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

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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)⁵⁸²

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.⁵⁸³ 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.⁵⁸⁴ 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.⁵⁸⁵ Having

⁵⁸² Anonymous, *Weegschaal der hedendaagse staatsaaken. Eerste brief* (s.l., 1688), pfl. 12660.

⁵⁸³ J. Bergin, *The politics of religion in early modern France* (New Haven, CT, 2014), p. 258.

⁵⁸⁴ P. Zagorin, *How the idea of religious toleration came to the West* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), p. 244.

⁵⁸⁵ 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.⁵⁸⁶

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.⁵⁸⁷

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'.⁵⁸⁸ With the final prohibition of Protestantism in France, initial reservations about publicizing the fate of the Huguenots internationally were no longer tenable.⁵⁸⁹ 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,

⁵⁸⁶ '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.

⁵⁸⁷ 'La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes est scellée'; citation from *ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ 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.

⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰ 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.⁵⁹¹ 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.⁵⁹² 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.⁵⁹³ 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.⁵⁹⁴ 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.⁵⁹⁵

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

⁵⁹⁰ 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.

⁵⁹¹ 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^e 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.

⁵⁹² Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 177–187.

⁵⁹³ 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.

⁵⁹⁴ 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.

⁵⁹⁵ 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.⁵⁹⁶ 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’;⁵⁹⁷ Emma Bergin similarly stresses that Dutch pamphlets characterized William III as a providential agent and Louis XIV as ‘the chief servant of the Antichrist’;⁵⁹⁸ Tony Claydon, in turn, points to an English desire for an ‘international Protestant crusade’.⁵⁹⁹ All argue, implicitly or explicitly, against the more secular readings of these conflicts, which have been most compellingly defended by Steven Pincus.⁶⁰⁰ 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.⁶⁰¹ 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’.⁶⁰²

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

⁵⁹⁶ 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.

⁵⁹⁷ Haks, ‘The States General’, p. 167.

⁵⁹⁸ Bergin, ‘Defending the true faith’, p. 243.

⁵⁹⁹ Claydon, *William III and the Godly revolution*, p. 17.

⁶⁰⁰ 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.

⁶⁰¹ 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.

⁶⁰² 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?⁶⁰³ 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

⁶⁰³ 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.⁶⁰⁴

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.⁶⁰⁵ 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.⁶⁰⁶ Trusting the city's commercial priorities, the ambassador advised his king to offer the Amsterdam merchants trading with France some favors:

⁶⁰⁴ '[...] 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.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 294–295.

⁶⁰⁶ 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.⁶⁰⁷

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.⁶⁰⁸

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'.⁶⁰⁹ 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'.⁶¹⁰ In the meantime, the ambassador found

⁶⁰⁷ '[...] 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.

⁶⁰⁸ '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).

⁶⁰⁹ '[...] les enemis de la Religion du pays, & seroient déchirés par le peuple;' *ibid.*, pp. 321–322.

⁶¹⁰ '[...] 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.⁶¹¹ 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*.⁶¹² Three French ships with newly converted seamen refused to return to France.⁶¹³ In Holland, a copper medal engraved with some of the tortures endured by the Huguenots was minted.⁶¹⁴ 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 1686.⁶¹⁵ 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.⁶¹⁶ 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.⁶¹⁷

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;⁶¹⁸ Engravings were disseminated throughout France

⁶¹¹ Ibid., pp. 191–199.

⁶¹² Ibid., pp. 208–209.

⁶¹³ Ibid., pp. 229.

⁶¹⁴ 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.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 212, 240.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 219–220.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 223–225.

⁶¹⁸ G. Adams, *The Huguenots and French opinion, 1685–1787: The Enlightenment debate on toleration* (Waterloo, 1991), p. 19.

celebrating the destruction of churches;⁶¹⁹ and people were summoned to engage in public thanksgivings and parades.⁶²⁰ 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.⁶²¹

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.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

⁶²⁰ A. Wylie, *The History of Protestantism*, vol. 3 (Wilmington, 2015), p. 336.

