Enlightenment thinkers happily denounced the Inquisition as the paragon of religious fanaticism, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.<sup>337</sup> Indeed, to this day references to, for instance, the Inquisition remain an integral part of anti-religious discourse by atheist activists such as Richard Dawkins.<sup>338</sup> The other side of the coin was that references to cruelty and excessive violence could potentially convince people to dissociate themselves from coreligionist perpetrators. As Koenraad Swart and Judith Pollmann have argued, Dutch insurgents rallied both Catholics and Protestants to their cause by pointing to Spanish cruelty, and even legitimized their declaration of independence in 1581 by pointing to the excessive violence they continued to suffer.<sup>339</sup>

In short, we can crudely distinguish between two early modern approaches to cruelty. One offers a meaningful redemptive framework, which sees the victim as finding religious fulfillment. Martyrologist Jean Crespin would describe a martyr's painful death as a 'happy ending' and gladly quoted Tertullian's motto that 'the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church'.<sup>340</sup> To be sure, Crespin also characterized the violence committed against martyrs as 'barbarous and inhumane'. But the condemnation of violence as being inhumane was not always explicitly tied to claims to confessional superiority. The second approach is more secular and focuses on the senselessness of unnecessary and pleasure-oriented violence against people, and it is approached inclusively, using the argument that everyone is a human being. As such, references to cruelty refer to a normative principle of humanity.

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<sup>337</sup> J. Domínguez, 'A state within a state. The Inquisition in Enlightenment thought', *History of European Ideas* 43–4 (2016), pp. 376–388.

<sup>338</sup> See, for instance, J. Coyne, 'If ISIS is not Islamic, then the Inquisition was not Catholic', *Richard Dawkins Foundation for Reason & Science* (2014), <https://www.richarddawkins.net/2014/09/if-isis-is-not-islamic-then-the-inquisition-was-not-catholic/>; S. Kruszynska, 'Écrasez l'infâme. Voltaire's philosophy of religion', *Miscellanea anthropologica et sociologica* 16–1 (2015), pp. 125–137.

<sup>339</sup> K. Swart, 'The black legend during the Eighty Years War', in J. Bromley and E. Kossmann (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands V. Some political mythologies. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo–Dutch historical conference* (The Hague, 1975), pp. 36–57; J. Pollmann, 'Eine natürliche Feindschaft. Ursprung und Funktion der schwarzen Legende über Spanien in den Niederlanden, 1560–1581', in F. Bosbach (ed.), *Feindbilder. Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Cologne, 1992), pp. 73–94.

<sup>340</sup> D. Kelley, 'Martyrs, myths, and the massacre. The background of St. Bartholomew', *American Historical Review* 77–5 (1972), p. 1327.

*Religious Persecution*

The Waldensian pamphlets carry elements of both these discursive traditions of cruelty, one religious, the other secular. Religious language played a crucial role on different argumentative levels. First, at the beginning the *Relation véritable* confidently states that there are few churches that have ‘experienced the wonders of God’s grace in the conversation of His believers and where the devil has deployed his malice with all his furious force for their dissipation’ more than that of the Waldensians.<sup>341</sup> Indeed, the author makes an explicit truth claim at the expense of Catholicism by arguing that the Lord has ‘maintained this smoking candle amidst the darkness of error and superstition’.<sup>342</sup> Second, there are several reports in which the victims are portrayed in a martyr-like fashion, remaining steadfast in their faith as they are tortured and murdered. One man who was bound to a tree, for instance, told his tormentor that he could tie his body as tightly as he could but that it would not keep his spirit from going to paradise.<sup>343</sup>

A third, closely related argument offers a religious account of events of a different kind. The Waldensian pamphlets tried to convince the reader that, since they lacked a proper legal basis, the Savoyards persecuted the Reformed for their religion. This was further supported by the fact that a commission for the extirpation of heresy had recently been founded in Turin and, most importantly, that a conversion to Catholicism would guarantee amnesty for the persecuted.<sup>344</sup> The Waldensian *Suite de la relation véritable*, which was published in response to Pianezza’s apologies, summarizes this last point:

None of those who remained firm in the profession of their religion received mercy [...]. This proof is not countered with the subterfuge and evasion which the Marquis [of Pianezza] found, saying that it is a clemency, which the Prince [of Savoy] could give to those who abjured the Reformed religion and that through this abjuration the alleged rebellion of living outside the limits ceased [...]. If these cavils took place, it would not be possible to say that the pagan emperors ever persecuted or killed anyone for reasons of religion, nor that there was ever any confessor or martyr who had suffered to

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<sup>341</sup> ‘[...] qui ait esprouvé la merveille de la grace de Dieu dans la conservation de ses fideles, & ou le DIable ait desployé sa malice avec toute sorte de fureur pour leur dissipation’; Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, p. 2.

<sup>342</sup> ‘[...] maintenu ce lumignon fumant parmi les tenebres de l’erreur & de la persecution’; *ibid.*

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>344</sup> Anonymous, *Recit véritable*, p. 4.

maintain the Christian faith, as one could always have said that it was because they lived in the Empire, against the orders of the Emperor.<sup>345</sup>

This argument was supported by the observation that clergy had been directly responsible for some of the violence; the *Relation véritable* describes how a Franciscan monk and a priest had been among the main culprits and had set a church on fire.<sup>346</sup> At first glance, accusations of religious persecution appears to fall within the same normative principle as the first two religious arguments. After all, religious difference is identified as the main cause behind the violence, which is enacted by an intolerant perpetrator. However, the latter argument follows a different logic, one that is not necessarily based on confessional truth. In principle, it is possible to accuse a party of indulging in religious persecution without making a value judgment regarding the confession of either the persecuting or persecuted parties. Of course, as we have seen above, certain confessions could be (and were) accused of being particularly prone to religious persecution. But the power of the argument lies precisely in the fact that it transcends the trenches of theological truth claims. This explains why the court of Savoy claimed that the punishment of the Waldensians had not been about religion but about rebellion.

What then constitutes religious persecution? This question was hotly contested by contemporaries, but most observers approached it in reference to the law, which always discriminated between different groups of subjects. As Benjamin Kaplan observes, early modern societies knew no equality before the law, as it always prescribed different privileges to different corporate bodies. Differentiating between confessional groups thus followed a rationale which structured all layers of society. This meant that some princes went as far as to

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<sup>345</sup> '[...] on n'a reçu à grace aucun de ceux qui sont demeurés fermes en la profession de la religion [...]. Cette preuve n'est point invalidée par le subterfuge & l'eschappatoire que le Marquis à trouvé, disant que c'est une grace que le Prince a pu faire à ceux qui abjuroyent la Religion Reformee, & que par cette abjuration la rebellion pretendue d'habiter hors des limites cessoit [...]. Si cette cauillation avoit lieu, on ne pourroit point dire que les Empereurs Payens eussent jamais persecuté out fait mourir aucun pour cause de religion, ni que jamais il y ait eu ni confesseur ni martyr qui ait souffert pour maintenir la foy Chrestienne, veu que l'on eust pu tousiours dire que c'estoit parce qu'ils habitoyent en l'Empire contre les ordres de l'Empereur'; Anonymous, *Suite de la relation véritable contenant une briefve refutation de l'invective du Marquis de Pianesse contre les Reformés des vallées de Piemont*, incorporated in Anonymous, *Relation véritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions & massacres faits cette année, aux Eglises Reformées de Piemont, avec la refutation des calomnies dont les adversaires de la verité taschent de les noircir* (s.l. 1655), p. 63.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

conflate religious dissent with treason and thus persecuted dissenters without regarding this as a confessionally intolerant policy.<sup>347</sup> The Catholic cardinal William Allan (1532–1594), to take a telling example, had argued that Mary I’s persecutions of Protestants had been just, because they conformed to the existing laws against heresy in sixteenth-century England. The Protestant condemnation of Catholics for heresy, on the other hand, was cruel and unjust because they had themselves abolished the laws for heresy, meaning that they persecuted Catholics for their faith.<sup>348</sup>

For the court of Savoy, a corporate body with limited privileges had gone beyond its bounds and had been punished for rebelling, and had thus not suffered religious persecution; the court internationally justified its actions as a question, first, of rule of law, and second, of domestic sovereignty, not of religion. The Waldensians, in turn, countered this by pointing to the fact that the duke pardoned all those who became Catholics, conveying the limits of the court’s rule of a law argumentation. Then as now, there was a perceived tension between the princely (or presidential) right of pardoning and the rule of law. Natalie Zemon Davis has observed that even in the sixteenth century narratives identified pardoning as strengthening the prince’s sovereignty as he pushed his power ‘beyond the law’.<sup>349</sup> During the wars of religion, Protestants had begun to question the legitimacy of royal pardons on the basis of divine law rather than rule of law, arguing that they constituted a confusion between divine forgiveness and royal grace.<sup>350</sup> This line of reasoning did not remain exclusively Protestant. In the seventeenth century, critics found an unlikely ally in Jean Bodin, who argued that while granting pardons was a ‘mark of sovereignty’ it should not be applied to those who had broken divine law.<sup>351</sup> The Waldensians, however, criticized the duke’s pardoning as pushing beyond ‘rule of law’ rather than ‘divine law’, which fitted their strategy of staying away from theological discussion.

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<sup>347</sup> Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, p. 123.

<sup>348</sup> D. Baraz, *Medieval cruelty. Changing perceptions, late antiquity to the early modern period* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 2003), p. 155.

<sup>349</sup> N. Davis, *Fiction in the archives. Pardon tales and their tellers in sixteenth-century France* (Palo Alto, CA, 1987), p. 58.

<sup>350</sup> A. Frisch, *Forgetting differences. Tragedy, historiography, and the French wars of religion* (Edinburgh, 2015), p. 34.

<sup>351</sup> Bodin argues that ‘the sovereign prince cannot extend grace in the case of a penalty established by the law of God’. Citation from Frisch, *Forgetting differences*, p. 34.

The Waldensian approach to what constitutes religious persecution found an interesting opponent in the Dutch ambassador and contemporary historian Lieuwe van Aitzema. Judging from a considerable number of handwritten copies of political correspondence about the Piedmont Easter in Aitzema's archive, the diplomat-historian had closely followed events as they unfolded, but came to a provocative conclusion.<sup>352</sup> In his magnum opus *Saken van staet en oorlogh* (*Matters of state and war*), Aitzema compares the situation of the Waldensians with the persecution of the Anabaptists in the Swiss Evangelical cantons some years before:

Those in Bern chased away all Anabaptists, not because of religion, so they said, but because they did not want to accept the legitimate government. Surely, it was because they did not want to follow the religion that was dominant in Bern [...]. The Duke of Savoy could have said something similar: I follow the Roman Religion: I cannot and do not want to allow another [religion] and I desire that all the Waldensians leave or accept my religion.<sup>353</sup>

Aitzema argues that similar laws in the English Commonwealth prohibited the entry of the Jesuits. When they come anyway and are punished for it, the diplomat argues, one cannot speak of religious violence:<sup>354</sup>

Does not every sovereign make laws in his country? The heathen, Turkish, Tartar, Muscovite and all [other] potentates make laws for the maintaining of their religion.<sup>355</sup>

The ambassador writes that the same would happen to Catholics in the United Provinces if they were to start taking over churches and town halls, without anyone suggesting that they were persecuted for religious reasons.<sup>356</sup> In short, Aitzema takes a firm 'rule of law' position;

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<sup>352</sup> 'Stukken betreffende de Waldenzen in Piedmont', Archief van Leo van Aitzema 1.10.02, inv. nr. 93, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>353</sup> '[...] die van Bern verjagende alle doopsgesinde; niet om de religie / sooze seyden / maer om datze de wettelijke overigheydt niet wilden kennen [...]. Den hertog van Savoyen hadde konnen desgelijcx zeggen. Ick volgh de Roomsche gods-dienst. Ick kan noch wil geen ander toelaten. ende begeer dat de Vaudoisen of vertrecken of mijn religie aen nemen'; L. van Aitzema, *Saken van staet en oorlogh in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1669), p. 1230.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., p. 1240.

<sup>355</sup> 'Maect niet een yder souverain wetten in sijn landt? De heydensche / Turksche / Tartarische / Moscovijtsche ende alle potentanten / maecken wetten tot behoudenis van haer religien'; ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

the enforcement of laws which keep religious minorities in check do not constitute religious persecution.

Aitzema's rather radical position derives from his advocacy for a state church. The ambassador believed that for a polity to be stable it needed an inclusive and dogmatically lenient state church to which all subjects were obliged to conform.<sup>357</sup> In doing so, he followed Hugo Grotius' philosophy that the civil sovereign should hold supreme authority over the Church, which teaches only the fundamentals of Christian belief and leaves 'indifferent matters' to individual judgment.<sup>358</sup>

In short, we can argue that the Waldensians and Aitzema had a diametrically opposed conception of the relation between the rule of law and religious difference. Whereas the first invoked the rule of law as a secular tool which regulates (the limits of) religious toleration, the latter invokes it as a secularized tool which allows rulers to enforce religious conformity. The difference lies in the fact that Aitzema approaches the ruler not only as a 'law keeper', but also as a 'law giver', or, in the words of Kinch Hoekstra, the 'single unlimited source of legal and political authority'.<sup>359</sup> In other words, we can argue that the diplomat-historian conflates the normative principles of rule of law and sovereignty.

Hence, the public discussion about what constitutes religious persecution sheds new light on Daniel Nexon's observation that the reification of sovereignty 'did not amount to a secularization of politics, but to a domestication of religious conflict'.<sup>360</sup> First, it shows that the process of juridification could have a similar dynamic; the legal ordering of religious difference in Europe may have decreased the occurrence of religious violence. But it also allowed governments to oppress confessional dissidents in reference to secular law and deny that they engaged in religious persecution. Second, it shows that opinion makers were aware of the paradox of sovereignty and rule of law as secular normative principles, and actively debated it during concrete political crises. Third, the fact that such questions were publicly discussed to

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<sup>357</sup> G. van der Plaats, *Eendracht als opdracht. Lieve van Aitzema's bijdrage aan het publieke debat* (Hilversum, 2003), pp. 197–231.

<sup>358</sup> A. Weststeijn, *Commercial republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age. The political thought of Pieter and Johan de la Court* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2012), pp. 300–302.

<sup>359</sup> K. Hoekstra, 'Early modern absolutism and constitutionalism', *Cardozo Law Review* 34–3 (2013), p. 1080.

<sup>360</sup> See the Introduction.

influence political behavior across borders calls for a critical reassessment of whether religious conflict was truly ‘domesticated’, as has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

*A Matter of Humanity*

As has been briefly discussed, the stories of atrocity certainly tapped from a tradition of martyrdom, but cannot be reduced to it. The accounts offer little room for redemption and happy endings in the spirit of Crespin. Indeed, one reference to the victims as martyrs is immediately followed by a statement about witnesses crying for vengeance.<sup>361</sup> The fates of most victims are not described with recourse to religious qualities; they are above all approached as suffering humans rather than as Protestants and their fates are presented as stupefying more than edifying. The Waldensian pamphlets emphasize that the army indiscriminately killed ‘the young and the old, the great and the small, the men and the women, the fathers and the children’, causing a complete disruption of social order.<sup>362</sup> They recount how with ‘barbaric cruelty’ the soldiers raped more than 150 women, literally tore apart children, cut open people and rubbed salt and gunpowder in their wounds, genitally mutilated people of both sexes, and impaled them, while other soldiers indulged in cannibalism and tried to eat the brains of their victims. Readers got the impression that the soldiers made a game out of their killing, tying people up and rolling them from hills, beating each other with severed body parts, and playing ball games with severed heads. The aftermath of the massacre is described as something that resembles the mess after a feast:

You would find the head of a child here, the genitals of a man [there], and the pieces of flesh of many, which the beasts had not yet managed to eat.<sup>363</sup>

Outrageous games with body parts, cannibalism, and rape constituted forms of violence from which the perpetrator appeared to derive satisfaction. The pamphlets told their readers that

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<sup>361</sup> Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, p. 23.

<sup>362</sup> ‘[...] les jeunes & le vieux, les grands & le petits, les hommes & les femmes, les peres & les enfans’; *ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>363</sup> ‘Vous trouviez ici la teste d’un enfant, les parties honteuses d’un homme, & les lambeaus de plusieurs que les bestes n’avoient pas encore achevé de manger’; Anonymous, *Recit véritable*, pp. 34–35.

the violence had not been orderly and controlled in the name of the law but random and pleasure-oriented. In short, one could judge solely from the violence itself that it had not been a legitimate punishment because: (1) it was also enacted against people who cannot have been presumed guilty; (2) it included outrageous forms of violence which in no circumstances can constitute a legitimate form of punishment; (3) those who enacted it derived pleasure from it, or even carried it out solely for the sake of pleasure—making it cruel in a Montaignian sense. The author accordingly uses an inclusive language of identification:

There is no one, who has not discarded all sentiments of humanity, who can bear to hear this without trembling and who is not curious to know the reasons and motives that might have led to actions so barbarous and unheard-of.<sup>364</sup>

In an appeal to the provinces to raise funds, the States General similarly argued that the Waldensians had been treated with ‘gruesome, inhumane, and more than barbaric cruelty’.<sup>365</sup> Pity, conversely, is identified as an innate human property. Several pamphlets emphasize this with hyperbolic statements about how even barbaric people, such as cannibals—those on the margins of humanity—would protest against such cruelty. The Dutch pamphlet *Ephraim met Juda, dat is Engellant met Hollant, toonende dat de vereeniging van alle evangelische, protesterende, gereformeerde vorsten, staten, en kercken, een genoechsaeem middel is, om tot niet te maecken het moort-verbont der papisten, ’t welck sy, tot uytroyinge der gereformeerden, van outs, en nu weeder teegen de Waldensen hebben in het werck gestelt* (*Ephraim with Juda, which is England with Holland, showing that the unification of all Evangelical, Protesting, Reformed princes, states, and churches is a secure means of destroying the murderous covenant of the Papists, which they, to extirpate the Reformed, have endeavored as of old and now again against the Waldensians*), which will be examined in more detail below, for instance, argues that the event would be rejected by ‘men, Christians, Turks, and Barbarians, even by the men-eating

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<sup>364</sup> ‘[...] il n’y a personne, s’il n’a despoillé tout sentiment d’humanité, qui puisse les ouït raconter sans tremir, & qui ne soit curieux de sçavoir les raisons & les motifs qui ont peu donner lieu à un traitement si inouï, & si barbare’; Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, p. 1; the term ‘sentiment d’humanité’ is ambiguous and could refer to human sentiment, sentiment for humanity, or humanity. The Dutch translation of the pamphlet, for instance, translates it as ‘menschelijckheyt’ (humanity); Anonymous, *Waerachtich verbael, van ’t gene gepasseert is*.

<sup>365</sup> ‘[...] grouwelijcke, onmenschelicke ende meer als barbarische wreetheyt’; letter of the States General to the provinces, transcription in Rogge, ‘Vervolging der Waldenzen’, p. 169.

Tapuya' [Fig. 4].<sup>366</sup> By comparing the soldiers negatively to non-Christian peoples provided an argument that was both secular and religious. It presented the violence as outrageous by any human standard, degrading it to inhumane or beastly behavior. Since it was inhumane, it was all the more unchristian:

The pen falls from my hands describing these horrible things, from bringing back the thought alone, my body turns cold [...] one needs a diamond heart, a steel hand, & an iron feather to describe these tragic spectacles and the frightful prodigies of cruelty, unheard of in the most barbarous ancient times, let alone that they had ever been committed in Christendom.<sup>367</sup>

That the inhumanity of the event is distinguished from religious injustice becomes strikingly clear in the *Relation dernière*, which argues that both 'common right and the laws of God [...] do not permit that the innocent are punished as the guilty'.<sup>368</sup> In a Dutch version of the pamphlet 'common right' is translated as 'human rights' ('menschelijcke rechten').<sup>369</sup>

Since such stories appealed to a shared notion of what constitutes unacceptable violence, the Savoyard authorities were compelled to either deny them or refrain from discussing them. As we have seen, the *Somma delle ragioni* accordingly dealt almost exclusively with the legal aspects of the event while arguing that only people resisting had died by the hands of the duke's army. The *Relatione de' successi seguiti nella Valle di Luserna*, which Pianezza had written shortly before the 'Patent of Grace' ceased hostilities, adopted a different strategy by retaliating in kind.<sup>370</sup> It recounts how the Waldensian insurgents under the command of Joshua Javanel indulged in all sorts of 'extraordinary cruelties', including iconoclasm, the

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<sup>366</sup> 'Dit stuck sal vervloecht worden by menschen, christenen, by Turcken, by barbaren, jae by de menschen-etende Tapoyes'; J. Sceperus Amstel, *Ephraim met Juda. Opdraght aen alle evangelische, protesterende, gereformeerde vorsten, staten, en kercken, in Europa, voornamenlijck in het vry vereenigt Neederlandt ende in Engelandt* (Amsterdam, 1655), p. 60; the Dutch referred to non-Tupinamba Brazilian Indians as 'Tapuya', or 'wild people', who they believed to lack religion, cannibalize, and have no indigenous allies; see R. Parker Brienens, *Visions of savage paradise. Albert Eckhout, court painter in colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam, 2006), p. 118.

<sup>367</sup> 'La plume me tombe des mains en la description de ces horribles choses, voire seulement à les ramener en la pensée, tout le corps fremit [...]; il faugroi un coeur de diamant, une main d'acier, & une plume de fer pour descrire les tragiques spectacles, & les effroyables prodiges de cruauté qui se sont veus, inouïs dans l'antiquité la plus barbare; bien loin d'avoi iamais esté exercés dans la chretieneté; Anonymous, *Relation véritable*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>368</sup> '[...] le droit commun & la loy de Dieu, [...] ne permer de punir l'innocent pour le coupable'; Anonymous, *Relation dernière*, p. 20.

<sup>369</sup> 'Menschelijcke rechten'; Anonymous, *Laetst oft nieuwst authentyke en seer waerachtigh verbael*, p. 23.

<sup>370</sup> Laurenti, *Confini della comunità*, p. 189.

murder of numerous innocent Catholics ‘who had never even thought of troubling them’, and the mutilation of dead bodies.<sup>371</sup> The pamphlet concludes by arguing that every man should be able to see that the rebels had themselves ‘brought ruin over them’. This led them to publish strange reports

to excite compassion for their well-deserved chastisement and give a sinister impression of those who treated them justly and moderately, while they indulged in barbarous and inhumane behavior [...] against people over whom they had no authority, committing unheard of cruelties against the most innocent, their country- and kinsmen and those, who had had no knowledge at all, nor taken part in the troubles that had happened.<sup>372</sup>

### *Appropriating the Massacre*

That stories of atrocity served a political strategy on both sides does not imply that they were works of fiction. It has, of course, long become impossible to verify these accounts, but it is perfectly possible that at least some of these acts of violence had indeed been committed by soldiers and insurgents. It is important to note, however, that references to the early Christians, Indian tribes, and Turks had been tropes in early modern atrocity media since at least the Reformation. Stories of unborn children cut from their mothers’ wombs in accounts of the Piedmont Easter can also be found in contemporary publications about, among others, the Conquest of the New World, the Sack of Rome, and the Dutch Revolt.<sup>373</sup> Often, they harked back to biblical precedents. As such, the *Ephraim met Juda* calls the Savoyard army ‘spawn of

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<sup>371</sup> Anonymous, *Relazione de’ successi seguiti nella valle di Luserna*, transcription in Morland, *History of the Evangelical Churches*, pp. 402–403.

<sup>372</sup> ‘[...] che vanno facendo per eccitar, non solo comiseratione del loro tanto meritato castigo, ma sinistro concetto contro chi l’hà loro giustamente e moderamente stabilito, mentre essi con tanto barbarie & inumanità si sono portati’; Anonymous, *Relazione de’ successi*, p. 404.

<sup>373</sup> J. Airey, *The politics of rape. Sexual atrocity, propaganda wars, and the Restoration stage* (Newark, DE, 2012), p. 74; K. Hirt, ‘Der Sacco di Roma 1527 in einer zeitgenössischen italienischen Versflugschrift. Das Massaker und die Einheit der Nation’, in C. Vogel (ed.), *Bilder des Schreckens. Die mediale Inszenierung von Massakern seit dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt and New York, 2006), pp. 46–47; W. Cilleßen, ‘Massaker in der niederländischen Erinnerungskultur. Die Bildwerdung der Schwarzen Legende’, in Vogel (ed.), *Bilder des Schreckens*, pp. 93–135; E. Kuijpers, ‘The creation and development of social memories of traumatic events. The Oudewater massacre of 1575’, in K. Rutkowski and M. Linden Hurting (eds.), *Memories and beneficial forgetting. Posttraumatic stress disorders, biographical developments, and social conflicts* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp. 194–196; F. Edelmayer, ‘The “Leyenda Negra” and the circulation of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish prejudices’, *European History Online (EGO)* (2011), <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/edelmayerf-2010-en>.

Herod', referring to the Massacre of the Innocents.<sup>374</sup> To a considerable extent, and perhaps unintentionally, the communication of the massacre was thus 'premediated' by stories about historical episodes of (interconfessional) violence to which the community had access. As Astrid Erll argues, 'existent media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for new experience and its representation'.<sup>375</sup> Using 'existent patterns and paradigms [helped to] transform contingent events into meaningful images and narratives'.<sup>376</sup>



4. J. Sceperus, *Ephraim met Juda, dat is Engelant met Hollant* (Amsterdam, 1655). Resource: Special Collections, University of Amsterdam.

<sup>374</sup> 'Herodes-gebroot'; Sceperus, *Ephraim met Juda*, p. 61.

<sup>375</sup> A. Erll, 'Remembering across time, space, and culture. Premediation, remediation and the "Indian Mutiny"', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds.), *Media and cultural memory / Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung* (Berlin and New York, 2009), p. 111.

<sup>376</sup> Erll, 'Remembering across time', p. 114.

At the same time, references omitted can be as insightful as the ones that were made. None of the Waldensian pamphlets refer to famous episodes of religious persecution in recent history, such as the 1641 Ulster massacres in Ireland, the persecutions in the Low Countries under the Duke of Alba, or the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Not all of these events were equally famous throughout Europe, but the 1572 slaughtering of Huguenots in France must have been well known among (educated) Waldensians, as was the history of the United Provinces. Only in their request to the States General from 27 July did the Waldensian Assembly allude to the Dutch Revolt, arguing that 'the misery, which you have suffered in different times assures us of your Christian compassion'.<sup>377</sup>

That such references were not used in pamphlets was probably a conscious strategy. We must bear in mind that many of the pamphlets produced by the Waldensians to appeal to a European public were set on disproving the accusation that they had rebelled against their sovereign. They therefore told a story of violence inflicted upon the harmless and left out the armed resistance that followed the Piedmont Easter. Making explicit comparisons with the Dutch Revolt—which ultimately led to the abjuration of a king—could harm this carefully constructed image of murdered innocence. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, in turn, remained a highly controversial issue that stood in an uneasy relationship with the confessionally neutralized memory of the wars of religion adopted by the French Crown to maintain peace within his kingdom.<sup>378</sup> Evoking this event thus carried the risk of losing Louis XIV's goodwill.

But despite the Waldensians' reluctance to compare their current predicament with foreign religious conflicts, Dutchmen readily made associations with domestic politics. Unfortunately, there is only anecdotal evidence on how the Dutch felt about the news of the massacre, but it offers telling insight. In the evening of 9 September 1655—the national day of prayer declared by the States General for the Waldensians—several Reformed and Catholics had ended up in a fight at the port of Leiden, which had evolved from a discussion between a

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<sup>377</sup> 'De ellende die gij in andere tijden hebt geleden, verzekert ons van uw christelijk mededoogen'; cited by Rogge, 'Vervolging der Waldenzen', 143.

<sup>378</sup> D. van der Linden, 'Memorializing the wars of religion in early seventeenth-century French picture galleries. Protestants and Catholics painting the contested past', *Renaissance Quarterly* 70 (2017), pp. 169–170.

Catholic priest and a Reformed pastor about the Piedmont Easter.<sup>379</sup> During the brawl one of the Catholic men, a local named Jan Practijck, had shouted that the ‘Geusen’ (‘Beggars’)—a term of abuse for Protestants—deserved ‘a blow in their vests like [they had in] Savoy’.<sup>380</sup> Bailiff (*schout*) Gerard van Hoozeberg recounts in the city’s criminal verdict register that the crime

had not only been to the disadvantage of the true Christian Reformed Religion and [to] the disruption of the common peace of this state in general and the city in particular, but also to incite others to scheme evil deeds, with dangerous consequences which should under no circumstance be suffered in a well-off republic, but should be punished severely so as to deter.<sup>381</sup>

The city tribunal (*vierschaar*) took the crime seriously and sentenced Practijck to a flogging and lifelong banishment from Holland. This sense of religious tension was shared by provincial authorities. When the States General ordered the provinces to raise funds for the persecuted on 18 June, discussions arose as to how collections should be organized. According to Aitzema it was feared that if one went from door to door and the non-Reformed refused to donate or gave less this would thus ‘cause bitterness and estrangement’.<sup>382</sup> Instead, it was considered more prudent for charity to be collected in the different churches, so that the churchgoers would be guided by what ‘God sent to people’s hearts’.<sup>383</sup>

Pamphlets of Dutch origin also connected events to the Dutch Republic’s own confessional landscape. About a month after the massacre, The Hague printer Hendrik Hondius III printed the *Brief van een protestant in Switserland geschreven aen een sijn spetiael vriend woonende in Hollant* (*Letter of a Protestant written in Switzerland to his special friend in Holland*), a pamphlet—as the title suggests—in the form of a letter from May 1655. Whether the letter

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<sup>379</sup> Crimineel klachtboek. Manuscript, Schepenbank (Oud rechterlijk archief), Criminele vonnisboeken, 1455–1811, 508, inv. nr. 3. Regionaal Archief Leiden, p. 186; I want to thank Christine Kooi for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> ‘[...] streckende niet alleen tot naedeel vande waere christelijcke gereformeerde religie ende stooringe vande gemeene ruste van desen staet int generael ende vandestadt leijden int particulier, maer oock tot ophitsinge van anderen, om quaede saecken voor te nemen, mitsgaeders van seer schadelijcken pernicieusen ende periculeusen gevolge die in een welgestelde Republijcke geensints geleden, maer anderen tot afschrick scherpelijck gestraft behoorden te werden; *ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> ‘[...] verbitteringh of verwyderingh soude veroorsaecken’; Aitzema, *Saken van staet*, vol. 3, p. 1229.

<sup>383</sup> ‘[...] wat Godt een yeder in ‘t herte stuerde’; *ibid.*

had really originated as a part of private correspondence cannot be established, as both the author and the receiver remain anonymous. But the intended audience of the published pamphlet was clear; the letter is introduced with a short salutation to ‘the Christian reader’.<sup>384</sup> The salutation explains that the purpose of the publication is to ‘express pity for the persecuted Christians, which the appendage of Rome has tried to mute by spreading guileful lies in this country’.<sup>385</sup> The opposition between false information, consciously and maliciously spread in the United Provinces, and the truth as it was supposedly found in the letter, is remarkable, as there were—at least to our knowledge—no published works defending the persecution in circulation in the Republic at the time. The first (surviving) pamphlets in the United Provinces that outright defended the Savoyards did not appear until early August.<sup>386</sup>

Perhaps the pamphlet referred to rumor, communicated orally in the streets or in the Catholic community, like that which led to the banishment of *Practijck* in Leiden. But here too, we see that news about the Waldensians was premediated, as the pamphlet makes sense of events through the trope of ‘deceitful popery’. There was a widely shared belief among Protestants in the seventeenth century that Catholicism was an anti-religion, the absolute opposite and enemy of the true Church. The argument went that the Catholic Church’s very essence was to spread lies and disguise its intentions to destroy the Protestant world and replace it with anti-Christian tyranny.<sup>387</sup> In the Dutch Republic anti-Catholicism was never as virulent as it was across the Channel; Catholics were structurally discriminated against, but not often actively persecuted.<sup>388</sup> Yet in times of political crisis, Dutch Catholics were often regarded with

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<sup>384</sup> Anonymous, *Brief van een protestant in Switserland, gheschreven aen een zyn speciaal vriend woonende in Hollant, inhoudende een warachtigh verhael van een deel vande barbarysche wreetheyt ghedaen door de Savoyesen ende haren aenhangsel, tegen de arme Gereformeerde Kercken inde Valleye van Piedmont* (The Hague, 1655), pfl. 7621.

<sup>385</sup> ‘[...] om met haer medelijden te hebben, ‘twelck het aenhangsel van Roomen heeft soecken te dempen door valsche leughenen, diese in dit Lant ghesaeyt hebben’; Anonymous, *Brief van een protestant*.

<sup>386</sup> The two court-issued publications, the *Relatione de’ successi* and the *Somma delle ragioni*, were both published in Turin in mid-July, but must have taken at least two weeks to start circulating in the United Provinces, if they circulated there at all. The *Manifest of verhael van het bedrijf der Vaudoisen* did not appear until August (see Chapter 1).

<sup>387</sup> P. Lake, ‘Anti-popery. The structure of a prejudice’, in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in early Stuart England. Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642* (London, 1989), pp. 75–76.

<sup>388</sup> Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics*, pp. 90–129.

suspicion as a potential fifth column.<sup>389</sup> Well into the eighteenth century, the United Provinces recurrently witnessed panics among Protestants about Catholics plotting to massacre them.<sup>390</sup>

Such conspiracy theories were, of course, predicated on a cultural memory of religious violence. Dutch Calvinists were familiar with the narratives about the Dutch Revolt, the religious wars in France, and, more recently, the 1641 Ulster massacres in Ireland. It was therefore not hard to imagine that the Catholic deceit that surrounded the Piedmont Easter was also known in the United Provinces. News about a foreign religious persecution turned such narratives into present realities. As such, the event provided an opportunity to discuss the Republic's confessional landscape within an ongoing public discussion. Since the authorities were involved and had encouraged public involvement, there was a relatively friendly climate to publicly discuss such issues.

The *Brief van een protestant in Switserland* is rather ambiguous in its observation about Dutch Catholics. The author argues that Catholics in the Netherlands, where 'they are forced to live among the people of our confession', might perhaps indulge in the same sort of cruelties under false pretexts as had happened in Piedmont.<sup>391</sup> However, he deems it to be unlikely, 'because the lies they forged will not damage the truth of the people close to these desolate places and have themselves heard it from the mouths of those who saw it'.<sup>392</sup> In other words, the international distribution of news about the event is deemed important not only for the sake of the persecuted in question, but also because of the hazardous consequences that false pretexts can have for the security of the Dutch Republic. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the Dutch pro-Savoyard *Manifest of verhael van het bedrijf der Vaudoisen* made a similar point, albeit in defense of the Savoyard court. The argument made in the *Brief van een protestant in Switserland* rests on the widely shared idea of Dutch Catholics as misinformed and susceptible to deceit,

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid., p. 58; E. Bergin, 'Defending the true faith. Religious themes in Dutch pamphlets on England, 1688–1689', in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, p. 249.

<sup>390</sup> J. Spaans, 'Violent dreams, peaceful coexistence. On the absence of religious violence in the Dutch Republic', *De zeventiende eeuw* 18 (2003), pp. 4–6; see also W.T.M. Frijhoff, 'De paniek van juni 1734', *Archief voor de katholieke geschiedenis van Nederland* 19 (1977), pp. 170–233.

<sup>391</sup> '[...] daer sy bedwongen zijn te leven onder 't volck van onse professie'; Anonymous, *Brief van een protestant*, p. 5.

<sup>392</sup> '[...] ende ick dencke niet dat hare ghesmeden leughen niet en sal beschadigen de waerheyt vande personen / die nae by de woeste plaetse zijn / en het selve gehoort hebben uyt den mondt vande gene die 'tgesien hebben / ende uyt de mondt vande gene die 'tgesien hebben'; *ibid.*

but not necessarily evil. Indeed, the author argues that ‘the best among the papists [are] ashamed of this barbaric cruelty’.<sup>393</sup>

Another originally Dutch pamphlet, the *Twee bedenckelijcke reden, uyt oorsaecke van de afgrijslijcke moordt der onnosele Waldensen* (*Two questionable reasons for the horrible murder of the innocent Waldensians*), argues in a similar fashion. The pamphlet uses the Piedmont Easter as a starting point to present a general treatise on the evil of popery and the need to ‘build an armada of more than a hundred thousand men against this common enemy’, a narrative in which the Waldensians take only a modest place.<sup>394</sup> In the preface, however, the author admonishes the reader to be well disposed toward Catholic laymen, in the hope that they at some point see the light.<sup>395</sup> Foreign popery may have been the main threat to Protestantism, but Catholics could still be won for the true religion.<sup>396</sup> In short, we see that in Dutch appropriations, the massacre of the Waldensians becomes a reference point for discussions that transcend the specificity of the case. News about foreign religious persecutions turned old narratives into present realities. Since the States General was involved and had encouraged public involvement, it was fairly safe to publicize these issues.

In accordance with the idea of the Piedmont Easter as part of a bigger tale about the danger of Catholicism, the Dutch pamphlets are not only more decisively framed within the normative principle of religion. They also differ from Waldensian pamphlets in the kind of information they provide. Apart from a limited number of religious truth claims, the Waldensian pamphlets primarily purport to provide facts—in order to maintain their credibility and avoid further accusations of *lèse-majesté*. The Dutch pamphlets, on the other hand, do not contain lengthy legal discussions; the specificities and context of the violence inflicted by a foreign prince became irrelevant within their religious framing of events. Instead, Dutch pamphleteers provided rallying cries, albeit rather unspecific ones. Recontextualizing the Piedmont Easter in an eschatological framework, the Dutch authors leave aside the historical,

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<sup>393</sup> ‘De fijnste vande Papisten schamen haer van dese Barbarische wreetheyt’; *ibid.*

<sup>394</sup> ‘[...] een armade van meer als hondert duysent man uyt maecken / teghens den al-gemeynen vyandt’; Anonymous, *Twee bedenckelijcke reden, uyt oorsaecke van de afgrijslijcke moordt der onnosele Waldensen* (s.l. 1655), pfl. 7636.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>396</sup> Lake, ‘Anti-popery’, p. 83.

legal, and anecdotal specificities of the massacre. Instead, they tell a transcendental truth, urging good Christians to stand up and fight the Catholic threat.

The case of the Waldensians thus becomes a subchapter in what Tony Claydon calls the master narrative of confessional strife in Europe.<sup>397</sup> This combination of exhortation and appeals to religious brotherhood is particularly visible in the pamphlet *Ephraim met Juda*, written by the orthodox Calvinist minister Jacobus Sceperus from Gouda. The full title translates as *Ephraim with Juda, which is England with Holland, showing that the unification of all Evangelical, Protesting, Reformed princes, states, and churches is a secure means of destroying the murderous covenant of the Papists, which they have endeavored as usual and now again against the Waldensians*. As the title suggests, the booklet is mainly concerned with the relationship between England and the Dutch Republic, as these countries had agreed on a peace the year before, after the first war between the two states (1652–54). In fact, *Ephraim met Juda* was a sequel to the 1653 *Manasse against Ephraim*, which Sceperus had written during the first Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>398</sup>

The *Ephraim met Juda* pamphlet aimed to counter the ideology of the Statist regime, which had abolished the institute of stadtholder after a failed coup d'état and sudden demise of William II, Prince of Orange. Statists, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, pursued a foreign policy based upon the principles of reason of state and mercantilism; national interest and the increase of state power revolved around economic expansion. Mercantile ideology dominated Dutch propaganda and fostered a sense of economic rivalry with England.<sup>399</sup> Accordingly, few pamphleteers had advocated peace during the war.<sup>400</sup>

Sceperus countered this reason of state political maxim by comparing the Dutch with the Israelites, a chosen people who had fought against ungodly tyranny.<sup>401</sup> The idea of the

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<sup>397</sup> Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*.

<sup>398</sup> J. Sceperus, *Manasse teegen Ephraim. dat is Engelandt teegen Hollandt* (Amsterdam, 1653), pfl 7436. In 1666 another follow-up pamphlet was published that commented on the second Anglo-Dutch War. J. Sceperus, *Juda en Israel teegens Benjamin mitsgaders Engelant teegen Hollant voorgesteld nyt Judic. 20, vers 27, 28* (Amsterdam, 1666), pfl 9389.

<sup>399</sup> G. Rommelse, 'Mountains of iron and gold. Mercantilist ideology in Anglo-Dutch relations (1650–1674)', in D. Onnekink and G. Rommelse (eds.), *Ideology and foreign policy in early modern Europe (1650–1750)* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 243–266.

<sup>400</sup> Helmers, *Royalist republic*, p. 12.

<sup>401</sup> See S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1987); C. Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht, 1983); Van der Steen, *Memory wars in the Low Countries*, pp. 75, 282, 288.

United Provinces as a ‘New Israel’ had often been used, but the author gave it a supranational spin by identifying the whole Protestant world as Israel. The individual Reformed states and communities constituted Israel’s tribes. Sceperus thus deploras the Anglo-Dutch War as a war between brothers—just like the long struggle between the tribes of Manasse and Ephraim. Both England and the United Provinces sucked on ‘the breasts of Zion with all the believers, becoming satiated and refreshed from the fullness of her glory’, making the war between them against God’s will.<sup>402</sup> In recent years, the pope had managed to pit Protestants against one another, first in Germany—during the Thirty Years’ War—and recently between England and the United Provinces. Rome could rest assured that these wars would do more harm to the Protestant cause than the Inquisition, gunpowder plots, and murder had ever done.<sup>403</sup> Sceperus thus sketches the image of a civil war, a struggle ‘of the left arm, against the right one, of the throat against the stomach, of the stomach against the liver’.<sup>404</sup> As such, ‘every gain was a loss and every victory was a defeat for the Reformed world’.<sup>405</sup> To increase the work’s authority it was published with the stamp of approval of two preachers, who testified that the document was ‘deemed good, conforming to Scripture, and devotional’.<sup>406</sup> This was done in accordance with the 55th Article of the Synod of Dordt, which forbade Reformed Protestants from publishing anything concerning religion that had not been approved by a Reformed theologian.<sup>407</sup>

Sceperus’ sectarian call for solidarity among the Protestant ‘tribes’ against the ungodly Catholic Church resembles the rhetoric used by Gisbertus Voetius, the most influential voice among the few Dutch supporters of the Parliamentarians during the English Civil War.<sup>408</sup> The fact that Sceperus swam against mainstream Dutch public discourse about England should make us aware of a potential irony in the study of public opinion. As Helmer Helmers reminds

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<sup>402</sup> ‘[...] suygen met alle geloovigen / aen eene brosten Zions, en worden sat, en verquicken ons aen de volheynt haerer heerlijckheynt’; Sceperus, *Manasse teegen Ephraim*, p. 5.

<sup>403</sup> Sceperus, *Ephraim met Juda*, p. 2.

<sup>404</sup> ‘[...] een krijgh van de slinker arm, teeghen de rechter; van de keel, teeghen de maeg; van de maeg, teegen de leever’; *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>405</sup> ‘[...] dat de winst hier verlies; en alle ooverwinninghe een neerlaeg voor de gereformeerde weereelt was’; *ibid.*

<sup>406</sup> ‘[...] goedt, schrift–maetich, en stichtelijck bevonden’; *ibid.*

<sup>407</sup> *Kercken–ordeninge; gestelt inde Nationalen Synode der Ghereformeerde Kercken / te samen beroepen / en gehouden by laste vande Hooghmo. Heeren Staten Generael van de Vereenighde Nederlanden binnen Dordrecht, inden Iare 1618. ende 1619* (Utrecht, 1620).

<sup>408</sup> Helmers, *Royalist republic*, pp. 66–67.

us, the prevalence of one political take on events in the printed press might, in fact, reveal that it was the minority view, one of which people still needed to be convinced. Following this line of reasoning, the dominant view did not have to be defended through pamphlets.<sup>409</sup> In this case it appears, however, that Sceperus strategically used the dominant sentiment concerning the Waldensians to foster a minority view on a different matter.

One may wonder at this point what remains of the humanitarian discourse in Dutch pamphlets. Interestingly, Sceperus at some point refers to the Duke of Alba—the military commander who was sent to pacify the Low Countries by Philip II and served as archnemesis in the stories the Dutch told each other about the Dutch Revolt ever since—as ‘a human without humanity’ and he recurrently refers to bloodthirst of the papists.<sup>410</sup> The author then proceeds to explain why the Savoyards took pains to have the massacre appear like a secular punishment. In the past, he argues, they had not held back from persecuting the Waldensians as heretics. However, times had changed and in this century, in which ‘the inquisition had become so hated and cursed by the world’, one would do better to persecute religious enemies as ‘mutineers, rebels, and insurgents’.<sup>411</sup> The preacher believes that shame now guided Savoy, or at least the awe for Europe’s Reformed powers.<sup>412</sup> Indeed, the Spaniards had similarly changed their policy during the Dutch Revolt in face of the international community:

First, they condemned all the inhabitants of the land to the flames as Beggars and heretics [...] But since this behavior of the Spaniards was horrible in the eyes of many princes and potentates in Europe, the false and evil duke of Alba demanded from the Dutch things with which they could not consent without losing their honor and oath, property and blood.<sup>413</sup>

Having contextualized the persecution in this eschatological religious framework, as part of the enduring struggle between the true Reformed churches and the whore of Babylon,

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<sup>409</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>410</sup> ‘[...] een mensche sonder menschelijckheyt’; Sceperus, *Ephraim met Juda*, p. 41.

<sup>411</sup> ‘Maer sulcx niet dervende nu doen in dese eeuwe / waer in de Inquisiti so gehaet en gevloecht is in de weerelt / wordt op haer den naem van muytijns, rebellen, weederspannige [gelegd]’; *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>413</sup> ‘Eerst heeft men / door de Inquisiti, alle de inwoonderen des lants / als Geusen en ketteren ter vlamme gedoemt [...] Maer vemrits een sodaenich doen der Spangjaerden seer af-schouwelijk was in de oogen van veele princen en potentaten van Europa; so doet men / door eenen loosen en boosen *Duc d’Alba*, den Neerlanderen dingen vergen / die sy behoudens eer en eet / goet en bloet / niet toestemmen conden’; *ibid.*, p. 63.

Sceperus concludes his treatise with a rhetorical move not found in any of the other pamphlets, namely by making an explicit call:

Wake up all kings, princes, and states in Europe, which have the true restored religion and want to retain that in your countries [...] Wake up and set aside the differences in religion that have been driven hard for too long; Satisfy each other and unite [...] because if you will not harmonize [...] be assured that stinking holes and prisons will become the houses of your subjects; racks their beds, shackles their jewelry; tears their food and drink; transport and planting out in foreign countries [...] murder, burning, hanging, choking, decapitating, and drowning of fellow citizens will be the daily [...] spectacle.<sup>414</sup>

Another opinion maker who preferred religious unity to dogmatic purity was Lieuwe van Aitzema, but he turned the whole argument around. The lion's share of the diplomat's ideas on religion and politics are found in his reflections on the Piedmont Easter. We have already seen that Aitzema believed that the Duke of Savoy, as the Waldensians' sovereign lord, had had every right to persecute them. From the perspective of the Waldensians, in turn, he argues that they had had no right to exist in the first place. Aitzema argues that even if the Waldensians had learned of the true religion when it was first brought to Italy, and had continued to follow it when Rome went astray, separating from the larger Church had been *ipso facto* wrong, as it had caused disunity within Christendom.

In the eyes of the ambassador, the whole Reformation had only led to continuous fracture. Even though all religions scream for unity, they only want it on their own terms.<sup>415</sup> Aitzema argues that ultimately only the pope could duly be lauded for keeping uniformity, concluding that the Waldensians have separated themselves from their princes 'for pedantry, and some ways of speaking [and] for the ceremonies that their sovereign approved of, like the

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<sup>414</sup> 'Waeckt op alle coningen, princen, en staten in Europe, welcke den waeren christelijcken, herstelden gods-dienst hebt, en houden wilt in uwe landen [...] Waeckt op / set aen een zijde, die al te langh en hart ghedreevene Verschillen ontrent den gods-dienst. Bevreedigt, en vereenigt alle met malkanderen, ten minsten daer in, dat ghy ghelijckelijck de moort-messen afweert van de strotten en keelen uwer onderdaenen en geloofs-genooten. So ghy luyden niet eendrachtich wort / en yvert in desen / zijt verseeckert / dat stinckende gaeten en gevanckenissen sullen de Wooningen worden van uwe onderdaenen; pijn-bancken, haere bedden; boeyens, hare verciersselen; traenen, haere spijsse en dranck; vervoeringen en verplantingen in vremde landen [...] moorden, branden, hangen, verworgen, onthalsen, en verdrencken der meede-borgeren, sullen haere daegelijcxse schou-speelen en vertooningen zijn'; *ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>415</sup> Aitzema, *Saken van staet*, vol. 3, pp. 1241–1242.

German princes and cities equally obliged their subjects to uniformity'.<sup>416</sup> This last observation is interesting, as it describes the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, the right of German princes to decide what religion would be allowed and practiced in their lands. Aitzema makes no mention, however, of the recent Peace of Westphalia, which built upon the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, but had extended the rights of dissidents against their rulers; the peace had used the religious landscape of the 'standard year' 1624 as a benchmark; all religious privileges held by a religious group at this moment would be maintained or be restored. Moreover, the peace adopted the principle of freedom of conscience. As such, the prince's *ius reformandi*—the right to enforce his religion on his subjects—had become considerably limited.<sup>417</sup>

Aitzema must have been well acquainted with these extensions of religious toleration, but they did not serve his point about the importance of religious uniformity and a state church. Like Sceperus, Aitzema framed the Waldensian question as one of the many faces of a larger European religio-political problem. Both ultimately did so to make a point about domestic politics, leading them to care more about the message than about the details of Europe's religio-political landscape that were used to support that message.

### *Conclusion*

'Caro fratello Francesco, benvenuto', were the warm words with which Pastor Paolo Ribet welcomed Pope Francis I into his community's temple in Turin on 21 June 2015. Francis I thus became the first pontiff to visit a Waldensian church.<sup>418</sup> The ceremony held in the church was a reckoning with the past. 830 years after Rome had excommunicated the Waldensians as heretics the pope asked for forgiveness for the heavy persecutions they had suffered since:

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<sup>416</sup> '[...] om eenige neuswijsheydt / ende manieren van spreecken / [en] om de ceremonien die haer souverain goedt vondt / gelijk de Duytsche Rijcxvorsten / ende steden elck hare onderdanen desghelijcks obligeerden tot uniformiteyt'; *ibid.*, p. 1243.

<sup>417</sup> See R. Asch, 'Religious toleration, the Peace of Westphalia and the German territorial estates', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation* 20–1 (2000), pp. 75–89; B. Straumann, 'The Peace of Westphalia (1648) as a secular constitution', *Constellations* 15–2 (2008), pp. 173–188.

<sup>418</sup> "'Caro fratello Francesco, benvenuto". il saluto dei Valdesi al Papa. Bergoglio. "Vi chiedo perdono per ciò che Chiesa vi ha fatto", *La Repubblica*, 22 June 2015, [http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2015/06/22/news/il\\_papa\\_a\\_torino\\_per\\_ka\\_prima\\_volta\\_nella\\_storia\\_n\\_el\\_tempio\\_valdese-117406386/](http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2015/06/22/news/il_papa_a_torino_per_ka_prima_volta_nella_storia_n_el_tempio_valdese-117406386/).

Reflecting on the history of our relations, we cannot but grieve in front of the disputes and the violence committed in the name of our faith. [...] On the part of the Catholic Church, I ask you forgiveness for the non-Christian, even non-human, attitudes and behaviors that, in history, we have had against you. In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, forgive us.<sup>419</sup>

Rejecting persecution as inhumane is not a modern invention. As this chapter has shown, one argumentative strategy used by the Waldensians was very similar to the humanitarian vocabulary of Francis I. The Waldensians advocated their cause abroad mainly with recourse to two normative principles: rule of law and humanity. On the one hand, they hoped for international help, which required them to prove their alleged innocence of rebellion. Hence, they painstakingly elaborated on the legal details of their relationship with their ruler. On the other hand, they aimed for the widest possible denunciation of the massacre. This was possible with an inclusive language of atrocity, which focused on human rather than religious suffering. Although this narrative certainly tapped from a transnational cultural repertoire that had developed in the sixteenth century, the wars of religion were absent as explicit reference points. This deconfessionalized communication of religious persecution was politically prudent. Not only had the Waldensians found shelter in the French Dauphiné, they had also realized that their closest allies, the Reformed Swiss, had become extremely wary of religious conflict.

The persecuting party, by contrast, had initially communicated the conflict for domestic propaganda within the normative principles of religion, structuring it as a victory of the true Church over heresy. However, there had been no political incentive to internationally publicize what had happened in valleys of Piedmont. When the court of Savoy began to realize that they were losing an internationalized propaganda war their policy turned and they adopted a similar deconfessionalized rhetorical strategy to the one used by the Waldensians, with appeals to the normative principles of rule of law and humanity. In short, both the insurgents and the authorities applied secular strategies when appealing to an unspecified international audience.

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<sup>419</sup> [...] riflettendo sulla storia delle nostre relazioni, non possiamo che rattristarci di fronte alle contese e alle violenze commesse in nome della propria fede. [...] Da parte della Chiesa Cattolica vi chiedo perdono per gli atteggiamenti e i comportamenti non cristiani, persino non umani che, nella storia, abbiamo avuto contro di voi. In nome del Signore Gesù Cristo, perdonateci'; 'Papa Francesco ai valdesi. "Perdonateci per le violenze commesse contro di voi"', 22 June 2015, *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/06/22/papa-francesco-ai-valdesi-perdonateci-per-le-violenze-commesse-contro-di-voi/1801878/>.

This does not mean that they did not perceive the persecutions within a normative religious framework. But they understood that appeals to religion were impractical in an international setting. This suggests that the secularization of normative principles is not solely a consequence of changing views about the relation between religion and politics. Instead, using secular political languages was a strategic necessity to establish questions of (in)justice on an international and therefore multiconfessional stage.

This led to a remarkable dynamic. In bookshops Dutch people could buy the printed disputes between a faraway prince and his subjects. To account for their international readership, both these parties appealed to secular normative principles. Dutch pamphleteers subsequently built upon these works but ‘reconfessionalized’ the conflict, using the massacre to discuss domestic issues about religion and politics—appealing to the normative principle of religion. We thus see that international players had access to the United Provinces’ public sphere, but much of the momentum depended on the Dutch giving a domestic spin to the story, connecting faraway politics with local hopes and fears. In the next chapter, we will explore whether this combination of foreign initiative and Dutch appropriation was necessary for a persecution to be featured in the United Provinces’ discussion culture.



## Chapter 3

# Confronting Louis XIV? Publicity for the Huguenots before the Revocation (1681-84)

The Prince of Orange: 'I play with hearts, even though I only have ace, yet I would risk it all if I would be allowed to.'

Anonymous, *Het Princelyk Spel van l'Ombre* (1684)<sup>420</sup>

'For a hobby-horse, a child will be made to say, he hath a mind to go to mass.'

Pierre Jurieu, *The last efforts of afflicted innocence* (1681)<sup>421</sup>

Louis XIV has gone down in history as an intolerant king who tried to eradicate the Reformed religion from his realm. By imposing religious uniformity onto his subjects, he caused, if not the biggest, certainly the most famous religious exodus in early modern Europe.<sup>422</sup> Yet the Sun King had not always had the reputation of being intolerant. When Louis became king as a four-year-old in 1643 the court had been on unprecedentedly friendly terms with the realm's Protestant minority.<sup>423</sup> After the Fronde, a bitter civil war that had plagued the realm between 1648 and 1653, chief minister Cardinal Mazarin made the young king publicly express his gratitude to his Huguenot subjects for their enduring loyalty.<sup>424</sup> In this light, the request of the Commonwealth of England and the Dutch Republic to the French king—a seemingly moderate Catholic monarch of a biconfessional state who hoped for an alliance with

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<sup>420</sup> 'De Prins van Orangien. Ik speel met harten, en schoon ik maer een aes heb, so sou ik egter wel alles durven wagen indien 't my toegelaten wiert'; Anonymous, *Het Princelyk Spel van l'Ombre* (s.l. 1684), pflit 11944, p. 7.

<sup>421</sup> [P. Jurieu], *The last efforts of afflicted innocence, being an account of the persecution of the Protestants of France, and a vindication of the Reformed religion from the aspersions of disloyalty and rebellion, charg'd on it by the Papists* (London, 1982), p. 60.

<sup>422</sup> See E. Birnstiel and C. Bernat (eds.), *La diaspora des Huguenots. Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 2001).

<sup>423</sup> G. Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2013), p. 279.

<sup>424</sup> J. Wolf, *Louis XIV. A profile* (London, 1972), p. 176.

England—to mediate between the court of Savoy and the Waldensians had not been an unlikely one.<sup>425</sup> Indeed, the king had already ordered his governor in the Dauphiné, which bordered Piedmont, to protect all Waldensian refugees and provide them with food and shelter.<sup>426</sup>

Shortly after the massacre in Piedmont had taken place, Willem Boreel, the Dutch ambassador to the court of Louis XIV, whom we have met in Chapter 1, wrote a letter to Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, in which he explained the stance of the young king toward the persecuted Waldensians:

I have been informed on good authority that the Court of France completely disapproves of the massacre committed in the valleys of Piedmont [...] The King even wrote a letter to the Madame Royale [Christine of France] and to the Duke of Savoy to engage them for restoring the Waldensians in their old homes.<sup>427</sup>

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Boreel remained wary that the ‘bigoted and impetuous’ French would once again lapse into a new era of confessional conflict. Yet he had probably never expected that their king would come to make it his personal project to eradicate the Reformed religion from his realm, culminating into an outright prohibition of its exercise. Nevertheless, in the years before his death in Paris in 1668, Boreel would witness the Huguenots face new restrictions on the rights, among others, to gather, to communicate between congregations, and to contract mixed marriages.<sup>428</sup>

In the early 1680s a stricter interpretation of the Edict of Nantes (1598) was reinforced, with the actual stripping away of rights and privileges and active persecutions. Between May and November 1681, the Huguenots of Poitou were the first to be subjected to a *dragonnade*, in which billeted soldiers were ordered to harass their hosts into conversion.<sup>429</sup> In the following

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<sup>425</sup> See Chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>426</sup> Letter from Willem Boreel to Johan de Witt, 10 June 1655, in *Lettres et negociations*, vol. 1, pp. 328–329; for France’s policy toward the Waldensians see Laurenti, *Confini della comunità*, pp. 204–206.

<sup>427</sup> ‘Je suis informé de bonne part que la cour de France dès–aprouve entierement le Massacre commis depuis eu dans les vallées du Piemont [...] & même que le roi a écrit à Madame Royale [Christine de France] & à Mr. le Duc de Savoye pour les engager à rétablir les Vaudois dans leurs anciennes demeures’; letter from Willem Boreel to Johan de Witt, 11 June 1655, in *Lettres et negociations*, vol. 1, p. 328.

<sup>428</sup> D. Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the coming of religious freedom* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 25–26.

<sup>429</sup> L. Bernard, ‘Foucault, Louvois, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes’, *Church History* 25–1 (1956), p. 33; the term *dragonnade* was coined by Pierre Jurieu; L. Panhuysen, *Oranje tegen de Zonnekoning. De strijd van Williem III en Lodewijk XIV om Europa* (Amsterdam and Antwerpen, 2016), p. 285.

years, Huguenots in different parts of the realm would suffer a similar fate. As circumstances became increasingly dire in France, neighboring states began to welcome the first waves of exiles in the years before the actual revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Historians have long recognized the cultural impact of Huguenot refugees on their host societies.<sup>430</sup> Shifting focus to the experience of exile, Carolyn Chappell Lougee and David van der Linden have recently offered important new insight into how refugees (re)negotiated and nurtured their (religious) identity by sharing their memory of persecution and flight. Indeed, Van der Linden remarks that if in the late seventeenth century you were looking for enthralling adventure stories you would be best to go to a Huguenot exile.<sup>431</sup> This raises the question whether many people were looking for such a story, and whether or how refugees were willing to share them. In fact, there is reason to believe that the communication between the newcomers and their hosts was rather minimal.

The *Hollandse Mercurius* again offers an interesting first glimpse. One can imagine that many of the refugees arriving in the United Provinces must have been curious about how their recent predicament had been covered in the foreign press. To get a more or less coherent view of news about the persecutions in the preceding year, Abraham Casteleyn's popular almanac would have been an obvious work to turn to. An added advantage was that the *Mercurius*—the same periodical that had once so extensively and empathically elaborated on the fate of the Waldensians, had been pirated since 1672 by the brothers Boom—and was now also available in French.<sup>432</sup> Yet buyers of the 1681 edition—the year of the first *dragonnades*—could read little about the persecutions in France: Casteleyn describes how in the midst of a conflict between Rome and Paris, the French clergy had begun a campaign to convert the realm's Protestants to the Catholic religion; the author dryly remarks that a new law which allowed seven-year-olds to convert might 'be judged as violent by some';<sup>433</sup> he overestimated that up to 100,000 people

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<sup>430</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>431</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, p. 163.

<sup>432</sup> Abraham Casteleyn had taken over the almanac after the death of his brother in 1677; Verhoeven and Van der Veen, *Hollandse Mercurius*, p. 69; H. Bots and J. Sgard, 'Le Mercure Hollandais (1672–1684)', in *Dictionnaire des journaux 1600–1789* (2015), <http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0944-le-mercure-hollandais>; Verhoeven and Van der Veen, *Hollandse Mercurius*, p. 60.

<sup>433</sup> '[...] die sommige voor geweldtdaedige souden konnen oordeelen'; A. Casteleyn, *Hollandse Mercurius, Verhalende de voornaemste saken van staet en andere voorvallen, die in en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden en elders in Europa in het Jaer 1681 zijn geschiet* (Haarlem, 1682), p. 146.

had fled the country to prevent their children from being taken away. He also provided transcriptions of official announcements made by Charles II of England and the Duke of Ormond, viceroy of Ireland, inviting all refugees to settle in their lands.<sup>434</sup>

Only in the 1683 edition does the *Hollandse Mercurius* first elaborate on the violence committed against the Huguenots. It recounts how the king's placards were executed with rigor and that any preacher who had taken care of Catholics who had converted to the Reformed religion was himself forced to convert to Catholicism. The churches in which conversions had taken place were razed and guarded by soldiers to prevent the Reformed from gathering at the ruins. Those who still preached there would be executed for sedition.<sup>435</sup> In the 1684 edition, Casteleyn sketches a bleak picture:

From France, where the light of the Reformation once broke through so clearly, one hear[s] nothing but the thick, dark mist of oppression, forged by the Roman clergy, church after church is closed and reduced to rubble upon the least pretense, preachers are trampled upon and chased away, the Reformed thwarted from leaving the country and forced, with or without their minds, to become members of the Roman Church: And this so far that the small remnant of this religion, if God does not hinder it, will soon be fully annihilated.<sup>436</sup>

The *Hollandse Mercurius*' description is as ominous as it is opaque. Readers learned few details about the actual violence suffered. They would search in vain for a more elaborate discussion on Louis' restrictive policies, the respective responsibility of court and clergy, or the response of the Huguenots. Indeed, the two sentences quoted above are the only ones devoted to the

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<sup>434</sup> Ibid., pp. 148–153. The Irish government had been sending agents to France since the 1660s to persuade Huguenots to settle on the island and increase the number of Protestants; S. Lachenicht, 'Differing perceptions of the refuge? Huguenots in Ireland and Great Britain and their attitudes towards the governments' religious policy (1660–1710)', in A. Dunan–Page (ed.), *The religious culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 43.

<sup>435</sup> A. Casteleyn, *Hollandse Mercurius, Verbalende de Voornaemste Saken van Staet en andere Voorvallen, die in en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden en elders in Europa in het Jaer 1683 zyn geschie* (Haarlem, 1684), pp. 193–194.

<sup>436</sup> 'Uyt Vranckrijck / daer eertijts het Licht van de Reformatie soo helder doorgebroocken is geweest / vernam men niet / als dicke duystere Nevelen van Verdruckingen / door de Roomsse Geestelijckheyt gesmeet / Kerck op Kerck / op de minste blick van schijn–reden / gesloten / en tot Puynhopen gemaect / Predicanten geschopt en verjaegt / de Gereformeerde het vertrecken buzten 's Lants verhindert / en gedwongen / 't zy met of tegen haer gemoet / Medeleden van Roomsse Kerck te werden: en dat soo ver / dat het kleyn overschot van die Religie / soo 't God niet verhindert / in 't kort / t'eenemael verdelgt sal werden'; A. Casteleyn, *Hollandse Mercurius, Verbalende de Voornaemste Saken van Staet en andere Voorvallen, die in en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden en elders in Europa in het Jaer 1684 zyn geschie* (Haarlem, 1685), pp. 276–277.

fate of the Reformed in 1684, the year in which a wave of *dragonnades*, beginning in Béarn, washed over the realm, heralding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685.<sup>437</sup>

In Chapters 1 and 2 we have seen that the Dutch learned about the persecutions in Piedmont because the persecuted in question strategically raised public awareness for their cause. The relative silence of the *Hollandse Mercurius*—and, as we will see, the Dutch press in general—would thus suggest that the persecuted Huguenots did not voice their concerns abroad, perhaps because they believed this to be politically imprudent. In a pioneering study on Dutch publicity for the Huguenots, Hans Bots has indeed suggested that the Dutch press paid little attention to the predicament of the Huguenots because of a conscious strategy of restraint. He provides evidence that before the Revocation the persecuted tried to curb the foreign printed attention for the persecutions, fearing that it could hurt their cause.<sup>438</sup> Supposedly, this strategy was rather successful; Bots claims that before 1685 there were no pamphlets coming off the Dutch presses discussing the fate of the Reformed in France.<sup>439</sup> This supports the observation made in Chapter 1, that international publicity for religious persecution rested on the initiative of the persecuted themselves to raise international awareness for their cause. In Chapter 2, however, we have seen that persecution literature did not entirely depend on the input of the persecuted themselves. In 1655 Dutch pamphleteers eagerly appropriated the news of and reframed it for political purposes.

If we briefly move our focus to Restoration England in the early 1680s, we can, in fact, observe the same dynamic. Anne-Dunan Page has shown that already in 1681 the Huguenot persecutions gave rise to fierce polemic. Refugees and news about the persecutions crossed the Channel at a moment of particular religious and political unrest. The Popish Plot had given rise to anti-Catholic hysteria. Whigs and Tories were at each other's throats over the impending succession of a Catholic to the throne, and tensions with the English Dissenters—Protestants who refused to conform to the Anglican Church—had flared up. News about the persecutions and the influx of refugees was therefore largely hijacked by domestic polemic: Charles II

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<sup>437</sup> R. McCullough, *Coercion, conversion and countersubversion in Louis XIV's France* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2007), p. 141.

<sup>438</sup> H. Bots, 'L'écho de la Révocation dans les Provinces-Unies à travers les gazettes et les pamphlets', in R. Zuber and L. Theis (eds.), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685* (Paris, 1986), pp. 287–288.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

welcomed the Huguenots to present himself as a good Protestant monarch; Tories used the willingness of refugees to become Anglicans to accuse the Dissenters; Whigs elaborated on the gruesome fate of the Huguenots to foment public opinion against Catholics and prove that preventing James II from ever taking the throne was a matter of life and death; other anonymous—perhaps Tory—voices tried to uncover the persecutions as a scam and accused the refugees of being crypto-Catholics or Dissenters who would ruin the kingdom’s peace. Very few pamphlets actually spoke or purported to speak with the voice of the persecuted themselves.<sup>440</sup> This indicates that, at least in England, the appropriation of news for domestic discourse did not entirely depend on the initiative of the persecuted.

Were Huguenot reservations strong enough to keep the Dutch press from publicizing about their predicament? Did the Dutch have little to argue about in the 1680s? Or did the situation of the Huguenots in France not lend itself to domestic polemics? As we will see, the political landscape in the 1680s was, in fact, decisively more divided than in had been in 1655. Since the Disaster Year of 1672 and the rise of William III as stadtholder, the Dutch political landscape had become starkly divided between Statists—the heirs of De Witt’s ‘True Freedom’ regime—and Orangists, who were traditionally associated with Reformed orthodoxy.<sup>441</sup> This chapter aims to uncover when, how, and why news about foreign persecution was appropriated for domestic political purposes.

We will, first, explore how news about the Huguenots led to conflicting responses between different church and secular authorities in the United Provinces and investigate the role publicity played within the negotiation of this conflict. Secondly, switching focus to the public polemic surrounding the Dutch Republic’s main political conflict at the time, we will see that—contrary to Bots’ observation—the fate of the Huguenots was, in fact, publicly discussed, contested, and appropriated for political capital; this chapter will investigate how Huguenot news was used in the propaganda war about a proposed military intervention in the Southern Netherlands during the War of the Reunions (1683–84), which, as Donald Haks has recently pointed out, has so far escaped historical scrutiny, but has not himself paid further

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<sup>440</sup> A. Dunan–Page, ‘La dragonnade du Poitou et l’exil des huguenots dans la littérature de controverse anglaise’, *Moreana, Association Amici Thomae Mori* 171–2 (2007), pp. 86–121.

<sup>441</sup> For earlier political conflicts between Statists and Orangists and the public opinions they produced see Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos*; J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650–1675* (Manchester, 2010).

attention to.<sup>442</sup> Finally, a comparison will be made between Dutch polemic and arguably the two most influential Huguenot works of public opinion before the Revocation, Pierre Jurieu's *Politique du clergé* (*Politics of the clergy*) and *Derniers efforts* (*Last efforts*), which were also published in the United Provinces.

