

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Revolution of 1688 in Dutch Pamphlet Literature: A Study in the
Dutch Public Sphere in the late Seventeenth Century

Being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

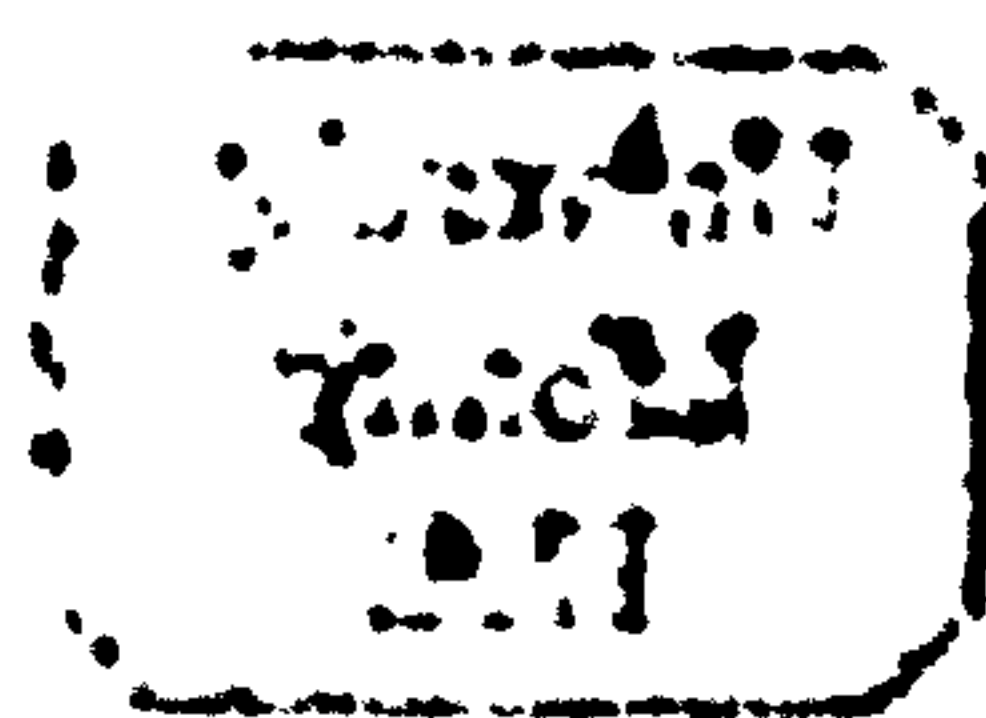
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Summary of Thesis submitted for PhD degree

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The Revolution of 1688 in Dutch Pamphlet Literature: A Study in the Dutch Public Sphere in the late Seventeenth Century

This thesis examines the pamphlet literature published in the Dutch Republic during the period surrounding the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Although the Dutch side of the Revolution has been afforded significant attention in recent years, writing on the subject has focused largely on assessing the motivation of William III and the Dutch regents in taking the decision to intervene in England, or on considering how particular groups responded to the events of 1688-89. This study provides a broader perspective, analysing the pamphlet literature published in the Dutch Republic between 1685 and 1689 in reference to Habermas' theory of the public sphere. Through rigorous content analysis of the pamphlet literature, this thesis examines and quantifies the main subjects of interest to the Dutch public, both within a given year and over time, as well as evaluating the information and commentary available to them. Particular focus is placed on the nature of the public debate concerning England, in order to assess Dutch views and opinions of the English situation. The main source used is the Knuttel collection of Dutch pamphlet literature in the Royal Library at The Hague, the largest and most extensive collection in the Netherlands.

The Dutch Republic had a broadly accessible public sphere in the seventeenth century, in which political and religious matters were debated relatively freely and widely via the pamphlet medium. During the 1685-1689 period, a wide range of domestic and international issues were addressed in the pamphlet literature. The Dutch public had access to a variety of information sources including official documents, news reports, polemic, propaganda and graphic prints. Dutch interest in English domestic affairs reached its peak in the 1688-89 period, prompted by the translated works of British authors and unidentified anti-Stuart propagandists, which significantly influenced Dutch views of the English situation in the lead up to William's expedition. Dutch pamphleteers gave overwhelming support to William's intervention in England, which was regarded as a defensive measure designed to safeguard Europe's Protestant religion and liberties. However, the Dutch public quickly lost interest in English affairs from 1690 onwards.

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Note on dates

New Style dates have been adopted throughout the text, in regards to both British and continental events. The dates of correspondence have been printed as they appeared in the original letters, with either (OS) or (NS) utilized where there may be cause for confusion.

Note on quotations

When quoting from the pamphlet literature my own translations will be given. The original Dutch version of each quote has been placed in an endnote. However, some quotations have been presented in Dutch when it was deemed necessary for reasons of specific terminology. All quotations from primary sources follow the original seventeenth century spelling. Where it was not possible to ascertain a specific word due to the condition of the source material, it will either be omitted which is indicated by [...], or an alternative will be offered, followed by [?].

List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London.
DBNL	Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren
EEBO	Early English Books Online
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library), The Hague.
Knuttel	WPC Knuttel, <i>Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek</i> (Utrecht, 1978).
PRO	Public Record Office, London.
PwA	Catalogue of the Papers of Hans William Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland in the Portland Collection, Nottingham.
STCN	Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands

Introduction

In November 1688 the Dutch *Stadholder* William III, invaded England with the backing of the Dutch state, professing to restore the country's ancient liberties and to safeguard the Anglican Church. The consequences of William's actions were tremendous, for in just a few months James II had fled to France, the throne had been declared 'vacant' by Parliament and, in April 1689, the Dutch *Stadholder* and his wife Mary were crowned joint sovereigns of England, Scotland and Ireland. Furthermore, under William's leadership England and the Dutch Republic entered into the League of Augsburg, embroiling them in the Nine Years War against the forces of Louis XIV. As a key event in the histories of both countries, the Revolution of 1688-89 not only initiated a new era in closer Anglo-Dutch relations personified by the *Stadholder-King*, but also pre-empted a shift in the balance of power between the two nations that was to be particularly favourable to England's economic interests.¹

William's invasion represents the most significant example of Dutch intervention in English affairs in the seventeenth century. Indeed, it was without doubt the Republic's riskiest strategic venture since the Revolt against Spain in the sixteenth century. Not only was launching a major sea-borne offensive in the middle of winter a huge gamble in itself, but the departure of the Head of the armed forces with a contingency of 40,000 men, left the Republic vulnerable to attack from France.² That Dutch policy-makers undertook a pre-emptive strike is even more surprising given the fact that ever since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, it had been a constant maxim of state to actively avoid international conflicts in the interest of protecting the Dutch economy.³

The significance of the event did not go unnoticed by contemporaries, for the period surrounding the Revolution was one of intense deliberation, particularly in pamphlet form. In fact, the influence of the genre on public opinion was so great that

¹ DW Jones, 'Sequel to Revolution: The economics of England's emergence as a Great Power, 1688-1712', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment - Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact*, ed. J Israel (Cambridge University Press, hereafter CUP, 1991), pp389-406; J Aalbers, 'Hollands financial problems (1713-1733) and the wars against Louis XIV' in *Britain and the Netherlands VI*, eds. AC Duke and CA Tamse (The Hague, 1977), pp78-93.

² Figure from J Israel and G Parker, 'Of Providence and Protestant Winds: the Spanish armada of 1588 and the Dutch armada of 1688', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p337-38.

³ MAM Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's Politieke en Diplomatieke Activiteiten in de jaren 1667-1684* (Groningen, 1966), p257; III Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672* (Princeton, 1978), p253.

a printing press constituted part of William's equipment when he set sail for England, enabling him to publish his own propaganda on the eve of the invasion. In the Republic itself, the pamphlet coverage of English affairs had been steadily increasing since the accession of James II and finally reached its peak in 1688-89. Dutch interest in events across the Channel is evident, for 368 pamphlets were published on English affairs between 1685 and 1689.⁴ This crucial phase of Anglo-Dutch relations therefore presents an ideal opportunity to consider the nature of discussion and debate in the Dutch public sphere, by analysing the views and opinions conveyed in the pamphlets of the period.

Indeed, one would expect scholars to have already undertaken a thorough analysis of Dutch opinion, given the importance of the Revolution and the wealth of evidence available, yet this is not the case. This neglect can, in part, be explained by the fact that studies relating to Dutch aspects of the Revolution really only began in the mid-twentieth century. Until that point, scholars had concentrated on the Revolution's impact in England, viewing it as an essentially 'English' phenomenon, without placing the event in its European or world-wide context.⁵ Nevertheless, even though revisionist historians have opened up the many and varied facets of the Revolution for debate, there are still many areas that are relatively unexplored, especially regarding Dutch public opinion.⁶

The lack of a systematic study of Dutch public opinion is also due to the tendency of more recent literature to focus on the motivation of William III and the Dutch regents in taking the risky decision to invade England. In particular, although Schöffers continues to regard William as the saviour of Protestantism, most modern studies tend to focus on re-evaluating this traditional Whig view.⁷ Israel for example, argues that worries over the survival of the Protestant religion had no part in

⁴ Figures derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamsfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

⁵ For the traditional Whig interpretation of the Revolution see, Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, ed. by CH Firth, 6 vols. (1913-15); GM Trevelyan, *The English Revolution, 1688-89* (Oxford, 1938).

⁶ Revisionist collections include, *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, ed. J Israel (CUP, 1991); *The World of William and Mary- Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, eds. D Hoak and M Feingold (California, 1996); *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, ed. L. Schwoerer (CUP, 1992); *The Age of William and Mary - Power, Politics and Patronage 1688-1702*, eds. RP Maccubbin and M Hamilton-Phillips (Virginia, 1989).

⁷ I Schöffers, 'Het groot waagstuk. De overtocht van Prins Willem III naar Engeland in 1688', in *Willem III de stadhouder-koning en zijn tijd*, eds. AGH Bachrach, JP Sigmond and AJ Veenendaal (Amsterdam, 1988), p12.

William's thinking and describes his personal religious beliefs as 'decidedly tepid'.⁸ Rietbergen takes a similar stance, maintaining that William's actions were 'never those of a zealous champion of a religious war, though that was what many of his supporters, including most Huguenots, wanted him to fight.'⁹ For these two historians, religion was just a tool used by William to gain support for his invasion.

Likewise, several historians have given greater priority to the *Stadholder's* personal reasons for intervening in English affairs. For Hoak, Pinkham, and Pocock, the invasion was the result of dynastic worries resulting from the birth of the Prince of Wales in June of 1688 and was primarily intended to protect William and Mary's inheritance.¹⁰ Yet other studies, such as those by Baxter, Claydon, Haley, and Troost, do not deny the existence of dynastic objectives, but argue that William's actions were the result of an unstable European situation. From this point of view, the invasion was undertaken first and foremost for strategic reasons; to bring England into an anti-French coalition, not only to restore the balance of power in Europe, but also to safeguard the Dutch state from the expansionist aims of Louis XIV.¹¹ Indeed, Symcox has drawn attention to the fact that William was as much interested in the developments taking place in Germany, as he was in England.¹² Although disagreement clearly exists, these studies have highlighted the fact that whether William was acting principally because of fears for the survival of the Protestant religion, the usurpation of his place in the succession, or due to Louis XIV's encroachments on the continent, all of these worries were inextricably bound up in England. However, what is disappointing is that none of these studies attempted to analyse William's views of the English and European situations in the context of the prevailing mood of Dutch public opinion.

⁸ J Israel, 'William III and Toleration', in *From Persecution to Toleration. The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, eds. O Grell, J Israel and N Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), pp130-31.

⁹ PJAN Rietbergen, 'William III of Orange (1650-1702) between European Politics and European Protestantism: the case of the Huguenots', in *La Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies, 1685*, eds. JAH Bots and GHM Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam, 1986), p49.

¹⁰ D Hoak, 'The Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688-89', in *The World of William and Mary*, p24; L Pinkham, *William III and the Respectable Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 1954), p16; JGA Pocock, 'Empire, State and confederation: the war of American independence as a crisis in multiple monarchy', in *A Union for Empire. Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. J Roberts (Cambridge, 1997), p326.

¹¹ S Baxter, *William III* (London, 1966), pp213-14; T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (CUP, 1996), p12; KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, pp28-29 and W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III* (Hilversum, 2001), p190.

¹² G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. R Hatton (Plymouth, 1976), p195.

A similar problem can be found in the work of scholars exploring the outlook and objectives of the Dutch ruling elite, although they do provide an understanding of why the regents decided to support William's expedition. The complex and frequently hostile relations between the regents and the *Stadholder* are often emphasised, bringing the point to light that not all were convinced that the expedition to England was necessary. Groenveld for instance, stresses that the containment of France had been William's primary objective since 1672, but due to opposition from Dutch regents he was unable to take any definite action until 1688.¹³ Haley too, through his examination of the role of the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicholaas Witsen in helping William to win over the city's regents, has shown that opposition to intervention in England still existed in 1688.¹⁴

The prevailing view as to why Dutch regents had a change of heart in regards to England, is that postulated by Jonathan Israel, who sees the escalating conflict over commerce between France and the Republic as the decisive factor.¹⁵ To Israel, it was only the re-introduction of damaging French tariffs on Dutch goods in 1687 and the seizure of Dutch ships in French ports in September 1688, that enabled William to gain regent support for the invasion.¹⁶ De Vries and Van der Woude support Israel's analysis, arguing that Amsterdam and her allies in the States of Holland only abandoned their usual policy of appeasement because of repeated French provocations in the economic sphere.¹⁷ From this standpoint, Dutch regents gave a green light for the expedition, as they hoped to turn England into a trusty ally of the Republic, who would aid them in bringing aggressive French mercantilism to an end.

Furthermore, although in 1688 both the French and Polish ambassadors in the Republic believed that fears for Protestantism were an important contributory factor in the arousing of Dutch hostility to France and, by extension to James II, religious

¹³ S Groenveld, ' "J'equippe une flotte tres considerable" : the Dutch side of the Glorious Revolution' in *The Revolutions of 1688*, ed. R Beddard (Oxford 1991), pp213-45.

¹⁴ KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, p21-34.

¹⁵ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), p846-49; J Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p118.

¹⁶ For an examination of the impact of French tariffs and the Revolution on the Dutch economy see in particular, J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the English Revolution of 1688', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 103, (1990), pp414-40.

¹⁷ J de Vries and AD Van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, failure and perseverance in the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (CUP, 1997), p680.

motivation on the part of the regents is generally down played by historians.¹⁸ Hoak argues that for Dutch policy-makers, the invasion was perceived as a war of state against France, not a war to save the Protestant religion.¹⁹ In addition, Israel asserts that Dutch regents were 'totally impervious to religious considerations' and that such a hazardous military operation would never have been undertaken on religious grounds.²⁰ This view has, however, been challenged by more recent studies. In particular, David Onnekink's biography of the Earl of Portland has shown that for a number of William's key confidants, such as Bentinck, Carstares and Schomberg, religion was at the very heart of their ideology. Rather than viewing the religious case for intervention in England as simple propaganda, Onnekink claims that for these individuals 'religion and liberty were hardly empty phrases.'²¹ However, how far the views of these men were representative of Dutch public opinion is not addressed.

Even though a detailed investigation of Dutch public opinion is lacking, some attempts have been made to evaluate the attitudes of particular sections of Dutch society, examining how they viewed the events leading up to and surrounding the invasion. Hans Blom's study for example, focuses on the Revolution's impact on political theorists and commentators living in the Republic, assessing the extent to which the events of 1688-89 led to a re-examination of the political set up in England and the Republic by political writers such as Eric Walten.²² Others studies have specifically considered the views expressed by different religious groups. Van den Berg's comparative examination of the Church of England and Dutch Calvinism over the period, seeks to provide an insight into how the Dutch Reformed clergy viewed William's expedition.²³ According to this study, because Dutch Calvinists perceived the Anglican Church as a necessary bulwark against threats from Rome and Catholicism, the Revolution was perceived in terms of a struggle for the very survival of Protestantism, not just in England, but in the whole of Europe. A similar

¹⁸ KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion', p23.

¹⁹ D Hoak, 'The Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688-89', p11.

²⁰ J Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution', p111.

²¹ D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The Career of Hans Williem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland 1649-1709' (Utrecht, unpublished PhD thesis, 2004), p41.

²² H Blom, ' "Our Prince is King!" The Impact of the Glorious Revolution on Political debate in the Dutch Republic', in *Parliaments, Estates and Representations*, vol. 10 (1990), pp45-57.

²³ J van den Berg, 'Dutch Calvinism and the Church of England in the period of the Glorious Revolution', in *Britain and the Netherlands XI*, eds. S Groenveld and M Wintle, (Zutphen, 1994), pp84-99.

approach is taken by Van der Wall in regards to millenarianism in England and the Dutch Republic, who argues that there was no consensus of opinion regarding the events of 1688-89.²⁴ She highlights that although some theologians, such as Jacobus Koelman, saw the Revolution as signifying the triumph of the 'true Church' and the ultimate downfall of the Antichrist, the majority of Dutch millenarians were less inclined to give such an apocalyptic interpretation to the Revolution. The views of the Jewish community have been evaluated by Den Boer and Israel, who maintain that although William received their overwhelming support for the invasion, it was primarily the result of private motivation.²⁵ According to this study, it was important to the Jewish community that the expedition was a success, not only because they were one of his main financiers, but also because they hoped their association with the *Stadholder* would increase their prestige.

One study which has, to a limited extent, endeavoured to address the impact of the Revolution on Dutch citizens is PJAN Rietbergen's, 'A Fateful Alliance? William III and England in Dutch Historiography, 1688-89-1988-89'.²⁶ The study is broad in scope and aims to chart Dutch views of the Revolution after the event through an analysis of pamphlet literature published in the Republic. Rietbergen's main argument is that the large quantities of pamphlets written between 1688 and 1702 does not suggest that there was a climate of anti-English feeling in the Republic post-1688, in contrast to the increasing anti-Dutch feeling in London.²⁷ However, although the study is informative, it is weakened by a number of points. Rietbergen only utilises a limited selection of the abundant source material available and fails to take into account the important period leading up to the Revolution, with only one pamphlet published in 1689 afforded attention. He also fails to provide an overview of the actual number of pamphlets produced, or to discuss what proportion considered Anglo-Dutch issues. In addition, Dutch public opinion in a broader sense

²⁴ E van der Wall, 'Anti-Christ Stormed: The Glorious Revolution and the Dutch Prophetic Tradition', in *World of William and Mary*, pp152-64.

²⁵ H den Boer and J Israel, 'William III and the Glorious Revolution in the eyes of the Amsterdam Sephardi writers: the reactions of Miguel de Barrios, Joseph Penso de la Vega, and Manuel de Leão' in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp439-62.

²⁶ PJAN Rietbergen, "A Fateful Alliance? William III and England in Dutch Historiography, 1688-9 - 1988-9", in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p463-81.

²⁷ For an examination of increasing anti-Dutch feeling in England after the Revolution see G van Alphen, *De Stemming van de Engelschen tegen de Hollanders in England – Tijdens de regeering van den Koning-Stadhouder Willem III 1688-1702* (Assen, 1938).

is largely ignored, with emphasis placed on the views of Dutch politicians especially after 1689.

The literature discussed above is useful, not only for its analysis of the motivation of William and the Dutch regents in taking the decision to invade England, but also for providing an insight into how certain groups in the Republic interpreted the Revolution. However, little is said regarding if, or how far, the opinions expressed by these groups and individuals were reflective of the Dutch public as a whole. It is usually argued that the expedition received great support from all sections of the population, yet there has been little analysis of their awareness of the event. Moreover, because historians are usually examining the Revolution from the point of view of the Dutch ruling elite, they tend to just take it for granted that the Dutch public shared their views. As Israel states, 'The expedition to England was seen by the Dutch public as well as by the regents as an enterprise of the state as well as of the Prince of Orange, an enterprise mainly designed to serve Dutch not British interests, or those of the Prince of Orange.'²⁸ Yet, because so far no study has analysed Dutch public opinion over this period in detail, it is clearly presumptuous to assume that those outside of the ruling elite fully understood why the expedition to England had taken place and to assert that it was perceived in the same terms as the regents.

The main aim of this thesis therefore, is to address this historiographical gap by examining the Dutch public's understanding of the Revolution of 1688-89, through an analysis of the pamphlet discourse of the period. A central concern of the thesis is to explore the nature of the public debate concerning England in order to assess Dutch views of the English situation. The thesis consists of five chapters which are arranged chronologically in order to examine Dutch opinion before, during, and after the expedition to England, and to identify changes in public opinion over the period. Chapter One is essentially contextual, seeking to make clear exactly who the term 'Dutch public' encompasses and to show that the Republic's extensive usage of pamphlets points to a well developed public sphere in which political issues were freely debated. The thesis then moves on in Chapter Two, to consider the main subjects of concern to the Dutch public in the lead up to 1688. In its examination of the pamphlets published between 1685 and 1687, attention is not only given to the

²⁸ J Israel, 'Introduction' to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p39.

level of interest in England compared with all other topics, but also to the way English events were discussed by pamphleteers. Chapter Three focuses specifically on why Dutch interest in England was heightened between January and September 1688, analysing in greater depth the arguments and language used by pamphleteers in relation to James II's religious policies and their perceived implications for the Republic. Following on from that, Chapter Four concentrates on the way pamphleteers sought to justify the expedition to England and assesses Dutch reactions to the ensuing Revolution from the autumn of 1688 to the end of 1689. Finally, Chapter Five investigates why Dutch interest in England quickly declined from 1690 onwards, given the fact that the two countries were now closely bound under the leadership of William III.

The main source used in the thesis is the Knuttel collection of Dutch pamphlet literature in the Royal Library at The Hague.²⁹ Knuttel is the largest and most extensive collection in the Netherlands, containing over 32,000 pamphlets for the period between the later fifteenth century and 1853. There are other catalogues available, however they contain nowhere near the amount of material as the Knuttel collection.³⁰ Examining other provincial collections to assess the possibility of regional variations was considered, but consultation of the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (STCN) revealed that Knuttel encompasses a Republic-wide print output. It was therefore felt that Knuttel was sufficiently representative of all provinces. The study is based on pamphlet literature as the medium provides an excellent insight into contemporary views and issues. Therefore it is the most useful source available for analysing public opinion, as Harline has shown: 'the advantage of using pamphlets...is that they reflect what pamphleteers believed would make inroads among a potentially broad audience; thus, they represent the next best thing

²⁹ WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamsfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

³⁰ The other main pamphlet collections are: G van Alphen, *Catalogus der pamsfletten van de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Gronigen* (Gronigen, 1944); J Broekema, *Catalogus van de pamsfletten, tractaten enz. Aanwezig in de Provinciale Bibliotheek van Zeeland*. (Middelburg, 1892); LD Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamsfletten. Verzameling van de Bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. (The Hague, 1882-1931); HC Rogge, *Beschrijvende catalogus der pamsfletten - verzameling van de Boekerij der remonstrantsche kerk te Amsterdam*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam, 1862-65); JF Someren, *Pamsfletten niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheeken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1915-22); PJ Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamsfletten. Eerste afdeeling. Verzameling van Frederick Muller te Amsterdam*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1858-61); JK van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamsfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Issac Meulman*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1866-68).

to a seventeenth-century opinion poll.³¹ Groenveld concurs with Harline, admitting that as a source they do have their shortcomings, but that they are probably the best guide to the sort of opinions held at the time:

It is from these pamphlets that we, with the understanding that they were by no means the only medium of expression, are able to formulate a public opinion – specifically, a public opinion, not *the*, because there is always the question of to what extent it is possible to ever find the highest common denominator of what people in times gone by have experienced.³²

Dutch newspapers were also consulted as they were extremely advanced for the period and were circulated all over Europe.³³ Although they merely described important international and domestic news without commentary, which limits their use as a source for gauging public opinion, this thesis has utilized them to identify those events which were deemed important enough to be reported.³⁴

When examining the source material the initial problem encountered was that of selectivity and how to define what actually constitutes a ‘pamphlet’. This task was complicated by the fact that there is little consensus amongst historians as to what can legitimately be classed as a ‘pamphlet’. A major difficulty is that works designated pamphlets can often vary greatly in length, with some being only one or two pages long, and others extending to over 300 pages. Both Harline and Chisick have examined this problem and ended up simply concluding that it is a genre which defies rigorous classification.³⁵ This study has therefore followed the definition of the Dutch bibliographer DJH ter Horst, who argued that external criteria cannot apply to pamphlets and that length is not an indicator of what constitutes a pamphlet. Rather, he advocated defining a pamphlet in terms of its function, which was to address topical and urgent issues, and to influence public opinion over a specific

³¹ C Harline, ‘Mars Bruised: Images of War in the Dutch Republic, 1641-1648’, in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 104 (1989), p190.