⁶²¹ 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 XVII^e 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.⁶²² 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.⁶²³ 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.⁶²⁴ 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.⁶²⁵ This document, quite literally shoved under the noses of the harassed Huguenots, was evidence of the persecutions.⁶²⁶ 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

⁶²² 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.

⁶²³ See Chapter 2.

⁶²⁴ *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.

⁶²⁵ 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.

⁶²⁶ 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 [...]?⁶²⁷

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.⁶²⁸ Recounting the persecution was therefore not only a means to satisfy an interested audience, it was considered to be a moral imperative.⁶²⁹ 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.⁶³⁰ 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.⁶³¹ In a similar fashion, the aforementioned *Lettre écrite de France* repeated the

⁶²⁷ '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.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶³⁰ 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.

⁶³¹ 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.⁶³² 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.⁶³³ 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.⁶³⁴

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.⁶³⁵ 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

⁶³² Anonymous, *Lettre écrite de France*.

⁶³³ Knetsch, 'Debate on dragonnades', p. 222.

⁶³⁴ '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.

⁶³⁵ 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 relevant par la profession publique de la verité* (s.l., 1688); Anonymous, *Brief van een harder aen sijne protestantsche gemeente in Vranckeryck, welke 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.⁶³⁶ 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.⁶³⁷ 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.⁶³⁸ 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.⁶³⁹

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*.⁶⁴⁰ The normative principles of confessional truth and humanity were carefully negotiated, leading to different answers.

⁶³⁶ 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.

⁶³⁷ 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 plegheden 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.

⁶³⁸ Anonymous, *Récit véritable de tout ce qui c'est passé*.

⁶³⁹ '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*.

⁶⁴⁰ 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.⁶⁴¹ 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'.⁶⁴² 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.⁶⁴³ In other pamphlets names were ostentatiously replaced with dots, signed N.N.

⁶⁴¹ [P. Jurieu], *L'accomplissement des prophéties ou la délivrance prochaine de l'Eglise* (Rotterdam, 1686).

⁶⁴² M. North, *The anonymous Renaissance. Cultures of discretion in Tudor–Stuart England* (Chicago, 2003), p. 69.

⁶⁴³ 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.⁶⁴⁴ 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.⁶⁴⁵

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 3.⁶⁴⁶ The work, after all, was supposed to be a complaint from ‘oppressed Protestants’, not William III’s perspective on Europe’s international stage.

pflt 12468; L. Rotgans, *Gedichten op de vervolging tegen de beleiders van de hervormde godsdienst, door Lovies de XIV* (Utrecht, 1691), pflt 1362.

⁶⁴⁴ 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.

⁶⁴⁵ A. Matytsin, ‘Fictional letters of real accusations? Anonymous correspondence in the Bayle–Jurieu controversy’, *Society and Politics* 7–2 (2013), p. 186.

⁶⁴⁶ 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*).⁶⁴⁷ 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.⁶⁴⁸ 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.⁶⁴⁹ 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.⁶⁵⁰ 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

⁶⁴⁷ [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.

⁶⁴⁸ 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.

⁶⁴⁹ [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.

⁶⁵⁰ 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.⁶⁵¹ Simon had composed the letter as revenge against the direct attacks he had suffered in the *Accomplissement des prophéties*.⁶⁵² 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.⁶⁵³

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.⁶⁵⁴

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

⁶⁵¹ Knetsch, *Pierre Jurieu*, p. 208. P.–M. Beaudé, ‘L’accomplissement des prophéties chez Richard Simon’.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁶⁵³ 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).

⁶⁵⁴ Adams, *Huguenots and French opinion*, pp. 24–25.

during the Fronde.⁶⁵⁵ 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.⁶⁵⁶ 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 2015.⁶⁵⁷ 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.⁶⁵⁸ 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*).⁶⁵⁹ Richard Simon sarcastically responded to this prediction by making a calculation of his own: *Roterdami*, Jurieu's exile home, also added up to 666.⁶⁶⁰

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

⁶⁵⁵ 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).

⁶⁵⁶ 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.