### *The Divided Provinces*

Renewed persecution of the Huguenots began during peacetime. With the 1678–79 Treaties of Nijmegen, France had brought eight years of warfare with the Dutch Republic, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire to a successful conclusion.<sup>443</sup> Louis XIV could now shift his attention inward and use the remainder of his largely disbanded army to missionize his own subjects.<sup>444</sup> An extra advantage of the peace was that the former Dutch enemy, still licking its wounds, was hesitant to intercede in France's domestic policy and risk renewed hostilities.

The Peace of Nijmegen had left the Dutch political landscape deeply divided. At one end of the spectrum there was a pro-French bloc, which—to Stadtholder William III's dismay—had managed to independently reach peace with France in 1678, dissolving the anti-French alliance with, among others, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>445</sup> The core of this loose faction, which had inherited many of the mercantil sentiments of the De Witt era, was Amsterdam, supported by Leiden and several other cities in Holland.<sup>446</sup> They found allies in the States of Friesland and Groningen, whose autonomy was enhanced by having their own stadtholder, Henry Casimir II, Prince of Nassau-Dietz (1664–96), who was not on friendly terms with his cousin William III, stadtholder of the five United Provinces.<sup>447</sup> Similar factions

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<sup>442</sup> Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 194–195.

<sup>443</sup> C. Nolan, *Wars of the age of Louis XIV, 1650–1715. An encyclopedia of global warfare and civilization* (Westport, CT, and London, 2008), pp. 128–129.

<sup>444</sup> W. Troost, *William III, the stadholder–king. A political biography* (Farnham, 2005), p. 153.

<sup>445</sup> S. Groenveld, 'William III as stadholder. Prince or minister?', in E. Mijers and D. Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III. The impact of the king–stadholder in international context* (Abingdon, 2007), p. 29; E. Edwards, 'Amsterdam and the ambassadors of Louis XIV 1674–85', in T. Claydon and Ch-É. Levillain (eds.), *Louis XIV outside in. Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661–1715* (Farnham, 2015), p. 197; W. Troost, *Stadbouder–koning Willem III* (Hilversum, 2001), pp. 146–147.

<sup>446</sup> Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 825–826.

<sup>447</sup> J. van Sypesteyn, *Geschiedkundige bijdragen. Derde aflevering. Eenige gebeurtenissen gedurende het leven van Prins Hendrik Casimir II van Nassau, (1664–1696)* (The Hague, 1865), pp. 9–19.

existed in the States of Utrecht, Zeeland, and Overijssel.<sup>448</sup> Still recuperating from the severe economic blow caused by the last war, they hoped to establish, if not an alliance, at least a lasting peace with France.

On the opposite end stood Stadtholder William III and his allies—prime among them Grand Pensionary Gaspar Fagel (1634–88). Being first and foremost a military leader, the stadtholder's power had dwindled since the Peace of Nijmegen. The costly war had taken a heavy toll on the prince's reputation among Dutch citizens, who had come to the sobering realization that their Republic's economy was in decline.<sup>449</sup> Many of the civic and provincial officeholders from within his clientele were disliked, a feeling which was worsened by the widespread corruption among their ranks.<sup>450</sup>

Between these opposite ends lay numerous cities—and hence provinces—with fluctuating allegiances. Despite these deep divisions, which also cut sharp lines between the States of Holland and the States General, the dominant sentiment tended toward keeping cordial relations with the French. In the years following the Peace of Nijmegen the prince thus used what was left of his political capital to sway civic and provincial authorities to his side and establish a defensive alliance with England against the presumed expansionism of his lifelong adversary Louis XIV. When news about the persecution of the Huguenots began to reach the Dutch Republic, calls for religious solidarity soon began to conflict with the prevailing sentiment of war-weariness, giving rise to new frictions between provincial church authorities and the individual provinces.

Between 1679 and 1685 different church consistories repeatedly urged the secular authorities to respond to the predicament of their French brethren in the faith. Yet they found themselves fighting an uphill battle against arguments of political prudence. Frisian church leaders were the first to discuss the persecution of the Huguenots during a 1679 provincial synod. Church delegates of Dokkum voiced the recurrent argument that given the situation in France and England, where the Popish Plot had caused great public disquiet, existing placards

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<sup>448</sup> Groenveld, 'William III as stadholder', p. 30.

<sup>449</sup> S. Baxter, *William III* (London, 1966), p. 178.

<sup>450</sup> Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 826–827.

against Dutch Catholics should be executed with renewed rigor.<sup>451</sup> The synod agreed to bring the request to the States of Friesland, but decided—probably taking into account the States’ sympathy toward France—that it would be wise if the oppression of the Huguenot churches were not mentioned.<sup>452</sup> Advocacy for religious issues was fine, but it should not spill over into international politics.

At the Walloon Synod in Breda and the Synod of Utrecht—both held in 1680—plans to set up provincial funds for incoming French refugees also faltered over the hesitance of the secular authorities; the President of the States of Utrecht, Everhard van Weede van Dijkveld, declared himself sympathetic to the idea, but ultimately decided against it, arguing that the States General would fear Louis XIV’s reaction.<sup>453</sup> Instead, he suggested that individual magistrates were at liberty to set up secret funds, provided that they refrained from any publicity.<sup>454</sup> These examples demonstrate that not only the Huguenots, but also the Dutch authorities discouraged publicity about the the persecutions in France. One year later, in 1681 States authorities first began to pursue an integration policy, offering tax exemptions and citizenship to Huguenots who would settle in their provinces. Civic governments quickly followed, competing for refugees by promising their own advantageous conditions for settlement.<sup>455</sup> These invitations were media events only in so far as that they were advertised in Francophone newspapers which they knew were illegally read in France.<sup>456</sup>

In the meantime, the fate of the Huguenots was widely discussed through another public medium: the pulpit. Every Sunday, ministers throughout the United Provinces were

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<sup>451</sup> Similar arguments are made in response to the persecution of the Waldensians in 1655, the persecution of the Huguenots after 1685, and the Tumult of Toruń. See chapters 2, 4, and 6. It is unlikely that this appeal was influenced by William III, who had always been a supporter of religious toleration, Catholics included; T. Claydon, ‘Protestantism, universal monarchy and Christendom in William’s war propaganda, 1689–1697’, in Mijers and Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III*, p. 127.

<sup>452</sup> F. Knetsch, ‘Les églises réformées des Pays-Bas et la Revocation’, in M. Peronnet (ed.), *Tricentenaire de la Revocation de l’Edit de Nantes. La Revocation et l’extérieur du royaume. Actes du IV<sup>ème</sup> Colloque Jean Boisset* (Montpellier, 1985), p. 178.

<sup>453</sup> Van Weede van Dijkveld had been one of the negotiators of the Peace of Nijmegen; O. van Nimwegen, *The Dutch army and the military revolutions, 1588–1688* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 508–510; Knetsch, ‘Églises Réformées’, pp. 181–182.

<sup>454</sup> Knetsch, ‘Églises réformées’, p. 182.

<sup>455</sup> W. Frijhoff, ‘Uncertain brotherhood. The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic’, in B. Van Ruymbeke and R. Sparks (eds.), *Memory and identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic diaspora* (Columbia, SC, 2008), pp. 143–146.

<sup>456</sup> See Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, p. 47.

preaching against France to their congregations, many of them undoubtedly encouraged by the prince's favorites. In 1680, the States of Zeeland felt compelled to publish a missive directed at their four provincial *classes*, the regional church assemblies which were largely responsible for the everyday administration of the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic.<sup>457</sup> The missive forbade ministers to preach in favor of an alliance with either France or England by referring to the 1672 massacres at Bodegraven and Zwammerdam—which had been canonized as low points of French cruelty by Romeyn de Hooghe, Govard Bidloo, and other masters of affective print.<sup>458</sup>

With regard to the printing presses, the church authorities appear to have been compliant, and did not try to stir up public opinion against the will of the secular authorities through print; no evidence has been found of any pamphlets calling for fundraisers or restrictions on the liberties of Catholics in the first half of the 1680s. Indeed, it would not have been a logical first move; not only did the ministers depend on the authorities' good will to reach any of their objectives, they also received their salaries from the secular authorities. Moreover, many considered preaching from the pulpit an effective way to shape public opinion. As the fiercely Orangist clergyman Jacobus Stermont had tellingly argued in a pamphlet in 1650—a year also marked by heavy factional strife—that 'one should know that one preaching from the pulpit could do more harm than a hundred pamphlets'.<sup>459</sup> It is very well possible that sermons—which, as oral communication, are unretrievable—were more powerful than pamphlets in shaping Dutch (Reformed) public opinion, but they were also more contained in time and place than pamphlets, and therefore less politically sensitive on an international level.

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<sup>457</sup> G. Groenhuis, *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen, 1977), pp. 22–23.

<sup>458</sup> Anonymous, *Missive van de heeren Staten van Zeelandt, gesonden aan het Classis van Zeeland* (Zierikzee, 1680); R. de Hooghe and G. Bidloo, *De France wreetheyt, tot Bodegrave en Swammerdam* (Amsterdam?, 1673), <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.358818>; see Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 21–57.

<sup>459</sup> '[...] ende met moet wel weten dat een predikatie van den predik–stoel, meer quaets kan doen dan hondert blauwe boeckjes'; Anonymous [Jacobus Stermont], *Lauveren–krans gevlochten voor syn hoocheyt Wilhelm, de beer Prince van Oranjen, &c. over sijne eeuwig roembaere handelinghe, gepleegt tot ruste deser vereenigde lantschappen, in 't jaer 1650. In 'tsamen–spraecke, tusschen een Amsterdammer/ ende Leyenaer / om–verre werpende de gronden vande Hollantsen praeter, ontstelden Amsterdammer ende diergelijcke* (s.l., 1650), pfl. 6851; for more information on Stermont see P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 10 (Leiden, 1937), pp. 973–975.

Some prominent advocates of an anti-French policy were also cautious in their response to the persecution of the Huguenots and therefore favored the use of sermons to shape public opinion. Grand Pensionary Fagel's posture is a case in point. In 1682 and 1683 the Grand Pensionary took the exact opposite stance to the States of Zeeland. According to Claudes de Mesmes, Count of Avaux, the French ambassador to The Hague, Fagel instructed all preachers in Holland to elaborate in their sermons on the persecutions of the Huguenots in France, compare it to the 1672 invasion, and insist that everything should be done to prevent it from happening again.<sup>460</sup> One year later, in late 1684 the synod of the francophone Walloon Churches—consisting of descendants of the Walloon Reformed who had fled the Southern Netherlands in the late sixteenth century—sent a delegation to the Grand Pensionary with a request to have the States General intercede with the French government in favor of the Huguenots and to establish funds for exiled pastors.<sup>461</sup> This time, Fagel replied that news of foreign relief initiatives could prove dangerous for the remaining Huguenots in France.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, he believed that an intervention would in no way help the persecuted, since the United Provinces lacked authority and prestige and did not have a good relationship with Louis XIV. He argued that an intervention would make more sense if other princes took the initiative and a concerted effort was organized.<sup>463</sup> In other words, Fagel wanted all talk and no action, but why?

It is unclear whether Fagel truly had the interests of the remaining Huguenots at heart, or mainly tried to gather public support before confronting France—which would explain his sympathy for sermons but hesitation to intervene. Considering how people justify their actions to themselves, it was probably a little of both. Ultimately, he gave the Walloons his permission to advocate their cause with the States of Holland, probably to use the fate of the Huguenots as ammunition in the debate with the province's pro-French cities.<sup>464</sup> With Fagel's blessing the consistories' deputies drew up a 'vigorous and moving' request, providing a detailed description

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<sup>460</sup> Claude de Mesmes, Count of Avaux, in L. Durand and N.-J. Pissot (eds.), *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux en Hollande, depuis 1685, jusqu'en 1688*, vol 1 (Paris, 1752), pp. 263–264; for the Walloon Churches see Frijhoff, 'Uncertain brotherhood', pp. 128–171.

<sup>461</sup> Knetsch, 'Eglises réformées', p. 185.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>463</sup> Ibid.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid.

of the persecution, the *dragonnades*, and a list of sixteen Huguenot pastors who had been condemned to death. It invoked Bern—which had set up a fund of 100,000 for the aid of exiled pastors—as a good example. To their disappointment, the States of Holland, who found the request an embarrassment, did nothing.<sup>465</sup>

In October 1685, weeks before the Revocation, and with a steady stream of refugees already arriving in the Dutch Republic, the States of Zeeland proposed the States General look for a way to ‘move the heart of his royal majesty of France’ and asked to declare a day of public prayer.<sup>466</sup> On 12 October the States of Holland agreed with the latter proposal, but seconded Fagel’s judgment that an intercession would be harmful.<sup>467</sup> Ten days later the Reformed religion was prohibited in France, and the States General had done nothing to prevent it.

To some extent, the religious and the secular authorities’ (both pro- and anti-French) caution toward publicity reflected official policy. In 1651 the States General had for the first time issued a placard prohibiting publications which insulted foreign princes. This ordinance was occasionally renewed and it was not a dead letter.<sup>468</sup> In 1679 Ambassador Avaux had issued a complaint about the *Gazette d’Amsterdam*, which had published extracts of an anti-Gallican pamphlet that was forbidden in France. In response, the States of Holland forbade the production of all newspapers in French.<sup>469</sup> Similar prohibitions were issued by several urban authorities in the following years, yet several French newspapers continued to be published more or less secretly. Unfortunately, few clandestine newspapers from this period have survived.<sup>470</sup> In 1681 the predominantly statist States of Holland published yet another placard—and renewed it in 1684—forbidding any publications about foreign rulers without revealing the true name of the publisher.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, p. 51.

<sup>469</sup> P. Rétat, *La Gazette d’Amsterdam. Miroir de l’Europe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 19–20.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>471</sup> S. van Beaumont, *Placaet van de Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt, verbiendende het drucken van eenigerhande schandaleuse of fameuse libellen, t zy met of sonder naem van den Drucker, &c. In date den achtentwintighsten November 1681*, in C. Cau (ed.), *Groot Placaet–Boeck Vervattende de Placaten, Ordonantien ende Edicten van de Hoogh Mogende Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden ende van de Ed. Groot Mog. Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt, mitsgaders van de Ed. Mog. Heeren Staten van Zeelandt*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1683), p. 1415.

It is hard to measure the success of these censorship policies. As Hans Bots already observed, newspapers were rather reserved in their reports about the persecutions in France. Some gazetteers expressed the same concerns as Fagel that detailed coverage would only have negative consequences for the Huguenots.<sup>472</sup> Jean Alexandre de la Font's (?–1685) *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*, a French-language newspaper printed in—predominantly statist—Leiden, shared this dilemma with the reader;<sup>473</sup> De la Font argued that whereas all sensible Protestants in France pointed to the dangers of exaggerating the persecutions, those already living in exile in the United Provinces thought differently. The gazetteer concluded that it was best to think of the public good and listen to those on the ground.<sup>474</sup> One can only guess at the extent to which gazetteers were persuaded by the Huguenots in France or by the Statist authorities in the Netherlands. In all likelihood, it was a combination of the two. If the authorities were willing to turn a blind eye to an officially forbidden publication, there was no need to push one's luck. In doing so, most of the surviving newspapers showed restraint in covering the *dragonnades*, but covered most of the 'drier facts', the razing of churches, the first uprising in the Cévennes, and the arrests of prominent Huguenot noblemen.

In Orangist cities such as Haarlem, newspapers appear to have been somewhat less restrained in communicating the persecutions, having little reason to fear censorship for taking a critical stance toward France.<sup>475</sup> The *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* also printed rumors, providing insight into the hopes and fears of the Reformed in France. In January 1680 it reported that people were talking in Paris about the imminent shutdown of the Huguenot Academy of Puylaurens.<sup>476</sup> At the end of 1681, the same newspaper reported from Paris that

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<sup>472</sup> Bots, 'Écho de la Révocation', pp. 286–288.

<sup>473</sup> Pierre Bayle would come to praise this newspaper as having set the enduring good reputation of French newspapers from the Dutch Republic; Rétat, *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, pp. 31–42; J. Sgard, 'Jean de la Font (?–1685)', in A.-M. Mercier-Faivre and D. Reynaud (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Journalistes (1600–1789)* (2005), <http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/442-jean-de-la-font>.

<sup>474</sup> Bots, 'Écho de la Révocation', p. 280.

<sup>475</sup> For Haarlems factional leaning see E.C. Edwards, 'Amsterdam and William III. The role of influence, interest and patronage on policy-making in the Dutch Republic, 1672–1684' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 1998), p. 127.

<sup>476</sup> M. Enschedé, 'Extraits de la Gazette de Haarlem. Sur les persécutions dirigées contre les protestants Français de 1679 a 1685, part 1', *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire (Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français)* 28–9 (1879), p. 405.

‘it is said that the king will go to Parliament to [...] annul the Edict of Nantes’.<sup>477</sup> Moreover, the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* sometimes interspersed factual information with more judgmental observations. It presents a message from Paris dated 14 May 1683 arguing that ‘the persecutions against the reformed in the realm increase every day’ and laments that ‘between Bordeaux and Argentan, there are not more than two temples left for which they have not yet found a valid pretext for demolition’.<sup>478</sup>

*(In)convenient News*

For William III and his supporters, the news about France’s religious policies was quite convenient. The persecutions served as proof that France was a morally perverse state and the stadtholder did not shy away from using this to his political advantage. In April 1680, the stadtholder’s cousin and his Zeeland deputy Willem Adriaan van Nassau, Lord of Odijk, had the honor of serving as the weekly president of the States General.<sup>479</sup> He took the opportunity to present the delegates with a royal placard from 20 February 1680, which prohibited the delivery of children by Huguenot midwives, and used it to accuse pro-French delegates:<sup>480</sup>

Behold, gentlemen, how the King of France treats those of our religion. He wants to abolish it, and while the King of England puts himself in danger to maintain it, there are people here who want us to unite with France.<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> ‘On dit que le roi se rendra au parlement [...] pour abroger l’Édit de Nantes’; M. Enschedé, ‘Extraits de la Gazette de Haarlem. Sur les persécutions dirigées contre les protestants Français de 1679 à 1685, part 2’, *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire (Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français)* 28–12 (1879), p. 541.

<sup>478</sup> ‘La persecution contre les réformés augmente journellement en ce royaume’; ‘Entre Bordeaux et Argentan, il ne reste plus que deux temples pour la demolition desquels on n’a pas encore pu trouver un prétexte valable’; Enschedé, ‘Extraits de la Gazette, part 1’, pp. 407–408.

<sup>479</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>480</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d’Avaux*, vol 1, pp. 94–95; C. Martin, *Les compagnies de la propagation de la foi (1632–1685)*. Paris, Grenoble, Aix, Lyon, Montpellier. *Etude d’un réseau d’associations fondé en France au temps de Louis XIII pour lutter contre l’hérésie des origines à la Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes* (Geneva, 2000), p. 474; G. Robert, ‘La Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes et la dispersion des professionnels de santé hors de France’, *Histoire des sciences médicales* 39–4 (2005), p. 415.

<sup>481</sup> ‘[...] Voilà, messieurs, de quelle maniere le roi de France traite ceux de notre religion: il la veut abolir; & lorsque le roi d’Angleterre se met en danger pour la maintenir, il y a ici des gens qui veulent que nous nous unissions à la France’; Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d’Avaux*, vol 1, p. 95; It is important to note that Avaux started writing his memorials after 1684; Edwards, ‘Amsterdam and the ambassadors’, p. 201.

Yet William III too had to be careful. As prince and stadtholder he had great prestige and power. Moreover, in 1674–5 he had negotiated the right to annually appoint the urban magistrates of Utrecht, and approve the appointment of new regents in Overijssel and Gelderland. This drastically extended his patronage network in different corners of the political landscape, including the States General.<sup>482</sup> But despite all this, the stadtholdership remained an office in service of the provincial states. As stadtholder, he was the commander-in-chief of the army, but the individual provincial assemblies and the States General remained his official superiors.<sup>483</sup>

The prince's political power was thus informal and depended on persuading state assemblies of his cause rather than overpowering them. Neither party would be served in letting the conflict escalate. As Elizabeth Edwards observes, the Prince of Orange and his opponents knew that they ultimately had to accommodate and compromise over their conflicting interests.<sup>484</sup> In that respect, unleashing a full-blown propaganda war defaming Louis XIV, and thus flew in the face of the censorship policies of the States General and the States of Holland, would probably do more harm than good. Moreover, as we have just seen, it appears that William III did not feel ready to confront Louis XIV with defamatory printed propaganda quite yet.

Copies of official documents and royal placards—such as the one against midwives—offered a useful alternative. Several Dutch translations of official documents were published, usually by printers who chose to hide behind anonymity. One was a Huguenot request from 1680, offered to the king, imploring him to reverse his anti-Huguenot policies.<sup>485</sup> Similarly, a translated request from August 1681 by delegates from Poitou to French king was probably the first published testimony from which the Dutch learnt about the *dragonnades*.<sup>486</sup> Two months before, on 17 June 1681, Louis XIV's declaration that allowed all children of the age

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<sup>482</sup> See Groenveld, 'William III as stadholder', pp. 17–38; D.J. Roorda, 'William III and the Utrecht "Government–Regulation". Background, events, and problems', *The Low Countries History Yearbook* 12 (1979), pp. 85–109.

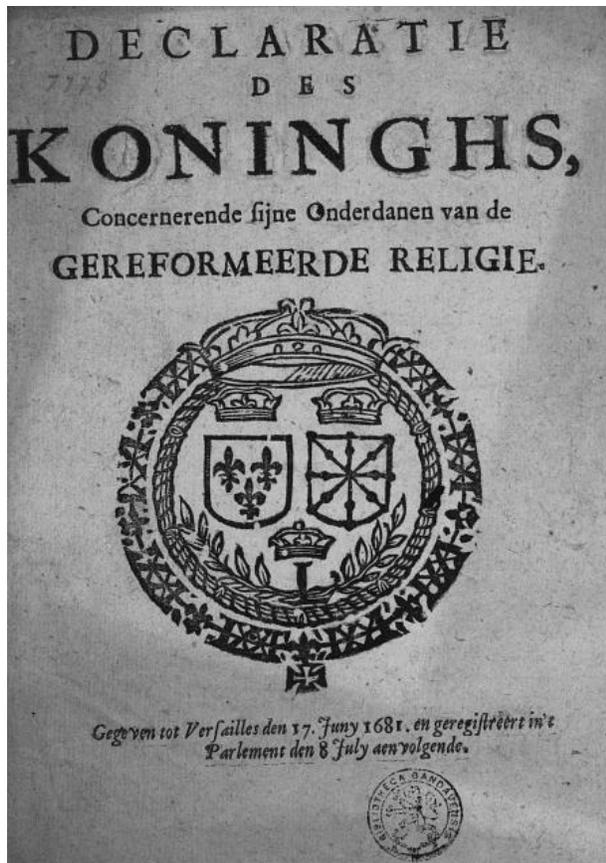
<sup>483</sup> Groenveld, 'William III as stadholder', p. 18.

<sup>484</sup> Edwards, 'Amsterdam and the ambassadors', p. 194.

<sup>485</sup> Anonymous, *Request aen den koningh, by die van de gereformeerde religie in Vranckryck* (s.l., 1680).

<sup>486</sup> Anonymous, *Coppye van 't request gepresenteert aen den koning, door de gedeputeerde van de gereformeerde kerken van de provincie van Poitou, in de meant augusto, 1681, waer inne in 't kort te sien is een waer en oprecht verbael der ongehoorde overlasten en geweldnarigen, diemen tegens haer in 't wreck stelt, om haer daer door te dvingen van Godt dienst te veranderen* (s.l. 1681).

of seven to convert was also translated and printed in the United Provinces [Fig. 5].<sup>487</sup> In all likelihood, such publications were commissioned by stakeholders from within the prince's circle in order to influence public opinion, and, in doing so, local and provincial authorities. William III used the French occupation of the Occitan city of Orange in August, over which he ruled as prince, in a similar way. Two weeks after the occupation, deputies of the stadtholder sent a number of testimonies to the States General, drawn up by members of the principality's representative assembly, assembedescribing how the dragoons plundered, harassed, and raped.<sup>488</sup> The message they were supposed to convey was made explicit:



5. *Declaratie des koninghs, concernerende sijne onderdanen van de gereformeerde religie* (s.l. 1681). Resource: University Library Ghent.

<sup>487</sup> Anonymous, *Declaratie des koninghs, concernerende sijne onderdanen van de gereformeerde religie. Gegeven tot Versailles den 17. Juny 1681 en geregistreert in 't parlement den 8 July aenvolgende* (s.l., 1681); see also Anonymous, *Arrest van den Raedt van Staten des Konings, medebrengende vernietinge en suppressie van de academie van de gereformeerde religie tot Sedan, gegeven tot Versailles, den 9 dag van July, 1681* (s.l., 1681); see also Anonymous, *Declaratie van den koning van Vranckrijck, inboudende dat alle mahometaense afgodendienaren die sullen willen christenen worden, geen andere religie sullen mogen aennemem, als de rooms-catholijcke* (Amsterdam, 1683).

<sup>488</sup> Anonymous, *Verbalen van 't gepasseerde in de stadt ende het prinsdom van Orange* (The Hague, 1682), pp. 7–8, 20.

May all this [...] become known, so that you High Mightiness take into consideration the manifest wrong inflicted upon his Highness, in breach of the most recent peace treaties, as well as because of the misery and utter ruin which has been inflicted upon the poor inhabitants of his Highness' city and principality.<sup>489</sup>

It is unclear whether the deputies themselves published the testimonies and the exordium, or whether it was done by someone sympathetic to the prince's cause from within the States General. Yet the fact that it was printed by the States General's publisher (*landsdrukker*) Jacobus Scheltus is a testimony of the lack of control Statist factions had over the assembly's official output. Some publications also came from Statist cities. In 1682, Amsterdam printer Gerardus Borstius published a letter in French and Dutch by an anonymous Huguenot from Montpellier to an equally anonymous friend, about the prohibition of the exercise of the Reformed religion and the razing of Reformed churches.<sup>490</sup>

As evidence of France's policy of persecution, royal declarations and victim accounts spoke loud and clear—and could not be regarded as libelous. Nonetheless, they could be profoundly irritating to those hoping for the continuation of good relations with France. Ambassador Avaux worriedly noted that the child-conversion placard had caused a considerable number of delegates to change their views, among them Willem van Haren, representative of the States of Friesland. Now convinced that Louis XIV was aiming for the extirpation of the Reformed religion in France, Van Haren began to urge delegates States of Friesland and Groningen to support the stadtholder and his policy of rapprochement to England.<sup>491</sup> The French ambassador personally tried persuade Van Haren to change his mind, but failed to convince the delegate that Louis XIV had done nothing against the Edict of Nantes and otherwise had every right to do as he pleased within his own realm.<sup>492</sup>

Public pressure appears to have been a significant factor in the stance of officeholders toward France; extraordinary ambassador to England, Diederik van Leyden van Leeuwen, visited Avaux in The Hague to report to him that since the placard of 17 June all members of

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<sup>489</sup> 'Mog. al 't selve [...] bekent te maecken, ten eynde U Hoogh Moh. in consideratie nemende het manifest ongelijck, dat syne Hoogheyt in desen, directelijck tegens de jongst-geslotene tractaten van vrede, wert aengedaen, mitsgaders de miserie en uytterste ruïne die de arme ingezetenen van syne Hoogheys stadt en prinsdom wordt toegebracht'; *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>490</sup> Anonymous, *Lettre écrite d'un protestant demeurant a Montpellier* (Amsterdam, 1682).

<sup>491</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux*, vol 1, pp. 151–152; Baxter, *William III*, p. 179.

<sup>492</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux*, vol 1, p. 153.

the States General had become convinced that Louis XIV planned to destroy the Reformed religion in France. Moreover, this belief was so strong among the people that ‘those who were part of the government in any way [...] would not be safe if they would talk about an alliance with France’.<sup>493</sup> According to Van Leeuwen, nobody dared to block the prince forming an alliance with England any longer ‘out of fear of being torn apart by the people’, an ominous reference to the lynching of William III’s adversaries Johan and Cornelis de Witt in 1672.<sup>494</sup> Avaux concludes that for those who remained unsympathetic to the stadtholder’s plans ‘the matters of religion had made it impossible for them to express their feelings’.<sup>495</sup>

### *The War of the Reunions*

William III’s opposition was not as muzzled by the persecutions as the French ambassador would have it in his memoir—which was written partly as an apology for his failure to hold the prince at bay.<sup>496</sup> But the realities of Louis XIV’s religious policy did become increasingly embarrassing for those who wished to see a rapprochement with France. In Chapter 2, we have seen how ‘atrocious claims’ created an asymmetry in public debate; one party accuses the other of an act of inhumane violence, to which the other party responds by arguing that such an event has not taken place. Whether or not the specific act of violence—such as infanticide—was legitimate or illegitimate was not up for debate. That infanticide, rape, or torturing someone until conversion were atrocious acts rests on implicit agreement by both parties. This agreement over what constituted atrocity structured the royal communication of the persecutions; even if Louis XIV regarded the *dragonnades* as effective measures, he would never publicly celebrate them. Instead, the Crown argued in 1685 that the Protestant religion had simply died out in France without the use of violence.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>493</sup> ‘[...] que ceux qui avoient quelque part au gouvernement, [...] ne seroient pas en sûreté, s’il vous parler d’une alliance avec la France’; *ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>494</sup> ‘[...] de peur d’être déchiré par le peuple’; Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d’Avaux*, vol 1, pp. 163–164.

<sup>495</sup> ‘[...] les affaires de la religion les ayant mis hors d’état de pouvoir dire leurs sentimens’; *ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>496</sup> Edwards, ‘Amsterdam and the ambassadors’.

<sup>497</sup> See Chapter 4.

In the Dutch Republic the persecution of the Huguenots created a similar dynamic of communication; although Amsterdam was ‘pro-French’, it was hard to find an Amsterdammer who would openly argue that the persecutions in France were justified. Indeed, in 1681 the city showed its hospitality for the persecuted by building one thousand houses for incoming refugees, while, according to Avaux, songs lamenting the fate of the Huguenots were sung in the streets.<sup>498</sup> Continued sympathy toward France thus depended on dissociating international relations from the fate of the Huguenots.

In 1683 this problem became pressing, as developments in international politics caused the tug-of-war between Orangist and Statist factions to accelerate dramatically. Early that year, the Sun King had begun to muster an army on his northern border to seize strategic cities and lands in the Southern Netherlands, which sparked the War of Reunions (1683–84) with Spain.<sup>499</sup> The Spanish Crown requested the United Provinces send troops southwards. An initial 8000 were dispatched, but the stadtholder was thwarted when he asked for another 16,000 troops to be put under his command in the Southern Netherlands. Although the majority of the States of Holland took the prince’s side, Amsterdam, Delft, and Leiden—still backed by Henry Casimir in Friesland—vetoed the plan; financial measures required a unanimous vote.<sup>500</sup> Tensions rose so high in the United Provinces that one observer spoke of ‘Hook and Cod times’, referring to the civil wars that had plagued the County of Holland in the fifteenth century.<sup>501</sup>

When William III personally traveled to Amsterdam to make its ruling elite reconsider, he not only found the *vroedschap* unwavering, but also the ordinary people. The prince had had the bad luck that during his visit, the States’ fleet had hit bad weather near Texel on its way back from a military mission in Sweden and had lost ten ships. Not wanting to hear the insults and accusations of the sailors and the widows and daughters of the drowned men William did not leave his residence.<sup>502</sup> Still, his visit caused a wave of ‘insolent and desperately seditious

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<sup>498</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d’Avaux*, vol 1, p. 154.

<sup>499</sup> J. Lynn, *The French wars 1667–1714. The Sun King at war* (Wellingborough, 2002), p. 48.

<sup>500</sup> Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 830–831.

<sup>501</sup> ‘Houkse ofte Cabeljaawse tijden’; A. Olofsz (ed.), *Vita politica. Het burgerlyk leven, beschreven door Simon Stevin, in sijn leven raad, ende ingenieur sijner princelicke excellentie Maurits Grave van Nassau, &c. stadhouder van Holland. Seer nodig om in alle Houkse ofte Cabeljaawse tijden: ende bysonderlik gedurende onse verschillen in Holland, geleesen te warden* (Amsterdam, 1684).

<sup>502</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d’Avaux*, vol. 2, pp. 1–4.

discourses upon the Dam, the Exchange, and other public places'.<sup>503</sup> According to Joseph Bampfield, a former military adviser to William of Orange turned informant of the English government in Friesland, these works had scared members of the city council who had otherwise been sympathetic to the prince's designs.<sup>504</sup> Having been 'bitterly and scandalously reproached by the common people', the aggrieved prince ultimately stormed out of the city with empty hands and an empty stomach—having stood up the *vroedschap* with whom he was supposed to have lunch.<sup>505</sup>

These 'seditious discourses' in Amsterdam were not an isolated local phenomenon. Whether the Dutch Republic should get involved in the War of the Reunions had become the subject of an intensive pamphlet war. Over a hundred printed works were produced, polemicizing about the imminent war with France and the need to send troops to the front.<sup>506</sup> A considerable chunk were missives, resolutions, and accounts, which had been drawn up by delegates and ambassadors during the course of their negotiations. The rest included arguments written by 'real patriots', regents ranting under the cover of pseudonyms, and fictitious discourses set on towing barges (*trekschuiten*) between traveling merchants, soldiers, Frenchmen, or citizens from The Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam.

The pamphlet war of 1683 and 1684 was one peak in a long-term polemic between Statists and Orangist about what policy should be pursued regarding France during Dutch Forty Years' War (1672–1713).<sup>507</sup> In a seminal study on the political languages that steered almost half a century of Franco-Dutch conflict, David Onnekink demonstrates that both parties fired at each other from within their own discourses. Throughout the period, Statists followed a discourse of what Arthur Weststeijn has identified as 'commercial republicanism'. Arguments against intervention reflected the political philosophy of the brothers De la Court

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<sup>503</sup> Citation from Israel; *ibid.*, p. 832.

<sup>504</sup> A. Marshall, 'Bampfield, Joseph (1622–1685)', in *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1259>; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 832.

<sup>505</sup> Le Clercq, *Negotiatiën van den heer*, vol. 2, p. 11; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 832.

<sup>506</sup> An insightful—albeit not exhaustive—overview is provided by P.A. Tiele (ed.), *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Eerste afdeeling. Verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam. Naar tijdsorde gerangschikt en beschreven*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1861), pp. 151–173.

<sup>507</sup> This term was recently coined by David Onnekink to refer to the long period of conflict between the United Provinces and France, which included the Franco–Dutch War (1672–1678), the Nine Years' War (1688–1697), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714); Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*.

from the First Stadtholderless Period (1650-72), which, as we have briefly discussed in Chapter 2, combined ‘the principles of reason of state and the republican language of liberty.’<sup>508</sup> The ethical dimension of such reason of state discourse was restricted to the state’s existential need for self-preservation, which it will strive for at all costs.<sup>509</sup> Proponents of commercial republicanism firmly believed in provincial sovereignty as the guiding principle of domestic politics, which they combined with a secular and realistic outlook on foreign politics; in the eyes of Amsterdam’s leaders ‘the international arena [was] devoid of morality.’<sup>510</sup> Statists thus formulated their policies within the normative principle of reason.

Onnekink argues that Orangists, on their part, consistently argued that Louis XIV was striving for universal monarchy, but also intermittently employed ‘Protestant discourse’—thus belonging to what this study categorizes as the normative principle of religion. Onnekink identifies ‘Protestant discourse’ as a spatial identity construction, in which a ‘confessional geography’ was sketched, dividing Europe into a Protestant, ‘true-reformed’ space, and a Catholic ‘tyrannical space’.<sup>511</sup> It revolved around beliefs of being adherents of the true religion, carrying divine responsibility, and sketching Europe’s map along confessional lines, and had a specific vocabulary with key words, such as ‘popery’, ‘Antichrist’, ‘providence’, ‘sins’, and ‘true religion’.<sup>512</sup>

Onnekink observes that whereas universal monarchy discourse was ‘surprisingly secular’ in 1672, during the heat of the Franco-Dutch War religious argumentation became dominant in 1688, at the beginning of the Nine Years’ War.<sup>513</sup> He leaves open what caused this shift toward Protestant discourse. He notes that one could argue that the Dutch had become more concerned about their confession because of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Yet he counters the argument that context helps shape discourse by arguing that ‘context is not an objective entity which can be studied separately from discourse’.<sup>514</sup> Quoting constructivist IR theorist Lene Hansen, Onnekink insists that ‘discourse is the only valid “interpretative optic”

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<sup>508</sup> Weststeijn, *Commercial republicanism*, p. 347.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>510</sup> Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*, 28.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.* p. 129.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*

of that context.<sup>515</sup> After all, the policies against the Huguenots were equally discursive acts, themselves ‘an interpretative optic of religious divisions in France.’<sup>516</sup>

It is a correct observation that the opposition between context and discourse is theoretically untenable. Yet I want to argue that methodologically it remains justifiable and indeed necessary, to argue that discourse could be overtaken by events. The fact that these events were themselves discursively constituted and communicated did not mean that the shaping of such discourses was a factual free-for-all. Indeed, the pamphlet war of 1683 and 1684—which lies within the timeframe of the observed shift—and the role of news about the Huguenot persecutions can offer insight in this shift toward ‘Protestant discourse’, and in the use of the normative principle of religion.

Earlier in this chapter, we have already seen that Orangists used printed ‘evidence’ about the persecutions to give a confessional spin to the discussions about international relations, and to dare Statist officeholders to publicly justify their friendship with France. In 1683 and 1684 this dynamic intensified as the opposing parties began to actively accuse each another of putting the state in danger and fiercely debated the nature of the conflict with France: Pamphlets discussed which alliances were necessary to win an open confrontation; whether France had a long history of expansionism or had merely been a one-off enemy of the Dutch; and whether the sending of troops would make war more or less likely. But besides topical details, Statist apologists—in accordance with Onnekink’s observation—indeed always returned to the ‘commercial republican’ argument that a war would be detrimental to the city’s economic welfare, built upon the pillars which had been defined by De la Court as ‘fishery, commerce, and shipping’.<sup>517</sup> The anonymously published *Bericht van een liefhebber der waarheit aan sijn vriend, over de tegenwoordige toestand van saken* (*Notice of a lover of the truth to his friend about the hovering differences about the current state of affairs*) provides a good example of the legacy of the True Freedom:

Nothing else has motivated [our the stance against recruitment] than that which should be the supreme law of all good regents, the welfare of the people, and the preservation of means which can serve to their subsistence, and in our lands predominantly consist

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<sup>515</sup> Ibid.

<sup>516</sup> Ibid.

<sup>517</sup> Citation from Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*, p. 28.

of commerce, navigation, [and] fishery [...], all of which [...] will inevitably be blocked with the beginning of a war and be transferred to the nations which would not partake in that war.<sup>518</sup>

In line with their secular appeals to the normative principle of reason, the Statist pamphlets were devoid of religious argumentation; within this line of reasoning, the fate of the Huguenots did not demand a foreign political response. Interestingly, Orangist polemic was also built mainly on reason of state argumentation. Orangists used Louis XIV's religious intolerance as a nightmarish vision of what would befall the Dutch Republic if France were not kept at bay. In other words, they tried to show that the normative principles of reason and religion were co-dependent. A case in point is Fagel's three-hour speech to the *vroedschap* during William III's visit to Amsterdam, which was published with the prince's signature:

God the Lord Almighty [has] naturally instilled in everyone, [...] [the instinct] to do everything that is necessary for their protection and defense, [...] also when they are confronted with a Creature that very much exceeds them in power. This natural instinct has developed into a necessity and obligation with respect to human beings, and in particular those to whom God [...] has ordered the supervision and care of other people, and that this obligation becomes all the more great and strong, when this defense has to be employed to avert that the subjects and inhabitants of a country will be deprived of the exercise of their religion, and their liberty and freedom.<sup>519</sup>

Fagel concedes that the Dutch Republic cannot sustain itself without 'commerce, fishery, and manufacture', but he insists that these pillars will fall without the free exercise of religion:<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>518</sup> 'Niets isser dat [tot onze positie tegen rekrutering] heeft aangedrongen, als het geen by alle goede regenten de opperste wet moet zijn, het welvaaren van het volck, ende de behoudnisse van de middelen welke tot haare subsistentie konden dienen, en in dese landen insonderheyt bestaande in coophandel, scheepvaart, [en] visscheryen, [...] alle welke middelen by het onstaan van een oorlogh onfeylbaarelijck sullen werden verspert, en overgebraght in handen van sodanige natien, die in dien oorlogh niet en soude participeren'; Anonymous, *Bericht van een liefhebber der waarheit aan sijn vriend, over de tegenwoordige toestant van saken* (1684), p. 15.

<sup>519</sup> 'Door Godt den Heer Almachtigh [is] aan alle [...] van de nature is ingegeven, [het instinct] te doen alle wat tot haar bescherminge ende defensie is gerequiereert, [...] oock in die gelegentheyt wanneer sy te doen hebben met een sodanigh ander Schepsel dat haer in over macht seer verre excedeert, dat natuurlijk instinct is overgegaen in een noodtsakelykheyt en obligatie ten reguarde van de menschen, ende sonderlingh van die aen welke Godt [...] heeft bevolen het opsicht ende de sorge over andere Menschen, ended at die obligatie soo veel te grooter en te stercker werd, soo wanneer die defensie moet warden geadhibeert, om voor te komen, dat de Onderdanen ende Ingesetene van een Landt niet mogen warden ontset van de oeffeninge van hare Religie, ende van hare liberteyt ende vryheydt'; C. Fagel, *Ed. propositie, gedaan door den heer raat pensionaris Fagel, aan de edele groot achtbare heeren burger-meesteren en vroedschap der stad Amsterdam, nevens het antwoord van haer edele groot achtbare en 't gene verders is gepasseert* (s.l., 1684), pfl. 11952.

<sup>520</sup> Ibid.

Not a single person in this country [...] will want to remain [here], if he were to lose the aforementioned free exercise of his Religion and the freedom that all enjoy here.<sup>521</sup>

The argument that the Dutch Republic's welfare depended on it being a safe haven for religious exiles was not new, nor was it particularly Orangist. Both the De la Court brothers and the influential Orangist contemporary historian and political thinker Pieter Valckenier agreed that the pull factor of religious toleration had brought Holland—'an inn for all sorts of refugees'—its remarkable power and prosperity.<sup>522</sup>

In the 1680s it made little sense for Statists to dust off this argument to plead for a policy of neutrality. It was different for Orangists. The Huguenots never became a main theme on the Orangist side and there certainly were no claims that the Dutch had a moral imperative to intervene for their relief—like the ones that we have discussed in Chapter 2 and will discuss again in Chapter 5. Indeed, it would have been hard to argue that an army in the Southern Netherlands would turn the tide for the Huguenots in France. However, news about the persecutions in France had given Orangists the opportunity to combine the commercial argument for religious toleration with their warnings about universal monarchy. In 1672, French troops may have re-Catholicized the monumental Dom Church in Utrecht and given Catholics full civic rights, but they had left the Reformed in peace.<sup>523</sup> A decade later, the treatment of the Huguenots supported the idea that a new invasion would bring a different religious policy in its wake.<sup>524</sup> Using this argument, a 'modest citizen' wins a discussion about

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<sup>521</sup> '[...] niet een enigh mensch sich hier in het landt [...] sullende willen onthouden, indien hy ontset was van de voorschreve vrye exercitie van syn religie, ende van de vryheydt die yder hier geniet'; *ibid.*

<sup>522</sup> 'Een herberg van alderhande vluchtelingen'; P. Valckenier, *T ververd Europa ofte politijke en historische beschryvinge der waare fundamente en oorsaken van de oorlogen en revolutien in Europa, voornamentlijk in en omtrent de Nederlanden zedert den jaare 1664 gecanseert door de gepretendeerde universele monarchie der Franschen* (Amsterdam, 1675), p. 7; Weststeijn, *Commercial republicanism*, pp. 327–328.

<sup>523</sup> A. van Wicquefort, *Journael ofte dagelijcksch verhael van de handel der Franschen in de steden van Uytrecht en Woeder, sedert hun koomst daer binnen, tot aan hun vertrek* (Amsterdam, 1674), pp. 40–41; T. van Domselaer, *Het ontroerde Nederlandt, door de wapenen des konings van Vrankryk* (Amsterdam, 1674), p. 297.

<sup>524</sup> Orangist pamphlets also mention the 1672 invasion of France. One Orangist pamphlet, the *Onnut discours*, explicitly referred to the *dragonnades* as a precursor to what would befall the United Provinces if troops were not sent to the Southern Netherlands. It argues that Amsterdam, which had not been occupied in 1672, would regret its greed when they discovered how costly and cruel a French occupation would be; Anonymous, *Onnut discours, over de Antwoort op een missive geschreven by een regent, &c.* (1684), pfl. 12136, p. 6. Similar arguments can be found in Anonymous, *Samenspraak tusschen een militair, coopman, en burger. Gebouden in een trek-schuyt, tusschen Delft en Rotterdam* (1684), p. 7.

the sending of troops in the *Samenspraek tusschen een militair, coopman, en burger in een trekschuyt* (*Conversation between a soldier, merchant, and citizen on a horse-drawn boat*):

I do not trust France, and [I] hear so much about how he [Louis XIV] treats his own people who are of the [Reformed] religion. How then will he treat us? For my part, I am willing to sacrifice everything to keep him out.<sup>525</sup>

Other Orangist pamphlets were more religiously militant and positioned themselves against the normative principle of reason. The *Nader bericht van een liefhebber der waarheit aan zijn vriend over de tegenwoordige toestand van Saken* (*Further account from a lover of the truth to his friend about the current state of affairs*), which went through at least three editions, for instance, tries to counter commercial republican discourse with arguments of religious truth:

They say [...] that it is impossible to resist the Frenchman with 16000 men without an alliance (with Germany). In addition they go on about the size of the costs. [...] I believe that if one [...] would really take to heart the state of the country and God's Church and encourage each other (as our forefathers did) through a laudable sigh for their well-being, one would not speak such a language, but use the means that God still gives [...] and use them in expectation of his aid. [...] The love of the common good, and religion in particular, appears to have been banished from the hearts of many. If this would not be the case, it would be incomprehensible that so many lend their ear to France [...], seeing [...] how he treats those that are under his power.<sup>526</sup>

Most Statist pamphlets did not use religious argumentation. However, there are some telling exceptions, such as the *Antwoort op het soo genoemde onnutte discours, over de antwoorde op een missive geschreven by een regent* (*Response to the so-called useless discourse about the answers to a missive written by a*

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<sup>525</sup> 'Ick vertrouw Vrankrijck niet, en [ick] hoor soo veel, hoe dat hy [Lodewijk XIV] sijn eygen volck in sijn rijk die van de [protestantse] religie zijn, tracteert, hoe sou hy ons dan niet wel handelen, ick voor mijn, ick wil hem der noch met goet en bloed helpen uythouden?'; *ibid.*

<sup>526</sup> 'Men segt [...] dat het onmogelijk is, met dese 16000 Man sonder alliantie (met Duytsland) den Fransman te resisteren, daer by weet men dan nog breet uyt te meten de hoe grootheyt van de onkoste. [...] 'K meen als men [...] den staat van 't lant en Gods kerk ter dege op het herte drukte en uyt een loffelijke sugt tot desselfs wel wesen (gelijk onse voor ouders deden) malkanderen courageerden, men sou sulke tael niet voeren, maer die middelen die God nog geeft [...] in verwagting van zijn hulp gebruyken [...]. Maer wat sal men hier veel meer van seggen, de liefde tot 't gemeene wel wesen, en bysonder tot de Gods-dienst, schijnt nu uyt het herte van vele gebannen te zijn; want indien dat soo niet en was, soo was 't onbegrijpelijk, datmen noch soo veel 't oor zou leenen aen Vrankrijk, [...] daer men [...] sijn handelinge siet met die, die onder zijn gewelt zijn'; Anonymous, *Nader bericht van een liefhebber der waerheyd aen sijn vrind, nopende de swevende verschillen over de wervingh* (s.l. 1684), pfl 12129; see also Anonymous, *Nader bericht van een liefhebber der waarheit aan sijn vrind. Nopende de swevende verschille over wervingh* (s.l. 1684), pfl 12128; and Anonymous, *Nader bericht van een lief-bebber der waerheyd aen syn vriendt, nopende de swevende verschillen over de werving* (s.l. 1684), pfl 12129a.

*regent*). The author primarily makes the exact opposite claim from the one made by the *Nader bericht van een liefhebber der waarheit*, arguing that

Nowadays [it is] the maxim of many people [...] to name religion [...] in all matters to their interest, and [to] frequently enact the biggest filth under the appearance of devotion [...]. It is [...] ridiculous to believe, let alone say, that religion is in peril, if the whole country is not put in danger by recruiting 16,000 men.<sup>527</sup>

Another Statist pamphlet actually mentioned the fate of the Huguenots in an effort to put their persecution into perspective, arguing implicitly against the consequences their fate might have for the Dutch Republic's relations with France. The author does so, on the one hand, by pointing to the religious persecutions of the Republic's main ally against France, and, on the other, by trying to dissociate Louis XIV from the persecutions in his realm. In other words, religion does not work as a normative principle in international relations, which should be guided by reason (of state):

I am not unhappy to confess that the persecutions of our brethren in the faith in France has cooled our affection for that king here [...] But what shall one say? The spirit of persecution which reigns there, reigns even stronger in other parts of the so-called Christian world [...] Italy and Spain, where the inquisition rules, that hellish monster, can testify of this spirit: And those who draw any comparison between these lands and France will have to confess that the differences in spirit are almost infinite: I do not say this in the least to approve the spirit of persecution, because I abhor them all, but to make this nation understand that a country where the Reformed religion can still be taught openly, should not be compared with those lands where it would be a capital crime to profess in caverns and caves a faith other than the one that dominates [...]. [This] should in no way be used to reproach or incite the least hate against the powers that rule there and who have to suffer the yoke of church tyranny as much as the community. This evil spirit has founded a throne which time and superstition have established too firmly [...]. A prince would [not] be capable of casting down such a centuries old seat.<sup>528</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> '[Het sijn] tegenwoordigh de maximen [...] van veele menschen, in alle saken van haer intrest, religie [...] te melden, ende onder schijn van devotie dickemaels de grootste vuyligheyt te plegen [...]. Het is [...] belachelijck te dencken, men laet staen te seggen, dat het met de religie gevaerlijck soude staen, als door het werven van sestien duysent man het geheele landt niet in perijckel wiert gestalt'; Anonymous, *Antwoort op het onnutte discours, over de antwoorde op de missive geschreven by een regent* (Rotterdam, 1684), pfl 12138.

<sup>528</sup> 'Ik belyde niet ongaarne, dat de vervolginge van onze religionsgenooten in Vrankrijk de genegentheit voor dien koningh alhier niet weinigh heeft verkoelt [...]. Maar wat zal men zeggen? De geest van persecutie [...] die aldaar regeert, regeert noch veel strengere in andere deelen van de zoo genaamde christen wereldt [...]. Italie en Spanje daar d'Inquisitie heerscht, dat helse monsterdier [...], konnen van dien geest getuigen: en die geen, die eenige vergelijkinge konnen maken, tusschen die landen en Vrankrijk, zullen moeten bekennen, dat het verschil tusschen de een en den anderen geest byna oneindigh is: 't geen ik niet en zegge om den geest van de

Ultimately, public opinion against the stadtholder proved too strong. William III had failed to sway the chief cities of Holland and Zeeland, where too many people in the streets and taverns distrusted him, to his cause. As Joseph Bampfield, a former officer of William III, wrote to a friend in April 1684, William had ‘no friend but the miserable Spaniards’.<sup>529</sup> While it is impossible to measure the relative success of different forms of argumentation, pointing to the fate of the Huguenots had clearly failed to turn the tide.

The pamphlet war of 1683 and 1684 nevertheless appears to have been a significant moment in the rise of religious rhetoric concerning international politics between 1672 and 1688. Orangist opinion makers used news about the persecution of the Huguenots to bridge different conceptions of reason of state: (Statist) ‘commercial republicanism’ and (Orangist) ‘universal monarchy’. The persecutions provided a concrete image of what the Sun King’s expansionism would mean for the United Provinces. In other words, news about the Huguenots was used to show that the normative principles of religion and reason (of state) were, in fact, commensurable and be pursued simultaneously.

More importantly, the Statist-Orangist polemic of 1683–84 shows that we should formulate a clearer definition of what precisely is meant by religion as a normative principle—or ‘Protestant discourse’. Indeed, understanding the shifts and turns in political argumentation begins with distinguishing the different forms it could take. As we have seen, Onnekink argues that Protestant discourse pertains to ideas of religious truth and providence. But the 1683–84 pamphlet war also shows different approaches to Europe’s confessional geography. Some of the pamphlets did indeed refer to providence and made religious truth claims. Yet many publications in which a confessional geography of Europe was sketched remained

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minste vervolginge te billyken, want ik doem ze alle; maar om onze natie te doen begrijpen, dat een landt, daar de hervormde godsdienst [...], noch in het openbaar geleert en gepredikt wordt [...], ten aanzien van de vervolgingen niet vergeleken magh worden by die landen, daar het een capitale misdaadt zoude zijn in holen en spelonken belydenisse te doen van een anderen godsdienst, als die aldaer domineert [...]. ’T geen echter tot geen verwijt of verwekking van de minsten haat moet strekken tegens de magten, die aldaar regeren, en die onder het juk der kerkelijke tyrannie zoo wel als de gemeente moeten zuchten. Die boozen geest heeft zich in alle die landen een troon gesticht, die door de tijdt en bygelovigehit al te zeer gevestigd is [...]. Een prins [zoude niet] bequaam [...] zijn, om een zetel van zoo veel eeuwen teffens om verre te werpen;’ Anonymous, *Antwoordt van een republiquin op het lasterschrift van den nieuwen Vargas, schuilende onder den naam van Philaethes en van een regent van Hollandt* (Amsterdam, 1684), pfl 12142, p. 31.

<sup>529</sup> Quotation taken from Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 833–834.

fundamentally neutral about which religion was the true one; they approached the confessional divides as a fact and regarded their religion as under threat, but they did not really use anti-Catholic or pro-Protestant language. This was in line with the stadtholder's policy of staying on good terms with Catholics, as we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4. We have seen a similar dynamic in Chapter 2, as several opinion makers negotiated when the persecution of a religious minority actually constituted religious persecution; in other words, the confessional divide stood at the center of debate, but it did not necessarily revolve around religious truth or error.

In short, we should split the normative principle of religion in two and distinguish between what we can call the normative principles of confessional truth and confessional solidarity. The normative principle of confessional truth indeed revolves around (doctrinal) religious truth claims—and is thus by all standards non-secular. The normative principle of confessional solidarity, by contrast, perceives the political landscape through the lens of confessional division and conflict. Confession remains the main marker of identity—providing an imagined community to speak in Benedict Anderson's terms—but it is devoid of dogmatic truth claims or religious triumphalism. It can therefore be regarded as secular.

To make a distinction between the normative principles of confessional truth and confessional solidarity may seem like splitting hairs—especially since the opinion makers appealing to the latter probably nonetheless believed that their confession was the true religion. Yet the differentiation is pivotal if we want to understand the changing dynamics of confessional conflict in European history—or the complex role of religion in the post-Cold War conflicts that put religion back on the political scientist's and historian's agenda in the first place.<sup>530</sup> Indeed, not making this distinction implies that we should, for instance, regard the twenty-first-century political scientist Samuel Huntington as a religious thinker, because his view on world politics is based on a cultural-confessional geography, even though his theory is fundamentally secular.<sup>531</sup> How and when opinion makers used the normative principles of

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<sup>530</sup> For recent discussions about the role of religion as a marker of community see C. Mitchell, 'Behind the ethnic marker. Religion and social identification in Northern Ireland', *Sociology of Religion* 66–1 (2005), pp. 3–21; D. Little, 'Religion, nationalism, and intolerance', in T.D. Sisk (ed.), *Between terror and tolerance. Religious leaders, conflict, and peace-making* (Washington, D.C., 2011) pp. 9–28.

<sup>531</sup> S. Huntington, 'The clash of civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72–3 (1993), pp. 22–49.

confessional truth or confessional solidarity will be analyzed in more detail in chapters 4 and 6. But first, we should discuss an author who actively advocated against the reification of confessional conflict—at least in the years before the Revocation.

*The Persecuted Voice*

Orangist propagandists used the fate of the Huguenots as proof that an army should be sent to the Southern Netherlands. One may wonder, however, how interesting this debate was for the actual Huguenots who arrived in the Dutch Republic at this time. Many of the men and women who found refuge in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or The Hague after having suffered a *dragonnade* in Poitou or Bearn were probably unaware of—and indifferent to—whether they had arrived in an Orangist or a Statist city. Dutch pamphleteers, in turn, appeared to take little interest in the exiles' experiences, but drew attention to their fate to make a political statement.

This was not due to a lack of stories; a considerable number of persecuted Huguenots wrote about their experiences in journals, but they were apparently not very keen on publishing them.<sup>532</sup> We can explain this through a combination of factors, not the least of which was the hope that one day, Louis XIV or his successor would reverse his policy and let the exiles return home. Causing international unrest and giving rise to religious antagonism by publicizing one's predicament would not help that wish to come true. The most notable exception to this silence before the Revocation was accordingly a work that appeared to seek rapprochement and establish, quite literally, an interconfessional dialogue.

On 23 September 1680, Pierre Jurieu, professor of theology at the Academy of Sedan, entrusted a manuscript to his friend Jean Rou, who was going to Liège, en route to going into exile in the Dutch Republic.<sup>533</sup> Three months later, Jurieu's work was published as *La politique*

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<sup>532</sup> For an analysis of Huguenot persecution journals see Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 163–176; R. Whelan, 'Writing the self. Huguenot autobiography and the process of assimilation', in: R. Vigne and C. Littleton (eds.), *From strangers to citizens. The integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (Brighton, Portland 2001), pp. 80–121; D. Watts, 'Testimonies of persecution. Four Huguenot refugees and their memoirs', in: J. Fox, M. Waddicor, and D. Watts (Eds.), *Studies in eighteenth-century French literature. Presented to Robert Niklaus* (Exeter, 1975), pp. 319–222

<sup>533</sup> F. Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu. Theoloog en politikus der Refuge* (Kampen, 1967), p. 111.

*du clergé en France* (*The politics of the clergy in France*) by Pierre Marteau from Cologne.<sup>534</sup> Of course, well-informed contemporaries knew that Pierre Marteau from Cologne was not a real person. It was a fake publishing house, widely used to notify readers that the book before them was politically sensitive.<sup>535</sup> In reality, the *Politique du clergé* had been published by Abraham Arondeus in The Hague. Jurieu's authorship was not an open secret, although there were rumors he was the author.<sup>536</sup> Jansenist apostolic vicar and archbishop of Utrecht, Johannes van Neercassel (1625–86),—a well-connected man who kept a close correspondence with leading French publicists Antoine Arnauld and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet—for one, believed that the Huguenot divine and opinion maker Jean Claude was the author of the work.<sup>537</sup>

The *politique du clergé* was probably the first work produced by the Dutch presses to provide a detailed account and judgment of the renewed persecution of the Huguenots under Louis XIV, and, as such, it became a success. Rou would later recall in a memoir that the 'energetic' work caused 'great sensation'.<sup>538</sup> Pierre Bayle confirms that the work became a success in his *Dictionnaire*, even though he judged it to have 'little strength of reasoning'.<sup>539</sup> Within two years, three editions had appeared in French.<sup>540</sup> By March 1681 the work had been translated into English and published in London for R. Bentley and M. Magnes, who dedicated it to the king and the Oxford Parliament.<sup>541</sup> Around the same time, Utrecht's university printer (*academiedrukker*) François Halma (1653–1722)—who would become an important publisher for first-generation refugees—published a Dutch translation, which was soon followed by second and third editions.<sup>542</sup>

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<sup>534</sup> Anonymous [P. Jurieu], *La politique du clergé de France ou entretiens curieux de deux catholiques romains, l'un Parisien, l'autre provincial, sur les moyens dont on se sert aujourd'hui, pour détruire la religion Protestante dans ce royaume* (The Hague, 1681).

<sup>535</sup> See L. Janmart de Brouillant, *Histoire de Pierre du Marteau imprimeur à Cologne (17–18. siècles)* (Paris, 1888).

<sup>536</sup> S. d'Arnay (ed.), *Oeuvres de messire Antoine Arnauld, docteur de la maison et société de Sorbonne*, vol. 11 (Paris, 1777). p. lviii.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid.; Jean Claude will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>538</sup> F. Waddington (ed.), *Mémoires inédits et opuscules de Jean Rou, avocat au parlement de Paris (1659); secrétaire interprète de Hollande depuis l'année 1689 (1638–1711)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1857), p. 164.

<sup>539</sup> '[...] peu de solidité de raisonnement'; P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1820), p. 408.

<sup>540</sup> For an overview of all editions and translations of the *Politique du clergé* see É. Kappler, *Bibliographie critique de l'oeuvre imprimée de Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713)* (Paris, 2002), pp. 213–235.

<sup>541</sup> Anonymous [P. Jurieu], *The policy of the clergy of France, to destroy the Protestants of that kingdom, wherein is set down the ways and means that have been made use of for these twenty years last past, to root out the Protestant religion, in a dialogue between two papists* (London, 1681); Marshall, *John Locke*, p. 32.

<sup>542</sup> Anonymous [P. Jurieu], *De Staat-Kunde van de Geestelykheyt van Vrankryk ofte Naeukeurige Samen-sprekingen van twee Roomsche-Katholijken, de eene Parijsiaan, en den anderen een Landzmaat, over de middelen van welke men sig bedendaags*

In July 1681, about a year after the manuscript had been completed, the Academy of Sedan was suppressed. Pierre Jurieu followed Rou to The Hague, before taking permanent residence in Rotterdam as a professor at the newly founded *École Illustre*.<sup>543</sup> In his new home, the theologian wrote a sequel to the *Politique du clergé*, entitled *Les derniers efforts de l'innocence affligée* (*The last efforts of afflicted innocence*), which also met with success. Halma also translated this work into Dutch as *De uysterste verweering der verdrukke onnozelbeyd*.<sup>544</sup> With the two polemics, Jurieu began to build his reputation as the chief publicist of the French Refuge, or the 'Goliath of the Protestants' as his adversaries came to refer to him.<sup>545</sup>

The *Politique du clergé* is structured as a dialogue. It presents two Catholic friends who run into each other in Paris after many years. One of the two lives in Paris, while the other resides in the countryside. They present ideal types of the political thought world of generic Catholic Frenchmen. The interlocutors are wealthy, well-educated, and cordial men, who treasure civil conversation. Although one of them maintains friendships with the Huguenot nobility, they are not noblemen, nor is it indicated that they hold political office.<sup>546</sup> The friends agree that religious uniformity in France is desirable and, by discussing how it can best be attained, they sketch a picture of the realm's and Europe's religio-political landscape. The Parisian does not know any Protestants personally but believes them to be fundamentally dangerous and curiously asks the provincial's opinion on the Huguenots and the measures directed against them. The provincial, a somewhat naive but benign man, is well disposed toward the Huguenots, knowing them as honest Frenchmen.<sup>547</sup> Yet by the force of prejudice over experience, the provincial soon follows his friend's lead: the Parisian advises him to break

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*dient, om de Gereformeerde Godsdienst uzf te roejen in dat Koninkrijk*, trans. F. Halma (Utrecht, 1681); P. Witsen Geysbeek, 'François Halma', in P. Witsen Geysbeek (ed.), *Biographisch anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1822), pp. 50–57; J. van Eijnatten, 'The Huguenot clerisy in the United Provinces. Aspects of Huguenot influence on Dutch intellectual life after the Revocation', in S. Pott, M. Mulsow, and L. Danneberg (eds.), *The Berlin Refuge 1680–1780* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2003), p. 226; Kappler, *Bibliographie critique*, pp. 228–229.

<sup>543</sup> Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, pp. 122–123.

<sup>544</sup> Anonymous [P. Jurieu], *De uysterste verweering der verdrukke onnozelbeyd ofte 't vervolg der staat-kunde van de geestelijckbeyd van Vrankryk* (Utrecht, 1682); Kappler, *Bibliographie critique*, p. 231.

<sup>545</sup> See, for instance, S. d'Arnay (ed.), *Oeuvres de messier Antoine Arnauld, docteur de la Maison et société de Sorbonne, tome trente-deuxieme, contenant les nombres XXIV, XXV & CCVL de la troisieme partie de la cinquieme classe* (Paris, 1780), p. 504.

<sup>546</sup> The Parisian is called 'monsieur', not 'gentilhomme'. In the English version this is translated as 'gentleman'; P. Jurieu, *Les derniers efforts de l'innocence affligée* (The Hague 1682), p. 9; Jurieu, *Last efforts*, p. 7.

<sup>547</sup> Jurieu, *Politique du clergé*, pp. 7–8.

off his friendships with the Reformed, who will soon experience the downfall of their religion.<sup>548</sup>

In the *Derniers efforts* the same men are joined by two Huguenots, one a nobleman, the other a lawyer. In the course of their conversation, the policy of persecution is deconstructed. As to the cause behind the persecution, the two Catholics agree that Louis XIV strives for the conversion of the Huguenots as a good Catholic, but above all, because, as a king, he is in constant search of glory and reverence.<sup>549</sup> Nevertheless, the author follows a traditional strategy of shifting blame away from the ruler. Left by himself, Louis XIV would patiently convert the Huguenots through soft means rather than through ‘steel, fire, and banishment’, but a small faction misinforms him and pushes him in this direction.<sup>550</sup>

Like the Waldensian pamphlets, the *Politique du clergé* dwells extensively on the normative principle of rule of law, elaborating on legal nature of the Edict of Nantes, the peace treaty that settled the position of the Huguenots and their relationship with their ruler. By stressing the normative principle of the treaty Jurieu shows that he is not necessarily in favor of religious toleration. Indeed, he parries the critique that Catholics have no rights in England by pointing out that there has never been a royal promise anchored in law to tolerate them.<sup>551</sup> He thus approached religious tolerance from a legal perspective, not from the normative principles of confessional truth or solidarity. Jurieu shows how many of the measures against the Huguenots, did not follow the Edict of Nantes, as the court professed, but in fact violated it:

The edicts of pacification [the Edict of Nantes] have the exact shape which perpetual laws are supposed to have. They have been confirmed by the parlements. They have been confirmed by a hundred declarations [...], and by a thousand royal oaths. Finally, they have been posed as irrevocable laws and as the foundations of the state’s peace.<sup>552</sup>

Yet despite this emphasis on irrevocability, Jurieu gives a somewhat evasive answer as to whether the monarch is bound to uphold the treaty’s statutes and what happens should he fail

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<sup>548</sup> Ibid., pp. 8–9.

<sup>549</sup> Ibid., pp. 11–12.

<sup>550</sup> ‘[...] le fer, le feu & le bannissement’; *ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>552</sup> ‘Les edits de pacification sont dans toutes les formes où doivent estre des loix perpetuelles, ils sont verifiez par les Parlemens, ils sont confirmez par cent declarations [...], & par mille paroles Royales: enfin ils ont esté posez pour estre des loix irrevocables, & comme des fondemens de la paix de l’etat;’ *ibid.* pp. 126–127.

to do so. The Parisian gentleman argues that kings ‘continuously break peace and solemnly pledged peace treaties, because the public interest demands it’;<sup>553</sup> after all, the ‘common good is the sovereign law’.<sup>554</sup> The author counters this argument by stating that such annulments should always be done openly, with an official accusation against the other party. As long as the king does not revoke the Edict of Nantes, he remains bound to uphold its principles in ‘good faith’, a term which the discussants use extensively.

In other words, there is a strong moral imperative for the king to engage with his subjects openly and not breach the contracts he has made with them, at least not covertly. Yet beyond a moral imperative, the legal consequences of not upholding the Edict of Nantes in ‘good faith’ remain undiscussed. In later works, Jurieu would do just that. By revoking the Edict of Nantes, he would come to argue, Louis XIV had broken his bond with his Huguenot subjects, which meant that the latter could lawfully resist him and, more importantly, that they had the right to offer their loyalty to a different ruler, more specifically the person of William III.<sup>555</sup> In the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts*, however, no such rights of resistance or annulment of loyalty are offered.

To sum up, Jurieu assigns a central role to the rule of law as the basis of just political procedure. As such, the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts* present evidence for Michael Breen’s assertion that even at the height of absolute monarchy—from the late seventeenth century—‘law provided the principal linguistic, cultural, and procedural framework through which individuals and corporations articulated, contested, and resolved disputes over the allocation of resources, status, authority, and power’.<sup>556</sup> At the same time, the law had lost its teeth, because there is no repercussion for the ruler who refuses to maintain the law.

Jurieu was not the only seventeenth-century philosopher in whose political theories such a friction between rule of law and absolute domestic sovereignty can be found; Hobbes—whose work Jurieu knew well, expressed a similar tension by advocating a society ordered

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<sup>553</sup> ‘Tous les jours on rompt des paix & des traitez qui on esté solemnellement jurez, parce que l’interest public le demande’; *ibid.*, pp. 127–128.

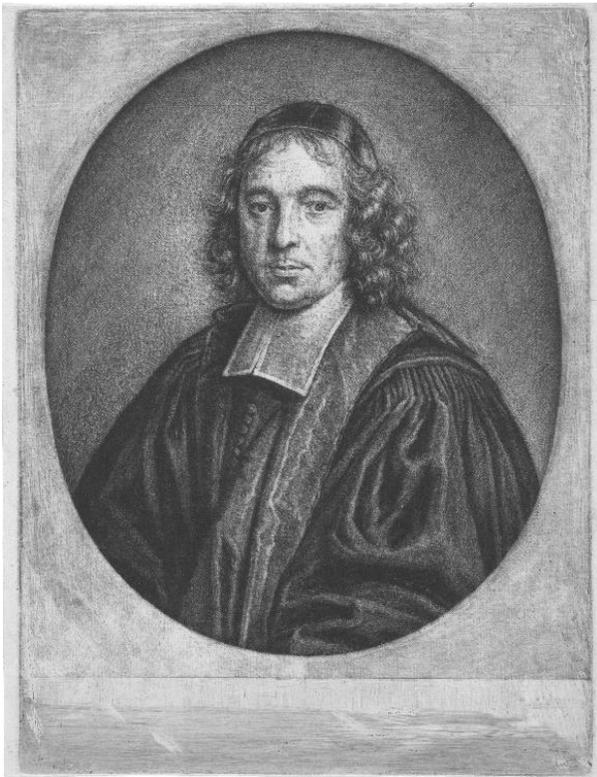
<sup>554</sup> ‘[...] le bien public est la souveraine loi’; *ibid.*, p. 127

<sup>555</sup> J. Israel, ‘General introduction’, in J. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo–Dutch moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 34–35.