³² ‘Het zijn deze pamfletten waaruit wij, in het besef dat zij lang niet het enige medium van meningsuiting waren, toch menen een publieke opinie te kunnen destilleren – een publieke opinie, niet dē, want het blijft altijd maar de vraag in hoeverre het mogelijk is ooit de grootste gemene deler te kunnen vinden van wat er in voorbije tijden in een volk heeft geleefd’, S Groenveld, *De Prins voor Amsterdam reacties uit pamfletten op de aanslag van 1650* (Bussum, 1967), p5.

³³ Studies of Dutch newspapers include F Dahl, ‘Amsterdam-Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe’, in *Het Boek*, 25 (1938/9), pp161-97; F Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1681-1650* (The Hague, 1946); M Schneider, *De Nederlandse Krant 1618-1978. Van nieuwstydninghe tot dagblad* (Baarn, 1979).

³⁴ Netherlands, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, C37 [Microfilm], *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, editions for 1685-1690.

³⁵ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987); H Chisick, ‘Pamphlet Literature of the French Revolution’, in *History of European Ideas*, vol. 17 (2-3) (1993), pp149-66.

problem or crisis.³⁶ The second main problem encountered was that of anonymous authorship, for the majority of pamphlets were published with no details whatsoever in regards to author, printer or place of publication. However, this problem was partly overcome by cross referencing the pamphlet titles with the STCN, which made the identification of certain authors possible. In addition, where a pamphlet stated it was a translation from a specific country and this could be verified by consulting the text, it was classed as such.

The approach taken in the thesis is primarily one of content analysis. Rather than just utilizing a random sample of pamphlets, all 748 Dutch language titles in the collection within the temporal parameters of 1685 to 1689 have been examined to gain an overview of the issues that were of concern to pamphleteers. This methodology was used because, as Floud has highlighted, to read fewer than all the extant pamphlets from a chosen period is to take a risk that grows as the size of the sample shrinks.³⁷ It was decided to take 1685 as the starting point, as in this year Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and James II ascended the throne of England, beginning the long series of developments which culminated in the Glorious Revolution. By 1689 William was firmly on the English throne and the Nine Years War underway, therefore this year is the cut off point for the study. Only pamphlets published in the Dutch language were assessed as this indicates that they were primarily intended for domestic consumption. The collection does contain foreign language pamphlets, but as these would not have been accessible to all sections of Dutch society, they were not considered.³⁸ Therefore, only Dutch-language pamphlets are involved when the thesis refers to 'pamphlet literature' and any related numerical figures.

³⁶ JH ter Horst, 'Over het begrip pamflet', in *Bibliotheekleven*, 17 (1932), pp8-30 quoted in the 'Introduction' to WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus*, pXXXII.

³⁷ R Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (London, 1973), p32.

³⁸ The Knuttel collection contains 748 Dutch language pamphlets, 111 French, 26 Latin, 19 German and 9 English for the 1685-99 period.

Chapter One: Pamphlets and the Dutch public sphere

The main aim of this thesis is to determine how the Dutch public understood and perceived events surrounding the Revolution of 1688-89 by analysing the opinions put forward for debate in the pamphlet literature of the period. However, this approach, rests on two assumptions. Firstly, that there was a wider public outside of the ruling elite who not only had the information and ability to make educated judgements in regards to affairs of state, but a public who also had the ability to exert an influence on policy makers. Secondly, that the pamphlet literature printed in the Republic expressed and reflected that opinion. This chapter is therefore essentially contextual, aiming to explain the framework within which the wider Dutch public developed and communicated their own points of view in regards to political affairs. In order to demonstrate the existence of such a structure, this study has utilized Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere as laid out in his key work of 1962, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.¹ Attention will primarily focus on examining the extent to which a public sphere had developed in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. The role of pamphlets within the Dutch public sphere will particularly be addressed, for although recent studies have demonstrated their usage within such a context in England and France, no such attempt has been made for the Dutch Republic.²

I. Habermas's theory of the public sphere

Habermas's fundamental premise in *The Structural Transformation* is that the public sphere is a space or an arena which exists between civil society and the state, in which matters of public concern are freely discussed by members of that public. Put simply, it is 'the sphere of private people come together as a public', where they then 'engage the public authorities in a debate over the general rules governing society.'³

¹ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Patrick Lawrence (Oxford, 1992).

² A Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print, Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1997); B Harris, *Politics and the rise of the press. Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London, 1996); J Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV. Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton, 1976); J Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers. Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004); J Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in early modern Britain* (CUP, 2003); J Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlets, Propaganda, Factional Politics and the Public Sphere in early seventeenth century France* (Los Angeles, 1990); D Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture. Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in early modern England* (Princeton, 2000).

³ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p27.

According to Habermas, the rise of the public sphere took place in the specific historic circumstances of a developing market economy, when early finance and trade capitalism not only led to the emergence of a new social order, the bourgeoisie, but also increased the need for a greater exchange of information.⁴ It was these two factors, the exchange of goods and information, which enabled the emerging bourgeoisie to begin publicly monitoring state authority through informal and critical discourse.⁵ As a stark contrast to the passive role assumed by the majority of the population under the medieval feudal system, with the rise of the public sphere politics ceased to be a mystery conducted behind closed doors and became a matter of open debate actively communicated through public argument.⁶

For Habermas' normative ideal of the public sphere to exist, any forum for debate has to exhibit a number of key characteristics. Firstly, because the public sphere is inclusive in principle, everyone has to be able to participate. This means that any individual with access to the cultural products, such as newspapers, pamphlets, books, and journals, which enables them to gain information and to form their own views, at least has the potential to partake in critical discussion.⁷ Secondly, the public has to be able to scrutinize any issue of concern, as debate within such a public presupposes 'the problematization of areas that until then had not been questioned', due to the monopoly held by the state authorities and Church over those topics.⁸ Finally, any opinions put forward for debate within the public sphere have to be judged rationally, rather than depending on the social or political status of the contributor for 'the medium of this political confrontation was peculiar and without historical precedent: people's public use of their reason.'⁹ Attention will now focus on examining the extent to which each of these criteria existed in the Dutch Republic.

II. Participation and accessibility

Habermas maintained that printed commodities were central to the public sphere as the individuals who came together to engage in debate were from the outset a reading public. Therefore the initial question of participation in the public sphere

⁴ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, pp14-16.

⁵ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p18.

⁶ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p27.

⁷ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p37.

⁸ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p36.

⁹ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p27.

necessitates an investigation of the extent to which a reading public existed and how far printed materials were accessible to that public. One problem with this is that gauging the size and composition of a reading public is often difficult due to incomplete evidence.¹⁰ Surviving external evidence such as inventories of possessions for example, seldom include books, yet the extensive market for print in the Republic indicates that they were widely circulated.¹¹ Moreover, where books are found they are usually copies of the Bible, the staple reading material of most Dutch households. Pamphlets too, because of their ephemeral nature, rarely appear in inventory records.¹² Locating pamphlets is difficult due to the fact they were an influential medium and were intended to whip up support for a particular standpoint over a specific issue. As a result they were usually only short-lived products which, after fulfilling their function, were often forgotten as a new scandal or crisis came to the fore. Tracing pamphlet readers is also complicated because they were often passed around friends or sold on. As Halasz has pointed out, 'the opacity of pamphlet readership results not from an absence of evidence or a failure of method but from the very existence of pamphlets in the marketplace and the wandering and multiple trajectories of their discourses subsequent to purchase.'¹³ Nevertheless, certain characteristics of Dutch society and the accessible format of the pamphlet itself, do suggest that a large reading public existed.

In the first instance, the Dutch nation was highly literate. Stimulated by the economic need for a literate workforce and aided by the Reformed clergy's insistence on the reading of the Bible, the Republic had in fact, one of the highest literacy rates in Europe during the seventeenth century.¹⁴ By 1650, around 65 per cent of men nationally and 44 per cent of women were able to sign their names.¹⁵ In comparison, England's literacy rate in 1640 was 30 per cent for men and 10 per cent for women, whereas France's was lower still at 29 per cent for men and 14 per cent

¹⁰ For an examination of this problem see R Darnton, 'Reading, Writing and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century France: A Case Study in the Sociology of Literature', in *Daedalus*, vol. 100, 1 (Winter, 1971), pp214-56.

¹¹ MA Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt* (Amsterdam, 1991), p30.

¹² AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age. Popular Culture, Religion and Society in seventeenth century Holland* (CUP, 1991), p138.

¹³ A Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p13.

¹⁴ This connection has been highlighted in M Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories - Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1981).

¹⁵ W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650. Bevochten Eendracht* (Den Haag, 1999), p237.

for women, even as late as 1690.¹⁶ However, it is possible that these figures should be taken as a minimum, for Spufford has provided evidence of the wives of labourers and craftsmen who taught reading but could not write themselves.¹⁷ Moreover, levels of literacy in the countryside were almost on a par with those of the towns due to the widespread distribution of printing presses in the Republic which gave people living in those areas relatively easy access to printed materials.¹⁸ Neither was literacy determined by social status, for foreign travellers to the Republic noted that 'in the countryside nearly everyone could read or write' and 'that peasant men and women as well as servant-girls were acquainted with writing.'¹⁹ In addition, even though there was no central body responsible for education, basic schooling was available almost everywhere and neither women nor the poor were excluded.²⁰ Although illiteracy was no doubt still present in some areas of the Republic, and was always higher among women and in the countryside, overall the proportion of illiterates was smaller in the Republic than elsewhere at this time.

Although high literacy rates are a prerequisite for a reading public, that fact alone does not prove that people actually read pamphlets and other printed materials. Cost factors also need to be examined in order to ascertain who could afford to purchase them. In the Republic the potential market for pamphlets was broad, for in comparison to books or journals, pamphlets were relatively inexpensive with the average price in the seventeenth century estimated at between one and five stuivers.²¹ Pamphlets were cheap because they were usually short, requiring little investment on the part of printer, in terms of paper, ink and wages. Moreover, pamphlets were guaranteed sellers owing to their immediate relevance, thereby ensuring the printer a continuous cash flow. In addition, as a small commodity, pamphlets were easily transportable and could quickly be distributed to reach the

¹⁶ P Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), p251.

¹⁷ M Spufford, 'First steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth Century Spiritual Autobiographers', in *Social History*, vol. 4 (1975), pp407-35. For a detailed study of the problems associated with gauging literacy see W Ford, 'The Problem of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *History*, vol. 78, 252 (February, 1993), pp22-37.

¹⁸ JL Price, *Dutch Society, 1588-1713* (Harlow, 2000), p121.

¹⁹ AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, p123.

²⁰ JL Price, *Dutch Society*, pp103-106, p180-86; M Spufford, 'Literacy, trade and religion in the commercial centres of Europe', in *A Miracle Mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, eds. K Davids and J Lucassen (CUP, 1995), pp229-83; P Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland* (London, 1962), pp102-119.

²¹ Pamphlet costs from AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, p140; W Frijhoff and M Spiess, *1650*, p220.

market.²² Printers therefore geared production to market needs and in the second half of the seventeenth century there was a noticeable increase in demand for smaller formats.²³ As shorter works were the cheapest, length can be used as a guide to the market for which they were intended. Harline's examination of pamphlets published in the Republic between 1565 and 1648 found that works of eight pages were the most frequent length.²⁴ This study's examination of the literature published in the 1685-89 period has determined that the average pamphlet length was 10 pages.²⁵ As works of less than 16 pages were the cheapest, it is evident that the majority of pamphlets were produced for a wide market.

Furthermore, real wages exhibited an upward trend for much of the seventeenth century due to the advanced nature of the Dutch economy.²⁶ Both skilled and unskilled workers benefited from the Republic's extensive expansion of trade and commerce outside of Europe, although wages were generally higher in the more developed maritime provinces where the costs of excises, food, and rent were greater.²⁷ By 1650, the average salary of master craftsmen working in the west Netherlands (Holland, Utrecht and Zeeland) was 25.55 stuivers per day for example, whereas it was 18.33 stuivers in the east. Average wages for unskilled workers were slightly lower at 19.70 stuivers per day in the west and 12.00 in east.²⁸ Municipal labourers in Delft, Leiden and Alkmaar for instance, could expect to earn 22 to 24 stuivers per day, whereas in Groningen they received 15 and at Arnhem 12.²⁹ Yet even in the countryside where living costs were lower, wages were reasonable, with farm labourers earning an average of 15-20 stuivers per day by the mid-century.³⁰ It is therefore clear that wages varied between the more advanced maritime provinces

²² A Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p15.

²³ GC Gibbs, 'The role of the Dutch Republic as the intellectual entrepôt of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 86 (1971), pp325-6.

²⁴ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987), p31.

²⁵ This figure is based on Dutch language pamphlets in the Knuttel collection only, whereas Harline's figures also include collections from Ghent and Leiden.

²⁶ J de Vries and AD van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, failure, and perseverance in the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997), pp630-31.

²⁷ L Noordegraaf and JL van Zanden, 'Early modern economic growth and the standard of living: did labour benefit from Holland's Golden Age?', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, pp421-24.

²⁸ J de Vries, 'The Labour Market', in *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age. Nine Studies*, eds. K Davids and L Noordegraaf (Amsterdam, 1993), pp73-74.

²⁹ J de Vries, 'An Inquiry into the Behaviour of Wages in the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands', in *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, vol. 10 (1978), p82.

³⁰ AT van Deursen, *Het Kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw. Vol. I Het dagelijks brood* (Assen, 1981), pp13-39.

of the west and the rural land provinces of the east. Differences in salary levels also occurred within individual provinces themselves. Wages in Amsterdam for example, were always higher than in any of the other Holland towns and in turn, wages in the towns were always higher than in the countryside, highlighting that the Republic had several hierarchies of wages.³¹

This was also reflected in the structure of Dutch society, for situated between the small regent elite and those in the poverty bracket, was a large and varied middling group. Contemporaries who sought to describe the Republic's social make-up often noted the existence of this extensive middle section of society, which they designated the *brede middenstand*.³² Broad indeed, for it included anyone earning more than ten stuivers per day and surviving tax records for the towns of Holland suggest that at least half of the total population had sufficient money or property worth taxing.³³ Yet stratification in terms of wealth, ownership, education and interest existed within this group with the richest magnates of commerce, finance and industry, along with high officers of the navy and army forming the upper layer, moving down through the moderately wealthy stratum of the *brede burgerij* of smaller entrepreneurs, shop owners, teachers, village clergy and stock farmers, down to the bottom level of *smalle burgerij* encompassing lower officers, schools masters, tenant farmers, small shopkeepers, skilled workers and the mass of guild masters.³⁴ However, the divisions between this middle group and the rest of society were not sharp. The greatest fluidity was found at the lower levels where individuals would move in and out of the poverty bracket depending on their circumstances at a given time.³⁵

Income levels therefore varied and it is certain that life for the unskilled was neither affluent nor easy going, yet the intense demand for labour that accompanied Dutch economic growth meant that wages in the Republic were better than elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, employers often lamented the fact that they had to pay their workers far more than their competitors in England, Germany or the southern

³¹ J Lucassen, 'Labour and early modern economic development', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, pp372-74.

³² For contemporary analyses of Dutch society see R Dekker, *Oproeren in Holland gezien door tijdgenoten. Ooggetuigeverlagen van oproeren in de provincie Holland ten tijde van de Republiek* (Assen, 1979), p45; W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p189.

³³ J de Vries and AD van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, p650; JL Price, *Dutch Society*, p178.

³⁴ S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York, 1987), p174.

³⁵ AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, p3.; JL Price, *Dutch Society*, pp259-60.

Netherlands.³⁶ That Dutch society on the whole enjoyed a better standard of living than elsewhere can be seen in the fact that even though food and tax riots did arise in some of the Republic's major cities, these were infrequent and nowhere near on the same scale as the urban disorders that arose in other parts of Europe.³⁷ As wages were generally good, this enabled broad sections of the populace to afford non-essential luxury items.³⁸ The popular art market would substantiate this, for there is evidence that peasants as well as urban craftsmen had enough spare money to buy paintings of some sort.³⁹ As an English visitor in 1669 noted: 'Pictures are very common here, there being scarce an ordinary Tradesman, whose house is not adorned with them.'⁴⁰ So even if printed materials were not always affordable, the price of a pamphlet was not so prohibitive as to exclude a large proportion of the working population. Furthermore, as there was a lively market for second and even third hand printed materials, this would have decreased costs further, making pamphlets even more accessible.⁴¹

It has been determined that pamphlets were cheap and generally affordable, therefore the next issue to require attention when analysing accessibility and readership is to determine how widely pamphlets circulated. Evidence of distribution can initially be established by examining the place of publication cited on the title page. The main problem with this however, is that the majority of pamphlets were either printed with no details whatsoever regarding the printer and place of publication, or false publication details were given. However, taking the pamphlet literature of 1685-89 as a guide, each pamphlet that stated the place of publication has been noted and categorized by province. In addition, any pamphlets that have subsequently been identified as being printed in a certain province after consulting the STCN have been classed accordingly. Although incomplete due to the lack of information within the literature itself, it is possible to gain an impression of where

³⁶ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall* (Oxford, 1995), p630.

³⁷ R Dekker, *Oproeren in Holland gezien door tijdgenoten. Ooggetuigeverlagen van oproeren in de provincie Holland ten tijde van de Republiek* (Assen, 1979).

³⁸ S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p167.

³⁹ P Burke, *Dutch Popular Culture in the Seventeenth Century: a reconnaissance* (Rotterdam, 1978), p5; M North, 'Art and Commerce in the Dutch Republic', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, pp284-302; JL Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century* (London, 1974), pp122-23.

⁴⁰ EEBO, Chicago, Newberry Library, Wing/339:30, William Aglionby, *The present state of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries* (1669), pp224-25.

⁴¹ M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse Boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, 1997), p87.

pamphlets were printed. The results show that an overwhelming 86 per cent of pamphlets were printed in Holland, 13 per cent in other provinces and just one per cent outside the Republic.

At first glance, these figures suggest that the pamphlet literature is reflecting the market demands of a readership primarily located in the province of Holland and to an extent this is true, for although printing presses could be found throughout the Republic, the majority were always situated in Holland (see Table 1.1, below). By the mid-century 76.5 per cent of the 247 printers in the Republic were working in Holland and this proportion had increased to 79.3 per cent in 1680, rising even further to 82.7 per cent by 1700.⁴² This is not surprising however, for Holland was the Republic's most highly populated province with an urbanisation rate of 60 per cent by the end of the century.⁴³ As a result, more printers were located in Holland simply because there were more people and thus there was a bigger market.

Table 1.1: Number of Printers in the Republic at 25 Year Intervals.

	1600		1625		1650		1675		1700	
Place	Pr	Pl	Pr	Pl	Pr	Pl	Pr	Pl	Pr	Pl
Holland	55	11	84	12	189	19	203	15	148	10
Other Provinces	13	9	23	13	58	15	53	14	31	12
Republic Total	68	20	107	25	247	34	256	29	179	22

Pr = Printers; Pl = Places

Source: derived from S Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic', in *Britain and the Netherlands IX*, eds. AC Duke and CA Tamse (Zutphen, 1987), p66.

In fact, because of the Republic's advanced economic development the country was, on the whole, highly urbanised. At its height the total population of the Republic reached 1,950,000 with around 38 per cent of the population living in the 30 largest towns by 1688, more than double the European average of 15 per cent.⁴⁴

⁴² S Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', p66.

⁴³ J de Vries and AD van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, pp60-1.

⁴⁴ IIPH Nusteling, 'Periods and Caesure in the Demographic and Economic history of the Netherlands, 1600-1900', in *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1989), p108; CR Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (New York, 1995), p21.

The urbanisation rate was even higher in Holland (60 per cent) and Amsterdam was the largest city with a population of 200,000.⁴⁵ However, the Dutch urban system was far less polarised than in England or France, where the dominance of London and Paris significantly set those capitals apart from all the other cities.⁴⁶ In effect, rather than a clear cut divide, the commercialisation of the rural sector led to the emergence of a gradual hierarchy of towns and villages which offered similar services and facilities.⁴⁷ Physical integration was further aided by the building of the *trekschuiten* barge system, which covered the whole of the Republic by 1640. Being mainly passenger carriers, the *trekschuit* enabled people to move quickly, frequently and cheaply around the Republic. Services ran hourly between Rotterdam and Delft for example, and every half hour from The Hague to Rotterdam between the times of 5am and 7pm, carrying as many as 30,000 passengers per month during the peak summer season.⁴⁸ Although the degree of urbanisation was lower in the land provinces, it has been argued that this level was still high in comparison to other countries and only appears small when weighed against those of Holland.⁴⁹ In Mijnhardt's opinion, the fact that areas outside of Holland were also urbanised and, as stated earlier, had a highly literate population, meant that throughout the Republic 'urban culture was all-pervasive and had become the standard' by the mid-seventeenth century.⁵⁰

Consequently, printers aimed production at a national market as opposed to one that was more locally or regionally orientated, hoping to increase profits by selling to the largest possible market.⁵¹ Printers took full advantage of the pamphlet's easily moveable format and made use of the Republic's excellent transport system to erect well-established networks which facilitated the movement of pamphlets both within and between provinces. Every week for example, the Amsterdam printer Jan van Hilten sent copies of his *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslant &c* to the Lecuwaarden

⁴⁵ J de Vries and AD van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, pp60-1.

⁴⁶ CR Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, p19-22.

⁴⁷ J de Vries, *European Urbanisation, 1500-1800* (London, 1984), p39, pp63-64, pp112-119.

⁴⁸ J de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: passenger transportation in the Dutch economy, 1632-1839* (Utrecht, 1981).

⁴⁹ JL Price, *Dutch Society*, p282; JL Price, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1998), p120

⁵⁰ WW Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Republic as a Town', in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 31, 3 (1998), p345.

⁵¹ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p83.

booktrader Tjerk Claessen and the Nijmegen dealer Abraham Leyniers.⁵² Nor was this simply one-way traffic for printed works also came from the provinces into Holland itself. Antony Tongerlo a Haagse bookseller, for instance, was frequently sent pamphlets from the Middelburg printer Antony de Latere.⁵³ In addition, as the Republic was the centre of the European book trade, printers also had fixed networks throughout the continent aiding the movement of pamphlets both into, as well as out of, the Republic itself.⁵⁴ The widow Swart, a printer in Amsterdam for example, regularly translated pamphlets that had originally been printed in London by John Starkey and Richard Chiswell, Whig printers with whom she had previously collaborated during their exile in Amsterdam between 1683 and 1688.⁵⁵ The contacts of the Rotterdam publisher Reinier Leers were even wider, for he had established networks with Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Geneva, Paris, London, Cambridge, Edinburgh and various parts of southern Europe.⁵⁶

It has been demonstrated that pamphlets were generally accessible to a socially diverse Republic-wide readership and additional evidence for this can be found by assessing the contents, form and style of the pamphlets themselves. Firstly, by examining the audience pamphleteers addressed their works to, it is evident that pamphlets were rarely intended solely for the ruling groups in Dutch society.⁵⁷ Indeed, pamphlets were often addressed to no one at all or simply to the 'Good Citizens', 'Modest Reader' or 'Impartial Reader', suggesting they were for general consumption. However, although the Republic had the most literate society in Europe, there were still varying standards of intellectual ability depending on the level of education received by an individual and the frequency with which they came into contact with printed materials. Contemporaries were well aware of this fact, as Peacey's study of English pamphlet literature has highlighted, and so when pamphleteers sought to appeal to a broad audience, they appreciated that messages

⁵² F Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618-1650* (The Hague, 1946), pp33-36.

⁵³ M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p103.

⁵⁴ GC Gibbs, 'The role of the Dutch Republic', p323.

⁵⁵ PG Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers Bij de Beurs. De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637-1724* (Amsterdam, 1987), p153; MS Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp7-18, p27.

⁵⁶ EL Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad. Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Rebellion* (Oxford, 1992), p7.