⁶⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Waerachtige prophetie, aengaende de hevige vervolginge, aen de gereformeerde kercke in Vranckrijk* (s.l., 1686), pfl 12469.

⁶⁵⁸ 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.

⁶⁵⁹ Pierre Jurieu, *Prejugez legitimizes contre le papisme* (Amsterdam, 1685), p. 120.

⁶⁶⁰ Beade, 'L'accomplissement des prophéties', p. 4.

by the same apocalyptic title.⁶⁶¹ 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*).⁶⁶² 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*.⁶⁶³

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.⁶⁶⁴ 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'.⁶⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶⁶ In the *Ontdeckinge van Vranckrycks oogmerken* a Huguenot writes to a Catholic that

⁶⁶¹ 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 rekemyse der legpenningen* (The Hague, 1732), pp. 254–255.

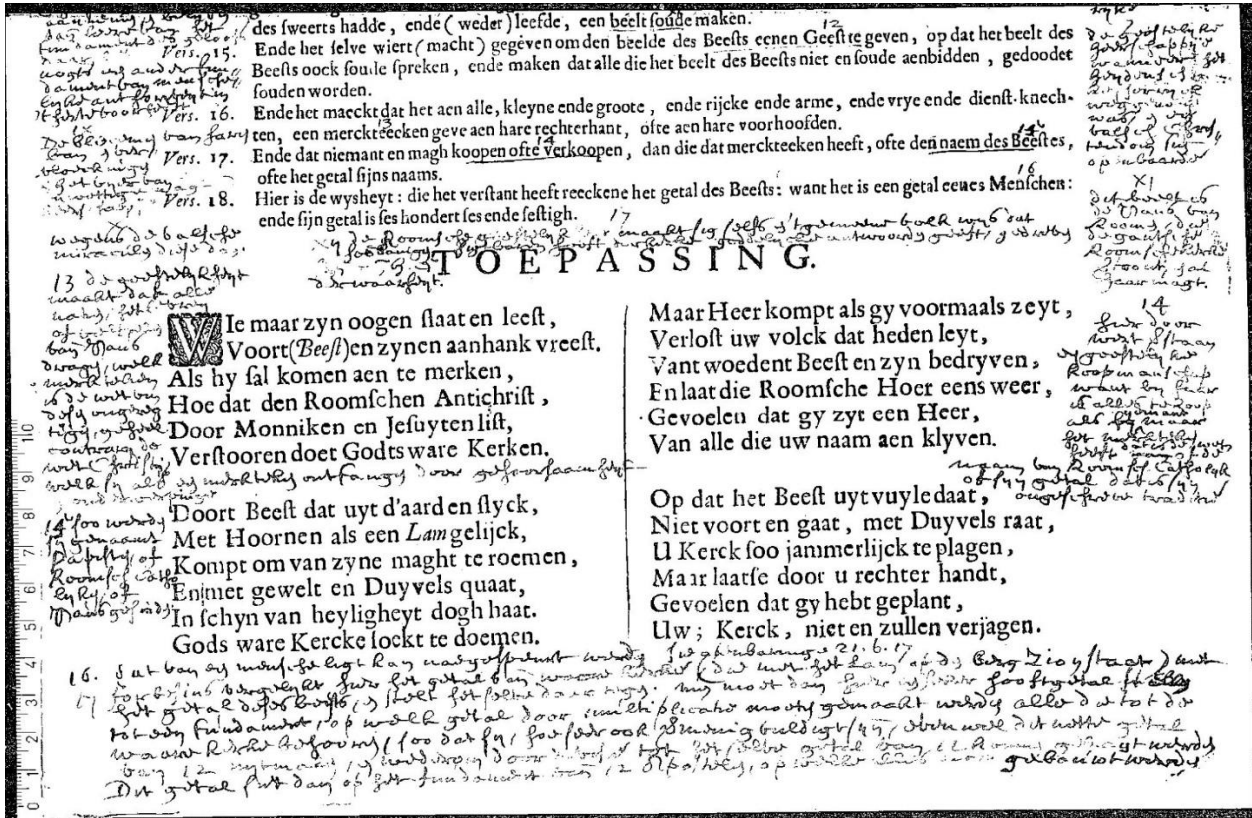
⁶⁶² J. Massard, *Explication d'un songe divin de Louis XIV* (Amsterdam 1690), pp. 47–49.