<sup>556</sup> M. Breen, ‘Patronage, politics, and the “rule of law” in early modern France’, *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 33 (2005), p. 96.

around civil laws, which the sovereign had the duty to publicly promulgate.<sup>557</sup> But because that very same sovereign had an absolute prerogative, he was not himself subjected to the laws through which he spoke.<sup>558</sup>

However, Jurieu primarily rejects the persecution of the Huguenots not because it is unlawful, but because it is unreasonable—the normative language of reason takes precedence over rule of law. In this regard, Jurieu’s work supports Arlette Jouanna’s observation that the development of absolutism as a political discourse constituted a move away from legal conceptions of political order toward new ideals centered around a ruler’s power to advance the glory of the state and the welfare of its subjects.<sup>559</sup>



6. Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713). Resource: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

<sup>557</sup> H. Kretzer, *Calvinismus und französische Monarchie im 17. Jahrhundert. Die politische Lehre der Akademien Sedan und Saumur, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Pierre du Moulin, Moyse Amyraut und Pierre Jurieu* (Berlin, 1975), p. 369.

<sup>558</sup> T. Poole, *Reason of state. Law, prerogative and empire* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 37–56.

<sup>559</sup> A. Jouanna, ‘Die Debatte über die absolute Gewalt im Frankreich der Religionskriege’, in R. Asch and H. Duchhardt (eds.), *Der Absolutismus—ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1996), pp. 57–78, esp. p. 76.

*Reason of State and the Psychology of Conversion*

In order to show the imprudence of the Crown's policy of harassing the Huguenots into conversion, Jurieu developed an elaborate theory of human behavior and the workings of the human mind, which is descriptive rather than proscriptive. Indeed, a considerable part of both the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts* are devoted to what can be termed a psychology of religion and conversion. The state's policy of conversion is ineffective and detrimental to the state because it fails to reckon with universal properties of the human soul.

The Parisian begins this sketch by arguing that 'that fear and hope are the two great machines through which one moves the souls'.<sup>560</sup> To persuade the Huguenots to convert, one should therefore pursue a policy of punishment and rewards. His friend from the countryside agrees that this is a good method, since most people follow a certain religion out of habit rather than conviction:

How many people are of one religion by chance rather than choice, who have no commitment to the religion of their fathers; who stay in it because they were born in it [...]? Having neither piety nor devotion, they care little about what religion they belong to. How many Catholics do you believe we have that are not of the religion of God, but of that of their king, and who would immediately convert, if they were in a state in which we would only give them offices under this condition?<sup>561</sup>

Given the superficiality of people's religious convictions, the two judge it to be an effective policy to allow girls to convert at the age of twelve and boys at the age of fourteen, luring them toward the Catholic religion in their search for independence:

You know that at this age the yoke feels heavy to children, because this is the age in which they have to choose a profession, one obliges them to work and one wants them to start moving away from the libertinism of childhood. They do not yet have any love for religion and often they have very little knowledge about it. The yoke of obedience

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<sup>560</sup> '[...] la crainte & l'esperance sont les deux grandes machines par lesquelles on remuë les ames'; Jurieu, *Politique du clergé*, p. 31.

<sup>561</sup> 'Combien y a-t-il de gens qui sont d'une religion par hazard plutôt que par choix; qui n'ont aucune attache à la religion de leurs peres; qui y demeurent par ce qu'ils y sont nez [...]? N'ayant ny pieté, ni devotion, il leur importe peu de quelle religion ils soient. Combien croyez-vous que nous ayons de Catholiques qui ne sont pas de la religion de dieu, mais de celle du roy, & qui changeroient incontinent s'ils étoient dans un estat où l'on ne voulût leur donner les charges qu'a cette condition là?'; *ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

and chastisement is heavy for them, so they only look for a way to relieve themselves of it.<sup>562</sup>

The Huguenots who eventually join the discussion turn this argument of superficial religiosity around. Indeed, girls who have ‘lost [their] honor’ will look for it again in the strongest party, and ‘want to cover all of their infamy with the veil of conversion’ and punished children will avenge their parents by changing religion.<sup>563</sup> But only those whose religion was not upright in the first place will be lost as a result of such pull factors, thereby leading to nothing but a purification of the Reformed party. Those who remain will not succumb to promises and threats.<sup>564</sup> On the contrary, ‘the human mind stiffens against such force’.<sup>565</sup> The Huguenot nobleman estimates that not more than one in four converts will truly embrace their new religion:

They have changed out of interest, out of feebleness, out of fear, out of love, or out of some other passion that has caught them by surprise. When the passion has slackened, reason returns, these people are ashamed of their conversion, their conscience reawakens.<sup>566</sup>

The Catholics and the Huguenots also discuss a law which allows judges and other officials to visit people on their deathbeds and encourage them to convert:

With this fine reasoning, they tore the husband from the bed of his wife, the woman out of the arms of her husband, the children from a dying father, the father from his children. When they have no more witnesses, they promise, they menace, they intimidate [...]. One awry word said without intention, pushed by a hot fever [...] which disturbs the judgment, is enough for the parish priest to make him cry out loud, *monsieur; or madame wants to die Catholic* [...]. Our enemies have thus invented a new kind of cruelty, which was unheard of even in the ages of persecutors and martyrs of the Christian religion. If, in those times, one had to live with the religion of the emperors, at least one

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<sup>562</sup> ‘Vous sçavez que c’est dans cet âge que le joug paroît pesant aux enfans : parce que c’est l’âge dans lequel il faut qu’ils fassent choix d’une profession, on les oblige à travailler, & l’on veut qu’ils commencement à revenir du libertinage de l’enfance. Ils n’ont encore aucun amour pour la religion, & souvent ils en ont tres peu de connoissance, le joug de l’obeissance & celuy des châtimens leur estant dur, ils ne cherchent qu’un moyen de le secoürir’; *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>563</sup> ‘[...] perdu son honneur’; ‘[...] [...] veut covrir toute son infamie du voile de la conversion’; *ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>565</sup> ‘L’esprit humain se roidit contre ses fortes d’oppositions’; *ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>566</sup> ‘Ils ont changé par interest, par legereté, par crainte, par amour, ou par quelque autre passion qui les a surpris. Quand la passion s’est rallentie, la raison revient, [et] ces gens ont honte de leur changement, leur conscience se réveille’; *ibid.*, pp. 158–159.

was allowed to die in the religion of God. Can anything in the world be more cruel? A poor sick person is struggling with death, he needs all his strength to fight it, and all the calmness of his mind to oppose the fears that appear before the last moment of his life [...]. He consoles himself by giving the last sighs in the arms of his wife and children [...]. He has no more strength than to die and has to do something he could hardly do if he had all the strength of his health [...]. He must respond to them, weigh their words, he must avoid the pitfalls laid before him through ambiguous interrogation. He must sustain the shock of threats and the weight of authority.<sup>567</sup>

It is important to note that Jurieu does not in any way frame this story with confessional truth claims, nor does he make martyrs out of the people who suffer this fate. The interlocutors analyze the impact of state policy on the human mind, not on the Protestant mind. This is made explicit when the discussants refer to the Roman emperors who persecuted the early Christians. The Parisian protests against the comparison, arguing that ‘it is a crime to persecute the true religion, but it is a work of great merit to extirpate heresy’.<sup>568</sup> The Huguenot gentleman responds that ‘there is not a single person [...] who is not convinced of being of the right religion’.<sup>569</sup> Moreover, he reminds the Catholics that they are investigating the policy ‘according to the rules of politics’ rather than religious truth.<sup>570</sup>

In this discussion about the natural response of human beings to persecution, the author unproblematically refers to non-Christian victims of state terror. Jurieu cites at length from the *De Rebus Emmanuelis* by the humanist bishop Jerónimo Osório (1506–1580) on the

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<sup>567</sup> ‘Avec ce beau raisonnement [...] on arrache le mary du lit de sa femme, la femme des bras de son mary, les enfans d’auprès d’un pere mourant, un pere d’auprès de ses enfans. Quand on n’a plus de témoins, on promet, on menace, on intimide [...]. Un mot de travers dit sans intention, poussé par une fièvre chaude, & qui trouble le jugement, suffit à monsieur le Curé pour le faire crier à haute voix, *monsieur, ou madame veut mourir Catholique* [...]. Nos ennemis ont inventé cela une nouvelle espece de cruauté qui a esté inouïe, même dans les siecles des persecuteurs & des martyrs de la religion chrétienne. S’il falloit vivre en ce temps-là de la religion des empereurs, au moins estoit-il permis de mourir de la religion de Dieu. Peut-on rien au monde concevoir de plus cruel? Un pauvre malade est aux prises avec la mort, il a besoin de toutes ces forces pour la combattre, & de toute la tranquillité de son esprit pour l’opposer aux terreurs qui marchent devant ce dernier moment de la vie [...]. Il se console en rendant les derniers soupirs entre les bras de sa femme & des enfans [...] Là-dessus on voit entrer un magistrat suivi de tout le clergé d’une paroisse [...]. Il n’avoit plus de force que pour mourir, & il faut qu’il fasse ce qu’à peine pourroit il faire s’il avoit toutes les forces de sa santé [...]. Il faut qu’il réponde, qu’il étudie ses paroles : il faut qu’il évite les pieges qu’on luy tend par des interrogations ambiguës : il faut qu’il soustienne le choc des menaces & le poids de l’autorité’; *ibid.*, pp. 60–63

<sup>568</sup> ‘C’est un crime de persecuter la veritable religion, mais c’est un œuvre de grand merite d’extirper l’heresie’; Jurieu, *Politique du clergé*, p. 178.

<sup>569</sup> ‘Il n’y a point d’homme [...] qui ne soit persuadé qu’il est dans la bonne religion’; *ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>570</sup> ‘[...] selon les regles de la politique’; *ibid.*

reign of Manuel I of Portugal, who took away the children of Jews and Muslims to raise them as Christians:<sup>571</sup>

This could not be done without causing terrible agitations in the minds. It was a frightful spectacle to see children torn away from their mother's breast, and wrenched from the arms of the fathers [...]. They maltreated the fathers and the mothers, and beat them with clubs to make them let go. From all sides the air resounded with horrible cries, and the women shouted cries and wailings that pierced the sky. Many among the miserable fathers were so touched by the atrocity of this deed, that they threw their children in wells and many others passed to the degree of desperation and fury that they killed themselves'.<sup>572</sup>

Indeed, within this framework, suicide is not portrayed as a mortal sin, but as something that people can be naturally driven to. The Huguenot nobleman brings the news of two girls who, having converted under pressure in Montpellier, regretted this so much that they killed themselves, an act that he judges to be 'the natural consequences of the declarations they procure against us'.<sup>573</sup> Even murdering one's children is portrayed as natural if people are driven to extremities:

We can be silent where nature speaks. It is the greatest of all cruelties to bereave a father and a mother of their children. It is a wrench which pain cannot be expressed. In one word, it is a treatment unheard of in the century of tortures and massacres. You will see things that will surprise and horrify you. Motherly tenderness, religious sentiments, and anger mixed together are a compound capable of producing terrible deeds. And I fear you will see examples of fury similar to that of the Jews, who, seeing that they wanted to take away their children to baptize them, took them and hurled themselves to death with them [...]. It is a new kind of torture, which will devastate France more than the massacres of the last century have done. Where is the African and cannibal heart which is able to sustain the view of these mothers, who are bathed in tears, who will also in their blood, will tear out their hair, [...] [and] cry after those who take away their children'.<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>571</sup> J. Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae Inulctissimi Virtute et Auspicio, annis sex, ac viginti, domi forisque gestis, libri duodecim* (Cologne, 1581).

<sup>572</sup> 'Ce qui ne se pût faire sans causer de terribles agitations dans les esprits. Ce fut un spectacle affreux de voir tirer les enfans du sein de leurs meres, & de les voir arracher des bras des peres [...]. On maltraitoit les peres & les meres, & on les frappoit à coups de bâton pour leur faire lâcher prise. De tous côtez l'air retentissoit de cris effroyables, & les femmes pousoient des clameurs & des plaintes qui perçoient jusqu'au ciel. Plusieurs d'entre ces miserables peres furent si touchez de l'atrocité de cette action, qu'ils jetterent leurs enfans dans des puits : & beaucoup d'autres passerent jusqu'à ce degré de desespoir & de fureur, que de se donner la mort à eux-mêmes'; Jurieu, *Derniers efforts*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>573</sup> '[...] les suites naturelles des declarations que l'on obtient contre nous'; *ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>574</sup> '[...] l'on se peut taire où la nature parle [...]. C'est la plus grande de toutes les cruetez que de ravir à un père & à une mere leurs enfans : c'est un déchirement dont la douleur ne se peut exprimer. En un mot c'est un

Jurieu's strategy of approaching persecution from the perspective of human nature finally allows him to return to the question of resistance from a different angle. By forcing people to extremes, the court's policy of persecution is bound to backfire and could well usher in a new period of civil warfare in France. However, rather than to approach resistance as a right of the people if they are attacked by their sovereign, Jurieu reevaluates it as an unavoidable consequence of pushing people to extremities. Instead of justifying resistance from a legal point of view—the normative language of rule of law—he portrays it as a human trait—the normative language of humanity—, explicitly differentiating it from a right. He argues that people will inevitably begin to resist the authorities, while explicitly distinguishing it from their right to do so:

When a state conceals in its entrails two million malcontents [...] it is in danger of feeling terrible movements. [...] What persuades me that these movements would not be favorable to the Reformed is that God has never blessed such designs, to defend a religion with arms, to rise up against one's prince, and to make war under the pretext of piety. Because the furies of civil war are absolutely incompatible with charity. [...] These impatient who take up arms act against the principles of religion, and against those of their religion in particular, I avow. [...] They would be massacred by the people and the arms of their sovereign. The king would certainly master them, but he would have the pain of seeing his country bathed in the blood of his subjects.<sup>575</sup>

Despite their contemporary success, historians have paid limited attention to the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts*. Most students of the political culture of the Huguenot diaspora

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traitement dont on ne s'estoit pas avisé dans le siecle des supplices & des massacres. [...]. Verrez-vous des choses là-dessus qui vous surprendront, & qui vous seront horreur. La tendresse maternelle, les sentiments de religion, & la colere mêlées ensemble sont un composé capable de produire des actions terribles. Et je crains que vous ne voyez des exemples de fureur semblables à celui de ces Juives, qui voyant qu'on leur vouloit ravir leurs enfans pour les baptiser, les prenoient & se precipitoient avec eux [...]. C'est un genre de supplice tout nouveau, qui desertera plus la France que n'ont fait tous les massacres du siecle passé [...]. Où est le cœur Africain & cannibale qui pourra soutenir la vûe de ces meres, qui baignées de larmes, se baigneront encore de leur sang, s'arracheront les cheveux, [...] [et] crieront après ceux qui leur enleveront leurs enfans'; *ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>575</sup> Quand un etat cache dans ses entrailles deux millions de mécontents [...], il est en peril de sentir de terribles mouvemens. [...] Ce qui me persuade que ces mouvemens ne seroient point favorables aux reformez, c'est que Dieu ne benit jamais ce dessein, de défendre une religion par les armes, de se soulever contre son prince, & de faire la guerre sous un pretexte de pieté : car les fureurs de la guerre civile sont absolument incompatibles avec la charité. Ces emportez & ces impatiens en prenant les armes agiroient contre les principes de la religion, & contre ceux de leur religion en particulier, je l'avoüe, ils ne reüssiroient pas, ils se seroient massacrez par les peuples & par les armes de leur souverain. Ils seroient occasion de faire perir avec eux des millions d'innocens, comme il est arrivé autrefois. Le roy seroit assurément le maître ; mais il auroit la douleur de voir son país baigné du sang de ses sujets'; *ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

have focused on the period after the Edict of Fontainebleau. This makes sense if we look at the quantity of works produced before and after October 1685; as we will see in Chapter 4, the Revocation was met with a flood of publications by Huguenot and non-Huguenot thinkers who tried to make sense of the enormous disruption caused by the prohibition of the Reformed religion. By comparison, the few pamphlets published in the first half of the 1680s tend to pale into insignificance.

Quantity apart, intellectual historians have argued that the Revocation caused a shift in Huguenot political theory from uncompromising absolutism to social contract theory. Between the last Huguenot uprising—which was famously crushed by Cardinal Richelieu in the siege of La Rochelle—in 1628 and the renewed persecution of the 1680s, Huguenot subjects had come to argue that the monarch was the sole protector of their religious privileges and the only rampart against their domestic enemies—most notably the French clergy.<sup>576</sup> Huguenot political theory was correspondingly dominated by a staunch defense of divine right absolutism; absolute loyalty to the monarch's will served to transcend the confessional divide.<sup>577</sup> When Louis XIV simply denied the existence of Reformed subjects in October 1685, this position became extremely difficult to maintain, leading to a shift from absolutism back to the sort of contract theory that the Reformed had developed during the wars of religion. Myriam Yardeni summarizes that

after the failure of the sentimental and quasi-mystical arguments of fidelity, [...] rationalism gained the upper hand, and, with it, there came a scarcely disguised return to monarchomach theories. The Edict of Nantes was for Protestant polemicists no longer a privilege conceded by the king. One pamphlet explained that it was 'a treaty given the form of a law', and that it was 'only necessary to read the preamble to this Edict to be convinced that it is in effect a treaty that Henri IV made with our fathers'.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> T. Hochstrasser, 'The claims of conscience. Natural law theory, obligation, and resistance in the Huguenot diaspora', in J. Laursen (ed.), *New essays on the political thought of the Huguenots of the Refuge* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995), pp. 17–18; M. Yardeni, 'French Calvinist political thought, 1543–1715', in Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism*, pp. 328–329; E. Labrousse, 'The political ideas of the Huguenot diaspora (Bayle and Jurieu)', in R. Golden (ed.), *Church, state, and society under the Bourbon kings of France* (Lawrence, KS, 1982), pp. 222–223; G. Dodge, *The political theory of the Huguenots of the dispersion* (New York, 1947), pp. 5–7.

<sup>577</sup> Hochstrasser, 'Claims of conscience', pp. 18–19.

<sup>578</sup> Yardeni, 'French Calvinist political thought', p. 331.

In terms of the theoretical framework adopted in this study, we might say that Yardeni notices a shift in Huguenot argument from the normative principle of sovereignty to the normative principles of reason and rule of law.

In the historiography of this shift in political languages, Jurieu has usually been portrayed as a central representative of post-Revocation contract theory. From 1686, he combined this with a stance against religious tolerance and bold prophesying, as will be scrutinized in Chapters 4 and 5. Indeed, the theologian would famously defend popular sovereignty against his colleague and former friend Pierre Bayle, who remained a steadfast supporter of uncompromising absolutism and religious tolerance. Their polemic on this matter has often been regarded as the main political debate of the Huguenot Refuge.<sup>579</sup> Those who have studied Jurieu's pre-Revocation works have mainly done so in search early signs of his later political theory.<sup>580</sup> Most notably, Jurieu's twentieth-century biographer Frederick Knetsch has contended that one can already recognize anti-absolutist principles in the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts*. This supports his conclusion that the pastor's political philosophy did not fundamentally change after his flight from France.<sup>581</sup>

It is quite possible that around the time of his flight to the Dutch Republic Jurieu already came to think of political society as based on an initial contract between people and ruler. However, what makes the *Politique du clergé* and the *Derniers efforts* so interesting is that, in these, Jurieu failed or refused to offer a social contract theory against absolutism. Instead, we have seen that the author carefully navigated between the normative principles of sovereignty—in the form of uncompromising absolutism—and rule of law—which served as a legal foothold for the position of the Reformed, without regarding them as opposites. Jurieu did so by judging the French court's policy on the basis of another normative principle: reason. Whether a certain policy was reasonable, in turn, depended on whether it took the universal properties of humanity into account. In other words, the sovereign enjoyed absolute sovereignty, but reason dictated that he would follow the rule of law and not push his subjects to such psychological extremes that they would naturally, though unjustly, revolt. By describing the psychology of

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<sup>579</sup> Hochstrasser, 'Claims of conscience', pp. 22–23.

<sup>580</sup> See also M. van der Lugt, *Bayle, Jurieu, and the Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Oxford, 2016); J. Howells, *Pierre Jurieu. Antinomian radical* (Durham, 1983).

<sup>581</sup> Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, appendix.

forced conversion, he shifted the conversation from what subjects were allowed to do (nothing) to what human being would inevitably do (turn to violence).

### *Conclusion*

Two factors severely hampered the development of publicity for the Huguenots in the early 1680s. First, the victims were still pleading with Louis XIV to revert his policies. Their strategy to redeem their sovereign's grace was based almost entirely on an argument of absolute loyalty. An international publicity campaign to put external pressure on the Sun King would not support this argument. As we have discussed in Chapter 1, to seek attention through print media was considered less problematic than to seek direct contact with foreign governments. Yet it was not considered to be entirely unproblematic either. As long as there was no full communication breakdown with the monarch, it was not a self-evident political strategy to involve foreign authorities through publicity. Jurieu's turn to the printing press was an exception, but his argumentation was in service of the same project, to be tolerated again. Constructing a religious narrative about one's predicament would not serve this purpose; the people that had to be convinced were Catholics, not Protestants. Jurieu thus gave an intricate explanation of why France's Huguenot subjects should be tolerated, with recourse to a complex argument about how the normative orders of sovereignty, rule of law, reason, and humanity depended on each other—not as an ideal, but in reality.

Second, the Dutch authorities were opposed to the production of printed opinion about the persecution. The United Provinces' political landscape was divided and relations with France were fickle and contested. But initially none of the contesting political parties was ready for an open confrontation with Louis XIV, which could be triggered through the production of anti-French printed news media. Orangists first had to persuade the other domestic factions of their case against France. Sermons, a medium through which one could target more specific audiences, were a safer way to do so than defamatory pamphlets. Printed copies of the Sun King's anti-Huguenot decrees—and other forms of 'objective' printed evidence, served as a

safe alternative; they did not argue against anything, but nevertheless imprinted the issue of the Huguenot persecution in the reader's mind.

Helmer Helmers has recently demonstrated that there was a tight Anglo-Dutch discursive sphere during the English Civil War. Chapters 4 and 5 will show that much of the public opinion produced after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes also constituted an international public sphere. The events of the early 1680s show us, however, that these discursive spheres did not always cross borders. The appropriation of fate of the Huguenots to discuss domestic politics in England were useful neither to Statists nor Orangists. We have thus found little evidence that the English press influenced the Dutch. In other words, the Anglo-Dutch sphere, once established, was not an ever-present factor.

When news about the Huguenots did begin to play a modest role in the pamphlet war of 1683-84, it was within the boundaries of the Dutch public sphere. The persecution was used to argue that in the face of French expansionism, the normative orders of religion and reason (of state) were inseparable and could only be pursued simultaneously, against the Statist party which viewed relations with France only through latter normative principle. Again, we see that Dutch pamphleteers appropriated the news to bring a confessional argument to a domestic dispute. Whereas the persecuted Huguenots deconfessionalized their predicament, Dutch Orangists reconfessionalized it. Confessional argumentation did not, however, necessarily revolve around religious truth claims, as has been made clear by distinguishing between the normative languages of confessional truth and confessional solidarity. In fact, we will see that one of main points of discussion in printed media responding to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was whether Europe's religious polarization could be understood by looking up to the heavens, or whether more worldly problems lay at its cause.



## Chapter 4

### After the Revocation: Debating the Confessional Divide (1685–88)

It is certainly not easy to understand,  
how we could remain blind for so long,  
how we have flattered ourselves that we were not in peril,  
although we saw that our neighbor's and even our own house was on fire.

- Anonymous, *Weegschaal der hedendaagse staatsaaken. Eerste brief* (1688)<sup>582</sup>

The final stage of the measures against the Huguenots, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came as a surprise to barely anyone. The accelerating pace with which the Huguenots were stripped of their rights and their brutal harassment during the *dragonnades* had made people in France and abroad well aware that Louis XIV was moving toward a total annihilation of the Reformed religion in his kingdom. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, delegates of the States General and Pierre Jurieu had already predicted this in 1681. When the day finally came, on 17 October 1685, only about fifteen Protestant temples were still standing in all of France; thousands of Protestants had already succumbed to the terror of the ‘missionaries in boots’ and had converted or fled abroad.<sup>583</sup> In fact, Huguenot France had already suffered such heavy blows that the Sun King boldly claimed that he revoked the Edict of Nantes with the Edict of Fontainebleau because the Reformed religion had died out in his realm, making its toleration obsolete.<sup>584</sup> This was not true, of course, as could be seen from the edict’s denial of the *ius emigrandi*, the right for those who refused to abjure their faith to leave the country. Only pastors, who might encourage their flocks to persist, were given two weeks to pack their bags.<sup>585</sup> Having

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<sup>582</sup> Anonymous, *Weegschaal der hedendaagse staatsaaken. Eerste brief* (s.l., 1688), pfl. 12660.

<sup>583</sup> J. Bergin, *The politics of religion in early modern France* (New Haven, CT, 2014), p. 258.

<sup>584</sup> P. Zagorin, *How the idea of religious toleration came to the West* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), p. 244.

<sup>585</sup> E. Labrousse, *‘Une foi, une loi, un roi?’ La Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes* (Geneva, Paris 1985), pp. 196–199.

been long expected, it is not surprising that Dutch newspapers reported the news of the Revocation soberly. On 23 October 1685, the gazette *Nouvelles solides et choisies* (*Solid and selected news*) from Leiden issued a brief report:

They just delivered the last blow to the Protestants in the realm. A declaration by the king revokes, breaks, and cancels every point of the Edict of Nantes, prohibiting the exercise of the religion in the entire realm, with no exceptions for anyone.<sup>586</sup>

Two days later, the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* (*Extraordinary news from different places*) from Amsterdam merely stated that

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been sealed.<sup>587</sup>

Although the Revocation had been expected, its consequences were nevertheless intensely felt in the United Provinces. Despite the risk of enslavement on the galleys for those caught crossing the French border, the stream of Huguenots hoping to find exile in the Republic's cities intensified; according to modern estimates about 35,000 out of a total of 150,000 refugees fled to the United Provinces, leading Pierre Bayle to characterize his exile home as the 'great ark of the refugees'.<sup>588</sup> With the final prohibition of Protestantism in France, initial reservations about publicizing the fate of the Huguenots internationally were no longer tenable.<sup>589</sup> Fear of making the situation worse for those who remained now appeared to be trumped by an urge to condemn the persecutions as loudly as possible. As lukewarm as the Dutch newspapers announced the news, the production of pamphlets reflecting on the fate of the Huguenots exploded in 1685. Not counting Jurieu's biweekly pastoral letters to those remaining in France,

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<sup>586</sup> 'On vient de frapper le dernier coup sur les protestans de ce Roïaume. Une declaration du roi révoque, casse et annule tous ses points l'Édit de Nantes, interdit l'exercice de la religion par tout le roïaume, sans exception de personnes'; *Nouvelles solides et choisies* (Amsterdam, 23 October 1685); citation from Bots, 'Écho de la Révocation', p. 289.

<sup>587</sup> 'La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes est scellée'; citation from *ibid.*

<sup>588</sup> N. Hubert, 'The Netherlands and the Huguenot émigrés', in Zuber and Theis (eds.), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, p. 4; after William III claimed the English throne in 1688 many Huguenots moved from the Dutch Republic to England. By 1700 England was home to the largest number of refugees. See R. Gwynn, 'Conformity, non-conformity and Huguenot settlement in England in the later seventeenth century', in A. Dunan-Page (ed.), *The religious culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 39–41.

<sup>589</sup> See Chapter 3.

more than 150 pamphlets dealing with the persecution of the Huguenots came off the Dutch presses between 1685 and 1688—almost one every week.

So far, these pamphlets have only been studied in a piecemeal fashion, with Pierre Jurieu's pastoral letters receiving most attention—and not without reason.<sup>590</sup> The pastoral letters were without doubt among the Refuge's most influential products. As Elizabeth Labrousse has observed, they were written to edify the spiritually orphaned Huguenots remaining in France with treatises about religious truth, grace, and election.<sup>591</sup> David van der Linden has demonstrated that Jurieu's pastoral letters played a pivotal role in shaping a collective exile memory, by collating and sharing individual experiences of Huguenot persecution throughout the Refuge.<sup>592</sup> As a 'spider in a European-wide web of correspondents' Jurieu took on a double role as journalist and polemical historian to create a spiritual narrative of contemporary martyrdom.<sup>593</sup> David Onnekink has analyzed several other printed works within the diaspora to show that the Huguenots also constructed different identities of themselves. Despite considerable variety, however, they were all based on a sense of confessional truth.<sup>594</sup> In other words, historiography strongly suggests that the printed response to the Revocation was deeply embedded within what has been identified in Chapter 3 as the normative principle of confessional truth.<sup>595</sup>

This ties in with a larger body of scholarship devoted to the political discourses surrounding the Glorious Revolution and William III's wars against Louis XIV, in which the

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<sup>590</sup> But see P. van Malssen, *Louis XIV d'après les pamphlets répandus en Holland* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1936), pp. 43–63; E. Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge* (Berlin, 1959); Bots, 'L'écho de la Révocation', pp. 281–298; Bergin, 'Defending the true faith', pp. 217–250.

<sup>591</sup> E. Labrousse, 'Les attitudes politiques des réformés français. Les "lettres pastorales" du Refuge (Elie Benoist, Jacques Basnage, Pierre Jurieu)', in *École pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> Section, Annuaire 1976–1977* 109 (Paris, 1977), pp. 793–804; G. Cerny, *Theology, politics and letters at the crossroads of European civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Huguenot refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, Boston, MA, and Lancaster, 1987), pp. 54–64.

<sup>592</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 177–187.

<sup>593</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*; F. Knetsch, 'Debate on dragonnades, 1685–1686. The events in France as seen by Bossuet, Jurieu and Rou', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 78–2 (1998), pp. 215–227.

<sup>594</sup> D. Onnekink, 'Models of an imagined community. Huguenot discourse on identity and foreign policy', in D. Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots. History and memory in transnational context* (Leiden, Boston, MA, 2011), pp. 193–215.

<sup>595</sup> It should be noted that Van der Linden has provided an excellent analysis of Elie Bénoist's authoritative *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* as a work combining a judicial perspective—identified in this study as the normative principle of rule of law—on the persecution of the Huguenots with narratives of victimhood. However, since the first volume of this work was published in 1693, it will not be discussed in this chapter; D. van der Linden, 'Histories of martyrdom and suffering in the Huguenot diaspora', in R. Mentzer and B. Van Ruymbeke (eds.), *A companion to the Huguenots* (Leiden, Boston, MA, 2016), pp. 348–370.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is regarded as a milestone in the increased religious polarization of the late seventeenth century.<sup>596</sup> These studies observe more or less the same persistent use of providential argumentation—i.e. the normative principle of confessional truth: Donald Haks summarizes that the States General’s justification of the war revolved around ‘a belief in Providence and the need to defend the true, Reformed religion’;<sup>597</sup> Emma Bergin similarly stresses that Dutch pamphlets characterized William III as a providential agent and Louis XIV as ‘the chief servant of the Antichrist’;<sup>598</sup> Tony Claydon, in turn, points to an English desire for an ‘international Protestant crusade’.<sup>599</sup> All argue, implicitly or explicitly, against the more secular readings of these conflicts, which have been most compellingly defended by Steven Pincus.<sup>600</sup> Pincus argues that from the ‘first modern revolution’ of 1688 onwards, English policy against France was dominated by secular nationalist antagonism, fear that Louis XIV desired universal monarchy, and ideas of a balance of power.<sup>601</sup> Aiming to reconcile these different normative principles, Claydon has insisted that English opinion makers approached nationalism, universal monarchy, and balance of power in providentialist rather than secular terms. He argues that such approaches to providentialism allowed for a trans-confessional interpretation of religious war, as Louis XIV was identified as the enemy of all Christendom; therefore, Catholics and Protestants alike ‘might support God’s battle with cruelty and intolerance’.<sup>602</sup>

These studies shed much light on the prevalence of religious rhetoric in the late seventeenth century and the many forms that it could take. Yet to an extent, discussions about the presumed ‘religiosity’ or ‘secularity’ of political argumentation at a given time tend to lapse

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<sup>596</sup> D. Onnekink, ‘Introduction. The “dark alliance” between religion and war’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, p. 8; K. McLay, ‘The blessed trinity. The army, the navy, and Providence in the conduct of warfare’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, p. 107; B. Kaplan, ‘Conclusion’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, p. 253; Bergin, ‘Defending the true faith’; F. Broeyer, ‘William III and the Reformed Church of the Netherlands’, in Meijers and Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III*, p. 117; Panhuysen, *Oranje tegen de Zonnekoning*, pp. 283–285; Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p. 163.

<sup>597</sup> Haks, ‘The States General’, p. 167.

<sup>598</sup> Bergin, ‘Defending the true faith’, p. 243.

<sup>599</sup> Claydon, *William III and the Godly revolution*, p. 17.

<sup>600</sup> Dutch historiography of international relations is strongly rooted in a realist paradigm. For a good discussion of this paradigm see Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*, pp. 5–7.

<sup>601</sup> S. Pincus, ‘To protect English liberties’. The English nationalist revolution of 1688–1689’, in T. Claydon and I. McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and national identity. Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998) pp. 75–104.

<sup>602</sup> Claydon, ‘Universal monarchy’, p. 138.

into a stalemate. They force a range of different arguments into either a pre-modern religious or a modern secular mold, which is seen as reflective of the time's dominant mentality. If one seeks to find the normative principle that dominated foreign politics, this approach makes sense. Indeed, we have seen throughout the preceding chapters that most print media discussing a religio-political issue did so with a clear political agenda. At the same time, it has become clear that opinion makers defended their agendas by carefully negotiating between different normative principles, taking into account the response of their intended or unintended audiences. In the cases discussed before, we have seen that confessional truth was by no means the only normative principle through which opinion makers tried to raise public awareness and compassion for persecuted Protestants. The public debates incited by religious persecution cannot be easily reduced to neat 'secular' or 'religious' categories. In fact, whether a specific event should be interpreted in religious or secular terms was itself often the subject of debate.

This does not mean that Van der Linden and Onnekink's observations about the prevalence of a discourse of confessional truth in the wake of the Revocation are wrong; Jurieu's influence on the Refuge can hardly be overstated. But exiled pastors were not the only ones who felt the urge to take up a pen and employ the Dutch presses to make sense of the Revocation. Moreover, Jurieu's providential writings after 1685 raise an important question. Was this not the same man who wrote two influential works about the persecution of the Huguenots before the Revocation in which he carefully steered away from confessional argumentation?<sup>603</sup> What remained of the secular normative principles he deployed against persecution?

This chapter builds on Van der Linden and Onnekink's observation that the Revocation urged opinion makers to create meaningful narratives about their past, present, and future. However, it aims to take a more integrated approach by exploring the diversity in printed debate about the Revocation, produced by pastors in exile as well as other opinion makers. The prohibition of the Reformed religion in France received much more press coverage than the events we have explored in the preceding chapters, and thus gave rise to a unprecedentedly diverse media landscape. I will argue that the final prohibition of the Reformed religion in

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<sup>603</sup> See Chapter 3.

France ultimately revolved around an age-old discussion: How do we deal with religious differences in Europe and what are its consequences for our confession, country, and city?

*Letters from a Worried Ambassador*

As we have seen in the Chapter 3, William III failed to convince the magistrates of Amsterdam that its days of religious freedom were numbered if the city prevented him from taking an army to the Southern Netherlands to contain France's imperialist ambitions. But the news about ever-worsening persecutions increasingly came to demand a public stance from the Republic's civic and provincial officeholders. Ambassador Avaux's letters to Louis XIV present a striking image of a divided nation slowly finding its unity over the misery of others. On 8 March 1685, six months before the Revocation, the ambassador wrote to Louis XIV that

the prince [William III] [...] had never been able to shake the gentlemen of Amsterdam; the only thing that made any impression, and which had in fact troubled some of them, was what their ministers had told them about Saumur, and the others of their religion in France. I avoided talking to them about this matter, and I contented myself with telling them in general, that things were not as they had been made to believe.<sup>604</sup>

One day later, Avaux reported that plans were made for a rapprochement between William III and Henry Casimir II of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland, an old ally of Amsterdam. Friesland had long been against appeasement, but the persecution of the Huguenots had led the Frisian regents to reconsider.<sup>605</sup> On 19 March, the French ambassador again wrote to his king about the changing political climate. He reported that the ministers in Amsterdam were very vocal about the persecutions, and that they had great influence not only on the people, but on some of the regents as well.<sup>606</sup> Trusting the city's commercial priorities, the ambassador advised his king to offer the Amsterdam merchants trading with France some favors:

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<sup>604</sup> '[...] Le Prince d'Orange jusques-là n'avoit pû ébranler Messieurs d'Amsterdam; la seule chose qui leur eût fait quelque impressions, & qui en avoit chagriné en effet quelque-uns, étoit ce que leurs Ministres leur avoient dit de Saumur & des autres Temples de leur Religion en France. J'évitois de leur parler de cette matiere-là, & je me contentois de leur dire en général, que les choses n'étoient point comme on le leur faisoit accroire;' Claude de Mesmes, Count of Avaux, in L. Durand and N.-J. Pissot (eds.), *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux en Hollande, depuis 1685, jusqu'en 1688*, vol 4 (Paris, 1753), p. 290.

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294–295.

<sup>606</sup> Avaux did not make clear whether he meant Dutch or French ministers.

This would adequately efface the impressions the ministers give them, for I believe them to be much more sensitive about the interests of their trade, than of their religion.<sup>607</sup>

Three days later, Avaux already appeared less certain that the merchant would win from the minister. Amsterdam's municipal government was not yet willing to change its political stance, but many notable people had become embittered:

I am nevertheless obligated to say to Your Majesty that the minister preachers and the stories that are sent from France, embitter them to such an extent, that I do not know what will happen next. [...] Only the Arminians are not so affected by such forceful things, although they would like to see them go differently, because they see how they alienate the mind of many other good republicans and estrange [those], who would normally never detach from Your Majesty's interests.<sup>608</sup>

Speculating about William III's possible ascendance to the English throne and a Protestant alliance, Avaux stressed that Statist regents would soon no longer dare to speak in favor of France, lest they be regarded as 'the enemies of the country's religion and would be torn apart by the people'.<sup>609</sup> Six months later, in November, Avaux indeed reported to Louis XIV that the Revocation had led the burgomasters of Amsterdam to reconcile with William III. According to the ambassador, some of them had been persuaded by genuine zeal for their religion. Others had simply been weak and had taken the Huguenots up as a convenient pretext, seeing how much the public had become excited 'by the rantings of the French ministers and by the false reports of these refugees'.<sup>610</sup> In the meantime, the ambassador found

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<sup>607</sup> '[...] Cela effaceroit bien les impressions que les Ministres leur veulent donner, car je les crois bien plus sensibles sur l'intérêt de leur négoce, que sur celui de la Religion;' Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>608</sup> 'Je suis toutefois obligé de dire à Votre Majesté, que les Ministres Prédicants, & les relations qu'on envoie de France, les aigrissent si for, que je ne sai ce qui en arrivera dans la suite. [...] Il n'y a que les Ariminiens qui soient moins sensibles à ces fortes de choses, quoiqu'ils voulussent bien qu'elles allassent autrement, parce qu'ils voyent que cela aliene l'esprit de beaucoup d'autres bons Républiquequains, qui autrement ne se détacheroient jamais des intérêts de Votre Majesté;' *ibid.*, pp. 319–321; the Arminians or Remonstrants were a dissenting strand of Reformed, whom Avaux wrongly believed could lead the opposition against the stadtholders designs. See Edwards, 'Amsterdam and the ambassadors', pp. 206–207; for the so-called Arminian controversy of the early seventeenth century see A. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkevolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelent* (Franeker, 1974).

<sup>609</sup> '[...] les enemis de la Religion du pays, & seroient déchirés par le peuple;' *ibid.*, pp. 321–322.

<sup>610</sup> '[...] par les déclamations des Ministres François, & par les faux rapports de ces Refugiés;' *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 191.

it increasingly difficult to communicate with members of Amsterdam's city council.<sup>611</sup> In short, news about the religious repression in France had decreased the political polarization of the Dutch Republic.

Huguenot merchants were seen on the streets, having fled France dressed like peasants and beggars, yet carrying two to three thousand *pistoles*.<sup>612</sup> Three French ships with newly converted seamen refused to return to France.<sup>613</sup> In Holland, a copper medal engraved with some of the tortures endured by the Huguenots was minted.<sup>614</sup> Avaux worriedly described that newspapers and letters reported thousands of stories about the Huguenots and harassed Dutchmen in France, egging on the people, even though the States General explicitly forbade the production of works discussing the persecution in March 1686.<sup>615</sup> The ambassador did not believe that the spread of these stories was orchestrated by William III, suggesting instead that they were initiated by the refugees. Indeed, the ambassador explicitly mentions that the stadtholder's wife, Mary Stuart, initially did not believe the described cruelties.<sup>616</sup> The ambassador was so worried by the letters from France describing the *dragonnades*, which he observed to be affecting the regents of Amsterdam to the advantage of William of Orange, that he requested Louis XIV to send an account of what was really happening on the ground.<sup>617</sup>

It is unclear whether Avaux really thought that the letters reporting the extent of the violence were false. Perhaps he did believe them, but did not want to discuss the violent methods of conversion. It is important to note that Louis XIV did not shy away from using the Revocation for propagandistic purposes. On the contrary, the prohibition of the Reformed religion was met with a wave of applause in France and celebrated among many layers of French society: The Académie Française sponsored works hailing the final ousting of Protestantism from the kingdom;<sup>618</sup> Engravings were disseminated throughout France

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<sup>611</sup> Ibid., pp. 191–199.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid., pp. 208–209.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., pp. 229.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid., p. 231; the medal to which Avaux probably refers can be found in G. van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1732), p. 312.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., pp. 212, 240.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., pp. 219–220.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid., pp. 223–225.

<sup>618</sup> G. Adams, *The Huguenots and French opinion, 1685–1787: The Enlightenment debate on toleration* (Waterloo, 1991), p. 19.

celebrating the destruction of churches;<sup>619</sup> and people were summoned to engage in public thanksgivings and parades.<sup>620</sup> Yet the celebrations were silent about the violent methods that had been used. Like we have seen in Chapter 2, the persecuting authorities preferred to deny atrocity than defend it.<sup>621</sup>

We should, of course, be careful to take Avaux's account at face value. The ambassador was severely critical of the Revocation and must have tried to subtly convince the king of his opinion through the reports he sent to Versailles. Yet the value that Avaux assigned to printed news media in affecting the mood of both the regents and the common people, thereby pressuring the authorities to align themselves behind William III, is telling. Equally striking was his advice to engage in a public diplomatic counteroffensive. Apparently, the ambassador believed that the Dutch could still be convinced that the conversions had been peaceful. Avaux's reports certainly sketch an image of religious polarization, but his advocacy for a printed counteroffensive suggests that the Huguenot reports were not just about religious truth; apparently, he believed that there was a battle over journalistic truth to be won in the Dutch Republic.

### *Victims*

What information actually flowed from the presses in the Dutch Republic? Many print media describing the persecution came in the form of letters. This suggests that pamphleteers were genuinely concerned with the question of credibility. At first glance, this might seem odd; there was an enormous influx of people with first-hand experiences, making the presses' reliance on long-distance correspondence seem unnecessary. Whereas modern technology has almost entirely defeated the delay caused by distance, early modern news did not travel faster than people. Indeed, it is likely that many of the letters published in the Republic were smuggled out of France in the pockets of refugees.

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<sup>619</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>620</sup> A. Wylie, *The History of Protestantism*, vol. 3 (Wilmington, 2015), p. 336.

<sup>621</sup> For a detailed account of the legitimization efforts of the Revocation see B. Dompnier, *Le venin de l'hérésie. Image du protestantisme et combat catholique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1985).

Nevertheless, there appears to have been a strong preference for factual information that had been penned in France. The letters may have taken the same amount of time to reach the Dutch presses as the refugees themselves, but at least they were direct reports. The anonymous author of the *Lettre écrite de France* (*Letter written from France*) argued that he could well imagine that readers would find it hard to believe all the reports coming from different parts of France. He could barely grasp it himself, despite being in the midst of it all.<sup>622</sup> Moreover, research has shown that in the early modern period, as in other periods, people would not usually talk about traumatic experiences, unless it served a socially strategic purpose.<sup>623</sup> It is quite possible that many Dutchmen listened to the stories of the refugees with some skepticism.

Of course, there was no doubt that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had actually taken place. The French court itself had disseminated copies of the edict, of which at least four Dutch editions circulated in the United Provinces.<sup>624</sup> Several editions and translations of the *Articles du sermens d'abjuration* (*Articles of the oath of abjuration*), the document which the new converts had to sign to officially become Catholic, also circulated.<sup>625</sup> This document, quite literally shoved under the noses of the harassed Huguenots, was evidence of the persecutions.<sup>626</sup> In a way, the letters served a similar purpose. Instead of deriving from the memory of individuals, they were allegedly direct reports from the ground.

Despite the living evidence in the person of thousands of refugees seeking a safe haven abroad, there were serious concerns that the French court would successfully spread the story

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<sup>622</sup> Anonymous, *Lettre écrite de France, touchant les violentes persecutions qu'on y fait a ceux de la religion reformée. Een brief, geschreven uit Vrankrijk wegens de wreede vervolgingen der gereformeerden* (1685), pfl 12288.

<sup>623</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>624</sup> *Copie van het edict der herroeping van het Edict van Nantes, zoodanigh als het opgesteld was door den Raad van Conscientie* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12289; *Copy van't edict van wederroeping van't Edict van Nantes, soo als het opgegeven was door den Raad van Conscientie* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12290; *Edict van den koning van Vrankryck, inhoudende het verbodt van gene gereformeerde vergaderingen meer in sijn koninckrijk toe te laten* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12292; *Edict des koninghs verbiedende eenige publike oeffeninge vande gepretendeerde gereformeerde religie in sijn rijk te doen* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12293; see also Anonymous, *Processie of ommegangh gedaen door heel Vrankryck* (s.l. 1686), pfl 12447.

<sup>625</sup> Anonymous, *Articles du sermens d'abjuration, que les Reformés de France sont obligés de faire en entrant dans l'Eglise romaine. Artikelen van den Eed van Afsweeringe, dewelcke die van de Gereformeerde Religie in Vrankrijk genootsaekt zyn te doen; als sij tot te Roomse Kerk overkomen* (1685), pfl 12283; Anonymous, *Articles du sermens d'abjuration, que les Reformés de France sont obligés de faire en entrant dans l'Eglise romaine* (1685), pfl 12282; Anonymous, *Articulen tegen de gereformeerde in Vrankryck* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12281; Anonymous, *Behydenisse des geloofs ende formulier van de abjuratie, welcke de soo genoemde nieuwljcks bekeerde in Vrankryck moeten onderteekenen* (s.l. 1685), pfl 12285.

<sup>626</sup> As one pamphlet noted, however, the *Articles* stated that the signing Huguenot abjured their religion voluntarily; [J. Claude], *Plaintes des protestans cruellement oppriméz dans le royaume de France* (s.l., 1686), pp. 121–122.

of peaceful conversion abroad. Jean Claude, one of the Huguenots' leading theologians, pointed out that any attempt to deny the persecutions was preposterous:

Is it likely that this prodigious number of people, of all kinds, of every condition, who have already saved themselves, some in Switzerland, others in Germany, others in England, others in Holland, others in Denmark, others in Sweden, and some in America, without having ever seen each other, never known each other, never collaborated, would have been able to agree all together to lie in the same way, and to say with one voice, that the Protestants are cruelly persecuted in France [...]?<sup>627</sup>

At the same time, Claude was worried that if the attempted cover-ups were not properly countered, contemporaries and future generations might believe that the royal account of events was actually true.<sup>628</sup> Recounting the persecution was therefore not only a means to satisfy an interested audience, it was considered to be a moral imperative.<sup>629</sup> Others were less worried, but nevertheless irritated by the attempted cover-ups. The *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken* (*Discovery of France's intentions*) expresses bewilderment about the insolence of contemporary historians like Antoine Varillas, who claimed that strict adherence to the Edict of Nantes had already rid the entire country of Protestants before the Revocation—a claim which all Catholics who had witnessed the *dragonnades* throughout the country knew to be a boldfaced lie.<sup>630</sup> Most printed correspondence between Huguenot refugees and those still in France thus shared a devotion to journalistic detail. Together, they almost structurally provided Dutch bookshops with facts on the ground.

The role assigned to religion in these printed reports varied from author to author. Some indeed focused on martyrdom; the *Brief van een vriend aan een gereformeerd vluchteling* (*Letter from a friend to a Reformed refugee*) gave a meticulous description of a young nobleman who died for the true faith.<sup>631</sup> In a similar fashion, the aforementioned *Lettre écrite de France* repeated the

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<sup>627</sup> 'Y a t-il apparence, que ce prodigieux nombre de gens, de tout ordre, & de toute condition, qui se sont déjà sauvez, les uns en Suisse, les autres en Allemagne, les autres en Angleterre, les autres en Hollande ; d'autres en Danemarck, d'autres en Suede, & quelques uns dans l'Amérique, sans s'être ni vûs, ni connus, ni concertez, se soient pourrat accordez tous ensemble à mentir d'une même façon, & à dire tout d'une voix, que les protestans sont cruëlement persecutez en France [...]?'; *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>630</sup> Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken en uytwerkingen om het geheele Rijk onder de Regeringe van de Groote Louis Catbolijck te hebben* (s.l. 1686), pfl 12473, p. 39.

<sup>631</sup> Anonymous, *Brief van een vriend aan een gereformeerd vluchteling, aangaande de persoon en de dood van den heer Fulcran Rey* (Rotterdam, 1687), pfl 12563.

trope that God's church was a persecuted church, thereby providing an interpretation of events based on confessional truth, before reporting journalistic information.<sup>632</sup> Yet the stories about martyrdom and God's persecuted church were not unproblematic. After all, conversion was may more prevalent than flight or martyrdom. In fact, Catholic commentators in France saw the lack of Huguenot martyrs in the 1680s as proof of the falsehood of the Protestant religion.<sup>633</sup> A published letter of refugees to the Evangelical Cantons in Switzerland summarized it as follows:

Alas! There are far more people who scandalize us with their fall than those who take pleasure in glorifying our lord with their martyrdom.<sup>634</sup>

Several reports were therefore less devoted to celebrating the suffering true religion, but found themselves confronted with a pressing problem that needed to be discussed. Correspondents formulated different answers to this question. Following a similar argument as the pastoral letters, the *Lettre d'un amy à son amy* (*Letter of a friend to his friend*) deplored that so many abjured, admonishing readers that going to Mass equaled conversion—thus revisiting the question of Nicodemism, which had been vigorously discussed among the first generations of Calvinists in the sixteenth century.<sup>635</sup> The *Récit véritable de tout ce qui c'est passé en la conversion de ceux de la Religion Reformée à Metz* (*True story of what has happened during the conversion of those of the Reformed religion in Metz*), was somewhat more forgiving and argued that many people who succumbed to the

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<sup>632</sup> Anonymous, *Lettre écrite de France*.

<sup>633</sup> Knetsch, 'Debate on dragonnades', p. 222.

<sup>634</sup> 'Helas! Il y a bien plus de gens qui nous scandalisent par leur cheute, que qui prendront leur plaisir à glorifier nostre Seig. par leur martyre'; Anonymous, *La tres-humble requeste des réfugiés & exulés de la France, pour la confession de la religion reformée aux cantons evangeliques en la Suisse* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12451.

<sup>635</sup> Anonymous, *Lettre d'un amy à son amy, sur l'état ou la violence des dragons a réduit les Protestans en France* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12306. For a recent exploration of Nicodemism in early modern Europe see M. Anne Overell, *Nicodemites. Faith and concealment between Italy and Tudor England* (Leiden, Boston, MA, 2018). See also J.-P. Cavaillé, 'Nicodémisme et déconfessionnalisation dans l'Europe de la première modernité', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* (2012) <http://journals.openedition.org/dossiersgrihl/4499>; similar confessional admonishments and encouragements can be found in: Anonymous, *Lettre aux fideles persécutez à l'occasion des Saintes Assemblées* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12462; Anonymous, *Lettre aux fidelles protestans de la province de Poitou, qui ayant eu le malheur de succomber à la tentation, se rélevant par la profession publique de la verité* (s.l., 1688); Anonymous, *Brief van een harder aen sijne protestantsche gemeente in Vranckeryck, welcke afvalligh is geworden door de kragt der geweldaedigheden* (Utrecht, 1685), pfl 12305; Anonymous, *A nos freres qui gemissent sous la captivité de Babylon, a qui nous souhaitons paix & misericorde de la part de Dieu* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12461.

inhumane torments were nevertheless upright godfearing people.<sup>636</sup> Another pamphlet, the *Avis charitable pour soulager le conscience de ceux qui sont obligez de se conformer au culte de l'Eglise Catholique-Romaine* (*Charitable advise to relieve the conscience of those who are obliged to conform to the cult of the Roman-Catholic Church*) expressed irritation about all the finger-pointing at those who succumbed. It instead comforted them by ecumenically arguing that God does not forgive or condemn people for being Catholic, Calvinist, or Lutheran.<sup>637</sup> The true religion is the Christian religion, which is spiritual and does not depend on practices. The author went as far as to argue that a genuine belief in transubstantiation could be a true expression of faith.<sup>638</sup> The letter to the Evangelical Cantons also called for lenience toward those who had succumbed by appealing to the normative principle of humanity:

One should not talk about their error with too much horrification; but it is necessary to make this testimony to the truth, that their temptation is more than human.<sup>639</sup>

The printed correspondence between exiled pastors and their remaining flocks thus not only presented readers with triumphalist stories about Reformed martyrs, but also about the human responses to inhumane circumstances that could lead to Reformed defeat. Some letters were more reminiscent of Jurieu's psychology of conversion in his *Politique du clergé* rather than his sectarian *Lettres pastorales*.<sup>640</sup> The normative principles of confessional truth and humanity were carefully negotiated, leading to different answers.

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<sup>636</sup> Anonymous, *Récit véritable de tout ce qui c'est passé en la conversion de ceux de la Religion Reformée à Metz* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12456; Anonymous, *Translaet uyt het Fransch. Waeractigh verhael van al't gepasseerde omtrent het bekeeren van die van de gereformeerde religie tot Metz* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12457.

<sup>637</sup> Anonymous, *Avis charitable pour soulager le conscience de ceux qui sont obligez de se conformer au culte de l'Eglise Catholique-Romaine: tiré d'une lettre d'un particulier à quelques-uns de ses amis en France* (s.l., 1686). This pamphlet was translated into Dutch twice in 1687: Anonymous, *Liefdadig berigt om de gemoederen der geene die gedwongen zijn, de kerkelijke pleggheden van de Roomse Kerk in te volgen, eeniger maaten te verligten* (s.l., 1687), pfl 12566; Anonymous, *Minnelijke raedgevinge, om te verlichten het gemoet van die gene, dewelke verplicht zijn om sich te conformeren met den dienst van de rooms catholijke kerk* (s.l., 1687), pfl 12565.

<sup>638</sup> Anonymous, *Récit véritable de tout ce qui c'est passé*.

<sup>639</sup> 'On ne sçauroit parler de leur faute avec trop d'horreur ; mais il faut rendre ce temoignage à la verité, que leur tentation est plus que humaine;' Anonymous, *La tres-humble requeste*.

<sup>640</sup> See Chapter 3.

*Anonymity*

Many of the printed letters were undoubtedly written by exiled pastors. However, it is often impossible to identify the authors behind specific pamphlets, as the vast majority was published anonymously. For the Huguenots reporting from France, this was perhaps a wise decision; foreign agents, such as Ambassador Avaux, kept the French authorities well informed on what was coming off the Dutch presses, so one could easily get into trouble by providing a name. Furthermore, backed as they were by visible evidence in the shape of refugees in Europe's streets, not much was needed for an account of the persecutions to be convincing; the purpose of the reports was to inform and confirm, not persuade. The anonymity of the authors was therefore unproblematic. Indeed, providing a name—which would not mean much to most readers in the first place—would often be of little added value.

Anonymity could also be part of the work's rhetoric. The *Lettres pastorales*, for instance, were published anonymously, even though it was hardly a secret that they were written by Pierre Jurieu. In fact, almost all of Jurieu's works were published either anonymously, or under the acronym S.P.J.P.E.P.E.Th.A.R.<sup>641</sup> While cryptic, the acronym was far from indecipherable—Sieur Pierre Jurieu, pasteur et professeur en théologie à Rotterdam—and probably was not intended to be. As Marcy North argues, initials created a 'tension between discretion and exposure [...] contributing to the texts intrigue'.<sup>642</sup> Whereas most readers who took the trouble to identify the author behind the work would certainly realize it was Jurieu, the supposed anonymity of the work gave it weight, promising that the reader would be presented with sensitive or exciting information.

Indeed, of all the pamphlets on the fate of the Huguenots between 1685 and 1688, only a handful were signed by the author. Exceptions are two letters written by galley slaves in 1687—who hoped to be freed—and a couple of Dutch songs and poems lamenting the persecutions.<sup>643</sup> In other pamphlets names were ostentatiously replaced with dots, signed N.N.

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<sup>641</sup> [P. Jurieu], *L'accomplissement des prophéties ou la délivrance prochaine de l'Eglise* (Rotterdam, 1686).

<sup>642</sup> M. North, *The anonymous Renaissance. Cultures of discretion in Tudor–Stuart England* (Chicago, 2003), p. 69.

<sup>643</sup> D. Poyen, *Lettre a messieurs les pasteurs & anciens des eglises françoises* (1687), pfl 12571; F. de la Mothe de Jourdan, *Lettre circulaire des fideles de France, esclaves a Alger [...] pour être rachetés de captivité* (Rotterdam, 1687), pfl 12572; A. van Cuilemborgh, *Zions klaegh-liedt, over de bloedige en wreede vervolgingen, tegens haar in Vranckryck aengericht* (1686),

(*nomen nescio*), or simply omitted. It is quite possible that anonymity also served a second rhetorical purpose: to influence or decrease the reader's preconceptions or prejudices. If the pamphlet stated on the cover that it had been written by, for instance, Pierre Jurieu or his rival Pierre Bayle, the reputation of the writer would immediately place the work in an ideological camp. Moreover, the inclusion of a name would implicitly condone this categorization. Yet anonymity remained a tricky device. Bayle, for instance, often published anonymously or assumed a fictional identity.<sup>644</sup> But when his *Dictionnaire* was attacked by an anonymous group of intellectuals—probably all of them Pierre Jurieu—he refused to reply to them on the basis of their anonymity.<sup>645</sup>

Anonymity was not only used as an encouragement to read the pamphlet with an open mind, it was also used to deceive the reader. For instance, the *Samenspraek tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander, over de tegenwoordige vervolgingen der Gereformeerden in Vrankryk* (*Conversation between a Frenchman and a Hollander, about the current persecutions of the Reformed in France*)—which we will discuss in more detail below—is very likely to have been written by a Catholic Dutchman. However, it claims to have been translated from French, thus suggesting that the author was a Huguenot refugee. By implying authorship by a ‘credible expert’, the actual author probably aimed to circumvent its immediate rejection as a form of Catholic propaganda. Paid propagandists commenting on the Revocation also chose to hide their authorship. In 1686, William III commissioned the prominent exiled pastor Jean Claude to write the *Plaintes des protestans, cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France* (*Complaints of the Protestants, cruelly oppressed in the Kingdom of France*), which will be explored in more detail below. It was published anonymously under the cover of Pierre Marteau in Cologne, which we have encountered in Chapter 3.<sup>646</sup> The work, after all, was supposed to be a complaint from ‘oppressed Protestants’, not William III's perspective on Europe's international stage.

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pfl 12468; L. Rotgans, *Gedichten op de vervolging tegen de beleiders van de hervormde godsdienst, door Lovies de XIV* (Utrecht, 1691), pfl 1362.

<sup>644</sup> A. McKenna, ‘Les masques de Pierre Bayle. Pratiques de l’anonymat’, in B. Parmentier (ed.), *L’Anonymat de l’oeuvre (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 2013), pp. 237–248.

<sup>645</sup> A. Matytsin, ‘Fictional letters of real accusations? Anonymous correspondence in the Bayle–Jurieu controversy’, *Society and Politics* 7–2 (2013), p. 186.

<sup>646</sup> See Chapter 3; for a bibliography of works ‘published’ by Pierre Marteau (restricted to German publications) see K. Walther, *Die deutschsprachige Verlagsproduktion von Pierre Marteau/Peter Hammer, Köln. Zur Geschichte eines fingierten Impressums* (Berlin, 1983).

Some authors went a step further by assuming fake identities. 1686 saw the publication of the *Lettre des rabbins de deux synagogues d'Amsterdam à monsieur Jurieu* (*Letter of the rabbis of the two synagogues in Amsterdam to monsieur Jurieu*).<sup>647</sup> It responded to Pierre Jurieu's *Accomplissement des Prophéties*, a hugely successful work that predicted the nigh revival of the Protestant Church and the downfall of the Antichrist, and was thus firmly embedded within the normative principle of confessional truth.<sup>648</sup> In the *Accomplissement des prophéties* Jurieu had included a letter to the Jews, encouraging them to convert before it was too late. In their reply, the rabbis argue that following Jurieu's own reasoning, one must conclude, as the Jews do, that the Messiah had not yet arrived. They conclude that Jurieu made up the predictions to prevent the Huguenots in France from converting to Catholicism.<sup>649</sup> Indeed, the success of prophetic interpretations of the Revocation lay to a considerable extent in the sense of purpose they gave to a traumatized and dispersed community. Jurieu reinterpreted the Huguenot diaspora, turning it from the conclusion of a story of loss into to the beginning of salvation. The *Lettre des rabbins* thus hit a sensitive nerve by drawing attention back to the loss.

The cover of the *Lettre des rabbins* states that the letter was published by Joseph Athias, a successful Amsterdam printer—specializing in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish Bibles—and a well-known figure in the Dutch publishing world.<sup>650</sup> However, the Jewish printer—or his son, who had taken over the business in 1685—had not published the pamphlet, neither had it been written by the rabbis of Amsterdam; the Jews lived peacefully in Amsterdam, but as a religious minority they knew better than to take a firm and unnecessary public stance in the printed debates of their host society's dominant confession—especially if it was against an influential figure like Jurieu. The pastor realized that the work was a 'villainous satire', but did not discover that the author was Richard Simon—a famous Catholic exegete who played an important role

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<sup>647</sup> [R. Simon], *Lettres des rabbins de deux synagogues d'Amsterdam à monsieur Jurieu* (Brussels 1686). A Dutch translation was also printed: [R. Simon], *Brief van de rabbinen der twee synagogen van Amsterdam aen monsr. Jurieu* (Brussels 1686), pfl 12540.

<sup>648</sup> For a list of different editions of Jurieu's *Accomplissement des prophéties* in several languages see É. Kappler, *Bibliographie critique de l'œuvre imprimée de Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713)* (Paris, 2002), pp. 41–42. For a detailed exploration of the *Accomplissement*'s content see Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, pp. 205–218. See also Chapter 5.

<sup>649</sup> [Simon], *Lettres des rabbins*, p. 30; for an elaborate discussion of Simon's pamphlet see P.–M. Baude, 'Les accomplissement des prophéties chez Richard Simon', *Revue des Sciences philosophique et théologiques* 60–1 (1976), pp. 3–35.

<sup>650</sup> In 1661 Athias had been the first Jew to become a member of the Amsterdam printers guild; L. Fuks, *Hebrew typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 1987), p. 290.

in the rise of historical criticism.<sup>651</sup> Simon had composed the letter as revenge against the direct attacks he had suffered in the *Accomplissement des prophéties*.<sup>652</sup> Being a strong proponent of Jewish toleration in France, it is highly unlikely that he wanted to cause problems for the Sepharic community in Amsterdam.<sup>653</sup>

In short, the polemic was waged by two theologians, one a critical Catholic, the other an orthodox Protestant—both well networked in the international republic of letters. Yet Simon spoke with a Jewish voice as a rational outsider—not unlike Montesquieu’s Persians who were also to be presented to the world by Pierre Marteau—to reinforce the argument that Jurieu’s observations were contradictory. In doing so, the priest developed an argument often used by Protestants against Catholics, namely, that their behavior—or in this case Jurieu’s theology—was so contradictory to Christian doctrine that it made all of Christendom look bad in the eyes of the heathens. This was not the last time that Simon attacked Jurieu under a false identity; in 1687 he wrote a reply to one of Jurieu’s *Lettres Pastorales* under the guise of a new convert, in which he attacked the preacher for making martyrs out of rebels, thus inciting the Huguenots to rebel.<sup>654</sup>

### *Perpetrators*

In the face of mass violence, public attention for the victims is often matched or trumped by the desire to determine the motivation(s) of the perpetrator. Why the Huguenots were persecuted was a vexed question. The official and semi-official proclamations from within and around the court offered little guidance. Few seemed to accept the arguments incriminating the Huguenots as rebels in order to legitimize the Revocation; accusations concerning their alleged rebellious nature were countered by stressing their unquestionable loyalty to the king

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<sup>651</sup> Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, p. 208. P.–M. Beaudé, ‘L’accomplissement des prophéties chez Richard Simon’.

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>653</sup> In 1670, Simon had written a pamphlet in defense of the Jews in Metz, who had been accused of ritually murdering a Christian child. For the process see P. Birnbaum, *Un récit de ‘meurtre rituel’ au Grand Siècle. L’affaire Raphaël Levy* (Paris, 2008).

<sup>654</sup> Adams, *Huguenots and French opinion*, pp. 24–25.

during the Fronde.<sup>655</sup> The French court's dominant legitimation that the Protestant religion was already dead by the time of the Revocation flew—as we have seen—in the face of undisputable evidence.

We have already briefly touched upon one understanding of the persecution, namely, that the true church is by definition a persecuted church. Some pamphleteers went further in their religious interpretations and provided millenarian accounts.<sup>656</sup> In March 1686, the *Waerachtige prophetie, aengaende de hevige vervolginge, aen de gereformeerde kercke in Vranckrijk* (*Truthful prophecy concerning the heavy persecution of the Reformed Church in France*) predicted that the 'tyranny of popery' would end in 1689, before the papacy itself would dissolve in 2015.<sup>657</sup> The *Aanmerkingh op dese onderstaande syffer letteren* (*Comment on the Roman numbers below*) claimed that Louis XIV was be the Beast of the Apocalypse [Fig. 7]. The author transposed the letters of LVDoVICVs to Roman numbers, which added up to 666, and MagnVs XIII, which added up to 1685. Several verses from the Book of Revelation further served to prove this point.<sup>658</sup> One year before, Jurieu had made a similar calculation with Roman numbers to show that the pope was the Antichrist in his *Prejugez legitimizes contre le papisme* (*Legitimate prejudice against papism*).<sup>659</sup> Richard Simon sarcastically responded to this prediction by making a calculation of his own: *Roterdami*, Jurieu's exile home, also added up to 666.<sup>660</sup>

We do not know how widely accepted such prophecies were, but it appears that they were not marginal. On one copy of the *Aanmerkingh op dese onderstaande syffer letteren* in the Royal Library in The Hague, a contemporary reader had taken notes, complementing the biblical predictions with further interpretations. Moreover, in 1686 at least two different commemorative medals of the Revocation were minted, presenting the king's head surrounded

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<sup>655</sup> For instance, the unconditional loyalty of the Huguenots is stressed in Anonymous, *Extract van een brief, geschreeven uit Parys, den 25 augustus ao. 1688. aan den heer M .... vluchteling tot Amsterdam. Over de geruchten van oorlog. Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Paris le 25 d'août 1688* (1688).

<sup>656</sup> For Millenarianism in the United Provinces in the second half of the seventeenth century, see E. van der Wall, 'Mystical Millenarianism in the early modern Dutch Republic', in J. Laursen (ed.), *Millenarianism and Messianism in early modern European culture*, vol. 4 (Dordrecht, 2001), pp. 37–48.

<sup>657</sup> Anonymous, *Waerachtige prophetie, aengaende de hevige vervolginge, aen de gereformeerde kercke in Vranckrijk* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12469.

<sup>658</sup> Anonymous, *Aanmerkingh, op dese onderstaande syffer letteren die gepast kunnen werden met het 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. en 18. oft laaste veersen van Job. Openb. capittel. 13.* (s.l., 1685), pfl 12304.

<sup>659</sup> Pierre Jurieu, *Prejugez legitimizes contre le papisme* (Amsterdam, 1685), p. 120.