⁵⁷ AT van Deursen, *Het Kopergeld van de gouden eeuw. Vol II. Volkscultuur* (Amsterdam, 1978), p97.

needed to be packaged in different forms for different parts of the market.⁵⁸ Therefore the same work might be printed in various formats and styles to appeal to a varied market. In so doing, this meant that many pamphlets blurred the divisions between elite and popular culture, boundaries which were already less sharp in the Republic than in most parts of Europe due to the high degree of urbanisation and literacy.⁵⁹

That pamphlets were intended to communicate to a broad audience can be seen in the fact that the majority were printed in the vernacular. Taking the literature of the 1685-89 period as a guide, it has been determined that 78 per cent of pamphlets were printed in Dutch, 14.9 per cent in French, 3.5 per cent in Latin, 2.4 per cent in German and 1.2 per cent in English. Moreover, in attempting to reach a varied market, when pamphlets were translated they were sometimes printed in both Dutch and their original language. Official correspondence for example, was usually conveyed in French, yet when these documents were printed, the Dutch translation and the original French version were often given side-by-side on the same sheet.⁶⁰ In this way, printers could increase profits by using a single pamphlet to quickly reach both those who felt comfortable reading the French and those without skill to do so. Furthermore, when translating works, printers would often clarify phrases or expressions which may have been unfamiliar to less educated sections of the market. Aert Dirksz Oosaan for instance, when translating a piece by Gilbert Burnet, was obviously aware that some readers did not have the required vocabulary regarding English politics and so felt it necessary to elucidate certain terms such as ‘...Lords en Commons (Lagerhuys)’ and ‘...in de Magna-Charta (groot Keur- en Wetboek).’⁶¹ By the middle of the century it was also customary to print pamphlets with translations of Latin texts for those without a university education.⁶² These quotes

⁵⁸ J Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p320.

⁵⁹ P Burke, *Dutch Popular Culture*, p6; P van Rooden, ‘Volkscultuur en Elitecultuur’, in *Het Ancien Régime. Europa in de vroegmoderne tijd, 1450-1800*, ed. HLM Wessels, vol. 3 (Hcerlen, 1991), pp59-87.

⁶⁰ See for example, Knuttel 12668, Marquis de Gastanaga, *Copie De Lettre de...le Gouverneur de Pays-Bas...Copie Van den Brief* (1685); Knuttel 12442, Skelton, *Memorie Présenté par l’Envoyé...Memorie overgegeven by den Extraordinaris Envoyé* (1686); Knuttel 12561, Marquis de Lavardin, *Protestation de Monsieur le Marquis De Lavardin...Protest van den Heer Marquis De Lavardin* (1687).

⁶¹ Knuttel 13236, Anon [G Burnet], *Een Naukeurigh Ondersoeck* (1689), p10.

⁶² EL Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (CUP, 2000), p32; DP Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Utrecht, 1975), p154.

were therefore put into plain words, as can be seen in a pamphlet of 1689 describing William III's coronation medal:

Men siet hier een Medalie op welkers een zijde Staet het wapen van de Prins van Orange, nu Konigh van Engellant, met een Koninklijke Kroon daer op, met dese woorden daer om: "Brittan: Liber: Relig: Justit: Leg: Vind: MDCLXXXIX", dat is te zeggen, "Engelants Verlosser, Verdediger des Godsdienst, Rechtaardigheyd en Wetten"; op d' ander zyde staat een Brittanische Maagt...met dese woorden, "hanc tuemur hac nitimur", dat is, "Hier op steunen Wy en dese beschermen Wy."⁶³

In seeking to appeal to a socially diverse market, it is clear that cost factors were also taken into account. This meant that some pamphlets would often be produced in different quality formats for different ends of the market. Some pamphlets were therefore printed in an abridged or shorter version, or on cheaper paper. A sermon preached by Gilbert Burnet on 23 December 1688 for example, was available in two different versions at Amsterdam; the first by the widow Swart was printed on good quality paper, was 15 pages long and was prefaced by a title page, whereas the other by the widow Gaasbeek was printed on cheaper paper without a front page and its smaller text was tightly squeezed into just eight sheets.⁶⁴ Other printed commodities besides pamphlets also provide evidence of this. Jacob Cats' emblem book *Houwelijk* for example, was a bestseller in seventeenth century, going through two editions between 1625 and 1700.⁶⁵ The 1655 edition was however, brought out in two separate versions for diverse ends of the market. One was published in folio with good quality engravings for the wealthy and the other in a smaller duodecimo format with woodcuts for the less well off. As Schama has pointed out: 'the fact of a common text presupposes a reading public not strictly bound by distinctions of class.'⁶⁶

Pamphleteers would also package their argument in a more attractive or simple style in order to appeal to a wide audience. Again, taking into account the varying levels of education in the Republic, some pamphleteers laid out their case in very clear terms, often guiding the reader step-by-step through their arguments. Pamphleteers taking this approach usually addressed the reader directly at the beginning of the pamphlet, explaining their motives for writing and their main

⁶³ Knuttel 13186, Anon, *Pertient Dagh-Relaes* (1689), p14.

⁶⁴ Knuttel 13154, G Burnet [Wed. Swart], *Een Predicatie, Gepredikt in de Capel van St James* and Knuttel 13155, G Burnet [Wed. Gaasbeek], *Een Predicatie, Gepredikt in de Capel van St James* (1689).

⁶⁵ P Burke, *Dutch Popular Culture*, p4.

⁶⁶ S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p5.

arguments. Usually written in plain language, authors used this type of preface to tell the reader what conclusion they will reach if they read the pamphlet, i.e. what standpoint the author is trying to influence the reader to take. At other times, printers would place more stress on a certain aspect of a publication. Numerous pamphlets were printed on the announcement of William and Mary's elevation to the throne of England in 1689 for instance. The official version issued by the States General was printed in the Roman font, was five pages long and heavily detailed all the Parliamentary procedures on the decision to appoint the joint sovereigns with just a small section on the ensuing celebrations.⁶⁷ In contrast, other pirated versions were just one page long, in Gothic typeface, and only provided a very brief summary of the Parliamentary debate in plain language, with emphasis placed on the festivities.⁶⁸

Particular styles of pamphlets were also used to appeal to a broad audience by providing a link with oral tradition. One such style is the conversation pamphlet (*Samen-spraak*), in which the author presented different characters discussing a specific topic, with each character having a certain viewpoint.⁶⁹ An advantage of taking this approach was that it was a style identifiable to all sections of society, for Dekker's study of humour in the Republic has shown that jokes often took the form of a conversation as in these pamphlets.⁷⁰ In the main, pamphlet conversations were located in familiar settings, such as at a marketplace or on a wagon, with the most common being the *schuitenpraatjes* (barge chats). Furthermore, characters were usually ones that Dutch audiences could identify with and often different social groups would be brought together.⁷¹ In one pamphlet for example, a nobleman from Brabant and a merchant from Flanders journeying on a wagon debate the state of the economy, whereas in another a soldier, a merchant and a burgher discuss the condition of the Republic's armed forces whilst on a barge.⁷² Pamphleteers would also present exchanges between members of different religious groups and nationalities, such as the *Sincere Discourse* which brought together a politician, a

⁶⁷ Knuttel 13177, [J Scheltus], *Missive van sijn Koninghlijke Majeseyt van Engelandt. Geschreven den 23 Feb* (1689).

⁶⁸ Knuttel 13176, [Anon], *Laetse Brieven Uyt London. In dato den 22 Feb*; Knuttel 13175a, [J de Ruyter], *Brief, Behelsende het goed Neus uyt Engeland...22 Feb* (1689).

⁶⁹ CM Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print. Reading and Writing in Seventeenth Century England* (Virginia, 1999), p10.

⁷⁰ RM Dekker, *Humour in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Basingstoke, 2001), p139.

⁷¹ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p54.

⁷² Knuttel 12488, Anon, *Den Oorspronk van de ruine en Aermoede der Spaensche Nederlande* (1686); Knuttel 12168a, Anon, *Samenspraak tusschen een militair, coopman en Burger* (1684).

minister from Wallachia, a reformed merchant and a Catholic burgher from Bruges.⁷³

The use of poetry and verse was another way for an author to appeal to a wide and varied audience, for it was a style that appealed to both upper and lower sections of society.⁷⁴ Some pamphlets were presented completely in verse, ranging from a mere four lines on a single sheet to whole pamphlets of over ten pages, whereas others just had a poem attached as a kind of postscript. Poetry was also sometimes coupled with prints, thereby drawing greater attention to the topic under discussion.⁷⁵ Other authors targeted a broad audience by drawing on the market for bizarre events and mystical predictions. In 1690 for instance, one author claimed to have had the same dream as the former Queen of England, Mary of Modena, in which she witnessed the eventual downfall of James II's kingdom, with the author claiming that it made her so sick she had to take to her bed for five or six days.⁷⁶ Another type of pamphlet was the ghost dialogue, which was based on theatrical tradition of having supernatural beings visit characters on the stage to offer advice on the present day situation. Two pamphlets in 1690 for example, saw the ghosts of Pieter de la Court and Gaspar Fagel return to offer advice to the new Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius.⁷⁷ International figures were also portrayed in such a way, with the ghost of Henry IV apparently returning from the grave to censure Louis XIV and Charles II appearing to counsel James II.⁷⁸

Yet, despite the varied styles and formats pamphlets could take, it is evident that some pamphlets could, or were only intended to, reach a certain type of audience or section within Dutch society. Indeed, some authors specifically stated that their work was not intended for general consumption: 'The following Text, although printed, is not intended for the common people...'^{ii,79} Even if an author did not

⁷³ Knuttel 14375, Anon, *Sedig discourse ofte een samen-spraak* (1697).

⁷⁴ W Frijhoff and M Spies, 1650, pp473-76.

⁷⁵ Examples of these can be found in Appendix One, pp217-21. See also, D Freedburg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1991); K Porteman, "'Embellished with Emblems": About the incorporation of emblems in other genres of Dutch literature', in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe*, eds. A Adams and J Harper (Leiden, 1992), pp70-89; TC Tribe, 'Word and Image in Emblematic Painting', in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe*, pp247-71.

⁷⁶ Knuttel 13407, Anon, *Aenstaende Herstellinge Van den gewezenen Koningh Jacob II* (1690).

⁷⁷ Knuttel 13473, Anon, *Den verresen geest van Pieter de la Court*; Knuttel 12475, Anon, *Legende Van Broer Caspar, Naergelaten Aan Broer Antoni* (1690).

⁷⁸ Knuttel 12303, Anon, *De geest van Hendrik de Groote aan Louis de Grande* (1685); Knuttel 12981, Anon, *De Geest van Carel II* (1688).

⁷⁹ Knuttel 13408, Anon, [E Stephens], *Reflectien Op de Ontmoedingen voorleden Jaars* (1690), p2.

address any particular audience, it can be seen that some pamphlets would probably only reach a highly educated, wealthy audience. The Dutch translation of Thomas Sprat's *History of the Rye House Plot* for instance, is the longest pamphlet found in the 1685-89 period at 322 pages in length.⁸⁰ It contains two different indexes, a list of corrections to the text and there are extensive side notes throughout the main body of the text. These sorts of factors combined together meant that this sort of pamphlet would probably not be accessible to a more popular audience due to the fact that it would be expensive and perhaps the text rather complex.

Although authors sometimes targeted a broad audience or one that was narrower in scope, whether pamphlets reached their target audiences cannot be known for certain. Indeed, assessments as to how many readers a single pamphlet could reach vary greatly. At the optimistic end of the scale, one estimate is that a popular pamphlet could hope to reach 50,000 readers, based on an original print run of 10,000 multiplied by five readers per copy.⁸¹ Other calculations are more cautious, suggesting a more conservative print run of 3-4,000 for a popular pamphlet, which would indicate a readership totalling 15-20,000.⁸² Nevertheless, what can be said is that the Republic was overall, highly literate, highly urbanised, had a socially broad market for printed pamphlets and it is clear that a large reading public existed that was not just confined to the province of Holland.

III. Subjects of discussion

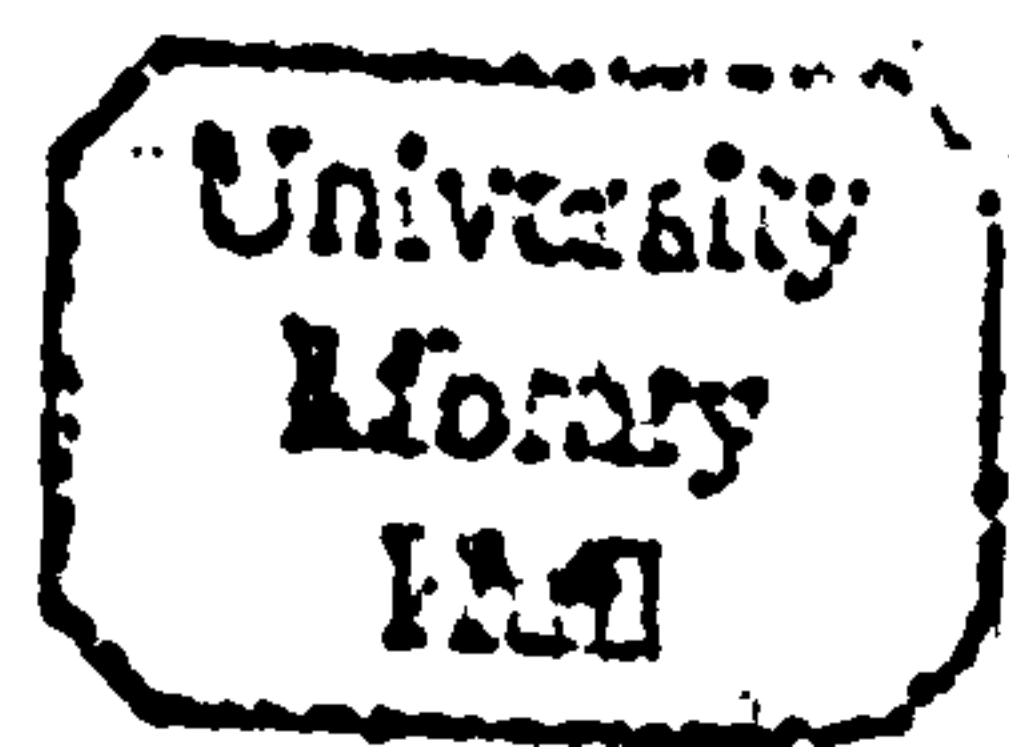
The second factor to be examined in order to demonstrate the existence of a public sphere in the Dutch Republic, is the extent to which the public were able to scrutinize any issue of concern, as Habermas argued that debate within such a public presupposed 'the problematization of areas that until then had not been questioned', due to the previous domination of the state authorities and Church over those topics.⁸³ Basically, this meant that with the rise of the public sphere, politics was no longer a mystery conducted by small coterie of the powerful behind closed doors, but was now a matter of open debate actively communicated through public argument. This led to a broadening of public participation in politics, for the public sphere included all those who might join in a discussion of the issues raised by the

⁸⁰ Knuttel 12479, Anon [T Sprat], *Een Waerachtigh Verhael* (1686).

⁸¹ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p21.

⁸² W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p262.

⁸³ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p36.



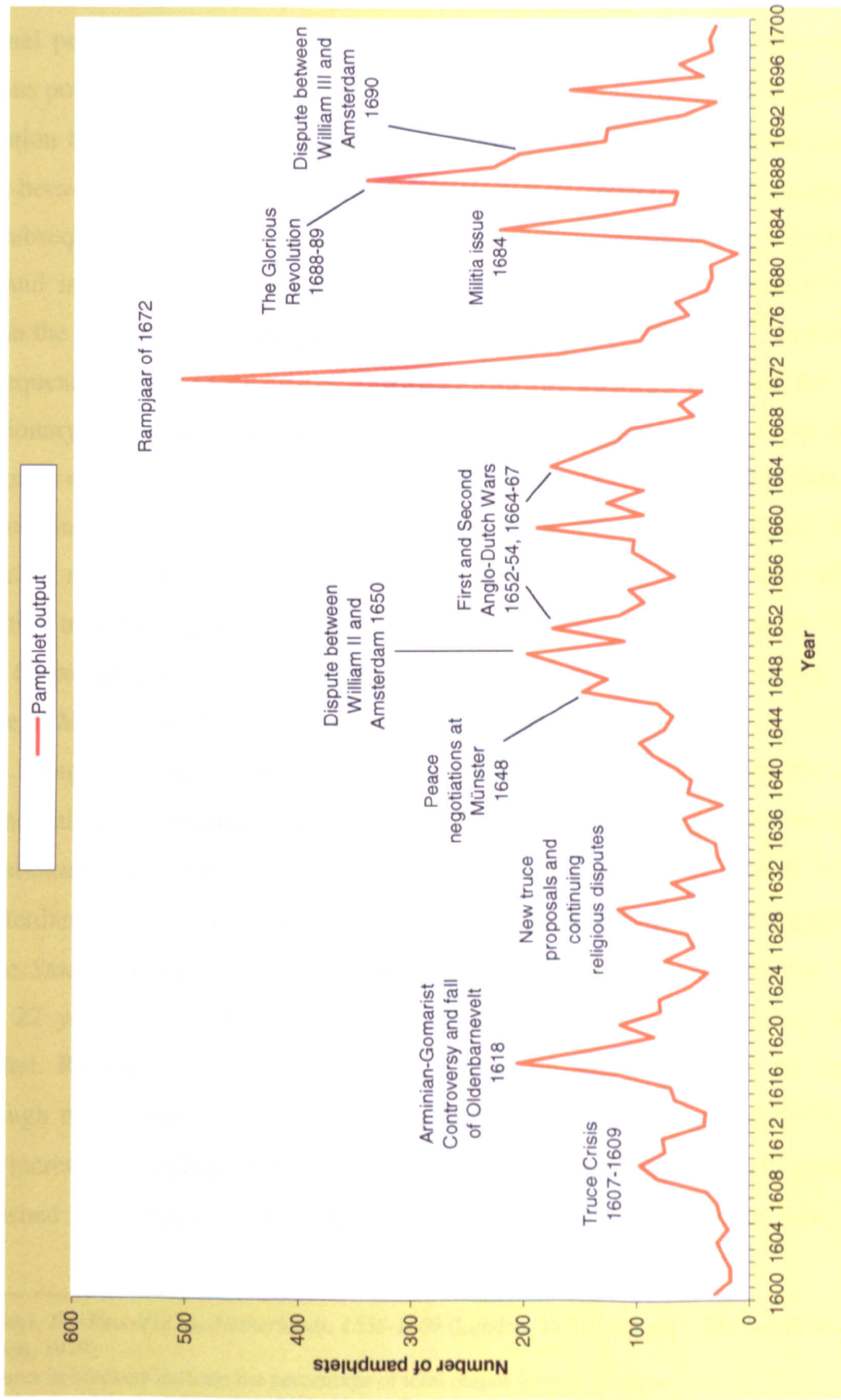
administration of the country, whether agents of the state or private individuals.⁸⁴ Pamphlets were an integral part of this development in the Dutch Republic. This was firstly due to the fact they were widely accessible, thus expanding the scope for participation in political discourse, and secondly, because they enabled individuals to communicate their opinions on issues of common concern to the wider public. Indeed, examination of the main subjects discussed in the pamphlet literature published during the seventeenth century demonstrates that the Dutch public were well informed and kept a close eye on political affairs. In addition, the pattern of pamphlet output illustrates that the medium was an established means of commenting on matters of political consequence.

The Dutch public's preoccupation with affairs of state can be seen in the fact that of the 7917 extant Dutch-language pamphlets in the Knuttel collection for the 1600-1700 period, some 6035 (76.2 per cent) of these were concerned with Dutch domestic political and religious disputes, or with the Republic's foreign diplomacy and warfare.⁸⁵ The eagerness of the Dutch public to keep up-to-date with all the latest political developments is evident in Chart 1.1, as there is a direct correlation between increases and decreases in pamphlet production, with phases of crisis and calm in the Republic (see Chart 1.1, p27 below).

⁸⁴ C Calhoun, 'Introduction', to *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. C Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass. 1993), p8.

⁸⁵ Figures derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Chart 1.1: Dutch pamphlet output 1600-1700, annotated with some of the main subjects of discussion.



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Of particular concern for the Dutch public in the first half of the century was the Eighty Years War with Spain (1568-1648) and the religious-political disputes which stemmed from it.⁸⁶ The first peak in production accompanied the Republic's earliest internal political conflict, the Truce Crisis, when the heated debates between the various power groups in the Republic, who were either in favour of, or opposed to, a cessation in hostilities with Spain led to the production of 130 pamphlets (64.7 per cent) between 1607 and 1609.⁸⁷ Although pamphlet numbers decreased somewhat in the subsequent period due to restrictions placed on pamphleteering by the States of Holland in 1610, output was again stimulated when religious quarrels re-ignited within the Reformed Church, partly in relation to the truce with Spain.⁸⁸ In 1618, the subsequent Arminian-Gomarist Controversy and the connected fall of the Grand Pensionary Oldenbarnevelt, were the subject of 191 pamphlets (92.7 per cent).⁸⁹ Pamphlet numbers then lulled but remained steady, until the 1629-1630 period, when production was again heightened by proposals for another truce with Spain and the return of many banned Remonstrants to the Republic. These issues were afforded attention in 145 pamphlets (66.8 per cent) published during those two years. No less than 63 pamphlets (50 per cent) were turned out in relation to the signing of the Peace of Münster in 1648, which eventually ended the war with Spain.

Pamphlet output on internal political issues remained significant in the second half of the century, however the main increases during this period centred on regent-*Stadholder* tensions in 1650, 1684 and 1690. William II's clash with the Amsterdam regents in 1650 was extremely severe, eventually leading to the abolition of the *Stadholderate* and the domination of the republican De Witt regime for the next 22 years.⁹⁰ In 1650 alone, 144 pamphlets (73 per cent) published on that conflict. Regent-*Stadholder* quarrels re-surfaced towards the end of the century, although not on the same scale as 1650. Differences of opinion occurred in 1684 over increases in military expenditure on which 127 pamphlets (57.2 per cent) were published and again in 1690, in relation to the *Stadholder's* privileges, with which

⁸⁶ P Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609* (London, 1958); G Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London, 1979).

⁸⁷ Figures in brackets indicate the percentage of total output for that given period.

⁸⁸ For details of the legislation see I Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De Vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag, 1998), pp43-44.

⁸⁹ CD Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Nashville, 1971); J den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1973).

⁹⁰ HH Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672* (Princeton, 1978).

107 pamphlets (52.2 per cent) were concerned.⁹¹ In addition to these disputes, pamphlet output in the second half of the century was also heightened when the Republic was at war, and especially when those foreign conflicts directly impinged on Dutch internal politics. Indeed, production reached its zenith in 1672 when 502 pamphlets (99.4 per cent) were published on affairs of state during the aptly-named *rampjaar* (year of disaster).⁹² This year saw the Republic faced with a series of combined foreign and domestic crises which was reflected in the content of the pamphlet literature. One of the main topics covered was the devastating effects of the united Anglo-French attack which saw 120,000 French troops descend on the Republic, leading to the near destruction of the state.⁹³ Considerable attention was also given to the extensive civil unrest, the fall of the De Witt brothers and the re-establishment of the *Stadholder's* office under William III.

This pattern of crisis-related production was not unique to the Republic and neither were the actual number of pamphlets published particularly outstanding. During the German Reformation for example, over 5,000 pamphlets were printed in the 1501-1530 period.⁹⁴ In France, over 1,200 pamphlets accompanied the 1614-1617 factional conflict between Marie de' Medici and the prince de Condé for control of the king's council and over 5,000 *Mazarinades* were published during the Fronde between 1648 and 1652.⁹⁵ Pamphlet production in England was even higher during the English Revolution, when 14,942 pamphlets were published in the 1640-1660 period, with the highest output occurring in 1642 when 1,966 pamphlets were printed.⁹⁶ Yet the conditions under which Dutch pamphleteering took place differed from these countries in a number of significant ways.

In the first instance, what differentiated Dutch pamphleteering was that it was an established medium of comment, and a distinct tradition of discussion and debate

⁹¹ P Dreiskämper, *Aan de vooravond van de overtocht naar Engeland. Een onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen Willem III en Amsterdam in de Staten van Holland, 1685-88* (Utrecht, 1996); E Edwards, 'Amsterdam and William III', in *History Today* (Dec, 1993), pp25-31; GH Kurtz, *Willem III en Amsterdam, 1683-1685* (Utrecht, 1928).

⁹² P Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 2, 1648-1715 (London, 1964); P Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War* (CUP, 1988).

⁹³ Figure from S Baxter, *William III* (New York, 1966), p68.

⁹⁴ HJ Kohler, *Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1991).

⁹⁵ H Carrier, *La presse de la Fronde*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1989), pp30-31 cited in S Beam, 'Apparitions and the Public Sphere in seventeenth-century France', in *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 29 (April, 1994), p3; JM Hayden, 'The Uses of Political Pamphlets: The Example of 1614-15 in France', in *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 21 (August, 1986), pp143-65; J Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, p38.