⁶⁶³ '[...] de qualité & de mérite'; Massard, *Explication d'un songe*, p. 55.

⁶⁶⁴ '[...] alle reeden, menschelijkheid, Godvruchtigheid, en liefde tot eigen Intrest [...] uitgeschut hebben'; Anonymous, *Lettre écrite de France*.

⁶⁶⁵ 'Die door schattinge, door vervolgingen, en door onvruchtbaarheid van veele jaren herwaarts uitgemergelt is, die alreede van mistroostige, en radelooze menschen krielt'; Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ 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 konnen 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.⁶⁶⁷

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’.⁶⁶⁸ 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

⁶⁶⁷ ‘Gy syt weynigh politijck geweest, dat gy arresten gegeven hebt, die geheel Europa tegens u hebben doen schreeuwen, [...] sonderdat gy der eenigh proffijit, 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.

⁶⁶⁸ Quotation from Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, p. 40.

economy and destroyed its commerce.⁶⁶⁹ 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’.⁶⁷⁰ 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*.⁶⁷¹ 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

⁶⁶⁹ Scoville, *Persecution of the Huguenots*, pp. 12–15.

⁶⁷⁰ Claydon, ‘Protestantism, universal monarchy’, p. 133; T. Claydon, *William III* (London and New York 2002), p. 141.

⁶⁷¹ [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’.⁶⁷² 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.⁶⁷³

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.⁶⁷⁴ 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.⁶⁷⁵

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

⁶⁷² ‘[...] 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.

⁶⁷³ ‘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.

⁶⁷⁴ 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.

⁶⁷⁵ ‘[...] 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.⁶⁷⁶ 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.⁶⁷⁷ 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.⁶⁷⁸

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'.⁶⁷⁹ 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.⁶⁸⁰ The clergy, in turn, would suffer from the bad image that France gave them.⁶⁸¹ 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

⁶⁷⁶ '[...] 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.

⁶⁷⁷ Claude, *Account of the persecutions*, p. 45.

⁶⁷⁸ '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.

⁶⁷⁹ '[...] qu'elles ne peuvent que produire de tres méchants effets'; *ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶⁸⁰ 'Tout ce qui ne voudra pas subir le joug sera heretique'; *ibid.*, p. 115; see Chapter 2.

⁶⁸¹ *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’.⁶⁸² As was the case with the Piedmont Easter, international intervention was presented as the alternative to domestic disobedience.⁶⁸³

The pamphlet’s supraconfessional message did not prevent the Count of Avaux from seeing it as a Calvinist manifesto.⁶⁸⁴ 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.⁶⁸⁵

The Sun King was less worried, responding to Avaux that ‘we should let them spit their bile without worrying ourselves to much about it’.⁶⁸⁶ 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*.⁶⁸⁷ The *Réponse aux plaintes des Protestans*—written by theologian and playwright David-Augustin de Brueys, who had converted to Catholicism in

⁶⁸² ‘Il faut esperer que les princes & les etat protestans tireront delà leurs justes conclusions’; *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶⁸³ 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.

⁶⁸⁴ For a more elaborate discussion of manifestos see chapters 1 and 5.

⁶⁸⁵ ‘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.

⁶⁸⁶ Quotation taken from Van der Linden, ‘Predikanten in ballingschap’, p. 153.

⁶⁸⁷ 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.⁶⁸⁸

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.⁶⁸⁹

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.⁶⁹⁰ 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’.⁶⁹¹ The Revocation is intended to cause outrage among Europe’s Protestant powers and move them to start persecuting their Catholic minorities in retaliation,

⁶⁸⁸ 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).

⁶⁸⁹ J. Lingard, *A history of England from the first invasion by the Romans*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1831), p. 97.