<sup>660</sup> Beade, 'L'accomplissement des prophéties', p. 4.

by the same apocalyptic title.<sup>661</sup> In 1690 the Amsterdam-based refugee Jacques Massard adopted the calculation and backed it up with Nostradamus' prophecies in the *Explication d'un Songe Divin de Louis XIV* (*Explanation of a divine dream of Louis XIV*).<sup>662</sup> Massard also interpreted two 'divine dreams' of an unnamed gentleman 'of quality and merit' from The Hague—possibly the author of the *Aanmerkingh op dese onderstaande syffer letteren*.<sup>663</sup>

But as with the question of victimhood, the motivations of the perpetrator were not only explained with recourse to the normative principle of confessional truth. The author of the *Lettre écrite de France*, while reminding his audience that God's Church is a persecuted church, nevertheless expresses confusion about why the persecution was actually taking place. He argues that only those who had 'shaken off all reason, humanity, godliness, and love for one's own interest' would fail to condemn such barbarities.<sup>664</sup> He points out that France would ruin itself, because people of whatever religion would now refuse to deal with a kingdom that 'has been emaciated by many years of taxations, persecutions, and barrenness, and that already swarms of miserable and desperate people'.<sup>665</sup>

In other words, we again see that references to religious truth do not exclude an evaluation of events with recourse to the secular normative principles of reason and humanity. Following the same reasoning as the Dutch cities did when they enthusiastically tried to attract the first waves of refugees, pamphlets stipulated with a combination of complacency and astonishment that France was suffering a severe drain of skill and wealth.<sup>666</sup> In the *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken* a Huguenot writes to a Catholic that

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<sup>661</sup> P. van der Chijs, *Beknopte verhandeling over het nut der beoefening van de algemeene, dat is: oude, middeleeuwsche en hedendaagsche munt- en penningkunde* (Leiden 1829), p. 46; G. van Loon, *Hedendaagsche penningkunde, zynde eene verhandeling van den oorspronk van 't geld, de opkomst en 't onderscheyd der gedenkpenningen; den aardt en de rekemyze der legpenningen* (The Hague, 1732), pp. 254–255.

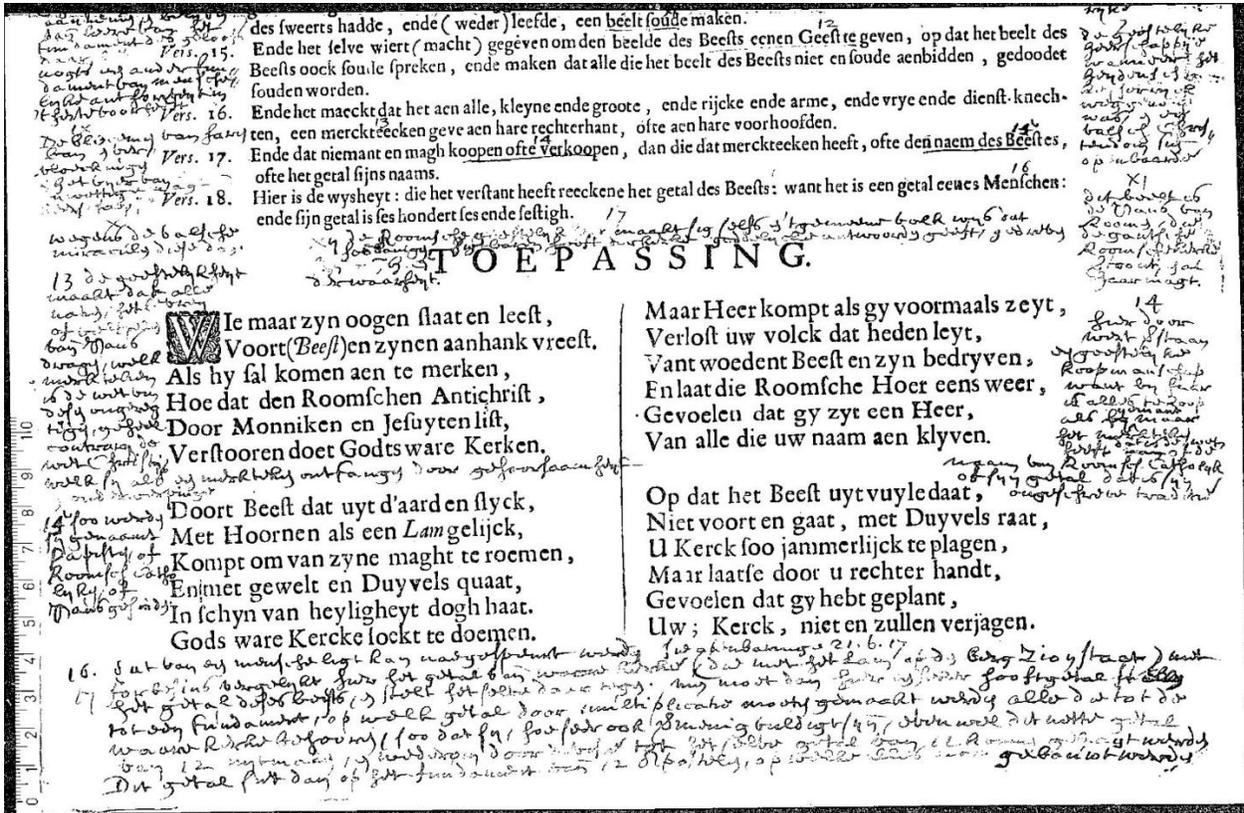
<sup>662</sup> J. Massard, *Explication d'un songe divin de Louis XIV* (Amsterdam 1690), pp. 47–49.

<sup>663</sup> '[...] de qualité & de mérite'; Massard, *Explication d'un songe*, p. 55.

<sup>664</sup> '[...] alle reeden, menschelijkheid, Godvruchtigheid, en liefde tot eigen Intrest [...] uitgeschut hebben'; Anonymous, *Lettre écrite de France*.

<sup>665</sup> 'Die door schattinge, door vervolgingen, en door onvruchtbaarheid van veele jaren herwaarts uitgemergelt is, die alreede van mistroostige, en radelooze menschen krielt'; Ibid.

<sup>666</sup> While this idea has found much support among historians, Warren Scoville has argued that the economic consequences of the refuge should not be overestimated; W. Scoville, *The persecution of the Huguenots and French economic development, 1680–1729* (Berkeley, CA, 1960).



7. Aanmerkingh, op dese onderstaande syffer letteren die gepast kunnen werden met het 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. En 18. Oft laaste veersen van Job. Openb. Capittel. 13. (s.l., 1685). Resource: Dutch Pamphlets Online.

you have not been very political, that you have ordered arrests, which have made all of Europe scream against you, [...] even though it did not bring you any advantage. [...] They have [...] fulminated against you with the weapons of reason, but because they were nothing but the weapons of reason, [...] which you do not hold in esteem, you have not corrected your mistakes.<sup>667</sup>

Jurieu too argued in one of his *Lettres pastorales* that the money and skills of the refugees ‘are lost to the state, while it has benefited the foreigners’.<sup>668</sup> This argument was also used by the few critical voices surrounding Louis XIV, such as that of the Count of Vauban and the Intendant of the Dauphiné, who argued that the Revocation had impaired the country’s

<sup>667</sup> ‘Gy syt weynigh politijck geweest, dat gy arresten gegeven hebt, die geheel Europa tegens u hebben doen schreeuwen, [...] sonderdat gy der eenigh proffijjt, van hebt getrocken. [...] Men heeft [...] op u geblixemt door de wapens van reden, dogh alsoo niets anders, als wapenen van reden waeren, [...] die gy niet veel en agt, soo hebt gy oock die fauten niet gecorrigeert’; Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken*, p. 13–14.

<sup>668</sup> Quotation from Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, p. 40.

economy and destroyed its commerce.<sup>669</sup> In other words, opinion makers who communicated Protestant triumphalism on the one hand, saw no paradox in drawing on different normative principles at the same time.

Tony Claydon refers to the use of different rhetorical strategies as the ‘blunderbus technique’, arguing that William III’s propagandists fired off ‘different lines of argument even though they were technically incompatible—and perhaps hoping that the passions aroused by their words would preven close analysis in the audience’.<sup>670</sup> However, we have seen a similar dynamic in print media that cannot be straightforwardly identified as propaganda. People tried to understand the Revocation on different levels: Why did so many people succumb to the pressure? What considerations of prudence and reason would motivate a monarch to do this?such a thing And where was God in all this? Some propagandists may have used blunderbusses, but other opinion makers took precisely targeted shots at these different questions. This might lead to incompatible arguments at times, but they appealed to different core values of society, which is never without its contradictions.

At the same time, we have seen throughout this study that propagandists consciously played down certain normative principles so as to pander to their audiences. This also happened in the wake of the Revocation. As we have seen, before he openly aspired to the Throne of England, William III commissioned Jean Claude to write the *Plaintes des protestans*.<sup>671</sup> This was not the first time that William III used the fate of the Huguenots for propagandistic purposes. As we have seen in Chapter 3, he already used their plight to give a confessional spin to a secular debate. The *Plaintes des protestans*, however, was intended to provide an ideological basis for the alliance that William III was forming with the Holy Roman Emperor (among others) against France, the League of Augsburg. Correspondingly, the *Plaintes des protestans* refrains from using the normative principle of confessional truth. Instead, it says that he will

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<sup>669</sup> Scoville, *Persecution of the Huguenots*, pp. 12–15.

<sup>670</sup> Claydon, ‘Protestantism, universal monarchy’, p. 133; T. Claydon, *William III* (London and New York 2002), p. 141.

<sup>671</sup> [Claude], *Plaintes des protestans*; The pamphlet was also published in Dutch, German, and in English in the samen year: [J. Claude], *Klagten der gereformeerden wreedelijk verdrukt in het koningrijk van Vrankrijk* (Utrecht, 1686), [J. Claude], *An account of the persecutions and oppressions of the Protestants in France* (Londen, 1686); [J. Claude], *Erbärmliche Klagten der Protestirenden Religionsverwandten, über deren grausamen Unterdrück– und Verfolgung im Königreich Franckreich*, s.l., 1686; D. van der Linden, ‘Predikanten in ballingschap. De carrièrekansen van Jean en Isaac Claude in de Republiek’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27–2 (2012), p. 153.

‘not advance anything [...] in these reflections that is without sense or beyond anyone’s comprehension’.<sup>672</sup> People on both sides of the confessional divide should be concerned by the fate of the Huguenots:

They will finally open their eyes, and this [persecution], which they have executed with so much arrogance and barbarism, will be known not only to Protestants, but also to wise, equitable, and circumspect Catholics [...]. Indeed, if one wishes to take the trouble to reflect on these facts, which we have come to report, and which are continuing and public, one will see that not only are the Protestants oppressed, but one sees that the dignity of the king is profaned, his state offended, all of the universe’s princes interested, and the pope himself with his church and his clergy shamefully defamed.<sup>673</sup>

The pamphlet argues that only a ‘faction of bigots’ feel animosity toward the Huguenots, whereas all other Catholics, commoners as well as nobles, lament their fate.<sup>674</sup> Claude remains strikingly vague about who he believes these bigots are, but they are regarded as having won a factional struggle that allows them to indulge in arbitrary government:

They set up one party against the other; and they call the state, whichever has the power in its hands. [...] [This is] what one calls a military government, which is not regulated by justice, reason, or even humanity.<sup>675</sup>

The political dystopia that William III’s propagandist sketches is not one ruled by a voluntarist tyrant, but by a faction that has seized power over both the sovereign and his people. Louis XIV is largely kept out of the firing line, although Claude’s remark that it is ‘done in the sight

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<sup>672</sup> ‘[...] nous n’avancerons rien [...] dans les reflexions qui ne soit du sens, & de la portée de tout le monde’; [Claude], *Plaintes des protestans*, p. 6; in the English edition, this part is translated with an even stronger emphasis on reason as an inclusive normative principle: ‘[...] we shall advance nothing in our reflections, but what all the world of reasonable people will allow’; Claude, *Account of the persecutions*, p. 1.

<sup>673</sup> ‘On ouvrira enfin les yeux, & ceci mesme qu’ils viennent d’executer avec tant de hauteur, & de barbarie sera connoistre non seulement aux protestans, mais aussi aux catholiques sages, équitables, & circonspects [...]. En effet si l’on veut se donner la peine de faire reflection sur les faits, que nous venons de raporter, & qui sont constans, & publics, on n’y verra pas seulement les protestans oppriméz, mais on y verra la dignité du roy profanée, son etat offensé, tous les princes de l’univers interessez, & le pape même avec son eglise & son clergé honteusement diffamez’; [Claude], *Plaintes des protestans*, pp. 75–76.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid., p. 37. The argument that ordinary Catholics deplored the persecution of their Protestant compatriots can also be found in Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken*; Anonymous, *Den Franssen luypaert sijn bedrogh by al de wereldt ten toon gestalt* (Amsterdam, 1689), pflit 13141.

<sup>675</sup> ‘[...] on souleve un parti contre l’autre & on appelle l’etat, celui qui a la force en main. [...] [Ce la] on appelle un gouvernement militaire, qui n’est réglé ni de la justice, ni de la raison, ni même de l’humanité;’ [Claude], *Plaintes des protestans*, p. 105.

of the sun', is probably an allusion to the king.<sup>676</sup> The pamphlet concludes with the remark that religion should never be made to depend on the king's pleasure, but there are no open accusations against Louis XIV.<sup>677</sup> Given the imagined authors of the work—'the Protestants in France'—open accusations to the king would not fit the rhetoric, as it would be a form of *lèse-majesté*. Instead, factionalism and a lack of royal authority are the main problems and the Revocation is but one example of the forms of bad government that can result:

It only takes another design, another passion to satisfy, another vengeance to exert, and then woe to those who will want to oppose it; the dragoons will not have forgotten their profession.<sup>678</sup>

This unreasonable government is not only fatal to France itself, but requires a response from all Protestant princes and states, as the Revocation is only the beginning of the French government's aim at the total annihilation of their religion. But Catholic rulers should also see that the Revocation strengthens the voice of those who distrust their princes, 'which can only produce very ill effects'.<sup>679</sup> Moreover, common Catholics should realize that it provides a precedent for a policy in which 'all who do not want to suffer the yoke will be heretics'—turning the old discussion about heresy as rebellion on its head.<sup>680</sup> The clergy, in turn, would suffer from the bad image that France gave them.<sup>681</sup> All in all, the Revocation exemplified disastrous tyrannical government, which, as a communicative act toward Europe's many subjects, endangers the entire balance between church, state, and society.

In short, Jean Claude, a minister who had built up a reputation in France for engaging in polemics with Jansenists and Catholics about theological issues, wrote an entirely secular condemnation of the persecution by arguing how it violated all the normative principles of rule of law, reason, and humanity that ordered society, regardless of confession. Written using the

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<sup>676</sup> '[...] s'est fait à la veuë du soleil'; [Jean Claude], *Plaintes des protestans*, p. 120; For a detailed account of the iconography of Louis XIV as the Sun King, both by propagandists and opponents, see H. Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde. Die Bildpropaganda Ludwigs XIV. in der Kritik* (Imhof, 2010), pp. 21–53.

<sup>677</sup> Claude, *Account of the persecutions*, p. 45.

<sup>678</sup> 'Il ne faut qu'un autre dessein, une autre passion à satisfaire, une autre vengeance à exercer & alors malheur à ceux qui s'y voudront opposer, les dragons, n'auront pas oublié leur métier'; *ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>679</sup> '[...] qu'elles ne peuvent que produire de tres méchants effets'; *ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>680</sup> 'Tout ce qui ne voudra pas subir le joug sera heretique'; *ibid.*, p. 115; see Chapter 2.

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

voice of ever-loyal Huguenot subjects, the *Plaintes des protestans* explicitly rejected resistance. As to the desired international reaction, on the other hand, the pamphlet states plainly but tellingly that it is ‘to be hoped that Protestant princes and states will from thence draw their just conclusions’.<sup>682</sup> As was the case with the Piedmont Easter, international intervention was presented as the alternative to domestic disobedience.<sup>683</sup>

The pamphlet’s supraconfessional message did not prevent the Count of Avaux from seeing it as a Calvinist manifesto.<sup>684</sup> The count was greatly alarmed by the *Plaintes des protestans*, which he knew to have been written by Claude for William III. On 18 April, he sent a copy to Louis XIV, with a letter, explaining the danger of the work:

This is not a printed work dealing, like the others, with matters of religion, nor with exaggerations of what has been done in France; [...] It is a proper manifesto for the commencement of a war of religion, which the Calvinists are capable of waging.<sup>685</sup>

The Sun King was less worried, responding to Avaux that ‘we should let them spit their bile without worrying ourselves to much about it’.<sup>686</sup> Nevertheless, in the same year the royal printer Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy published a religious sectarian refutation of both the *Plaintes des protestans* and Jurieu’s *Politique du clergé*.<sup>687</sup> The *Réponse aux plaintes des Protestans*—written by theologian and playwright David-Augustin de Brueys, who had converted to Catholicism in

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<sup>682</sup> ‘Il faut esperer que les princes & les etat protestans tireront delà leurs justes conclusions’; *ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>683</sup> In the 1690s this political discussion would famously flare up again between Pierre Jurieu, who called for a Protestant insurrection in France, and Pierre Bayle, who defended unconditional obedience—and even discouraged Huguenots from partaking in William III’s campaign in England due to the lack of respect for monarchies it suggested. After all, Bayle hoped to eventually return to France, as did many of his fellow Huguenot exiles; while ostensibly a minor detail in the attacks on the policy of France, this explains why so few Huguenot polemics directed full-blown attacks toward the king’s person; if a return was to remain possible, their loyalty had to remain unconditional. See P. Bonnet, ‘La “Monarchie Universelle” de Louis XIV. Une notion clé de la pensée politique, de Campanella à Montesquieu’, *Littératures classiques* 76 (2011), pp. 133–146; P. Bonnet, ‘De la critique à la satire. Trente années d’opposition pamphlétaire à Louis XIV’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 157–1 (2011), pp. 29–34.

<sup>684</sup> For a more elaborate discussion of manifestos see chapters 1 and 5.

<sup>685</sup> ‘Ce n’est pas un imprimé qui s’arrête comme les autres aux matieres de Religion, ni aux exagerations de ce qui s’est fait en France; [...] c’est proprement un Manifeste pour commencer une guerre de Religion, des que les Calvinistes seront en état de la faire’; Anonymous, *Négociations de Mons. le Comte d’Avaux en Hollande depuis 1679, jusqu’en 1688*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1704), pp. 130–131; it is important to note that an important argument made against post-revisionists is that because the Grand Alliance was interconfessional it could not wage religious war. Avaux’s statement, however, implicitly rejects this.

<sup>686</sup> Quotation taken from Van der Linden, ‘Predikanten in ballingschap’, p. 153.

<sup>687</sup> See Chapter 3.

1681—was a lengthy religious sectarian refutation of both the *Plaintes des protestans* and Jurieu's *Politique du clergé*, stipulating the errors of the Calvinist religion.<sup>688</sup>

We thus see an interesting dynamic; the French Crown felt most pressured to respond to a Huguenot pamphlet that provides a secular evaluation of the Edict of Nantes, but ultimately did so by harking back to theology. This suggests that the Crown aimed to convince Catholic readers—who might be impressed by Claude's and Jurieu's secular arguments—rather than the Dutch Protestants in whose republic these works were published. Across the Channel, Paul Barillon d'Amoncourt, the French ambassador to England, convinced James II that the *Plaintes des protestans* be burned by a public executioner. When the Lord Chancellor protested that the work dealt with foreign matters and did not harm the peace in the realm, James II replied that sovereigns had a common duty to protect each other against libel. The ritual burning caused discontent among the population, who regarded it as proof that their king did not condemn the persecution of Protestants.<sup>689</sup>

Not only William III was accused of exploiting the Revocation for the sake of his own princely ambitions, by attempting to let confessional solidarity dominate international politics. The anonymous *Discours politique sur la Reformation qui se fait aujourd'hui en France* (*Political discourse about the Reformation that is done today in France*) tried to rationalize the persecution of the Huguenots—something from which the *Plaintes des protestans* abstained—as an effort by Louis XIV to break the alliances made against him. The *Discours politique* contextualizes the persecution as part of Louis XIV's efforts to establish a universal monarchy.<sup>690</sup> The pamphlet argues that the persecution of the Huguenots has nothing to do with religion, but 'stems from a very delicate policy, and it requires using all the power of the mind to penetrate what might be its political purpose'.<sup>691</sup> The Revocation is intended to cause outrage among Europe's Protestant powers and move them to start persecuting their Catholic minorities in retaliation,

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<sup>688</sup> D.-A. Brueys, *Réponse aux plaintes des Protestans contre le moyens que l'on employe en France pour les réunir à l'Eglise* (Paris 1686).

<sup>689</sup> J. Lingard, *A history of England from the first invasion by the Romans*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1831), p. 97.

<sup>690</sup> The idea of Louis XIV aiming for universal monarchy had already been introduced in the Dutch Republic in 1668, with the influential *Le Bouclier d'état et de justice*; J. Klaitz, *Printed propaganda under Louis XIV. Absolute monarchy and public opinion* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), p. 88.

<sup>691</sup> '[...] cela provient d'une politique bien fine, [...] qu'il importe d'appliquer toutes les forces de l'esprit pour penetrer qu'elle peut estre cette veüe politique'; Anonymous, *Discours politique sur la reformation qui se fait aujourd'hui en France* (s.l. 1685), pft 12299, p. 3. For the Dutch translation see: Anonymous, *Politieq discours over de reformatie die tegenwoordig in Vrankrijk wort gepleegt* (1685), pft 12300.

which, in turn, will anger Europe's Catholic princes.<sup>692</sup> By inciting confessional hostility, Louis XIV hopes to realign Europe's alliances across confessional lines, to his advantage.<sup>693</sup> In other words, the Sun King tries to once again divide Europe, which had moved beyond the dangerous maxim of confessional solidarity, —or rather tribalism—along confessional lines.

Pamphlets like the *Plaintes des protestans* and the *Discours politique* formed the ideological foundation of the supraconfessional—yet eventually ineffective—Grand Alliance, or League of Augsburg, which was founded in 1686 to thwart France's plans. Although the supraconfessional alliances were certainly not new, they were not considered unproblematic either; Emperor Leopold I had to consult with his theologians and search for a religious fiat before he engaged in an alliance with Protestant princes against a Catholic king.<sup>694</sup> It was therefore an important strategy of legitimation to discredit Louis XIV's quality as a Catholic prince, or indeed, as his title suggested, the 'most Christian' of princes. A lively literature developed in which it was argued that Louis XIV was hiding his Machiavellian interests under a cloak of religion—an argument which had become part and parcel of practically every evaluation of the international religious politics of princes since the Protestant Reformation.<sup>695</sup> During the Nine Years' War, the idea of the Sun King as an impious religious persecutor could easily be used to frame France's foreign campaigns. The *Fransen luypaert, sijn bedroch by al de werelt ten toon gestalt*, an anonymous letter by a 'Catholic gentleman' published in 1689 in Amsterdam, recounts the advancements of French troops in the Holy Roman Empire:

The war which [Louis XIV] has declared on the emperor and the Reich, and the inhumanity with which he persecutes the Catholic and clerical princes, can be ranked among the cruelest persecutions that God's Church has suffered since it was first instituted.<sup>696</sup>

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<sup>692</sup> Anonymous, *Discours politique*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>693</sup> The same argument can be found in Anonymous, *De geest van Vrankryk, en de grond-regelen van Lodenyk de XIV. aan Europa ontdekt* (1688), pfl 12727.

<sup>694</sup> A. Thompson, 'The grand alliances', *European History Online (EGO)* (2013), <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/thompsona-2013-en>.

<sup>695</sup> See Bonnet, "Monarchie Universelle".

<sup>696</sup> 'De onmenshelijckheyte waer mede hy deselve tegens de Catholijcken en Geestelijke Vorsten vervolght, konnen en moeten onder den rangh van de alderwreetste vervolgingen gestelt worden, die de Kercke Godts oyt t'sedert haer bevestigingh geleden heeft'; Anonymous, *Fransen luypaert*, p. 3; for the idea of Louis XIV as an enemy of Christendom during the Nine Years' War see Claydon, 'Protestantism, universal monarchy'.

The *Plaintes des protestans* and the *Discours politique* thus provide striking examples of how pamphleteers deconfessionalized and reconfessionalized the Revocation to suit their desired audiences. As a Williamite propagandist, Jean Claude consciously constructed a condemnation of the Huguenot persecution on secular normative principles, even though he had engaged in confessional polemic in France and had stirred up confessional polarization in England.

On the one hand, this should remind us that we should be careful not to confuse opinionating print media with the prevalent public opinion of the society in which it circulated. On the other hand, it shows that the line between religion and politics did not necessarily become thinner, to be hotly debated in the printed public sphere. A similar dynamic can be seen in a number of pamphlets published at the start of the Nine Years' War in 1688 in which the Jesuits were singled out as the great enemy. These pamphlets built upon a long tradition of Protestant conspiracy theories, in which the Jesuit order was believed to be the axis around which all sorts of Catholic evildoing in the world revolved, including the maltreatment of natives in the Americas, the Gunpowder Plot, and the assassinations of William of Orange, Henry III, and Henry IV, to name but a few.<sup>697</sup>

While not always present in religio-political polemic, stereotypes of the Jesuits smoldered in Protestant cultural memory and could easily be ignited if the circumstances—such as the persecution of the Huguenots—provided enough oxygen.<sup>698</sup> Already before the Revocation, influential Huguenot opinion makers such as Claude Brousson had singled out the Jesuits rather than Louis XIV—still emphasizing their loyalty—as the main instigators of the persecution of the Huguenots.<sup>699</sup> These circumstances arose again during the struggle for the English throne in 1688. The idea of a Jesuit conspiracy provided an excellent way of connecting the Revocation and the crisis in England, neatly transferring the significance of the first event to the second.

One might assume that anti-Jesuit pamphlets were firmly embedded in confessional discourse, and some were. A telling example is the popular *Engelsche bokkum gebraden op een*

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<sup>697</sup> P. Burke, 'The black legend of the Jesuits. An essay in the history of social stereotypes', in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and community in the West. Essays for John Bossy* (Abingdon, 2001), p. 169. For the Jesuits and the Gunpowder Plot see P. Caraman, *Henry Garnet, 1555–1606 and the Gunpowder Plot* (Harlow, 1964).

<sup>698</sup> Ibid..

<sup>699</sup> W. Utt and B. Strayer, *The bellicose dove. Claude Brousson and Huguenot resistance to Louis XIV, 1647–1698* (Eastbourne, 2007), p. 39.

*France rooster* (*English herring roasted on a French grill*), of which at least four Dutch editions appeared in Dutch in 1688.<sup>700</sup> The title ironically stated that it had been published in London in the ‘crowned Popish bastard’.<sup>701</sup> Others, however, made a very different point. The conversation piece *Nieuwe geinventeerde brillen voor alderhande gesichten* (*Newly invented glasses for all kinds of faces*), for instance, offered a variant to the argument presented in the *Discours politique*. It accused the Jesuits of convincing German princes that the war against Louis XIV was a war of religion, and that they were doomed if they would raise arms against a fellow Catholic prince. They had thus become blind to the fact that Catholics had as much to fear from France’s policy as Protestants.<sup>702</sup> Another pamphlet, a fictional letter from Louis XIV’s Jesuit confessor to James II’s Jesuit confessor, argued that it was due to the Jesuits that Louis XIV no longer followed a reasonable policy. After all, by persecuting the Huguenots the Sun King had woken up his Protestant neighbors:

Mildness, goodness, and tolerance for the heretics would certainly have let the gates of the Netherlands, the Palatinate, and all the states around the Rhine, yes even [those of] the Swiss, be opened to him. Instead of the matters having changed in such a way, that the Hollanders no longer fear any danger, nor the Swiss, [they have] now decided to fight till the last drop of blood.<sup>703</sup>

In other words, the Jesuits were accused of reordering Europe’s political landscape along confessional lines and conflicts. Between these poles of confessional truth and confessional solidarity was a range of anti-Jesuits pamphlets that offered their own analyses of Europe’s religious divide and the extent to which God favored one confession over the other.<sup>704</sup>

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<sup>700</sup> Anonymous, *Den Engelschen bokkum, gebraden op een Franse rooster* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12665, pfl 12666, pfl 12666a (3 editions); Anonymous, *Engelsche bokkum, of beekkel-dicht. Bebelzende de listige vonden, de welke de jesuiten [...] in’t werk gesteld hebben; om de waare hervormde godsdienst door gantsch Europa uyt te roeyen* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12667.

<sup>701</sup> [...] in in den gekroonden Paapen-Bastaard; Anonymous, *Den Engelsche bokkum*, pfl 12665.

<sup>702</sup> Anonymous, *Nieuwe geinventeerde brillen, voor alderhande gesichten, op de mode geslepen, op verscheyde slypsteen* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12668, p. 5.

<sup>703</sup> ‘De sachtmoedigheyt, de goetheyt, en de verdraeghsaemheyt voor de Kettters, zoude hem onfeylbaerlyck de Poorten van Nederlandt, vande Paltz, en van alle de Staten aen den Ryn, ja [van de] de Switsers selfs, geopent hebben. In plaetse dat de sake tegenwoordig soo verandert zyn, dat men de Hollanders gants geen perijckel meer siet vreesen, noch ook de Switsers [...], in die Resolutie van tot den laetsten droppel bloedts toe te stryden; Anonymous, *Antwoort van den eerwaerdigen vader La Chaise [...] op den brief vanden eerwaerdigen vader Peters [...] noopende ’t beleydt dat hy by sijn majesteyt tot de bekeringe van sijne protestantse onderdanen houden moet* (1688), pfl 12924.

<sup>704</sup> Anonymous, *Een wonderlijk gesigte gesien in een wakende droom vertonende den tegenwoordigen droevigen toestand, en de aanstaande gevaar der evangelische kerke* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12663; Anonymous, *De nieuwgevonden verrekyker of het naaukeurig*

To sum up, several opinion makers—at least one of them a leading intellectual and religious figure—developed rather complex interpretations of the persecutions which can be described as secular, but were nonetheless fully devoted to the old problem of Europe’s confessional divisions. Instead of dwelling on confessional truth claims, these authors brought questions of cruelty, bigotry, arbitrary government, and universal monarchy to the fore—the antonyms of the normative principles of humanity. It is important to note that Protestants had a long history of associating these vices with Catholicism. Yet it is highly significant that several pamphleteers of the 1680s purposefully refrained from associating them with Catholicism in their argumentation. They had long been used to accuse Catholics of plans more sinister than doctrinal error alone. Now, they were detached from Catholicism altogether. The lines that divided Europe were being (re)negotiated.

We see a similar dynamic in questions about the Catholic majority in France. Although never becoming a major theme in pamphlet literature, the question of whether Louis XIV’s Catholic subjects had a shared responsibility in the persecutions was also a matter of public dispute. David van der Linden and Elisabeth Labrousse have pointed out that many Huguenots stressed in their diaries that they had received help from Catholic acquaintances during their flight.<sup>705</sup> However, perhaps such iterations testify more to discussion than agreement among the Huguenots about the role played by their Catholic compatriots. The *Ontdeckinge van Vrankrycks oogmerken* contains two divergent opinions on the matter. The pamphlet consists of three letters, two of them written by a pair of Huguenot refugees in London to a mutual acquaintance, an anonymous abbot in France.

The author of the first letter is a young man who, according to the author of the second letter, is part of London’s libertine circles. The author angrily wonders how ‘a nation which is so rich in its multiplicity of people [...] is so devoid of honest men’.<sup>706</sup> None of the Catholics, he recalls, from any order in society—noblemen, clergymen, and peasants, marshals, ministers, and councilors advising the king—voiced their objections.<sup>707</sup> Because no one did, everybody

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*gesicht, siende in versheyde staten van Europa* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12670; Anonymous, *Een brief aen een vriend, zijnde eenige aenmerkingen op den brief van den eerwaardigen vader Peters. Geschreven aen den vader de La Chaise* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12922.

<sup>705</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 163–166; Labrousse, *Une foi, une loi, un roi?*, p. 85.

<sup>706</sup> ‘Een natie die andersints seer ryck in veelheyt van menschen is, [...] soo van eerlijcke luyden ontbloot is’; Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vrankrycks oogmerken*, p. 5.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

was hence an accomplice to the persecutions—comparable to the concept of the ‘bystander’ in Holocaust studies.<sup>708</sup> This argument is interesting because it presupposes a moral duty to help those wrongfully persecuted by the state. The idea that passivity equals complacency rings surprisingly modern in an age in which most resistance theory conceded little more than the right to protect one’s own life against the state.

The other refugee author in the *Ontdeckinge*, by contrast, reassures the abbot that the libertine’s voice is not representative of all those who fled from France. He argues that everyone knows that there were innumerable honest people ‘of all sexes, conditions, and professions [...] who greatly pitied our sorrows’ and helped the Huguenots hide or flee.<sup>709</sup> Indeed, only the converters and those who executed the court’s orders or encouraged the king, should be blamed for the persecution. Concerning the rest, one can only say that they did not have the courage to openly disapprove of what their hearts disapproved of.<sup>710</sup>

### *Hosts*

Having explored the Revocation literature published in the United Provinces we can ask ourselves the question what a contemporary Dutch person could learn about the persecutions if he or she went to a bookshop and bought the latest pamphlets on the matter. , They might read that this was all the clergy’s fault, or the French king’s, because he was the Antichrist or because he wanted to trick his European adversaries. He or she might also read translations of the pastoral letters from exiled clergy to the remaining Protestants in France, urging them, or rather warning them, not to convert. From yet another pamphlet, he might realize how difficult it was not to succumb, reading about the daily horrors experienced by the Huguenots in places like Béarn or Montpellier, whose families were robbed, beaten, and deprived of their sleep until their spirits were broken.

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<sup>708</sup> For recent critical explorations of the concept see C. Morina and K. Thijs (eds.), *Probing the limits of categorization. The bystander in Holocaust history* (New York, 2019); R. Goldberg, ‘The bystander during the Holocaust’, *Utah Law Review* 4 (2017): pp. 649–659.

<sup>709</sup> ‘Van alle sexe, van alle conditie, en van alle professie [...], die genereuselijck medelyden met onse ellenden hebben gehadt, en die wel gewent hadden, of dat men de saecken van de religie gelaten hadde in de state daer deselve in waeren voor tien jaeren’; *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>710</sup> Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vrankrycks oogmerken*, p. 37.

If this Dutch person could get his or her hands on a print by the famous etcher Romeyn de Hooghe, he would see the destruction of the Reformed churches, how dragoons and priests hung children upside down, violated women or burned them at the stake, how men were driven like cattle to the galleys. In the middle of the print, consumers would also see the happy ending to this story: the arrival of the Huguenots in the Dutch Republic; the stadtholder and his wife welcoming the refugees, supported by the Republic's dignitaries; Dutch men and women generously handing out food and money to the despaired newcomers; in the background a new church being built; a story that ends with a new beginning.<sup>711</sup> This is where most stories ended. At the same time, for the Dutch it was at this point that the persecution of the Huguenots changed from a foreign event into a domestic issue. Where did all the money come from and was it charity or investment? Were the refugees here to stay? What were the (desired) consequences of the Revocation for the Dutch Republic?

These were pressing questions to which the pamphlets discussing the problem of mass conversion, the causes of the Revocation, or its international political significance failed to provide an answer. De Hooghe presented an idealistic picture of an overjoyed society welcoming the refugees, even though he realistically represents the arriving refugees as needy, initially requiring money rather than bringing it. For all the belief in the economic benefits of immigration, the sober reality was that the Huguenots often found it hard to make ends meet.<sup>712</sup> Of course, the Dutch were aware of this, as they had to take care of the rising numbers of refugee paupers.<sup>713</sup> Already in February, the States of Groningen published a resolution stating that all exiles were to be interrogated, to guarantee that no Catholics pretending to be Reformed refugees would receive any money.<sup>714</sup> Still, our hypothetical Dutch person would look in vain for images about the more practical ramifications of integration, and there were few pamphlets that discussed these matters.

Those that did, however, are telling. According to the *Extract van een brief, van den heer ... aan den heer ... vluchteling tot Amsterdam* (*Extract from a letter, from mister ... to mister ... refugee in*

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<sup>711</sup> R. de Hooghe, 'Vervolging der protestanten in Frankrijk na de herroeping van het Edict van Nantes, 1685–1686'; Rijksmuseum, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-55.182>.

<sup>712</sup> See Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 39–78.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>714</sup> L. Flugger, *Privilegien voor de Franse en andere gereformeerde vluchtelingen. Extract uyt het resolutie-boeck der ed. mog. Heeren Staten van staadt Groningen ende Ommelanden* (Groningen, 1686), pfl 12449.

*Amsterdam*), the influx of Huguenot refugees was not only encouraged and celebrated as an economic opportunity, but also gave rise to some concern among the Dutch population.<sup>715</sup> The pamphlet—presenting itself as letter from a Huguenot in Paris to an exile—tries to dispel alleged concerns among the Dutch about an impending war with France and the refugees, whose loyalty to their exile home was questioned. The author argues that ‘the papists and some envious people’ tried to make people believe that the refugees ‘are very pleased with their king and nation’, despise the Republic’s ‘aristocratic government’, and would return to France at the earliest opportunity.<sup>716</sup> He counters these concerns with the classical narrative that the refugees in question were willing to leave everything for their faith and had no desire to return, that all peoples love their nations, and that the Dutch and French were the most similar among all of them. Indeed, the pamphlet contends ‘that in twenty or thirty years there will be little difference between the old and the new inhabitants of the Reformed Netherlands’.<sup>717</sup>

The *Extract van een brief* also suggests that there were concerns about the financial consequences of opening all gates to the refugees, to which the author replies by distinguishes three ‘classes’ of refugees: those with enough possessions, income, and commercial opportunity, those who have enough diligence to make a decent living, and those who do not. The last category, however, can provide recruits for the army and navy, be used to populate old and new colonies, be given land, tax-cuts or ‘more privileges than to the natives of the country’.<sup>718</sup> Between 1687 and 1689 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) indeed took a total of about 180 Huguenots to the Cape Colony. They had been recruited in main refugee centers in the United Provinces and Germany to work in the winegrowing industry and were offered

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<sup>715</sup> Anonymous, *Extract van een brief, geschreeven uit Parys den 25 augusto ao. 1688 aan den heer M... vluchteling tot Amsterdam* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12696. The pamphlet is presumably a translation from a French original: Anonymous, *Extrait d’une lettre de mr. \*\*\* a monsr. \*\*\* réfugié à Amsterdam. Dattée de Paris le 21 d’Août 1688* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12695. Since this subchapter discusses what the Dutch would read about the domestic ramification of the influx I quote from the Dutch translation, which faithfully follows the French original.

<sup>716</sup> ‘[...] de papisten, en eenige nydige menschen’; ‘[...] geweldig ingenomen zyn met hun koning en met hun natie’; ‘[...] aristocratische regeering’; Anonymous, *Extract van een brief*, p. 4.

<sup>717</sup> ‘[...] dat’er over twintig of dartig jaaren weinig onderscheid tusschen d’oude en nieuwe inwoonders der Gereformeerde Nederlanden zal wezen’; Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>718</sup> ‘[...] meer privilegien dan als aan de ingeborenen des landes’; *ibid.* 6; it is unclear whether the author refers to Dutch natives or the indigenous people of the Dutch colonies in the West and East Indies. For Huguenots serving in the armies of their host countries see M. Glozier and D. Onnekink (eds.), *War, religion, and service. Huguenot soldiering, 1685–1713* (Aldershot, 2007).

free passage and citizenship.<sup>719</sup> The VOC actively tried make the Huguenots integrate as quickly as possible by not allowing them to live in their own quarters.<sup>720</sup> In short, the *Extract van een brief* argued that the Dutch had nothing to worry about:

In one word, in a so well governed republic like Holland, a person who behaves honestly and who has a good desire to work is never useless. [...] If there are beggars, idlers and rascals, let them return: they are merely a burden to the state. But I am assured that they are very small in numbers.<sup>721</sup>

Besides commercial benefits, which we have ordered within the normative principle of reason (of state) in Chapter 3, the author also appeals to confessional arguments: an increase in Protestants in the United Provinces makes its Catholic population relatively smaller.<sup>722</sup> The *Extract van een brief* is the only pamphlet in which we find this argument and there is no evidence that this was part of the immigration policy of the civic authorities. However, it reflects a strategy prevalent among many early modern European rulers to demographically strengthen their confession in their domains by taking in coreligionist refugees.<sup>723</sup>

Interestingly, there is no evidence that any of the Dutch concerns about the refugees which the *Extract van een brief* aimed to take away ever found their way to the printing presses—as they had in England some years earlier.<sup>724</sup> This absence of critical printed discussions about the Huguenots as a domestic issue corresponds with the dynamics of the Republic’s publicity culture; complaints about the accommodation of refugees or their (lack of) integration in the labor market could easily be interpreted as criticism of the authorities, which were rare to find in print in times of (relative) domestic concord. A minor exception is Professor Petrus Francius of the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam, who warned of the danger of a ‘spiritual annexation’

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<sup>719</sup> T. Wijsenbeek, ‘Identity lost. Huguenot refugees in the Dutch Republic and its former colonies in North America, 1650–1750. A comparison’, *South African Historical Journal* 59–1 (2007), pp. 87–88.

<sup>720</sup> A. Halgra and H. Halgra, *Dispereert niet. Twintig eeuwen historie van de Nederlanden*, vol. 5 (Franeker 1956), pp. 247–248; P. Denis, ‘The Cape Huguenots and their legacy in Apartheid South Africa’, in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks (eds.), *Memory and identity*, p. 285.

<sup>721</sup> ‘In een woord, in een zo wel gepoliteerde republyk als die van Holland was nooit een mensch, die zig eerlyk draagt, en die goede begeerte heeft om te werken, onnut. [...] Zo ‘er bedelaars, leeglopers en deugnieten zyn, laat ze weer terugh keeren: ze strekken doch maar tot last van den staat. Maar ick ben verzekerd, dat ze in zeer klein getal zyn’; *Ibid.* 6–7.

<sup>722</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>723</sup> S. Lachenicht, ‘Refugees and refugee protection in the early modern period’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30–2 (2016), pp. 269–270.

<sup>724</sup> See Chapter 3.

by the Huguenots, which might lead to a political subjugation by France, in a printed oration from 1686.<sup>725</sup> However, since it was published in Latin it could hardly be regarded as libelous.<sup>726</sup>

The main domestic tension caused by the influx of refugees fought out through the printing press was not between the Dutch and newcomers, but between Dutch Protestants and Dutch Catholics. This was partly fueled by the religious and secular authorities; following the Revocation, the synods insisted with renewed energy that placards defining the position of Catholics should strictly be adhered to.<sup>727</sup> The States General tried to renew the placards forbidding the exercise of the Catholic religion and issued several new laws forbidding Catholics to take certain offices.<sup>728</sup> Again, the Count of Avaux's description of the political climate in his country of residence after the Revocation provides a telling impression. He reports that in Gelderland, Friesland, and Groningen Catholics were incarcerated and forced to redeem themselves for large sums of money.<sup>729</sup> The ambassador even claims that in Zeeland, many Catholics were actually driven out of their province. He mentions and dismisses rumors that all Dutch Catholics would soon be expelled. Ever loyal to their commercial maxim of harboring refugees, Rotterdam and Amsterdam invited any Catholic refugees.<sup>730</sup> According to Avaux, Zeeland's authorities quickly regretted their decision once they realized that they had lost valuable assets to Rotterdam—something perhaps reported by Avaux to convince the king that the Revocation was an economic disaster.<sup>731</sup>

Apostolic vicar Johannes van Neercassel (1625-86) sketches a similar image. The priest claimed that he had to prevent Amsterdam's magistrates from expelling all the regular clergy, by promising that Catholics would no longer send money abroad and that the city's Catholic

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<sup>725</sup> Gibbs, 'Some intellectual and political influences of the Huguenot emigrés in the United Provinces, c. 1680–1730', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 90–2 (1975), p. 255.

<sup>726</sup> P. Francius, *Oratio de usu et praestantia linguae graecae. Habita in illustri Athenaeo Amstelaedamensi* (Amsterdam, 1686).

<sup>727</sup> Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme*, vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>728</sup> The religiously moderate States of Holland, whose cities were home to sizeable Catholic communities, thwarted this initiative; W. Knuttel, *De toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken ten tijde der Republiek* (The Hague, 1894), pp. 292–295.

<sup>729</sup> Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte*, vol. 5, p. 227; Avaux does not make clear whether the Catholics in question were clergy or laity.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202–203.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

orders would only accept Dutchmen—an issue strikingly reminiscent of political discussions about the foreign ties of Islamic religious institutions in the Netherlands today.<sup>732</sup> As had been the case during the Piedmont Easter, again the question of charity had given rise to interconfessional tensions. Van Neercassel urged Catholics in Holland to counter any accusations against their community by being especially generous during fundraisers.<sup>733</sup> On 7 December 1685 he writes to Rome that next Sunday, the Catholic churches would collect alms for the Huguenots and that the priests had urged their flock to be generous, ‘to aid the unfortunate as well as to assure the grace of the magistrates and to appease with their compassion the rage of the people’.<sup>734</sup> Two weeks later, the apostolic vicar writes that the magistrates of Leiden had ordered the city’s Catholics to double the charity they had raised for the refugees, believing they had contributed too little. Eventually, only the rich were required to contribute more. Their names and the amount of alms given were reported to the civic authorities.<sup>735</sup> Haarlem’s Catholics ultimately raised more than one-third of the charity for the city’s Huguenot refugees, even though they only constituted somewhere between one-eighth and one-quarter of the population.<sup>736</sup>

Like Avaux, Van Neercassel singles out the printing presses as a main instigator of public hostility, repeatedly mentioning that letters and printed relations pitted the Dutch Reformed against their Catholic countrymen. He argues that the refugees, and foremost Pierre Jurieu, were champions of persecution, who incited Dutch Protestants to an ‘English fury

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<sup>732</sup> Van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, 134; Knuttel, *Toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken*, pp. 294–296.

<sup>733</sup> I have found no evidence of Catholic expulsions from Zeeland. Moreover, Willem Knuttel, who has done extensive archival research on the position of Catholics in Zeeland, does not mention it. He describes that whereas in the second half of the seventeenth century the provincial classes repeatedly complained with the States of Zeeland about ‘Popish mischief’ (*Paapse stoutigheden*), the regents were generally unwilling to act upon such complaints. Interestingly, in 1681 the States justified their moderate stance towards Catholics by arguing that a rigorous enforcement of anti-Catholic placards could lead to retaliations against ‘the good religious kin elsewhere’. This is clearly an allusion to the Huguenots. It is possible that the States of Zeeland regarded this argument as obsolete in 1685, but it is unlikely that they suddenly changed their moderate stance. To what extent Catholics in Zeeland experienced popular violence is unclear: Knuttel, *Toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken*, p. 312.

<sup>734</sup> [...] tum ut miseris succurant, tum ut ei magistratum gratiam promereantur, tum ut ista sua pietate frementem plebem demulceant’; quotation taken from B. Neveu, ‘Les protestants français réfugiés aux Pays-Bas vus par un évêque catholique. Lettres de Jean de Neercassel à Louis-Paul Du Vaucel (1685–1686)’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 113–1 (1967), p. 55.

<sup>735</sup> Neveu, ‘Les protestants français’, p. 58.

<sup>736</sup> H. Bots, G. Posthumus Meyes, and F. Wieringa, *Vlucht naar vrijheid. De hugenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1985), p. 72; J. Spaans, ‘Katholieken onder curatele. Katholieke armenzorg als ingang voor overheidsbemoeienis in Haarlem in de achttiende eeuw’, *Trajecta* 3 (1994), p. 110.

against Catholics’—a reference to the recent Popish Plot in England.<sup>737</sup> In his correspondence with a French priest in Rome, the apostolic vicar sketches how that this polarization could become dangerous, pointing out that ‘not a day goes by in which new accounts are not spread about the cruelty of persecution to which the Reformed in France are subjected’.<sup>738</sup>

It is incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to measure the influence of print media in the development of such popular sentiments, first of all because one cannot calculate how widely such anti-Catholic sentiments were actually supported. Second, we cannot retrieve the voices of those other great opinion makers, the ministers who preached to their congregations from the pulpit every Sunday, nor can we hear the myriad of face-to-face discussions at home, in taverns, or in the streets. More importantly, it would be asking the wrong question, as none of the surviving pamphlets written in response to the Revocation ever called for violence against (Dutch) Catholics. Even Jurieu, although a staunch opponent of religious tolerance never took this stance. Although his post-Revocation writings were firmly structured around confessional arguments, he refrained from demonizing Catholics, as he believed that the Catholic Church was still redeemable.<sup>739</sup> Moreover, William III’s consistent tolerationist stance toward Dutch Catholics must have had a moderating effect on Jurieu and other publishing pastors.<sup>740</sup> The most aggressively anti-Catholic pamphlets, as we have seen, directed their attacks at the clergy, the pope, the king, or the dragoons, not against common Dutch Catholics. Even if those who harassed Catholics in the street did so with such pamphlets in their hands it would not prove that the pamphlets were the main cause of aggression. Moreover, none of the anti-Catholic measures appear to have been officially legitimized by print media.

Of course, this does not mean that the press did not incite distrust. Pamphlets that focus on the suffering of the persecuted Reformed without accusing Catholics in general could nevertheless trigger old prejudices and anxieties about the Catholics living outside and within one’s community. But again, it appears to have been Dutch authors who were most devoted to framing the Revocation within an antagonistic confessional framework. For instance, the

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<sup>737</sup> Gibbs, ‘Some intellectual and political influences’, p. 275.

<sup>738</sup> Neveu, ‘Les protestants français’, p. 56.

<sup>739</sup> Onnekink, ‘Models of an imagined community’, p. 210.

<sup>740</sup> See J. Israel, ‘William III and toleration’, in O. Grell and J. Israel (eds.), *From persecution to toleration. The Glorious Revolution and religion in England* (New York and Oxford, 1991), pp. 129–170.

Dutch pastor Aemilius van Cuilemborgh from Heusden—a fortified town on the border of the predominantly Catholic generality lands—published songs about the persecution of the Huguenots that strongly centered around a sense of confessional conflict. Some parts of the text were quite straightforwardly hostile to Catholics in general:

No regulation restrains their rage,  
 And they're deaf to countless dismal plaints  
 These are the marks since day and age,  
 Of hanging on the Popish faith.<sup>741</sup>

At the same time, there were more subtle, secular discussions about what the Revocation meant or ought to mean for Catholics in the United Provinces. In 1688, the *Beweegreden en propositie tot soulaas der arme Franse vluchtelingen* (*Motive and proposition for the relief of the poor French refugees*) took up the argument that refugees were good for the economy to accuse Dutch Catholics of having contributed too little during the fundraisers for the refugees. The author proposes to tax Catholic inheritances six percent for a period of five years, to be invested in the poor relief of the Huguenots. The pamphlet also argues for a tax in wax candles, which the Catholics used for Mass. These taxes would help the Huguenots prosper ‘just like the descendants of those who departed from the Spanish Netherlands and Germany and now make up the main pillars of our stock exchange’.<sup>742</sup> Moreover, Catholics had equally benefited from the raised value of real estate, which the influx of refugees had brought about.<sup>743</sup> If we read between the lines, we see traces of concern and disappointment about the financial burden of the refugees. But rather than criticize state and civic policy, frustration was deflected to the usual scapegoats.

These taxation proposals should be seen in the light of the changing legal position of Dutch Catholics in the second half of the seventeenth century. Local authorities increasingly decided that confessional minorities should take care of their own poor relief, which required

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<sup>741</sup> ‘Te woeden sonder maet of regel, op duisent nare klachten doof. Te zyn, is ’t eeuwigh—duerend zeegel, te hangen aen het Paepsch Geloof; A. van Cuilemborgh, *Eerbiedige en vrymoedige aenspraecck aen den grooten Louis, koninck van Vranckrijk en Navarre, met eenige gezangen op de harde en onbeschrijvelicke vervolginge in die koninckrijcken, tegens Christi Kercke aengericht* (Dordrecht 1687), p. 22.

<sup>742</sup> ‘[...] gelijk de nakomelingen der gene die voor desen uyt de Spaanse Nederlanden en Duitsland om de Religie geweken sijn, tegenwoordig de hoofdzuilen onser *Beurse* maken’; Anonymous, *Beweegreden en propositie tot soulaas der arme Franse vluchtelingen van de Gereformeerde religie* (Amsterdam, 1688), pfl. 13039.

<sup>743</sup> *Ibid.*

them to organize themselves more openly as corporate bodies in society—leading to a clearer segmentation of religions.<sup>744</sup> In other words, the organization of poor relief helped transform the Catholic community from a connived group that officially did not exist, to a discriminated but recognized confessional minority—not unlike the Huguenots had once been in France. The *Beweegreden en propositie* strikingly illustrates that the institutional recognition of the Catholic community was a double-edged sword; their increased visibility gave a spin to old discussions about their civic status and reputation, a debate that was made topical by the Revocation. Interestingly, the pamphlet also sheds light on a problem; since much poor relief was organized within confessional communities, the Reformed in refugee centers were suddenly confronted with a particularly heavy burden. To make the other confessions chip in, they had to deconfessionalize the issue by arguing that the refugees were there for the welfare of the entire population.

The *Beweegreden en propositie* became the object of discussion in another pamphlet, the *Dialogue sur les impôts de Hollande* (*Dialogue about the taxes in Holland*), a conversation piece between a monk from Brabant, a Huguenot refugee, and a lawyer from The Hague who are travelling from Haarlem to Leiden on a towing barge [Fig. 8].<sup>745</sup> The monk complains about the proposed taxes on candles, arguing that it is not fair that Dutch Catholics have to pay for crimes committed by clergy in France. The lawyer responds that Dutch Catholics belong to the same brotherhood as their French coreligionists and without a doubt share their inclinations. He therefore considers it a good thing to make them bleed a little and argues that they should be happy that they are not held responsible for the persecutions.<sup>746</sup> The refugee

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<sup>744</sup> See J. Spaans, 'Religious policies in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', in Po-Chia Hsia and Van Nierop, *Calvinism and religious toleration*, pp. 72–86.

<sup>745</sup> Anonymous, *Dialogue sur les impôts de Hollande* (Amsterdam, 1688), pfl 13040.

<sup>746</sup> The *Gemoederen van een Roomsche Catholyke, Remonstrant en een Protestant*, published in 1689 under the pseudonym Hater van Mijneed (Hater of Perjury), accuses Dutch Catholics of supporting the persecutions and hoping for a new French invasion; Anonymous, *De gemoederen van een Roomsche Catholyke, Remonstrant en een Protestant; vry uyt gesproken in een t'samenspraak* (Amsterdam, 1689), pfl 13292. The *Hollants, Engelants en aller protestanten aenstaende wee*, in turn, argues that the Catholics would be foolish to rejoice if William III failed to claim the throne; once James II and Louis XIV would invade the Republic, they would murder Protestant and Catholic alike, just like the Duke of Alba had done a century before. In other words, the two Catholic kings posed a national problem, not a religious one; Anonymous, *Hollants, Engelants en aller protestanten aenstaende wee, en uysterste rampspoeden, indien het christelycke en noodzakelycke voornemen, tot verlossing der Engelse protestanten, niet in't werck gestelt en volbracht wort* (Hellevoetsluis, 1688), pfl 13023.

adds that ‘they should clip their wings a little bit, to teach them how to live’.<sup>747</sup> The lawyer continues that he believes that it is mostly rich Catholics who will be hit by the taxes, to which the monk replies that he is not so sure. After all, surgeons and students too need candles.<sup>748</sup> The monk continues by arguing that Catholics already have to take care of their own poor, to which the lawyer replies that every confessional group does, including the Jews, but nevertheless they all financially support the Huguenots. The lawyer sarcastically remarks that if Catholics have too many poor to take care of and if their orphans are too much of a burden that they can ‘give them to us; they will become good Reformed, without dragoons’.<sup>749</sup> Catholics, the lawyer asserts, should realize that the Huguenots are now their fellow citizens and that magistrates have the right to force people to financially support their fellow citizens if they do not do so freely. The monk then contends that making Catholics charge more is in violation of the Pacification of Ghent and the Union of Utrecht—the Dutch Republic’s *de facto* constitution. The advocate replies that the documents do not say this.<sup>750</sup>

We cannot know to what extent Dutch people or Huguenot refugees agreed with what they read in the *Dialogue sur les impôts*. Yet the work does offer telling insight in the parameters of discussion about confessional and civic identity. The lawyer, for instance, insists that if Catholics would be persecuted in the United Provinces like the Huguenots had been, there would have certainly been anti-Protestant reprisals in France. Upon this, the monk asks his travel companion whether he is not himself a Calvinist. The lawyer replies affirmatively, but he emphasized that had he been a Catholic, he would still have seen no injustice in the taxation on candles for Catholics.<sup>751</sup> In other words, the lawyer provides a secular argument based on the normative principle of confessional solidarity. Nowhere in the text does he openly argue about the confessional truth of the Reformed religion, but he does believe that believers share at least some corporate responsibility for the actions of their coreligionists abroad. Whereas we may judge this as modern in a religious sense, it is decisively pre-modern in its approach to collective responsibility. At the same time, the pamphlet implicitly promotes what Frijhoff has

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<sup>747</sup> ‘[...] on devroit leur rogner un peu les ailes, pour leur apprendre a vivre’; Anonymous, *Dialogue sur les impôts*, p. 6.

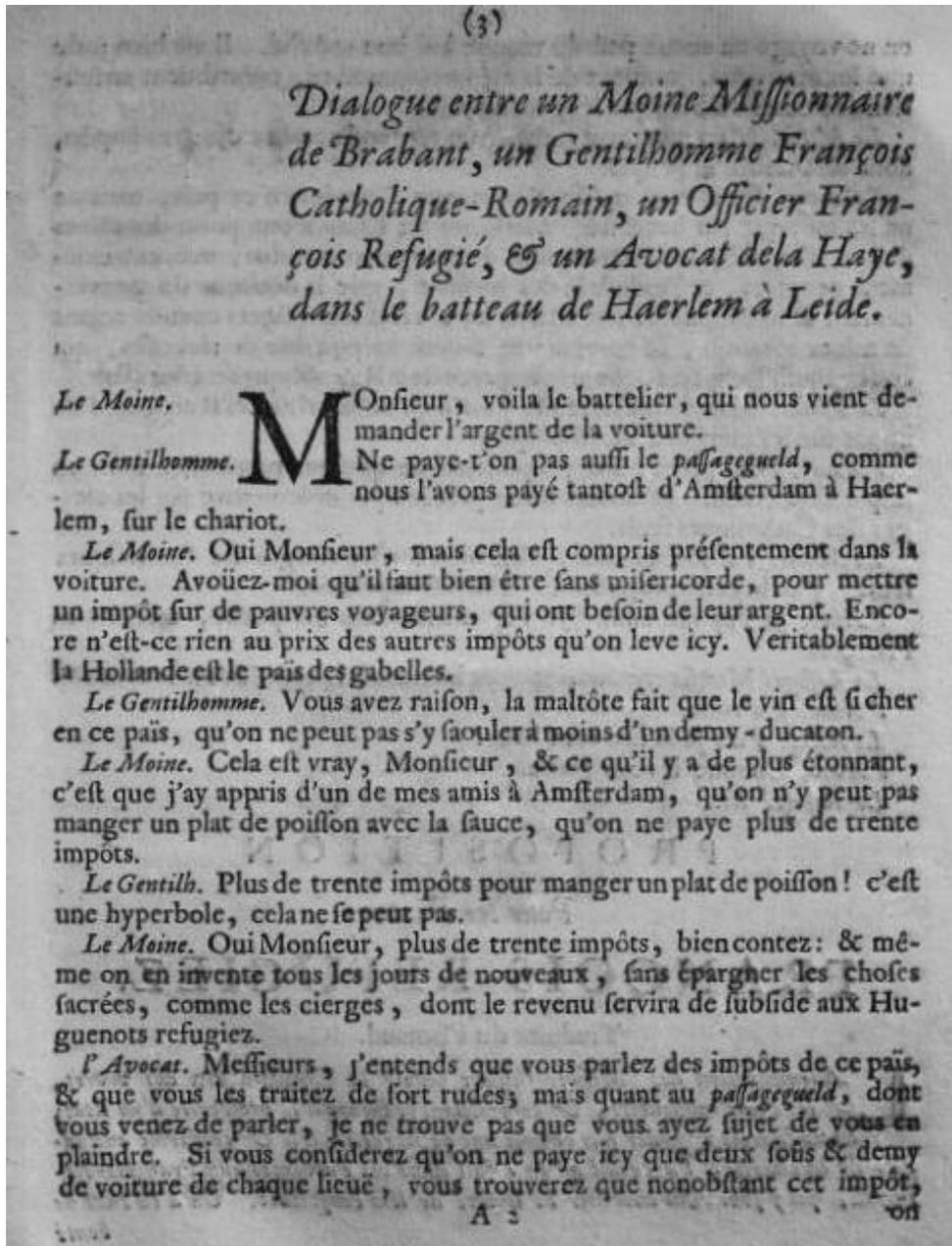
<sup>748</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>749</sup> ‘[...] donnez–les nous; on en sera de bons réformez, sans dragons’; *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

adequately coined ‘the ecumenism of everyday relations’;<sup>752</sup> The men do not resolve their dispute by the time they arrive in Leiden, where a five-hour layover awaits them. The lawyer and the clergyman decide to continue their journey to The Hague together and embark on the next towing barge after a five-hour layover. The message was clear: disagreement did not stop them from civil conversation and companionship.



8. *Dialogue sur les impôts de Hollande* (Amsterdam, 1688). Resource: Royal Library, The Hague.

<sup>752</sup> W. Frijhoff, *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum, 2002), pp. 39–66.

One conversation pamphlet took an opposite stance and condemned the negative sentiments toward Dutch Catholics in the wake of the Revocation. The *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander, over de tegenwoordige vervolgingen der Gereformeerden in Vrankryk* (*Conversation between a Frenchman and a Hollander about the current persecutions of the Reformed in France*) was published anonymously in 1685, and was probably published by a Dutch Catholic. The pamphlet begins with the 1672 French invasion of the United Provinces, with the Huguenot refugee sarcastically remarking that ‘when I was here during the last war, it struck me that I would return, but I had no suspicion that I would be forced to do so as a refugee’.<sup>753</sup> Choosing religious fraternity over national hostility, the Dutchman argues that all Huguenot refugees are more than welcome to settle in the Dutch Republic. The Huguenot asks about the rumors he has heard, that, as a result of the Revocation, the Dutch have now begun to persecute their Catholics. The Dutchman denies the rumor, but argues that it would not be strange if the grievances of the Huguenots were taken out on the regular clergy, since it is widely believed that the latter are responsible for the persecutions.<sup>754</sup>

The Frenchman is surprised and argues that in France people think that Louis XIV is not driven by the clergy but by politics, repeating the *Discours politique*’s argument that the Sun King attempts to drive a confessional wedge between the alliances forged against him. The Huguenot criticizes the plans to expel all non-Dutch clergy from the country, for it would anger the emperor, the electors of Cologne, the Palatine, and Bavaria, which ‘would not be in service of the fatherland’.<sup>755</sup> The refugee adds that many Huguenot preachers believe that the Revocation was largely a response to the restrictions to the freedom Catholics enjoy in the Dutch Republic, including having to have their children baptized by Reformed pastors, not being allowed to freely practice their religion, and having to pay off ‘the officers of the cities’ to be tolerated—a reference to the so-called recognition money Catholics had to pay to the civic judicial authorities to be left in peace.<sup>756</sup> The Huguenot claims that these restrictions are

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<sup>753</sup> ‘[...] ’t viel my wel in doen ik in den lesten oorlog hier was, dat ik nog zou wederkeeren: maar ’k had geen agterdogt, dat ik als vlugteling hier toe zoude genootzaakt worden’; Anonymous, *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander over de tegenwoordige vervolgingen der gereformeerden in Vrankryk* (1685), pfl. 12301.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid.

<sup>755</sup> ‘[...] ’t zou niet dienstig sijn aan dit Vaderland die Heeren tegen te hebben’; *ibid.*

<sup>756</sup> ‘[...] d’officiers der steden’; *ibid.* For the paying of recognition money see C. Kooi, ‘Paying of the sheriff. Strategies of Catholic toleration in Golden Age Holland’, in Po-Chia Hsia and Van Nierop, *Calvinism and religious toleration*, pp. 87–101.

in violation of local agreements that had been made in cities, such as Amsterdam, and the sixteenth-century Pacification of Ghent and the Union of Utrecht.<sup>757</sup> Interestingly, the Union of Utrecht granted Catholics freedom of conscience, but not the freedom to openly practice their religion.<sup>758</sup> We have seen that this argument was taken up by the clergyman in the *Dialogue sur les impôts*, suggesting that the pamphlet positioned itself against the *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander*.

The Hollander now begins to doubt whether it makes sense to persecute the regular clergy. He is aware that this will embitter the Dutch Catholics, a sizable minority, who ‘take pride in their loyalty and helpfulness which they have always shown for the fatherland’, and are encouraged by the clergy to do so.<sup>759</sup> Moreover, he acknowledges that Catholics, including the clergy, ‘have always proven their great loyalty and helpfulness to the fatherland’. The Huguenot, in turn, remembers how Dutch Jesuits, risking their lives, had prevented French soldiers from setting fire to the cities of Nijmegen and Bodegraven. The Dutchman concludes that one could indeed not expect more from a Reformed patriot and that this is enough reason to let the clergy live in the Republic peacefully.

### *Conclusion*

For believers throughout Europe, the confessional divide must have seemed as deep as ever after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The persecution of the Huguenots in France incited a broad debate in the Dutch press about how to confront religious difference, in Europe, in France, and in the United Provinces. As their hopes for reconciliation with Louis XIV withered away, many exiled pastors changed their strategy and turned to the Dutch printing presses to cry out the superiority of the Reformed faith, hoping to keep their flocks in France from conversion. The Dutch Republic thus witnessed an outpour of printed stories about religious suffering, martyrdom, and divine providence. Such narratives were not lacking

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<sup>757</sup> Anonymous, *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander*.

<sup>758</sup> For the legal position of Catholics see H. van Nierop, ‘Sewing the bailiff in a blanket. Catholics and the law in Holland’, in Po–Chia Hsia and Van Nierop, *Calvinism and religious toleration*, pp. 102–111.

<sup>759</sup> ‘[...] hoog roemen haar groote getrouwigheid, en behulpzaamheid, welke zy t’allen tyden voor ’t Vaderland hebben bewesen’; Anonymous, *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander*.

in non-religious normative principles. Several authors saw the inhumane behavior of the perpetrators as reflective of their religious error. Yet for authors like Jurieu, claims to confessional truth had become dominant. A number of Dutch pamphleteers eagerly joined in—as they had in 1655—and provided their audiences with militant stories about the whore of Babylon, the Antichrist, and divine wrath.<sup>760</sup>

However, the Revocation gave rise to more questions than stories about confessional division could answer. It is safe to say that many Europeans perceived the 1680s as an age of religious polarization, but not all observers responded to this with religious rallying calls. In fact, a considerable number of pamphleteers were severely skeptical about sectarian responses to the prohibition of the Reformed religion in France. Rather than entrenching themselves politically on one side of the confessional divide, they saw the need to bridge it. They did so by arguing that the the Revocation went straight against the normative principles that lay at the foundation of domestic or international social and political order. William III's propagandists warned against the dangers of confessional solidarity in international politics, to provide an ideological foundation for the interconfessional League of Augsburg. They presented the persecution of the Huguenots as just one example of unreasonable policy, inhumane cruelty, and unlawful breaches of privileges, which would ultimately harm both Catholics and Protestants if not kept at bay.

Among Dutch pamphleteers discussing the ramifications of the persecution for the United Provinces, too, we see that opinions diverged. With the influx of refugees, the Dutch were no longer just observers of religious persecution, they began to feel its consequences. Some pamphleteers responded by glorifying the Reformed religion, others confronted the practical problems surrounding the integration of refugees. They did so by negotiating the parameters of confessional and civic identity. Some argued from the normative principle of confessional solidarity, also asserting that Dutch Catholics shared responsibility for what had happened in France. Others did so in a 'negative' way, claiming that the discrimination of Catholics in the United Provinces was a main cause behind the persecution in France and should therefore stop. Still others appealed to the normative principle of commercial reason of state, arguing that regardless of religion, sustaining the refugees was an economic imperative.

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<sup>760</sup> Anonymous, *Op de tyranny gepleegt in Vrankryk aan de gereformeerde* (s.l. 1686), Petit 4720.

Printed discussion about persecution between 1685 and 1688 was thus first and foremost characterized by diversity. Pamphlet production was no longer dominated by one political agenda, as had been the case during the Waldensian persecution in 1655 and the persecution of the Huguenots in the early 1680s, where the persecuted themselves and Orangists respectively dominated the debate. This does not mean that every layer of society was equally involved; printed opinion was still mainly—albeit not exclusively—generated by exiled pastors and Reformed Dutchmen, as it had been before. But they now confronted a range of different issues. The many printed conversations—both fictional and real—between Catholic and Reformed Dutchmen, between Jews and French ministers, and between French abbots and Reformed libertines, did not reflect a fully open discussion culture. Not everyone suddenly had equal access to the press. It does show, however, that there was an acute sense that the confessional divide needed to be discussed from a range of different angles. A true discussion culture had developed, albeit one in which many sensitive issues remained untouched.

## Chapter 5

# Promoting Prophets? Public Diplomacy and the War of the Camisards (1702-05)

Those who say that the times of these crimes are past; that we will no longer see Bar Kokhba, Muhammad, John of Leiden, etc.; that the flames of the wars of religion are extinguished, do, it seems to me, too much honor to human nature. The same poison still subsists, albeit less developed; this plague, which seems smothered, reproduces from time to time germs capable of infecting the earth. Have not we seen in our day how the prophets of the Cévennes killed, in the name of God, those of their sect who were not sufficiently submissive?

- Voltaire to Frederick II of Prussia, from Rotterdam (1740)<sup>761</sup>

It is a new trade, my Lord, to be a Camisard in England, and Holland; but there are a great many cheats who set up in that profession.