⁹⁶ G.K. Fortescue, 'Preface', to *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661*, 2 vols. (London, 1908).

through pamphlets existed. This custom of using pamphlets as a way to comment on affairs of state was initiated during the Revolt against Spain in the late sixteenth century, when more than 700 pamphlets were published between 1565 and 1584.⁹⁷ Due to the breakdown in central authority during the period, the rebels were able to undertake a major propaganda campaign that was not only directed against Spain's political and military leaders, but also in opposition to the Spanish nation in general.⁹⁸ Indeed, William I was possibly the first revolutionary leader to extensively use the press for propaganda purposes, with his famous *Apology* of 1581 depicting Spanish rule as 'tyranny' and 'barbarous cruelty'.⁹⁹ The main aim of rebel pamphlet production throughout the Revolt was to defend themselves on the international stage and to justify their actions. At the same time, pamphleteers also sought to secure and mobilize support for the Revolt from all provinces, regions, towns and indeed, the people themselves.¹⁰⁰ Thus, as Harline has pointed out, by employing pamphlets to persuade readers of opinions that were contrary to those set forth by the Spanish government and Catholic Church, a precedent was now set that any attempts to cultivate public opinion in the Republic would rely on the use of pamphlets.¹⁰¹ Indeed, this can be seen in the fact that although the initial period of crisis had ended by the 1590s, pamphleteering in the Republic continued to rise and became increasingly concerned with domestic issues (see Chart 1.1, p27 above).

Domestic criticism of government policies and personalities was therefore an ever more common element of Dutch pamphlets, particularly from 1607 onwards, and this contributed significantly to broadening the discussion of political affairs in Republic. After the controversies of the early seventeenth century, politics and religion came to be discussed regularly, almost routinely in fact, through the pamphlet medium. Indeed, Frijhoff and Spies have argued that pamphlets were a manifestation of a wider phenomenon which they have termed the *discussiecultuur* (discussion culture) of the Republic, which pervaded not only Dutch politics, but

⁹⁷ Figure derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

⁹⁸ KW Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in *Britain and the Netherlands V*, eds. JS Bromley and EH Kossmann (The Hague, 1973), p47.

⁹⁹ Knuttel 558, William I, *Apologie, ofte verantwoordinghe des doerluchtinghen ende hooghebornen vorsts ende heeren, heeren Wilhelms...teghen den ban* (1581).

¹⁰⁰ P Fredericq, *Het Nederlandsch Proza in de zestiende eeuwse pamfletten uit den tijd der beroerten* (Brussels, 1907).

¹⁰¹ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, pp8-10.

everyday life.¹⁰² This culture of discussion was partly the result of the way the Republic had emerged as a unified state, for having no common history and only bound together by the needs of war, each province had retained its independence and jealously guarded its own interests.¹⁰³ The nearest thing to a centralised decision-making body in the Republic was the States General, yet its jurisdiction was limited to foreign policy and provincial interests were able to dominate this body through the use of veto.¹⁰⁴ Reaching a consensus within this system was awkward and time-consuming, for decisions on major matters required the assent of all provinces. Moreover, because local elites remained the focus of political decision-making, delegates had to first notify their provincial assemblies of proposals brought before the States General, after which the representatives to the provincial assemblies in turn had to advise their respective municipal bodies of each matter under deliberation.¹⁰⁵ Foreign observers often noted the complexity of this system, but in practice political power in the Republic had to remain de-centralised due to the autonomous nature of many towns and regions.¹⁰⁶ Discussion and debate between the various elements of the Dutch body politic was therefore essential as it was constantly necessary to reach a consensus.

Even the *Stadholders*, who possibly had the potential to create some semblance of centralised authority, had to work within this cumbersome system. In their role as *Stadholders*, the Princes of Orange were an important symbol of state unity and for most of the century they were an influential component in the political life of the Republic. As Rowen pointed out: 'much of the *Stadholders*' prestige and effective power came from the fact that the professional armed forces in the provinces was in their hands as captain-general. Almost equally important was the right of appointment to municipal offices within the provinces...'¹⁰⁷ Yet, the *Stadholders*' political power was limited to an extent because they were appointed

¹⁰² W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p218. This argument is also made in O Mörke, 'The Political Culture of Germany and the Dutch Republic: similar roots, different results', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, pp135-72.

¹⁰³ H Wansink, 'Holland and the Six Allies: the Republic of the Seven United Provinces' in *Britain and the Netherlands IV*, eds. JS Bromley and EH Kossmann (The Hague, 1971), pp133-55.

¹⁰⁴ For an illustration of this see, JH Grever, 'The Making of foreign policy decisions in the United Provinces, 1660-1668' (Los Angeles, unpublished PhD thesis, 1973).

¹⁰⁵ KHD Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1972), pp68-69.

¹⁰⁶ Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, ed. G Clark (Oxford, 1972), p52.

¹⁰⁷ HH Rowen, *The Princes of Orange. The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge, 1988), p4.

by, and therefore accountable to, the provincial States rather than the States General. This meant that in practical terms it was essential for the *Stadholders* to co-operate with both local and provincial elites. Moreover, cultural life in the Republic did not revolve around the *Stadholder's* court and nor was it a quasi-official institution as in England and France, where politicians were found crowded around the monarch.¹⁰⁸

Co-operation between the various elements of the Dutch body politic was necessary to get anything done, but in this system where local and provincial interests were strongly defended, disagreement was also endemic. Individual provinces and towns would strongly resist any perceived encroachments on their 'privileges', a situation complicated by the fact that these not only varied widely between areas, but also because many people were ignorant as to what they exactly were.¹⁰⁹ Political tensions arose particularly at local levels where rival factions and families competed in the towns to obtain positions of power and profit. Conflicts also occurred at the provincial and national level between the pro-*Stadholder* 'Orangist' party and the republican 'States' party, although these were not political parties in the modern sense of the word.¹¹⁰ However, they are terms that can be used to identify two broadly defined groups, the first based around the Princes of Orange with the majority of the lesser provinces in the States General and the other centred around the mercantile leaders of Holland, and particularly Amsterdam.¹¹¹ When these two groups clashed, most markedly in 1618, 1650, 1672, 1684, and 1690, their disputes also spilled out into the public arena with both sides actively pamphleteering both to criticise their opponents and to gain support for their particular stance (see Chart 1.1, p27 above). Pamphleteers on both sides not only aimed to explain and justify events, policies and actions, but also to mobilize support amongst the public.¹¹² Moreover, because of the widespread availability of printers in the Republic, each side could quickly appeal to public opinion and counter their

¹⁰⁸ O Mörke, 'The Political Culture', pp152-53.

¹⁰⁹ JJ Woltjer, 'Dutch Privileges, Real and Imaginary', in *Britain and the Netherlands V*, pp19-35.

¹¹⁰ DJ Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties* (Groningen, 1978); JL Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, pp57-70.

¹¹¹ KHD Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1972), p83; III Rowen, 'The Dutch Republic and the Idea of Freedom', in *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649-1776*, ed. D Wootton (Stanford, 1994), pp310-340.

¹¹² S Groenveld, *De Prins voor Amsterdam reacties uit pamfletten op de aanslag van 1650* (Bussum, 1967); C van de Haar, 'Romeyn de Hooghe en de Pamflettenstrijd van de jaren 1689 en 1690', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 64 (1956), pp155-77; J Stern, 'The rhetoric of popular Orangism, 1650-72', in *Historical Research*, vol. 77, 196 (May, 2004), p207.

opponents' pamphlets.¹¹³ However, by bringing their disputes into the public arena, these pamphleteers were providing the public with the information to make knowledgeable judgements about political affairs.

The scope for the discussion of political and religious issues in the Republic was also expanded due to the unique relationship between state and church, for the two were not united here as elsewhere. In contrast to the Church of England and the Catholic Church in France, the Reformed Church in the Republic was never established by law. Although it was supported by the state and was even granted a sort of public monopoly, it was never a state church in the full sense of the word for neither membership nor attendance was compulsory.¹¹⁴ Even though all political offices were filled by its members, this was more a matter of political practicality than principle.¹¹⁵ This situation was further complicated by the regents' policy of freedom of conscience. Following the Revolt the regents had not pursued a strategy of confessionalisation, partly due to their hatred of persecution and distrust of clerical power, but mainly because faced with the reality of a religiously divided society, toleration was a pragmatic way to maintain civic order.¹¹⁶ This meant however, that the Reformed Church also had to compete with the wide range of religious beliefs permitted in the Republic, which included Anabaptism, Brownism, Quakerism, even Catholicism and Judaism, although there were limits on what could be openly practiced.¹¹⁷

In addition, after the Revolt a severe schism arose within the Reformed Church itself when Arminius, the professor of theology at Leiden, laid down his views on predestination, in which he rejected the Calvinist argument that only the elect could be saved. He and his followers, the Remonstrants, stood for a church that was both broader theologically and less authoritarian in its discipline than hard-line orthodox Calvinists were prepared to accept.¹¹⁸ A consequence of this split was that a close relationship between Calvinist orthodoxy and Orangism sprung up which

¹¹³ M van Otegem, 'Tijd, snelheid, afstand; de mechanica van het pamflet', in *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, vol. 17, 1 (2001), p52.

¹¹⁴ G Groenhuis, *De Predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor 1700* (Groningen, 1977).

¹¹⁵ W Biergsma, 'Church, State and People', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, pp196-229.

¹¹⁶ EH Kossmann, 'Freedom in seventeenth-century Dutch thought and practice', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment - Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact*, ed. J Israel (CUP, 1991), p297.

¹¹⁷ See the collection of essays in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, eds. R Po-Chia Hsia and HFK van Nierop (Cambridge, 2002).

¹¹⁸ CD Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Nashville, 1971).

gave both persuasions extra political force. Regents therefore kept a close eye on the Calvinist clergy whom they believed to have great influence on the populace as a whole and who were thus capable of stirring up popular feeling against the authorities.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the role of preachers in mass communication and opinion-forming should not be underestimated for through their sermons they were expected to pass on and interpret government policies.¹²⁰ This meant on the one hand that preachers played an important role in speeding up access to political discourse, but at the same time their sermons also allowed them to support or criticise government policies.¹²¹ The impact of these sermons was further heightened due to the fact they were often publicly dispersed in printed form and statements on the title page of the pamphlets themselves provide evidence for this: ‘Gehoord in Rotterdam...uit de mond van Wilhelmus Velingus’, ‘Uitgesproken in de Groote Kerk binnen ‘s-Gravenhage’ and ‘Opentlijk gesproken in de Franse Kerk’.¹²²

Another consequence of the religiously pluralist nature of the Republic was that it brought the questions of theology and doctrine before the wider public. Indeed, as Regin has highlighted: ‘no other nation as a whole became so expertly involved in theological disputes as the Seven Provinces.’¹²³ The theological controversy surrounding the ideas of Arminius in the first half of the century for instance, manifested itself in print, with both sides actively pamphleteering to refute their opponents’ standpoint (see Chart 1.1, p27 above). Israel has shown that the diffusion and impact of this debate was so severe by 1605, that not only was the dispute widespread amongst Leiden’s theology students, but also among the city’s textile workers.¹²⁴ In addition, minority religious groups were also able to utilize Dutch presses to propagate their beliefs. The Labadists, a pietist community in the Fries town of Wieuwerd for example, had their own press which they used to print and bind Labadist literature which was then shipped to Amsterdam and sold by the

¹¹⁹ JL Price, *The Dutch Republic*, p90; HH Rowen, *John de Witt*, pp50-51.

¹²⁰ RW Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), p51.

¹²¹ T Claydon, ‘The Sermon, the “public sphere” and the political culture of late seventeenth century England’, in *The English Sermon Revised. Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750*, eds. LA Ferrell and P McCullough (Manchester, 2000), pp208-34; D Haks, ‘Propaganda from the Pulpit?’, in *Antonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720*, eds. JAF de Jongste and AJ Veenendaal (Den Haag, 2002), pp89-114.

¹²² Knuttel 13278, G Bidloo, *’s-Gravenhage zegevierende*; Knuttel 13280, P a Balen, *Vreugde-Reden op de Krooning-dag*; Knuttel 13277, W Velingius, *Nederlands Dank- en Vier-Dags-Taal* (1689).

¹²³ D Regin, *Traders, Artists, and Burghers. A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century* (Amsterdam, 1976), p62.

¹²⁴ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p393.

bookseller Jacob van de Velde. Moreover, many of their publications were given away before being despatched and the community often sent out free copies in order to 'spread the word'.¹²⁵ Thus it is evident that although Habermas viewed the public sphere as an essentially secular phenomenon, religion in the Republic provoked intense debate and was important in expanding the scope for the discussion of both political and religious issues.¹²⁶

Another factor which also facilitated the discussion of political and religious matters was that the Dutch public were extremely well informed about both domestic and foreign issues. As the Republic's expansion of national and international markets had necessitated a frequent and efficient supply of information, a regular postal service and news sheets had been established early in the seventeenth century. A postal system had been set up by Amsterdam's merchants' corporation in the mid-sixteenth century, but with the country's economic growth it quickly expanded to cover the whole of the Republic. Gradually developing into a public service controlled by the municipal councils, it became increasingly professional after 1650, with each postal route having its own sorting office managed by a postmaster.¹²⁷ The earliest newspaper appeared in Amsterdam around 1618 and by the mid-seventeenth century they had spread to all provinces of the Republic.¹²⁸ Although mainly weekly publications, some newspapers such as the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, were printed as often as three times a week.¹²⁹ Although Dutch newspapers were not always 100 per cent reliable, they were advanced for the period and contained all the latest up-to-date news. Printers even had a sort of stop-press mechanism which enabled them to incorporate the hottest news reports at short notice.¹³⁰ In fact, because Dutch newspapers were so consistent, they were often the primary source of information for the press in other countries. It has been calculated for example, that

¹²⁵ TJ Saxby, *The Quest for the New Jerusalem. Jean de Labadie and the Labadists, 1610-1744* (Dordrecht, 1987), p250.

¹²⁶ Habermas' neglect of the role of religion has been challenged by C Calhoun, 'Introduction', pp35-36; T Claydon, 'The Sermon', p224-25; J van Horn-Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2001), pp48-55; D Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp24-26.

¹²⁷ W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, pp168-69; P Zumthor, *Daily Life*, pp270-72.

¹²⁸ F Dahl, 'Amsterdam-Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe', in *Het Boek*, vol. 25 (1938/9), p170.

¹²⁹ Netherlands, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, C37 [Microfilm], *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*.

¹³⁰ M van Otegem, 'Tijd, snelheid, afstand', p52.

in the 1622-32 period, 60 to 70 per cent of the news in the English press originated in the Republic.¹³¹ The situation was much the same in France as Gibbs highlighted:

Even a ruler with as well-organised an intelligence service...as Louis XIV found newspapers, that is Dutch newspapers, a useful supplement, sometimes an unwelcome corrective, to information conveyed by the usual diplomatic channels. At times, even for the great powers, even in matters of immediate concern to their fundamental interests, the earliest intimation of important events might come, not from their own diplomats on the spot, but from Dutch newspapers.¹³²

It is difficult to establish exactly who sent information to the newspapers, for no foreign correspondents are mentioned by name. However, it seems that printers obtained the contents from a combination of foreign corantos, private letters and official sources.¹³³ Aside from the translation of foreign news items, apparently little editorial work was undertaken.¹³⁴ Perhaps this is why on the whole Dutch newspapers were passive in regards to politics, being especially neutral in terms of domestic policy, on which they just gave a basic outline of the facts without significant commentary.¹³⁵ Yet newspaper printers did not always keep within the limits of what was regarded as acceptable and there were instances of newspapers being prohibited usually for a period of six weeks.¹³⁶ However, an important point regarding Dutch newspapers is that the majority were not state-controlled, but were actually independent publications. In fact, the Republic's printing industry in general was far less constrained than elsewhere in Europe at this time. Although censorship systems in other countries were subject to certain limitations and were carried out with varying degrees of intensity over the seventeenth century, on the whole, official control of the press was less extreme and not as far reaching in the Dutch Republic.

In England, until the Civil War which saw a complete breakdown of censorship, political communication was severely restricted by norms of secrecy and privilege, with discussions regarding affairs of state largely constrained to both local and national elites.¹³⁷ Both the King and Parliament consistently sought to repress printed material critical of the establishment through the Star Chamber Decree, which meant that there were no legally printed newspapers as publishing domestic

¹³¹ KHD Haley, *The British and the Dutch. Political and Cultural Relations throughout the Ages* (London, 1988), p48.

¹³² GC Gibbs, 'The role of the Dutch Republic', p337.

¹³³ M Schneider, *De Nederlandse Krant 1618-1978 van 'nieustydinghe' tot dagblad* (Baarn, 1979), pp38-88.

¹³⁴ F Dahl, *Dutch Corantos*, p18.

¹³⁵ F Dahl, 'Amsterdam-Earliest Newspaper Centre', pp184-85.

¹³⁶ S Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', p72.

¹³⁷ D Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp7-8; T Claydon, 'The Sermon', pp209-10.

news was a criminal offence.¹³⁸ Although the Civil War completely reversed this situation and political discourse became more accessible in the second half of the century, strict censorship controls were soon reintroduced.¹³⁹ During the Restoration the Licensing Act of 1662 was passed which remained more or less in force until 1695 and the only regular newspaper, the official *London Gazette*, was sparse and unreliable, concentrating on foreign news with little or no attention given to domestic affairs.¹⁴⁰ In France where there was no acknowledged locus of public authority outside of the Crown, political action was rigorously restricted to the King and his councillors.¹⁴¹ Censorship controls were even more elaborate and it was only after 1789 that the situation was relaxed.¹⁴² Seen as fundamental to maintenance of absolutism, the printing industry was tightly regulated through a structure of licensing and pre-publication censorship. Included in this system were some 200 censors whose decisions were enforced by a special branch of the police.¹⁴³ Some information reached the reading public through journals and gazettes but they actually had very little news in them, as the only two publications that were authorised, the *Mercure Français* and the *Gazette*, both fully defended the official image of the French monarchy.¹⁴⁴

In comparison, the Republic's printers enjoyed a much higher level of freedom, as Pierre Bayle commented:

...they accord the Printers such an extended liberty, that people address themselves from all parts of Europe, when they find themselves disheartened by the difficulties of obtaining a Privilege. Assuredly if Milton had lived in these Provinces, he would not have thought to write a Book called *de Typographica liberanda*, for he would not have felt that things there were in servitude in that regard.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ F Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana, 1965), pp237-50.

¹³⁹ S Achinstein, 'Texts in conflict: the press and the Civil War', in *Writings on the English Revolution*, ed. NH Keeble (CUP, 2001), pp50-71; R Cust, 'News and Politics in early seventeenth century England', in *The English Civil War*, eds. R Cust and A Hughes (London, 1997), pp233-61; J Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper. English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (New York, 1996).

¹⁴⁰ J Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (CUP, 1986), pp12-22.

¹⁴¹ J van Horn-Melton, *The Rise of the Public*, p45; J Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda*, p38.

¹⁴² B Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press. Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London, 1996), p65.

¹⁴³ J Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda*, pp35-40.

¹⁴⁴ WF Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton, 1972), p340; R Darnton, 'An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth Century Paris', in *American Historical Review*, vol. 105, 1 (February, 2000), p6.

¹⁴⁵ *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, I (March, 1684) quoted in A Goldgar, *Impolite Learning. Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (Avon, 1995), pp205-06.

Although it has been argued that the Dutch press was almost entirely free, this assertion cannot wholly be sustained.¹⁴⁶ Whilst it is true that citizens of the Republic were not subject to the same restrictions as elsewhere, regents were prepared to intervene if works were considered politically or religiously controversial. Through the use of edicts and prohibitions usually issued at provincial level, the regents like their counterparts in England and France, hoped to remove the potential for criticism of their actions.¹⁴⁷ Some works were therefore banned if they were felt to be a condemnation of the government, if they were considered offensive to political personalities or if they were deemed an incitement to violence.¹⁴⁸ The heavily anti-*Stadholder* pamphlet *Hollands Fever* for instance, was outlawed in October 1688 for its criticisms of William III and in 1690 the pamphlet *Mirror of Truth* was prohibited due to accusations made against the regents of Amsterdam.¹⁴⁹ Other works were banned if they were considered insulting to foreign monarchs at a time of political tension when the regents aimed to maintain good relations abroad. The *Declaration of the Duke of Monmouth* for example, was prohibited by a placard of the Court of Holland on 3 July 1685 with a price of 200 silver ductons on the head of the writer and publisher due to its highly critical allegations against James II.¹⁵⁰

However, surprisingly few works were actually banned in the Republic on the whole. Of the thousands of books, pamphlets and broadsides published in the 1600-1800 period, Knuttel's list of prohibited works contains only 450 entries.¹⁵¹ Yet this situation did not arise from any enlightened attitude on the part of the Dutch authorities, but mainly because they lacked the means to enforce censorship regulations, which enabled authors to evade fines and continue publishing their works. In the first instance, edicts issued at provincial level were often ignored by local magistrates. Even under Spanish rule when strict placards regulated the book trade, magistrates were repeatedly reprimanded for failing to implement anti-heresy

¹⁴⁶ HA Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde Vrijheid* (Groningen, 1972), p151.

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed examination of censorship in the seventeenth century see I Weckhout, *Boekensensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De Vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag, 1998).

¹⁴⁸ AH Huussen, 'Censorship in the Netherlands', in *The Age of William and Mary - Power, Politics and Patronage 1688-1702*, eds. RP Maccubin and M Hamilton-Phillips (Virginia, 1989), p347.

¹⁴⁹ Knuttel 12616, Anon, *Hollands Koors* (1687); Knuttel 13480, Anon [E Walten], *Spiegel der Waarheyd* (1690), see also WPC Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden. Beredeneerde Catalogus* ('s-Gravenhage, 1914), p64, p109.

¹⁵⁰ Knuttel 12331, Duke of Monmouth [R Ferguson], *Declaratie van Jacobus Hertog van Monmouth* (1685), see also WPC Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, p81.

¹⁵¹ WPC Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden. Beredeneerde Catalogus* ('s-Gravenhage, 1914).

legislation in relation to printed works.¹⁵² In addition, as regulations varied between provinces, if an author was banned in Holland for instance, he could simply go to Utrecht and have his work printed there. Re-publishing a banned work under a different title was another way to circumvent the system. The anti-Prince of Wales pamphlet *La Couronne Usurpée* for example, was banned in September 1688 by the Court of Holland and the writer Pierre Boyer was ordered to tear the work to pieces.¹⁵³ Yet the pamphlet continued to circulate in its Dutch version under two different titles, *De Gefalieerde Koning, En de Prins tegen Dank* and *De Geusurpeerde Kroon en de Gesupposeerde Prins*.¹⁵⁴

In addition, a certain ambiguity existed amongst the regents, as on the one hand they might be in the midst of legal action against a bookseller regarding subversive material, yet at the same time be reliant on that business for the distribution of printed news. This predicament meant that verdicts were rarely enforced.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the Dutch authorities actively used the press as a way to disseminate the latest proclamations, declarations and ordinances, with either the provincial States or town council granting a certain printer a monopoly over official publications. Nevertheless, piracy was common and printers were often open about the fact, even stating on the title page that they had copied their information from approved sources: 'Na de authentijcque Cope van Jacobus Scheltus, 's-Landts-Drucker in 's-Gravenhage. 't Utrecht, Gedrukt by Joriaen van Poolsum.'¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, it was difficult to control unofficial leaks of information in the Republic as each province was entitled to ask the States General for copies of nearly all secret documents.¹⁵⁷ Indeed when making political decisions, John de Witt took into account the fact that what had been discussed in the States of Holland and the States General would soon become known to foreign statesmen and the Dutch public alike.¹⁵⁸ Divulging state secrets was a common element of Dutch politics and a few foreign ambassadors went so far as to assert that almost any Dutchman in a high

¹⁵² HFK van Nierop, 'Censorship, Illicit Printing and the Revolt of the Netherlands', in *Britain and the Netherlands IX*, pp29-44.

¹⁵³ WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus*, notes, p449.

¹⁵⁴ Knuttel 12982-84, Anon [P Boyer], *De Gefalieerde Koning, En de Prins tegen Dank* and Knuttel 12985, Anon [P Boyer], *De Geusurpeerde Kroon en de Gesupposeerde Prins* (1688).

¹⁵⁵ M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p364.

¹⁵⁶ Knuttel 12806, Anon, *Extraordinaris Londense Post-tyding* (1688).

¹⁵⁷ MAM Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's politieke en diplomatieke activiteiten in de jaren 1667-1684* (Groningen, 1966), pp24-25.