⁶⁹⁰ 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.

⁶⁹¹ ‘[...] 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), pfl 12299, p. 3. For the Dutch translation see: Anonymous, *Politick discours over de reformatie die tegenwoordig in Vrankrijk wort gepleegt* (1685), pfl 12300.

which, in turn, will anger Europe's Catholic princes.⁶⁹² By inciting confessional hostility, Louis XIV hopes to realign Europe's alliances across confessional lines, to his advantage.⁶⁹³ 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.⁶⁹⁴ 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.⁶⁹⁵ 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.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹² Anonymous, *Discours politique*, pp. 4–5.

⁶⁹³ 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.

⁶⁹⁴ A. Thompson, 'The grand alliances', *European History Online (EGO)* (2013), <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/thompsona-2013-en>.

⁶⁹⁵ See Bonnet, "Monarchie Universelle".

⁶⁹⁶ 'De onmenshelijckheyte waer mede hy deselve tegens de Catholijcken en Geestelijke Vorsten vervolght, kunnen 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.⁶⁹⁷

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.⁶⁹⁸ 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.⁶⁹⁹ 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*

⁶⁹⁷ 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).

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid..

⁶⁹⁹ 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 1688.⁷⁰⁰ The title ironically stated that it had been published in London in the ‘crowned Popish bastard’.⁷⁰¹ 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.⁷⁰² 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.⁷⁰³

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.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁰ Anonymous, *Den Engelschen bokkum, gebraden op een Franse rooster* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12665, pfl 12666, pfl 12666a (3 editions); Anonymous, *Engelsche bokkum, of heekkel-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.

⁷⁰¹ [...] in in den gekroonden Paapen-Bastaard; Anonymous, *Den Engelsche bokkum*, pfl 12665.

⁷⁰² Anonymous, *Nieuwe geinventeerde brillen, voor alderhande gesichten, op de mode geslepen, op verscheyde slypsteen* (s.l., 1688), pfl 12668, p. 5.

⁷⁰³ ‘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.

⁷⁰⁴ 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.⁷⁰⁵ 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’.⁷⁰⁶ 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.⁷⁰⁷ Because no one did, everybody

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.

⁷⁰⁵ Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 163–166; Labrousse, *Une foi, une loi, un roi?*, p. 85.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘Een natie die andersints seer ryck in veelheyt van menschen is, [...] soo van eerlijcke luyden ontbloot is’; Anonymous, *Ontdeckinge van Vrankrycks oogmerken*, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

was hence an accomplice to the persecutions—comparable to the concept of the ‘bystander’ in Holocaust studies.⁷⁰⁸ 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.⁷⁰⁹ 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.⁷¹⁰

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.

⁷⁰⁸ 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.

⁷⁰⁹ ‘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.

⁷¹⁰ 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.⁷¹¹ 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.⁷¹² Of course, the Dutch were aware of this, as they had to take care of the rising numbers of refugee paupers.⁷¹³ 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.⁷¹⁴ 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*

⁷¹¹ 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>.

⁷¹² See Van der Linden, *Experiencing exile*, pp. 39–78.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷¹⁴ 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.⁷¹⁵ 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.⁷¹⁶ 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’.⁷¹⁷

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’.⁷¹⁸ 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

⁷¹⁵ 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.

⁷¹⁶ ‘[...] 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.

⁷¹⁷ ‘[...] dat’er over twintig of dertig jaaren weinig onderscheid tusschen d’oude en nieuwe inwoonders der Gereformeerde Nederlanden zal wezen’; *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷¹⁸ ‘[...] 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.⁷¹⁹ The VOC actively tried make the Huguenots integrate as quickly as possible by not allowing them to live in their own quarters.⁷²⁰ 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.⁷²¹

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.⁷²² 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.⁷²³

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.⁷²⁴ 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’

⁷¹⁹ 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.

⁷²⁰ 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.

⁷²¹ ‘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.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷²³ S. Lachenicht, ‘Refugees and refugee protection in the early modern period’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30–2 (2016), pp. 269–270.