- Richard Hill to the Lord Treasurer (1704)<sup>762</sup>

When historians want to argue that confessional antagonism still affected European politics at the end of the seventeenth century, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is usually the favored example. Paul Hazard, by contrast, used it as the beginning of a different narrative. In his 1935 *Crisis of the European mind*, Hazard presented the Revocation as a final aftershock, one that inadvertently brought together a new generation of philosophers, who, through the Dutch press, began to fire at Europe's religious foundations. Between 1680 and 1715, these

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<sup>761</sup> 'Ceux qui diront que les temps de ces crimes sont passés, qu'on ne verra plus de Barcochebas, de Mahomet, de Jean de Leyde, etc., que les flames des guerres de religion sont éteintes, sont, ce me semble, trop d'honneur à la nature humaine. Le même poison subsiste encore, quoique moins développé: cette peste, qui semble étouffée, reproduit de temps en temps des germes capables d'infecter la terre. N'a-t-on pas vu de nos jours les prophètes des Cévennes tuer, au nom de Dieu, ceux de leur secte qui n'étaient pas assez soumis?'; Voltaire to Frederick II of Prussia, 20 January 1742, in J. Esneaux (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1822), p. 383.

<sup>762</sup> Letter from Richard Hill to Sidney Godolphin, 5 August 1704, in W. Blackley (ed.), *The diplomatic correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill, Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of St. James to the Duke of Savoy in the reign of Queen Anne, from July 1703 to May 1706*, vol. 2 (London, 1845), p. 398.

philosophers developed a vocabulary for fundamental skepticism towards the revealed truths of Holy Scripture, ancient philosophy, and canonical history.

In doing so, Hazard contended, they ultimately replaced a ‘civilization founded on duty—duty to God, duty towards the sovereign’ with a ‘civilization founded on the idea of rights—rights of the individual, freedom of speech and opinion, the prerogatives of man as man and citizen’.<sup>763</sup> As Margaret Jacob pointedly summarizes, ‘the Huguenot crisis provoked in 1685 by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was one catalyst that spurred radical assaults against absolutism in both government and dogma.’<sup>764</sup> In other words, the normative principles of sovereignty and confessional truth were fundamentally being questioned. Instead, the new generation wanted to find happiness on earth:

Must we still go looking to the next world for that? Those adumbrations, those foreshadowings of the world to come, are altogether too vague, too hazy. [...] Farewell to haloes, and harps and heavenly choirs! If we want happiness, we must get it in this world, and quickly. [...] Only fools set their hopes on the time to come. Make the best of what our human state has to offer. Thus argued the apostles of the new morality, who set out to seek happiness in the here and now.<sup>765</sup>

Some exiles in the United Provinces may have developed or adopted this new morality. Yet it could hardly contrast more with the staunchly confessional message that other influential exiles were spreading. Within the comfort of exile, Jurieu and other pastors publicly admonished remaining Protestants to persevere and continue to profess the faith publicly, knowing that this was effectively a death sentence. For most Huguenots, leaving the security of property, family, and livelihood behind for an uncertain future in foreign lands—provided one did not get caught and end up in the galleys or prison—was hardly an option. This was certainly the case for the Huguenots of the Cévennes, a rugged mountain range in the south-east of the Central Massif. Most Cévenols were peasants, shepherds, and textile artisans, strongly bound to the remote lands they inhabited.<sup>766</sup> Only about five percent of them fled the realm to find religious freedom.<sup>767</sup> In 1685 the Cévennes had seen its share of *dragonnades*, but troops did not

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<sup>763</sup> P. Hazard, *The crisis of the European mind 1680–1715* (New York, 2013), p. xvi.

<sup>764</sup> M. Jacob, ‘Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750. Book review’, *The Journal of Modern History* 75–2 (2003), p. 387.

<sup>765</sup> Hazard, *Crisis of the European mind*, p. 292.

<sup>766</sup> C. Randall, *From a far country. Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic world* (Athens, GA, 2011), p. 13.

<sup>767</sup> P. Joutard, *La légende des Camisards. Une sensibilité au passé* (Paris, 1977), p. 25.

have to be quartered everywhere. Fear of the impending violence had led many communities to convert en masse, well before the dragoons had actually reached their hamlets.<sup>768</sup>

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent the Cévenols down a path that was in many ways the complete opposite of the one described by Hazard. Isolation kept forced converts in place, but as smoothly as the ‘missionizing’ may have appeared initially, distance also made the Catholicization of Cévennes a difficult process. In France’s rural areas, state supervision was relatively far away and most communities were religiously homogenous. Having made their overt submission to the religion demanded by the king, old religious sentiments continued to smolder beneath the surface. Fueled by the prophetic writings of the Refuge, which somehow made their way to the Cévennes, they soon resurfaced in a radical way.

Shortly after the Revocation, the Cévennes became home to a series of millenarian movements; throughout the mountains, young people believed themselves to be possessed and prophesied about the coming deliverance, urging their followers to abjure the new faith and return to God. In 1701, shortly after the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the region saw another prophetic wave. Dozens of Huguenot prophets sprang up in the mountain hamlets and began to preach about the imminent fall of the Antichrist.<sup>769</sup> Suspecting a foreign plot, the authorities responded with vigor. Under the leadership of the Abbé du Chayla, Archpriest of the Cévennes and a fervent persecutor of the region’s religious dissidents, hundreds of prophesying girls, boys, women, and men were locked away in prisons. On 24 July 1702 a group of Cévenol Huguenots marched to the house to free their imprisoned companions, in the process of which they caught the priest, dragged him to a nearby bridge, and stabbed him to death.<sup>770</sup>

Du Chayla’s murder became the first act of a remarkably violent uprising, which set the Cévennes on fire for the next three years. French military commanders did not know how to respond to the insurgents’ new form of hit-and-run guerilla warfare. According to modern estimates, even at the revolt’s height there were never more than about 3000 active fighters.<sup>771</sup>

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<sup>768</sup> W. Monahan, *Let God arise. The war and rebellion of the Camisards* (Oxford, 2014), p. 18.

<sup>769</sup> L. Laborie, ‘Who were the Camisards?’, *French Studies Bulletin* 32–120 (2011), p. 56.

<sup>770</sup> Monahan, *Let God Arise*, pp. 56–63.

<sup>771</sup> L. Laborie, *Enlightening enthusiasm. Prophecy and religious experience in early eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 2015), p. 27.

But the authorities tragically failed to properly distinguish between civilian and Camisard, taking the drastic measure of depopulating entire regions.<sup>772</sup> Hundreds of villages were burned to the ground and the civilian populations forced to emigrate. Children were often taken away to prevent any further recruiting.<sup>773</sup>

The so-called War of the Camisards was France's last war of religion. The insurgents built much of their religio-political worldview on Jurieu's *Accomplissement des prophéties*, believing that William III heralded a new age in which Protestantism would finally triumph.<sup>774</sup> Fought by inspired wool combers and baker's apprentices who believed that they heralded the apocalypse, the War of the Camisards provides an extreme case of politics based on the normative principle of confessional truth. David El Kenz and Claire Gantet have rightly argued that the revolt should be compared to that of the Anabaptists in Munster in the sixteenth century rather than to the nobility-led Huguenot revolts in seventeenth-century France.<sup>775</sup> It should be noted, however, that the Camisards' military objective was remarkably sober for an apocalyptic war: they simply wanted Louis XIV to reinstate the Edict of Nantes.<sup>776</sup> The revolt provides a striking example of the impact that the printed opinion which was produced in the United Provinces could have on other states. In chapters 3 and 4, we have seen that public debate about the persecution of the Huguenots was versatile. Although many pamphleteers provided arguments based on confessional truth, a considerable number of others provided secular analyses and warned about the dangers of sectarian politics. However, in the Cévennes Jurieu's prophecies and confessional discourse had clearly won the day.<sup>777</sup>

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<sup>772</sup> Although the number of insurgents never reached beyond 3000 fighting men, the first royal commander-in-chief, the Marshall of Montrevel, believed that there were about 20,000; *ibid.*

<sup>773</sup> R. Gagg, *Kirche im Feuer. Das Leben der südfraänzösischen Hugenottenkirche nach dem Todesurteil durch Ludwig XIV* (Zurich, 1961), p. 137.

<sup>774</sup> Laborie, 'Who were the Camisards?', 55.

<sup>775</sup> D. El Kenz and C. Gantet, *Guerres et paix de religion en Europe XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2008), p. 138

<sup>776</sup> Monahan, *Let God arise*, p. 182.

<sup>777</sup> Obviously, the French government offered a different analysis of the civil war. Analyzing the justifications surrounding the revolt, Chrystal Bernat asserts that for the Crown questions about the true faith were not so relevant. To the biblical and divine argumentation of the Protestants, the Catholic authorities responded with legal argumentation. To the authorities, the war proved that Calvinists were seditious and should therefore be eradicated from the realm. Indirectly, a war against one's sovereign was a war against God's order, but the question of lèse-majesté was dominant; C. Bernat, 'Guerres au nom de Dieu. Justifications sourdes de la violences et légitimations fratricides au tournant du Grand Siècle', in A. Encrevé, R. Fabre, and C. Peneau (eds.), *Guerre juste, juste guerre. Les justifications religieuses et profanes de la guerre de l'antiquité aux XXIe siècle* (Paris, 2013), pp. 201–220.

It is not surprising that to Hazard, the Camisards were the ideal-types of this old, disappearing Europe. He argued that when Cévenol exiles arrived in London after the revolt, ‘filled with a sacred frenzy’ and ‘writhing on the ground in fanatical delirium’, they were simply ‘held up to ridicule in a puppet theatre’ by their enlightened host society.<sup>778</sup> Hazard was apparently unaware that during the revolt, the English and Dutch authorities were rather sympathetic to the Camisard cause. As soon as news about the 1702 revolt reached the political centers of England and the Dutch Republic, different stakeholders began to see the Camisard cause as an excellent opportunity to strike a fatal blow at France from the inside. As Matthew Glozier and Gregory Monahan have shown, secret plans were made in England and the Dutch Republic to raise money to supply the insurgents with weapons and ammunition and to invade the Languedoc with an army of exiled Huguenots—an idea inspired by the unexpectedly successful Glorieuse Rentrée of the Waldensians in 1689.<sup>779</sup>

How was the revolt perceived in the Dutch Republic—the country that had produced much of the Camisards’ ideological ammunition as well as the books that were supposedly changing the European mind? To many Reformed people, news about the vanguard of the apocalypse must have felt outlandish. Lionel Laborie has recently pointed out that in England the fanaticism of the insurgents was potentially problematic within this scheme. He asserts that Huguenot pamphleteers filtered out the millenarian elements of the revolt to uphold the reputation of the French exiles as loyal immigrants.<sup>780</sup> Moreover, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2, early modern authorities were usually very ill-disposed toward those who took up arms against their sovereign. In 1655, confessional solidarity had failed to trump the normative principle of sovereignty. That, at least, had been the public stance of the Dutch authorities.

This leads to several questions: What narratives did pamphleteers offer to sway contemporaries to the Camisard cause? If the efforts to help the Camisards were secret, why

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<sup>778</sup> Hazard, *Crisis of the European mind*, p. 296; for a much more nuanced exhaustive exploration of the reception of Camisard exiles in England see Laborie, *Enlightening enthusiasm*.

<sup>779</sup> M. Glozier, ‘Schomberg, Miremont, and the Huguenot Invasions of France’, in Onnekink (ed.), *War and religion after Westphalia*, pp. 121–154; Monahan, *Let God arise*; G. Gonnet, ‘La “Glorieuse Rentrée”’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 135 (1989), pp. 437–441.

<sup>780</sup> L. Laborie, ‘Huguenot propaganda and the millenarian legacy of the *Désert* in the Refuge’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 29–5 (2012), pp. 640–654; see also L. Laborie, ‘The Huguenot offensive against the Camisard prophets in the English Refuge’, in J. McKee and R. Vigne (eds.), *The Huguenots. France, exile & diaspora* (Brighton, Portland, Toronto, 2013), pp. 125–134.

was such propaganda published in the first place? Indeed, who were they actually trying to convince? In Chapter 2 we have seen that the Waldensians called for help abroad with a secular story about their fate, that was recast as a religious narrative by Dutch pamphleteers. The remainder of this chapter will investigate why with the Camisards it appears to have been the other way around. It will analyze, first, the early reception of the miracle stories coming from France and the strategies used by observers in the United Provinces to find out what was true about them. Secondly, it will explore the dynamics of the propaganda campaign surrounding the War of the Camisards, and compare it with the other printed news available to interested readers. Finally, this chapter asks if and why confessional argumentation fell out of favor during the conflict, and what was offered instead. In other words, do we see in the coverage of the Camisard revolt a shift from confessional normative principles to secular ones? Was there, if not a crisis, at least a struggle between European minds on how to interpret this peculiar revolt?

### *Reasoning Miracles*

At the turn of the eighteenth century miracles were under siege. After having witnessed the panic among Europeans who had seen a comet in the sky,—now known as Halley’s comet—Huguenot exile and early skeptic Pierre Bayle began his career as the ‘philosopher of Rotterdam’ with a full-fledged attack on the notion of miracles.<sup>781</sup> According to Bayle, miracles were incommensurable with God’s perfect natural design. But they were not only the product of erroneous theological reasoning. To understand where they came from, the philosopher pointed to the corrupting force of long-distance communication. In his *Nouvelles de la République de Lettres*, Bayle observes that the number of miracles tends to increase the further one is away from them in time and space. Miracles from the New World were hence remarkably overrepresented.<sup>782</sup>

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<sup>781</sup> A. Eddington, ‘Halley’s observations on Halley’s Comet, 1682’, *Nature* 83 (1910), pp. 372–373.

<sup>782</sup> H. Bost, ‘Orthez ou le chant des anges. La VIIe Lettre pastorale de Jurieu’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 135 (1989), p. 417.

A cunning skeptic, Pierre Bayle has long been recognized as one of the most important voices during the ‘crisis of the European mind’.<sup>783</sup> In the late 1990s, Brendan Dooley built upon Hazard’s thesis by arguing that skepticism also seeped into the realm of political communication about contemporary events, turning ‘writers into speculators, information into opinion, and readers into critics’.<sup>784</sup> Bayle’s double attack provides a compelling example of how theological and journalistic skepticism could become two sides of the same coin. Bayle was a thorn in the spiritual flesh of the Huguenot Refuge. But many theologians of the Refuge did not counter him by accusing him of having a blasphemous dependence on reason. Indeed, this would have been difficult, since the Bayle had himself been an early critic of blind faith in human reason. Instead, they began to develop justifications of the Protestant faith as a religion fully commensurable with reason. In doing so, they launched their own attack on miracles. These so-called *rationaux* were not intrinsically hostile toward miracles; in fact, they attested miracles belonged to the prime empirical proof that could lead reasonable men to have faith. Yet they presented false accounts of miracles as evidence of the dangers of superstition, because they made religion look irrational.<sup>785</sup> In other words, they, too, practiced journalistic skepticism in their efforts to salvage metaphysical truths.

While miracles were being declared dead in parts of the Republic of Letters, a new one was in the making in the small city of Orthez in Béarn. In the summer of 1685, a few months before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, inhabitants had begun to hear the singing of psalms, the origins of which were untraceable. It would suddenly start, day or night, and after a while die away again. Aside from the usual skeptics who looked for a human origin of the singing, increasing numbers of inhabitants became convinced that the angelic voices were God-sent. Many *nouveaux convertis* claimed that the heavens now sang the songs they used to sing in the church, before it had been shut down by the authorities. As one inhabitant put it, the stones started singing when humans were no longer allowed to. The city authorities were

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<sup>783</sup> For a recent exploration of Bayle as a secular pioneer see M.W. Hickson, ‘Pierre Bayle and the secularization of conscience’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* (2018), pp. 199–220.

<sup>784</sup> B. Dooley, *The social history of skepticism* (Baltimore, MD, 1999), p. 2; Anthony Grafton duly reminds us that historical source criticism has a much longer history, but he too identifies the decades around 1700 as a turning point, after which historians stopped finding comprehensive and moral truth in history and moved to more fragmentary ‘critical thinking and the weighing of evidence’; A. Grafton, *What was history? The art of history in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 11.

<sup>785</sup> Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 68–69.

distressed by this and forbade Orthez's citizens to leave their homes after dark and gather to hear the singing. Yet they too heard the singing; one of the magistrates, no longer finding it credible to pretend that he had not, argued that it had to be the devil's work, meant to keep the Protestants from converting to Catholicism. Soon, the intendant and parliament of Béarn issued their own prohibitions of gathering to hear the singing, to the penalty of 500 to 2000 pounds.

This, at least, was the story that Pierre Jurieu shared with the world in his seventh pastoral letter, which was first published in December 1686.<sup>786</sup> Well aware of his time's intellectual climate, Jurieu expected criticism. To convince his public, he had to fight on multiple fronts. As Lorraine Daston argues, proof of miracles was established in the seventeenth century with recourse to conformation to dogma, public observation, and examination of deceit.<sup>787</sup> This last aspect was problematic. After all, both the singing and the reports about it could be products of deceit. Jurieu had to explain why he believed the miraculous stories coming from a place more than a thousand kilometers away from Rotterdam were actually true. As such, the pastoral letter is structured not so much as a celebration of God's miraculous intervention, but as a vindication. It starts off with an irritated tirade against the destructive skepticism of the time:

One has to be rather bold in this age to deare to speak of prodigies, wonders, presages and other similar things. There was a time in which one believed in all of them, but in ours, one does not believe in anything.<sup>788</sup>

The pastor urged his international audience to steer a middle course between two extremes; one should not be gullible, like Catholics, because that leads to superstition. Yet he insisted that boundless skepticism is just as dangerous an attitude:

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<sup>786</sup> I have consulted an edition from 1688: P. Jurieu, 'VII. Lettre pastorale. Des chants & voix qui ont été entendus dans les airs divers lieux', in A. Acher (ed.), *Lettres pastorales adressées aux fideles de France, qui gemissent sous la captivité de Babylon* (Rotterdam, 1688); for the Dutch translation see P. Jurieu, *Pastorale of herderlijke brieven, aan de gelovige in Vrankryk, die onder de gevangenisse van Babel zyn suchtende* (The Hague, 1688), pfl 12474, pp. 97–112; for a general analysis of Jurieu's *Lettres Pastorales* see Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 179–194.

<sup>787</sup> L. Daston, *Wunder, Beweise und Tatsachen. Zur Geschichte der Rationalität* (Frankfurt, 2001), p. 54.

<sup>788</sup> 'Il faut être bien hardi dans ce siecle pou oser parler de prodiges, de merveilles, de presages & d'autres choses semblables. Il y a eu un tems où l'on croioit tout: dans celui où nous sommes, on ne croit rien'; Jurieu, 'VII. Lettre pastorale', p. 145.

According to our moderns, there are no sorcerers, no wizards, no possessions, no demonic apparitions, nor anything similar. It is a shame that these gentlemen have not pushed their confidence to deny the truth of the facts contained in Scripture. It would suit them well.<sup>789</sup>

Theologically, Jurieu defended miracles in a way that is reminiscent of Calvin, arguing that skeptics presuppose a false opposition between natural and supernatural causes. Earthquakes are natural phenomena but can at the same time serve as divine omens.<sup>790</sup> As to the specific events in Orthez, Jurieu gave a structural analysis of how to establish truth from evidence gained from a distance. First, a crucial aspect of the miracle was that it was public. If someone lied about it, he or she would immediately be discredited. Accordingly, those who did not believe this had to reject the authority of all historians writing about miracles; the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus also described publicly experienced miracles during the Roman siege of Jerusalem. Had Josephus lied about them, he would have unnecessarily ruined his reputation among his contemporaries. Jurieu subsequently argued that the other option is far more unlikely: why would thousands of people conspire and pretend to having heard something, even though it was hardly a matter of life and death? He believed this to be all the more the case since the people of Orthez knew that their intended public had not been raised in superstition and would not be particularly sensitive to miracle stories.

Second, Jurieu emphasized the credibility of the witnesses upon whose accounts he based his letter. He presented accounts of, among others, two exiled pastors from Orthez who had fled to Amsterdam, an inquisitive nobleman who had gone to the city to investigate the phenomenon, and a woman, whose gender, Jurieu reminded his readers, does not mean that

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<sup>789</sup> 'Selon nos modernes, il n'y a ni sorciers, ni magiciens, ni possessions, ni apparitions de demons, ni rien de semblable. C'est dommage que ces messieurs n'ont poussé leur assurance, jusqu'à nier la vérité des faits contenus dans l'Écriture, cela leur seroit fort commode'; *ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>790</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149; Calvin theorized that since Revelation, God no longer communicated through 'supernatural' miracles, understood as disorderly occurrences that interrupted the divinely dictated natural order of the universe. Calvin refused to distinguish between a natural and a supernatural world, arguing that God was the sole creator of the world and everything in it. The difference between 'supernatural' and 'natural' events therefore lay in the eye of the beholder; it was a psychological rather than an ontological difference. God certainly communicated with the world through benevolent winds, timely deaths, or unexpected healing of the sick or wounded. Yet these were natural phenomena that would only appear miraculous to those to whom they were beneficial. The true miracle thus happens not in nature, but in the human mind that derives faith from it; M. Sluhovsky, 'Calvinist miracles and the concept of the miraculous in sixteenth-century Huguenot thought', *Renaissance and Reformation* 19–2 (1995), pp. 9–10.

she is devoid of ‘honor, modesty, and conscience’ as a witness.<sup>791</sup> He stressed, moreover, that the testimonies were taken under oath. He subsequently reported that the same had happened in the Cévennes. Normally, he would not have believed the Cevenols’ story, because the mountains create echoes and the Cévenols were known to still openly sing psalms.

Yet since there was no reasonable doubt about the truth of the accounts from Béarn, however, the same had to be the case for the Cévennes. For this region too Jurieu offered several witness accounts, obtained through the Refuge community in Lausanne.<sup>792</sup> Playing devil’s advocate, he acknowledged that several people retracted their statements about hearing psalms after they had fled to Switzerland. However, people desire to belong to a group, Jurieu argued. To fit in, they sometimes claim to have heard things that they had not actually heard. Indeed, it was almost inevitable that false witnesses mixed themselves among the true ones.<sup>793</sup> Interestingly, Jurieu failed to engage with the radicalization of this argument, namely, that all witness accounts may have come from what modern social psychologists call ‘pluralistic ignorance’.<sup>794</sup> People may have claimed to have heard the voices out of fear of belonging to the unworthy, like the subjects in Hans Christian Andersen’s *The emperor’s new clothes*.

Finally, the pastoral letter changed from a defense based on reason back into a printed sermon, as Jurieu admonished his readers that the angels whose voices were heard would judge over those who do not praise God openly in the presence of the persecutors.<sup>795</sup> Other, perhaps more comforting interpretations, were left undiscussed. It is here that Jurieu inadvertently betrayed what must have caused him to believe the story; writing about it in the same year as the publication of his *Accomplissement des prophéties*, he must have felt that the strange tidings backed his story. He refrained from explicitly positioning the news in his larger eschatological framework, but it made him come to the same conclusions; clearly, God had put forth a call to (spiritual) arms.

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<sup>791</sup> ‘[...] l’honneur, [...] la pudeur, & [...] la conscience a fait de témoignage’; Jurieu, ‘VII. Lettre pastorale’, p. 158.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid., pp. 163–164.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>794</sup> See D. Prentice and D. Miller, ‘Pluralistic ignorance and the perpetuation of social norms by unwitting actors’, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 28 (1996), pp. 161–209.

<sup>795</sup> Jurieu, ‘XVII. Lettre pastorale’, p. 168.

There are basically two ways in which we can evaluate the impact of Jurieu's seventh *Lettre pastorale*. On the one hand, Jurieu's letters had a remarkably large readership, not only among the Refuge, but also among the *nouveaux convertis* in France. Through exiled ministers, he managed to reach many remaining Huguenot communities in France, to whom his letters were addressed and who provided him with input. Thanks to Jurieu, refugee printer Abraham Acher had managed to get a 15.9 percent market share in the Rotterdam book trade. Jurieu's distributor smuggled the letters from Rotterdam to Rouen in casks of dried herring, from whence they were shipped and sold in Paris. Jurieu's writings were so successful that people in the French capital believed that Acher paid the pastor to provide a steady supply of manuscripts.<sup>796</sup> Seeing how this dominant voice of the Refuge wrote about and supported the miraculous tidings from the rural south of France must have greatly reassured the remaining Huguenots that, although they lived in the periphery of the kingdom of France they simultaneously stood right at its center, with Protestant Europe's eyes fixed on them. At the same time, despite Jurieu providing one of the most remarkable accounts of what was happening in Revocation France, critics seemingly did not feel the need to take up the pen and reply to his letter. As Elisabeth Labrousse has pointed out, many Protestant intellectuals disagreed with Jurieu's millenarianism, but they refrained from taking up the gauntlet and starting a printed argument.<sup>797</sup>

This was different two years later, when strange tidings came from the Cévennes once again. On 3 February 1688, Isabeau Vincent, a fifteen-year-old shepherdess from Saou had begun to see visions and started to prophesy. The girl would lapse into a trance and preach the Gospel while she was sleeping, first in her native Occitan, but after some weeks also in fluent French, a language she could not speak while conscious. She preached against popery, admonished the *nouveaux convertis* to repent and abjure the Catholic religion, and claimed—strongly resembling Jurieu's predictions—that deliverance was nigh.<sup>798</sup> Attracting significant attention, Vincent prophesied until she was arrested in June, after which she was locked up in a cloister to silently live out her days. Soon, however, hundreds of young people all throughout

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<sup>796</sup> Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>797</sup> Labrousse, 'Political ideas of the Huguenot diaspora', p. 247.

<sup>798</sup> P. Joutard, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. End or renewal of French Protestantism?', in Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism*, p. 363.

the Dauphiné—ranging between the age of eighteen months to eighteen years—similarly began to prophesy, miraculously infecting one another. One witness recounted how for every arrested child, several others would immediately spring up, making the movement a Hydra to its Catholic combatants.<sup>799</sup>

This time, several pamphleteers voiced their opinion in public. Most authors stressed their initial skepticism. In one pamphlet, published by the widow of Adriaan van Gaasbeek in Amsterdam, the anonymous author explained that he initially did not want to write about the matter because he deemed it to be fabulous, but had changed his mind because it had been verified by ‘very credible people’.<sup>800</sup> Another anonymous author of a published letter from Geneva argued that he had wanted to give a detailed account about Vincent for a long time, but his correspondent rejected it so vehemently that he did not dare bringing it up. Struggling to find the right way of communicating the story of the little prophets to such a skeptic recipient, he made it a joint effort. He wrote up an account, and invited several preachers and philosophers to discuss it. He pointed out that all the ‘disbelievers’ and philosophers of his community who had gone to the region to disprove the myth, had come back perplexed and fully convinced about the truth of the matter. The author argued that at first glance, one could not help but laugh when seeing ‘three shepherds, respectively eight, twenty-six, and fifteen years old, gathering and having a consistory with sixty penitents on their knees’.<sup>801</sup> But overall it was a sad story:

One also has to cry, seeing how the prisons of Grenoble, Cret, and Valence are packed with preachers of all ages and both sexes [...] and upon seeing the torn-down and burned barns and farmsteads where the children have preached, and this land, full of soldiers that feast upon it.<sup>802</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> Anonymous, *Naukeurig verhaal en aanmerkingen, over de nieuwe en zeldzame profeten die zigh opdoen in't Delphinaat in Vrankryk* (Rotterdam, 1689), pfl 13078, p. 5.

<sup>800</sup> ‘Soo verstaan wy nu, uyt seer geloofwaardige lieden, dat alles wat daer van gesegt is, waar soude sijn’; Anonymous, *Pertinent verhaal van de profeet, die in Vrankryk is opgestaan; waar in den naukeurigen leser kan sien dat God geen aannemer van persoonen en is, want sy van kints-gebeente altyd de schapen geboeydt heeft; gelyck u hier in 't brede wordt verbaaldt* (Amsterdam, 1688), pfl 12675.

<sup>801</sup> ‘[...] drie Herders van 8, 26 en 15 jaaren, vergadert en Consistorie houdende met 60 Boetveerdige op de knyen’; Anonymous, *Naukeurig verhaal*, p. 4.

<sup>802</sup> ‘[...] men moet ook schreyen als men vervolgens de gevangenhuisen van Grenoble, van Cret en Valence ziet opgepropt van deze predikers, van alle ouderdom, en beyderleye sexe, en van die geen en die haar hebben weezen hooren van alle soorten, als men de schuuren en hoeven ziet om veer gehaalt, of verbrand, om dat die kinderen daar gepredikt hebben; en dit gansche land vol soldaten, dieze op-eeten’; *ibid.*, p. 5. The authorities

Taking the same approach as Jurieu, the author systematically tried to prove the truth of the matter through over twenty pages of testimony letters, and copies of transcribed sermons, and by listing the wide variety of different men and women who had testified, including noblemen, merchants, doctors, lawyers, men and women, the learned and the unlearned. Although they were kept anonymous, every account was accompanied by a brief description of the respective author, stating, for instance: ‘Testimony of Mr. \* + Doctor and Philosopher, naturally a bit unbelieving’.<sup>803</sup>

Jurieu took three months to report the story about Isabeau Vincent in his pastoral letters, but when he did, he offered a most rigorous analysis. In the pastoral letter signed 1 October 1688, he apologized to his readership for having taken so long to report on the prophecies in the Cévennes, assuming that they have heard about it by now through different channels. Yet the pastor wanted to take the time to be adequately informed so that he would not build his reflections upon falsehoods.<sup>804</sup> In the letter, and the one that followed it two weeks later, Jurieu again gave a twofold defense of the miracle.

First, he established that the described events were indeed a supernatural occurrence, against sceptics who argued that Vincent’s condition was indeed medical, and therefore a natural phenomenon. Several physicians had examined the girl, but could not find a medical explanation for her trances. Jurieu stressed that skeptic people would argue that the girl could have heard sermons in the past and had retained something of them in her memory. However, the author asserted that the girl’s preaching sounded nothing like sermons. Moreover, he asserted that skeptics could not explain why her brain only conveyed these things while she was asleep. Again playing devil’s advocate, Jurieu wrote that some might argue that ‘there are many effects in nature for which we can give no reason, and yet the machine is the only cause’.<sup>805</sup> In other words, with limited knowledge of the natural world, one cannot know for

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tried to destroy the movement by destroying the places where the prophets had preached; Gagg, *Kirche im Feuer*, p. 52.

<sup>803</sup> ‘[...] ‘t Getuygenis van M. \*+ Doctor en Filosooph, van naturen wat ongeloovig?’; Anonymous, *Naukenrig verhaal*, p. 11.

<sup>804</sup> [P. Jurieu], III. Lettre pastorale. Réponse à un sophisme de monsieur Pelisson tiré des privileges qui conviennent aux corps politiques. Reflexions sur le miracle arrivé en Dauphiné. Réponse aux objections des esprits forts’, in Acher (ed.), *Lettres pastorales*, vol. 3 (Rotterdam, 1689), p. 59.

<sup>805</sup> ‘Il y a tant d’effet dans la nature dont nous ne sçaurions rendre raison, & dont pourtant la machine est l’unique cause’ ; *ibid.*, p. 70.

certain what the limits of nature are. To counter this point, Jurieu argued that experience and reason teach us those limits:

When extraordinary events consist only of corporal motions, one can with less injustice refer their causes to the machine. [...] But to reason and speak divinely, without having learned anything, and without even the images of what they say remaining impressed upon the machine of the brain: that, I say, is entirely beyond the powers and action of the machine.<sup>806</sup>

According to Jurieu, this mode of skeptical thinking ultimately leads to the conclusion that it is impossible to determine whether Christ performed true miracles or not, simply because people do not have a full understanding of nature's operations.<sup>807</sup> The nature of the miracles was also important. The theologian remarked that 'a miserable monk who runs throughout Europe to heal the sick, to make the deaf hear and give sight to the blind, who undertakes to bless the Christian armies as if the success of their arms depended on his blessings', should rightly be denounced as an impostor.<sup>808</sup> At first, this distinction may look like a cheap sneer at Catholics, but it was grounded in theology. One of the central points the Reformed resisted was the idea that people could (or should) work miracles. Indeed, in the words of Robert Scribner, one of the Protestant Reformation's central ideas was that 'all sacred action flowed one-way, from the divine to the human'.<sup>809</sup> Girls miraculously preaching in foreign languages went against this dogma.

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<sup>806</sup> 'Quand les evenemens extraordinaires ne consistent qu'en des mouvements corporels, on peut avec moins d'injustice en rapporter les causes à la machine. [...] Mais raisonner & parler divinement, sans avoir rien appris & sans même que les images de ce qu'on dit demeurent imprimées dans la machine du cerveau: cela, dis je, est entièrement hors des forces & de l'action de la machine'; *ibid.*, p. 71–72.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>808</sup> '[...] un miserable moyne qui court l'Europe pour guerir les maladies, pour faire ouïr les sourds & rendre la veüe aux aveugles, qui entreprend de benir les armées chrétiennes, comme si le succès de leurs armes dependoit de ses benedictions'; [P. Jurieu], 'IV. Lettre pastorale. Continuation dela refutation des sophisms pour l'infailibilité de l'Eglise Romaine. Suite des reflexions sur le miracle de Dauphiné. Examen de la question si le tems des miracles est entierement fini', in Acher (ed.), *Lettres pastorales*, vol. 3 (Rotterdam, 1689), p. 81; Jurieu was probably referring to the miracle-working Capuchin friar Marco d'Aviano, who famously blessed the armies of the Holy League before the Battle of Vienna and exercised considerable influence over Emperor Leopold I. Marco d'Aviano was beatified by John Paul II in 2003. See J. Mikrut, *Die Bedeutung des P. Markus von Aviano für Europa* (Vienna, 2003).

<sup>809</sup> R. Scribner, 'The Reformation, popular magic, and the "disenchantment of the world"', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23–3 (1993), p. 482.

Second, Jurieu developed a systematic method to establish the truth in long-distance communication. He argued that ‘there are many declarations and reports of wise, enlightened, learned, intelligent, not superstitious, not prejudiced’.<sup>810</sup> These accounts were sent to ‘men of letters’, who had in turn asked critical questions, which were answered on the basis of careful empirical observation. Jurieu admitted that ‘these testimonies of wise and honest people are not without a danger of illusion’.<sup>811</sup> But mistakes could only be made by a large number of people for a short period:

A crowd of people can suffer an illusion just as much as two or three people. Thus, an event which appears surprising may mislead countless spectators and gain a false notoriety if it does not continue, and if people have neither the time, nor the liberty to examine it. But an event that lasts for eight months, which everyone had the liberty to carefully examine carefully hath had the liberty carefully to examine, and without prevention, such an event, I argue, never produced such false notoriety: And one will find no example of it. <sup>812</sup>

Interestingly, Jurieu argued that free access to the press confirmed that the sources are, in fact, credible:

Are there not everywhere these minds who honor themselves by calling into question and ridiculing all events of an extraordinary character? Who even doubt that there are in that very province these strong-minded people who do all they can to call into question what they themselves want to doubt? If we see one letter of one of these gentlemen it is enough to ruin the testimonies of a hundred wise and enlightened persons, who say, we have seen and heard it.<sup>813</sup>

People who persisted in this skepticism that defined his age suffered from what the pastor called an ‘esprit fort’:

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<sup>810</sup> ‘[...] ce sont plusieurs declarations & des relations de personnes sages, éclairées, sçavantes, intelligentes, non superstitieuses, non prevenües’; [Jurieu], ‘III. Lettre pastorale’, pp. 65–66.

<sup>811</sup> ‘[...] ce tesmoignages de gens sages & honnestes n’est pas sans peril d’illusion’; *ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>812</sup> ‘Une foule de gens peut souffrir illusion tout de même que deux ou trois personnes. Ainsi un événement qui paroît surprenant peut tromper & ruiner infinté de spectateurs & faire une fausse notoirité quand il ne dure pas & que les gens n’ont pas ou le temps, ou la liberté de l’examiner. Mais un événement perseverant durant huit mois, que tout le monde a eu la liberté d’examiner avec soin, & sans prevention, jamais, dis je, un tel événement n’a produit une fausse notoriété: Et l’on n’en trouvera pas d’exemple’; *ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>813</sup> ‘N’y a t’il pas par tout de ces esprits qui se sont honneur de revoquer en doute & même de tourner en ridicule tous les evenemens qui ont un caractere extraordinaire? Qui doute qu’il n’y ait dans la province même assés de ces fortes d’esprits qui sont tout ce qu’ils peuvent pour faire revoquer en doute ce dont eux mêmes veulent douter: si l’on voit une letter d’un de ces messieurs c’est assés pour ruiner les attestations de cent personnes sages & esclairées qui disent, nous avons vu & ouy’; *ibid.*, p. 67.

In my opinion, this is the greatest of all temerities, one of the greatest disorders in which the mind of man can fall, and a madness that does not appear human to me. [...] These gentlemen raise their judgment above all those who are living and dead witnesses, and it must be that all who say and affirm, I have seen it and I have heard it, are liars.<sup>814</sup>

This time, Jurieu's reports attracted criticism. Several months after the publication of the pastoral letters, the *Antwoort van een hugenot aen een roomsch priester over het subject van de bedendaegse propheten in Vranckrijck* (*Answer of a Huguenot to a Catholic priest about the subject of the contemporary prophesies in France*) was published anonymously in The Hague, dated 30 May 1689.<sup>815</sup> In the letter a Huguenot exile gave his perspective on events to a priest, who had apparently mentioned Vincent in an earlier letter. The author regretted that Jurieu's voice spoke louder than that of more moderate men and was therefore wrongly regarded as representative. He argued that the reports about miracles should be seen as a prop for Jurieu's political ideas: his outrageous defense of popular sovereignty and the right of subjects to offer their loyalty to a different ruler. Through wishful thinking, human passions mixed with religious zeal, leading people to falsely assume that their designs agreed with providence.<sup>816</sup> People were only susceptible to miracles at certain moments in time. As such, the author continued, William III's campaign in England could not have succeeded without the help of several 'miracles'. Now that the stadtholder had set his sight on France, Jurieu took up the miracles in the Cévennes out of political necessity.

This association between Jurieu and William III was not spurious, since the pastor was closely connected to Orangist networks, which did indeed also link back to the Cévennes. Most notably, Jurieu was a friend of the Cévenol preachers François Vivens and Claude Brousson who had gone into exile in the United Provinces, from where they continued their efforts to organize Huguenot armed resistance in France under the patronage of William III.<sup>817</sup> The

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<sup>814</sup> 'C'est à mon sens la plus grande de toutes les temerités, un des plus grands dereglements où l'esprit de l'homme puisse tomber, & une folie qui ne me paroît pas humaine. [...] Ces messieurs élevent leur jugement sur tout ce qu'il y a de témoins vivants & morts; & il faut que des gens qui disent & qui affirment, j'ay vû & j'ay ouy, soyent des menteurs'; [Jurieu], 'IV. Lettre pastorale', p. 83

<sup>815</sup> Anonymous, *Antwoort van een hugenot aen een roomsch priester over het subject van de bedendaegse propheten in Vranckrijck* (The Hague, 1689), pfl. 13080.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>817</sup> Both Vivens and Brousson returned to France in disguise, where they had to pay the ultimate price for the Huguenot cause. In 1692 Vivens died in a skirmish in the mountains. Brousson was broken on the wheel as a

author of the *Antwoort van een Hugenot* finally exhorted the priest to be careful with the letter, fearing that if his identity became public the people would hold him for a dangerous unbeliever and inform the authorities that he was an enemy of the state.<sup>818</sup>

In France, critical voices went a step further and actually argued that the stories were the product of an intentional plot to deceive. In 1689, Esprit Fléchier, bishop of Nîmes—the nearest big city to the Cévennes—wrote to the Duke of Montausier, asserting that there was no doubt that the whole thing had been fabricated in Geneva. The bishop claimed that a certain glassblower, Monsieur du Verre, had started to teach boys and girls the art of prophecy. In 1692, Catholic convert David-Augustin de Brueys made the story of the glassblower public in his *Histoire du fanatisme*, and, in fact, traced the origins of the movement back to Jurieu, who had first excited the malcontents in France with his *Accomplissement des prophéties*.<sup>819</sup> He described how du Verre taught the children psalms and parts of the Book of Revelation, as well as how to control and move their bodies in ways that would impress gullible people.<sup>820</sup>

Jurieu would find an unlikely defender in Pierre Bayle. In his 1702 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Jurieu's old rival argued that Brueys 'should never have insinuated without decent evidence that [Jurieu] had a soul as black as to suggest such a plan'.<sup>821</sup> He was probably right. There is no evidence to suggest that the prophetic movements were concerted by exiled Protestants or the Reformed communities in Geneva. Indeed, Genevas magistrates got the consent of the city's religious leadership to prohibit the movement in the city. Still, the little prophets had without doubt been inspired, consciously or unconsciously, by Jurieu's *Accomplissement des prophéties* and his pastoral letters. Followers must have been encouraged by the fact that they received coverage in the international press. At the same time, the printed discussions about Orthez and the little prophets reveal that many contemporary observers had become highly suspicious about the origins of events like these. Those who wanted to convince

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rebel in 1698; Utt and Strayer, *Bellicose dove*; E. Gaidan, 'Le Prédicant François Vivens. Sa Mort d'Après un Témoin (1687–1692)', *Bulletin historique et littéraire* 40–9 (1891), pp. 479–481.

<sup>818</sup> Anonymous, *Antwoort van een Hugenot*.

<sup>819</sup> C. Blanc, 'Genève et les origins du mouvement prophétique en Dauphiné et dans les Cévennes', *Revue d'histoire suisse* 23–2 (1943), p. 236.

<sup>820</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid.*

their audiences of the truth of the matter in the Dutch press, thus had to back up their millenarian beliefs with reason.<sup>822</sup>

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, refugees had generated an international public sphere in which everything concerning the Reformed in France had become deeply politicized. People engaging with this public sphere had long learned not to take all reports at face value. They had become accustomed to seeing (foreign) political agendas behind news about miracles and dissident movements. Because local conflicts were influenced by foreign ideas, they were quickly regarded as the product of foreign meddling. Observers were aware that people from different sides were consistently targeting their attention through the printing press, making them consume the news with a critical eye.

*Assuming the voice of the Camisards*

Eight years after he had written his last pastoral letter, Jurieu's long desired revolt finally broke out. It is difficult to determine when he precisely found out about it, but it did not take long before the news about du Chayla's murder was reported in Dutch newspapers. On 17 August 1702, the *Amsterdamse Courant* reported rumors from Paris six days earlier.<sup>823</sup> It provided correct details about du Chayla's notoriety as a missionary, yet crucial details about the murder were lacking and some information was incorrect. The newspaper did not mention that the crowd had come to the house to demand the liberation of prisoners and that a skirmish had taken place. Indeed, no context about religious or political unrest was provided, apart from an unfounded detail that the murderers had offered to spare the priest's life if he would convert. This suggests that the report was based on Catholic sources; French religious leaders immediately began to hail du Chayla as a martyr.<sup>824</sup> The reporter, aware that the story might not be entirely correct, cautiously stated that it may have been 'overly passionate'.<sup>825</sup>

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<sup>822</sup> Jurieu was not the first Millenarian in the Dutch Republic to do so. As Andrew Fix has demonstrated, Dutch Millenarians were characteristically invested with the role of reason to give meaning to life: A. Fix, 'Dutch Millenarianism and the role of reason. Daniel de Breen and Joachim Oudaan', in Laursen (ed.), *Millenarianism and Messianism*, vol. 4, pp. 49–56.

<sup>823</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 17 August 1702.

<sup>824</sup> Monahan, *Let God arise*, p. 66.

<sup>825</sup> '[...] ietwat passieus'; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 17 August 1702.

Throughout the rest of the civil war, journalists struggled to find reliable information about the war in the Cévennes. Shreds of (often conflicting) news came from different sources in Paris, Basel, Montpellier, Livorno, Geneva, Turin, or London. In June 1703, the political monthly *Mercuré historique et politique contenant l'état présent de l'Europe* (*Political and historical Mercury containing the present state of Europe*)—edited by the Huguenot minister and exile Jean de la Brune (?–1743?) and published by Henri van Bulderen (1683–1713) in The Hague—tellingly published an anonymous letter complaining about the scarcity of reports:<sup>826</sup>

So far it has been rather difficult to learn about the truth of what is happening in the Cévennes [...] There is something strange and very surprising about the whole affair, which has lasted for almost a year.<sup>827</sup>

For those curious news consumers who tried to make sense of the bits and pieces of information coming from newspapers, the publication of a Camisard manifesto in February 1703 must have come as a pleasant surprise. The twelve-page *Les raisons véritables des habitants des Cévennes sur leur prise d'armes* (*The true reasons of the population of the Cévennes for their taking up arms*), published in Amsterdam, was late but not unsuccessful; it was soon translated into Dutch, into German in Berlin, and into English in London [Fig. 9].<sup>828</sup> Charles-Joseph de la Baume (1644–1715) one of the first historians to write a book about the revolt from a Catholic perspective, judged the work to have been

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<sup>826</sup> A. Juillard, 'Jean de la Brune (?–1743?)', in Mercier–Favre and Reynaud (eds.), *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, <http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/433-jean-de-la-brune>.

<sup>827</sup> 'Il a été assez difficile jusqu'ici d'être instruit au vrai de ce qui se passe dans les Sevennes [...] il y a quelque chose de bien singulier & de bien surprenant, dans tout le cours de cette affaire, qui dure depuis près d'un an'; Anonymous, *Mercuré historique et politique concernant l'état présent de l'Europe, ce qui se passe dans toutes les Cours*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1703), p. 639.

<sup>828</sup> Anonymous, *Les Raisons véritables des habitants des Cévennes sur leur prise d'armes dédié à Monseigneur le Dauphin* (Amsterdam, 1703); Anonymous, *Manifest van het volk in de Sevennes, wegens het opratten der wapenen tegens de Koning van Vrankryk benefens desselfs gebed* (Amsterdam, 1703); Anonymous, *Manifeste des habitans des Sevennes sur leur prise d'armes/Manifest der Völcker und Einwohner in der Landschafft Sevennen warum sie die Waffen ergriffen* (Amsterdam, 1703); Anonymous, *Sonderbabres und merckwürdiges Manifest der Einwohner in den Sevennischen Thälern der Französischen Provinz Languedoc darin die ihre triffige und gar wichtige Ursachen oder Bewegungen anführen und entdecken/ warum sie anjetzo die Waffen ergriffen* (Berlin, 1703); Anonymous, *Manifeste des habitants des Cévennes sur leur prise d'armes* (Berlin, 1703); Anonymous, *The manifesto of the Cevennois shewing the true reasons which have constrained the inhabitants of the Cévennes to take up arms, dedicated to my lord the Dauphine* (London, 1703).

perfectly well written but very dangerous and very fit to seduce the feeble-minded and the badly converted nouveaux convertis [...] [describing] very vividly and eloquently the cruelties that they pretend we have committed.<sup>829</sup>

Presented as a manifesto, the work purported to speak with the voice of the insurgents and was accordingly published anonymously. As Antoine Court (1695–1760) already remarked in his monumental *Histoire des troubles des Cévennes* (*History of the troubles of the Cévennes*), it is very unlikely that it had indeed been written by a Camisard;<sup>830</sup> the author of the manifesto made mistakes about details of the revolt, which cannot be explained as the conscious rewriting of history for propaganda reasons. Instead, the work was probably written by one of the many émigré pastors who had settled in England or the Dutch Republic some two decades earlier. In any case, the author was well acquainted with the literature of the Refuge; the work was inspired by Jean Claude's *Plaintes des protestans*—one of William III's secular pieces of propaganda against Louis XIV—from which it borrowed several passages.<sup>831</sup>

The manifesto appeared around the same time that the Cévennes were first discussed within diplomatic networks. The Dutch ambassador to England, Marinus van Vrijbergen, first brought up the possibility of support for the Camisards to Grand Pensionary Heinsius on 20 February 1703, after having consulted with Sidney Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, and the Duke of Marlborough, commander of the allied forces.<sup>832</sup> However, it is unlikely that the pamphlet came from within the alliance's inner diplomatic circles. On 20 March, Van Vrijbergen emphasized to Heinsius that secrecy about the plans for military support was vital. He told his master that Godolphin would send two Huguenots to the region to inform the Camisards about their plans, but they would not meet with Heinsius on their way, 'because the secrecy is so general and absolute', that they did not want to give the slightest exception to it.<sup>833</sup> The

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<sup>829</sup> '[...] étoit parfaitement bien écrit, mais fort dangereux et très propre à séduire les esprits faibles et les nouveaux catholiques mal convertis. Il dépeint, avec les couleurs les plus vives que l'art et l'éloquence puissent trouver, les cruautés inouïes qu'il prétend qu'on a exercées'; F. Puaux, 'Le "Manifeste des habitans des Sévennes" sur leur prise d'armes', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 61–4 (1912), pp. 338–351.

<sup>830</sup> A. Court, *Histoire des troubles des Cévennes, ou de la guerre des Camisars, sous le regne de Louis le Grand*, vol. 1, bk III (Villefranche, 1760), p. 283.

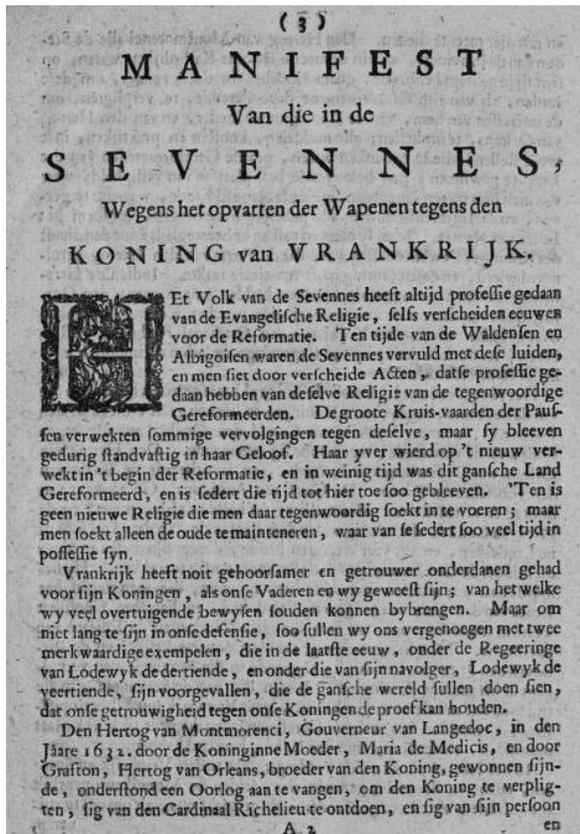
<sup>831</sup> See Chapter 4; Puaux, 'Manifeste des habitans', 339.

<sup>832</sup> Letter from Marinus van Vrijbergen to Anthonie Heinsius, 20 February 1703, in A. Veenendaal (ed.), *Briefwisseling Anthonie Heinsius 1702–1720*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1978), pp. 76–77.

<sup>833</sup> '[...] soo generael en absolut'; Vrijbergen to Heinsius, 20 March 1703, in *ibid.*, p. 114.

author of the manifesto, by contrast, probably wanted to stir up the alliance's political centers. Stakeholders engaged in public diplomacy to influence the political authorities. There was little reason for those already pulling the strings to turn to the press.

That there was so little publicly available information about the War of the Camisards had a crucial advantage; it gave the author ample opportunity to present a positive image of the insurgents, unrestrained by potentially inconvenient facts about prophecy and atrocity. Nevertheless, by justifying a religious minority's revolt against a rightful sovereign for a general audience, the author was skating on thin ice. In order not to alienate potential allies, the writer of the manifesto steered away from any form of group identification that could spark controversy, most notably the question of prophesy. It is possible that the author did not know about the most recent prophetic outbreaks which had caused the initial clash with the authorities. But his failure to mention the Cévennes' rich history of prophetic movements that had caused such a stir in the late 1680s must have been an intentional omission.



9. *Manifest van het volk in de Sevennes, wegens het opvatten der wapenen tegens den koning van Vrankryk* (s.l., 1703).

Resource: University Library Ghent.

Instead, the author described the Cévenol Huguenots as proto-Calvinists—like the Waldensians were considered to have been—, who had inhabited the region and had preached the Reformed faith for centuries.<sup>834</sup> Nevertheless, the manifesto was not clearly structured on the normative principle of confessional truth—like the *Plaintes des protestans* on which it built; the insurgents' adherence to the Reformed faith was not coupled to a Protestant truth claim. The author aimed for his readers to religiously identify with the insurgents, but he was careful not to draw the conflict along confessional lines. This is not to say that the pamphlet presented a fully secular understanding of the war; the author argued that divine providence led the Cévenols to take up arms for protection against the punitive expedition sent to the region following the lynching of du Chayla. It did not, however, take the form of what Alexandra Walsham had identified as 'anti-Catholic Providentialism', an act of divine intervention for the true faith.<sup>835</sup> Instead, providence was linked to the confessionally neutral right to counter violence with violence, 'being a law of nature, confirmed by the laws of God and men'.<sup>836</sup> In other words, the conflict was fought with divine grace, but it was not a war of religion:

We may modestly ascertain that here is a tyrannical government, a military government, which is not regulated by justice, reason, or even humanity, and which all upright Frenchmen are obliged to oppose until peace and justice are fully restored in the kingdom.<sup>837</sup> It is to this that we call upon our compatriots. For it is not a matter of religion alone, but a law of nature, it is a right common to all the nations and religions of the world to oppose the violence of those, who without cause rob us of our goods and ruin our homes and our families.<sup>838</sup>

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<sup>834</sup> Anonymous, 'Manifeste des habitants des Cévennes sur leur prise d'armes', transcription in H. Scheurleer (ed.), *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle contenant les négociations, traités, résolutions et autres documens authentiques concernant l'affaires d'état*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1725), p. 527; for the narrative of proto-Calvinism, see Chapter 1.

<sup>835</sup> A. Walsham, *Providence in early modern England* (Oxford, 1999), p. 280.

<sup>836</sup> '[...] qui est un droit de la nature autorisé par les loix divines & humaines'; Anonymous, *Manifeste des habitants*, p. 530.

<sup>837</sup> This part is borrowed from Claude's *Plaintes des protestans*.

<sup>838</sup> 'Ainsi nous pouvons fort modestement assurer que c'est ici un Gouvernement Tyrannique, un Gouvernement Militaire, qui n'est réglé ni de la justice, ni de la raison, ni même de l'humanité, & que tous les bons François sont obligés de s'y opposer jusqu'à ce que la paix & la justice soient entièrement rétablis dans le Royaume. C'est à quoi nous exhortons tous nos compatriotes, car ce n'est point une affaire de Religion seulement, c'est un droit de nature commun à toutes les Nations & à toutes les Religions du monde de s'opposer à la violence de ceux qui nous ravissent nos biens sans cause et qui desolent nos maisons & nos familles'; Anonymous, *Manifeste des habitants*, p. 530.

The manifesto concluded with a direct appeal to its proposed diverse and multiconfessional readership, asking ‘all kings, princes, lords, states, and peoples, and all Christian men in general, our neighbors and compatriots to push back such an unjust domination, to which all of Europe will have to bow if this violence and barbarity is not stopped’.<sup>839</sup> In other words, governments that refused to respect the normative orders of justice, reason, and humanity—which every Christian should respect—were a threat to the entire social order, regardless of territorial borders, and thus required an international political response. The normative principle of sovereignty was thereby overruled. This confessionally neutral approach shows that although the author’s intended readership was primarily Protestant, he took into account the larger European picture; the interconfessional alliance waging war against France and Catholic princes would not be eager to support an anti-Catholic revolt. In fact, Jurieu had stressed something similar when he wrote to Heinsius that

the interest which the powers of Europe of another religion have in this affair is so palpable, and you will have understood it so well, that it would be a waste of time to present it to you.<sup>840</sup>

To emphasize that the conflict was not of a confessional nature, the author of the manifesto made the unfounded claim that Catholic Cévenols supported the Camisard cause and had joined forces with their Protestant neighbors to resist the heavy taxes levied by the Sun King.<sup>841</sup> In reality, the War of the Camisards entailed particularly brutal interconfessional violence.<sup>842</sup> Right from the start, targeted attacks on their villages prompted local Catholics to organize their own militias. Around the time of the publication of the *Raisons véritables*, several independent Catholic militias, styling themselves the ‘White Camisards’—a contrast to the black smocks worn by their enemies—‘Cadets of the Cross’, or ‘Florentines’, had begun to

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<sup>839</sup> ‘[...] tous rois, princes, & seigneurs, etats, & peuples, & en general tous hommes Chrêtiens nos voisins & compatriottes, de nous aider à repousser une si injuste Domination à laquelle toute l’Europe soit soumise, si on n’arrêtoit pas sa violence & sa barbarité ’; *ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>840</sup> ‘L’interest que les puissances de l’europe d’une autre religion ont dans cette affaire est si sensible et vous l’avez si bien compris que ce seroit perdre temps que de vous le représenter’; Pierre Jurieu to Anthonie Heinsius, 20 November 1703, transcription in Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, p. 446.

<sup>841</sup> Anonymous, *Manifeste des habitants*, pp. 531–532.

<sup>842</sup> See C. Bernat, ‘La Guerre des Cévennes. Un Conflit Trilatéral?’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 148–3 (2002), pp. 461–507.

carry out raids of their own. Until 1705, Camisards and Cadets of the Cross would continue to pillage and massacre each other's communities, quite independently from the war fought with the Crown.<sup>843</sup>

Nonetheless, the author of the pamphlet may have treasured real hope that his work would actually inspire Catholic Frenchmen to take up arms against their king—another decisive reason to defend the revolt in confessionally neutral terms. For over a decade, the London-based émigré Armand de Bourbon (1655–1732), Marquis of Miremont, had tried to make foreign powers aware of the ‘universal discontent’ over taxation experienced by Occitan subjects of both faiths.<sup>844</sup> Miremont had worked hard to convince the Protestant courts that they should support the Camisards.<sup>845</sup> It is therefore not implausible that Miremont was also the author or patron of the pamphlet. As soon as they began to consider an intervention, London and The Hague accepted him as the man to lead the armed invasion in the Languedoc. From London, the marquis actively tried to deconfessionalize the conflict. In the summer of 1703, Miremont's secretary David Flotard managed to enter the Cévennes with letters of credence, disguised as a merchant, and meet with the Camisards' main prophet-commanders, Jean Cavalier and Roland Laporte. Apart from his letters of credence from both Queen Anne and the States General, Flotard also carried a letter from Miremont bidding the Camisards to act prudently and refrain from setting churches on fire and killing priests.<sup>846</sup> The war had to conform to the public image that the exiled advocates of the Camisard cause had created to spur the governments joined in the Grand Alliance to act.

### *Selling Intervention*

Calls for restraint to avert the harmful image of a fanatical war of religion did not solve the second problem about the War of the Camisards; there was no denying that they were in open

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<sup>843</sup> Ibid., pp. 465–474.

<sup>844</sup> E. Le Roy Ladurie, *The peasants of Languedoc* (Urbana and Chicago, IL, 1974), p. 273.

<sup>845</sup> Laborie, ‘Huguenot propaganda’, p. 653.

<sup>846</sup> H. Dubled, ‘Les protestants français et l'étranger dans le Midi de 1685 à 1710. Pour répondre à une vieille accusation’, *Annales du Midi. Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* (1990), p. 444; Monahan, *Let God arise*, p. 161.

war with their monarch. The normative principle of sovereignty remained a major issue for advocates of intervention. In fact, the question of sovereignty had already been used in a pamphlet addressed to the Camisards, which urged them to lay down their weapons. Written in the genre of the pastoral letters, the anonymous *Lettre de M. \*\*. Pr. Fr. Aux religionnaires révoltez des Cévennes* purported to speak with the voice of an exiled minister. The alleged pastor approached the Camisards as fellow members of the true religion, but subsequently asked them a critical question:

Does the spirit of God inspire such cruelty? Does the true religion carry its followers to inhumane actions?<sup>847</sup>

Side by side with the reprimands based on confessional truth, the author engaged with the normative principles of sovereignty and rule of law, reminding the insurgents that nobody had ‘given them the right of the sword’:<sup>848</sup>

Roman law condemns as criminals of lèse-majesté, those who take up arms, recruit soldiers, and spill the blood of their fellow citizens, without the commandment of the prince.<sup>849</sup>

In short, the Camisards violated Roman law, divine law, and the law of nations, on which ‘the security of civil society and the peace of mankind depends’.<sup>850</sup> Although the pamphlet had probably been produced by the French authorities, it made an argument to which many governments—always watchful for the threat of rebellion in their own territories—were susceptible. Although the idea of supporting a fifth column in France had found its ways into Europe’s inner political and diplomatic circles by the spring of 1703, not everybody was convinced by the justification laid out in the *Manifesto of the inhabitants of the Cévennes*. In England the idea of aiding rebels against their legitimate monarch sparked controversy. Several

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<sup>847</sup> ‘L’esprit de Dieu inspire-t-il la cruauté? & vraie religion porte-t-elle ses sectateurs à des actions inhumaines?’; Anonymous, *Lettre de M. \*\*. Pr. Fr. Aux religionnaires révoltez des Cévennes* (s.l. 1704), p. 2

<sup>848</sup> ‘[...] vous à donné le droit du glaive’; Anonymous, *Lettre de M. \*\*. Pr. Fr.*, p. 4.

<sup>849</sup> Les lois Romaines condamnent comme criminels de leze-majesté ceux qui prennent les armes, levent des soldats, & répandent le sang de leurs concitoïens, sans le commandement du prince’; *ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>850</sup> ‘[...] depend la sûreté de la société civile, & le repos du genre humain’; *ibid.*, p. 5.

members of the queen's Privy Council regarded it as unethical and believed that support for the Camisards would provide fuel for those who disputed the legitimacy of Anne's rule.<sup>851</sup>

At the request of Miremont, Abel Boyer (1667–1729) intervened in this debate by writing another defense of the Camisard cause.<sup>852</sup> Boyer was a native of the Upper Languedoc who had studied theology at the Academy of Puylaurens. When the academy was shut down in 1685, he fled to the Dutch Republic. Recommended by Pierre Bayle to Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury and advisor to William III, Boyer moved to England in 1689, where he quickly made a career as a contemporary historian and tutor to the Duke of Gloucester at the English court.<sup>853</sup> Miremont's secretary David Flotard, who had come back from the Cévennes with reports about the Camisards, provided Boyer with material. This included the exact location where the invasion should take place on the coast of the Languedoc. Boyer refrained from including that last detail in the pamphlet, to prevent the French from fortifying it.<sup>854</sup> The exile theologian finished *The lawfulness, glory and advantage of giving immediate and effectual relief to the Protestants in the Cevennes* on 11 April 1703. That same month it was published in three editions by John Nutt (1665–1716), a trade publisher near Stationers' Hall, in London.<sup>855</sup> Shortly afterwards, the original was followed by a French translation published by London-based exile printer Paul Vaillant and a Dutch translation by François van der Plaats in Amsterdam.<sup>856</sup> Aiming to neutralize the Privy Council's reservations, the *Lawfulness, glory and advantage* provided a twenty-seven-page justification for military intervention.

This was a sensitive question. Governments often supported foreign insurgents, but they usually did so in secret, avoiding the pitfalls of a public apology. As discussed in Chapter

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<sup>851</sup> Monahan, *Let God arise*, pp. 160–161.

<sup>852</sup> Laborie, 'Huguenot propaganda', p. 643.

<sup>853</sup> G. Gibbs, 'The contribution of Abel Boyer to contemporary history in England in the early eighteenth century', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1985), pp. 87–108; G. Gibbs, 'Boyer, Abel (1667?–1729), lexicographer and journalist', in L. Goldman (ed.), *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3122>.

<sup>854</sup> Papers of Charles Spencer, 3d Early of Sunderland, The Blenheim Papers, Additional Manuscripts, inv. nr. 61648, folios 98–99, British Library; I want to thank Lionel Laborie for kindly sharing this source with me.

<sup>855</sup> J. Gordan, 'John Nutt. Trade publisher and printer "in the Savoy"', *The Library* 15–3 (2014), pp. 243–260.

<sup>856</sup> [A. Boyer], *La nécessité de donner un prompt & puissant secours aux Protestans des Cevennes, ou l'on fait voir la justice, la gloire & l'avantage de cette entreprise, & les moyens d'y reussir* (London, 1703); [A. Boyer], *Korte en klaare aanwysing van de noodzaakelyke middelen omme de Protestanten in de Sevennes spoedig te kunnen helpen, en haar te ontlasten van de verdrukking die dezelve onder de tegenwoordige Regering des Fransen Konings moeten ondergaan. Nevens een korte beschryving van het zelve Landschap, en den tegenwoordigen staat* (Amsterdam, 1703).

1, most political philosophers provided subjects with only a very limited legal framework to defend themselves against kings who raised their swords against them. Revolts were thus hard to justify. Justifying a foreign intervention was easier.<sup>857</sup> As discussed, Grotius had argued that rulers had a duty to intervene against the oppression of foreign subjects, especially if they were persecuted for their religion.<sup>858</sup> Boyer indeed based his justification on Grotius but consequently failed to justify the fact that the Camisards had themselves taken up arms. Boyer quoted the legal philosopher, arguing that ‘subjects are not bound to obey the magistrate, when he decrees any thing contrary either to the law of nature or of God’.<sup>859</sup> Yet he added that ‘it is not lawful for subjects to take up arms’.<sup>860</sup> In the end, he relied on Grotius’ assertion ‘that others may [...] take up arms for them’.<sup>861</sup>

In his effort to translate the fate of the Camisards to his English readership and divert attention from the issue of rebellion, Boyer departed from the confessionally neutral justification employed by the *Manifesto* and returned to the normative principle of confessional truth. He argued that all Protestants should support the Camisards, as they were fighting the very same battle the English had against the ‘popish pretender’ James II in 1688. Moreover, the author did not shy away from claiming that ‘God Almighty had vouchsafed to illuminate this people with the truth of the Gospel’.<sup>862</sup> As for the question of intervention, Boyer harked back to the wars of religion and reminded his readers that Elizabeth I devoted much of her reign to aiding Protestants in France and the Netherlands. James I, on the other hand, would forever carry the stain of having allowed the Protestant religion to be rooted out of Bohemia and the Palatinate, a reference to the early stages of the ‘Thirty Years’ War’.<sup>863</sup> In other words,

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<sup>857</sup> Only in the second half of the eighteenth century would the idea that states could do whatever they wanted within their borders and that foreign states should in no way intervene or judge their policy develop; Krasner, ‘Rethinking the sovereign state model’, pp. 20.

<sup>858</sup> Vincent, ‘Grotius, human rights, and intervention’; Pufendorf held a similar view, albeit from a more confessionally partisan position. Initially a firm opponent of foreign intervention, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) made him reconsider and favor a more interventionist policy for the survival of Protestantism; R. Tuck, *The rights of war and peace. Political thought and the international order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 158–163.

<sup>859</sup> [A. Boyer], *The lawfulness, glory, and advantage, of giving immediate and effectual relief to the Protestants in the Cevennes* (London, 1703), p. 6.

<sup>860</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>862</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>863</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

history showed that the principle of sovereignty should not overrule a ruler's responsibilities to the survival of the true faith. Where the author of the manifesto had explicitly stated that the Camisards did not fight a war of religion, Boyer saw the need to introduce militant Protestant ideas and appeals to religious truth.<sup>864</sup> Confessional memory and superiority was invoked to overshadow the normative principle of sovereignty.

*To Hearten and Inspire*

The *Lawfulness, glory and advantage* offers insight in the complex and contested role of public opinion in political discourse at the turn of the eighteenth century. The pamphlet intervened in an ongoing debate in the highest circles of government. Miremont had access to these circles, but used publicity to pressure them. The work communicated with different publics, thereby creating a written—if not physical—link between them: as stated in the preface, the *Lawfulness, glory and advantage* was dedicated to Queen Anne and her Privy Council, praising them with references to providence and glory.<sup>865</sup> Furthermore, Boyer appeals to the English people, reminding them of their religious and patriotic duty to show solidarity with the Camisards.<sup>866</sup>

At the close of his argument, Boyer referred to the strategy of publicity itself; after pleading for a military invasion by the English fleet to support the Cévenols, he predicted that cautious people would warn about the dangers of making interventionist plans public. The author responded to this reservation by arguing that the Camisards would receive new 'spirit and vigour' upon finding out that foreign powers were willing to help them.<sup>867</sup> Indeed, he believed that his pamphlet—or information about it—would find its way across the French borders and encourage Protestants in the provinces around the Cévennes to also rise up and 'shake off their yoke'.<sup>868</sup>

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<sup>864</sup> Another anonymous pamphlet presents an extensive analogy with English support for the Duke of Rohan: Anonymus, *L'Europe esclave si les Cévenois ne sont promptement secourus* (Liège, 1704).

<sup>865</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>867</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>868</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Yet the author had taken a risk. On 25 April Boyer had to appear before Daniel Finch, Lord President of the Privy Council. Finch was unhappy about the passage on page 5, where Boyer argued that the ‘true Englishman [...] would cheerfully contribute toward the support of the Cevenois’. People in London’s coffeehouses, the Lord President reminded the pamphleteer, talked about the Camisards as rebels against their lawful prince. Inciting them to support rebels was a grave matter. Finch reprimanded the Huguenot for having stirred up public opinion rather than having gone to the government first, and reminded him that he would have been broken on the wheel had he published the pamphlet in France.<sup>869</sup> This does not mean that the Lord President was against intervention. Finch had been in contact with Miremont about the possibilities of a military intervention since February, and by mid-April—around the same time that the pamphlet must actually have been published—Van Vrijbergen could report to Heinsius that Anne was planning to send weapons, money, and marines to the Mediterranean.<sup>870</sup> But the English court did not like to be told in front of the people what policy to pursue. Moreover, the council clearly favored the strategic merits of an unexpected strike over boosting the Camisards’ moral with publicity. Boyer had to defend himself by emphasizing that he had not revealed the location of the invasion.<sup>871</sup>

Dutch advocates of the Camisard cause were similarly vexed by the two dilemmas discussed above: secrecy versus publicity, on the one hand, and confessional solidarity versus confessional neutrality, on the other. The engagement of Jacob Surendonck (1647–1729) is a case in point. Surendonck held a powerful position in the United Provinces’ political center, formally as Land’s Advocate of the States of Holland, and informally as a friend and adviser of Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius (1641–1720).<sup>872</sup> Like many of his contemporaries, Surendonck’s perspective on European politics was marked by the fear of French universal monarchy and the belief that the Protestant religion was beleaguered. As such, he devoted

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<sup>869</sup> British Library, Additional Manuscripts, 61648, folios 98–99; I want to express my gratitude to Lionel Laborie for kindly sharing this source with me.