¹⁵⁸ HHI Rowen, *John de Witt*, p252.

position was ready to accept a backhander.¹⁵⁹ Printers too, because of the level of competition in the Republic, would often bribe officials to gain access to the latest political information in order to be the first to publish it.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, the Reformed church did not have the stranglehold over censorship that the Catholic Church had before the Revolt and the government was reluctant to acquiesce to ecclesiastical demands for prohibition, especially when it concerned authors who were not part of the Reformed Church.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the clergy was a force that could not be ignored, although the number of edicts against religious tracts varied between areas, with more issued by the States of the outlying provinces where the influence of the Reformed Church was greater on the regents than in Holland.¹⁶² Some of the more famous works banned because of pressure from the Reformed Church included Descartes' *Epistola*, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Spinoza's *Tractatus*, and Meijer's *Philosophia*.¹⁶³ Yet such bans did not always halt the public's curiosity in these works and perhaps only served to increase their popularity. Balthasar Bekker's *De Betoverde Werelt* (1691), for example, was forbidden by the Utrecht magistracy in 1692 due to its attack on people's belief in sorcery and possession by the devil, whose very existence Bekker questioned.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, a pamphlet controversy regarding Bekker's ideas soon arose, despite the protests of the Reformed Church and the ban on his work, resulting in the publication of 138 pamphlets between 1691 and 1693.¹⁶⁵ Thus it can be seen that there were restrictions on the freedom of the press in the Republic, but not on a scale comparable to the rest of Europe. Regents were prepared to take action against a certain work if it was politically or religiously controversial, but their powers were limited by their inability, or unwillingness, to enforce censorship regulations.

¹⁵⁹ KW Swart, *The Miracle of the Dutch Republic as seen in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1969), p7.

¹⁶⁰ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p102.

¹⁶¹ I Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p100.

¹⁶² S Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', p77.

¹⁶³ I Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp102-107.

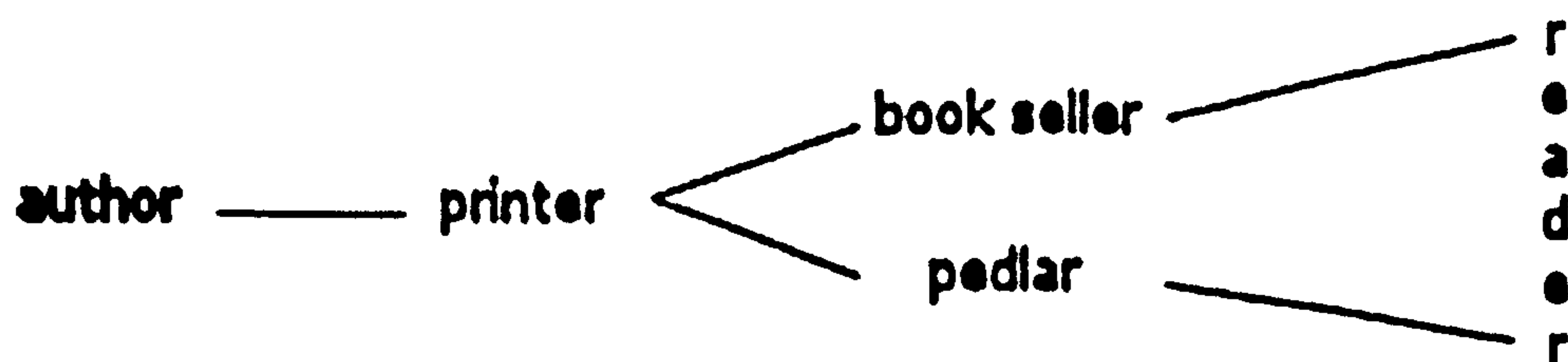
¹⁶⁴ R Attfield, 'Balthasar Bekker and the Decline of the Witch-Craze: the Old Demonology and the New Philosophy', in *Annals of Science*, vol. 42 (1985), pp383-95; A Fix, 'Angels, Devils, and Evil Spirits in Seventeenth-Century Thought: Balthasar Bekker and the Collegiants', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 50, 4 (Oct-Dec, 1989), pp527-47; H van Ruler, 'Minds, Forms and Spirits: The Nature of Cartesian Disenchantment', in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 61, 4 (2000), pp381-95.

¹⁶⁵ Figure derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamsfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Therefore, the fact that both religious and political disputes were played out in the pamphlet literature of the period, as well as being covered in the Republic's numerous newspapers, meant that the Dutch public had the information and ability to make educated judgements on those issues. As a result, individuals outside the state and church also began to put forward their views and opinions for debate, particularly through the pamphlet medium and because of the relatively ineffective censorship system, there was little the regents could do to stop them.¹⁶⁶ Potential pamphleteers were also aided in this by the advanced nature of the Republic's print trade which meant that non-officially sponsored pamphlets could make their way into the public arena. As stated earlier, Dutch printers were responsive to market demands and this of course had an impact on pamphlet turn-out as printers would concentrate on the latest 'hot topic' of interest. As Raymond has argued: 'some suggest that popular taste, combined with the commercial considerations of the purchasing power of a mass readership, influenced the output of the presses.'¹⁶⁷ Dutch printers therefore geared production to what would sell and as they had such a good understanding of market needs, they could decide what would make a profit.

Private individuals were therefore able to take their works to printers in the hope they would be deemed sale-worthy enough to be printed and in turn printers would also actively seek out authors to see if they had any works of interest to publish.¹⁶⁸ As Van Otegem's model has demonstrated, there was a relatively short line between author and reader, with only the printer and sellers as intermediaries (see Figure 1.1, below).

Figure 1.1: Model of pamphlet distribution.



Source: M van Otegem, 'Tijd, snelheid, afstand; de mechanica van het pamflet', in *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, vol. 17, 1 (2001), p54.

¹⁶⁶ W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p223.

¹⁶⁷ J Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p91.

¹⁶⁸ PG Hofstijzer, 'Between Mercury and Minerva: Dutch printing offices and bookshops as intermediaries in seventeenth century scholarly communication', in *Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters*, eds. H Bots and F Maarsen (Amsterdam, 1993), p123.

This is not to say that Dutch printers completely replaced the state and church as author's patrons, for throughout the seventeenth century there were always individuals who were prepared to write in support of a certain group, either for profit or protection. Pieter de la Court for instance, was clearly in the service of the De Witt regime and his *Het Interest van Holland* played a central role in the controversies over the *Stadholdership* in the 1660s.¹⁶⁹ William III also made effective use of the patronage system, by sponsoring a variety of pamphleteers such as Peter du Moulin, Govert Bidloo, Gilbert Burnet, Ericus Walten, as well as the etcher Romeyn de Hooghe.¹⁷⁰ Yet, the scope for non-sponsored writers to get their works published was greater in the Republic than elsewhere.

The potential for private individuals to get their works published was therefore certainly present, yet because so many pamphlets were published anonymously, it is difficult to gain a comprehensive picture of the social composition of pamphlet authors. Harline's study of the 1565-1648 period, which provides the most detailed analysis of pamphlet authorship, found that there were representatives from different levels of Dutch society. His study concluded that nearly one in five authors was a preacher, more than one in 20 was a commoner or educated person, and that one in three was from the ruling elite. However, he stressed that the number of pamphlets written by the first two groups increased significantly as the century progressed, whereas the number written by the latter was reduced.¹⁷¹ It would seem that most pamphleteers were devoted to a particular cause and wrote primarily out of conviction, for there was little money to be made as the author would often put up the money in advance to cover the cost of printing and in return would be given a few to re-sell.¹⁷²

Moreover, due to the pamphlet's flexible format and their wide accessibility, pamphlets were recognised as means to reach a much larger audience than just political elites and it is clear that pamphleteers intended to influence public opinion in the hope that it would force those in power to take notice. Although it is difficult to generalise about constitutional arrangements regarding popular influence in Dutch politics, in theory, the opinions of the regents were all that mattered politically, for

¹⁶⁹ J de Witt [Pieter de la Court], *Het Interest van Holland* (1662).

¹⁷⁰ T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Reformation* (CUP, 1996); KHD Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-74* (Oxford, 1953); L Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', in *American Historical Review*, vol 82, 4 (October, 1977), pp843-74.

¹⁷¹ C Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p102.

¹⁷² J Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p57.

they were thought to represent 'the people' and provide them with a platform to control government at a local level.¹⁷³ Therefore, a fundamental character of Dutch life was that the business of everyday government was left to this small elite who were supposed to represent the community, but in return, certain rules had to be adhered to. There had to be proper administration, for example, and regents had to be responsive to the needs and feelings of the community.¹⁷⁴ In fact, members of town communities were never designated 'subjects' but citizens (*poorters*) and inhabitants (*inwoners*). Although the regents believed that these private individuals had no right to interfere in government matters, they could not afford to be completely indifferent to their communities.¹⁷⁵ This was firstly due to the high level of urbanisation in the Republic, which meant that regents lived in close proximity to those they represented.¹⁷⁶ Secondly, because the regents lacked an effective police force, this made them sensitive to any kind of public criticism which might stir up discontent.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the ability of pamphlets to affect public opinion can be seen in the numerous edicts forbidding both the oral and printed debate of political topics. In 1690 for example, the States of Holland published a placard prohibiting the publication of further pamphlets commenting on a dispute between William III and the Amsterdam regents, stating that:

... we daily find more and more, that certain malicious people make their mischief, orally as well as in writing, by trying to give the good Inhabitants of the State the impression that his Highness the Lord Prince of Orange, would be determined to assume the Sovereignty of the Country himself... SO IT IS [for this reason], that we want to make provision against it, and have declared, and declare consequently, having considered all particulars, or extraneous issues, both verbally and in writing, that even if it were so, that it is false, fictitious, slanderous, calamitous, rebellious, even seditious...ⁱⁱⁱ¹⁷⁸

However, the fact that this verdict was immediately condemned by an anonymous pamphleteer shows that the Dutch public believed that the publication of pamphlets and the right to discuss government affairs were closely related:

¹⁷³ DJ Roorda, 'The Ruling Classes in Holland in the Seventeenth Century', in *Britain and The Netherlands II*, eds. JS Bromley and EH Kossmann (Groningen, 1962), p109-33.

¹⁷⁴ HFK van Nierop, 'Popular Participation in politics in the Dutch Republic', in *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. P Blicke (Oxford, 1997), p281.

¹⁷⁵ M Prak, 'Burghers into citizens: Urban and national citizenship in the Netherlands during the Revolutionary era (c.1800)', in *Theory and Society*, vol. 26 (1997), pp403-20.

¹⁷⁶ KHD Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*, p61.

¹⁷⁷ AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives*, p193; P Geyl, *The Netherlands*, p193; JL Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century – The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford, 1994), p90.

¹⁷⁸ Knuttel 13510, States of Holland, *Placcaat Vande Staaten van Holland en West Vrieslandt, Tegens de Pasquillen* (1690), p1.

Everywhere one discovers the banning of books. At all street corners on the walls of the churches, the town halls, the Exchange or marketplaces you will find these edicts, placards or orders. It seems as if nowadays paste and glue have become the main weapons to counter printed arguments.¹⁷⁹

Yet another unique feature of Dutch pamphlet literature was that despite the public's continued preoccupation with domestic issues, the level of interest in foreign affairs remained steady throughout the seventeenth century. Of the 7917 pamphlets published between 1600 and 1700, some 1882 (23.8 per cent) of these were published in regard to events in Europe or the wider world. This figure can be partly explained by the needs of the Dutch economy, whose trade and commerce could be adversely affected by events elsewhere. Pamphlet interest in the Baltic for example, was stimulated by the Danish-Swedish War (1643-45) on which 19 pamphlets (13.3 per cent) were printed and by the Swedish-Polish War (1655-60) which was the subject of 150 pamphlets (22.9 per cent), due to the fact that Dutch shipping or tolls at the Sound could be affected.¹⁸⁰ Output was also heightened when events were seen as particularly relevant to Dutch audiences, especially when religion and politics were intertwined. In the 1640s for instance, the peace negotiations at Münster dominated domestic discourse, yet on two occasions pamphlet output on events outside of the Republic actually outstripped those on internal affairs. The first increase accompanied the early stages of the English Civil War when 181 pamphlets (56.2 per cent) were printed on the conflict between 1641 and 1644. Although production subsequently lulled, the execution of Charles I in 1649 saw renewed interest in developments in England, reflected in the fact that 105 pamphlets (58.4 per cent) were published on the subject in that year. As Robert Haan has pointed out, Dutch interest was initially stimulated by the similarity of the religious struggles taking place in England, which reminded the Dutch of the Arminian-Gomarist Controversy that had taken place earlier in the century and secondly, because the presence of Queen Henrietta Maria in the Republic during the 1642-1643 period also drew attention to the Civil War.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Knuttel 13511, Anon, *Korte bemerking op het tegenwoordigh boek-verbieden* (1690) translation in AH Huussen, *Censorship*, p350.

¹⁸⁰ For the importance of the Baltic trade see, M Bogucka, 'Amsterdam and the Baltic in the first half of the seventeenth century', in *Economic History Review*, vol. 26, 3 (August, 1973), pp433-48; JA Faber, 'The decline of the Baltic grain-trade in the second half of the seventeenth century', in *Acta Historiae Neerlandica I* (1966), pp108-31.

¹⁸¹ RL Haan, 'The Treatment of England and English Affairs in Dutch Pamphlet Literature, 1640-1660' (Harvard, unpublished PhD thesis, 1960), pp26-30.

What was significant about the pamphlets published on the Civil War was that 80 per cent were actually translations of English-language works.¹⁸² Earlier it was shown that for newspaper printers, the easiest way to provide information on non-domestic topics was via the translation of foreign corantos. In the same way, pamphlet printers would in the first instance, translate works that already existed in order to speedily satisfy market demands for the latest information and commentary on international matters. In fact, translated pamphlets can even be traced back to the original printer when such details were given: 'Gedruckt in s'Gravenhage, na de Copye tot Keulen, by P Martensz'; 'Overgesest na de Copie, gedrukt tot Parys, By Jacques Langlois, Druker van de Koning' and 'Na de Copye tot London gedrukt, voor John Starkey en Richard Chiswell, 't Amsterdam, Weduwe van Swart.'¹⁸³ Therefore it can be seen that in relation to foreign events, the initial discourse often available to the Dutch public was that provided by imported pamphlets or by the works of foreign nationals living in the Republic itself. Indeed throughout the seventeenth century, foreign exiles and refugees skilfully manipulated the level of printing freedom in the Republic to further their own agenda, often to produce propaganda criticising the situation in their home countries. These works also made their way to Dutch audiences due to the fact they were translated and in so doing, they became intended, or unintended, contributions to the discussion and debate of international policies and personalities in the public sphere.¹⁸⁴

One prominent group was the large community of British religious refugees and political exiles who made use of Dutch presses in their conflict against the Stuart monarchy and Anglican Church.¹⁸⁵ In the early seventeenth century for instance, Thomas Scott, a refugee and chaplain of the English garrison at Utrecht, used Dutch presses to produce anti-Spanish works during the reign of James I.¹⁸⁶ Another

¹⁸² RL Haan, 'The Treatment of England', p30. For a detailed study of Anglo-Dutch translation see, CW Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind. Studies in Anglo-Dutch Translation* (Leiden, 1983).

¹⁸³ Knuttel 11717, Anon, *Vervolg van de Memorien* (1680); Knuttel 12293, Louis XIV, *Edict van den Koning van Vrankryk* (1685); Knuttel 13156, Anon, *Reflectien of Aenmerkingen Op seker geschrift* (1689).

¹⁸⁴ Intentional on the part of the translator or printer, but perhaps unintentional for the author if translated without their approval or knowledge.

¹⁸⁵ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), especially pp406-521; E Bergin, 'The experience of English exiles in the Dutch Republic, 1660s-1680s', (Hull, unpublished MA dissertation, 2001); GF Nuttall, 'English Dissenters in the Netherlands, 1640-1689', in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, vol. 59 (1978-79), pp37-55; J Walker, 'The English Exiles in Holland during the reigns of Charles II and James II', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1948), pp111-25.

¹⁸⁶ M Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge, 1986), p27.

example was the Puritan William Prynne, whose works were translated by a Dutch printer with an English wife. His *News from Ipswich* had a Dutch equivalent, *Wat nieuws uyt Ipswich in Enghelandt*, and his highly critical *Histriomastix* (1632) was also brought out in an abridged Dutch version.¹⁸⁷ Exiles in the Republic continued to publish works and indeed these became more prominent in the second half of the century. Anti-Stuart propaganda emanating from the Republic reached its height during the reign of James II when English pamphleteers wrote both independently and in collusion with William III's propaganda machine. The most prolific anti-Stuart pamphleteer in the 1685-89 period was Gilbert Burnet who published 19 identifiable pieces in the Dutch language.¹⁸⁸ Another prominent anti-Stuart pamphleteer was Robert Ferguson, whose two controversial pieces, *A Representation of the Threatening Dangers* (1687) and *A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England* (1689) were also translated.¹⁸⁹ The distribution of such works to Dutch audiences was facilitated by two English bookselling families based in Amsterdam, Bruyning and Swart. As one English spy reported, 'To these 2 booksellershopps come all the phanaticke English & Dutch merchants & there for a stiver a peace read the newes which afterward is spread upon the exchange.'¹⁹⁰

Another group of foreigners to utilise Dutch presses was the large community of French Huguenot refugees who fled France following Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. GC Gibbs has calculated that of the 200,000 Huguenots displaced over the 1680-1720 period, around 50-70,000 settled in the Dutch Republic and a number of these found employment in the printing industry.¹⁹¹ These printers began to publish French-language newspapers, such as the twice-weekly *Gazette de Leyde, d'Amsterdam, de la Haye*, which were intended for both domestic consumption and for export to France.¹⁹² In addition, Huguenot authors and printers used the press to attack Louis XIV, with many tracts published in Leiden and

¹⁸⁷ KHD Haley, *The British and the Dutch*, p74; J Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot', in *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in early modern Europe*, eds. B Coward and J Swann (Aldershot, 2004), pp113-34.

¹⁸⁸ Knuttel 12579, 12590, 12592 (1687); 12873, 12889, 12984, 12905, 12906, 12909, 12956, 13011 (1688); 13254, 13170, 13195, 13212, 13235, 13248 (1689) and 13411, 13419 (1690).

¹⁸⁹ Knuttel 12594, Anon [R Ferguson], *Ontdekking van 't Gevaar* (1687); Knuttel 13234, Anon [R Ferguson], *Korte Justifcatie* (1689).

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in PG Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers*, p140.

¹⁹¹ GC Gibbs, 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Émigrés in the United Provinces, 1680-1720', in *Bijdragen en Mededeelen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 90, 2 (1975), p256.

¹⁹² GHM Posthumus Meijes and F Wieringa, *Vlucht naar Vrijheid: De Huguenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1985), p78.

Amsterdam by the Elsevier family.¹⁹³ The aim of these works was twofold, firstly they enabled Huguenot authors to justify themselves before the European public for leaving their country and sovereign and secondly, to criticise Louis XIV's religious policies.¹⁹⁴ Although the majority of works were published in French, some works were translated for Dutch audiences, such as Pierre Jurieu's *Lettres Pastorales* (1686) and his famous *Les soupirs de la France esclave* (1689).¹⁹⁵ Huguenot intellectuals also contributed to ongoing debates within the Republic itself. Pierre Bayle, for example, composed a widely influential critique of Spinoza which was translated into Dutch by François Halma, a bookseller and compiler of Dutch-French dictionaries.¹⁹⁶

IV. Rational discussion

Finally, the last criterion for a public sphere to exist is that any opinions put forward for debate had to be judged rationally, rather than depending on the social or political status of the contributor.¹⁹⁷ This meant that individuals had to be able to put aside their differences and discuss matters, both in print and face to face, in a logical way in order to reach a consensus about issues of common concern.¹⁹⁸ Habermas believed that this development grew out of a literary public sphere where people first learned the art of rational-critical discourse through their contact with the 'elegant world', after which they then began to turn their attention to the debate of politics and religion.¹⁹⁹

In the first instance, the pamphlet literature itself provides evidence that at least the potential for rational debate existed, for works often had to be judged solely on the merits of their argument as the social or political status of the contributor was usually unknown to readers. Of the 748 pamphlets published in the 1685-89 period for example, 86 per cent were printed anonymously. As Marcy North has demonstrated, anonymity could take various forms in the early modern period, such

¹⁹³ P Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (London, 1992), p147.

¹⁹⁴ GH Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion with special reference to the thought and influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York, 1947).

¹⁹⁵ Knuttel 12474, Anon [P Jurieu], *Pastorale Of Herdelijke Brieven* (1686); Knuttel 13148, Anon [P Jurieu], *De Suchtingen Van het slaefachtigh Vrankrijk* (1689).

¹⁹⁶ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall*, p924.

¹⁹⁷ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p27.

¹⁹⁸ A Gouldner, *The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: The Origins, Grammar, and Future of Ideology* (New York, 1976), p98.

¹⁹⁹ J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p29.

as omitting the author's name, using ambiguous initials and by means of pseudonyms.²⁰⁰ Anonymity entailed a deliberate, conscious decision on the part of the author or printer not to be identified, and there are a variety of explanations as to why this would happen. Many authors published their pamphlets anonymously perhaps for fear of reprisal from the authorities or because their public station would not allow themselves to be revealed, especially if it was a controversial pamphlet. Other pamphleteers tried to be more persuasive by using the rhetorical tool of appearing humble to gain the trust of the reader. They explain their anonymity as due to the fact they are not really worthy of attention, or that they just want to put the 'bare facts' in front of reader so they can judge for themselves. As one author asserted: 'I have under no circumstances found it worthwhile to put my name forward for this, and do not think this is done under duress. My objective is only the naked truth, which is heard or sees the light of day rarely for most people. This is enough of a rebuke. The impartial Reader should judge with impartial judgement, Farewell.'^{iv,201}

However, Raymond has argued that there were other problems with identifying yourself to a reader, for 'pamphlet authors, especially authors with distinctive styles, and editors of weekly publications were being increasingly conflated with what they wrote, as if the book were the personification of the writer, and the writer the embodiment of the book.'²⁰² The problem here was that readers knew what to expect from a particular author and the stance that author would take on a certain issue, so they might be dissuaded from purchasing, or even picking up the author's latest work, especially if the reader did not agree with him. Therefore, 'pamphleteers who wanted to be genuinely persuasive did not always want to state their point of view on the very first page.'²⁰³ In addition, by using a neutral title for their work, authors were more likely to attract a wider audience. The pamphlet *Conversation held on Mount Parnassus* for example, was published with no details whatsoever in regard to author, printer or place of publication.²⁰⁴ A reader might have been completely anti-Stuart, but would have only realised that this pamphlet was a pro-James II piece after they had begun to read it, as there are no obvious clues

²⁰⁰ M North, *The Anonymous Renaissance* (Chicago, 2003), p3.

²⁰¹ Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Engelsche Bokkum, of Heekkel-Dicht* (1688), p4.

²⁰² J Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p63.

²⁰³ J Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, p54.

²⁰⁴ Knuttel 12364, Anon, *Samen-spraak Gehouden op den Berg van Parnas* (1685).

telling them such. By using this combination of tactics authors were able to present their case before the reader could fully realise the lines of their argument. Indeed, as North has pointed out, this approach could even increase sales for booksellers as they could appeal to a broad readership crossing party and factional lines: 'Print standards were based on market demands and industry needs rather than on attribution ideals. For a book producer working within this system, authorial anonymity could be a very attractive 'addition' to a publication's title page.'²⁰⁵

Another aspect of the pamphlet literature which lent itself to rational discussion was that both sides of a debate would usually be available to readers, for as mentioned above, when disputes arose between opposing political or religious groups, each side used the press in order to put forward their standpoint. In so doing, pamphleteers would often put copies of their opponent's work within their own pamphlet or extensively quote from it, in order to refute their opponent's case by point by point. As Zaret has highlighted, this necessarily meant that readers were confronted with both sides of the argument.²⁰⁶ Moreover, as Harline has pointed out, opposing pamphlets were often bound into collections by printers, thereby further facilitating access to both sides of debate. During the Truce Crisis of 1607-09 for instance, the *Beehive* collection brought together 30 recently published pamphlets on the topic.²⁰⁷

Lastly, pamphlets were also integral to the occurrence of rational discussion because their impact extended outwards from the world of print to the arena of public debate. As Frijhoff noted, the effectiveness of pamphlets was increased due to the fact they were talked about: 'If such a pamphlet is discussed in the market, at the well, in a bar, after a church service, or at the harbour side, its impact is multiplied.'²⁰⁸ The contents of pamphlets were often passed along second- and third hand, through sermons, town meetings, and everyday conversations in the market place and it was not unusual for pamphlets to be read aloud in public places so that semi-literate or illiterate individuals could also gain access to the ideas and

²⁰⁵ M North, *The Anonymous Renaissance*, p65.