⁷²⁴ See Chapter 3.

by the Huguenots, which might lead to a political subjugation by France, in a printed oration from 1686.⁷²⁵ However, since it was published in Latin it could hardly be regarded as libelous.⁷²⁶

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.⁷²⁷ 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.⁷²⁸ 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.⁷²⁹ 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.⁷³⁰ 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.⁷³¹

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

⁷²⁵ 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.

⁷²⁶ P. Francius, *Oratio de usu et praestantia linguae graecae. Habita in illustri Athenaeo Amstelaedamensi* (Amsterdam, 1686).

⁷²⁷ Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme*, vol. 2, p. 266.

⁷²⁸ 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.

⁷²⁹ Avaux, *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte*, vol. 5, p. 227; Avaux does not make clear whether the Catholics in question were clergy or laity.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 202–203.

⁷³¹ *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.⁷³² 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.⁷³³ 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’.⁷³⁴ 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.⁷³⁵ 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.⁷³⁶

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

⁷³² Van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, 134; Knuttel, *Toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken*, pp. 294–296.

⁷³³ 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.

⁷³⁴ [...] 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.

⁷³⁵ Neveu, ‘Les protestants français’, p. 58.

⁷³⁶ 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.⁷³⁷ 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’.⁷³⁸

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.⁷³⁹ Moreover, William III’s consistent tolerationist stance toward Dutch Catholics must have had a moderating effect on Jurieu and other publishing pastors.⁷⁴⁰ 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

⁷³⁷ Gibbs, ‘Some intellectual and political influences’, p. 275.

⁷³⁸ Neveu, ‘Les protestants français’, p. 56.

⁷³⁹ Onnekink, ‘Models of an imagined community’, p. 210.

⁷⁴⁰ 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.⁷⁴¹

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’.⁷⁴² Moreover, Catholics had equally benefited from the raised value of real estate, which the influx of refugees had brought about.⁷⁴³ 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

⁷⁴¹ ‘Te woeden sonder maet of regel, op duisent nare klachten doof. Te zyn, is ’t eeuwich—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.

⁷⁴² ‘[...] gelijk de nakomelingen der gene die voor desen uyt de Spaanse Nederlanden en Duitsland om de Religie geweken sijn, tegenwoordig de hoofdzuielen onser *Beurse* maken’; Anonymous, *Beweegreden en propositie tot soulaas der arme Franse vluchtelingen van de Gereformeerde religie* (Amsterdam, 1688), pfl. 13039.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*

them to organize themselves more openly as corporate bodies in society—leading to a clearer segmentation of religions.⁷⁴⁴ 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].⁷⁴⁵ 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.⁷⁴⁶ The refugee

⁷⁴⁴ 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.

⁷⁴⁵ Anonymous, *Dialogue sur les impôts de Hollande* (Amsterdam, 1688), pfl 13040.

⁷⁴⁶ 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’.⁷⁴⁷ 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.⁷⁴⁸ 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’.⁷⁴⁹ 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.⁷⁵⁰

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.⁷⁵¹ 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

⁷⁴⁷ ‘[...] on devroit leur rogner un peu les ailes, pour leur apprendre a vivre’; Anonymous, *Dialogue sur les impôts*, p. 6.