<sup>870</sup> Letter from Marinus van Vrijbergen to Anthonie Heinsius, 17 April 1703, in A. Veenendaal (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius, 1702–1720*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1976), p. 162.

<sup>871</sup> British Library, Additional Manuscripts, 61648, folios 98–99.

<sup>872</sup> M. Claessens, ‘Inventaris van het archief van Jacob Surendonck’ (1991), p. 8, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

much of his career to advising on military endeavors against Louis XIV—he also tried and failed to become secretary of war after the death of William III.<sup>873</sup>

Ever since the Nine Years' War Surendonck had incessantly tried to convince the stadtholder-king, his wife Mary Stuart, and Heinsius of the merits of a military invasion from the sea, believing that the Sun King would quickly be defeated if he were forced to fight on his own soil.<sup>874</sup> During the War of the Camisards he insisted that a publicity campaign in France was the key to a successful invasion. In a letter from June 1704 to Grand Pensionary Heinsius, pensionary of Amsterdam Willem Buys, and pensionary of Gouda Bruno van der Dussen, Surendonck stressed that shortly before the invasion two 'eloquent and moving' pamphlets should be disseminated widely throughout France, 'one in the name of the repressed French nation in general and the other in the name of the Protestants'.<sup>875</sup>

The Land's Advocate also had his eye on international public opinion when he tried to raise charity for the Camisards in the Dutch Republic. In the beginning of May 1703 Surendonck sent requests to several administrative bodies, including the Council of Amsterdam and one of the city's burgomasters, to organize collections for the Huguenots in the Cévennes.<sup>876</sup> Believing that secret efforts to aid the Camisards were insufficient, he argued that a Dutch charity campaign would send an important public message abroad: open support would provide an example to the English—he surely knew about the Privy Council's doubt—bolster the insurgents in the Cévennes, and inspire other Protestants in France to rise up against Louis XIV.<sup>877</sup>

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<sup>873</sup> Missive van Jacob Surendonck aan Anthonie Heinsius met 'Consideratien' memorie houdende een voorstel om een secretaris van oorlog te benoemen, 21 August 1702, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 94, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>874</sup> See all letters in Familiearchief Surendonck, section b.2 'Vlootexpedities', Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>875</sup> Missiven van Jacob Surendonck aan Anthonie Heinsius, van Willem Buijs, pensionaris van Amsterdam, Bruno van der Dussen, pensionaris van Gouda, en [N.N.] Haack, 30 June 1704, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 235; see also Missive van Jacob Surendonck aan Anthonie Heinsius, waarin hij voorstelt via Vlaanderen en Artois met ondersteuning van de vloot een inval in Frankrijk te doen, 11 July 1708, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 138; and Missive van Jacob Surendonck aan Isaac van Hoornbeek, pensionaris van Rotterdam, betreffende het zenden van een expeditie naar Languedoc en Dauphine, 1 April 1705, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 238. Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>876</sup> Missiven van Jacob Surendonck aan het stadsbestuur en aan Johannes Hudde, burgemeester van Amsterdam, betreffende een collecte voor de Camisards in de Chevennes, 5 May 1703, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 221, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>877</sup> Ibid.

Surendonck's archive contains several versions of a seven-page manuscript, the *Nadere remarques op de te doene assistentie en collecte in de seven provincien voor onse geloofsgenoten in de Sevennes*, in which he provided an elaborate justification for such support.<sup>878</sup> It discussed why the Camisards had the right to resist, why the laws of war allowed the United Provinces to support a rebellion, and why it was a Christian duty to do so. We do not know whether the *Nadere remarques* was supposed to remain a manuscript for limited circulation or whether it was meant for publication to accompany the proposed collections. In any case, both the military expedition and the fundraising ultimately failed. England and the United Provinces disagreed over the distribution of resources. Only two ships set sail to the Occitan coast, where they were immediately fired at by the French army. Forewarned by the circulation of pamphlets, royal troops had been expecting the enemy since March.<sup>879</sup> Afterwards, things kept spiraling downwards. In July 1704 the Swiss declared to the French ambassador that they would not let any of their subjects assist the Camisards as mercenaries, much to the irritation of extraordinary ambassador to the Savoyard court, Richard Hill. The ambassador complained to Secretary of State Charles Hedge that

at the same time these filthy long beards do not hinder the French King from employing his Swiss for the destruction of the Cevennois.<sup>880</sup>

Disillusioned about the efforts to properly steer events in the Cévennes, he concluded in the same letter that 'there is a great difference between the zeal of a Camisard in the coffee-houses of London, and on the frontiers of Languedoc'.<sup>881</sup>

Dutch fundraising was also a disappointment. Like their English colleagues the Dutch authorities remained cautious with regards to public support. Rather than starting a new charity campaign, the States General used funds raised for the Huguenots in 1699, which did little to

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<sup>878</sup> J. Surendonck, 'Nadere Remarques', 1703, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 222, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>879</sup> Laborie, 'Huguenot propaganda', p. 644.

<sup>880</sup> Letter from Richard Hill to Charles Hedges, 15 July 1704, in Blackley (ed.), *Diplomatic correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 386.

<sup>881</sup> Letter from Hill to Hedges, 15 July 1704, in *ibid.*, p. 386.

support the revolt.<sup>882</sup> On the contrary: in January 1705 Richard Hill wrote the Lord Treasurer stating that the States General had sent eight thousand guilders to Geneva for the Camisards, but that it was used for the sustenance of those who crossed the border:

I fear we are doing the Mareschal de Villar's business, and disarming his enemies. I am sure we do not do our own; for one Camisard in the Cevennes is worth a 100 of them out of France.<sup>883</sup>

After all the money was spent in 1705, the States General finally asked the individual provinces to raise a total of a hundred thousand guilders for the relief of the Camisards. However, they did so secretly, with an explicit request for the matter to be dealt with discretely.<sup>884</sup>

### *The Periodical Press*

The exile advocates of intervention played a significant role in shaping the Camisards' public image of in the Dutch Republic. Yet they were not the only actors producing printed opinion about what was happening in the Cévennes. Above we have seen that journalists struggled to find reliable information about the revolt, but it did not keep them from publishing about it. In fact, Miremont's advice to the Camisards not to burn churches and kill priests may very well have been caused by what he read about the revolt in periodicals. The very first report about the situation in the Cévennes in the Amsterdam almanac *Europische Mercurius*—dated January 1703—shows that journalists received conflicting reports. On the one hand, the almanac stated that the revolt was waged by people of both confessions over taxation.<sup>885</sup> On the other hand,

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<sup>882</sup> Resolutien Staten Generaal de finantien rakende, 1704, Archief van mr. C. de Jonge van Ellemeet, 1570–1798 1.10.50, inv. nr. 51, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; I am indebted to Erica Boersma for bringing this source to my attention.

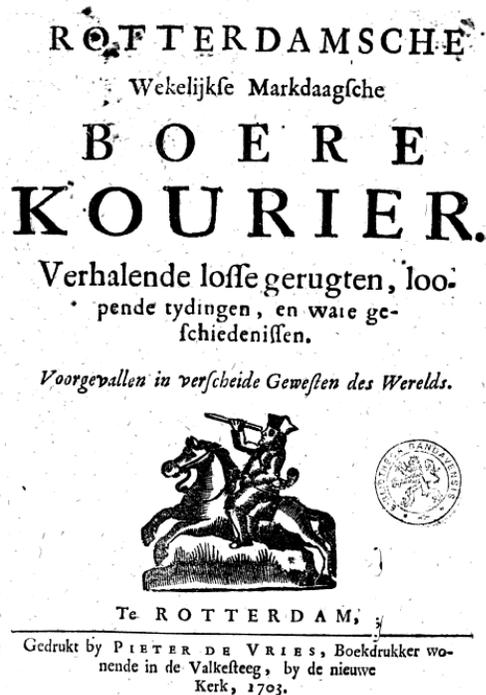
<sup>883</sup> Letter from Richard Hill to Sidney Godolphin, 30 January 1705, in Blackley (ed.), *Diplomatic correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 490–491.

<sup>884</sup> Resolutie van de Staten–Generaal inzake een omslag over de provincies tot het bijeenbrengen van f. 100.000 ten behoeve van de Camisards, 26 February 1705, Familiearchief Surendonck 3.20.57, inv. nr. 223, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

<sup>885</sup> *Europische mercurius, behelzende al het voornaamste 't geen, zo omtrent de zaaken van staat als oorlog, in alle de koningryken en landen van Europa, en deels ook zelfs in verscheidenen gewesten van d'andere deelen der weerd, is voorgevallen*, vol. 14, pt. 1. A. van Damme (ed.), (Leiden, Amsterdam, 1703), p. 46; for an introduction to the *Europische Mercurius* see J. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 23 (2000), pp. 117–129.

it reported that the Camisards had set a church on fire and had killed at least fifty priests, concluding that ‘it is impossible to express what evils they commit every day’.<sup>886</sup> One month later, the *Europische Mercurius* summarized it as follows:

People spoke very differently about these persons, because some presented them as rascals and villains, who did nothing but pillage, kill, destroy, and burn; who violated daughters and wives; and finally, who passed through no place without leaving marks of their cruelty and godlessness. Others, on the contrary, assured that they were good people, who fought the war with all the restraint that one can have; who, admittedly, pillaged the Roman churches and set them on fire; and gave no quarter to priests, because they regarded them as their main enemy, but who, apart from that, caused no disturbances, who did no harm to those who did not present themselves in arms to fight them.<sup>887</sup>



10. G. Spaan, *Rotterdamsche wekelijkse markdaagsche boere kourier* (Rotterdam, 1703). Resource: University Library Ghent.

<sup>886</sup> 'T is niet uit de drukken, wat kwaad zy dagelyks aanrechten'; *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>887</sup> 'Men sprak zeer verscheidentlyk van deze Lieden: want d'eenen stelden hen ten toon als Schelmen en Booswichten, die niet en deden dan plonderen, doodslaan, verwoesten, en branden; die de Dochters en Vrouwen schoffeerden; en eindelyk, die nergens door trokken zonder 'er merktekenen van hunne wreedheid en godloosheid te laten. Anderen in tegendeel, verzekerden, dat het braave Lieden waren, die den Oorlog voerden met alle d'ingetoogenheid, welke men daar in kan onderhouden; die, in waarheid, de Roomsche Kerken plonderen, en in den brand staaken; en die geen quartier aan de Priesters gaven, vermits zy hen aanmerkten als hunne Hoofdvyanden: maar die, behalven dat, geene ongeregeldheden aanrechten; die geen kwaad en deden aan de geenen, welke zich niet in de wapenen vertoonden om het aan te tasten'; *Ibid.*, 137.

In March, after the manifesto has been published, which the author believed to have been written by the insurgents themselves, the *Europische Mercurius* argued that the latter characterization was true.<sup>888</sup> It also maintained that the revolt was not only about religion, and that many Catholics had joined the cause against heavy taxation.<sup>889</sup> Another periodical that extensively discussed the revolt was the *Rotterdamsche wekelijkse markdaagsche boere courier* (*Rotterdam weekly market days farmer courier*), which was published in Overschie, nearby Rotterdam [Fig. 10].<sup>890</sup> The *Boere Kourier* was a remarkable piece of journalism. It was the creation of a baker named Gerrit van Spaan (1651-1711) for ‘curious peasants’, who lived too far from Rotterdam to have daily access to the newspapers, but went to the city’s market every week.<sup>891</sup> Reflective of Van Spaan’s and his reader’s modest background, the *Boere Kourier*’s reports about the Camisards are blunt, not very scrupulous, but nevertheless strikingly reflective of contemporary discussions surrounding confessional difference, such as the question of conversion and religious tolerance, which was discussed in April 1703:

With great torments they make Reformed the papists who fall in the hands of the Camisards, only to show that one can get people where one wants them through torture, tormenting, drawing, and hurting without pause, thereby showing the fundamental reason, why it does not please God that one person torments the other worse than the devil. They also shove them letters under the nose from Pope Innocent XI and Queen Christina of Sweden, written to Louis [XIV] and argue that conversion with dragoons is not the right way, that one should win over people with goodness and sweetness. [...] In the big province of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and the principality of Orange, they also start preaching. They strike through the neck with a cold blade the papists who try to prevent it, or they hang them while warm.<sup>892</sup>

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<sup>888</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>889</sup> Ibid., pp. 251–252.

<sup>890</sup> P.A. de Boer, ‘Een bakker en zijn nieuwsblad. Gerrit van Spaans Boere Kourier’, *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 6 (1988) pp. 193–215; R. van Vliet, ‘Rotterdamsche wekelijkse markdaagsche boere kourier’, in R. van Vliet (ed.), *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften. Nederlandse periodieken tot aanvang Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (tot 1815)*, <https://www.ent1815.nl/r/rotterdamsche-wekelijkse-markdaagsche-boere-kourier-1703-1704/>

<sup>891</sup> ‘Nieuwgierige Huislieden’; quotation taken from De Boer, ‘Een bakker en zijn nieuwsblad’, p. 202.

<sup>892</sup> ‘De papen die in de handen van de Kamizards vallen, doen ze met groote tormenten Gereformeerd werden; alleenlijk om te toonen, dat men door folteren, tormenteren, rekken, en pijnigen zonder ophouden, de menschen kan brengen waar toe dat men wil, hier by tonen ze met fundamentale redenen, dat het Gode niet behaagd, dat den eenen mensch den anderen slimmer als de Duivel plaagd. Ook leggen ze hun Brieven van Paus Innocent XI [...] en die van Koningin Kristina van Zweden, voor de neus, welaan Louwijs [XIV] geschreven, en betuigen, dat het bekeeren door Dragonders de rechte slag niet en is, dat men de menschen met goedheit en zoetheit most winnen [...] In de groote provintie van Languedok, Dauphiné, en in ‘t Prinsdom van Oranje, beginnen ze mede te [...] prediken, de Papen die ‘t wille beletten, slaan ze met een koud lemmer door den nek, of knopen ze zo maar warm op’; G. van Spaans, *Rotterdamsche wekelijkse markdaagsche boere kourier*, 10 April 1703.

Two weeks later, the *Boere Kourier* reported that this report turned out to be false; it had been spread to make the Camisards hated, even though there were many Catholics among them.<sup>893</sup> In other issues Van Spaan alternated reports of Camisards burning churches and harassing priests as well as ‘dumb fools who dearly love the killing of heretics’ with reports that Catholics, enraged by the destruction caused by royal troops, had joined the Camisards, ‘like they had joined the Beggars in Holland in former times’.<sup>894</sup> Interestingly, Van Spaan too invoked the normative language of humanity, arguing that the Camisards were treated so ‘inhumanely’ that even Catholics abhorred it.<sup>895</sup>

### *Conclusion*

During World War II a song was sung among the Maquis, a guerilla band of resistance fighters in the French countryside:

The fierce children of the Cévennes,  
 Recusants and Maquisards  
 Show that they have in their veins,  
 The pure blood of the Camisards.<sup>896</sup>

Through the Maquis’ singing, the lasting memory of the War of the Camisards echoed in the mountains of the Cévennes. Their struggle was ‘premediated’ by a war fought 250 years earlier.<sup>897</sup> Yet the Camisards did not provide a source of inspiration in the face of occupation for their descendants alone. In 1940, J. Marmelstein (1901–1956) published an article about the War of the Camisards in the Dutch Reformed journal *Stemmen des Tijds* (*Voices of the times*), which he concluded with considerable praise for the warrior-prophets:

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<sup>893</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 April 1703.

<sup>894</sup> ‘[...] dome bittere quasten, die veel van ’t ketterdooden houden’; ‘[...] gelijk ze we leer in Holland ook met de Geuzen aanspande’; *ibid.*, 30 October 1703.

<sup>895</sup> ‘onmenschelyke’; *ibid.*, 1 May 1703.

<sup>896</sup> ‘Les fiers enfants des Cévennes, Réfractaires et Maquisards, montrent qu’ils ont dans les veines, le sang pur des Camisards’; quotation from Joutard, *Légende des Camisards*, p. 269.

<sup>897</sup> For the concept of ‘premediation’ see Chapter 2.

All in all, we have to conclude that the prophecy of the Camisards was an awakening, which was willed by God and driven by God, in which He gave to the simple and illiterate the task, in a deadly age of immense oppression and devoid of shepherds, to save His hitherto so flourishing congregation from a radical demise.<sup>898</sup>

It appears that Marmelstein at some point joined the Dutch Resistance against German occupation. Among his effects, which were auctioned off in 2011, were the resistance book *Rape of the Netherlands*, written by the exiled Dutch minister of foreign affairs—published in London in 1940—and the handwritten letters of the executed Christian resistance leader Johan Schimmel.<sup>899</sup> It is quite possible that Marmelstein found inspiration in the Camisards in his defiance of the occupier, compared himself to them, and believed that God similarly steered the awakening of the Dutch resistance against the Nazi occupier.

The pamphleteers who had first tried to incite the Dutch and the English about the Camisard cause for diplomatic purposes had been divided by the role that should be assigned to God in the course of events. When Jurieu publicized what was happening in the Cévennes in the 1680s, he had set himself the task to convince Protestants that God was steering events for the sake of the true religion. In other words, he once again approached the event from the normative principle of confessional truth. However, to counter the skepticism among contemporaries towards journalism and revealed truth, he based his theological claims on a confessionally neutral analysis of how the truth about a remote event could be established through reason.

In their advocacy for the Camisard cause in the early 1700s, pamphleteers were walking a tightrope in two respects. First of all, they had to downplay the normative principle of confessional truth—which was paramount in the self-styling of the insurgents—in order to keep the basis of support as broad as possible. However, they appear not to have been very concerned about skeptics like Bayle and the anonymous exile who attacked Jurieu's reports as a mix of wishful thinking and zeal. Whatever they may have thought about the War of the

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<sup>898</sup> 'Alles saamgenomen menen wij te moeten concluderen dat het profetisme van de Camisards een van God gewild en door God bestuurd réveil is geweest, waarbij Hij aan eenvoudigen en ongeletterden de taak heeft toebedeeld om, in een doodlijk tijdsgewricht van mateloze verdrukking en volslagen herderloosheid, Zijn eertijds zo bloeiende Gemeente an een radicale ondergang te redden'; quotation by Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, p. 370.

<sup>898</sup> Description of 'Convolut met nalatenschap dr. J.W. Marmelstein (1882–1956)', Zwiggelaar Auctions, auctioned on 28 March 2011, <https://www.zwiggelarauctions.nl/index.php?p=a&select=8,70,3955>.

<sup>899</sup> Ibid.

Camisards, these *moderns*, as Jurieu called them, appear not have felt the urge to counter the support for the revolt in print. More decisive was that exile advocates of the Camisards had to reckon with audiences across the confessional divide, because England and the Dutch Republic had Catholic allies and because they believed that they might also incite French Catholics to rise up against Louis XIV. At the same time, calls to confessional truth and solidarity were deemed useful to trump concerns about supporting insurgents, which followed from the normative principle of sovereignty. As such, the advocates of the Camisard cause faced the same dilemma as the Waldensians had in 1655.<sup>900</sup> In their efforts to legitimize an intervention in the Cévennes, pamphleteers thus had to steer a middle course between supranational Protestant identification with the insurgents and appeals to supraconfessional solidarity through the normative principles of rule of law, reason, and humanity.

Secondly, the authorities considering an intervention, were served best by secrecy, for military reasons and to avert public judgment about their course of action. Publicity could thus cause irritation among the very governments which advocates were hoping to mobilize. In earlier chapters, we have seen that the generating of publicity for persecution depended on the willingness of the persecuted to make their cause known abroad and the extent to which the secular authorities on site were well-disposed toward printed advocacy. This chapter has shown that during the War of the Camisards, publicity was largely generated by an intermediary group, most notably—albeit not exclusively—Huguenot exiles, which operated at a level between these two decisive actors. They worked in the vicinity of the authorities in question, and used the printing press to extend their political agency and manage the news to influence foreign policy. To an extent, their engagement in public diplomacy was both a sign of political power and of weakness. On the one hand, they managed to raise awareness for the Camisard cause. On the other hand, they resorted to the press because they apparently failed to steer foreign politics more directly.

Directed at multiple audiences, pamphlets were devised as multidirectional means of communication between the insurgents and the people that were supposed to support them. They purported to speak with the voice of the insurgents to make Dutch and English audiences

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<sup>900</sup> Indeed, this was years before Spinoza had even written the works that Hazard believed to be the cradle of the crisis of the European mind.

rally behind their cause. At the same time, they served to make (potential) insurgents aware of the fact that there was foreign interest in their struggle. These were attempts to establish a form of (imagined) contact between foreign insurgent and political elite, which decisively went beyond one-directional propaganda. In many ways, the War of the Camisards had become a propaganda war. It was, however, not fought out between the French Crown and the Camisards or their allies, but by those who believed that the press could change the course of events.

## Chapter 6

# Between Eschatology and Enlightenment: Negotiating Bonds and Borders after the Tumult of Toruń (1724-26)

Not a dog in Aegypt would move his tongue against Israel,  
if Israel were thus united.

- Charles Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes and people* (1725)<sup>901</sup>

Two weeks before Christmas 1724, burgomaster Johann Gottfried Rössner of the Polish city of Toruń, was executed together with nine of his fellow Lutheran citizens. The men were punished in the wake of a riot, the escalation of a conflict between the city's Jesuit students and Lutheran citizens, which had disrupted Toruń in the preceding summer. During the climax of the tumult, an angry Lutheran crowd had stormed and vandalized the Jesuit school. After the riot, the Jesuits took proceedings against the city to the royal Assessorial Court—one of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's three royal courts in Warsaw—which thereupon sent an all-Catholic research commission to the confessionally mixed city to investigate the matter.<sup>902</sup> The civic authorities were found guilty, and the verdict was confirmed by the Sejm, the Polish-Lithuanian parliament.

Toruń was occupied by royal troops to make sure that the sentences were carried out. Rössner was convicted for having forsaken his duties to keep the public peace, by having failed to prevent or quell the riot. The other convicts were executed as participants in the tumult. Extra harsh punishments were designed for those who had engaged in iconoclasm; their right hand, which they had used for their blasphemous acts, was chopped off before they were beheaded. Their bodies were burned before the city walls. The city's Lutheran community was

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<sup>901</sup> Anonymous [C. Owen], *An alarm to Protestant princes and people, who are all struck at in the Popish cruelties at Thorn and other barbarous executions abroad* (Dublin, 1725), p. 32.

<sup>902</sup> D. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian state, 1386-1795* (Seattle, 2001), p. 188.

also punished collectively; they had to hand over their main church to the Benedictines and the city government, hitherto fully Lutheran, was to become fifty percent Catholic. Moreover, the city had to pay a large sum of money to the Jesuits for the damage caused to their school.<sup>903</sup>

That this local riot turned into a matter of national concern was the result of clever lobbying. Looking for justice, Toruń's Jesuits had drawn up an official account of events in Latin, which alleged that the magistrates had been responsible for the iconoclasm. This document was disseminated among the Polish nobility shortly after the riot. Through their mediation, the case could be taken higher up, to the predominantly Catholic Assessorial Court. The Toruń authorities subsequently turned it into a matter of international concern by publishing an official account of their own, which was picked up by the Prussian court. Like Gdansk and Elbląg, Toruń was a Royal Prussian city. An old and complex constitutional settlement within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth granted Royal Prussia a significant degree of self-government and autonomy from the rest of the realm. At the time of the tumult, however, the cities had been engaged in a long struggle to protect their historical privileges against the centralizing policies of the Polish monarchy.<sup>904</sup> Neighboring Brandenburg-Prussia had long served as an informal protector to the Royal Prussian cities, for which they had interceded with the Polish-Lithuanian government on numerous occasions.<sup>905</sup>

In the early months of 1725, the so-called 'Bloodbath of Toruń' became a European scandal. By the end of the year, over one hundred pamphlets had flowed from the presses in Great Britain, the the Holy Roman Empire, and the United Provinces.<sup>906</sup> Europe's main Protestant governments interceded. As a cause célèbre, the Tumult of Toruń became a milestone in the changing perception of Poland among Western Europeans.<sup>907</sup> Once famed

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<sup>903</sup> For a detailed reconstruction of the tumult see F. Jacobi, *Das Thorner Blutgericht 1724* (Halle, 1896).

<sup>904</sup> J. Miller, *Urban societies in East-Central Europe, 1500–1700* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 179–180; for an extensive study of Royal Prussia see K. Friedrich, *The other Prussia. Royal Prussia, Poland, and liberty, 1569–1772* (Cambridge, 2009).

<sup>905</sup> G. Rhode, *Brandenburg-Preussen und die Protestanten in Polen 1640–1740. Ein Jahrbuch preussischer Schutzpolitik für eine unterdrückte Minderheit* (Leipzig, 1941).

<sup>906</sup> For a comprehensive, albeit not exhaustive, overview of contemporary publications about Toruń see H. Baranowski, *Bibliografia miasta Torunia* (Poznań, 1972).

<sup>907</sup> See B. Elzbieta Cieszyńska, 'Between "Incidents of intolerance" and "massacre". British interpretations of the early modern Polish religious persecution', *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 8–15 (2009), pp. 269–282; M. Schulze Wessel, 'Religiöse Intoleranz, grenzüberschreitende Kommunikation und die politische Geographie Ostmitteleuropas im 18. Jahrhundert', in J. Requate and M. Schulze Wessel (eds.), *Europäische Öffentlichkeit. Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2002), pp. 75–76.

for their religious forbearance, the Poles now came to be seen as a barbaric, backward, and bigoted nation, serving as a negative example in Enlightenment debates on toleration. In 1772, for instance, Voltaire referred to the executions in Toruń in his praise for the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Prussia, Austria, and Russia, which the philosopher regarded as a decisive victory for religious tolerance.<sup>908</sup> The enduring negative imprint Toruń made on the image of Poland and the Poles helps explain why the episode remained the subject of a historiographical trench war for more than two centuries. This was principally fought out between German scholars, who maintained that a massacre had taken place, and their Polish colleagues, who insisted that the executions were a legal, if not just, response by the central government to a riot.<sup>909</sup>

The nadir of this politicized historiography came in 1939, when Gotthold Rhode defended his dissertation in Breslau (now Wrocław) on the eve of the German invasion of Poland. Rhode—who would become a renowned professor of Eastern European history after World War II—equated the Prussian intercessions with the ‘protection’ of German minorities, so as to legitimize the Nazi struggle against ‘Polendom’.<sup>910</sup> After his defense the author volunteered to work as a translator, a role in which he remained for the remainder of the war.<sup>911</sup> The most detailed study of Prussian intercession up to today thus bears a Nazi stamp—which was quite literally the case in the copy that I consulted in Mainz.

In 1982, Rhode revisited the Tumult of Toruń through the lens of the history of mentalities. He concluded that the event had such an unusual echo and led to a European crisis not because of the severity of the verdict, but because in the 1720s, ‘the European “Zeitgeist” had turned away from the world of fanatical religious wars and steered toward the Enlightenment’.<sup>912</sup>

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<sup>908</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>909</sup> See M. Thomsen, ‘Der Thorner Tumult 1724 als Gegenstand des deutsch–polnischen Nationalitätenkonflikts. Zur Kontroverse zwischen Franz Jacobi und Stanisław Kujot Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 57 (2009), pp. 293–314.

<sup>910</sup> C. Motsch, *Grenzgesellschaft und frühmoderner Staat. Die Starosteie Drabeim zwischen Hinterpommern, der Neumark und Großpolen (1575–1895)* (Göttingen, 2011), p. 30.

<sup>911</sup> E. Eckert, *Zwischen Ostforschung und Osteuropahistorie. Zur Biographie des Historikers Gotthold Rhode (1916–1990)* (Osnabrück, 2012).

<sup>912</sup> G. Rhode, ‘Vom Königlichen Preußen zur preußischen Provinz Westpreußen (1466–1772)’, in R. Riemenschneider (ed.), *Schlesien und Pommern in den deutsch–polnischen Beziehungen vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1982), p. 61.

Recent studies of contemporary European reactions to the crackdown, which strongly focus on the legitimation of foreign intervention, argue differently. Taking an IR realist approach, Martin Schulze Wessel contends that foreign policy toward Toruń was dictated by reason of state;<sup>913</sup> the British authorities used the executions to foster anti-Catholic consensus against the Jacobites at home, whereas the Prussian Crown employed them to justify its imperialist ambitions in Poland.<sup>914</sup> Schulze Wessel acknowledges that print media were important for policy makers to publicly legitimize their actions, but he makes a clear distinction between the motivation for and justification of foreign policy.<sup>915</sup> Andrew Thompson positions himself against IR realist approaches by analyzing British diplomatic engagement with Toruń as guided by the desire to defend the ‘Protestant interest’, as contemporaries perceived it as general attack of Protestant by Catholics.<sup>916</sup> Thompson makes a distinction between the languages used by the English press commenting on the persecutions, and the English office holders who were engaged with the matter. Judging from the presented examples, English pamphlets framed the Tumult within the normative principles of confessional solidarity and confessional truth.<sup>917</sup> Britain’s diplomats, in turn, wanted to protect Protestantism without estranging its Catholic allies. They therefore framed their struggle as ‘moderates’ against ‘narrow-minded zealots’, thereby dissociating their endeavors from religious warfare.<sup>918</sup> They thus refrained from using a language of confessional truth. Instead, they justified their endeavors within the less antagonistic normative language of confessional solidarity. As we have seen throughout this study, it is important to differentiate between these two languages and, although he does not really conceptualize it, Thompson shows himself aware of this it. At the same time, his main focus is on foreign policy, he appears to present it as all part of the same ‘Protestant interest’ ideology, summarizing that ‘the language of confession [...] was never far from the surface’.<sup>919</sup>

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<sup>913</sup> For IR realism see Introduction.

<sup>914</sup> Schulze Wessel, ‘Religiöse Intoleranz’, p. 73.

<sup>915</sup> Ibid., pp. 71–72. See also M. Schulze Wessel, ‘Die Bedeutung “europäischer Öffentlichkeit” für die transnationale Kommunikation religiöser Minderheiten im 18. Jahrhundert’, in A. Ranft (ed.), *Der Hofstag in Quedlinburg 973. Von den historischen Wurzeln zum Neuen Europa* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 163–173.

<sup>916</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>917</sup> Thompson, *Britain, Hanover*, pp. 110–114.

<sup>918</sup> Ibid., pp. 118.

<sup>919</sup> Ibid., pp. 120.

In an insightful analysis of Europe's diplomatic reactions, Patrick Milton combines these two perspectives. He acknowledges the importance of analyzing normative political discourse as 'arguments made in public would have been chosen to correspond to prevailing values and mindsets'.<sup>920</sup> Milton agrees with Thompson that Europe's Protestant political centers mainly looked at Toruń as proof that Protestant rights in the empire and abroad were threatened.<sup>921</sup> He stresses, however, that the maxim that fellow Protestants should be protected was only propagated when it converged with geopolitical interests.<sup>922</sup> Because international developments ultimately made these principles incommensurable an intervention did not take place, which demonstrates that power-political calculation was ultimately dominant.<sup>923</sup> In other words, confessional solidarity was important, but reason of state was decisive.

Reminiscent of Habermas' ideal type of the premodern representative *Öffentlichkeit*, Schulze Wessel, Thompson, and Milton all treat opinionating print media as closely interwoven with the respective political centers.<sup>924</sup> Indeed, Milton characterizes the public sphere as predominantly 'that of the princes and diplomats (along with the political nation of stakeholders), who largely constituted both the authors of and the audiences of printed material'.<sup>925</sup> Karin Friedrich has similarly argued that 'Brandenburg-Prussia's efficient propaganda machine made sure that [Toruń] was not forgotten'.<sup>926</sup> As we have seen throughout this study, printed opinion surrounding persecutions did indeed often originate close to political centers. However, it has become clear throughout the preceding chapters that regarding the press only as a tool of the government fails to do justice to the complex relation between pamphlets and politics.

The aim of this chapter is therefore twofold. First of all, it will test whether the interceding governments indeed dominated publicity for Toruń by focusing on the Dutch Republic, which only interceded for Toruń in September, nine months after several Protestant

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<sup>920</sup> P. Milton, 'Debates on intervention against religious persecution in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. European reactions to the Tumult of Thorn, 1724-1726', *European History Quarterly* 47-3 (2017), p. 408.

<sup>921</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 419.

<sup>922</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>923</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.

<sup>924</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>925</sup> Milton, 'Debates on intervention', p. 408.

<sup>926</sup> K. Friedrich, *The other Prussia. Royal Prussia, Poland, and liberty, 1569-1772* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 187.

monarch began to pressure Poland-Lithuania.<sup>927</sup> If Europe's Protestant governments were indeed mainly responsible for turning Toruń into a cause célèbre for a limited group of stakeholders, how integrated, or even concerted, was the publicity they generated? And to what extent did it reach the Dutch Republic? In the previous chapters, we have seen that publicity for religious persecution could, depending on the political circumstances, remain fundamentally transnational or go into a distinct domestic direction. This raises the question whether the execution of ten Lutherans in Poland-Lithuania caused such a commotion because Protestants throughout Europe read a similar story, or because they all saw something different in Toruń. I will argue that printed news media discussed the event to tackle a whole range of religio-political issues in different parts of Europe, of which justifying official foreign policy was just one. Secondly, this chapter will examine whether secular normative principles indeed gained ground, as Rhode suggested, as Europe progressed in its century of Enlightenment.

### *The Tumult*

Before we unravel the stream of pamphlets concerning Toruń, it is important to provide some context about the history of Poland-Lithuania and its position in Europe. The Tumult of Toruń has mostly been studied as an isolated case, but should be understood within the larger development of Poland-Lithuania's Counter-Reformation and the decreasing religious toleration that was its consequence. While some Protestant states in Western Europe increasingly adopted legislation for religious pluriformity by the turn of the eighteenth century, Poland-Lithuania made somewhat of a reverse move. The realm had once been renowned in Europe for its religious coexistence, exemplified by the 1573 Warsaw Confederation, which extended religious tolerance to all inhabitants of the Commonwealth.<sup>928</sup> In course of the seventeenth century, however, new narratives emerged, which firmly linked being part of the

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<sup>927</sup> See footnote 935.

<sup>928</sup> It remained unspecified whether this included anyone who did not belong to the *szlachta*; M. Müller, 'Toleration in Eastern Europe. The dissident question in eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania', in O. Grell and R. Porter (eds.), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 218.

*szlachta*, the large noble class that dominated Polish politics, with Catholicism.<sup>929</sup> Catholic Poles started to claim back churches that had been ceded to Lutherans, while the Sejm forbade Catholics to convert and decided that Protestants could no longer be ennobled.<sup>930</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, most of the *szlachta* had returned to the Catholic fold.

The decrease in religious tolerance was closely connected with international politics. The destructive Swedish invasions of Poland-Lithuania—known as the Deluge—during the Second Northern War (1655–60) were remembered as attacks not only on Poland but also on Catholicism.<sup>931</sup> Prussian and Russian appeals to solidarity with religious dissidents—Lutheran and Orthodox—in an effort to steer the Commonwealth’s domestic politics added fuel to the flames; the first legal restrictions passed by the Sejm in 1717 against Protestants holding national public office were underpinned by the need to safeguard sovereignty against foreign interference through a fifth column.<sup>932</sup>

Whereas Lutherans throughout the Commonwealth found themselves increasingly discriminated against, they remained socially and politically dominant in the merchant cities of Royal Prussia. Toruń was religiously and socially divided between a German merchant class of Lutherans, who held a firm grip on the city’s administration, and a significantly poorer Catholic Polish community, with both groups making up about fifty percent of the city’s population.<sup>933</sup> Since the Swedish occupation of the city during the Great Northern War (1700–21) especially, religious tensions had been high within the city.<sup>934</sup>

On 16 July 1724, a Catholic procession became the scene of a confrontation between a Jesuit student and a number of Lutheran onlookers. Different sources say different things about the precise cause of the confrontation; some argued that a Lutheran boy refused to take

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<sup>929</sup> M. Teter, *Jews and heretics in Catholic Poland. A beleaguered church in the post-Reformation era* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 52–58.

<sup>930</sup> B. Porter, ‘The Catholic nation. Religion, identity, and the narratives of Polish history’, *Slavic and East European Journal* 45–2 (2001), p. 292.

<sup>931</sup> Teter, *Jews and heretics*, p. 53.

<sup>932</sup> M. Müller, ‘Die polnische “Dissidenten-Frage” im 18. Jahrhundert. Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von religiöser Toleranz und Politik in Polen-Lithauen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung’, in E. Donnert (ed.), *Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Günter Mühlhölzer*, vol. 5 (Weimar, Cologne, and Vienna, 1999), pp. 456–457; see also Müller, ‘Toleration in Eastern Europe’, pp. 212–229.

<sup>933</sup> S. Salmonowicz, ‘The Toruń Uproar of 1724’, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 47 (1983), pp. 69–70; M. Thomsen, ‘Das Betrübe Thorn. Jablonski und der Thorner Tumult von 1724’, in J. Bahlcke and W. Korthaase (eds.), *Daniel Ernst Jablonski. Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700* (Wiesbaden, 2008), p. 227.

<sup>934</sup> Salmonowicz, ‘The Toruń Uproar’, 70.

off his hat as an image of the Virgin Mary passed by, leading an angry Jesuit student, named Lisiecki, to pull it off; in some versions several Lutheran boys were slapped by the student; yet other sources claim that the Lutherans in question were adults who shouted insults at the image. The classic question of ‘who started it’ would be hotly debated among German and Polish historians over the following two centuries, but it is probably safe to say that we will never really know.

After the procession, the conflict escalated into a skirmish between Lutheran citizens and Jesuit students, which led to the arrest of Lisiecki by the city guard. The Jesuits responded by taking a Lutheran student prisoner, which incited an angry Lutheran crowd to march to the Jesuit school and demand the hostage be freed. When some people in the crowd started throwing stones through the windows the intimidated Jesuits responded by shooting into the air—other stories claim they shot at the crowd. Shortly after, the crowd broke into the school and vandalized it. According to the Jesuits, the school suffered targeted acts of iconoclasm, as Lutheran citizens set fire to a pile of broken images on the square in front of it. Finally, the royal guard, which was stationed in Toruń, managed to quell the riot and disperse the crowd.<sup>935</sup>

### *Royal Public Diplomacy*

In December 1724 the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark received a letter from Frederick William I. The Prussian king urged his fellow monarchs to get involved in the matter of Toruń, insisting the Protestant religion in all of Poland-Lithuania was under threat.<sup>936</sup> Since the executions had not yet been carried out, the Protestant kings thereupon sent letters of intercession to August II of Poland, insisting to reverse the death sentences; later, they were pleading for the maintenance of Toruń’s old political privileges. While sent through diplomatic channels, the royal letters were not treated as ‘classified’. They were all published, thus serving

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<sup>935</sup> Jacobi, *Thorner Blutgericht*.

<sup>936</sup> The States General received no such letter, which suggests that the Prussian king, at first, regarded intercession to be a royal affair. In August 1725, Prussia, Great Britain, and France agreed to put renewed pressure on August II of Poland. This time, they did invite the States General to get involved: Letter from ambassador Carel Rumpf to the States General, 14 August 1725, Archieven van de legaties in Zweden, Pruisen, Polen en Saksen, 1674–1810 1.02.07, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

not only as diplomatic pressure, but also as an official public stance on the issue by the respective courts.<sup>937</sup>

Finding their way to European newspapers shortly after the executions had taken place, the royal letters of intercession were among the first foreign works of public opinion on Toruń. In most newspapers—with their otherwise brief reports on a wide variety of subjects—the letters of intercession were published in full, so granting a disproportionate amount of space to the Toruń episode [Fig. 11].<sup>938</sup> The letters became one of the most important sources for other printed news media about Toruń, finding their way into nearly every publication that provided a reconstruction of events.

The royal letters of intercession intentionally exposed royal communication to the scrutiny of the international public eye, thus invoking a third actor to be reckoned with. In doing so, the monarchs reframed the Toruń affair as not only unjust in and of itself, but also identified the failure to respond to their pleas as an insult to themselves. Frederick William I's letter to Peter I of Russia from 9 January 1725 illustrates this well.<sup>939</sup> In this letter, the Prussian king deplored that the 'Polish side' hastened the execution, thereby showing 'a public contempt for [our] intercessions in front of the entire world'.<sup>940</sup> George I of Britain actively tried to manage the public effect of his letter, only allowing it to be published after he had received a response from August II of Poland.<sup>941</sup> August II, in turn, asked George I to recall his envoy Edward Finch, after the ambassador's plea with the Evangelical Corps in Regensburg

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<sup>937</sup> On 6 February 1745, Carel van Rumpf, Dutch ambassador to the courts of Berlin and Warsaw, reported to the States General that the intercession letters were being prepared for publication; Letter from Rumpf to the States General, 6 February 1725, *Archieven van de legaties in Zweden, Pruisen, Polen en Saksen, 1674–1810* 1.02.07, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; the *Amsterdamse Courant* reports from London that George I would only allow his letter to August II of Poland to be published after he received a response, confirming that the letter was intended to have a public second life: *Amsterdamse Courant*, 17 February 1725, from London 9 February 1725.

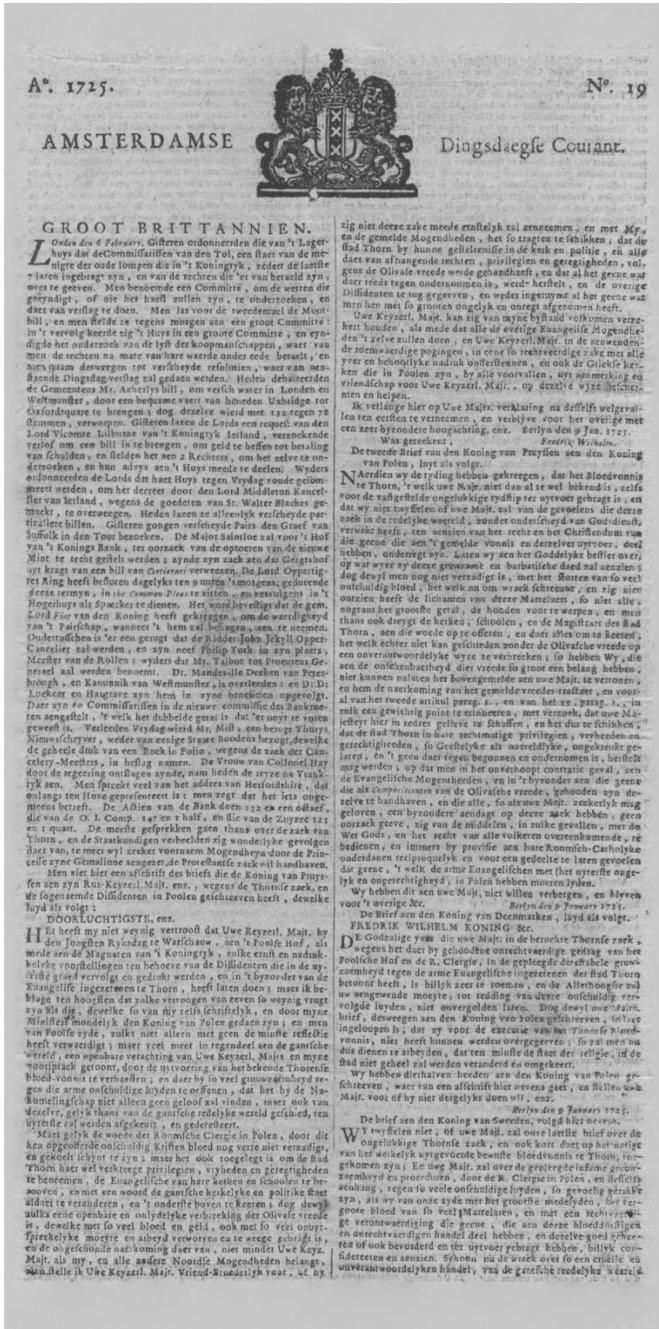
<sup>938</sup> See, for instance, *Amsterdamse Courant*, 6 January 1725, 13 February 1725; '*Gravenhaegse Courant*, 17 January 1725; *Leydse Courant*, 12 February 1725.

<sup>939</sup> It is not clear whether the czar would ever come to read it as he died on 8 February.

<sup>940</sup> '[...] aen de gantsche wereld, een openbare verachtig [...] [onze] voorspraek getoont'; letter from Frederick William I of Brandenburg–Prussia to Peter the I of Russia, 9 January 1725, quote taken from Dutch translation (original in Latin) in the *Amsterdamse Courant*, 13 February 1725.

<sup>941</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 17 February 1725.

concerning Toruń had been published. Polish notables regarded the plea as a public insult to their nation and demanded the ambassador's resignation.<sup>942</sup>



11. *Amsterdamse Courant* with letters of intercession, 13 February 1725. Resource: Delpher.

<sup>942</sup> Copie de la lettre de mr. le genl. maj. de Schwerin à mgr. le Primas, 10 July 1725, Bijlagen bij brieven aan de Staten-Generaal, 1725, Archieven van de legaties in Zweden, Pruisen, Polen en Saksen, 1674–1810 1.02.07, inv. nr. 255, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

Joint royal engagement in public diplomacy against a fellow king with whom they were not at war was not a common practice. In Chapter 3 we have seen the unwillingness of the Dutch authorities to protest against Louis XIV's religious policy. Even James II of England, who had actively sought a reputation as protector of the Huguenots, refused to issue a public condemnation when requested.<sup>943</sup> The intercession letters therefore must have made a considerable impression upon Europe's news-reading public. Moreover, the letters encouraged 'bystanders' to speak out against Toruń; in Frederick William I's first letter, he offered a 'brotherly' warning to August II of Poland-Lithuania that 'all reasonable men' will understand that the accused had been executed 'not for the love of justice, but because of the deceits and tricks of the Jesuits and an implacable hatred against [the Protestant] Religion'.<sup>944</sup> In a second letter, sent shortly after the executions, Frederick William I admonished August II to take into consideration the international public perception of events:<sup>945</sup>

We [...] do [not] doubt that your majesty [...] has been informed about the feelings to which this case has given rise, in all of the reasonable world, regardless of religion, concerning the justice and Christianity of those who were involved in this [...] conviction and its execution.<sup>946</sup>

Taking a similar stance, Frederick IV of Denmark warned August II in an intercessionary letter not to let his reputation be clouded by allowing such executions within his realm.<sup>947</sup> George I of Great Britain, in turn, emphasized to the Polish-Lithuanian king that not only he, but the entire English nation, was moved by the executions.<sup>948</sup> In short, the interceding monarchs not only ensured, but also emphasized, that the whole world was watching and judging.

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<sup>943</sup> Dunan–Page, 'Dragonnade du Poitou', pp. 6–7.

<sup>944</sup> Full transcription in [J.–F. Bion], *Getrouw en naauwkeurig verhaal van 't schrikkehyke Treurspel onlangs uytgevoert tot Thorn, in Pools Pruyssen, door het overleg en aanstoken der Jesuiten* (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 64.

<sup>945</sup> The King of Sweden makes a similar reference to the 'reasonable world' in his letter to the King of Poland–Lithuania of 9 January 1725.

<sup>946</sup> '[...] wy [...] twyffelen [niet] of uwe Majt. zal van de gevoelens, die deeze zaek in de redelyke waereld, zonder onderscheyd van Godsdienst, verwekt heeft, ten aenzien van het recht en het Christendom van die geene die aen 't [...] vonnis en derzelve uytvoer, deel hebben, onderregt zyn'; Letter from Frederick William I to August II, 9 January 1725; quoted from Dutch translation in the *Amsterdamse Courant*, 13 February 1725, report from London, 6 February 1725.

<sup>947</sup> Letter from the King of Denmark to the King of Poland–Lithuania; Dutch translation of Latin original in 's *Gravenbaegse Courant*, 17 January 1725, report from Frankfurt, 11 January 1725.

<sup>948</sup> Thompson, *Britain, Hanover*, p. 106.

The monarchs justified their intercessions with reference to two strands of international law. On the one hand, they referred to positive international law by reminding the Polish king that they were guarantors of the Peace of Oliva. This treaty, drawn up in 1660 between Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, Brandenburg-Prussia, and the emperor, ended the Second Northern War.<sup>949</sup> The second article of the Peace of Oliva protected the autonomy of the Royal Prussian cities, stipulating that they would retain all the rights and privileges they had had before the war. The interceding powers regarded this article to have been breached when Toruń was forced to appoint Catholic magistrates. As such, this became the main legal legitimation for foreign intervention in the affair.

Simultaneously, Frederick William I offered a justification on the basis of divine and natural law, claiming that ‘in such cases it would conform to divine law and the natural right of peoples’ if the Protestant powers made August II’s ‘Catholic subjects feel some of what [...] the poor Evangelicals had to suffer’.<sup>950</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 4, a Dutch pamphleteer made a similar argument in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Prussian king’s letter thus offers an interesting negotiation of the normative principles of sovereignty, rule of law, and confessional solidarity. In his view, August II’s sovereignty did not take precedence over Frederick William I’s right to act upon the normative principle of confessional solidarity, which he regards as supported by the normative principle of natural law. Following his argument, the Prussian king was not permitted to breach the sovereignty of Poland–Lithuania, but he did have the right to punish the coreligionists of August II within the bounds of his own territorial sovereignty. Indeed, while emphasizing confessional neutrality by arguing that the injustice of Toruń would be self-evident to all ‘reasonable’ people, regardless of religion, religious solidarity nevertheless gave him the natural right to pick sides. Ambassador Finch added the normative principle of humanity as a justification for George I of England to act, declaring that

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<sup>949</sup> See R. Frost, *After the Deluge. Poland–Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655–1660* (Cambridge, 1993); M. Evans, *Religious liberty and international law in Europe* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 55.

<sup>950</sup> ‘[...] welche in dergleichen Fällen dem göttlichen Gesetze, und auch dem Recht aller Völker gemäß sind; ‘römischcatholischen Religion beypflichtenden Unterhanen einen Theil dessen wieder empfinden zulassen, was die arme Evangelische [...] leiden müsten’; Letter from Frederick William I to August II, 9 January 1725, in D. Giegert (ed.), *Der reisende Herbergeselle oder Reisebeschreibung eines auf der Wanderschaft begriffenen Weisgerbergesellens, nebst anhängtem wahrhften und eigentlichen Verlauf des in Thorn ao. 1724 bey dem Jesuiterkloster entstandenen Tumults und darauf erfolgter Execution* (Legnica, 1725), pp. 243–244.

the king, my master, will take no measures other than those that his conscience, his honor, and his feelings of humanity will instill upon him, and will be enough to soothe the spirit of the English nation, which shouts with one voice for justice or vengeance!<sup>951</sup>

*A Cause Célèbre*

Compared to the scope of the other instances of religious persecution investigated in this study, Toruń seems like a minor episode. Royal public diplomacy and the somewhat ambiguous religious interpretation of events provided by the Protestant monarchs were two factors that help us understand why the Tumult of Toruń nevertheless received such unprecedented international public attention. Another factor was the nature of the alleged persecution. The letters of intercession were directed at August II with a request to intervene in his domestic politics, but few opinion makers identified him as the author of the persecutions. Toruń was first and foremost regarded as a Jesuit issue. The news was therefore premediated by a shared repertoire of anti-Jesuit literature, some of which has been examined in Chapter 4.

Sabine Pavone has aptly described the Society of Jesus as ‘marked by central coordination and secrecy on the one hand and engagement in politics and society on the other hand’.<sup>952</sup> This provided the basis for a widely shared narrative in Europe that the Jesuits were a severe threat to sovereignty. On the one hand, they were associated with monarchomach theory and practice.<sup>953</sup> On the other hand, having managed to gain close proximity to some of Europe’s Catholic courts as royal confessors, they were—to some extent rightly—associated with the manipulation of government policy.<sup>954</sup> Still, these fears often stood in sharp contrast

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<sup>951</sup> ‘De maatregelen dan, die de Koning, myn Meester, in deeze zaak zal nemen, zullen geene andere zyn dan die, dewelke hem door zyn gewisse, door zyne eer, en door zyne gevoelens van menschelykheid zullen worden ingeboezemt, en die genoegzaam zullen zyn om te stillen den geest van de Engelsche Natie, det met eene eenparige stemme roept, of Regt, of Wraak!’; Dutch translation in the *’s Gravenhaegse Courant*, 7 March 1725, report from Dresden, 27 February 1725.

<sup>952</sup> S. Pavone, ‘The history of anti-Jesuitism. National and global dimensions’, in T. Banchoff and J. Casanova (eds.), *The Jesuits and globalization. Historical legacies and contemporary challenges* (Washington, DC, 2016), p. 111.

<sup>953</sup> See Burke, ‘The black legend’, pp. 165–182.

<sup>954</sup> See H. Braun, ‘Jesuits as counsellors in the early modern world. Introduction’, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4 (2017), pp. 175–185.

to the actual numbers of Jesuits present in a society. In the Dutch Republic only 75 Jesuits were active in 1686, and their numbers were declining.<sup>955</sup>

It is important to keep in mind that anti-Jesuit conspiracies were not necessarily based on anti-Catholicism. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, they had become prevalent among non-Protestant parties as well.<sup>956</sup> The Jansenists developed a lively anti-Jesuit literature and several European governments—not only Protestant but also Catholic—began to regard the Jesuits as a fifth column.<sup>957</sup> Different types of Enlightenment thinkers, in turn, singled out the Jesuits as prototypes of irrational religious fanaticism and readily adopted accusations that they had an insatiable lust for power. Richard van Dülmen rightly states that ‘as different as the respective Enlightenment currents were, they were united in their opposition against the Society of Jesus’.<sup>958</sup> By the eighteenth century this diffusion of anti-Jesuit thought increasingly pushed adherents into a corner. Ultimately, the Jesuit Order was suppressed by several governments—including the Vatican—in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>959</sup>

By the early eighteenth century, people of very different religious and political outlooks associated the Jesuits with a set of common evils, most notably (1) theological error, (2) bigotry and intolerance, (3) irrationality, (4) lust for power (5) foreign disruption of civic order and sovereignty, and (6) demonic association. Toruń could serve as a smoking gun for all such conspiracy theories. Moreover, that a Protestant civic government had been toppled by a fifth column, reinforced the idea that the Jesuits were not only dangerous counselors to Catholic monarchs, but also an internal threat. As such, Toruń blurred the lines between foreign politics and domestic social order to a greater extent than the other cases of religious persecution discussed so far. Before examining the different religio-political discussions the Tumult of Toruń gave rise to, a final factor that turned Toruń into a cause célèbre should be discussed.

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<sup>955</sup> C. Lenarduzzi, ‘Katholiek in de Republiek. Subcultuur en tegencultuur in Nederland 1570-1750’ (unpublished PhD thesis, 2018), p. 73.

<sup>956</sup> Already in the late seventeenth century, the Jesuits had been expelled from France, but were allowed to return a decade later. See E. Nelson, ‘The King, the Jesuits, and the French Church’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>957</sup> Pavone, ‘History of anti-Jesuitism’, p. 113.

<sup>958</sup> R. van Dülmen, ‘Antijesuitismus und katholische Aufklärung in Deutschland’, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 1989 (1969), p. 52.

<sup>959</sup> C. Vogel, *Der Untergang der Gesellschaft Jesu als europäisches Medienereignis (1758–1773). Publizistische Debatten im Spannungsfeld von Aufklärung und Gegenklärung* (Mainz, 2006).

Concerted monarchical intervention in a minor incident was seized upon as evidence to feed a particularly widespread and flexible conspiracy theory that suggested that the social order was vulnerable. The Tumult of Toruń received so much attention that print media soon began to discuss that public attention in its own right. On 4 January 1725 the *Amsterdamse Courant* reported that news about Toruń made all Protestants in England shudder and that the people in Leipzig were devastated by what had happened.<sup>960</sup> Five days later it reported that

the matter of Toruń has become the object of discourse in all good company. They wait impatiently for German letters, to learn about the further developments surrounding the case.<sup>961</sup>

On 12 January, the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* included a similar report from Frankfurt, saying that people talked almost exclusively about Toruń. A day later the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* added that this had already led to brawls between Catholics and Protestants in the free imperial city.<sup>962</sup> On 24 January, the *Leydse Courant* reported that English Catholics, 'as immoderate as they are, appear to feel ashamed and avoid hearing about it as much as possible'.<sup>963</sup> On 27 January, the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* reported that

the tragedy of Thorn, staged by the Jesuits, creates a lot of rumor in all of Europe and is regarded as a case the like of which has not been heard in several centuries.<sup>964</sup>

On 30 January the *Amsterdamse Courant* reported that there was no lack of writers who make it their business

to demonstrate the necessity to curb the spirit of persecution and the rage of the disciples of Loyola. These writings, in which popery is painted in the blackest of colors,

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<sup>960</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 4 January 1725.

<sup>961</sup> 'De zaak van Thorn is het voorwerp van discours in alle de fraye gezelschappen geworden. Men verlangt met ongedult na de Duytsche brieve, om het verdere gevolg van die zaak te vernemen'; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 9 January 1725.

<sup>962</sup> *'s Gravenhaegse Courant*, 12 January 1725.

<sup>963</sup> '[...] hoe weining gemodereerd die ook zyn, schynen daar een innerlyke schaamte over te hebben, en ontgaan zoo veel zy kunnen daar van te hooren spreeken'; *Leydse Courant*, 24 January 1725. The *Amsterdamse Courant* reports the same one day later.

<sup>964</sup> 'Het Treurspel van Thorn door de Jesuiten gespeelt, maeckt in geheel Europa veel geruchts, en wert aengesien als een saeck die men in eenige Eeuwen niet heeft gehoort'; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 27 January 1725.

do not fail to make a lively impression, not only in the minds of the common people, but also among persons of the highest ranks.<sup>965</sup>

Four days later, the *Amsterdamse Courant* reported that several Protestant powers had begun to enact reprisals because of Toruń, while on 6 February, the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* claimed that in Hanover Roman Catholics had been told to leave the city before the 25th.<sup>966</sup> Newspapers also mentioned the publication of pamphlets in different countries. The ‘*Gravenhaegse Courant*, for instance, wrote on 28 February that a pamphlet had been published in London, written in a style both ‘emphatic and moving’.<sup>967</sup> On 16 March, the *Leydse Courant* recounted from Warsaw that one Polish prince

could not keep in check his irritation about the tidings about the matter of Toruń, which one finds written in Dutch, German, and French newspapers.<sup>968</sup>

One series of pamphlets, presenting a fictional conversation between Rössner and Luther, narrated that even the people in the realm of the dead—both Protestant and Catholic—were anxiously awaiting news about Toruń.<sup>969</sup> The *Europische Mercurius* introduced yet another report about the matter in almost apologetic terms, stating that ‘as soon as the reader sees the name Poland, he will realize that we will again speak of the poor Thorners’.<sup>970</sup> In short, royal attention may have made the story big, but it set something in motion that, at least in the Dutch Republic,

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<sup>965</sup> ‘[...] om de noodzaaklykheyd aen te toonen van den geest van vervolging, en de woede der Discipulen van Lojola in te teugelen. Deeze geschriften, waer in het Papendom met de swartste koleuren afgemaalt werd, laten niet na een leevendige indruk, niet alleenlyk in de gemoederen van het volk, maer zelfs onder personen van den hoogsten rang, te verwekken’; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 30 January 1725.

<sup>966</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 3 February 1725; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 6 February 1725.

<sup>967</sup> ‘nadrukkelyk als beweeglyk’; ‘*Gravenhaegse Courant*, 28 February 1725.

<sup>968</sup> ‘[...] kon zich niet betoomen van moeylykheid over de tydingen aangaande het werk van Thoorn, die men in de Hollandse zoo Nederduytse als Fransse nieuws–papieren geschreeven vind’; *Leydse Courant*, 16 March 1725.

<sup>969</sup> Anonymous, *De onschuldige bloetdruypende voetstappen op de eerste aankomste van de br. Johann Gottfried Rösner, gewesene hoogloflyke president burgermeester der stad Thorn* (Amsterdam 1725), pfl 16645; Anonymous, *Nieuw aangekomen en noodig vervolg tot de in het ryke der dooden gehouden t’samenspraak tusschen den heer Johann Gottfried Rösner [...] en dr. Martinus Lutherus* (Amsterdam 1725), pfl 16646; Anonymous, *De derde afzending van de, in het ryke der dooden geboude samenspraak tusschen den ontbalsden br. Johann Gottfried Rösner [...] en dr. Martinus Lutherus* (Amsterdam 1725), pfl 16647; these pamphlets are translated from German originals.

<sup>970</sup> ‘Zo ras den lezer de naam van Poolen ziet, zo kan hy by zig zelve wel bezeffen, dat’er al wederom van die ongelukkige Thoorners zal gesproken worden’; *Europische Mercurius, behelzende de voornaamsze Zaken van Staat en Oorlog, voorgevallen in alle de Koningryken en Heerschappyen van Europa; benevens eenige meldenwaardige Tydingen uit verscheide andere Deelen der Waereld*, vol. 36, pt 1. L. Arminius (ed.), (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 77.

cannot adequately be described as a public sphere of ‘princes and diplomats’. Indeed, one of the principal works on Toruń originating in Prussia’s government circles, court preacher Daniel Ernst Jablonski’s *Das Betrübe Thorn (Distressed Thorn)*, appears not to have been translated into Dutch at all.<sup>971</sup> The only edition published in the United Provinces that could be traced was in French.<sup>972</sup> Whether or not they were encouraged to do so by their governments, Europeans were all looking at Toruń, which they found wildly interesting in and of itself. But did they see the same thing?

### *Visions of Religious War*

Several Dutch opinion makers interpreted Toruń in a pronounced language of confessional truth. The allegorical print *De bloeddorst der Jesuiten, vertoond in het onderdrukken der Poolse Kerk (The bloodthirst of the Jesuits, shown in the oppression of the Polish Church)* is a case in point [Fig. 12]. It presents pope, cardinal, and bishop—allegorized as the three-headed beast Cerberus—holding the banner of the Inquisition, alongside a Jesuit perpetrator, who is struck down by God. Next to the Jesuits are the clergy, presented as bats, ‘devils incarnate’, taunting the truth throughout the world. Reference is also made to the international legal aspect of the conflict, as the Jesuit tramples upon the Treaty of Oliva, but the focus is clearly on the absolute evil of the Catholic religion. Appropriating this Catholic threat, the image also makes reference to Dutch history. A portrait of William of Orange, assassinated by a Catholic in 1584, not far from the severed heads of the convicts of Toruń, underlines a continuum, suggesting that they were killed by the same malefactor.<sup>973</sup>

In Amsterdam, publisher Johannes van Leeuwen had some success with the production of warmongering pamphlets, written by an anonymous author who was simply referred to as

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<sup>971</sup> D. Jablonski, *Das betrübe Thorn, oder die Geschichte so sich zu Thorn von dem 11. Jul. 1724. biss auf gegenwärtige Zeit zugetragen*. Berlin: 1725.

<sup>972</sup> D. Jablonski, *Thorn affligée ou relation de ce qui s’est passé dans cette ville depuis le 16. Juillet 1724* (Amsterdam, 1726).

<sup>973</sup> Anonymous, *De bloeddorst der Jesuiten, vertoond in het onderdrukken der Poolse kerk, met de yszelyke uitwerkzelen der roomse geestelyken, verbeeld by het bloedbad van Thoorn, den 7den van wintermaand, 1724* (1725), pfl 16651; Orange’s assassin, Balthasar Gérard was commonly associated with the Jesuits; G. van den Bosch, ‘Jesuits in the Low Countries (1542–1773). A historiographical essay’, in R. Maryks, ed., *Jesuit Historiography Online* (2016), [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723\\_jho\\_COM\\_192551](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192551).

a ‘lover of the Protestant religion’. The pamphlet series strikingly lacks nuance, presenting its readership with a salvo of exaggerated historical examples of Catholic cruelty. The author wonders whether the ‘Roman

Beast has not plunged around in Christian martyrs’ blood for long enough’.<sup>974</sup> He revisits the cruel treatment of indigenous Americans, described in detail how children were roasted and human flesh was eaten on Bartholomew’s Day, how the ‘choir harpies’ had been responsible for the Thirty Years’ War, and how the Inquisition under Alba in the Low Countries had been responsible for 150,000 deaths—a wild overestimation.<sup>975</sup>

The ‘lover of the Protestant religion’ also sneered at the Catholic image cult, accused the Jesuits of being rapists, and made the claim that they had tried to raise an army of 60,000 Tartars, who were commonly associated with Satan, irreligion, and invasion, against the Protestant powers.<sup>976</sup> This anti-Catholicism came with a political agenda. In the *Aanspraak aan de protestantse mogentheden, tot bescherming van hunne onderdrukte geloofsgenoten in Polen* (*Appeal to the Protestant powers for the protection of their oppressed coreligionists*), the author of the *Laurel* praised the ‘heroes who guard the Dutch garden’, but simultaneously admonished them to action:

Awake from your rest, before the furious altar beast fires at your borders too, and let the same spirit which has admonished so many kings to vindictiveness, move your soul, to save the wretched subjects from their sorrows and grievous state.<sup>977</sup>

In other words, the pamphleteer directly urged Dutch regents to join in the common cause directed by Europe’s Protestant kings. Such admonishments to the authorities were not

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<sup>974</sup> ‘Heeft dan het Roomsche beest niet lang genoeg gewoed? Niet lang genoeg geplast in ‘t Christen martelbloed?’; Anonymous, *Lauwerkranen, gevlogten om het hoofd der godzalige martelaren, door de woede der jesuiten omgebracht binnen Thoorn, den 7den van wintermaand, 1724* (Amsterdam, 1725), pfl 16648, p. 3.

<sup>975</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>976</sup> Anonymous, *De Jesuiten, en verdere roomse geestelijken, in hun eigen aard en wezen ontdekt, en ten toon gesteld op het Toornse moordschavot* (Amsterdam, 1725), pfl 16650, p. 11; see for instance E.B. Song, *Dominion undeserved. Milton and the perils of Creation* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2013), p. 31; G. Hang, ‘Jews, Saracens, ‘Black men’, Tartars. England in a world of racial difference’, in P. Brown (ed.), *A companion to medieval English literature and culture, c. 1350–c. 1500* (Hoboken, NJ, 2007), pp. 247–269.

<sup>977</sup> ‘Ontwaakt uit uwe rust, eêr ‘t woedend altaarbeest, uw grenzen ook bestoekt, en laat de zelve geest, die zo veel koningen tot wraakzugt aan komt manen, uw ziel bewegen, om de elendige onderdanen, te redden uit hun leed, en derelyken staat’; Anonymous, *Aanspraak aan de protestantsse mogentheden, tot bescherming van hunne onderdrukte geloofsgenoten in Polen, en de elendige ingezetenen van de stad Thoorn* (Amsterdam, 1725), pfl 16649, p. 5.

common, but the author must have felt strengthened by the activism of other Protestant powers, which was so widely discussed in the news.

In the *Uitgeleze aanmerkingen over het Thornse bloedblad* (*Exquisite remarks about the Thornish massacre*), a conversation pamphlet in the same series, the prospect of an apocalyptic war is further elaborated upon. The discussants, going by the names of Theophilus and Philometor, marvel at how a small spark, in comparison to other executions, could ignite such a great fire that even Protestant princes paid attention to it.<sup>978</sup> They felt that a ‘war between the Antichrist and God’s people [which] will shake and stir all of Europe’ was nigh, as providence clearly steered in this direction. After all, the Treaty of Oliva was signed by more powers than any other treaty in history. And since the war was prophesied in the Book of Revelation, there was no chance that the parties would manage to settle the dispute. Yet the *Uitgeleze aanmerkingen* was more than a prediction or a work on prophecy; it also admonished the reader. Theophilus and Philometor express their uncertainty about a victory, because the Protestant world is in a bad shape.<sup>979</sup> Hence, they argue that the best way for a prince to fight the Antichrist in the impending war is to purge his own lands and territories from cruelties and injustices, and be guided by God in all his deeds. ‘Princes and potentates’ should therefore commit themselves to ‘a personal and a popular Reformation’ within their realms.<sup>980</sup> The conversation ends with a firm rejection of the ‘openly profane and [...] the feigned adherents of Christ’.<sup>981</sup>

Using Toruń for a call to religious purification, the author drew on a Dutch theological tradition often referred to as the ‘Further Reformation’ (*Nadere Reformatie*), a pietistic movement aimed at disciplining and moralizing believers into living more godly lifestyles. Whereas the ‘first Reformation’ had concentrated on purifying religious dogma, this ‘second Reformation’ aimed at purifying the inner religion of the adherents of the true religion.<sup>982</sup> To improve the spirituality and morality of the people, the ‘Further Reformation’ also called for a

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<sup>978</sup> Anonymous, *Uitgeleze aanmerkingen over het Thornse bloedblad, of bedenkingen over de schrikkekyke gevolgen van ’t onderdrukken der Protestanten in Polen, in twee zamenspraken verhandeld tuszen Theophilus en Philometor* (Amsterdam, 1725), pfl. 769.

<sup>979</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>980</sup> ‘Vorsten en potentaten’; *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>981</sup> ‘[...] oentlyk profane en [...] de geveinsde Aanhangers van Christus’; *ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>982</sup> There is a vast historiography on the ‘Further Reformation’. For a good introduction see F.A. van Lieburg, ‘From pure church to pious culture. The Further Reformation in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic’, in W.F. Graham (ed.), *Later Calvinism. International perspectives* (Kirksville, MO, 1994), pp. 409–429.



