



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Boer, D.R. de

Citation

Boer, D. R. de. (2019, November 27). *Religious Persecution and Transnational Compassion in the Dutch Vernacular Press 1655-1745*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/81085>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/81085>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/81085> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Boer, D.R. de

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

Issue Date: 2019-11-27

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

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 27 november 2019
klokke 13.45 uur
door

David Roman de Boer
geboren te Utrecht
in 1990

Promotor: Prof. dr. Judith Pollmann

Co-promotor: PD dr. Malte Griesse (Universität Konstanz)

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. Mirjam de Baar

Prof. dr. Jeroen Duindam

PD dr. Sven Trakulhun (Universität Konstanz)

Dr. Helmer Helmers (KNAW Humanities Cluster)

Contents

List of Illustrations	5
Acknowledgments	7
Introduction	9
The Imperative to Justify	18
Normative Principle I: Religion	21
Normative Principle II: Sovereignty.....	24
Normative Principle III: The Rule of Law.....	27
Normative Principle IV: Reason.....	30
Normative Principle V: Humanity.....	33
Opinion Makers and Public Spheres.....	36
Identifying with Foreign Suffering	41
Chapter 1: The Piedmont Easter: Sovereignty, Diplomacy, and Publicity (1655-56)	51
The Poor of Lyon	55
The Massacre and its Aftermath	57
Appealing to Foreign Courts.....	60
Public Diplomacy.....	67
Conclusion	76
Chapter 2: Mirrors of Past and Present: Framing a Massacre	79
Beyond Legal Boundaries	82
Necessity.....	88
Communicating Cruelty	90
Religious Persecution.....	94
A Matter of Humanity.....	99
Appropriating the Massacre.....	102
Conclusion	113
Chapter 3: Confronting Louis XIV? Publicity for the Huguenots before the Revocation (1681-84).....	117
The Divided Provinces.....	123
(In)convenient News	130
The War of the Reunions.....	134
The Persecuted Voice.....	145
Reason of State and the Psychology of Conversion	151
Conclusion	158
Chapter 4: After the Revocation: Debating the Confessional Divide (1685-88)	161
Letters from a Worried Ambassador	166
Victims.....	169
Anonymity.....	174
Perpetrators.....	177
Hosts	190
Conclusion	202
Chapter 5: Promoting Prophets? Public Diplomacy and the War of the Camisards (1702-05)	205
Reasoning Miracles	210
Assuming the voice of the Camisards.....	222

Selling Intervention.....	228
To Hearten and Inspire.....	232
The Periodical Press.....	236
Conclusion	239
Chapter 6: Between Eschatology and Enlightenment: Negotiating Bonds and Borders after the Tumult of Toruń (1724-26).....	243
The Tumult	248
Royal Public Diplomacy.....	250
A Cause Célèbre	255
Visions of Religious War.....	259
Irenicism	266
Foreign Narratives	272
Conclusion	282
Conclusion: Beyond the Confessional Divide?.....	285
Between Word and Deed.....	288
The Last Expulsion.....	299
Bibliography	307
Printed Primary Sources.....	307
Manuscript Sources.....	324
Secondary Literature	326
Samenvatting in het Nederlands	367
Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch.....	375
Curriculum Vitae	383

List of Illustrations

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. 14
2. *Relation derniere authentique & tresveritable, de ce qui s'est passé dans les persecutions & massacres, faicts ceste année* (s.l., 1655). Resource: Dutch Pamphlets Online. 65
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. 72
4. J. Sceperus, *Ephraim met Juda, dat is Engelant met Hollant* (Amsterdam, 1655). Resource: Special Collections, University of Amsterdam. 103
5. *Declaratie des koninghs, concernerende sijne onderdanen van de gereformeerde religie* (s.l., 1681). Resource: University Library Ghent. 132
6. Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713). Resource: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 150
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. 180
8. *Dialogue sur les impôts de Hollande* (Amsterdam, 1688). Resource: Royal Library, The Hague. 200
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. 225
10. G. Spaan, *Rotterdamsche wekelijkse markdaagsche boere kourier* (Rotterdam, 1703). Resource: University Library Ghent. 237
11. *Amsterdamse Courant* with letters of intercession, 13 February 1725. Resource: Delpher. 252
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. 262

Acknowledgments

This research project began with a move abroad, and was marked by several more migrations within and across borders in the years that followed. I feel privileged to have had two great mentors, Malte Griesse and Judith Pollmann, whose guidance made sure that my academic travelling did not turn into wandering. Malte generously shared with me his expertise in and ideas on premodern communication and political conflict from the very beginning. He opened my eyes to what borders meant and did not mean in early modern Europe. Judith's intellectual guidance, precision, and moral support were indispensable. Our conversations about early modern society always reminded me that it was shaped by real people, and never failed to give me the renewed enthusiasm and focus that I needed for writing this dissertation.

The Mahindra Humanities Center at Harvard University and the Institute of European History in Mainz kindly offered stimulating short-term academic homes from where I developed many of my ideas. I am grateful to the members of the *Signaturen der frühen Neuzeit* working group and the attendees of the IEG colloquium for their valuable criticism on earlier drafts of the chapters. Many thanks to my fellow PhD students Thérèse Peeters, Carolina Lenarduzzi, Carolien Boender, Cees Reyner, and Silvia Gaiga for reviewing some of my work with a keen eye. Special thanks to Erica Boersma, for meticulously reading the whole manuscript and providing me with many valuable comments. Also in line for thanks are Jeroen Duindam, Mirjam de Baar, Sven Trakulhun, and Helmer Helmers for serving as doctoral committee members, David Onnekink and Peter Hoppenbrouwers for joining the defense committee, and Elizabeth Stone for language editing the manuscript.

Moving to pursue a PhD inevitably blurs the line between academic and private life. I am greatly indebted to my dearest colleague Monika Barget for being with me on this journey from the start and for helping me find my way around German academia with the patience of a saint. I miss our tireless discussions about historical evergreens, such as theodicy, celibacy, and all sorts of plot holes. Agata Nörenberg, Katrin Winkler, Lauren Lauret, and Leonor Álvarez Francés guaranteed that writing a dissertation was not a lonely undertaking and provided much needed distraction in the office. My first *Mitbewohnerin* Pascale Siegrist, and not

much later, my flatmates at the Schürmann-Horster-Weg 5 truly made me feel at home in Konstanz. My wonderful friends in Utrecht, Venray, and elsewhere, in turn, ensured that the Netherlands would also remain home. I cannot name all of you, but rest assured that if you frequently broke bread with me, went to the pub with me, or let me sleep in your guestroom/on your couch, you have played a vital part in this project's completion.

Serendipity is a treasure in academia but even more so in life, and I had an immensely lucky encounter along the way. Viola thoroughly helped me restructure the introduction, translated the summary of this study into German, and graciously wasted her bright mind on fixing the footnotes and the bibliography. Finally, this study could not have been completed without the warmth and great fun provided by my family. Coen and Maren were always there for me in the broadest possible sense. Midas managed to stay out of it this time, but will undoubtedly be taxed in future projects. I have always felt immense support from my parents, Marc and Yvonne, in both life and academia. While having a healthy distance from the humanities, their unflagging willingness to listen and advise have gotten me to where I am today. Sadly, my dear grandfather, Dick de Boer, passed away six weeks before the defense of this dissertation. *Opa* was an avid reader of newspapers and, especially for someone of his generation, a particularly well-informed and open-minded person. As a history of news and compassion, this dissertation honors his memory.