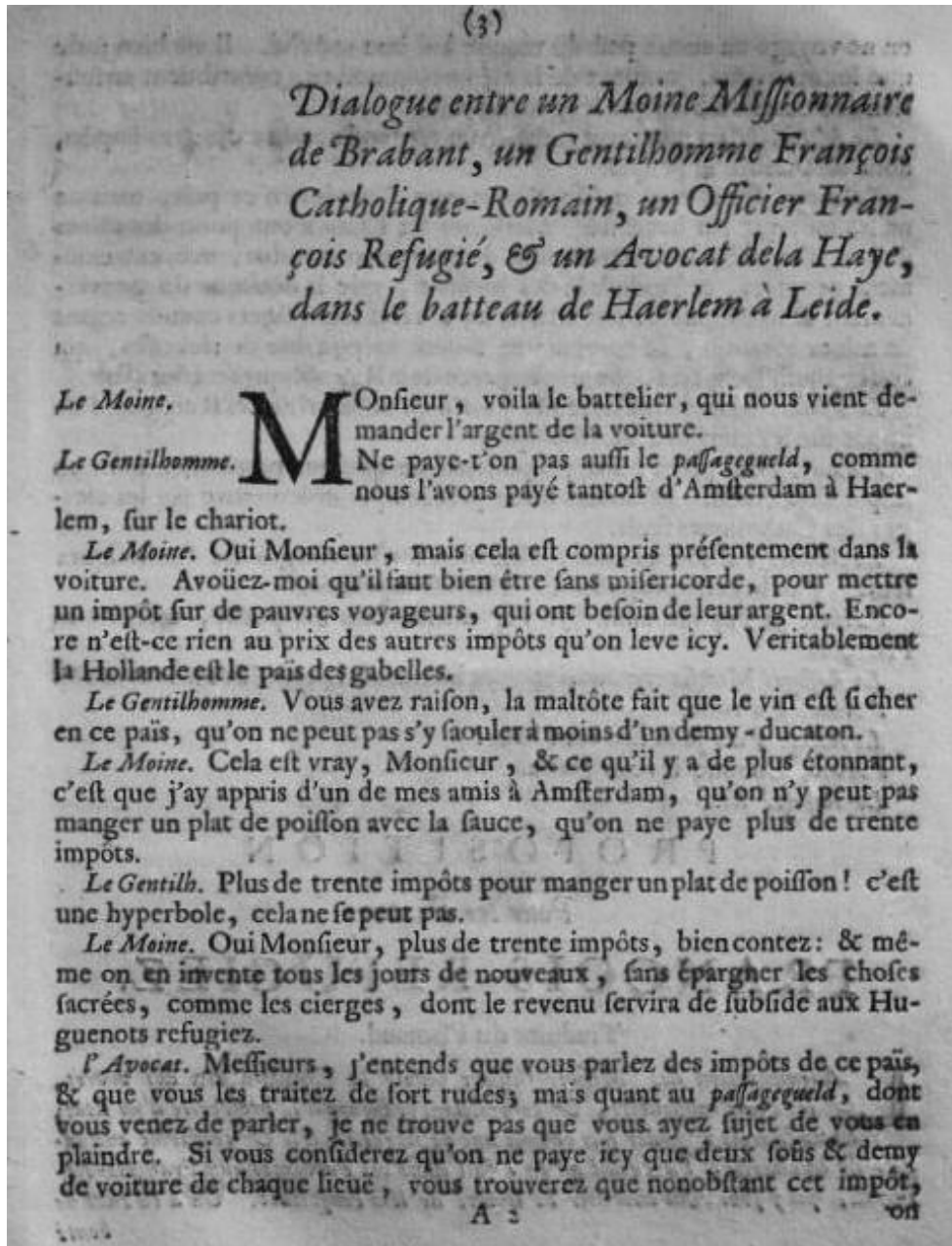
⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁴⁹ ‘[...] donnez–les nous; on en sera de bons réformez, sans dragons’; *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p. 6.

adequately coined ‘the ecumenism of everyday relations’;⁷⁵² 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.

⁷⁵² 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’.⁷⁵³ 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.⁷⁵⁴

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’.⁷⁵⁵ 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.⁷⁵⁶ The Huguenot claims that these restrictions are

⁷⁵³ ‘[...] ’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.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ ‘[...] ’t zou niet dienstig sijn aan dit Vaderland die Heeren tegen te hebben’; *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁶ ‘[...] 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.⁷⁵⁷ Interestingly, the Union of Utrecht granted Catholics freedom of conscience, but not the freedom to openly practice their religion.⁷⁵⁸ 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.⁷⁵⁹ 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

⁷⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander*.

⁷⁵⁸ 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.

⁷⁵⁹ ‘[...] 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.⁷⁶⁰

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.

⁷⁶⁰ 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.