12. De Bloeddorst der Jesuiten, vertoond in het onderdrukken der Poolse kerk, met de yszelyke uitwerkzelen der roomse geestelyken, verbeeld by het bloedbad van Thoorn (s.l., 1725). Resource: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

struggle against pretended religiosity and pseudo-piety—an important exponent of which was Roman Catholicism.<sup>983</sup> ‘Further Reformation’ polemic often interpreted contemporary Dutch history in providential terms. The author expanded upon this theme by interpreting Toruñ as the herald of what would befall the Dutch Republic if the country persisted in its sinfulness.<sup>984</sup> In short, these pamphlets still presented foreign news in a framework of confessional antagonism and impending holy war.

Yet at the same time, the author of the series spoke a different language; he combined this militant sectarian defense of Protestantism—‘the pure faith’—and anti-Catholicism with an ode to the religious toleration and the magistrates of Amsterdam.<sup>985</sup> He praised the city’s four burgomasters—Trip, Van den Bempden, Lestevenon, and Six—for keeping Amsterdam safe from tyrants and allowing the people to ‘sleep under the shade of [...] [their] wisdom’.<sup>986</sup> In response to the accusation in the Jesuit indictment that Catholics were repressed in the Dutch Republic, the author gave the following answer:

But fiend, where is the evidence of the coercion of souls , wherever the seven provinces places the freedom cap onto the country’s sharpened spear, and following ancient law leaves all to live in his own religion. [...] Oh, loyal fathers of the worthy fatherland! Witness our city at the Amstel [Amsterdam], whose extensive borders contain innumerable souls within its exalted walls. There, freedom lives, which outlasts the centuries. There the great [burgomaster] Trip keeps watch at the rudder of government.<sup>987</sup>

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<sup>983</sup> Ibid., p. 414.

<sup>984</sup> Ibid., p. 418; As Joke Spaans recently observed, ‘somewhere around the turn of the century “enlightened religion” had quietly taken over’. In its wake came rapprochement between the churches, which increasingly ‘played their role as guardians of piety and morality side by side’. This ‘enlightened religion’ strongly positioned itself against fanaticism and encouraged free discussion about dogmatic purity. Joris van Eijnatten argues that this was not extended to Catholics, who were still seen as members of an anti-religion. J. Spaans, *Graphic satire and religious change. The Dutch Republic 1676–1707* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2014), p. 1; J. van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord in the United Provinces. Religious toleration and the public in the eighteenth-century Netherlands* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2003), pp. 191–200.

<sup>985</sup> Anonymous, *Aanspraak aan de protestantse*, p. 6.

<sup>986</sup> ‘[...] in den lommer van [...] [hun] wysheid’; Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>987</sup> ‘Maar booswigt, waar is ooit de zielendwang gebleken, daar ‘t zeven statendom den hoed der Vryheid zet, op ‘s lands gescherpte speer, en naar de aloude wet elk een laat in de keur van zynen godsdienst leven? [...] Ô trouwe vaderen van ‘t waardig vaderland! Dit tuige onze Amstelstadt [Amsterdam], wiens uitgestrekte rand, ontelb’re zielen sluit in zyn verheve muuren; daar leeft de Vryheid, die zelf de eeuwen zal verduuren. Daar waakt de grote Trip (burgemeester) aan ‘t roer van ‘t staatsbestuur’; *ibid.*, p. 17.

We have seen throughout the preceding chapters that confessional perspectives on events were common among Dutch pamphleteers. Still, we should be careful not to stick national labels on these different outlooks. The ‘Author of the *Laurel*’s colorful interweaving of providence, warmongering, patriotism, and celebrations of tolerance was not found in any other work on the Tumult of Toruń. The individual parts, however, were far from unique. Other Dutch authors were similarly eager to integrate the fate of Poland’s Protestants into a patriotic narrative, albeit without the militant confessional argumentation. The poet Willem van Swaanenburg (1679–1728), founder of one of the earliest Dutch periodicals, devoted an issue of his satirical weekly, the *Arlequin distelateur* (*Harlequin distiller*), to Toruń.<sup>988</sup> Breaking with his habit of poking fun at the news, the author regarded the situation as too grave to be taken lightly:

I cannot deal with this matter in a harlequinistic way, without sinning against the duty of humanity, which all good patriots, even among the Catholics, passionately embrace, abominating the dregs of the cruel clerics, who [...] like children’s executioners turned the knife in the heart of their burgomaster.<sup>989</sup>

Drawing on Dutch history, the poet invoked the death of the Catholic Count of Egmont, one of the political martyrs of the Dutch Revolt, to remind readers of the consequences of discord and tyranny. The matter of Toruń thus offered a mirror, a topical reminder of the state of the Dutch Republic and its national past:

Kneel my Batavians, kneel for the maker of the stars when you think about your country’s fathers, because here [in the Dutch Republic] mercy and justice are united to such an extent, that one never meets one virtue without the other. One folio would be too small to sketch the glory of the Dutch Gods, and a ream of paper would not suffice to begin embroidering the glory of the princes of the Amstel with letters.<sup>990</sup>

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<sup>988</sup> Anonymous [W. van Swaanenburg], *Arlequin distelateur of de overgehaalde nouvelles zynde een werk immers zo dwaas, als de maker zelfs, dewyl het in twee-en-veertig weekelykse afdeelingen, aan een gezond oordeel zonneklaar vertoont alle de bokken van het Dolhuis dezzer geheele wêreld, met weinig geest, god veel woorden, meest, ex tempore, (tot vermaak dier Wysaarts, die uit gebrek van onderzoek naar hemelse dingen, op dezen aardbol met hun tyd verleegeen zyn) by den ander geflanst*, vol. 4, 22 February 1725 (Amsterdam, 1725).

<sup>989</sup> ‘Ik kan deze treurige stof niet Arlequinagtig behandelen, om niet te zondigen tegens de pligt der mensselykheit, die alle goede Patriotten, zelfs onder de Catholyken met drift omhelzen, verfoeiende het uitvaagzel der beulse paapen, die [...] hun eigen burgervader, als kinderbeulen den dolk in het hart omwringende’; *ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>990</sup> ‘Knielt myn Battavieren, knielt voor den Schepper der starren, als gy aan uwe landsvaderen denkt, want hier zyn genade en regtvaardigheid der maaten vereenigt, dat men nimmer de eene deugt zonder den ander

Van Swaanenburg pointed to the difference between the Jesuits and the ‘Evangelicals of the Reformed religion and the governors of the United Provinces’, who had created a paradise within the walls of Amsterdam for the glory of God and the Commonwealth. However, he concluded by reminding the reader that people of all religions contribute to the welfare of their fatherland.<sup>991</sup> In other words, Toruń should remind the reader of the value of religious tolerance. This emphasis is noteworthy. Many Dutch pamphlets examined in this study used foreign persecutions to plea for curtailing Catholic rights in the United Provinces.

Another well-known pioneer of the Dutch periodical, Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677–1747), provided a narrative that was neither patriotic nor confessional. In his weekly *Den ontleeder der gebreeken* (*The dissector of defects*) he gave an allegorical representation of the Jesuit as the Beast, a monster which looks like a man, but feels like a snake. In another issue of the *Ontleeder der gebreeken*, Weyerman follows English conspiracy theories, arguing that the Jesuits had devised Toruń to ‘drill into the grassy meadows of Albion’—in other words, to get a foothold in England.<sup>992</sup> The author began his perspective of events with a proverb by Lucretius, *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum* (‘so great the evils to which religion could prompt’), from his Epicurean didactical poem *De rerum natura*, written in defense of materialism and against superstition.<sup>993</sup>

He thus suggested that what happened in Toruń was a human tragedy, caused by too much religious drive rather than by an anti-religion devised by the Antichrist. Indeed, he did not use confessional arguments. Weyerman also predicted that Europe might lapse into religious war once again, but the problem and solution lay in international relations, not the heavens. He ended his piece by asking Bellona, the Goddess of War, to forever close the temple of Janus—its gates were open at times of war—bringing the states in a stable balance of power,

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ontmoet. Een foliant is te klein om den roem der Nederlandsche Goden te schetssen, en een riem pappier te gering om een begin te maaken van de glorie der Amstel Princen daar op door letters te borduuren?; *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>991</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>992</sup> ‘[...] te boren in de graazige weyden van Albion’; J. Weyerman, *Den ontleeder der gebreeken*, vol. 2, issue 27, 16 April 1725 (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 215.

<sup>993</sup> Quotation taken from B. Farrington, *Science and politics in the ancient world* (London, 1965), p. 178.

so that ‘the power of a greater [state] will never be a thorn in the eye of a lesser, nor enable the more powerful to violently engage with the states of a weaker prince’.<sup>994</sup>

### *Irenicism*

The two strands of thought expressed by Swaanenburg and Weyerman, respectively understanding Toruń within the frameworks of religious tolerance and international politics, merged in another religio-political discussion, which preoccupied Protestant Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and that revolved around irenicism, an ideology concerned with the (re)unification of Protestantism or Western Christendom in general.<sup>995</sup> Ever since Europe’s religious fragmentation by the Reformation, early modern thinkers had tried to think of ways to glue the pieces back together and reestablish unity.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, an increasing number of political and religious thinkers began to realize that both war and theological dogmatism had done little to reestablish unity within the Church.<sup>996</sup> Throughout Europe, both influential figures such as Leibniz and the popular press made an effort to emphasize a basic common Protestant ground;<sup>997</sup> from a theological viewpoint, advocates of Reformed irenicism argued that all Protestants agreed in the fundamental articles of the faith. Moreover, they had a common enemy: international Catholicism.<sup>998</sup> The threat of the ultimate confessional other made a religious ideal into a political necessity for survival. The Tumult of Toruń provided an excellent example of the pressing need for religious reconciliation. It clearly showed that Europe had

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<sup>994</sup> ‘[...] en laat die mogendheden in zodanige evenwichtige weegschaalen worden opgewoogen, dat de macht van een meerder geen doorn in het oog zy aan een minder, nog ‘t vermoogen een sterker aanzette, om de staaten van een zwakker vorst met geweld te benaderen’; J. Weyerman, *Den ontleeder der gebreeken*, vol. 2, issue 28, 23 April 1725 (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 220.

<sup>995</sup> Van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>996</sup> For an overview of different strands of irenicist thinking see H. Duchhardt and G. May von Zabern, *Union–Konversion–Toleranz. Dimensionen der Annäherung zwischen den christlichen Konfessionen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2009).

<sup>997</sup> See, for instance, Anonymous, *Translaat. Christiani Fratelli onpartydige minneyke missive aan een ... vriend, wegens de vereenighing der twee protestantsche religien, namentlijk ... de Evangelische Luythersche en de Evangelische Gereformeerde* (The Hague, 1725). This pamphlet was a Dutch translation of a German original from Regensburg, which was published in the same year as most pamphlets on Toruń. It was published by *landsdrukker* Jacobus Scheltus.

<sup>998</sup> Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord*, pp. 117–119.

not moved beyond the horrors of Catholic persecution. Moreover, as we have seen, the Jesuit enemy was not considered to be a faraway evil, but a fifth column that had permeated all of Europe.

Despite their projects of rapprochement, irenicists were not a homogenous group. Their thoughts were shaped by their own confessional backgrounds and the political situations of their home countries. But since publishers, ever hungry for new material on Toruń, were eager to translate works of public opinion, readers all over Europe were now repeatedly confronted with different irenicist ideas from different regions. An important transnational irenicist voice with regard to Toruń was that of Jean-François Bion, whom we met in the Introduction. In 1725 London printer J. Roberts published Bion's *Faithful and exact narrative of the horrid tragedy lately acted at Thorn*, which was soon translated into French and Dutch by Amsterdam printer Johannes de Ruyter. In the pamphlet, Bion argued that the British King should put himself at the head of the Protestant powers in Europe, 'following, with some changes, the wise measures of Oliver Cromwell, for the sake of peace in the North'.<sup>999</sup> Toruń should be a wakeup call:

The tragedy and the murders committed in Thorn [...] shout out loudly and wake all Protestants, from whatever strand they may be, to set aside their mutual trifling, hate, pride, and unnecessary contentions, to unite in their hearts, to strengthen the hands of the respective princes against an implacable, restless, and powerful enemy, who aims at nothing but the complete destruction of the Protestant name. [...] Therefore, let the Lutherans in Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, most of whom before looked upon the persecutions of the Huguenots in France with dry eyes, learn to have a brotherly pity with the so-called Calvinists, and grant them the same freedoms that the Calvinists allow the Lutherans. Let the Calvinists in Switzerland cease some of their strictness against the Arminians; let the Presbyterians of Scotland bear with the Episcopal Church of England [...]. In one word, let all Protestants look upon the moderation, wisdom, and other Christian virtues of the Church of England, because as it is the mightiest bulwark of the Reformation against popery, it has also shown in all important cases a common charity and a motherly interest in the various members of the Protestant body.<sup>1000</sup>

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<sup>999</sup> '[...] en, maar met eenige verandering, de wyze maatregels van Olivier Cromwel, ten behoeve van de Vreede in 't Noorden, na te volgen'; Bion, *Getrouw en naauwkeurig verhaal*, p. 32. I only had access to the Dutch version of this pamphlet.

<sup>1000</sup> 'Het treurspel, en de gepleegde moorden tot Thoorn [...] roepen over luyd, en wekken alle Protestanten, van wat benaaminge zy ook mogen zyn, op, om haare onderlinge beuselverschillen, haat, trotsheyt, en onnoodige twistredenen aan de kant te leggen, en zig van herten met malkander te vereenigen, om alzoo de handen van de respectieve oppervorsten tegens een onversoonlyken, rustloosen en magtigen vyand, te sterken, die geen ander ding beoogt als de volslaage uytroying van den Protestantsen naam [...] Tot dien eynde, zo laat de Lutherschen in Duytsland, Sweeden en Dennemarken, die voor deesen meest alle de vervolging der

In another pamphlet, Bion went a step further, and called the Protestant world to arms:

The great union, the cordial love which reigns among you [Protestants] today, are so many voices of divine providence, which cry out to you, march, fight, I will be with you, and I will bear terror wherever your banners will appear.<sup>1001</sup>

Bion's approach shows that irenicism should not be conflated with religious moderation; the last quote is firmly embedded in the normative principle of confessional truth—and implicitly anti-Catholic. Not all irenicists adopted this militant view of the Tumult of Toruń. In two of his works, Bion, or his publicist, integrally incorporated two articles from the *London Journal*, a government newspaper that was published between 1720 and 1731, by another author who invoked providence, albeit with a rather different perspective on events. The articles were written by the Whig pamphleteer Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Hereford, under the pseudonym Britannicus.

Hoadly was arguably the most influential British latitudinarian thinker of the eighteenth century.<sup>1002</sup> A man of the Enlightenment and a follower of Locke, Hoadly was a firm believer in government built on reason, toleration, and the human happiness that was to spring from these maxims.<sup>1003</sup> He was also a controversial figure, having stood at the center of the Bangorian Controversy in 1716, recently described by Andrew Starkie as 'the most bitterly fought ideological battle of eighteenth-century England'.<sup>1004</sup> The controversy revolved around a sermon by Hoadly, in which he had preached that the true church was a spiritual community

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Hugenooten in Vrankryk, met drooge oogten hebben aangesien, een broederlyk meedelyden met de so genaamde Calvinisten leeren hebben, en aan haar deselve vryheit vergunnen die de Calvinisten aan de Lutherse toestaan. Laat ook de Calvinisten in Zwitserland iets van hare al te nauwe gesetheit tegens de Arminische wat aflaten. Laat de Presbyterianen van Schotland zig verdragen met de Episcopale Kerk van Engeland [...]. Met een woord laten alle Protestanten de matigheit, wysheit, en andere Christelyke deugden van de Kerk van Engeland betraften, want gelyk die het magtigste bolwerk voor de Reformatie tegens het Pausdom is, zo heeft deselve ook in alle wiftige gevallen getoont een algemeene liefdadigheit, en een moederlyk belang voor alle de verscheidene Leeden van het Protestantsche lighaam'; *ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>1001</sup> 'La grande union, l'amour cordial qui regne aujourd'hui entre vous, sont autant de voix de la Providence divine, qui vous crie, marchez, combattez, je serai avec vous, & je porterai l'effroi par tout ou vos étendars (banners) se presenteront'; J.-F. Bion, *Narré exact et impartial de ce qui concerne la sanglante Tragedie de Thorn* (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 69; I only had access to the French version of this pamphlet.

<sup>1002</sup> Hoadly was writing as Britannicus at that moment in time. However, other writers had taken up the role before him.

<sup>1003</sup> B. Spinks, *Liturgy in the Age of Reason. Worship and sacraments in England and Scotland 1662–c.1800* (Abingdon, 2016).

<sup>1004</sup> A. Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian controversy, 1716–1721* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. i.

rather than a worldly institution. The Anglican Church should therefore not enjoy the legal protection of the authorities. After all, any legislative protection of a particular set of doctrines would inevitably incite people not to follow their consciences.<sup>1005</sup> Opponents thus accused Hoadly of arguing against a state religion.<sup>1006</sup>

This is not the place to dive deeply into the theological and political complexities of the Bangorian controversy—which was fought out in over two hundred pamphlets. Yet it is important to note that a fundamental point of contention was the question whether the secular authorities and the church had any authority to act against religious dissenters. While the discussion initially revolved around Protestant dissenters, it quickly spilled into concerns about the possible ramifications for English Catholics.<sup>1007</sup> In England, the memory of a Catholic invasion was still fresh. 1715 had seen another Jacobite Rising, during which the Catholic pretender James Francis Edward Stuart—a descendant of the exiled Stuart kings—attempted to claim the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>1008</sup> In the eyes of many English Protestants, Catholics thus remained a potential fifth column. Hoadly had earned his credentials as an anti-Jacobite polemicist, but he explicitly urged people to be passionate about it out of patriotism, not religion.<sup>1009</sup> Hoadly’s opponents, in turn, were eager to point out that his arguments against the secular authority of the church played into the Jacobites’ hands.<sup>1010</sup>

As a government newspaper, the *London Journal* was staunchly anti-Jacobite. It was filled with accounts of arrested Jacobite conspirators and plots, thus nourishing anxieties about the danger of a Catholic restoration.<sup>1011</sup> It is within the light of the controversies about the position of the Church and the Jacobite threat that we should read Hoadly’s treatment of the Tumult of Toruń. Britannicus warned that nothing is more observable in human nature, ‘than the forgetfulness and insensibility of the greatest evils’ that are committed against men, as soon as some distance of time and place has intervened. He recalled the Glorious Revolution as a

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<sup>1005</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>1007</sup> C. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom. A study of the Irish ancient régime* (Basingstoke and London, 1994), pp. 99–100.

<sup>1008</sup> See D. Szechi, *1715. The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven, CT, 2006).

<sup>1009</sup> Starkie, *Church of England*, p. 184.

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>1011</sup> D. Lemmings and C. Walker, *Moral panics, the media and the law in early modern England* (New York, 2009), pp. 145–147.

period of fear of popery and the Huguenot diaspora as a moment of heightened Protestant sentiment. He argued that now, providence again kept Protestants vigilant against danger:

It pleases providence therefore, at several intervals of time, to permit appearances and facts, which may either keep us awake [or] rouse us from a sleep, which if it continues, must be a sleep unto death, and destruction. [...] I have enthusiasm enough to lead me to interpret what has pass'd abroad at Thorn, in some such manner as this. The Protestant world seems to be in a lethargy. [...] and [Thorn is] flagrant proof of what all are to expect, where-ever the same powers, and the same malice, can prevail. And if men will not be rous'd by such terrors as these, they have nothing to blame but their own wilful and mad stupidity.<sup>1012</sup>

In other words, Hoadly argued that the matter of Toruń should wake English Protestants to the danger of Jacobitism, which would bring popish cruelty back home. He stated that ‘every advance of the power of bigotry abroad, threatens us with a popish pretender at home; and together with him, all the train of his attendants, superstition and cruelty’.<sup>1013</sup> It should thus make Britons think twice about the issues they had with their government, a sneer against the Tories who had lost political power with the Hanoverian succession:

And this methinks, should weigh with all Protestants who would not be miserable; whether they have the same notions of happiness with others, or not. The point to such persons is not, whether they love their present superiors; or whether they perfectly approve of their administration; but whether they can bear all the miseries of popish bigotry, and will choose to exchange liberty for chains; property for arbitrary will. [The pretender will turn to] the same measures of ruine and devastation, by which the same bigotry has ever work'd, and ever will work, till humane nature be totally alter'd.<sup>1014</sup>

Hoadly referred to providence to support his argument. Yet he did not perceive it as operating within a bilateral world divided between a true and a false religion, but as something that protects human beings and civil society from evil-doing in the form of bigotry. Hence, he asserted that not all Catholics were bigots, as some of them held onto their ‘natural or religious humanity’ and ‘the bias of their good nature’.<sup>1015</sup> Still, as a body, Catholics formed a great threat

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<sup>1012</sup> Letter from Britannicus, *London Journal*, 2 January 1725, in J. Hoadly (ed.), *The works of Benjamin Hoadly, D.D., successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester*, vol. 3 (London, 1773), p. 367.

<sup>1013</sup> Letter from Britannicus, *London Journal*, 9 January 1725, in Hoadly (ed.), *The works of Benjamin Hoadly*, p. 371.

<sup>1014</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372.

<sup>1015</sup> Letter from Britannicus, *London Journal*, 2 January 1725, p. 368

to ‘all who value any rights, whether religious or civil’.<sup>1016</sup> Therefore, ‘every soul that has a feeling of what the freedom of social creatures, and the happiness of rational creatures [...] mean’, should be worried when the Jesuits gain ground.<sup>1017</sup>

It is our concern, from the highest to the lowest, from the prince upon the throne, to the meanest of his subjects, [...] from the most rigid church-man to the most distant Quaker, through all the intermediate differences of moderate men, Latitudinarians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists; every church, and every man, whether orthodox or heretical, whether regular or irregular, is intimately concern’d in this affair. Nay, abstractedly from all considerations of religion; every man who has the least sense of civil liberty, the least regard to the happiness of himself or his fellow creatures in humane society, must think himself interested in it.<sup>1018</sup>

At first glance, Hoadly appeared to sketch a confessional perception of events, combining references to providence with a clear stance against Catholic rule. However, the picture is more complex. The bishop identified Catholicism as a political threat rather than a religious error. And although he equated Catholic power with intolerance, he did not regard bigotry as an exterior evil, or even—in the form of the Jacobites—a fifth column. Bigotry was rooted in social life rather than in the essential evil of a specific religion. The bishop therefore admonished his readers to not only pity the people of Toruń, but contemplate what laid at the foundation of such cruelty. He urged them to ‘abhor and fly from the first motions, the least beginnings, of that temper in [oneself]’.<sup>1019</sup> The mutual condemnation on account of religious differences, hard judgments of private men against one another, ‘the violence of words’, the refusal of friendship, and calling upon the secular authorities to hurt one another were all ‘motions of the same spirit [as] the outrage of persecution’.<sup>1020</sup> Step by step, society could lapse into forms of violence that could ‘not have been borne by any humane mind’:<sup>1021</sup>

First, it was only a mental uneasiness at those who differ’d. Then it proceeded to verbal declarations, at which it stop’d but a short time. For when it was once come to hard words, it was natural to proceed to blows, almost as soon as the balance of power weigh’d on one side more than the other. Moderate penalties were the first essays; but

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<sup>1016</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1017</sup> Ibid., p. 369.

<sup>1018</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1019</sup> Letter from Britannicus, *London Journal*, 9 January 1725, p. 372.

<sup>1020</sup> Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>1021</sup> Ibid.

when they had no other effect, but to provoke the spirits of opposers; punishments too great for humane nature easily to think of, succeeded in their place. And upon these now the popish interest rests itself.<sup>1022</sup>

Religious hatred led to gradual shifts in human sociability, that could ultimately lead to a society that ran counter to human nature. Although Hoadly believed that Protestants had a stronger sense of the duties of ‘love and forbearance’, he warned them to remain universally charitable and not give bigots an excuse for their behavior, which runs counter to God, nature, reason, and revelation.<sup>1023</sup> As such, Toruń became a reminder of the necessity of forbearance and human sociability. In short, the bishop took a complex approach to the subject, ingeniously combining fierce attacks against Catholicism with a strong defense of religious toleration, based on the normative principles of humanity, reason, and religious truth.

### *Foreign Narratives*

Above, we have seen that if a Dutch person wished to form an opinion about Toruń, he or she could choose from a variety of interpretations, many of which spoke about an imminent war of religion: The person in question could buy printed works that told him or her that providence had steered Europe’s Protestant princes to act in unison against the executions, and that it was only a matter of time before a holy war would break out; they could read a pamphlet which argued that Protestants should lay aside their petty differences and raise their banners against the Catholic Church; in the same work he or she could learn that providence did not call for war, but for tolerance, emphasizing that Protestants should remain vigilant towards the bigotry of their government as well as their own potential intolerance against religious dissidents; finally, they could buy newspapers that expressed concern about an impending war of religion, which, however, would not be caused by providence but by human fanaticism. Yet there were also many printed works about Toruń that the Dutch did not find in their bookshops. The Dutch press produced some foreign adaptations to cover Toruń, but the question remains to what extent they were reflective of a larger European debate. To

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<sup>1022</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1023</sup> Ibid.

answer this question, the remainder of this chapter will discuss several works that appear not to have made it to the presses of the Republic.

Let us first return to Jablonski, a central figure in Prussia's 'propaganda machine', whose work could, in fact, be found in a Dutch bookshop, albeit in French. Like Hoadly, the Prussian court preacher was a prominent figure in the early eighteenth-century Enlightenment. He wrote and corresponded extensively about religion, science, and politics, and, as an avid translator, served as a main channel between the English and German learned worlds.<sup>1024</sup> Apart from being a man of science, Jablonski had long been a fervent supporter of the Protestant cause.<sup>1025</sup> Moreover, as a devoted irenicist, he maintained an intensive correspondence with Leibniz on the possibilities of unifying the Reformed and Lutheran religions.<sup>1026</sup>

Jablonski published *Das Betrühte Thorn* (*Distressed Thorn*) in the early months of 1725. There is no evidence that the work was published on the king's initiative, but Jablonski's proximity to the court makes it likely that he received some sort of royal fiat. Recently, Martina Thomsen identified *Das Betrühte Thorn* as a 'programmatically and engaged pamphlet against Catholicism in general, and the Jesuits in particular'.<sup>1027</sup> By contrast, I would argue that the court preacher consciously—albeit perhaps not entirely successfully—refrained from writing an anti-Catholic pamphlet. Instead, Jablonski presented a nonconfessional perspective on Toruń, focusing on the normative principles of humanity and reason. Accordingly, he identified the Jesuit Order as the root of all problems rather than the Catholic Church in general.

*Das Betrühte Thorn* begins with a history of Toruń, discussing the city's conversion to Lutheranism in the sixteenth century, the religious tensions to which the entire Commonwealth was subjected during the Reformation, and the religious peace resulting from the Warsaw

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<sup>1024</sup> For extensive discussions on Jablonski see J. Bahlcke and W. Korthaase, eds. *Daniel Ernst Jablonski. Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700* (Wiesbaden, 2008).

<sup>1025</sup> He used his position as court preacher to engage in activism for the Protestants in Poland-Lithuania and Bohemia. He also served as bishop of the Bohemian Brethren; I. Modrow, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde', in Bahlcke and Korthaase, eds., *Daniel Ernst Jablonski*, p. 336.

<sup>1026</sup> H. Rudolph, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in ihrem ökumenischen Bemühen', in Bahlcke and Korthaase, eds., *Daniel Ernst Jablonski*, pp. 265–284; Jablonski and Leibniz had a close relationship. Together, they founded the Berlin Society of Sciences, where they served together as the institute's first presidents; H. Rudolph, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski. Ein Brückenbauer im Europa der frühen Neuzeit', *Lexicon Philosophicum* 5 (2007), p. 62.

<sup>1027</sup> Thomsen, 'Betrühte Thorn', p. 244.

Confederation. He argued that this religious harmony was disrupted by the arrival of the Jesuits, whom he described as foreign enemies.<sup>1028</sup> Not only did the Jesuits initiate a period of renewed religious tension, they also damaged the city's autonomy. Because the order attained protection from the Sejm, they made the city accountable to the Commonwealth's tribunal, and therewith to the Catholic nobility and clergy.<sup>1029</sup> Jablonski used secular arguments against the Jesuits, stressing that they had a history of clashing with authorities, both Catholic and Protestant, both worldly and religious. He concluded that 'wherever the Jesuits arrive, stench and confusion inseparably accompany them, whereas peace and rest are exiled'.<sup>1030</sup> In other words, the Jesuits were a fifth column in every polity in the broadest possible sense, regardless of religious affiliation.

To be sure, in Jablonski's understanding of events, confessional animosity played a significant role. The court preacher deemed it likely that 'embitterment against the religion' was the real motive behind the executions and that the 'destruction of the Evangelical religion in Poland' had been the main goal.<sup>1031</sup> He thus discussed the normative principle of confessional solidarity, but only as a negative trait of the adversary. The Jesuits could be so militant only because they found a willing ear among the common people. The latter were easy to mislead, as they were drowned in superstition and biased against so-called heretics.<sup>1032</sup> Yet the preacher refrained from conflating Catholics or Catholicism with superstition. On the contrary, he emphasized that intolerant verdicts such as the one passed in Toruń, which stemmed not from justice 'but from the judge's obstinacy', were criticized by those Catholics who understood that they 'do harm to all worldly and Godly laws':<sup>1033</sup>

It is not to be doubted, how such inhumane cruelty generally arouses in human nature itself shock and disgust. Therefore, [the executions] will have aroused a just disapproval

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<sup>1028</sup> D. Jablonski, *Das betriübte Thorn, oder die Geschichte so sich zu Thorn von dem 11. Jul. 1724. biss auf gegenwärtige Zeit zugetragen* (Berlin, 1725), p. 12.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>1030</sup> '[...] wo die Jesuiten einkehren, daß da Stanck und Verwirrung sie unzertrennlich begleite, Fried un Ruhe hingegen auf ewig verbannet warden'; *ibid.*, pp. 18–26.

<sup>1031</sup> '[...] und weil sich hierdurch augenscheinlich geüssert, daß die Verbitterung wider die Religion die wahre Quelle solcher Strenge, und dieses al sein Vorspiel der beschlossenen Zerstörung des Evangelischen Wesens in Polen anzusehen sey'; *ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>1032</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>1033</sup> '[...] aus des Richters eigensinn'; '[...] alle göttliche und weltliche Gesetze verletzt worden'; *ibid.*, p. 95.

and indignation among all rational Catholics, but a Christian pity and lamentation among the Evangelicals.<sup>1034</sup>

In other words, human nature sufficed for Catholics to pity the persecuted in Toruń. For Jablonski, the antonym of religious bias was not the truth of the Protestant religion; it was a civilized society based on reason, legal justice, and benevolent human nature. Interestingly, despite its largely nonconfessional message, *Das Betrübt Thorn* does praise the convicts as martyrs, as they could have saved themselves by converting. Most early modern Europeans agreed that people could only become martyrs if they died for the true religion. However, Jablonski refrained from praising the martyrs of Thorn with explicit references to confessional truth.

Writing in the service of the monarch who had initiated the concerted reaction against the executions, Jablonski never mentioned the possibility of a war of religion. Instead, he expressed hope that the royal letters of intercession would lead reasonable Poles to understand that the case of Toruń was not an internal matter, and that it was in the best interests of their fatherland to take a milder stance. In that way, all subjects could live together in mutual trust.<sup>1035</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that although Jablonski was a proactive irenicist, he did not use Toruń to speak out for religious unification, like Bion did.<sup>1036</sup> The court preacher's nonconfessional approach fits within a larger pattern that we have seen throughout this study; when supporting Protestant minorities, governments were usually careful not to alienate Catholic monarchs and thus preferred to condemn persecution on the basis of secular normative principles.

This does not mean, however, that only pamphleteers from government circles tried to deconfessionalize the conflict. Other German pamphleteers actually went a step further. A case in point is the Leipzig-based publisher David Faßmann, who devoted an issue of his popular conversation piece periodical *Extraordinaires Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten* (*Extraordinary*

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<sup>1034</sup> '[...] so ist wol nicht zu zweiffeln, wie ingemein dergleichen unmenschliche Grausamkeit der menschlichen Natur selbst ein Entsetzen und Abscheu erwecket, also werde sie bey allen vernünfftigen Catholischen ins besondere ein rechtmäßiges Mißfallen und Unwillen, bey den evangelischen aber ein Christliches Mitleiden und Bejammern erzeuget haben'; *ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>1035</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>1036</sup> A. Schunka, 'Irenicism and the challenges of conversion in the early eighteenth century', in D.M. Luebke, J. Poley, D.C. Ryan, and D.W. Sabean (eds.), *Conversion and the politics of religion in early modern Germany* (New York and Oxford, 2012), p. 103.

*conversations in the realm of the dead*) to Toruń—not long before becoming an historian at the Prussian court. In the *Extraordinaires Gespräche*, he had burgomaster Rössner converse with Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1037</sup> In the preface, Faßmann pointed out that he wanted to give an impartial account. Yet he warned Catholics that if they felt that their thoughts were not adequately represented, they should remind themselves that the author was a Lutheran. To Lutherans who might accuse him of not being ‘zealous and passionate’ enough, he pointed out in advance that their desire to shame and revile was unchristian, and that both parties should be heard.<sup>1038</sup> In their conversation about Toruń, Loyola aptly counters many of Rössner’s accusations, who represents the outrage of the Protestant world. In another piece, Faßmann argued that the whole world was astonished by Toruń, but that all writers that took up the pen in anger should have set their emotions aside, as to prevent irrational curses, admonishments, and untruths from being spread.<sup>1039</sup>

Faßmann’s conversation pieces debunked many Jesuit conspiracy theories, including the historical accusation of regicide, and reevaluated Toruń’s wider significance. Pleading for tolerance, he saw the limited toleration of Catholics in Protestant lands as one of the causes behind the persecution.<sup>1040</sup> Faßmann made Loyola convincingly argue that the Jesuits did not seek worldly pleasure or power, but rather gave it up to serve people.<sup>1041</sup> Rössner finally concluded that whereas he still believed Loyola to be a fantastical melancholic, he no longer regards him as an impostor. Instead, he considers him a devout man who did many good works for Christendom, while nevertheless expressing excessive zeal against presumed heretics.<sup>1042</sup> In other words, Faßmann presented the Jesuits as erroneous, but not without good intent.

Opinion makers who were close to the fire also called for moderation. Theophilo Theodor, a pamphleteer from the Polish-Prussian city of Elbląg, some 160 kilometers north of Toruń called for caution in *Das mißhandelnde Thoren im pohlischen Preußen* (*Abused Thorn in*

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<sup>1037</sup> For a detailed study on David Faßmann and his periodical see S. Dreyfürst, *Stimmen aus dem Jenseits. David Fassmanns historisch-politisches Journal ‘Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten’ (1718–1740)* (Berlin, 2014).

<sup>1038</sup> D. Faßmann, *Extraordinaires Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten, bestehende in einer entreeue zwischen dem Thornischen Ober-Präsidenten Roessner [...] und [...] Ignatio von Loyola* (S.l., 1725), p. 2.

<sup>1039</sup> D. Faßmann, *Apologie des angetasteten extraordinären Gesprächs in dem Reiche derer Todten* (1725). This apology was written in defense of his conversation piece after an angry reply. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find. Anonymous, *Schreiben eines Preussen an seinen Freund in Teutschland* (s.l., 1725).

<sup>1040</sup> Faßmann, *Extraordinaires Gespräche*, p. 5.

<sup>1041</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>1042</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210–211.

*Polish Prussia*). He warned that the rules set out by international law should not be confused with prudent foreign policy, pointing to the complexities of a foreign intervention to restore the Peace of Oliva:

Although according to the law of nations, every state that has been insulted has a *jus belli* [...], equity and prudence require one to take the cautious roads first and gain as much satisfaction as possible in a friendly way. [...] Those who already see the flashing of fire and sword in Poland because of this affair thus go too far in their judgment.<sup>1043</sup>

In other words, following the rule of law could go against reason of state. Some well-read dialogues published on the matter also aimed to provide a more moderate representation of events. In a series of three conversation pieces from Leipzig, the deceased Luther and Rösner discuss how Catholic processions in biconfessional cities often led to unrest, as Catholics were irritated by the non-participant onlookers and the authorities failed to curtail the curious commoners' lust for spectacle.<sup>1044</sup> Luther criticizes the Protestant spectators for indulging in the voyeuristic curiosity, while showing respect for the zeal of the processioners.<sup>1045</sup>

On the other side of the confessional divide, a Catholic publisher pointed out that many Protestant opinion makers, living too far away to be adequately informed, made wild and unfounded claims against respected royal courts and foreign governments.<sup>1046</sup> Johann Franz Hanck from Stadt am Hoff, near the Imperial Diet in Regensburg, published a number of works by the Jesuit theologian Gottfried Hannenberg, alias *Theologus Polonus*, who expressed his concerns in several pamphlets:

Directly after the Thornish execution, an almost countless number of defamations, lampoons, and libels have been published and continue to come to light [...] in which a call to arms is incessantly promoted, a bloody war desired, sought for, and promised

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<sup>1043</sup> 'Denn ob gleich nach dem Völcker-Recht ein jeder Staat, welcher beleidigt ist ein *Jus belli* [...], so rahtet doch die Billigkeit, und die Klugheit erst die gelindesten Wegen zu gehen und auf eine freundliche Art, so viel möglich Satisfaction zu Erlangen. [...] Diejenigen gehen also in ihrem Urtheil zu weit, welche schon in ihrem Gedancken Feuer und Schwerdt in Pohlen wegen dieser Affaire blincken sehen'; T. Theodor, *Das mißhandelnde Thoren im pohnischen Preußen oder historische Erzählung von dem am 18. Sept. 1724 auf Veranlassung der Jesuiten ... erregten Tumult, und der darauf erfolgten Anklage* (Elbingen, 1725), pp. 70, 73–74.

<sup>1044</sup> Anonymous, *De onschuldige bloetdruypende voetstappen op eerste aankomste van de hr. Johann. Gottfried Rösner, gewesene hooglofbyke president burgermeester der stad Thorn* (Amsterdam, 1725), pp. 8–9.

<sup>1045</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>1046</sup> See, for instance, Anonymous, *Litterae ab amico e civitate regia polonica Torunensi Rastadium missae in causa tumultus ibidem excitati* (s.l., 1725).

[...] to the Republic of Poland. The Protestants are [...] incited to hostile indignation and to take up arms against Poland, indeed, against all Catholics.<sup>1047</sup>

In another pamphlet Hannenberg argued that Protestant authorities should chastise the authors of such works for disturbing public harmony and embittering the hearts of Christians against one another.<sup>1048</sup> The author also provided a legal argument against the public defamations by arguing that they went against Article 35 of Chapter 2 of the Treaty of Oliva. Protestant magistrates and cities allowed the publication of works that presented Toruń as an offended party to the treaty. However, Toruń was not a party, in contrast to Poland, which was hence insulted.<sup>1049</sup>

One Protestant opinion maker who provided the kind of militant account that Hannenberg criticized, was the Presbyterian minister Charles Owen, from Warrington, Cheshire. Owen came up with a rather radical solution to the continent's perpetual religious conflicts: Europe's states should once and for all exchange their religious minorities. In his *Alarm to Protestant princes and people*, which saw at least two editions, Owen argued that the current might of the Protestant world was the only reason why a war of religion had not yet broken out.<sup>1050</sup> Instead, Catholics resorted to persecuting and massacring Protestants in their own dominions, while they were allowed to live undisturbed in Protestant lands. They would, however, turn violent as soon as they would have the power to do so, because their 'zeal for

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<sup>1047</sup> 'Allein / gleich nach der Thornischen Execution seynd fast ohne Zahl / Stich Schimpff und LästerSchriftten ausgangen / und fliegen noch bis dato ans Licht. worinnen nicht freundlich, sondern allerdings feindlicher Weise / das Lermenblasen unaufhörlich promoviret / ein Blutgieriger Krieg begehret / gesucht / und [...] der Republic Pohlen versprochen wird. Die Protestanten werden zur feindlichen Empörung / und die Waffen wider die Pohlen ja alle Catholiquen zu ergreifen / [...] aufgehetzt'; [G. Hannenberg] *Die wichtige Frage, ob das wider die Thorner A. 1724 zu Warschau gefällte Urtheil oder der Protestanten dagegen aussfliegende despotische Schriftten dem Olivischen Frieden widerstreben? Wird ausführlich beantwortet* (Stadt am Hoff, 1725).

<sup>1048</sup> [G. Hannenberg], *Authentische Nachricht Von der zu Thoren erregten – und nach Erforderung der Gerechtigkeit gestrafften Aufruhr. Nebst einer Authentischen Beschreibung von Ibro Königl. Majestät verordneten Commission und Inquisition zu Thorn; ingleichen ein wahrbafter Innhalt, des zu Warschau bey dem Königl. Assessorial Gerichte gefällten Urtheils, und darauf geschehenen Execution, wobey zugleich alles erdichtete herumtschwebende Relations–Wesen handgreifflich, widerlegt, und der Olivische Fried defendirt wird* (Stadt am Hoff, 1725).

<sup>1049</sup> [Hannenberg], *Wichtige Frage*.

<sup>1050</sup> C. Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes and people, who are all struck at in the Popish cruelties at Thorn, and other barbarous executions abroad* (London, 1725); Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes [...] the second edition*; I have consulted the second edition.

the church sanctifies all cruelties and solves all doubts and compunctions, that may arise from unextinguish'd humanity in the conscience'.<sup>1051</sup>

In other words, Catholic zeal went against benevolent human nature. The author believed that the Protestant world should no longer look up at the sky, 'and summon in the aids of heaven', as they had not received an answer. The letters of intercession were equally doomed to fail, because 'the wolf having got the sheep into his paw is not to be harangu'd out of his prey [...] by the eloquence of royal mediators'.<sup>1052</sup> Instead, it was time to take action:

If we had banish'd those bloody assassigators, root and branch, into Tartary, Siberia, or any where beyond the tropicks, to cool their thirst after human blood, no nation could have tax'd us with injustice. [...] Yet they live, they live in England, live in profound tranquility, live in the undisturb'd exercise of their superstitions, live under the protection of a government to which they deny allegiance and affection. [...] These are serpents in our bosom, and yet to rid the nation of these dangerous creatures, and plant in their room a colony of French or German refugees, might perhaps be interpreted an act of severity.<sup>1053</sup>

Owen emphasized that one should be wary not to copy the 'gloomy original'. Persecuting Catholics within ones' midst would effectively make the foreign cruelties stop, but it would also 'lay waste [to] human nature'.<sup>1054</sup> Protestant should therefore 'root out popery from their dominions, and [...] have but one religion with its various subordinations and subdivisions', without resorting to violence.<sup>1055</sup> Catholics should be allowed to take their belongings and leave in peace. In fact, Owen regarded it as feasible that Europe's Protestant and Catholic states would mutually agree upon an exchange of religious minorities:

Let Papists, who are scattered among Protestans, be pronounced aliens, but have liberty to sell their estates, and transplant themselves into Popish dominions, taking with them bag and baggage; and let Protestants residing among Papists be allow'd the same privilege, *viz.* of converting their effects and estates into portable effects, and of retiring with them into Protestant climates.<sup>1056</sup>

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<sup>1051</sup> Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes [...] the second edition*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>1052</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>1053</sup> Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes [...] the second edition*, pp. 7, 11-12.

<sup>1054</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>1055</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>1056</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Before such an international exchange could be realized, Protestants should start banishing equal numbers of Catholics to retaliate against Protestant expulsions:

Does the King of Poland say, I will have no Protestant in my kingdom? Let another potentate say, and I will have no Papist in my dominions.<sup>1057</sup>

Owen thus expanded on a theme already thematized in his monarch's letter of intercession. But what justified this 'eye for an eye' mentality? The *Alarm to Protestant princes and people* referred to the *Lex talionis*—the Roman law of retaliation and tried to make it applicable to international law. The author granted that retaliation should normally be directed at the offending person in question, but 'in the want of such opportunity, [one] may substitute equivalents, and such as are generally allowed by confederacies, alliances, and leagues, as well as laws of war'.<sup>1058</sup> Whereas 'private Christians' should not take matters into their own hands, princes 'are born to assert and maintain the liberties of mankind':<sup>1059</sup>

Such, says Grotius, who have equal power with kings, have a power [...] to punish [...] others who inhumanly violate the law of nature and nations [...]; hence it is, that the chastisement of publick oppressors, has been always counted a kindness to mankind, and a generous regard to the rights of human nature.<sup>1060</sup> Thus, we see that in case of tyranny, whether open or private, punitive power has (by the light and law of nature) extended itself further than federal jurisdiction, and that remarkable oppressors of mankind have been (and may be) chastis'd by those who have no legal dominion over them, [...] [as princes], besides the care of their own kingdom, have lying upon them the care of human society: Hence it is, that the powers of the earth enter into alliances and leagues to guard men against the oppression of their own governors and others.<sup>1061</sup>

The sovereign right or duty to intervene against tyranny abroad had also been invoked to support the Camisards, some twenty years earlier.<sup>1062</sup> But Owen's appeal to confessional solidarity is much starker; if Protestants are persecuted abroad monarchs should answered to it with the persecution of Catholics at home. On the one hand, this presents a compelling argument against the normative order of sovereignty. Evidently, rulers cannot do with their

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<sup>1057</sup> Ibid., p. 21

<sup>1058</sup> Ibid., p. 20

<sup>1059</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>1060</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1061</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>1062</sup> See Chapter 5.

subjects as they wish, because the latter are bound to other sovereigns by confessional ties, who can act as their protectors. On the other hand, the normative principle of sovereignty is reified, as rulers have the right to make their own subjects suffer to punish the behavior of foreign sovereigns. In other words, confessional solidarity is the central normative principle, which is supported by the normative principles of sovereignty, rule of law, and humanity.

Finally, the normative principle reason also comes into play in the form of prudence. Owen supported his claim that sovereign princes had so much power beyond their territories by a rather restrictive definition of the state. He argued that ‘the partition of the earth into distinct states, [was] only a human prudential constitution’ and that ‘governments are there for the good of society, not [the] pleasure of princes’.<sup>1063</sup> The real divisions in Europe were not constituted by states, but by confession:

Divide Europe into Protestant and Papist, and in this situation, and view, the two denominations are declared enemies, and always have been in a state of war since the Reformation; so that when one commits hostilities on the other, why should not the injur'd party make reprisals upon the invader, in case he refuses to make satisfaction in an amicable way? This Protestant alliance and union should produce such intimacy and conformity between confederated Protestants, as that it may be said, he that touches one, toucheth the other also.<sup>1064</sup>

It should be noted that although Owen approached Europe as defined by confessional strife, he hardly wrote in terms of confessional truth. Of course, the idea that Catholic zeal infringes upon human’s benevolent nature is a clear qualitative distinction. Yet the proposed reshuffling of Europe’s map was not presented as a godly duty, nor was it backed by divine providence or scriptural truth. Instead, Owen argued that the Protestant world was strong because of its naval power. In that same vein, Italy was harmless because it was home to nothing but ‘painters and eunuchs’ and Venice was ‘more wedded to the Sea than to Rome [and] dreads nothing so much as a Turk and bad Markets’.<sup>1065</sup> Owen therefore believed that ‘skirmishes about religion may happen among opposite powers but [that there will be no] universal religious war’.<sup>1066</sup>

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<sup>1063</sup> Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes [...] the second edition*, p. 24.

<sup>1064</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1065</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

If we compare Owen's *Alarm to Protestant princes and people* with the Dutch pamphlets by the 'Author of the *Laurel*' an interesting contrast appears. Whereas 'the Author of the *Laurel* looked at the heavens' and saw signs of providence and impending religious war, Owen looked down and used secular argumentation to show that religious war was unlikely. At the same time, the 'Author of the *Laurel*' pointed to the value of religious toleration, Catholics included, whereas Owen made a radical call for confessional homogeneity. This shows that the normative principle of confessional truth was not necessarily more hostile to the confessional other—in this case Catholics—than the normative principle of confessional solidarity.

### *Conclusion*

Did the Enlightenment take the edge off of Protestant concerns about the confessional divide? The European backlash against the 'Bloodbath of Toruń' suggests it did not. Ten people were executed in a city of which many pamphleteers had probably never even heard before they read the news, and yet cries echoed throughout Europe that religious war was inevitable, that common Catholics should be banished from England, and that Protestants should finally lay aside their squabbles in the face of an existential threat. Indeed, judging from the pamphlets discussed in this chapter, Protestant opinion makers still looked at Europe through a confessional lens. This becomes all the more apparent if we remind ourselves that one of the consequences of the Tumult was that the city's government was no longer exclusive to members of one religion. In other words, it partly constituted the emancipation of a marginalized confessional community. Tellingly, there were no pamphlets that acknowledged this *increase* in religious toleration.

Still, pamphleteers provided very different insights as to how Europe's confessional divide should be tackled. Some argued that the confessional differences between Catholics and Protestants were paramount. Catholics followed a religion that corrupted their human nature and made them cruel. They described a Protestant–Catholic division that was not so much conflated with the ungodly and the godly, but between the humane and the inhumane. Others believed that Europe's most significant dividing line roughly followed confession, but could not be equated with it. Authors like Benjamin Hoadly also believed that the true division was

between the humane and the bigoted, but people of all confessional colors could lapse into that second category, if they failed to behave in a civil manner towards confessional others. Others yet saw that God was signaling to the faithful to rise up, but anticipated the impending holy war while at the same time celebrating religious toleration.

Indeed, it shows that the public backlash of Toruń was not all about justifying foreign policy; one of the main works written at the Prussian court does not even appear to have been translated into Dutch. In his article on Toruń, Milton stresses that the norms ‘evinced in the public sphere, can be believed to reflect prevailing attitudes and values, as they would have been carefully selected in order to resonate positively and strike a chord with the intended audience.’<sup>1067</sup> There is little evidence, however, that the bulk of printed opinion in the wake of Toruń originated from within government circles. Instead, we should probably turn Milton’s argument on its head; authors like Charles Owen, Jean-François Bion, and the ‘Author of the *Laurel*’, seized upon the state-authorized public outrage over Toruń to communicate and justify their contested political and religious norms. Protestant governments had long ceased to call for wars of religion; militant confessional language was reserved for those further removed from actual foreign policy. In that sense, the rise of the public sphere did not go hand in hand with the rise of reason as a normative principle, as Habermas suggested. It also allowed pamphleteers to look at foreign politics through lense of confessional truth when governments no longer used this language.

For several pamphleteers, the ‘Bloodbath of Toruń’ was only a topical example in the greater narrative they wanted to tell, a broader story about the international religio-political landscape that could differ wildly from the course of action taken by Europe’s governments. But their differences aside, these narratives had some characteristics in common. First of all, they were remarkably ‘European’ in perspective: Print media about the massacres in Piedmont, while justified in recourse to universalized normative principles, had been first and foremost about the Waldensians; the debate surrounding the persecution of the Huguenots was more multifaceted, but still revolved mainly around questions of how to behave toward France and the exiles in one’s midst. The same can be said for the publicity surrounding the War of the Camisards. In response to Toruń, by contrast, people were mainly talking about Europe’s

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<sup>1067</sup> Milton, ‘Debates on intervention’, 426.

political and confessional landscape, in which Toruń sometimes served as little more than a footnote—the smaller the event the more general the discussion.

Second, the debate was dominated by the question to what extent confessional difference related to civil and political society. The answers provided are characterized by a careful negotiation of the normative principles of sovereignty, reason, humanity, rule of law, confessional truth, and confessional solidarity. What typifies the pamphlets published in the wake of the ‘Bloodbath of Toruń’ was the extent to which these normative principles were fleshed out and elaborately weighed in relation to each other, with rather different outcomes.

# Conclusion

## Beyond the Confessional Divide?

Shylock to Salarino:

I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed?

- William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (159?)<sup>1068</sup>

In June 1656 three ships from Klaipėda, Lithuania, anchored in the port of Amsterdam.<sup>1069</sup> They carried three hundred Jewish refugees, who had probably paid well for their passage across the Baltic Sea in order to escape persecution back home in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Disembarking in a miserable state, the Ashkenazi arrivals were warmly welcomed by Amsterdam's Sephardim, one month before that same community excommunicated a young philosopher named Baruch Spinoza.<sup>1070</sup> On 7 June 1656 alone, 326 community members donated 3,375 florins for the relief of the Polacos, as the refugees from the East were called by their Portuguese brethren in the faith.<sup>1071</sup> Having set up two refugee relief organizations, the Sephardic community lodged the men, women, and children in two specially prepared storehouses and provided them with food and clothing while plans were made to find a more permanent settlement within and without the city.<sup>1072</sup>

The new arrivals of June 1656 were not the first Ashkenazim to flee the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, nor would they be the last. As Germany slowly began to recover

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<sup>1068</sup> W. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (Oxford, 1877).

<sup>1069</sup> D. Burger van Schoorel, *Chronyk van de stad Medenblik* (Amsterdam, 1767), pp. 164–165.

<sup>1070</sup> P. Casteleyn, *Hollantse Mercurius behelzende de voornaemste geschiedenissen in Christenrijck in 't jaer 1656* (Haarlem, 1657), p. 75; Y. Kaplan, 'Amsterdam and Ashkenazic migration in the seventeenth century', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 23 (1989), 36–39.

<sup>1071</sup> Kaplan, 'Amsterdam and Ashkenazic migration', pp. 37–38.

<sup>1072</sup> One of the organizations was promisingly titled Zeh Sha'ar Hashamayim ('This is the Gate of Heaven', Genesis 28.17); M.A. Shulvass, *From East to West. The westward migration of Jews from Eastern Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Detroit, MI, 1971), pp. 29–30.

from the Thirty Years' War, it was the people of Poland-Lithuania's turn to witness the utter destruction that ravaging hosts could bring upon one's lands and cities.<sup>1073</sup> Beginning with the 1648 Khmelnytsky Uprising, a time of relative prosperity and tolerance for the region's Jewish population came to a dramatic end. Ukrainian Cossacks accused the Jews of having strong ties to the magnates of the Polish szlachta and destroyed numerous Ashkenazi communities. Contemporary chroniclers' estimates of the number of casualties ranged between 6,000 and 670,000, which were great exaggerations.<sup>1074</sup> Recent estimates stemming from demographic research are significantly lower, but still calculate up to 20,000 Jewish deaths, out of a population of roughly 40,000.<sup>1075</sup> In the wars that followed, Muscovite, Swedish, and Polish hosts ravaged the lands and likewise targeted aggression at the Commonwealth's Jews. By 1656, thousands more had perished.<sup>1076</sup>

The death toll of the Jews in Poland-Lithuania around the middle of the seventeenth century was thus decisively higher than in any of the other persecutions of religious minorities discussed throughout this study. Still, the pogroms received much less international coverage. Although European newspapers provided ample reports of the wars in Poland-Lithuania, the fate of the Jews was not singled out. Newspapers that pointed specifically to violence against the Ashkenazim tended to present it as well-deserved.<sup>1077</sup> Only when Swedish forces marched into Poland-Lithuania did Western newspapers begin to single out one group of victims. Copying Swedish propaganda, they elaborated upon the horrors inflicted on Protestants by Polish forces, which were described with an eye for detail that the Jewish persecutions never received.<sup>1078</sup> The domestic response to the persecutions also attracted little public attention. The 1656 edition of the *Hollandse Mercurius* devoted a few sentences to the arrival of the three ships, a fraction of the attention that had been paid to the Waldensians the previous year, and

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<sup>1073</sup> Frost, *After the Deluge*, pp. 26–52.

<sup>1074</sup> B. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland. A social and economic history of the Jewish community in Poland from 1100–1800* (New York, 1975), pp. 193–194.

<sup>1075</sup> S. Stampfer, 'What actually happened to the Jews of Ukraine in 1648?', *Jewish History* 17 (2003), p. 221.

<sup>1076</sup> S. Totten, *Teaching about genocide. Issues, approaches, and resources* (Charlotte, NC, 2004), p. 25; R. Spector, *World without civilization. Mass murder and the Holocaust, history, and analysis* (Lanham, MD, 2005), p. 77.

<sup>1077</sup> J. Raba, *Between remembrance and denial. The fate of the Jews in the wars of the Polish Commonwealth during the mid-seventeenth century as shown in contemporary writings and historical research* (New York, 1995), p. 166.

<sup>1078</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

that we discussed in Chapter 2. Readers were left to guess at what had driven the refugees to flee to the United Provinces and at the fate of those who were left behind.<sup>1079</sup>

Providing a snapshot of the United Provinces around 1650, Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies have argued that

if we want to grasp Dutch culture in the European context at its workaday level, one notion immediately presents itself, namely that of a never-flagging discussion culture shared by all segments and groups of society. In 1650 Dutch culture defined itself through its continual struggle with a long list of discussion topics.<sup>1080</sup>

Whereas this list was long indeed, the silence on the persecution of Jews across the Baltic compellingly confront us with the limits of public debate in the United Provinces. The meagerness of public attention for the fate of the Ashkenazim was not due to a lack of accessible information. In fact, there were even Dutch printers dealing with the case. In Amsterdam, by now a main printing center of Jewish literature, Sephardic printers published two accounts of the persecutions in Hebrew in 1651.<sup>1081</sup> Two years later, rabbi and scholar Nathan Hannover, who had passed through Amsterdam before taking permanent exile in Venice, published the *Yeven Metzulah*, an immensely successful chronicle about the massacres of the Khmelnytsky Uprising that was allegedly based on witness accounts.<sup>1082</sup> Hannover recounted the events by community and claimed to describe what had befallen them as precisely as possible to allow bereaved refugees to calculate when their relatives had been killed.<sup>1083</sup> Yet for all its popularity among Europe's Jewish communities, the work was not translated into Dutch, French, or any other language suitable for the vast majority of Christian readers that did not read Hebrew.<sup>1084</sup> At least in one direction, the world of printed compassion remained firmly segregated.

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<sup>1079</sup> Casteleyn, *Hollantse Mercurius*, p. 75.

<sup>1080</sup> W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *1650. Hard-won unity* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 220.

<sup>1081</sup> A. Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol. 1. 1350–1881 (Liverpool, 2009), p. 128.

<sup>1082</sup> A. Teller, 'A portrait in ambivalence. The case of Nathan Hannover and his chronicle, *Yeven Metsulah*', in A.M. Glaser (ed.), *Stories of Khmelnytsky. Competing literary legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising* (Stanford, CA, 2015), p. 24.

<sup>1083</sup> M. Heller, *The seventeenth century Hebrew book*, vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2011), p. 735.

<sup>1084</sup> After a translation into Yiddish, the first major European language in which it was published was in German in 1720; S. Schechter and M. Seligsohn, 'Hannover, Nathan (Nata) Ben Moses', in *The Jewish encyclopedia* (New York, 1906), pp. 220–221.

*Between Word and Deed*

Why did the non-Sephardim Dutch presses remain silent? One could hypothesize that the Dutch had no interest in the violence committed against the Commonwealth's Jews because they were too distant, both in a geographical and in a cultural sense. In many respects, only Muslims rivalled the Jews as the ultimate Other to Europe's Christian population.<sup>1085</sup> From this perspective, the predicament of the faraway Ashkenazim failed to elicit printed moral outrage among the Dutch Christians because the latter found no markers of identification. As Rousseau would observe one century later, the development of a sense of pity, although an innate human property, ultimately hinges on our ability to recognize something of ourselves in one another.<sup>1086</sup> Nowadays, social psychologists would refer to this dynamic in terms of 'social proximity' or 'psychological distance'.<sup>1087</sup>

Today, the relation between identification, compassion, and public attention is a subject of debate. In January 2015 several opinion makers criticized the selective public attention for two different Islamist terrorist attacks, which had happened more or less simultaneously.<sup>1088</sup> Western media were captivated by the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris, which had cost twelve lives.<sup>1089</sup> Millions of people around the world, among them fourteen world leaders going arm-in-arm at a commemorative demonstration, rallied to show their solidarity with the victims, holding up the now world-famous and endlessly modified slogan 'Je suis Charlie'. A few days before the attacks in Paris, Boko Haram had carried out a massacre in Baga, north-east Nigeria. According to Human Rights Watch, the death toll ranged between 150 and 2000.<sup>1090</sup> Baga, once home to about 300,000 residents, has since turned into a ghost town where less than a

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<sup>1085</sup> See Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, pp. 294–330.

<sup>1086</sup> R. Boyd, 'Pity's pathologies portrayed. Rousseau and the limits of democratic compassion', *Political Theory* 32–4 (2004), 520–521.

<sup>1087</sup> K.H. Kwon, M. Chadha, and K. Pellizzaro, 'Proximity and terrorism news in social media. A construal-level theoretical approach to networked framing of terrorism in Twitter', *Mass Communication and Society* 20–6 (2017), 880–882.

<sup>1088</sup> M. Shearlaw, 'Why did the world ignore Boko Haram's Baga attacks?', *The Guardian*, 12 January 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/12/-sp-boko-haram-attacks-nigeria-baga-ignored-media/>.

<sup>1089</sup> Twelve people were killed during the attack at the Charlie Hebdo headquarters. Five more were killed in related attacks.

<sup>1090</sup> M. Segun, 'Dispatches. What really happened in Baga, Nigeria?', *Human Rights Watch*, 14 January 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/01/14/dispatches-what-really-happened-baga-nigeria>.

thousand people remain to work the surrounding fields.<sup>1091</sup> Compared to the events in Paris, the Baga Massacre received minimal attention from Western media.<sup>1092</sup> Demonstrations against the Nigerian embassy in London attracted a maximum of several hundred people.<sup>1093</sup> Twitter hashtag #IAmBaga became an implicit critique of the unequal news coverage.

A minority of the consumers of leading Western media would be comfortable admitting that they deem the life of a Frenchman to be worth more than that of a Nigerian. In other words, there is often a discrepancy between our political language of empathy and the moments in which we speak this language. Despite ostensibly being a constant factor in human social life, the concepts of ‘social proximity’ or ‘psychological distance’ do not in and of themselves give a satisfactory answer as to why certain events give rise to extensive news coverage and others do not. After all, it was and is the craft of opinion makers to bring distant suffering close. By and large, their endeavors revolve around reducing ‘psychological distance’, first of all, by simply confronting readers with the news and, second, by constructing narratives of identification and signification. The rejection of persecution on the basis of shared humanity especially could, in principle, have applied as easily to Lithuania’s Jews as it had been to the Waldensian massacre that stirred Protestant Europe in 1655.

However, even in one of Europe’s dominant hubs of international news production, printed opinion surrounding the persecution did not develop spontaneously. The availability of an inclusive, confessionally neutral political language and its applicability to a specific episode of religious persecution did not guarantee it turning into a cause célèbre. Dutch opinion makers and pamphleteers did not plow through all newspapers or interview refugee communities to find new objects of discussion. For an act of persecution to gather international publicity and become an object of printed discussion, several local and foreign political conditions were vital.

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<sup>1091</sup> E. Egbejule, ‘The massacre Nigeria forgot. A year after Boko Haram’s attack on Baga’, *The Guardian*, 9 January 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/09/nigeria-baga-massacre-boko-haram-1-year-on/>.

<sup>1092</sup> C. Alter, ‘Why *Charlie Hebdo* gets more attention than Boko Haram’, *Time*, 15 January 2015, <http://time.com/3666619/why-charlie-hebdo-gets-more-attention-than-boko-haram/>.

<sup>1093</sup> S. Brown, ‘The British Nigerians leading the fight against Boko Haram’, *Channel 4*, 26 January 2015, <https://www.channel4.com/news/nigeria-boko-haram-protest-london-bring-back-our-girls/>.

First, the early stretches of the road to international publicity were often paved by the persecuted themselves. They would not always decide to publicize their sufferings, even if they had the means. The main priority of subjects who had fallen from their sovereign's grace was to find their way back to living under his or her protection, provided that it was under acceptable conditions. Turning to foreign printing presses was only a viable option when it served this purpose. As long as there was no full breakdown of communication and the representatives of religious minorities were still pleading with their sovereign to find their way back into his favor, raising international publicity was not an obvious move. For the Huguenots under Louis XIV—as we have seen in Chapter 3—whether international publicity served a strategic purpose remained a controversial issue until they definitely fell from grace. Accordingly, there were few Huguenot publicity initiatives before 1685. The Waldensians, by contrast,—as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2—*had* lost all access to their sovereign. Living in open confrontation with the authorities they mobilized the foreign press in order to gather the support of several European powers. However, they had to play by the rules to receive the compassion of foreign sovereigns; rather than admit their armed resistance—at least in the first instance—they presented themselves as passive and defenseless victims of religious persecution, in desperate need of an intervention on their behalf.

Second, opinion makers in the Dutch Republic, and other printing hubs in Europe appear to have followed similar patterns, were more eager to appropriate news about foreign persecutions if it could be reframed as relevant to domestic religio-political discussions. Through journalism, Dutch pamphleteers constructed narratives about their own society, linking their own past and future with the present of others across the border. Preachers invoked the Waldensians to stop the brotherly quarrel between England and the United Provinces and unite them against Rome; Orangists presented the religious policies of Louis XIV as the precursor of what would befall the Reformed in the United Provinces if the Statists of Amsterdam had their way; and politicians invoked Elizabeth I's support for the Dutch Revolt to justify an intervention in the civil war of the Cévennes.

As we have seen in Chapters 3, 5, and 6, little incentive from the persecuted was needed when foreign political authorities actively engaged themselves with their predicament and communicated their involvement publicly. This does not mean, however, that reframing

religious persecutions into domestic and international religio-political narratives was a game that was played exclusively by the authorities or those working within their patronage. Once the wheels were set in motion, an episode of persecution would often gain public momentum, and a wider range of different opinion makers—independently or with varying degrees of proximity to local, provincial, central, or foreign authorities—would join in the discussion. The Dutch Republic’s political landscape was urbanized, decentralized, and layered, which meant that few opinion makers were not to some extent affiliated with a religious community, political body, or faction. This also meant that the specter of religious persecution was only explicitly used to criticize the authorities in times of political turmoil, when competing political factions tried to claim power and lambasted each other.

Still, the group engaging with printed opinion was varied. Dutch Catholics criticized the Reformed for caring about foreign persecutions while pursuing an intolerant policy at home; a sign of his limited power, Grand Pensionary Fagel published about the Huguenots to persuade Amsterdam to follow an anti-French policy; the Dutch Reformed published about French exiles to criticize the patriotism of their Catholic compatriots; and Dutch Reformed authors made reference to executed Royal Prussian burgomasters to call for spiritual purification in the United Provinces.

This study has taken the Dutch Republic as its territorial boundary of observation. Nevertheless, it has also heeded Helmer Helmers’ recent call to ‘break down national barriers in the study of early modern vernacular literature’.<sup>1094</sup> After all, following the traces of what was published in the United Provinces about persecution in Savoy, France, or Poland-Lithuania has led us to, among many others, confidants of the Duke of Savoy in Paris, former court teachers in London, and Lutheran preachers in Königsberg. Often, print news media explicitly reflected on religious persecutions as internationally significant events; letters between Huguenot exiles in England and priests in France about the *dragonnades* were published in the United Provinces; Dutch newspapers eagerly reported interconfessional violence in Frankfurt over Toruń; the Elector of Brandenburg published pamphlets inviting Huguenots to settle in his lands in The Hague;<sup>1095</sup> purported manifestos from Cévenol insurgents were

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<sup>1094</sup> Helmers, *Royalist republic*, p. 235.

<sup>1095</sup> Frederick I of Prussia, *Edict van sijn Cheurvorstelycke Doorlugtigheyt van Brandenburg Behelsende Alle de Gerechtigheden, Vrydommen en Privilegien dewelcke Hoogh gemelte sijne Cheurvorstelycke Doorluchtigheyt van Brandeburgh aen de Franse vande*

written in English or Dutch cities, and almost simultaneously published in London, Amsterdam, and Berlin.

One open question is the reception of pamphlets. Future research should give us a clearer sense of who their audiences were. It is equally difficult to determine the extent to which printed opinion actually affected the policies of officeholders. Whether or not the normative languages pamphlets communicated, reflected dominant values and opinions, or whether they reflected arguments of which the public still had to be convinced, also remains an open question. Indeed, even though they clearly influence each other to a significant degree, it would be difficult to measure today's public opinion on the basis of leading media.

This study has demonstrated that opinion makers thought carefully about the publics they were hoping to reach or would inevitably reach due to their works' public nature, and adjusted the normative languages they used to frame a religious persecution accordingly. The Waldensians calculated that foreign governments would not appreciate their being insurgents and therefore used extensive legal argumentation to refute claims of having been disobedient. Moreover, they realized that by framing their predicament too much within their own confessional terms, they would potentially lose important allies across the confessional divide. Jurieu also played a confessionally neutral card to present the Huguenot persecution as unjust, unreasonable, and inhumane in the early 1680s in an attempt to convince Catholic audiences. When this strategy failed, he switched to a language of confessional truth and redemption to encourage remaining Huguenots to persist with their religion in the face of repression. Those trying to find political support for an intervention in the Cévennes played down the religiously sectarian language used by the Camisards, in order not to estrange both Huguenots in the Refuge and Catholics in France and in the League of Augsburg.

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*Gereformeerde Religie, die haer in sijne Staten sullen komen te nedersetten, accorderen sal. Gegeven tot Potsdam den 29. October 1685* (The Hague, 1685).