²⁰⁶ D Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp177-78.

²⁰⁷ Knuttel 1474-5, Various, *Den Nederlandtschen bye-korf: waer in ghy beschreven vindt, al tghene dat nu wtghegaen is, op den stilstant ofte vrede* (1608), see also C Harline, 'Mars Bruised: Images of War in the Dutch Republic, 1641-1648', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 104 (1989), p185.

²⁰⁸ W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p223.

arguments being expressed.²⁰⁹ Indeed, in the Republic, it seems that it was almost second nature for people to talk about issues of concern both at home and abroad, as Keblusek has highlighted:

On the street, the latest news was discussed. This combination of the verbal, written and printed supply of news is also evident in the reports of contemporaries. Burghers had access to a variety of channels through which they could acquire information, and the various types of media supplemented one another. Sometimes information was acquired by reading a pamphlet or news sheet, sometimes through discussions with others, during which information was passed on.²¹⁰

The extent to which such discussions were entirely 'rational' cannot be known. However, it is clear that the opportunity to meet and debate issues with people of opposing or differing viewpoints was certainly present in a number of formal institutions across the Republic. Both Habermas and more recent studies on the English public sphere have stressed the importance of the coffeehouse as a place where the printed and oral transmission of news and information occurred.²¹¹ Such institutions also existed in the Republic, both within and outside of Holland, although they only began to appear after 1663 when coffee passed into general use.²¹² As Zumthor has stated: 'these establishments opened originally from 9am to 11am, and their clients smoked and read the papers while sipping their chosen brew; gradually they became evening meeting places as well.'²¹³ Coffeehouses were places people went to hear the latest gossip and to read the most recent newspaper, pamphlet or poetry collection, as proprietors would often take out subscriptions to a wide range of periodicals and newspapers which were available to patrons free of charge.²¹⁴ The evidence suggests that patrons were not restricted to a particular group and that all were welcomed 'regardless of gender, social status or political outlook'.²¹⁵ Indeed, the associations of tea and coffee drinkers that were set up in the Republic were condemned by those with orthodox opinions for openly bringing

²⁰⁹ H Chisick, 'Pamphlet Literature of the French Revolution', in *History of European Ideas*, vol 17, (1993), p155; M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p364; M van Otegem, 'Tijd, snelheid, afstand', p52; J Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, p69.

²¹⁰ M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p364.

²¹¹ B Cowan, 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 47, 1 (2004), pp21-46; J Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, pp32-33; S Pincus, ' "Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', in *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 67, 4 (December, 1995), pp807-34; JC Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England* (New York, 1996).

²¹² T Wijsenbeek, 'Ernst en Luim. Koffiehuizen tijdens de Republiek', in *Koffie in Nederland: Vier Eeuwen Cultuurgeschiedenis*, eds. P Reinders and T Wijsenbeek, (Delft, 1994), p36.

²¹³ P Zumthor, *Daily Life*, p177.

²¹⁴ JC Sommerville, *The News Revolution*, pp75-84.

²¹⁵ S Pincus, 'Coffee Politicians Does Create', p814.

people of both sexes together.²¹⁶ Nor were coffeehouse discussions limited to domestic issues, for it has been shown that patrons debated the affairs of Europe and beyond.²¹⁷

Taverns were another place for sociability in the Republic and due to the popularity of alcohol, towns often had a very high density of these institutions.²¹⁸ In 1613 for example, there were 518 taverns in Amsterdam alone, one for every 200 inhabitants.²¹⁹ As facilitators of economic exchange and as venues for entertainment, taverns were able to draw in a wide clientele from almost all social classes, economic circumstances and educational levels.²²⁰ Even though the nature of taverns implied general access to all, establishments did range from the more upmarket to those lower down the scale with names like *Hell* and *The Smoke-Hole*, which attracted different types of customers.²²¹ Taverns were places where one went to get drunk, gamble, relax or engage in friendly chit chat, yet recent research has suggested that taverns played a vital role in the development of the public sphere, not only as a points of contact between locals and visitors, but also because of their function as an arena for debate.²²² As places where one could go to read the latest newspaper, catch up on the latest gossip or hear pamphlets being read aloud: 'the tavern, at the hub of the community was where one obtained information and formed opinions.'²²³ In fact, some Dutch taverns were established meeting places where groups congregated to discuss literary, religious or political matters. *De Zoete Rust* (The Sweet Rest) for example, was owned by the poet Jan Zoet whose group, the Parnassians, gathered regularly at his establishment to engage in political and philosophical debates. Members of the circle were varied, including the artists Jan Luyken and Govert Flinck, as well as other poets such as Karel Verloove and Jacob Steendam.²²⁴

²¹⁶ P Zumthor, *Daily Life*, p178.

²¹⁷ T Wijsenbeek, 'Ernst en Luim', p46.

²¹⁸ P Zumthor, *Daily Life*, pp170-176.

²¹⁹ AT van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, p101.

²²⁰ B Kümin, 'Useful to have, but difficult to govern. Inns and taverns in early modern Bern and Vaud', in *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 3, 2 (May, 1999), p157.

²²¹ RM Dekker, *Humour*, pp8-9.

²²² See the collections of essays in *The World of the Tavern. Public Houses in early modern Europe*, eds. B Kümin and BA Tlusty (Aldershot, 2002).

²²³ M Frank, 'Satan's Servants or Authorities Agents? Publicans in eighteenth century Germany', in *The World of the Tavern*, p30. See also A Everitt, 'The English Urban Inn 1560-1760', in *Perspectives in English Urban History*, ed. A Everitt, pp91-137.

²²⁴ MA Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature*, p16. Biographies of each of these individuals can be found on the DBNL website accessible via, www.dbnl.org

The proliferation of printing offices and bookshops in the Republic, which numbered over 270 in Amsterdam alone during the 1675-1699 period, meant that they soon became conduits for the dissemination of information and places for discussion.²²⁵ As elsewhere, Dutch printers and booksellers were mainly found in town centres near to churches or public buildings, but as stated earlier, they were not just restricted to the province of Holland. Even a small town like Nijmegen with a population of 10-15,000 had 20 active booksellers during the seventeenth century.²²⁶ Bookshops were not just important for providing access to the latest printed materials, but also because they were often meeting places for groups of all kinds. In Rotterdam for example, a literary circle arose around the bookshop of Frans van Hoogstraten where discussions relating to religion, classical mythology, philosophy and literature took place.²²⁷ Moreover, members of these types of circles would compose and publish their own works, which were then subject to critical discussion by the rest of the group.²²⁸ However, discussions were not just limited to literary matters as Hoftijzer has demonstrated:

the shop of Jan Rieuwertz in Amsterdam...was the rallying point of liberals and free-thinkers from all over the Republic...According to the local council of the Reformed Church people of all sorts gathered at Rieuwertz' shop where they had "strange conversations"...other such meeting places, were...the shops of English and French booksellers in various towns, where members of the substantial local communities of English and Huguenot exiles congregated to read and discuss the latest books, newspapers and pamphlets brought in from their native country.²²⁹

Moreover, the Dutch public also had access to a variety of voluntary associations that provided a forum for sociability and debate that transcended family and immediate neighbourhood. The Chambers of Rhetoric (*Rederijkers*) for example, were confraternities of lay men devoted to the composition of vernacular poetry and drama. Members of these Chambers were trained to analyse and compose texts, to stage and perform plays, as well as having the opportunity to develop their reading and writing skills.²³⁰ They performed works not only in the semi-private sphere of their chambers, but also in the public sphere, frequently in context of town

²²⁵ Figure cited in GC Gibbs, 'The role of the Dutch Republic', p323.

²²⁶ Figure cited in PG Hoftijzer, 'Between Mercury and Minerva', p121.

²²⁷ W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650*, p217.

²²⁸ D Regin, *Traders, Artists, and Burghers*, p217.

²²⁹ PG Hoftijzer, 'Between Mercury and Minerva', p127.

²³⁰ AL van Bruaene, 'Brotherhood and Sisterhood in the Chambers of Rhetoric in the Southern Low Countries', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 36, 1 (2005), pp11-36.

festivals.²³¹ Towns usually had a number of Chambers, each with their own names such as the *Eglentier* in Amsterdam, *The Pelican* in Haarlem and the *The White Lavender* in Brabant.²³² An important aspect of these Chambers was that although they often initially recruited from the middling groups of skilled artisans living in urban areas, they often brought together not only people of different social classes and political leanings, but also those of different religions. The Haarlemse Chamber *Love Above All*, for instance, welcomed Calvinists, Remonstrants, Mennonites, Catholics, and even Jews.²³³ However, there were few opportunities for women to become fully integrated members as groups were usually male-dominated. Although in their heyday during the sixteenth century, the years leading up to 1700 saw a re-establishment of many older Chambers and the organisation of new competitions.²³⁴

The forming of voluntary associations for the discussion of religious issues was a particular feature of Dutch social life, for the religiously pluralist nature of the state meant that regular everyday interaction between individuals not only of different religions, but also among people with different 'persuasions' of the same confession, was inevitable, as Frijhoff has highlighted:

The religion of the man next door varied from one place to the other. If some people mixed with Catholics, others associated with Mennonites, Lutherans, Jews or even Walloon or French Protestants...Apart from a few isolated country areas it was impossible to ignore for long the tangible presence of one or other group of dissenters: contact was inevitable with the milkman, the baker, or the cobbler...²³⁵

Such a situation of course necessitated a certain amount of mutual understanding, but it could also lead to controversy and therefore debates over religion were an ever present feature of Dutch life. The discussion of religion therefore often brought together diverse groups of people. John Locke for example, regularly attended a Rotterdam discussion group called 'The Lantern' which met at the Quaker Benjamin Furly's house, which included both Quaker and non-Quaker members.²³⁶ Locke was also involved in another such group at Amsterdam, whose members included the Remonstrant theologian Phillipus van Limborch, Pieter Guenellon a physician of

²³¹ E Strietman, 'Teach Yourself Art: The Literary Guilds in the Low Countries', in *Dutch Crossing*, vol. 29 (1986), pp75-94.

²³² D Regin, *Artists, Traders and Burghers*, pp50-51.

²³³ G Dorren, *Eenheid en verscheidenheid. De burgers van Haarlem in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2001), pp170-79.

²³⁴ E Strietman, 'Teach Yourself Art', p93.

²³⁵ W Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief* (Hilversum, 2002), p40.

²³⁶ WI Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Lancaster, 1941).

French Huguenot descent, Matthaëus Sladus the grandson of an English Separatist, and the exiled Genevan Jean le Clerc.²³⁷

Yet these kinds of discussion groups were not exclusively academic and intellectual. Jori Zijlmans' examination of friendship circles in Rotterdam has shown how theological groups actively sought out people of different religions in order to engage them in open debate. Through his investigation of the circle surrounding David Gisbertus in 1639, Zijlmans identified that the majority of participants were not actually intellectuals, but were tradesmen who had an interest in discussing the Dutch Reformed faith. 'The college met in private', he noted, 'but the members regularly sought out the public sphere to engage people of opposing views in open discussion. In a period when religious controversies were fought out in public debate, it was particularly important for them to possess the knowledge and skill to publicly confront those whose opinions differed.'²³⁸ Just as these groups were open to people of different social status, neither were they restricted by gender, for Zijlmans found evidence of at least three women's groups who regularly met to discuss both religious and political issues relating to society.

V. Conclusion

Based on Habermas' three criteria, it is evident that the Dutch Republic had a broadly accessible public sphere in the seventeenth century, but one whose development was not yet fully complete. Due to the Republic's high levels of literacy, urbanisation and relatively good wages, a large reading public able to partake in critical discussion existed. However, this public primarily consisted of the middling groups in Dutch society, with the participation of those in the poverty bracket limited by a lack of education or income. Although the ability of the Dutch public to scrutinize any issue of concern was not institutionally guaranteed, it has been shown that they were well informed in regard to both domestic and international affairs. This was chiefly a result of the advanced nature of the Republic's printing industry, as well as the ineffectiveness of censorship controls, which enabled printed materials to circulate relatively freely and widely. It was also a consequence of the Republic's political and religious set-up, which both

²³⁷ RL Colie, 'John Locke in the Republic of Letters', in *Britain and the Netherlands*, eds. JS Bromley and EH Kossmann (London, 1960), pp111-29.

²³⁸ J Zijlmans, *Vriendenkringen in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag, 1999), p300.

necessitated constant discussion and fostered disputes, which were then carried out into the public arena. The extent to which 'rational' debate ever took place is debatable, yet it has been shown that the discussion of religion and politics did arise in public places, as well as in formal institutions and informal settings. Finally, it is clear that pamphlets were an integral aspect of the Dutch public sphere, for they made information accessible, enabled people to form opinion and convey it to others, as well as expanding the scope for participation in political discourse.

ⁱ 'Here is a medallion for all to see; on one side it bears the Coat of Arms of the Prince of Orange, now King of England, with a Royal Crown on it, with these words surrounding it: "Brittan: Liber: Relig: Justit: Leg: Vind: MDCLXXXIX", that is to say, "England's Saviour, Defender of the Faith, Justice and Law"; the obverse bears the image of Britannia with these words, "hanc tuemur hac nitimur", which is to say, "This we support and this we defend"

ⁱⁱ 'Dit navolgende Geschrift, hoewel druk, is echter niet gedrukt voor 't gemeene volk...'

ⁱⁱⁱ 'wy van dagh tot dagh meer en meer bevinden, dat eenighe boosaardige menschen haar werck maecken, van soo by monde als by geschrifte, aan de goede Ingesetenen van den Staat impressien te willen geven, van dat sijne Hoogheyt van den Heere Prins van Orange voornemen soude wesen sigh de Souveryniteyt vanden Lande aan te matigen....SOO IST, dat wy daer tegens willen voorsien, verklaart hebben, ende verklaren mitsdesen, alle sodanige voorgeven gedaen, of uitgestrooit, soo wel by monde, also by geschrifte, het zy dat soude mogen wesen, te zijn valsch, verdigt, lasterlijk, calumenieus, op-roerigh, ende seditious.'

^{iv} 'Ik heb geenzints de moeyte waard geagt; om mijn naam hier voor te zetten, ook dunkt het my niet van noden. Mijn oogmerk is maar alleen om de naakte waarheyd, die van de meeste menschen zo noo gehoord word aan den dag te brengen. Dit mijn berispers genoeg. D'onzijdige Leezer oordele dan met een onzijdig oordeel, Vaar wel.'

^v 'Als zo'n pamphlet op de markt, bij de pomp, in een kroeg, na de kerkdienst, of aan de haven werd besproken, werd de impact ervan verveelvoudigd.'

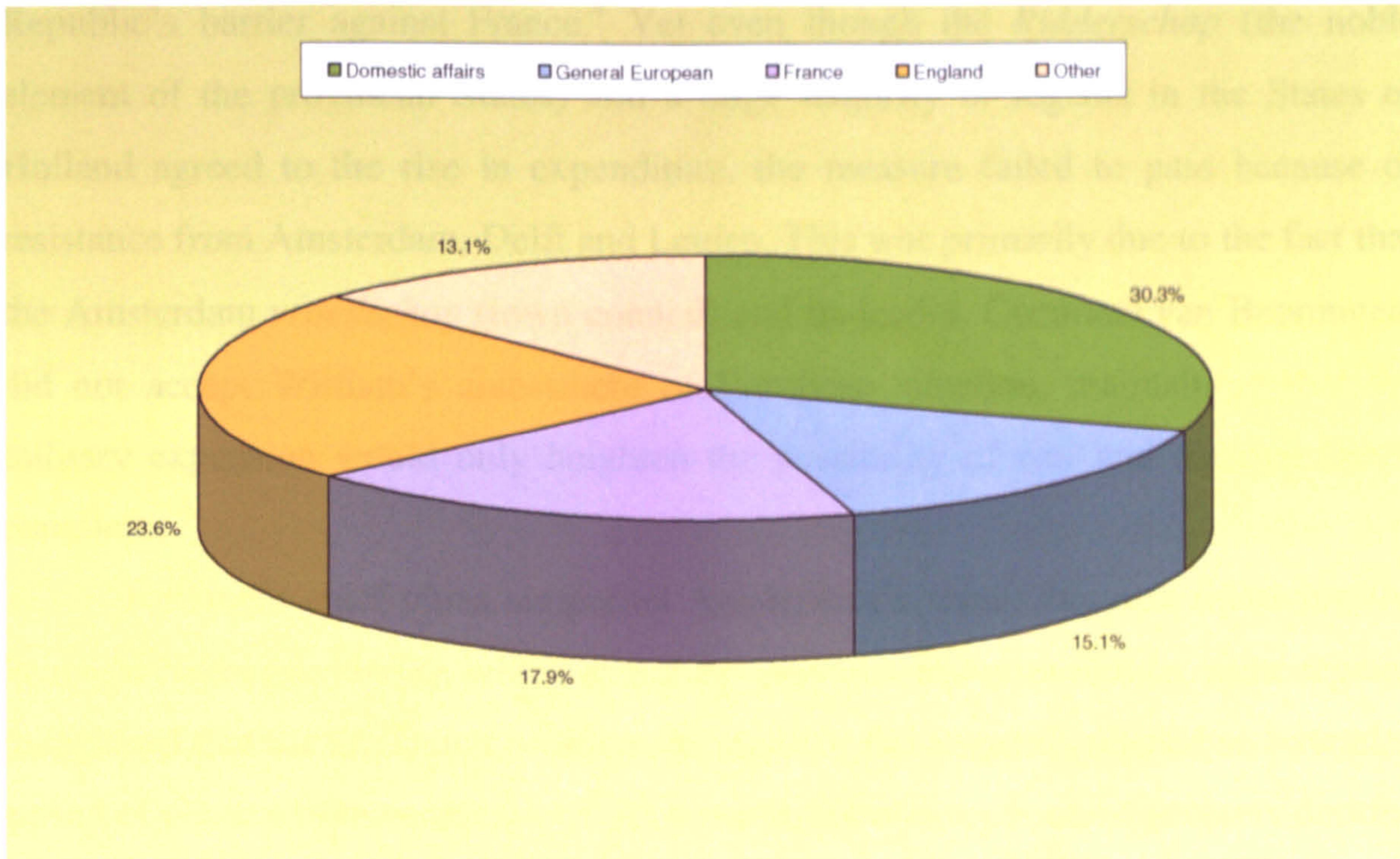
Chapter Two: Pamphlet coverage of English affairs, 1685-1687.

This chapter seeks to provide an insight into the main topics of discussion and debate in the Dutch public sphere in the lead up to the events of 1688-89. A general overview of the pamphlet literature published in the Republic between 1685 and 1687 is provided in the first instance, in order to assess the level of output on England compared with all other topics. The chapter then proceeds to examine the nature of the pamphlet literature published on each of the main areas afforded attention. However, focus will be placed on the information and commentary regarding English affairs.

I. General overview of the pamphlet literature

The Knuttel collection contains 251 pamphlets published in the 1685-1687 period. Division of this output into broad themes reveals that three main areas were addressed. These comprise both domestic and foreign topics, together with a significant body of work on other issues. On this basis it is evident that foreign affairs received the greatest attention over the period (56.6 per cent of total output). This is followed by domestic concerns that account for just over one-third of the collection. Matters outside of the domestic and foreign arena received the least attention, representing 13.1 per cent of the 251 pamphlets. Breaking the statistics down further illustrates the proportional attention afforded to different areas within the foreign category (see Chart 2.1, p58 below). Again, it is possible to distinguish three broad categories; namely, General European, France and England. The latter led in respect of total output with just over 23 per cent of pamphlets devoted to the subject. Nevertheless, it is evident that the foreign category was broadly-based given that General European matters and France accounted for 15.1 and 17.9 per cent of the pamphlets respectively. Furthermore, representing 40 per cent of the total output on foreign affairs alone, England did not dominate discussion in this category.

Chart 2.1: Pamphlet output, 1685-1687



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

II. Domestic affairs

In the 1685-1687 period, Dutch domestic affairs generated the publication of 76 pamphlets (30.3 per cent). These addressed a broad mixture of topics, ranging from news accounts of the disastrous St. Martin's flood in Groningen in 1686, to occasional poetry celebrating William III's birthday, to reproductions of official documents regarding fishermen's rights.¹ However, the occurrence of regent-*Stadholder* tensions during 1685 were afforded particular attention. Some 37 pamphlets were published on these inter-related disputes which had broken out in the previous year due to differences of opinion over naval and military expenditure.² On one side of the conflict was William III who, in his capacity as *Stadholder* and Captain-General, wanted to expand the Dutch army by 16,000 men to improve its readiness in case of attack from France.³ William had been urging such a measure since Louis XIV's seizure of Luxembourg in 1682 and his invasion of Flanders in

¹ Knuttel 12535, Ludolph Smids, *Groningen's Water-Nood, Voorgevallen Den 22 Nov* (1686); Knuttel 12632, J Vollenhove, *Aan den Heer Predikant Johannes Vollenhove, op den Verjaardag van zijne Hoogheyt* (1687); Knuttel 12416, States of Holland, *Keuren, ende Ordonnantien, Raeckende den Afslag van de Visch* (1685).

² 127 pamphlets were published on the militia debate in 1684.

³ P Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, Part II, 1648-1715 (London, 1964), pp161-69; W Troost, *Stadhouder-Koning Willem III* (Hilversum, 2001), pp170-71.

1683, which the *Stadholder* argued were strategic threats to the integrity of the Republic's barrier against France.⁴ Yet even though the *Ridderschap* (the noble element of the provincial States) and a large majority of regents in the States of Holland agreed to the rise in expenditure, the measure failed to pass because of resistance from Amsterdam, Delft and Leiden. This was primarily due to the fact that the Amsterdam *vroedschap* (town council) and its leader, Coenraad van Beuningen, did not accept William's assessment of European situation, maintaining that the military expansion would only heighten the possibility of war and damage Dutch commerce.⁵

Holland's chief cities supported Amsterdam's stance because following the Peace of Nijmegen (1678), which ended the previous war with France, most regents recognised that for the Dutch economy to recover, the Republic needed an extended period of peace and lower taxation.⁶ As a result, the country became severely divided along party-factional lines, with Orangist areas supporting William's proposal and regions dominated by the States party-faction opposing it. Eventually the Amsterdam *vroedschap* succeeded in blocking William's plans, following assurances from the French ambassador D'Avaux that Louis would maintain the boundaries agreed to at Nijmegen.⁷ However, regent-*Stadholder* tensions stemming from the militia issue persisted into 1685.

Particularly prominent was the tense situation in Dordrecht where friction had arisen between William and the regents due to the city's desertion to the States-party camp in 1684. Greatly irritated, William managed to secure an investigation by the *Hof van Holland* (High Court) into what he claimed were irregularities in the nominations of certain Dordrecht burgomasters whom he disliked.⁸ In reply, William's opponents in Dordrecht sent a circular letter to the other Holland town councils, accusing the *Stadholder* of subverting the city's ancient privileges and

⁴ S Baxter, *William III* (New York, 1966), pp187-90; G Symox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War' in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. R Hatton (Plymouth, 1976), p183.

⁵ MAM Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's Politieke en Diplomatieke Activiteiten in de Jaren 1667-1684* (Groningen, 1966), pp220-38.

⁶ J de Vries and AD van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, failure and perseverance in the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (CUP, 1997), p679.

⁷ S Baxter, *William III*, pp191-92; P Dreiskämper, *Aan de vooravond van de overtocht naar Engeland. Een onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen Willem III en Amsterdam in de Staten van Holland, 1685-88* (Utrecht, 1996), pp15-18.

⁸ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), pp831-37.

rights.⁹ William then retaliated with his own circular letter, in which he argued that the Dordrecht regents were simply seeking to rouse anti-Orangist feeling in the province.¹⁰ Reproductions of official documents formed the bulk of the literature on the Dordrecht dispute and it is clear that both sides were utilizing the press as a way to gain support for their standpoint. Accounts of the procedures of the *Hof van Holland* against the Dordrecht regents were published for example, as well the continuing protests of the city's *vroedschap*.¹¹ Complaints were also forthcoming from the deans of the Dordrecht guilds who felt that their privileges in choosing the burgomasters had been violated.¹² Moreover, it is clear that this disagreement had aroused attention outside of Dordrecht, for not only did the Amsterdam *vroedschap* publish its thoughts on the matter, but eight anonymous satires also appeared on the issue.¹³ Some pamphleteers for instance, mocked the deans of the guilds for causing such an uproar over what they argued were empty formalities, whereas others both criticised the heavy handedness of the *Hof* and warned the regents that William was bound to assert his authority.¹⁴ Further pamphlets were also forthcoming when regent-*Stadholder* clashes resurfaced in Leiden, again prompted by contested nominations.¹⁵ However, this dispute was not afforded the same level of attention as the Dordrecht affair and all the pamphlets were reproductions of official documents.¹⁶

⁹ Knuttel 12229, Dordrecht vroedschap, *Antwoort van de Borgermeesteren En Regeerders der Stadt Dordrecht...Met bijvoeging van de Documenten*; Knuttel 12231, Dordrecht vroedschap, *Missive van Burgermeesters van Dordrecht aan den Prins van Oranje* (1684).