Table 1 *Normative principles in the vernacular press*

| <b>Normative language</b>   | <b>Argumentation</b>  | <b>Community of appeal</b>  | <b>Example</b>                     |
|-----------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|
| 1a. Confessional truth      | Religious persecution is unjust because of the confessional superiority of the victims (God's elect).   | Adherents of the 'true religion'  | 'Author of the laurel' (Chapter 6) |
| 1b. Confessional solidarity | The world is divided into opposing religious confessions. Preference to protect one's own is legitimate.  | 1. Members of one's own confession.<br>2. General/ confessionally neutral                                     | Lieuwe van Aitzema (Chapter 2)     |
| 2a. Positive rule of law    | Rejection of religious persecution because it does not conform to established positive laws. Establishes that act of persecution is indeed religious in nature.   | General/ confessionally neutral   | Waldensian pamphlets (Chapter 2)   |
| 2b. Natural rule of law     | Rejection of religious persecution because it does not conform to natural law/law of peoples. Establishes that act of persecution is indeed religious in nature.  | General/ confessionally neutral   | Abel Boyer (Chapter 5)             |
| 3. Reason                   | Rejection of religious persecution because<br>1. it is a form of bad government, caused by the persecutor not being guided by reason<br>2. will not lead to desired effect or does not take into account other effects;<br>3. does not conform to reason of state;<br>4. discrepancy between motivation and legitimation of persecutor cognizable through the observer's reasoning. | 1. General/ confessionally neutral<br>2. All reasonable people as opposed to unreasonable people              | Pierre Jurieu (Chapter 3)          |
| 4. Humanity                 | Religious persecution is unjust because<br>1. humans should be well-disposed to one another;<br>2. humans are naturally well-disposed to one another<br>3. the violent behavior is not humanlike  | 1. General/ confessionally neutral<br>2. All humane people as opposed to inhumane people                      | Benjamin Hoadly (Chapter 6)        |
| 5. Sovereignty              | Religious persecution is the prerogative and right of the state. There should be no domestic or foreign intermingling with the state's prerogative.   | General/ confessionally neutral.<br><br>(But also denial of a domestic and transnational community of appeal. | Savoyard court (Chapter 1)         |

Historians have often approached the employment of different normative principles with suspicion. They have argued that opinion makers just used the arguments they believed could convince the greatest number of people, leading to a sharp divide between motivation and legitimation. Yet, in the context of this study, whether or not the opinion makers employing these languages were truly motivated by them is of secondary importance. More important is that these languages all appear to have been part of a shared normative repertoire, both within one's religious and political community, and across confessional and political divides. The Savoyard court, for instance, had initially only propagated their measures domestically, through a discourse of confessional truth. Yet the Waldensians called them out using legal and humanitarian arguments, ultimately compelling their ruler to also apply the same confessionally neutral normative principle to counter their claims before an international audience. Jurieu developed a universalized image of the human psyche and human religiosity—applicable to Jews, Muslims, and Protestants alike—to defy the policy of persecution as both unreasonable and inhumane. Jurieu certainly believed that the Reformed religion was the only true religion; he extensively defended confessional truth claims in other works. This does not, however, mean that his arguments about human nature, reason, and empathy were insincere or less secular.

Of course, some forms of argumentation struck a more sensitive chord than others. That news of persecution led to days of prayer for coreligionists, interconfessional brawls in Dutch ports, and anti-Catholic political measures clearly indicates that some people readily interpreted events through a sectarian prism. But this also points to the fact that people developed secular markers of confessional distinction. Instead of quarreling about dogma—which rarely happened in news media about persecution—people would pride themselves on being part of a religious community in which people were not fanatical, but behaved reasonably, humanely, and treasured the rule of law. One can observe similar dynamics today; during the 2015 refugee crisis several Eastern European countries declared that they would only allow Christians into their country. Slovakia's Ministry of Interior defended its decision not with religious truth claims, but because Muslims were 'not going to like it here'.<sup>1096</sup> Polish

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<sup>1096</sup> 'Migrant crisis. Slovakia "will only accept Christians"', 19 August 2015, BBC, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33986738>.

immigration officers, in turn, justified their stance because allowing non-Christian refugees could be a threat to Poland and provided a ‘great way for Isis to locate their troops’.<sup>1097</sup> Both utterances are perfect examples of what this study has identified as confessional solidarity.

This leaves us with the fundamental question, posed at beginning of this study. How did the public evaluation of religious persecution change over the course of a century? As has been discussed in the Introduction, many historians have tried to describe the secularization of politics by tracing the rise of one normative political principle within the timeframe of this work, thereby often implying the fall of another. This text has not been able to establish such a rise or fall. We have not observed that one normative language became increasingly dominant over another in the course of seventy years. Does that mean that nothing changed in printed political debate in the century after the Peace of Westphalia?

Judging from printed opinion published in the Dutch Republic there was no decrease in references to religion as a normative principle. In fact, the Tumult of Toruń in 1724-1725 was more clearly interpreted through a confessional lens than the Piedmont Easter in 1655. This study has shown, however, that it is crucial to distinguish between two forms of religious argumentation: confessional truth and confessional solidarity. The normative principle of confessional truth built on the idea of the dogmatic superiority of ones’ own confessional community, remained fairly stable throughout the studied period. We have seen, though, that it was increasingly differentiated from the idea of confessional solidarity. The normative principle of confessional solidarity was built around the perception that confessional communities stick together, and are often—though not necessarily—antagonistic toward each other.

While both confessional truth and confessional solidarity sprang from the religious polemic of the sixteenth century, the normative principle of confessional solidarity became increasingly separated from references to religious truth. This long-term development merits wider scrutiny, as it marks a change from political conflicts over religious belief—beginning in a time when all Protestants were former Catholics and stable confessional identities had not yet developed—to political conflicts fueled by religious identity. This is paramount if we wish

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<sup>1097</sup> ‘Poland favours Christian refugees from Syria’, 21 August 2015, *Financial Times*, <https://www.ft.com/content/6edfdd30-472a-11e5-b3b2-1672f710807b>.

to understand why confessional discourse could remain important in politics for centuries to come. An old Irish joke provides a striking illustration of this differentiation:

A gormless tourist has wondered into one of Belfast's more belligerent quarters. A sectarian thug approaches and asks our hero what religion he practises. 'Oh, I'm an atheist' the chap says. The hooligan leans forward and breathes beery breath: 'Are you a Catholic atheist or a Protestant atheist?'<sup>1098</sup>

Benjamin Kaplan has observed that in the sixteenth century, 'Europe's religious divisions [...] threw ideological fuel on the fires of existing [conflicts]', whereby 'competitions for power, wealth, or land, became cosmic struggles between the forces of God and Satan'.<sup>1099</sup> This study has shown that this ideological fuel was so potent because it also turned these struggles into existential and transnational struggles over group survival without resort to the forces of God and Satan. Also without talk about dogma, confession marked and distinguished political communities.

In other words, the century after Westphalia was not defined by the rise of some normative languages and the fall of others. All persisted, but they were infused with new meaning. The normative principle of humanity, for instance, was mainly used negatively in 1655, as something which the perpetrator was lacking. In the 1680s, it also became a trait to describe the victims of persecution. For instance, it could be used to forgivingly explain why not all persecuted people followed the path to martyrdom. Finally, in the 1720s it was elevated to being the foundation of human benevolence, on which religious sentiment could have a negative rather than a positive influence. These different approaches to the normative principle of humanity were complementary rather than exclusionary. In other words, this was a century in which new variations to old normative principles developed. The changes in political languages in the century after Westphalia should therefore be seen primarily in terms of differentiation.

Between ca. 1650 and 1750 these normative principles existed alongside one another, were negotiated in relation to each other, sometimes competed with one another, and were

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<sup>1098</sup> D. Clarke, 'How will you answer the religion question on your Census 2016 form?', *The Irish Times*, 23 April 2016, <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/how-will-you-answer-the-religion-question-on-your-census-2016-form-1.2620971>.

<sup>1099</sup> Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, p. 102.

often conflated or integrated in one argument. Which normative principle took precedent, depended on the (imaged) discursive field in which one took part, and secondly, on whom the author was trying to convince; i.e. whether one's intended public consisted of Dutch Protestants, all the ambassadors within a desired or actual alliance, or all Europeans of all possible sorts. This study has also given rise to new questions about long-term changes in political language. To understand how political language changed over time, this study shows that two strands of future research will be particularly valuable. First, looking at the perception of public spheres is imperative. I mean this not so much in the sense of who partook in printing opinion or how many people were influenced by it, or to what extent it was actually independent from the political sphere—although these are all important questions. Instead, I want to argue that we should pay attention to (long-term changes in) the imagined scope of print media: Who did the publishers and writers believe the supposed audiences of their reports and stories to be, and what type of groups did readers themselves believe to be part of?

In his seminal book *Imagined communities*, Benedict Anderson assigned a central role to 'print capitalism' in the development of nationalism in the late eighteenth century. He argued that the emergence of printing press capitalism allowed a larger number of people to gain access to mass-produced media, leading to a wider dissemination of common discourses. The sense that everyone was taking part in the same public sphere and consuming the same common discourses gave rise to an 'imagined community', the nation. Now that we increasingly begin to grasp the often transnational character of early modern public spheres and their striking flexibility and cross-fertilization, we can safely argue that the intensification of print media and their increased targeting to specific masses—as described by Anderson—may have widened the 'imagined community' in one sense, but also severely narrowed it in another. Appeals to humanity or all reasonable people also constituted, to an extent, an imagined community, but its boundaries were soft. At the same time, inclusive normative principles have a Janus-face as they also provide fuel to exclude groups; according to many early modern Protestants, Catholics tended to behave inhumanely; today, Muslims are often

accused of being unreasonable and in need of their own Enlightenment, like the one that Europe had in the eighteenth century.<sup>1100</sup>

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that during the European Enlightenment discourses about what it meant to be human not only led to abolitionism and early feminism, but also to scientific racism and sexism. These developments remind us that we should not write about the development of humanity as a normative principle in triumphant terms alone.<sup>1101</sup> In the century examined in this study, Dutch entrepreneurs shipped hundreds of thousands of enslaved people from Africa to the West and East Indies. Around 1750, an estimated 64,000 slaves lived in the Dutch West Indies and more than 75,000 in the Republic's eastern colonies.<sup>1102</sup> Few contemporary Dutchmen criticized this practice, even though applying a humanitarian language in their favor would not have been unthinkable, as criticism against slavery on the basis of shared humanity had existed since at least the sixteenth century.<sup>1103</sup> Moreover, everyone knew about the horrors of slavery through the harrowing reports about the European Christians that were enslaved by Barbary pirates.<sup>1104</sup>

A second strand of valuable new research would be to go further back in time, to the sixteenth century—and perhaps even further—to trace the genealogy of humanity as a normative political principle. In line with recent scholarship on the cultural memory of the wars of religion, this book has shown that these wars were never far away in discussions about religious persecution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This study suggests that politicized appeals to humanity developed in the face of religious violence, as a way to find common ground across the confessional divide, but also to blacken the other confession on another basis than the soundness of its theology. Past research has already demonstrated that

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<sup>1100</sup> See, for instance, M. Shermer, 'Why Islam? Of the three great monotheistic religions one did not go through the Enlightenment', *The Moral Arc*, 25 February 2015, <https://moralarc.org/why-islam-of-the-three-great-monotheistic-religions-one-did-not-go-through-enlightenment/>; for an example of recent criticism of this narrative see C. de Bellaigue, 'Stop calling for a Muslim Enlightenment', *The Guardian*, 19 February 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/19/stop-calling-for-a-muslim-enlightenment>.

<sup>1101</sup> For examples of how humanitarian language were applied for a strikingly aggressive imperialist projects see M. MacDonald, 'Lord Vivian's tears. The moral hazards of humanitarian intervention', in F. Klose (ed.), *The emergence of humanitarian intervention. Ideas and practice from the nineteenth century to the present* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 121–141.

<sup>1102</sup> M. van Rossum, *Kleurrijke tragiek. De geschiedenis van slavernij in Azië onder de VOC* (Hilversum, 2015).

<sup>1103</sup> Weller, 'Humanitarianism before humanitarianism?', pp. 151–168.

<sup>1104</sup> See M. Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen. Human bondage in the early modern Atlantic world* (Philadelphia, PA, 2014), pp. 121–154.

William of Orange's propagandists 'invented' the idea of a Dutch nation, which allowed both Catholic and Reformed inhabitants of the Low Countries to rally behind his cause.<sup>1105</sup> Some decades earlier the Schmalkaldic League made similar appeals to the German nation, but in confessionally exclusive terms, equating being a true German with being a Protestant.<sup>1106</sup> Appeals to humanity may have similar, albeit less territorially bounded, origins.

### *The Last Expulsion*

Having summed up several observations from this study, we can now return to Ashkenazi Jews in Poland-Lithuania to better understand why the non-Jewish Dutch presses barely paid attention to their fate. First, there is no evidence that the persecuted themselves sought access to the vernacular press. Second, there is a discrepancy between the inclusiveness of prevalent political languages and the groups for which they are used. People may have exclaimed that persecution was inhumane, but, in general, only when coreligionists were persecuted was moral outrage publicly disseminated. This leads us to point three: the discrepancy between inclusive political language and discrimination between those in whose favor it is uttered is in part constituted by narratives of identification; even without religious truth claims, the persecution of Protestants by Catholics leads to a more obvious reframing within Dutch cultural memory or the United Provinces' political landscape than does the persecution of Jews by Cossacks. These same observations can be seen through the communicative dynamics of the last mass expulsion of Jews in Europe before the Holocaust, and the last episode of religious persecution that will be described in this study.<sup>1107</sup>

Shortly before Christmas 1744 the zealously Catholic and anti-Semitic Maria Theresia (1717–1780), at that time Queen of Bohemia and future Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, decreed that all Jews were to leave Prague within a month and remove themselves entirely from

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<sup>1105</sup> A. Duke, 'In defence of the common fatherland. Patriotism and liberty in the Low Countries, 1555–1576', in R. Stein and J. Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, regions and nations. Shaping identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 217–240.

<sup>1106</sup> G. Haug-Moritz, 'The Holy Roman Empire, the Schmalkald League, and the idea of confessional nation-building', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 152–4 (2008), pp. 435–437.

<sup>1107</sup> B. Stollberg-Rillinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in Ihrer Zeit* (Munich, 2017), p. 639.

Bohemia within six months. One fourth of Prague's population—Europe's largest Ashkenazi community—was accused of having collaborated with the Prussians, who had occupied the city in the recent past. Some 13,000 inhabitants were forced to leave their homes, while the 40,000 Jews who lived outside the city began to prepare their imminent exile.<sup>1108</sup>

Although they did not communicate with the queen directly, in response, Prague's Ashkenazi community leaders practiced *shtadlanut*, negotiation and intercession with Christian authorities.<sup>1109</sup> *Shtadlanim* (spokesmen) persuaded people within the queen's inner circle to plea for their cause, presenting long accounts of the Jews' enduring loyalty. They also offered to cover all military expenses in Bohemia for six months—a generous offer to make during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48).<sup>1110</sup> *Shtadlanim* also sent letters to several Jewish communities abroad with requests to they plead with their own local Christian authorities. This created a snowball effect; influential community leaders and court Jews throughout and beyond the Holy Roman Empire independently began to mobilize their international networks, writing to other communities with requests to aid their distressed brethren in the faith.<sup>1111</sup>

The most prominent among them, Wolf Wertheimer (1681–1765), planned a tightly orchestrated campaign, sending letter templates to the Jewish communities of Venice, Warsaw, Amsterdam, and many others.<sup>1112</sup> The receivers would present these precisely dictated letters of intercession to their governments, who, in turn, were to send them to Maria Theresa in their name. As a consequence, almost all intercession letters sent to the Queen of Bohemia argued that it was unjust to punish innocents for the crimes committed by some individuals, an argument also used by the Waldensians in 1655. Wertheimer even addressed draft letters to

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<sup>1108</sup> S. Plaggenborg, 'Maria Theresa und die Böhmisches Juden', *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Böhmisches Länder* 39–1 (1998), 1. The 20,000 Jews living in Moravia were also banished; L. Kochan, *The making of western Jewry 1600–1819* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 170; Stollberg-Rillinger, *Maria Theresa*, p. 637.

<sup>1109</sup> *Shtadlanut* developed into a refined practice in the early modern period, leading some historians to define it as Jewish diplomacy *avant la lettre*; M. Thulin, 'Von der Shtadlanut zur Diplomatie jüdischer Fragen', in s.n. (ed.), *Konvergenzen. Beiträge von Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden des Simon–Dubnow–Instituts* (Leipzig, 2014), pp. 73–76; M. Thulin, 'Introduction. Transformations and intersections of *shtadlanut* and *tzedakah* in the early modern and modern period', *Jewish Culture and History* 19–1 (2018), p. 2.

<sup>1110</sup> F. Guesnet, 'Textures of intercession. Rescue efforts for the Jews of Prague', in D. Deiner (ed.), *Jahrbuch des Simon–Dubnow–Instituts* (Göttingen, 2005), p. 362.

<sup>1111</sup> These were Vienna, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, London, Venice, Augburg, and Nijmegen; S. Avineri, 'Prague 1744—Lake Success 1947. Statecraft without a state', *Jewish Studies at the Central European University* 4 (2005), pp. 8–9.

<sup>1112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14.

the Holy See, in which he effectively spoke with the pope's voice, admonishing the empress for unlawfully punishing innocents.<sup>1113</sup> Within months, Maria Theresia had received a flood of protests ranging from the kings of England, Denmark, and Poland, to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul and the merchant guilds of Amsterdam, Hamburg, Leipzig, and London.<sup>1114</sup> All these efforts ultimately failed to have their desired effect. Maria Theresia would only revoke the edict in 1748, in a move to gain the approval of the Bohemian Estates for a new system for centralized taxation.<sup>1115</sup> Yet the intercession efforts were so massive in scope that this case has often been considered a landmark in informal diplomacy and Jewish diplomatic agency.<sup>1116</sup> What uninitiated audiences could learn about these diplomatic efforts through printed news media was, however, strikingly limited. Why?

Of course, as a rather straightforward persecutory policy from one of Europe's political centers, newspapers quickly picked up on the news. The *Leydse Courant* reported Maria Theresia's decision within two weeks, still cautiously stating that whereas 'it is not yet clear why [she expels the Jews] she must have a good reason since there is no place in the world where the Jews have so many privileges'.<sup>1117</sup> Four days later, the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* reported that the States General had ordered Burmania to intercede.<sup>1118</sup> The information newspapers managed to provide, however, was limited. The *'s Gravenhaegse Courant*, for instance, published on 29 January that Christian VI of Denmark had written a letter of intercession. Yet it failed to reproduce that letter, as the newspaper had done when reporting Toruń in 1725.<sup>1119</sup>

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<sup>1113</sup> Guesnet, 'Textures of intercession', pp. 368–369.

<sup>1114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>1115</sup> F. Guesnet, 'Negotiating under duress. The expulsion of Salzburg Protestants (1732) and the Jews of Prague (1744)', in F. Guesnet, C. Laborde, and L. Lee (eds.), *Negotiating religion. Cross-disciplinary perspectives* (Abingdon, 2017), p. 59.

<sup>1116</sup> J. Dekel–Chen, 'Philanthropy, diplomacy, and Jewish internationalism', in M.B. Hart and T. Michels (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Judaism*, vol. 8. *The Modern World 1815–2000* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 477–504; Thulin, 'Von der Shtadlanut zur Diplomatie'.

<sup>1117</sup> *Leydse Courant*, 1 January 1745.

<sup>1118</sup> *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 5 January 1745; the few letters that did leak out were gratefully reproduced by periodicals; for instance, the *Mercure historique et politique*, the *Mémoire historiques pour le siècle courant*, the *Lettres historiques (et politique) contenant ce qui se passe de plus important en Europe*, and the *Gazette de Leyde* all reproduced a letter sent on 5 March 1745 by Secretary of State the Earl of Harrington to the British ambassador to Vienna; Anonymous, *Mercure historique et politique* (The Hague, 1745), p. 363; J. Desroches–Parthenay (ed.), *Mémoire historiques pour le siècle courant* (Amsterdam, 1745), pp. 278–279; Anonymous, *Lettres historiques (et Politique) Contenant ce qui se passe de plus important en Europe* (Amsterdam, 1745), pp. 341–342; *Gazette de Leyde*, J. Luzad, ed., Leiden, 19 March 1745.

<sup>1119</sup> See Chapter 6.

Those who wanted a more elaborate moral judgment regarding the event would look for pamphlets in vain. Dutch periodicals too offered little solace. The content in the *Europische Mercurius*—which did not shy away from providing stark criticism where appropriate—barely differed from the factual coverage provided by newspapers.<sup>1120</sup> Periodicals published in French had somewhat more to offer. The one to elaborate upon the matter most extensively was the *Journal Universel*, which ran from 1743 to 1748.<sup>1121</sup> Pierre Quesnel (1695?–1774), the journal’s editor, was a militant Jansenist who had fled persecution in France in 1743.<sup>1122</sup> The *Journal Universel* accordingly uses the expulsion to polemicize against the intolerance of Catholic rulers. Quesnel argues that when Maria Theresia’s *ordonnance* takes full effect, its consequences will ‘be more fatal to a nation than the unfortunate religious prejudice that has odiously been shown by all Catholic princes’:<sup>1123</sup>

This unfortunate people found [...] no consoler [...] in Catholic courts. [...] They solely owe their resurrection to the heterodox powers which, by their charitable actions, have continued to show the whole Christian world that the first Religion, the first laws, the first virtues must be humanity, commiseration, love for one’s neighbor, wherever he may be; that within Jesus Christ there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile, all men, all Christians must, by the example of their divine Master, love each other without distinction. [...] Why have these precepts been practiced so badly for so many centuries in our communion? Why this contempt, this aversion, this species of horror for all those who are not [like us]? Ask our prelates, our priests, our monks, our parents who inspire us with all these beautiful sentiments from our most tender age, and which reason has so much difficulty in rectifying thereafter.<sup>1124</sup>

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<sup>1120</sup> *Nederlandsch gedenboek of Europische Mercurius, eerste deel van ‘t jaar 1745*, vol. 56. B. Van Gerrevink (ed.), (Amsterdam, 1746), pp. 50–51.

<sup>1121</sup> The *Journal universel, ou mémoires pour servir à l’histoire civile, politique, ecclésiastique et littéraire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* was at the time published by Laurent Bekoske in The Hague, but would later be published in Utrecht and Amsterdam. It ran from 1743 to 1748; J. Sgard, ‘Le Journal Universel 2’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*, <http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0787-le-journal-universel-2>.

<sup>1122</sup> F. Moreau, ‘Pierre Quesnel (1695?–1774)’, in *Dictionnaire des Journalistes 1600–1789* (1991, 2005), <http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/662-pierre-quesnel>; for the Jansenist persecutions in France see J. Merrick, ‘Conscience and citizenship in eighteenth-century France’, *Eighteenth Century Studies* 21–1 (1987), 48–70.

<sup>1123</sup> ‘[...] seroient bien plus fatales à une nation que le malheureux préjugé de la Religion a rendu odieux à tous les Princes Catholiques’; P. Quesnel (ed.), *Journal Universel, ou Mémoires pour Servir à l’Histoire Civile, Politique, Ecclésiastique et Littéraire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, vol. 7 (The Hague, 1745), p. 70.

<sup>1124</sup> ‘Ce peuple infortune n’a trouvé, dans la désolation, aucun consolateur ni interesseur dans les cours catholiques, mais qu’il doit uniquement sa resurrection a des puissances etherodoxes qui, par cette action charitable, ont continue de faire voir a tout l’univers chrétien que la premiere religion, les premieres loix, les premieres vertus doivent être l’humanité, la commiseration, l’amour du prochain quell qu’il soit; que comme en Jesus Christ il n’y a point de stinction entre le Juif & le gentil, tous les hommes, tous les chrétiens doivent, a l’exemple de ce divin Maitre, s’aimer sans distinction les uns les autres. Telle es la loi. Tels sont les prophètes.

The question of Prague's Jews thus became an occasion to once again discuss the old conflict between Protestant forbearance and Catholic intolerance, albeit by a man who was theologically somewhat stuck in the middle and used this dispute in defense of Jansenism. Indeed, Quesnel concludes that this was the same line of thinking that led to the 1713 promulgation of *Unigenitus*, a doctrinal constitution devised by Paris and Rome as a final blow against the Jansenists in France;<sup>1125</sup> here too, the production of public opinion was guided by a religio-political agenda, and here too, it was legitimized through the secular normative language of humanity.

To understand the relative absence of public attention we should therefore look first and foremost at those whose political agendas included the Bohemian Jews. None of the intercessors would really benefit from turning to the press as a political tool. For the campaigning court Jews confidentiality was crucial;<sup>1126</sup> interceding against the policy of the very queen he worked for, Wertheimer repeatedly insisted on the importance of secrecy to his correspondents.<sup>1127</sup> The Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague gained direct access to the States General and immediately convinced them to intercede with sound economic argumentation.<sup>1128</sup> Generating public debate would constitute nothing but an unnecessary detour. The same went for foreign courts: Europe's political centers had been mobilized and pointed in one direction without recourse to the blunt blows of public opinion.

The States General had to be careful too; they interceded with their ally in the midst of a war that held most of Europe in its grip.<sup>1129</sup> Proudly presenting themselves as guardians of the foreign oppressed through print—as they had done with the Waldensians—would serve

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Pourquoi ces préceptes sont-ils, depuis tant de siècles, si mal pratiqués dans nôtre communion? Pourquoi ce mépris, cette aversion, cette espèce d'horreur pour tous ceux qui n'en sont pas? ... Demandez le a nos prélats, a nos prêtres, a nos moines, a nos parents qui nous inspirent tous ces beaux sentimens dès l'âge le plus tender, & que la raison a toutes les peines du monde a rectifier par la suite'; *ibid.*, pp. 360–361.

<sup>1125</sup> J. Merrick, "Disputes over words" and constitutional conflict in France, 1730–1732', *French Historical Studies* 14–4 (1986), 497.

<sup>1126</sup> Guesnet, 'Negotiating under duress'.

<sup>1127</sup> M. Thulin, 'Jewish families as intercessors and patrons. The case of the Wertheimer family in the eighteenth century', *Jewish Culture and History* 19–1 (2018), 46; Guesnet, 'Textures of intercession', pp. 372–374.

<sup>1128</sup> Gerrevink, *Nederlandsch gedenkboek*, pp. 89–90; I. Prins, 'Een Hollandsche interventie ten behoeve van Oostenrijksche Joden', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 30 (1915), 72; Avineri, 'Prague 1744', p. 10.

<sup>1129</sup> In Chapter 3 we have seen that the States General refused to intercede with Louis XIV, with whom it was not officially in conflict, for the Huguenots.

little political purpose and could indeed backfire. The interceding ambassador to the Viennese court, Barthold Douma of Burmania, in turn, had no reason to engage in public diplomacy to pressure Maria Theresia. Many intercessors used a strategy of warning the queen that the expulsion would damage her reputation, but they hampered this argument by publicly contributing to her defamation. If one professes to help a monarch save face, one has to do so discretely, not in front of the world.<sup>1130</sup>

Regardless of the emphasis on discretion, however, the argumentative strategies activists used were not very different. Burmania's correspondence shows that intercessors negotiated the event with recourse to some of the universalizing languages discussed throughout this study. When some Austrian ministers told the ambassador not to meddle with domestic issues he responded by saying that

although all sovereigns are master within their realm, they should not therefore injure friends and strangers. Those who suffer from this, have the right to resist such ordinances and show and defend their interests, as we are currently doing.<sup>1131</sup>

In April, Burmania further elaborated upon the limits that humanity imposed on sovereignty in a missive to the States General about a discussion he had with the Austrian court chancellor:

In my opinion the first question is whether the case is equitable or not. [...] If yes, the case will justify itself [...] without the queen having to fear any persecution of her allies and other powers. If not, her Majesty will not be able, despite all her supreme power, to avert the bad impression, reflections and consequences of a case like this. [...]

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<sup>1130</sup> Accordingly, the first public evaluation of the queen appears to have been not a defamation, but an indirect, albeit perhaps somewhat ironic, celebration. On 25 May, a medal was coined commemorating the supposed revocation of the expulsion on 15 May. On the one side it shows Queen Maria Theresa sitting upon her throne, flanked by the female personifications of justice and charity. The Book of Samuel is loosely quoted in Latin 'Let not the queen impute anything unto his servant'. On the other, we see the Jewish temple, decorated with the weapons of Poland, Sweden, England, and the United Provinces. Although these medals were probably minted with Jewish consumers in mind, they were advertised more broadly; an advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* notified its readers that they could order it for 15 guilders in Haarlem, Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. The minters had, however, rejoiced too soon; A. Polak, *Joodse penningen in de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1958), p. 9; *Leydse Courant*, 20 October 1745.

<sup>1131</sup> '[...] dat ieder souverain wel meester is in zijn land, maar vrienden en vreemden daardoor niet behoort te schaden. Dat diegenen, die daardoor lijden, het recht hebben, tegen dergelijke ordonnantien op te komen en hunne belangen aan te toonen en te verdedigen, gelijk wij dit nu doen'; cited in Prins, 'Hollandsche Interventie', p. 76.

Sovereigns, say what you like, are accountable for their deeds to God and to man, even more than others.<sup>1132</sup>

Burmania's observations bring us to a general conclusion. State persecutions of minorities are disruptive events. Then, as now, they acutely show that projects of rulers and states to impose uniformity on their subjects often lapse into violence. At the same time, communicating religious persecution can lead individuals, communities, and societies to articulate their core values and develop strategies about how to live together despite the differences that divide people. Unfortunately, they often fail to do so. Hence, the treatment of English Catholics, Ashkenazi Jews, or enslaved people shipped by the Dutch to the East and the West Indies remained virtually uncriticized in the United Provinces, despite there being well-developed inclusive languages of common humanity, reason, and rule of law. If we want to understand the dynamics of moral outrage, we should therefore not only examine the norms of a given society, but also when, how, and why these norms were or were not activated for specific situations. Printed opinion was and is a powerful weapon of marginalization, but actual persecution, as many early modern Europeans already realized, often thrives on the silence of the press.

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<sup>1132</sup> 'Mijns bedunkens de eerste quaestie is of de zaak recht en billijk is of niet [...] zoo ja, dat deze zaak zich van zelf zal justificeeren en redden, zonder dat de Koninging daaromtrent eenige persecutie van haar geallieerden en andere mogendheden heeft te vreezen; zo neen, dat hare Majesteit met alle hare oppermacht de kwade impression, reflexien, en gevolgen van een dergelijke zaak niet kan verhinderen. Dat de Souverainen, men segge wat men wil, responsabel zijn wegens haere deaden voor God, en voor de menschen, ja meer als andere'; cited in *ibid.*, p. 78.



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# Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Historici hebben lang geopperd dat de Vrede van Westfalen (1648) de laatste godsdienstoorlog beëindigde, en daarmee Europa's tijdperk van religieus geweld definitief afsloot. In de eeuw die op de vrede volgde waren Europeanen echter nog regelmatig getuige van grootschalige vervolgingen van religieuze minderheden. Dergelijk geweld tegen dissidente onderdanen behoorde tot het meest controversiële en impactvolle beleid van vroegmoderne staten, en kon dan ook doorgaans rekenen op veel internationale aandacht. Auteurs en publicisten voorzagen gretig in deze vraag naar nieuws over vervolgingen. Hoewel monarchen middels censuur probeerden politieke communicatie in het binnenland te monopoliseren hadden ze weinig middelen om te voorkomen dat de buitenlandse pers hun beleid versloeg. Vooral in de rijke, verstedelijkte en politiek gedecentraliseerde Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden vonden drukkers een relatief aangenaam klimaat om buitenlands nieuws en publieke opinie te produceren voor binnen- en buitenlands publiek. In de eeuw na Westfalen maakten talloze pamfletten, tijdschriften en kranten uit de Nederlandse Republiek *causes célèbres* van het lot van buitenlandse gemeenschappen.

Er is verrassend weinig wetenschappelijk onderzoek gedaan naar gedrukt nieuws rondom religieuze vervolgingen. Een verklaring hiervoor is het breed gedragen idee dat de Europese politiek seculariseerde na 1648. Vanuit dit oogpunt werden religieuze vervolgingen beschouwd als de irrelevante naweeën van een voorbijgeen eeuw. Sommige historici hebben de politieke communicatie rondom individuele religieuze vervolgingen wel degelijk bestudeerd, maar hebben niet voorbij hun casus naar een patroon gezocht. Dit proefschrift levert de eerste langetermijnanalyse van waarom mensen zich tot de Nederlandse pers wendden om de wereld te informeren over het lot van vervolgdde gemeenschappen tussen 1655 en 1745. De berichten die opiniemakers produceerden worden op drie niveaus geanalyseerd. Ten eerste kijkt dit proefschrift naar de argumenten die werden gebruikt om vervolging te veroordelen of te legitimeren in een periode van vermeende politieke secularisatie. Vervolgens wordt in kaart gebracht welke belanghebbenden zich engageerden in de internationale productie van nieuws over vervolging en wie hun beoogd publiek was. Als laatste bekijkt deze studie welke rol dit

soort nieuws als een vorm van ‘publieke diplomatie’ speelde in zowel binnenlandse politiek als internationale betrekkingen.

Om hun publiek te bereiken en in beweging te brengen moesten vroegmoderne opiniemakers een fundamentele vraag beantwoorden die ook vandaag de dag nog actueel is: *Waarom zouden we ons bezig moeten houden met het lijden van verre vreemden?* Dit proefschrift betoogt dat auteurs deze vraag beantwoordden door zich te beroepen op verschillende religieuze en seculiere normatieve principes. In navolging van de rechtvaardigingstheorie binnen de Franse pragmatische sociologie worden normatieve principes benaderd als de centrale waarden van een (politieke) samenleving op basis waarvan mensen een oordeel vellen over beleid en politiek handelen. Religieuze vervolgingen waren uitzonderlijk ontwrichtende gebeurtenissen en brachten als zodanig acuut vragen naar boven over de rechtvaardige ordening van de samenleving. Gedrukte discussies over een religieus conflict ontstegen dus al snel de specifieke aard van de gebeurtenis. Door gedrukte opinie rondom religieuze vervolgingen te bestuderen geeft dit proefschrift zodoende inzicht in de veranderende normatieve grondslagen van de Europese politiek tussen ca. 1650 en 1750.

Deze studie stelt dat opinie rondom religieuze vervolgingen op vijf normatieve principes was gestoeld. Het eerste principe is ‘religie’. De andere vier zijn ‘sovereiniteit’, ‘heerschappij van de wet’, ‘redelijkheid’ en ‘humaniteit’—morele grondslagen die historici vaak hebben geduid als seculiere alternatieven voor religie.

*Religie.* Uit recent historisch onderzoek blijkt dat religieuze politieke retoriek nog lang in zwang bleef na de Vrede van Westfalen. Voortbouwend op deze inzichten wordt bekeken hoe vroegmoderne auteurs refereerden aan religie in het algemeen en hun confessie in het bijzonder om vervolging te rechtvaardigen of te veroordelen.

*Soevereiniteit.* Ideeën rondom soevereiniteit speelden een centrale rol in de publieke discussie rondom religieuze vervolgingen. Dit proefschrift betoogt dat soevereiniteit als normatief principe werd gebruikt om zowel internationale godsdienstvrede als het gewelddadig afdwingen van religieuze uniformiteit te rechtvaardigen.

*Heerschappij van de wet.* De godsdienstoorlogen worden vaak beschouwd als een keerpunt in juridisch denken, waarna de wet zich losmaakte van religieuze associaties. Het normatieve

principe ‘heerschappij van de wet’ heeft betrekking op alle argumenten die refereren aan bestaande positieve wetten en ideeën rondom het natuurrecht.

*Redelijkheid.* In de loop van de vroegmoderne tijd verhieven veel Europese denkers de rede tot het centrale werktuig waarmee de mens de politieke wereld om zich heen zou moeten begrijpen en ordenen. Het normatieve principe van redelijkheid omvat daarom elke rechtvaardiging of veroordeling van religieuze vervolging op basis van of de redelijke geest het toestaat of gebiedt als beleidsvorm.

*Humaniteit.* Het laatste normatieve principe appelleert aan een sentiment van gedeelde menselijkheid. In vroegmodern Europa was het leven gestructureerd rondom allerlei vormen van ongelijkheid en hiërarchie, waarvan de meeste werden gerechtvaardigd als goddelijk bestemd. Vanuit dit vertrekpunt onderzoekt dit proefschrift wanneer en waarom het idee van gedeelde humaniteit gebruikt werd als politiek argument tegen deze sociale scheidslijnen.

Zoals aangegeven worden deze normatieve principes voornamelijk bestudeerd in drukwerk uit de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden. De pamfletten, tijdschriften en kranten werden echter geschreven door een zeer diverse groep mensen uit verschillende delen van Europa. Deze studie toont aan dat vervolgte minderheden en hun buitenlandse pleitbezorgers middels de pers ‘publieke diplomatie’ beoefenden; door te communiceren met een buitenlands publiek onderhielden ze internationale betrekkingen en beïnvloedden ze buitenlands beleid. Vanuit dit perspectief was de Republiek zowel een centrale nieuwshub als een belangrijk centrum van publiek appel. Maar hoewel de Nederlandse pers een internationaal speelveld was bleef ze in veel opzichten ook erg ‘Nederlands’. Dit onderzoek laat zien dat actuele vervolgingen belangrijke gelegenheden vormden voor Nederlandse opiniemakers om de confessionele en politieke identiteit van de Republiek te bediscussiëren. Hoe deze verschillende belanghebbenden de pers bedienden wordt aan de hand van vijf casussen in zes hoofdstukken geanalyseerd.

Hoofdstuk 1 onderzoekt hoe de gereformeerde waldenzen in Piedmont publiciteit diplomatiek inzetten nadat er in 1655 een bloedbad onder hen was aangericht door een leger van hun vorst, de Hertog van Savoye. Het hoofdstuk laat zien dat confessionele minderheden die op zoek waren naar buitenlandse hulp in een complex communicatief landschap stapten waarin ze voorzichtig moesten navigeren. Het normatief principe van soevereiniteit speelde

een beslissende rol in de internationale communicatie en beschouwing van het conflict in Piedmont. Om niet van rebellie te worden beticht moesten minderheden zich presenteren als passieve slachtoffers en waren ze gedwongen aandacht voor hun zaak te genereren zonder expliciet buitenlandse regeringen om hulp te vragen. Het internationaal verspreiden van verslagen over je lot was een effectieve manier om dit politieke probleem te ontwijken, omdat dit niet direct gold als een subversieve daad. Gedrukte media werden dus ingezet om de aandacht van buitenlandse potentaten te trekken en tegelijkertijd de indruk te wekken dat je trouw was aan je soeverein.

Hoofdstuk 2 blijft bij de waldenzen en legt uit waarom religieuze minderheden hun situatie aan een internationaal publiek vaak uitlegden als een humanitaire in plaats van een religieuze ramp; claims over de vermeende waarheid van de eigen confessie waren onhandig in een internationale omgeving. Dit laat zien dat het gebruik van seculiere normatieve principes niet alleen voortkwam uit veranderende ideeën over de relatie tussen religie en politiek. Het was vaak een strategische noodzakelijkheid om vragen rondom (on)recht te kunnen beslechten in een multiconfessionele omgeving. Dit hoofdstuk laat eveneens zien dat Nederlandse pamflettisten het bloedbad *wel* door een confessionele lens bekeken, om aan de hand hiervan het religieuze landschap van de Republiek ter discussie te stellen.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft een tegenvoorbeeld, namelijk de vervolging van de hugenoten door Lodewijk XIV in de vroege jaren 1680. Anders dan bij de waldenzen in 1655 had de Nederlandse pers aanvankelijk weinig aandacht voor hun lot. Deze gebrekkige publiciteit moet aan twee factoren worden toegeschreven. Ten eerste probeerden de hugenoten hun koning nog ervan te overtuigen dat hij zijn repressieve beleid terug zou draaien. Om weer in de gratie van hun monarch te kunnen komen legden ze sterk de nadruk op hun absolute loyaliteit als onderdanen. Dit toont aan dat het creëren van internationale aandacht middels de drukpers geen voor zich sprekende strategie was zolang er geen volledige communicatiebreuk was tussen de vervolgte onderdanen en de vervolgende regering. Ten tweede stonden de Nederlandse autoriteiten negatief tegenover de productie van gedrukte opinie over de vervolgingen in Frankrijk. Het politieke landschap van de Republiek was verdeeld en de betrekkingen met Lodewijk XIV waren grillig en werden betwist. Geen van de strijdende politieke facties was echter klaar voor de open confrontatie met de Zonnekoning, die uitgelokt zou kunnen worden

door anti-Franse media. Pas in 1683-4 zou nieuws over de hugenoten een rol gaan spelen in een pamflettenoorlog tussen zogeheten orangisten en staatsgezinden over hoe te reageren op Frans expansionisme. De casus van de hugenoten toont aan dat publiciteit zelfs in de Republiek afhankelijk was van de impliciete of expliciete goedkeuring van de autoriteiten.

Hoofdstuk 4 laat zien dat die relatieve stilte van de Nederlandse pers tot een abrupt einde kwam toen Lodewijk XIV de gereformeerde religie compleet verbood met het Edict van Fontainebleau in 1685. Historici hebben lang verondersteld dat de jaren 1680 een tijd waren van religieuze polarisatie. Dit hoofdstuk toont echter aan dat niet alle tijdgenoten op de vervolging van de hugenoten reageerden met religieuze strijdkreten. Een aanzienlijk aantal pamfletten toonde zich uitermate sceptisch tegenover sektarische interpretaties. In plaats van zich in te graven aan een kant van de confessionele kloof zagen ze de noodzaak een brug te slaan. Bovendien waren Nederlanders door de toestroom van vluchtelingen uit Frankrijk niet langer alleen toeschouwers van vervolging; ze begonnen de gevolgen te voelen. Sommige pamflettisten reageerden hierop met lofzangen op het gereformeerd geloof, anderen confronteerden de praktische problemen rondom de integratie van vluchtelingen. Door de verschillende reacties op religieus geweld te vergelijken laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat solidariteit met geloofsbroeders en -zusters niet altijd gepaard ging met dogmatische waarheidsclaims. Binnen het normatieve principe van religie wordt er daarom een nieuwe nuance aangelegd tussen oproepen tot ‘confessionele solidariteit’ en claims over ‘confessionele waarheid’.

De vervolging van de hugenoten leidde uiteindelijk tot de Camisardenoerlog (1702-1705) in de Cevennen, Frankrijks laatste godsdienstoorlog en het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 5. Deze grootschalige opstand werd gevoerd door profeterende rebellen die geloofden de apocalyps in te luiden. De Camisardenoerlog is daarmee een extreem voorbeeld van politiek gedreven door het normatieve principe van ‘confessionele waarheid’. Dit was problematisch voor de pamflettisten die in de Republiek een militaire interventie ten behoeve van de Camisarden propageerden om Frankrijk dwars te zitten. Ze moesten, net als de Waldenzen, het normatieve principe van ‘confessionele waarheid’ bagatelliseren om voldoende draagvlak te creëren in een multiconfessioneel netwerk van allianties. Tegelijkertijd was confessionele taal een handig middel tegen zorgen over de ondersteuning van rebellen—een ernstige zaak in vroegmodern Europa waar de vorstelijke soevereiniteit over zijn of haar onderdanen heilig

was. In hun pogingen een interventie te legitimeren zochten pamflettisten zodoende een middenkoers tussen confessionele en seculiere argumentatie.

Of voor een bepaalde vervolging wel of niet publiciteit ontstond hing vaak af van, enerzijds, de bereidheid van de vervolgden om hun zaak internationaal bekend te maken en, anderzijds, de mate waarin plaatselijke autoriteiten gedrukte belangenbehartiging toestonden. Tijdens de Camisardenoerlog was een tussengroep echter belangrijk. Een groep hugenoten in ballingschap werkte in nabijheid van de autoriteiten en probeerden een interventie voor de Camisarden teweeg te brengen middels de pers. Dit hoofdstuk onthult dat deze vorm van ‘publieke diplomatie’ zowel een teken van politieke macht als politieke zwakte was. Aan de ene kant kregen deze pleiters het voor elkaar internationale aandacht voor de Camisarden te genereren. Aan de andere kant moesten ze toevlucht zoeken tot de pers omdat ze er niet toe in staat waren de politiek directer te beïnvloeden.

Hoofdstuk 6 is gewijd aan een relatief kleine gebeurtenis die desalniettemin in een enorme mediasensatie uitliep. In 1724 werden in de stad Toruń in Koninkrijk Pruisen elf burgers terechtgesteld voor betrokkenheid bij een anti-jezuïetische oproer. Het zogenaamde ‘Bloedbad van Toruń’ groeide uit tot een Europees schandaal. Tegen het einde van 1725 waren er meer dan honderd pamfletten over de zaak gepubliceerd in Groot-Brittannië, het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden. Bestaande historiografie schetst het beeld dat het gros van de gedrukte opinie rondom Toruń zijn oorsprong vond bij de buitenlandse autoriteiten die zich het voorval aantrokken. Dit hoofdstuk laat echter zien dat veel opiniemakers deze proactieve houding van hun regering aangrepen om een controversieel geluid te laten horen. Door deze dynamiek te beschrijven toont dit hoofdstuk aan dat de opkomst van de publieke sfeer niet per se hand in hand ging met de ontwikkeling van de redelijkheid als normatief principe (zoals Jürgen Habermas stelde). De publieke sfeer stelde pamflettisten ook in staat om internationale betrekkingen door een religieuze lens te beschouwen in een tijd waarin politieke besluitvormers hiervan al afstand hadden genomen.

Samen laten de casussen zien dat opiniemakers zorgvuldig nadachten over hun (gewenste) publiek. Ze pasten de normatieve principes waarmee ze duiding gaven aan religieuze vervolgingen op hun lezers aan. Veel historici beschrijven publieke rechtvaardigingen en evaluaties van politiek handelen met scepsis. Vaak wordt gesteld dat opiniemakers simpelweg

die argumenten gebruikten waarvan ze geloofden dat het de meeste mensen zou overtuigen. Dit veronderstelt een scherp onderscheid tussen motivatie en legitimatie. Dit proefschrift concludeert echter dat het van secundair belang is of opiniemakers werkelijk gedreven waren door de normatieve principes waar ze op hamerden. Belangrijker is dat deze talen onderdeel uitmaakten van een gedeeld normatief repertoire dat vaak confessionele en politieke grenzen oversteeg.

Een andere belangrijke vondst van dit proefschrift is dat de eeuw na de Vrede van Westfalen niet werd gekenmerkt door de opkomst van seculiere normatieve talen ten koste van religieuze argumentatie. Alle normatieve principes hielden stand, maar werden herhaaldelijk opnieuw gedefinieerd. Het normatieve principe van humaniteit werd bijvoorbeeld voornamelijk negatief gebruikt in 1655, als iets wat vervolgende actoren misten. In de jaren 1680 werd het ook een eigenschap om slachtoffers van vervolging mee aan te duiden. Het werd bijvoorbeeld gebruikt om goed te praten dat veel mensen zich als reactie op vervolging bekeerden in plaats van de marteldood te aanvaarden. In de jaren 1720, ten slotte, werd menselijke goedheid expliciet tegenover religieuze ijver gezet. Deze verschillende benaderingen waren eerder complementair dan dat ze elkaar uitsloten. In andere woorden, dit was een eeuw waarin zich nieuwe variaties op oude normatieve principes ontwikkelden.

We moeten echter goed in ons achterhoofd houden dat het veelvuldig gebruik van inclusieve normatieve principes niet garandeerde dat elke vorm van leed publieke aandacht kreeg. Om hier aandacht aan te besteden sluit dit proefschrift af met de vervolging van de Boheemse Joden door Maria Theresia in 1745. De Nederlandse pers besteedde hier nauwelijks aandacht aan, ondanks het feit dat de inclusieve principes van menselijkheid, rationaliteit en de heerschappij van de wet wijdverbreid waren. Dit proefschrift roept historici daarom op om niet alleen normatieve talen te bestuderen als ze de dynamiek van stilte en verontwaardiging in de pers willen begrijpen. Ze moeten ook bestuderen wanneer deze normen wel en niet werden ingezet voor specifieke situaties. Gedrukte opinie was en blijft immers een machtig wapen om groepen te marginaliseren, maar de vervolging van minderheden—en vroegmoderne Europeanen waren zich hiervan terdege bewust—gedijt vaak het best bij publieke stilte.



## Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Unter Historikern bestand lange Zeit der Konsens, dass der Westfälische Frieden (1648) den Religionskriegen, die vier Generationen von Europäern geplagt hatten, ein endgültiges Ende setzte. Im Jahrhundert, das auf den Frieden folgte, sahen sich Zeitgenossen jedoch noch weiterhin regelmäßig mit massiven Verfolgungen religiöser Dissidenten konfrontiert. Gewalt souveräner Herrscher gegenüber konfessionellen Minderheiten zählte zu den kontroversesten und weitreichendsten politischen Maßnahmen frühmoderner Staaten. Aus diesem Grund bestand innerhalb verschiedener gesellschaftlicher Gruppen eine große Nachfrage an Nachrichten über religiöse Verfolgung, der von Autoren und Verlegern eifrig nachgekommen wurde. Trotz ihrer Versuche, öffentliche politische Kommunikation durch Zensur zu monopolisieren, verfügten Monarchen über wenige Mittel um die ausländische Presse davon abzuhalten, über ihre Verfolgungsmaßnahmen zu berichten. Vor allem in der wohlhabenden, urbanisierten und politisch dezentralisierten Republik der Sieben Vereinigten Provinzen fanden Drucker ein relativ angenehmes Klima um ausländische Nachrichten und öffentliche Meinung für eine in- und ausländische Öffentlichkeit zu produzieren. Die niederländischen Druckerpressen generierten zahllose Flugschriften, Zeitschriften und Zeitungen um Nachrichtenabnehmer mit Verfolgungen religiöser Minderheiten zu konfrontieren. In diesem Zuge wurden die Schicksale ausländischer Gemeinschaften regelmäßig zu „*Causes célèbres*“.

Überraschenderweise gibt es wenige wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zu Nachrichtenberichterstattung über religiöse Verfolgung. Eine Erklärung ist die weitverbreitete Vorstellung, dass die Ära religiöser Gewalt in Europa im Jahre 1648 endete. Instanzen religiöser Verfolgung werden in diesem Kontext als irrelevante Nachbeben eines vergangenen Jahrhunderts zu Zeiten politischer Modernisierung abgetan. Mehrere Historiker untersuchten zwar die politische Kommunikation über individuelle religiöse Verfolgung, suchten aber außerhalb ihrer gewählten Fallbeispiele nicht nach einem wiederkehrenden Muster. Die vorliegende Dissertation umfasst die erste langfristige Analyse der Beweggründe von Menschen, die sich an die niederländische Presse wandten um die Welt über das Schicksal verfolgter Gruppen in Europa zwischen 1655 und 1745 zu informieren. Die durch

Meinungsmacher publizierten Meldungen werden auf drei Ebenen untersucht: Erstens wird der Blick nach den Argumenten gerichtet, die Meinungsmacher verwendeten um in einer Zeit von sich vermehrender politischer Säkularisierung über Verfolgung zu berichten. Nachfolgend wird erforscht, welche Interessensgruppen sich in der internationalen Produktion von Nachrichten über Verfolgung engagierten und wer ihr anvisiertes Publikum war. Abschließend wird analysiert, welche Rolle diese Art von Nachrichten als eine Art „öffentliche Diplomatie“ in sowohl der inländischen Politik als auch mit internationalem Bezug spielten.

Um die Öffentlichkeit zu erreichen und zu bewegen mussten frühmoderne Meinungsmacher eine fundamentale Frage beantworten: *Warum sollten wir uns für das Leiden fremder Menschen in der Ferne interessieren?* Die vorliegende Dissertation argumentiert, dass Autoren dieser Frage nachkamen, indem sie sich auf verschiedene religiöse und säkulare „normative Prinzipien“ beriefen. Unter Berufung auf die „Rechtfertigungstheorie“ der französischen Pragmatischen Soziologie werden „normative Prinzipien“ verstanden als die zentralen Werte einer (politischen) Gesellschaft, auf deren Grundlage Menschen Politik und politisches Handeln be- und verurteilen. Religiöse Verfolgungen waren außergewöhnlich zerrüttende Geschehnisse und brachten als solche akute Fragen über die rechtmäßige Anordnung der Gesellschaft zum Vorschein. Gedruckte Diskussionen über religiöse Konflikte gingen daher schnell über die Einzelheiten des Geschehenen hinaus. Indem sie gedruckte Meinungsmache und -äußerung über religiöser Verfolgung analysiert, gibt diese Dissertation Einblick in die sich verändernden normativen Fundamente europäischer Politik zwischen ca. 1650 und 1750. Sie zeigt auf, dass Meinungsmache im Zusammenhang mit religiöser Verfolgung auf fünf normativen Prinzipien beruhte, wovon das erste Prinzip „Religion“ ist. Die verbleibenden vier sind „Souveränität“, „Herrschaft des Gesetzes“, „Vernunft“ und „Humanität“. Dies sind Prinzipien, die Historiker oft als säkulare Alternativen zu Religion als moralische Basis der Gesellschaft deuten.

*Religion.* Neuere historische Untersuchungen zeigen, dass religiöse politische Rhetorik noch lange nach dem Westfälischen Frieden aktuell blieb. Auf diesen Einsichten aufbauend wird untersucht, wie frühmoderne Autoren auf Religion im Allgemeinen und auf ihre Konfession im Spezifischen Bezug nahmen um Verfolgung zu rechtfertigen oder zu verurteilen.

*Souveränität.* Vorstellungen über Souveränität spielten eine zentrale Rolle in der öffentlichen Diskussion über religiöse Verfolgung. Die vorliegende Dissertation argumentiert, dass Souveränität als normatives Prinzip gebraucht wurde um sowohl internationalen Religionsfrieden als auch das gewaltvolle Erzwingen religiöser Uniformität zu rechtfertigen.

*Herrschaft des Gesetzes.* Die Religionskriege werden oft als Kehrtwende angesehen, die zu einer Loslösung des Gesetzes von religiösen Assoziierungen führte. Das normative Prinzip „Herrschaft des Gesetzes“ bezieht sich auf alle Argumente, die auf bestehende positive Gesetze und Vorstellungen rundum das Naturrecht verweisen.

*Vernunft.* Im Laufe der Frühmoderne hoben viele europäische Denker Vernunft zum zentralen Werkzeug empor, mit dem der Mensch die politische Welt um ihn herum verstehen und ordnen sollte. Das normative Prinzip der Vernunft umschließt daher jede Rechtfertigung oder Verurteilung religiöser Verfolgung basierend auf der Frage, ob die Vernunft diese Verfolgung erlaubt oder als politische Maßnahme gebietet.

*Humanität.* Das letzte normative Prinzip appelliert an ein Gefühl gemeinsamer Humanität. Im frühmodernen Europa war das Leben um eine Vielzahl von Arten von Ungleichheit und Hierarchien strukturiert, wovon die meisten durch göttliche Bestimmung gerechtfertigt wurden. Von diesem Punkt aus untersucht diese Studie, wann und warum die Idee einer gemeinsamen Menschlichkeit als politisches Argument gegen gesellschaftliche Trennungslinien angewandt wurde.

Diese normativen Prinzipien werden hauptsächlich in gedruckten Werken untersucht, die in der Republik der Sieben Vereinigten Provinzen produziert wurden. Die Flugschriften, Zeitschriften und Zeitungen wurden allerdings von einer sehr diversen Gruppe Menschen aus unterschiedlichen Teilen Europas geschrieben. Die vorliegende Studie zeigt auf, dass verfolgte Minderheiten und deren ausländische Fürsprecher durch die Presse „öffentliche Diplomatie“ betrieben. Durch Kommunikation mit einer internationalen Öffentlichkeit unterhielten sie internationale Verbindungen und beeinflussten ausländische Politik. Aus dieser Perspektive war die Republik sowohl ein zentraler Nachrichtenhub als auch ein wichtiger Knotenpunkt öffentlichen Apells. Trotz ihrer Eigenschaft als internationales Podium blieb die niederländische Presse jedoch auch deutlich „niederländisch“. Die vorliegende Untersuchung zeigt, dass aktuelle Verfolgungen niederländischen Meinungsmachern wichtige Gelegenheiten

boten um der konfessionellen und politischen Identität der Republik Form zu geben. Die Art und Weise, wie verschiedene Interessensgruppen die Presse instrumentalisierten, wird anhand von fünf Fallbeispielen in sechs Kapiteln untersucht.

Kapitel 1 analysiert, wie die reformierten Waldenser in Piemont Publizität diplomatisch einsetzten, nachdem im Jahr 1655 ein Massaker durch eine Armee ihres eigenen Fürsten, des Herzogs von Savoyen, unter ihnen angerichtet worden war. Das Kapitel zeigt, dass konfessionelle Minderheiten, die auf der Suche nach ausländischer Hilfe waren, eine komplexe, behutsam zu navigierende kommunikative Landschaft betraten. Das normative Prinzip der Souveränität spielte eine entscheidende Rolle in der internationalen Kommunikation und Wahrnehmung des Konflikts in Piemont. Um nicht der Rebellion bezichtigt zu werden, mussten Minderheiten sich als passive Opfer präsentieren und waren gezwungen, Aufmerksamkeit für ihre Sache zu generieren ohne ausländische Regierungen explizit um Hilfe zu bitten. Berichte über ihr Schicksal international zu verbreiten war eine effektive Strategie um dieses politische Problem zu umgehen, da dies nicht direkt als subversive Tat galt. Gedruckte Medien wurden daher eingesetzt um die Aufmerksamkeit ausländischer Machthaber zu erregen und gleichzeitig den Eindruck von Loyalität zum eigenen Herrscher zu vermitteln.

Kapitel 2 bleibt bei den Waldensern und erklärt, dass, weil Ansprüche über die vermeintliche Wahrheit der eigenen Konfession in einem internationalen Kontext ungünstig anmaßten, religiöse Minderheiten ihre Lage gegenüber einer internationalen Öffentlichkeit oft als eine humanitäre anstatt als eine religiöse Katastrophe präsentierten. Dies zeigt, dass die Anwendung säkularer normativer Prinzipien nicht nur aus sich verändernden Vorstellungen über die Beziehung zwischen Religion und Politik hervorkam. Oft war es eine strategische Notwendigkeit um Fragen über (Un-)Recht in einer multikonfessionellen Umgebung mitbestimmen zu können. Dieses Kapitel macht weiterhin deutlich, dass niederländische Pamphletisten das Blutbad tatsächlich durch eine konfessionelle Brille betrachteten um an Hand davon die religiöse Landschaft der Republik zur Debatte zu stellen.

Kapitel 3 untersucht ein Gegenbeispiel, nämlich die Verfolgung der Hugenotten durch Ludwig XIV. in den frühen 1680ern. Anders als bei den Waldensern 1655, hatte die niederländische Presse wenig Aufmerksamkeit für ihr Schicksal übrig. Diese bröckelige

Publizität kann zwei Faktoren zugeschrieben werden. Zum einen versuchten die Hugenotten ihren König noch davon zu überzeugen, seine repressive Politik rückgängig zu machen. Um wieder in die Gnade ihres Monarchen zu gelangen, legten sie großen Nachdruck auf ihre absolute Treue als Untertanen. Das verweist darauf, dass die Erregung internationaler Aufmerksamkeit mit Hilfe der Presse keine selbstverständliche Strategie war, solange es nicht zu einem vollständigen Abbruch der Kommunikation zwischen den verfolgten Untertanen und der verfolgenden Regierung gekommen war. Zum anderen standen die niederländischen Behörden der Produktion gedruckter Meinungsäußerungen über die Verfolgungen in Frankreich negativ gegenüber. Die politische Landschaft der Republik war gespalten und die Beziehungen mit Ludwig XIV. waren unstetig und umstritten. Keine der Parteien, die Teil des Streits waren, war jedoch zu einer offenen Konfrontation mit dem Sonnenkönig, die durch anti-französische Medienberichterstattung möglicherweise ausgelöst werden konnte, bereit. Erst 1683/84 sollten Nachrichten über die Hugenotten in einem Flugschriftenkrieg zwischen sogenannten Orangisten und Staatsgesinnten über eine angemessene Reaktion auf die französische Expansion eine Rolle spielen. Das Fallbeispiel der Hugenotten bestätigt daher, dass Publizität auch in der Republik implizit und explizit von der Genehmigung der Behörden abhängte.

Kapitel 4 zeigt, wie die relative Passivität der niederländischen Presse ein abruptes Ende nahm, als Ludwig XIV. die Reformierte Kirche mit dem Edikt von Fontainebleau 1685 vollständig verbot. Historiker gingen lange davon aus, dass die 1680er Jahre religiöser Polarisierung waren. Dieses Kapitel argumentiert jedoch, dass nicht alle Zeitgenossen auf die Hugenottenverfolgung mit religiösen Streitigkeiten reagierten. Eine ansehnliche Anzahl an Flugschriften zeigte sich gegenüber konfessionsgebundenen Interpretationen äußerst skeptisch. Anstatt sich an einem Ende der konfessionellen Kluft fest zu klammern, sahen sie die Notwendigkeit, eine Brücke zu bauen. Zudem waren die Niederländer durch den Zustrom von Flüchtlingen aus Frankreich nicht mehr nur Zuschauer deren Verfolgung, sie fingen an die Folgen davon zu spüren. Einige Pamphletisten reagierten mit Lobesliedern auf den reformierten Glauben, andere thematisierten die praktischen Probleme, die mit der Integration der Flüchtlinge aufkamen. Um die unterschiedlichen Reaktionen auf religiöse Gewalt zu vergleichen, zeigt dieser Teil der Dissertation, dass Solidarität mit Glaubensbrüdern und -

schwestern nicht immer an dogmatische Wahrheitsansprüche geschweift war. Innerhalb des normativen Prinzips von Religion wird daher eine zusätzliche Nuance hinzugefügt, die zwischen dem Aufruf zur „konfessionellen Solidarität“ und Ansprüchen auf „konfessionelle Wahrheit“ steht.

Die Hugenottenverfolgung mündete schließlich im Kamisardenkrieg (1702-05) in den Cevennen. Dies war Frankreichs letzter Religionskrieg, der das Thema von Kapitel 5 darstellt. Dieser ausgedehnte Aufstand wurde durch „prophetische“ Rebellen angeführt, die glaubten die Apokalypse einzuläuten. Der Kamisardenkrieg ist daher ein extremes Beispiel von Politik, die durch das normative Prinzip der „konfessionellen Wahrheit“ bestimmt wurde. Dies stellte für die Pamphletisten ein Problem dar, die in der Republik eine Militärintervention zu Gunsten der Kamisarden propagierten um Frankreich zu schwächen. Sie mussten, wie schon die Waldenser, das normative Prinzip der „konfessionellen Wahrheit“ bagatellisieren um ausreichend Tragfläche in einem multikonfessionellen Allianznetzwerk zu kreieren. Parallel dazu war konfessionelle Sprache ein nützliches Werkzeug um Regierungsbedenken über eine Unterstützung von Rebellen auszustechen. Dies war ein ernstzunehmender Aspekt im frühmodernen Europa, wo die fürstliche Souveränität über die Untertanen heilig war. Bei ihren Versuchen, eine Intervention zu legitimieren, operierten die Pamphletisten somit im Spannungsfeld konfessioneller und säkularer Argumentation.

Die Frage, ob für eine bestimmte Verfolgung Publizität entstand oder nicht, hing einerseits oft von der Bereitschaft der Verfolgten ihre Situation international publik zu machen und andererseits von dem Ausmaß, in dem lokale Behörden gedruckte Interessensbekundungen erlaubten, ab. Während des Kamisardenkriegs war allerdings eine Zwischengruppe von Wichtigkeit. Eine Gruppe Exil-Hugenotten, die in unmittelbare Nähe der Behörden arbeitete, versuchte durch die Presse eine Intervention zu Gunsten der Kamisarden auf den Weg zu bringen. Dieses Kapitel enthüllt, dass diese Art „öffentlicher Diplomatie“ gleichermaßen ein Zeichen politischer Stärke als auch politischer Schwäche war. Auf der einen Seite erlangten die Fürsprecher internationale Aufmerksamkeit für die Kamisarden. Auf der anderen Seite waren sie gezwungen sich an die Presse zu wenden, weil sie nicht in der Lage waren, die Politik auf direkterem Wege zu beeinflussen.

Kapitel 6 ist einem verhältnismäßig kleinen Geschehen gewidmet, das nichtsdestotrotz in einer enormen Mediensensation ausuferte. 1724 wurden in der Stadt Toruń im Königreich Preußen elf Bürger für Teilnahme an einem anti-jesuitischen Aufstand hingerichtet. Das sogenannte „Blutbad von Toruń“ entwickelte sich zu einem europaweiten Skandal. Gegen Ende 1725 waren mehr als hundert Pamphlete in Großbritannien, dem Heiligen Römischen Reich und der Republik der Sieben Vereinigten Provinzen publiziert. Die bestehende Historiographie gibt an, dass die Mehrheit der gedruckten Berichte über Toruń bei den ausländischen Behörden, die sich den Vorfall aneigneten, ihren Ursprung nahm. Dieses Kapitel zeigt jedoch, dass viele Meinungsmacher diese proaktive Haltung ihrer eigenen Regierungen angriffen um ein kontroverses Bild zu zeichnen. Es beschreibt die genauen Dynamiken und macht deutlich, dass die Entstehung des öffentlichen Raums nicht notwendigerweise mit den Entwicklungen von Vernunft als normatives Prinzip (wie Jürgen Habermas behauptete) einherging. Der öffentliche Raum bemächtigte die Pamphletisten auch, internationale Bezüge durch eine religiöse Brille zu betrachten, und das in einer Zeit, in der politische Entscheidungsträger sich davon bereits entfernt hatten.

Zusammengenommen zeigen die Fallbeispiele, dass Meinungsmacher über ihr (anvisiertes) Publikum sorgfältig reflektierten. Sie passten die normativen Prinzipien, mit denen sie religiösen Verfolgungen Deutung verliehen, ihrer Leserschaft an. Viele Historiker schreiben mit Skepsis über öffentliche Rechtfertigungen und Beurteilungen politischen Handels. Es wird oft behauptet, dass Meinungsmacher schlichtweg diejenigen Argumente benutzten, wovon sie hofften die meisten Menschen zu überzeugen. Dies unterstellt eine scharfe Trennlinie zwischen Motivation und Legitimität. Die vorliegende Dissertation kommt allerdings zu dem Schluss, dass es von zweitrangiger Bedeutung war, ob Meinungsmacher in der Tat aus den normativen Prinzipien handelten, auf die sie pochten. Wichtiger war, dass diese Prinzipien Teil eines gemeinsamen normativen Repertoires waren, das konfessionelle und politische Grenzen oft hinter sich ließ.

Eine weitere wichtige Erkenntnis dieser Dissertation ist, dass das Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden nicht durch das Entstehen säkularer normativer Sprachen auf Kosten religiöser Argumentation gekennzeichnet ist. Alle normativen Prinzipien hielten stand, wurden jedoch kontinuierlich neu definiert. Das normative Prinzip von Humanität zum Beispiel war

1655 in den meisten Fällen negativ besetzt und stand für etwas, das verfolgende Parteien *nicht* besaßen. In den 1680ern war es auch eine Eigenschaft um die Opfer von Verfolgung zu beschreiben. Es wurde beispielsweise benutzt, um nachsichtig zu erklären, warum viele Menschen sich als Reaktion auf Verfolgung bekehren ließen anstatt den Märtyrertod zu sterben. In den 1720ern wurde menschliche Güte schließlich explizit religiösem Eifer gegenübergestellt. Diese verschiedenen Vorgehensweisen waren komplementärer als dass sie einander ausschlossen. Es war, in anderen Worten, ein Jahrhundert, in dem sich aus alten normativen Prinzipien neue Varianten entwickelten.

Wir sollten jedoch im Hinterkopf behalten, dass die vielseitige Anwendung normativer Prinzipien keine öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit für jede Art von Leiden garantierte. Um dies mit einzubeziehen, thematisiert die vorliegende Studie im Abschlussteil die Verfolgung der böhmischen Juden durch Maria Theresia im Jahr 1745. Die niederländische Presse hatte hierfür kaum Aufmerksamkeit übrig, obwohl die inklusiven Prinzipien von Menschlichkeit, Vernunft und Herrschaft des Gesetzes weit verbreitet waren. Diese Dissertation ruft Historiker darum dazu auf, nicht nur normative Prinzipien zu untersuchen um die Dynamiken von Stillschweigen und Empörung in der Presse zu verstehen. Sie sollten auch analysieren, unter welchen Umständen diese Normen in spezifischen Situationen eingesetzt wurden und unter welchen nicht. Gedruckte Meinungsäußerung war und bleibt eine mächtige Waffe um Gruppen zu marginalisieren, aber die Verfolgung von Minderheiten—und davon waren sich frühmoderne Europäer bewusst—gedeiht oft am besten im Rahmen öffentlichen Stillschweigens.

## Curriculum Vitae

David de Boer obtained his BA and MA (cum laude) in history at Utrecht University. Part of his master's thesis was published as 'Picking up the pieces: Catholic material culture and iconoclasm in the Low Countries' in *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* in 2016. In 2013 he started his PhD project at the University of Konstanz with PD Dr. Malte Griesse as supervisor. This was turned into a joint-degree program with Leiden University in 2015, under the shared supervision of Prof. Dr. Judith Pollmann. David de Boer conducted part of his research as a visiting fellow at Harvard University and the Institute of European History in Mainz. During his PhD, he taught various bachelor seminars at the University of Konstanz, Leiden University, and Utrecht University. He currently works on refugee diplomacy and European state building as a postdoctoral researcher in the NWO VICI project *The invention of the refugee in early modern Europe* at the University of Amsterdam.

Cover Illustration: J. Luyken, *Orange werd door de Dragonders schrikkeelyk gehandelt* (Amsterdam, 1696).

Resource: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.