¹⁰ Knuttel 12225, William III, *Missive van Sijn Hoogheyt...aan de Vroedschap der Stad Dordrecht*; Knuttel 12228, William III, *Missiven van den Prince van Orangiën...Mitsgaders eene Circulare Brief* (1684).

¹¹ Knuttel 12375-12380, 12384-12388, 12391-12393, 12405 (1685).

¹² Knuttel 12383, Anon, *Extract uyt een Brief van een Deeken tot Dordrecht*; Knuttel 12389-90, Anon, *Verklaringe...van 't Groot Schippers Gilde binnen Dordrecht* (1685). For the privileges in question see, JJ Woltjer, 'Dutch Privileges, Real and Imaginary', in *Britain and the Netherlands V*, eds. JS Bromley and EH Kossman (The Hague, 1973), p28.

¹³ Knuttel 12382, Amsterdam vroedschap, *Deductie van Redenen, Diende tot adstructie van de Resolutien* (1685). Satires: Knuttel 12394-95, 12396, 12397, 12398, 12399-123401, 12402, 12404, 12406 (1685).

¹⁴ Knuttel 12396, Anon, *Op het scherpzinnig Kaart-Spel*; Knuttel 12397, Anon, *Aan Dordrecht Wegens de Vryheyt*; Knuttel 12399, Anon, *Missive van Parnas*; Knuttel 12404, Anon, *Dordtsche Tuymel-Geest* (1685).

¹⁵ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp837-38.

¹⁶ Knuttel 12413, Leiden vroedschap, *Extract uyt de Resolutie van de Groote Vroedschap Der Stad Leyden*; Knuttel 12414, Leiden vroedschap, *Aen de Heeren Staten van Hollandt*; Knuttel 12415, William III, *Brief van den Prins van Oranje aan burgemeesters en vroedschap der stad Leiden* (1685).

III. General European affairs

A variety of topics were addressed in the 38 pamphlets (15.1 per cent) published on General European affairs in the 1685-1687 period. Particular attention was paid to the war in Hungary between the Holy League and the Ottomans, which was the subject of 15 pamphlets published between 1685 and 1687.¹⁷ The majority of the pamphlets published on the Hungarian War were simply news reports without commentary, which detailed the latest battles and troop movements, often with accompanying illustrations.¹⁸ However, two poems by Dutch authors were published to celebrate the Imperial victory over the Turks at Buda in 1686.¹⁹ Another subject of interest was the Danish siege of Hamburg in 1686, which was afforded attention in nine pamphlets printed in the 1686-1687 period.²⁰ As with the coverage of the Hungarian War, the bulk of pamphlets available on this topic were purely news reports, although official documents from the authorities in Denmark, Hamburg and Brandenburg were also reproduced.²¹

IV. France

Between 1685 and 1687, French affairs were afforded attention in 45 pamphlets (17.9 per cent) and all of these were concerned with one topic; the systematic persecution of Protestants following Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. Although the Huguenots (French Protestants) posed no real threat to the established order in France, where Catholics constituted well over 90 per cent of the population, this group had increasingly become the focus of the King's attempts to achieve both political and religious conformity.²² In the 1679-1685 period, Louis had already signed more than 100 edicts against heresy in an effort to secure the conversion of this Protestant minority, partly to gain favour with the Pope following their dispute over the Gallican Articles, but mainly because the Huguenots represented a dangerous example of free thought and liberty of personal

¹⁷ J Stoye, *Europe Unfolding, 1648-1688* (London, 1969), pp296-330; DJ Sturdy, *Fractured Europe, 1600-1721* (Oxford, 2002), pp254-77.

¹⁸ Knuttel 12266-12267 (1685); Knuttel 12504-12506, 12510, 12516, 12519 (1686); Knuttel 12604-12609 (1687).

¹⁹ Knuttel 12508, J Noreel, *Op de Toestant van het Keyserryk*; Knuttel 12521, Anon, *Gezang op Urselberg* (1686).

²⁰ J Stoye, *Europe Unfolding*, p336, p386

²¹ News pamphlets: Knuttel 12496, 12497, 12502 (1686); Knuttel 12600, 12601 (1687); Official documents: Knuttel 12494, 12499, 12503 (1686); Knuttel 12602 (1687).

²² D Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1954), pp281-322; DJ Sturdy, *Fractured Europe*, p287-310.

conscience.²³ The Edict of Fontainebleau which revoked that made at Nantes in 1598, not only removed the freedom of worship guaranteed to the Huguenots, but it also forbade them to leave the Kingdom, banished all Protestant ministers who refused to convert to Catholicism, and ordered that any children born into Huguenot families were to be forcibly baptised by Catholic priests.²⁴ In addition, Louis revived the *dragonnades*, whereby soldiers were billeted on all Huguenot families refusing conversion, with the backing of the Catholic majority, and soldiers were now given the order 'to diminish as much as possible the great number of Protestants.'²⁵

The forced conversions, often of whole towns *en masse*, were quickly condemned by Protestant and Catholic nations alike.²⁶ Reminding them of their own ordeal at the hands of Louis' troops during the French invasion of 1672, the suffering of the Huguenots particularly struck a cord with the Dutch public. According to the English ambassador Skelton: '...[the Dutch] beginne to exclaime very loudly here against the usage which the French Protestants have in France and a day of humiliation and fasting is to be appointed throughout these provinces by reason of that persecution.'²⁷ The influx of Huguenot refugees also had a huge impact on Dutch opinion, for around 50-70,000 of the 200,000 Huguenots displaced over the 1680-1720 period settled in the Republic.²⁸ Sympathetic to the plight of the Huguenots, most Dutch towns organised collections for their relief.²⁹ Even Dutch Catholics aimed to show their disapproval of Louis's methods, with the Catholic community of Haarlem contributing more than one-third of the 8,000 guilders raised

²³ J Orcibal, 'Louis XIV and the Edict of Nantes', in *Louis XIV and Absolutism*, ed. R Hatton (London, 1976), pp154-177.

²⁴ For a copy of the Edict of Fontainebleau see, *Readings in European History*, ed. JH Robinson, vol. 2 (Boston, 1906), pp287-91. For the motivation behind the 1598 Edict of Nantes see, D Buisseret, *Henry IV* (London, 1984).

²⁵ JA Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (Singapore, 1999), p176; R Mettam, 'Louis XIV and the Huguenots', in *History Today*, vol. 35, 5 (May, 1985), pp15-21.

²⁶ PJAN Rietbergen, 'William III of Orange (1650-1702) between European politics and European Protestantism: the case of the Huguenots', in *La Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies*, eds. JAH Bots and GHM Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam, 1986), p43.

²⁷ PRO SP 84/220, fo.12v, Skelton to Sunderland, 16 October 1685, quoted in J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p840.

²⁸ GC Gibbs, 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Émigrés in the United Provinces, 1680-1720', in *Bijdragen en Mededeelen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 90, 2 (1975), p256; HPH Nusteling, 'The Netherlands and the Huguenot Émigrés', in *La Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp17-35.

²⁹ GC Gibbs, 'The reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, 1680-1690', in *From Persecution to Toleration. The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, eds. OP Grell, J Israel and N Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), pp275-306.

by the town for the refugees.³⁰ Hostility towards Louis' measures was further heightened by the fact that Dutch merchants who had become naturalised French citizens, were also being denied permission to leave the country.³¹

It is evident that the Dutch public were extremely interested in this issue, for the 45 pamphlets published in relation to the persecution of the Huguenots were a mixture of official documents, news reports and personal accounts, predominantly translated from French-language originals. Copies of the Edict of Fontainebleau were reproduced for example, as well as other decrees detailing the King's anti-Protestant legislation which included the removal of civil rights, the imposition of onerous obligations, and guidelines for the education of Huguenot children.³² Addresses made to the King by the Catholic clergy were also published, such as that by Daniel de Cosnac who, acting as a spokesman for the clergy of France (*Assemblée Générale du Clergé*), praised Louis' achievements as the defender and restorer of the Catholic religion throughout the Kingdom, as well as his role in eliminating heresy.³³ In addition, the Dutch public were aware that some Huguenot ministers still hoped to reach an agreement with the King, for their suggestions as to how the two religions might be reconciled by way of concessions on points of doctrine, were also translated.³⁴ Furthermore, official reactions from outside of France were available, for the Great Elector's Edict of Potsdam permitting Huguenots to reside in his territory was published, as well as Dutch provincial resolutions detailing privileges granted to refugees.³⁵ Attention was also drawn to the fact that Louis had encouraged the persecution of Protestants in other areas, most

³⁰ GHM Posthumus Meijes and F Wieringa, *Vlucht naar Vrijheid: De Huguenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1985), p72.

³¹ S Baxter, *William III*, p210.

³² Knuttel 12289-93, Louis XIV, *Copie van het Edict Der herroeping van het Edict van Nantes*; Knuttel 12281-84, Louis XIV, *Articulen Tegen de Gereformeerde in Vrankryk*; Knuttel 12285, Louis XIV, *Belydenisse des Geloofs ende Formulier van de Abjuratie, welke de soo genoemde nieuwlijks Bekeerde in Vrankryck moeten onderteekenen* (1685); Knuttel 12447, Louis XIV, *Edict van den Koning, Aengaende 't Opvoeden der Kinderen...Declaratie aengaende de Dienstboden van de Gereformeerden* (1686).

³³ Knuttel 12280, D de Cosnac, *Een Gesprek Gedaan aan den Koning van Vrankryk...door Daniel de Cosnaet* (1685).

³⁴ Knuttel 12277, Anon [J Dubourdieu], *Project om de Religion in Vrankryk te vereenigen, Door een Predicanten Van de Gereformeerde Religie* (1685).

³⁵ Knuttel 12295, Frederick Wilhelm, *Edict Van zijn Cheurvorstelyke Doorluchtigheit Van Brandenburg* (1685); Knuttel 12445, Raad van State, *Extract uyt het Registers Van den Raed van Staet*; Knuttel 12449, States of Groningen, *Privilegien Voor de Franse en andere Gereformeerde Vluchtelingen* (1686).

notably of the Vaudois, and exerted pressure on their local ruler Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, to follow a similar anti-Protestant policy.³⁶

Moreover, the violent incidents taking place in France were not only described in prose, but were also portrayed as pictorial representations published in pamphlet form (see Figure 2.1, below).³⁷ It is clear that Huguenot pamphleteers were keen to recount their own experiences at the hands of the *dragonnades*, for the contents were a mixture of horror stories and criticisms of Louis's actions. Such reports not only described how secret Huguenot assemblies were murdered by Louis' soldiers, men and women included, but also how those refusing conversion were being put on galleys and sold in America as slaves.³⁸ One story that was particularly prominent was the treatment of the recently ordained Huguenot minister Fulcran Rey, who was tortured before being hung because he refused to convert to Catholicism.³⁹

Figure 2.1: Knuttel 12460, *Tyranny against the Reformed in France* (1686).



Source: Rotterdam, Het Schielandshuis, Atlas van Stolk no. 2711.

³⁶ Knuttel 12453, Switzerland state publication, *Harangue gedaen door een gedeputeerde van de Switserse cantons....Aen den Prins van Savoyen, in faveur van de Inwoonders vande Valeyen van Piedmont* (1686); Knuttel 12570, States General, *Harangue Aen de Staten General Gedaen by den Heere Holzhalb...Envoye van de Evangelische Cantons van de Ligue van Switserlandt* (1687).

³⁷ Knuttel 12460, Anon [R de Hooghe], *Tirannien tegen de Gereformeerden in Vrankryk* (1686).

³⁸ Knuttel 12455, Anon, *Waerachtig Verhael, Van't gepasseert...tot Nimes*; Knuttel 12457, Anon, *Waerachtig Verhael Van al 't gepasseerde... tot Metz*; Knuttel 12458, Anon, *Oprechte Verhael van de wreetheden, gepleeght door de Franse Dragonders...van Cevannes, Nimes en Mompellers* (1686); Knuttel 12568, Anon, *Brief...Behelsende, hoe dat die van de Gereformeerde Religie uyt Vrankrijk na de Eylanden van America werden toegevoert, en aldaar tot slaven verkogt* (1687).

³⁹ Knuttel 12563, Anon, *Brief van aan een Gereformeerd Vluchteling, aangaande de Persoon en Dood Van Fulcran Rey* (1687).

There is also evidence to show that the works of Huguenot refugees in the Republic itself were being translated for a Dutch domestic audience. Pierre Jurieu's first *Lettres Pastorales* of 1 September 1686 for example, in which he appealed to those Huguenots remaining in France not to yield under the pressure of the *dragonnades*, appeared in a Dutch edition.⁴⁰ Direct attacks on Louis XIV himself were also forthcoming, yet due to the extent of anonymous authorship it is often difficult to determine whether these were composed by Huguenot refugees or by Dutch authors sympathetic to their plight. In the *Conversation between a Frenchman and a Hollander* for instance, a discussion takes place between a recently arrived Huguenot refugee and a welcoming Hollander who not only criticise the brutality of the *dragonnades*, but also Louis' policy of encouraging the persecution of Protestants in neighbouring areas.⁴¹ Another dialogue-style pamphlet sees a zealous French dragoon attempt to convince a Protestant nobleman to convert to Catholicism and when he refuses, the dragoon burns his feet until the nobleman agrees to relinquish his faith.⁴² A different approach was taken by one pamphleteer who used cipher letters to calculate that LVDoViCVs (Louis) equalled 666 the number of the beast of the Revelation, thereby identifying him as the Antichrist.⁴³ Furthermore, a medal on a similar theme was also struck in the Republic (see Figure 2.2, p66 below). Depicted on one side of the medal was the trinity of the Pope, a Jesuit and a French dragoon gathered around the Host, from which appears the Beast, tearing Protestants to pieces. Whereas the reverse portrayed Protestants being hung, drawn through the streets, eaten alive and taken off on galleys.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Knuttel 12474, Anon [P Jurieu], *Pastorale Of Herdelijke Brieven* (1686). For a detailed examination of Jurieu's publications see, GH Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion with Special Reference to the Thought and Influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York, 1947).

⁴¹ Knuttel 12301, Anon, *Samenspraak tusschen een Fransman en een Hollander* (1685).

⁴² Knuttel 12472, Anon [P Jurieu?], *Den Dragonderschen Leeraar, Of samenspraak tusschen een Dragonder En een Protestantsch Edelman* (1686).

⁴³ Knuttel 12304, Anon, *Aanmerkingh, Op dese onderstaande Syffer Letteren* (1685); Knuttel 12469, Anon, *Waerachtig Prophetie* (1686).

⁴⁴ M Jones, 'The medal as an instrument of propaganda in late 17th and early 18th century Europe', in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 42 (1982), p121.

Figure 2.2: *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).*



Source: G van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des Pays-Bas*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1732-37), p312.

The actual impact of these pamphlets on Dutch opinion cannot be known for certain, but it seems more than likely that they would have contributed to the increasingly anti-French and anti-Catholic atmosphere in the Republic. Indeed, even as early as 1681 the French ambassador D’Avaux, had already reported the loss of support from previously pro-French regents, particularly in Friesland and Groningen, who had been disturbed by accounts of the suffering of the Huguenots.⁴⁵ Such feelings resurfaced in 1685 and D’Avaux informed the King that there were only four or five pro-French regents remaining in Amsterdam because of the uproar caused by his religious policies.⁴⁶ The presence of the Huguenot refugees also aroused anti-Catholic sentiments across the Republic and by 1686 the harassment of Catholics was allegedly widespread, especially in Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen and Zeeland.⁴⁷ Yet, Louis’ treatment of the Huguenots even aroused a strong response in Holland. In late 1685 for instance, both Leiden and Delft voted to support the establishment of a commission to look into the stricter application of anti-Catholic placards, but these measures were held in check by the temperance of Amsterdam.⁴⁸ However, anti-Catholic feeling resurfaced again in 1687 when a large group of Vaudois refugees from the Piedmont valley fled to Holland.⁴⁹ By

⁴⁵ KHD Haley, ‘The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689’, in *The Revolution of 1688: Changing Perspectives*, ed. L Schwoerer (CUP, 1992), p23.

⁴⁶ W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p186; GC Gibbs, ‘Some Intellectual and Political Influences’, p274.

⁴⁷ GC Gibbs, ‘The reception of the Huguenots’, p304.

⁴⁸ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p646.

⁴⁹ PJAN Rietbergen, ‘William III of Orange’, p44.

September of that year, there was a majority in the States of Holland for a general placard aimed at restricting Catholic freedoms and for expelling Jesuits, but once more its passing was prevented, this time by the *Stadholder's* intercession.⁵⁰

Given the increased anti-French feeling in the Republic, it is perhaps surprising that there is no evidence of pamphlets published on the re-introduction of damaging French economic tariffs in 1687. Since the 1640s France had become one of the Dutch's principal markets, particularly in herring, whale products, fine cloth and a wide range of East India commodities.⁵¹ However Louis XIV, resenting the commercial concessions made at Nijmegen, had slowly begun to re-introduce restrictions on Dutch trade. Indeed, as early as 1686, Amsterdam had protested to the States-General that French policies had led to a decline in both the volume and value of trade.⁵² This situation worsened when the French offensive was stepped up a gear in August 1687, which saw a ban on the import of Dutch herring into France unless cured with French salt introduced. Colbert's general tariff list of 1667 was then reinstated in full in September, drastically increasing duties on Dutch fine cloth and all Dutch manufactures entering France.⁵³ Leiden where the cloth was manufactured, and Amsterdam, where it was sold, were greatly affected, with the overall deficit in this area amounted to a loss of one quarter in the value of Dutch textile exports.⁵⁴

According to Geoffrey Symcox: 'this renewal of earlier tariff conflicts by Louis XIV immediately alarmed Dutch opinion', yet there is no evidence of this in the pamphlet literature of 1687.⁵⁵ One explanation for the lack of attention given to this issue could be that pamphleteers simply did not think they were worth writing about. This may be because the majority of those with economic links to France hoped and believed that the tariff increases were merely temporary measures and that Dutch commerce with France would soon recover.⁵⁶ Moreover, as in 1667 the regents' first step was to deliberate possible strategies of retaliation, such as forbidding the import of French wine, a decision they put off for as long as possible, in order to avoid further exacerbating the situation.⁵⁷ The fact that the debates were

⁵⁰ GC Gibbs, 'The reception of the Huguenots', p304; J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p649.

⁵¹ J Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford, 1989), p285.

⁵² JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (Birkenhead, 1972), p194.

⁵³ J de Vries and AD Van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, p411.

⁵⁴ KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', p24.

⁵⁵ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', p191.

⁵⁶ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p844.

⁵⁷ CW Cole, *Colbert and A Century of French Mercantilism* (Hamden, 1964), pp438-46; MAM Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's Politieke en Diplomatieke Activiteiten*, pp89-96.

time-consuming and no consensus was reached on this issue until 21 October 1688 when the States General finally issued a placard forbidding the import of French goods, could also possibly explain the lack of pamphlets on this topic.⁵⁸

V. England

In the 1685-1687 period, English affairs were afforded attention in 59 pamphlets (23.6 per cent) and two key topics were predominant; namely, the Argyle and Monmouth rebellions of 1685 and James II's religious policies of 1687. Both of these issues stemmed from the fact that when James ascended the throne in February 1685, he became the first Catholic monarch to do so since Mary Tudor in 1553. The news that James had abandoned the Protestant faith had been a point of controversy in England ever since it became public knowledge in 1673. Indeed, James' conversion had been the central political concern for a number of years and had even led to three Parliamentary bills which sought to bar him from the succession during the so-called 'Exclusion Crisis' of 1679-81.⁵⁹ These attempts at Exclusion should be seen in the context of the wave of anti-Catholic paranoia which swept over England following the discovery of the supposed 'Popish Plot' to murder Charles II and massacre thousands of Protestants, by Titus Oates in the autumn of 1678.⁶⁰ Although James, then Duke of York, was not directly named as an accomplice to the Plot, fears arose that once he became King he would attempt to force his Catholicism onto the English nation, using the intolerant and absolutist policies of Louis XIV, with whom he was believed to have a close relationship.⁶¹ Such views were therefore not based on anything that James had actually done, but on what it was believed he would attempt to do once elevated to the Kingship. As Furley has argued, the opposition to James ascending the throne was:

...dependent on the current belief that a Catholic King was not only intolerant and absolutist in his religion, but also in secular government; Louis XIV was the supreme example of the Catholic King who sneered at the thought of Parliaments, and attacked

⁵⁸ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 23 October 1688.

⁵⁹ C Edie, 'Succession and Monarchy: The Controversy of 1679-81', in *American History Review*, vol. 70, 2 (1965), pp350-70; OW Furley, 'The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign, 1679-81', in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 13 (1957), pp19-36; T Harris, *Restoration. Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2005), pp136-202; JR Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (Oxford, 1961).

⁶⁰ J Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972).

⁶¹ J Miller, *James II. A study in Kingship* (London, 1977), p67.

Protestantism on the continent; and it was never doubted that James would follow his example.⁶²

A Whig exclusion movement was soon formed under the leadership of the Earl of Shaftesbury and although various proposals were put forward for dealing with the possibility of a Catholic heir, most Whigs sought to remove James from the succession completely.⁶³ Using the rallying cry of 'No Popery, No Slavery', Exclusionist pamphleteers structured their arguments around traditional assumptions about the behaviour of Catholics in power, with memories of the reign of Bloody Mary and the 'black legend' of Spanish cruelty invoked to show the dangers of a Catholic monarch.⁶⁴ As one pamphleteer argued, James was bound to attempt to impose his religion on the nation because Catholic monarchs are '...by their laws and principles...always under an obligation utterly to exterminate Protestants.'⁶⁵ Moreover, it was claimed that James's accession would not only be disastrous for England, but for Protestants throughout Europe:

So that as matters stand, we should by admitting a Popish Prince to Succeed his Majesty, not only lose the Protestant religion from ourselves and our posterity, but through abandoning of that profession abroad, we should be a means of making all the World Vassals again to the Romish Yoke.⁶⁶

The Whig attempts to exclude James eventually failed, for Charles II dissolved the Parliament assembled at Oxford in March 1681 and never called another.⁶⁷ In the subsequent period some radical Whigs concocted various plots to overthrow Charles II, the most extreme of which was the Rye House Plot of 1683, by which the royal brothers were to be ambushed and assassinated. The conspiracy was exposed, however, resulting in the execution of Whigs such as Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell, even though they had actually not taken part in the plot.⁶⁸ As a result, other Whigs, including the Earl of Shaftesbury, Thomas Armstrong,

⁶² OW Furley, 'The Whig Exclusionists', pp22-23.

⁶³ C Edie, 'Succession and Monarchy', pp353-54; OW Furley, 'The Whig Exclusionists', pp19-22.

⁶⁴ KHD Haley, ' "No Popery" in the Reign of Charles II', in *Britain and the Netherlands V*, p102-19; JT Huston, 'Whig Use of Anti-Catholic Propaganda in the Popish Plot', in *Michigan Academician*, vol. 7 (1975), pp275-92; P Lake, 'Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-42*, eds. R Cust and A Hughes (London, 1989), pp72-106; KW Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in *Britain and the Netherlands V*, pp36-57.

⁶⁵ EEBO, New York, Union Theological Seminary Library, Wing/C4569, D Clarkson, *The Case of Protestants in England under a Popish Prince* (1681), p26.

⁶⁶ EEBO, San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, Wing / L1390, Anon, *A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to One in the Country* (1680), p8.

⁶⁷ JR Jones, *Country and Court. England 1658-1714* (Newcastle, 1978), p214.

⁶⁸ L Schwoerer, 'The Trial of Lord William Russell (1683): Judicial Murder?', in *Journal of Legal History*, vol. 9 (1988), pp142-63; J Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (CUP, 1991).

William Carstares, Robert Ferguson and John Wildman, as well as Archibald Campbell the Earl of Argyle and the preferred Whig candidate for the throne, Charles II's illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth, fled abroad to Holland.⁶⁹

Whilst in exile many of the rebels continued to plot against both Charles II and the Duke of York, plans which eventually culminated in the joint attack led by the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth in 1685, following James' elevation to the Kingship in February of that year.⁷⁰ Beginning in May and June respectively, a two front strategy was used by the rebels, with Argyle's uprising based in Scotland and Monmouth's in the West Country. Both rebellions were, however, badly timed and abortive. Argyle failed because he did not follow the agreed strategy and lacked a substantial following. He was captured at Inchinnan on 29 June and executed 11 days later. Monmouth too failed to win over the majority of the population, despite receiving considerable support in the West Country, and he was also executed following his defeat at Sedgemoor on 16 July.⁷¹ In addition, the King received the full backing of the Tories who co-operated with him in Parliament, renewing expiring laws, passing emergency legislation and voting him the necessary funds to combat the rebels.⁷²

The Argyle and Monmouth rebellions were the subject of 33 pamphlets published in 1685 and just under half of these were translations of English-language news reports. Pamphlets of this type were used to relay details of all the latest information regarding the progress of the rebellions. Battle accounts between the rebels and the royal army were printed for example, with particular attention paid to Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor.⁷³ Accounts describing the capture of both Monmouth and Argyle, their imprisonment and executions were also published.⁷⁴ In addition, the last speeches made by various rebels before their executions were reproduced, including those by Richard Rumbold, Henry Cornish, Richard Nelthorp,

⁶⁹ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), pp406-66; T Harris, *Restoration*, pp309-23.

⁷⁰ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, pp420-66.

⁷¹ R Clifton, *The last popular rebellion: the western rising of 1685* (London, 1984); CC Trench, *The Western Rising. An Account of the Rebellion of James Scott, Duke of Monmouth* (London, 1969).

⁷² JR Jones, *Country and Court*, pp227-29.

⁷³ Knuttel 12341-42, Anon, *Verhael Van de Battaille Tusschen de Koninklijke Armee ende die van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12344-45, Anon, *Naerder en General Verhael vande Battaille*; Knuttel 12347, Anon, *Pertinent Bericht*; Knuttel 12359, Anon, *Historie Van de Onderganck der Rebellie* (1685).

⁷⁴ Knuttel 12330, *Verhael van het gevangen nemen van Archibald Gewesen Grave van Argyle*; Knuttel 12348, Anon, *Missive Uyt Londen*; Knuttel 12349, Anon, *Tydinge Vyt London*; Knuttel 12350, Anon, *Pertinent verhaal, van de Executie Van den Hertog van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12351-52, Anon, *Omstandigh ende seecker Verhael* (1685).

as well as that by Alicia Lisle who was convicted of harbouring the rebels.⁷⁵ A last letter written by Monmouth to his cousin the Duke of Albemarle before his execution was also translated.⁷⁶

Official documents from the English ambassador Skelton and James II to the States General were also reproduced. When details of the uprisings reached the Dutch authorities they immediately condemned the rebellions, but unfortunately, the States General found itself in a tricky diplomatic situation, for the Admiralty at Amsterdam had failed to prevent the rebels' ships sailing despite Skelton's forewarning. Even more infuriating to James was the fact that the rebellions had been organised and financed by his hardened enemies, the Whig exiles living in the Republic.⁷⁷ This resulted in numerous protests by Skelton who demanded that an enquiry be launched and that any remaining rebels be handed over.⁷⁸ The official stance of the Dutch authorities was to support James and to offer him assurances that they would assist in the capture of any remaining fugitives.⁷⁹ However, despite this façade of open compliance, behind the scenes it was clear that the regents were prepared to turn a blind eye as they had done in regard to English political exiles in the 1660s.⁸⁰ According to the biographer of John Locke, who was in exile in Holland between 1683 and 1689: 'There is nothing to show that any of the proscribed persons were given up to the English government, or that anything more than a very slight show of searching for them was attempted.'⁸¹ This continued to be a point of contention between James and the States General, however, for extradition requests continued well into 1688.⁸²

Copies of James II's official correspondence and speeches were also circulated. Once the insurgencies had begun, the over-riding concern of the Tory-dominated Parliament was to ensure that Argyle and Monmouth were quickly

⁷⁵ Knuttel 12360, Anon, *De Laatste Woorden van Richard Rumbold, Alicia Lisle, Henry Cornish en Richard Nelthorp* (1685). See also D Adair, 'Rumbold's Dying Speech, 1685 and Jefferson's Last Words on Democracy, 1826', in *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 9, 4 (October, 1952), pp521-31.

⁷⁶ Knuttel 12356-57, Duke of Monmouth, *Geschrift door den Hartog van Monmouth* (1685).

⁷⁷ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, especially pp406-72.

⁷⁸ Knuttel 12323, Skelton, *Memorie, Gepresenteert...aan de Staten Generaal 17 Mei*; Knuttel 12325, Skelton, *Nader Memorie...4 Juny*; Knuttel 12327, Skelton, *Memorie...den 14 Juny*; Knuttel 12328-29, Skelton, *Memorien...Mei-Juni*; Knuttel 12340, Skelton, *Memorie...13 Juli* (1685).

⁷⁹ Knuttel 12329, Amsterdam vroedschap, *Memorie overgelevert..Een Missive van de Burgermeesteren van Amsterdam* (1685).

⁸⁰ J Walker, 'The English Exiles in Holland during the reigns of Charles II and James II', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1948), p111-125.

⁸¹ HR Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke*, vol. 2 (London, 1876), p21.

⁸² Knuttel 12739a, Albeville, *Memorie van den Marquis de Albeville*; Knuttel 12744, Albeville, *Aenmerkinge op de Articulen Raeckende de Fugitiven en Rebellen* (1688).

beaten, for it was feared that the rebellions would provoke another long-drawn-out Civil War.⁸³ This was certainly a possibility for Monmouth had accused James of murdering Charles II by poison, a charge which implied putting the new King on trial and if James were found guilty, he most certainly would have been executed. As a result, Parliament voted James the necessary funds to increase the size of the army. James' speech in which he thanked both Houses of Parliament was translated and published in pamphlet form.⁸⁴ In addition, the Dutch authorities gave James military help by returning the British regiments serving in the Republic. Even William offered to go over in person to help fight the rebels, but the suggestion was politely declined.⁸⁵ In reply, James sent a letter to the States General thanking them for sending the regiments which was also reproduced.⁸⁶

It is evident that there was interest in the Argyle and Monmouth rebellions amongst Dutch audiences and that publishers saw them as a 'hot topic', for besides the many news accounts and official documents that were distributed, a variety of works written by English and Dutch pamphleteers were also available. Anti-Stuart publications included translations of the rebels' various *Declarations*, as well as pamphlets written by Dutch authors.⁸⁷ Yet the discussion surrounding the rebellions was not one-sided, for pamphleteers from both countries were writing to support James and condemn the rebellions.⁸⁸ The works of Dutch authors are particularly important because they provide an insight into how domestic pamphleteers interpreted the unstable English situation at this time. In addition, they shed light on Dutch perceptions of James II early in his reign, which contrasts with his treatment in later pamphlets.

⁸³ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p59.

⁸⁴ Knuttel 12361, James II, *Syn Majesteyts Gratieuse Aenspraek* (1685).

⁸⁵ S Baxter, *William III*, p204; J Carswell, *The Descent on England. A Study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background* (New York, 1969), pp52-53.

⁸⁶ Knuttel 12346, James II, *Missive van Sijn Kon. Maj Van Groot Britannje* (1685).

⁸⁷ English translations: Knuttel 12320, Earl of Argyle [J Stewart], *Declaratie van Archibald, Graaf van Argyle*; Knuttel 12321, Anon, *De Declaratie en Apologie der Protestanten*; Knuttel 12331, Duke of Monmouth [R Ferguson], *Declaratie van Jacobus Hertog van Monmouth* (1685); Dutch originals: Knuttel 12339, Anon, *Antwoord op het vuile Pasquil Geintituleert: Iacobus Scot, voor desen Hertog van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12358, Anon, *Rou-Klagt over de Dood des Hartoogs van Monmouth* (1685).

⁸⁸ English translation: Knuttel 12336, Anon, *Zekere Aanmerkingen Over een Laster-Schrift, geintituleert De Declaratie van Jacobus, Hertog van Monmouth* (1685); Dutch originals: Knuttel 12335, Anon, *Antwoord op de Declaratie van Jacob, Hertog van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12338, Anon, *Jacob Scott voor desen Hertog van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12362, Anon, *Den Brittanischen Blixem*; Knuttel 12364, Anon, *Samen-spraak gehouden op den Berg van Parnas*; Knuttel 12365, Anon, *Polityke Maximen* (1685).

When seeking to justify and gain support for their rebellions in 1685, Monmouth and Argyle based their *Declarations* on similar arguments used during the Exclusion Crisis.⁸⁹ As a result, these highly critical pieces portrayed James as a usurper, who it was argued, was seeking to turn England's limited monarchy into absolute tyranny. In his *Declaration*, which was drawn up by Robert Ferguson, Monmouth claimed that he was only fighting to protect England's Protestant religion and liberties from James' Catholicism and his desire for arbitrary power.⁹⁰ Drawing on the established stock of anti-Catholic arguments familiar to Protestant readers, Monmouth aimed to show that James could not be trusted, accusing him of having a hand in the fire of London, supporting the alliance with France against Holland, helping to set the Popish Plot in motion, and even of poisoning Charles II in order to gain the throne.ⁱ In addition, Monmouth expressed the belief that international Protestant support for James' removal would also be forthcoming, 'Nor do we doubt, being justified, and assisted by all Protestant Kings, Princes and Republics, who take to heart the gospel of Jesus Christ, as well as their own interest...'ii The official *Declaration* of Argyle and his supporters also put forward a similar case, justifying the rebellions as a defence of the true religion against the Antichrist figure of James II.⁹¹

One would perhaps expect that these sorts of arguments would have aroused sympathy for the rebels in the Republic, perhaps reminiscent of the Dutch's own struggle against Philip II's religious and absolutist policies during the Revolt.⁹² Indeed this may have been one of the intentions behind the *Declarations*, which were written and published in Amsterdam. As well as seeking to gain support in England, Argyle and Monmouth were also possibly appealing to those sections of Dutch society that were sympathetic to anti-Stuart exiles for it has been shown that, 'the English radicals...depended upon a network of Dutch sympathizers and supporters –

⁸⁹ Knuttel 12331, Duke of Monmouth [R Ferguson], *Declaratie van Jacobus Hertog van Monmouth*; Knuttel 12320, Earl of Argyle [J Stewart], *Declaratie van Archibald, Graaf van Argyle*; Knuttel 12321, Anon, *De Declaratie en Apologie der Protestanten* (1685). For a detailed examination of the drafting of the *Declarations* see MS Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999), pp130-37.

⁹⁰ Knuttel 12331, Duke of Monmouth [R Ferguson], *Declaratie van Jacobus Hertog van Monmouth* (1685). The Dutch authorities did try to limit the availability of these pieces, with the Court of Holland prohibiting Monmouth's *Declaration* on 27 June 1685, WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus*, p363.

⁹¹ Knuttel 12320, Earl of Argyle [J Stewart], *Declaratie van Archibald, Graaf van Argyle*, pp3-4; Knuttel 12321, Anon, *De Declaratie en Apologie der Protestanten* (1685), pp1-8.

⁹² Standard accounts of the Revolt include P Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1958); G Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1979).

merchants, magistrates, burghers, and ministers who shared the radicals' dissenting religious beliefs or their republican political views.'⁹³ However, rather than showing overwhelming support for Monmouth and Argyle, the pamphlet literature reveals a somewhat mixed attitude to the rebellions and the possible implications of James' Catholicism.

Just two Dutch pamphleteers were sympathetic to the rebels' cause, but even then these authors mainly focused on defending Monmouth's character after his execution, rather than with endorsing the rebellions as such. The author of the *Lamentation* for example, argued that Monmouth was the lawful son of Charles II and therefore born to rule: 'So great of deed, springing from Charles' own heart blood... that leader, born to rule, a reflection of manly courage...'^{iii,94} In contrast, he depicted James as a wolf after his prey, alluding to the supposedly cunning nature of Catholics: 'And as a wolf goes at its prey, to assault friends and neighbours...'^{iv} In much the same language as Argyle's *Declaration*, this author portrayed James's Catholicism as a universal threat to the Protestant religion: 'But, has he yet more of a challenge / Like tyranny, like revenge, and murder / What shall death's blessings reap! / How shall hell go to pasture! / If Babel's throne shall stand too proudly / To destroy all that is pious.'^v Taking a less dramatic approach, the author of the *Answer*, did not seek to justify the rebellions or to criticise James II, but simply to deny slanders that had been spread about Monmouth following his death: 'There Reader, now you have seen how with all manner of unprovable proofs the Lord Duke of Monmouth, after his death, is called a murderer, whore-monger, usurper, hypocrite and bastard.'^{vi,95}

In contrast, the majority of pamphlets written by Dutch authors actually condemned the rebellions and gave overwhelming support to James' position. Rather than being sympathetic to the rebels' cause, these Dutch pamphleteers focused on the illegality of their actions. The most common argument was that Monmouth had no right to the English throne as his mother was never married to Charles II and that he was therefore wrong in attempting to remove the lawful monarch. As one author asserted: 'There is nothing more certain than that the lust for power, to place a crown

⁹³ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics* p411. See also, GF Nuttall, 'English Dissenters in the Netherlands 1640-1689', in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, vol. 59 (1978-79), pp37-55.

⁹⁴ Knuttel 12358, Anon, *Rou-Klagt over de Dood des Hartoogs van Monmouth* (1685), pp1-3.

⁹⁵ Knuttel 12339, Anon, *Antwoord op het vuile Pasquil Geintituleert: Iacobus Scot, voor desen Hertog van Monmouth* (1685), p4.

unjustly on his head, and to tear it from the head of the exalted by right and law, shall have arms taken up against him, for his so cursed decision.^{vii,96} This sentiment was echoed by another pamphleteer, who chided the rebels for using the Protestant religion as a pretext for unjust armed resistance:

With such a detestable, abominable and horrid resolve, to tear the crown from the head of James II (the lawful successor of his deceased brother, King Charles) upon whose head it was lawfully placed, to trespass the Laws, Privileges, Freedoms and Justices, and to betray passionately to the end... Campaign in the name of the Reformed Religion, and Rights of the Nation, and to preserve her from the Papacy, by whose acts and deeds the long-lasting peace has been abused, and has changed the same into an unexpected and destructive war.^{viii 97}

Another pamphleteer presented his thoughts on the matter as a conversation between the deceased Monmouth, Argyle, Lord Russell and Thomas Armstrong, stating in the preface to the work that he wanted to show:

...the pitiful condition, in which the Kingdoms of England and Scotland have found themselves, and the same for the unjust aggression of the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle and the other Followers that have been defeated, and by the same means their attempts to drive from his Crown their lawful Lord and King, and the head of that Crown to remove...^{ix 98}

These Dutch authors clearly saw no parallel between their own historical experience and the present situation in England. Armed resistance had been justified during the Revolt, according to the political theorist Grotius, because sovereignty had always rested with the States, who were merely defending themselves from an unlawful usurper.⁹⁹ In contrast, the Argyle and Monmouth rebellions were viewed by these Dutch pamphleteers as inherently illegal actions against a lawful sovereign and as such, the rebels were seen as the worst sorts of criminals: 'There is never greater ungodliness, there is never greater criminality...'^{x,100} A similar view had also been taken in regards to the trial and execution of Charles I in 1649, which had aroused horror amongst the Dutch public.¹⁰¹ Memories of the regicide were revived by one pamphleteer who went to great lengths to compare the 'tragic conduct' of Monmouth at his execution, with the courage shown by Charles I.¹⁰² This reference to 1649

⁹⁶ Knuttel 12338, Anon, *Jacob Scott voor desen Hartoog van Monmouth* (1685), p1.

⁹⁷ Knuttel 12362, Anon, *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1685), pp2-3.

⁹⁸ Knuttel 12364, Anon, *Samen-spraak gehouden op den Bergh van Parnas* (1685), p3.

⁹⁹ H Grotius, *The Antiquity of the Batavian Republic: with the notes by Petrus Scriverius*, ed. J Wanzink (Assen, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Knuttel 12362, Anon, *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1685), p4.

¹⁰¹ RL Haan, 'The Treatment of England and English Affairs in Dutch Pamphlet Literature, 1640-1660' (Harvard, unpublished PhD thesis, 1960), p98; M Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse Boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, 1997) p279.

¹⁰² Knuttel 12362, Anon, *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1685), p4.

could indicate that Dutch authors were worried, as were many in England, that the rebellions would cause the sort of political instability which had resulted in the establishment of the English Commonwealth, that political body so harmful to Dutch economic interests in the 1650s.¹⁰³

When seeking to explain why James received such support from Dutch authors, it must be remembered that Monmouth's rebellion took place in June, at a time when James was in a strong position, receiving complete support from the Tory-dominated Parliament as well as from William and the Dutch authorities. As the Earl of Rochester reported to William: '...I give your Highnesse this account that you may see how the Parliament continue zealous in their duty to the King, so that I thinke there is little feare to be had but that the late Duke of Monmouth will passe his time as he deserves.'¹⁰⁴ Moreover, despite the claims put forward in the *Declarations* that James was a tyrannical Catholic usurper, seeking to subvert England's laws and church, there was simply no evidence for this. Although James was in control of all organs of government, including a standing army of just under 20,000 men, he had not yet used any of them in such a way as to arouse hostility or suspicion, and that was the important point.

Furthermore, despite the arguments that had been put forward during the Exclusion Crisis, there had been no civil unrest or outpouring of anti-Catholic propaganda in England on James's accession. In fact, James, who was well aware of the damage inflicted upon his image by Exclusionist propaganda, immediately sought to reassure the nation of his good intentions. In order to restore public confidence and to gain support he was very precise in his assurances to both Parliament and the Church of England stating that:

...however he had ben misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary, for that the Laws of England had made the King as greate a Monarch as he could desire; That he would endeavour to maintaine the Government both in Church and state as by Law...he would never depart from the just rights & prerogative of the Crown, so he would never Invade any mans propriety...¹⁰⁵

This approach seems to have worked, for it is clear that many in England were willing to give James the benefit of the doubt. As John Evelyn stated: '...I do

¹⁰³ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp60-61.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester to William, 16 June 1685 (OS), in *Correspondentie van Willam III en van Hans Willem Bentinck* (hereafter *Correspondentie*), ed. N Japikse, Part II, (Den Haag, 1935), p700.

¹⁰⁵ J Evelyn, 4-6 February 1685 (OS), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. ES de Beer, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1955), p411.

exceedingly prefer his Majesties free & ingenuous profession, of what his owne Religion is, beyond all Concealements upon any politique accounts what so ever; so I thinke of [his] most sincere, & honest nature, one upon whose word, one may relie...'¹⁰⁶ A similar sentiment was echoed by the Earl of Peterborough: 'Everything is very happy here. Never was a King proclaimed with more applause than that raignes under the name of James the Second. He is courted by all men, and all orders pay him ready Duty and Obedience...I doubt not but to see a happy reign.'¹⁰⁷

The Dutch public were also aware that James's accession had been uncontested, for translations of the King's speech to Parliament and the Church of England were soon published, as well as detailed accounts of his coronation ceremony and sermon.¹⁰⁸ Mindful of the problems posed by James' Catholicism, the coronation sermon given by Francis Turner Bishop of Ely, concentrated on emphasising the themes of legitimacy and obedience.¹⁰⁹ In addition to likening James to Solomon, the legitimate successor to Charles II's David, Turner also reminded the English nation of Constantius Chlorus, the most moderate of the Emperors of the tetrarchy of Diocletian, in whose territories Christians suffered the least persecutions.¹¹⁰ By using these examples, Turner sought to reassure the English nation that despite James's Catholicism, he would be a fair and just ruler who would protect the Church of England. The sermon also aimed at portraying James in a good light to European Protestants, to whom closer Anglo-French relations based on mutual Catholicism were a worrying prospect.

Indeed, Monmouth's *Declaration* had certainly played on the belief that as a Catholic, James was certain to follow the lead of Louis XIV, by reminding readers that when Duke of York, he had supported the alliance with France against the Republic.¹¹¹ Memories of the *rampjaar* (year of disaster) of 1672 still aroused powerful emotions and fears of another Anglo-French attack amongst the Dutch

¹⁰⁶ J Evelyn, *Diary*, 2 October 1685 (OS), p479.

¹⁰⁷ The Earl of Peterborough to Sir Justinian Isham, February 1685, quoted in W Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1988), p42.

¹⁰⁸ Knuttel 12309, Anon, *Missive geschreven aen een Heer*, Knuttel 12315, Anon, *De Krooninge van Jacobus de II Koning van Engelandt*; Knuttel 12317, F Turner, *Een Predikatie Gedaan voor Hare Majesteyten*; Knuttel 12318, G Plaxton, *De Trouwhertige Redenering van George Plaxton...op de Proclamatie van Jacobus de II* (1685).

¹⁰⁹ For a comparative examination of James's coronation ceremony see C Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations', in *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 53 (1990), especially pp311-336.

¹¹⁰ Knuttel 12317, F Turner, *Een Predikatie Gedaan voor Hare Majesteyten* (1685).

¹¹¹ Knuttel 12331, Duke of Monmouth [R Ferguson], *Declaratie van Jacobus Hertog van Monmouth* (1685).

public and one would therefore expect to find anxieties concerning James' aims in Europe to surface in the pamphlet literature. Conversely, most Dutch pamphleteers were confident that James would work in their interests rather than allying with France. In drawing a parallel with Anglo-Dutch relations during the era of Elizabeth I, one author was convinced that with James as King, England and the Dutch could live as brothers, united by their nations' Protestant interests and maintain the balance of power in Europe:

Such that his Majesty through the channels of the States-General has complied extremely well, with the result that people are assured that the old English Friendship of the year 1575 shall be renewed and perpetuated by King James to this state,...So in this way he can live with others in great harmony and righteous understanding as brothers, balance your interests, and restore the Balance of Europe to your damaged unity as a nation, and campaign as one Government.^{xi 112}

It can also be seen that the view expressed by this pamphleteer corresponds with regent opinion concerning James' international policy in 1685. When James had ascended the throne in February, he had sent a private letter to William and a Memorial to the States General, in which he assured them of his noble intentions and his desire to continue the tradition of Anglo-Dutch co-operation.¹¹³ According to the Brandenburg envoy Paul Fuchs, the Dutch regents believed James to be sincere in his professions of friendship.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Hans Willem Bentinck, close confidant of the Prince of Orange, had been working to bring James into a closer alliance with the Dutch. For some time now he had been sending encouraging reports from England, which informed the regents that the French faction at Court had been rapidly losing influence with James due to Louis' refusal to grant subsidies to help fight the rebellions.¹¹⁵ The Dutch authorities' confidence in James was strengthened further when in August he renewed all existing treaties of alliance with the States General, despite French protests.¹¹⁶

The pamphlets published on the Monmouth and Argyle rebellions have therefore revealed that there was little anxiety in regard to James' intentions in the religious and international spheres. Indeed, the main focus of Dutch pamphleteers

¹¹² Knuttel 12362, Anon, *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1685), p6.

¹¹³ Knuttel 12311, James II, *Missive van zijn Koninklijke Majesteit... 10/20 Feb* (1685).

¹¹⁴ Fuchs to the Great Elector, 2 June 1685 (OS), quoted in L Pinkham, *William III and the Respectable Revolution* (Harvard, 1954), p96.

¹¹⁵ RH George, 'The Financial Relations of Louis XIV and James II', in *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 3, 3 (September, 1931), pp392-413; D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland 1649-1709' (Utrecht, unpublished PhD thesis, 2004), pp26-29.

¹¹⁶ W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p176.

writing on the Argyle and Monmouth rebellions was not the King's religion, but the illegal nature of the uprisings. However, the issue of James' Catholicism began to take on greater significance following Louis' revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as from that point onwards the inter-related issues of religious toleration and the persecuting nature of Catholicism came to the forefront of discussion in the Republic.¹¹⁷ Contributions to the intellectual debate surrounding these themes came not only from Dutch philosophers and theologians such as Phillipus van Limborch, but also from refugees and exiles from a variety of countries, including Jean le Clerc, Basnage de Beauval, Pierre Jurieu and John Locke.¹¹⁸ A great number of works on the subject were written at the time, as Le Clerc noted in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*: 'So many books on this controversy appear, and have appeared for such a long time already, that people scarcely speak of anything else.'¹¹⁹

As a contributor to this debate the Rotterdam regent Adriaen Paets placed his opinions on James' Catholicism in the context of a general discussion about the benefits of toleration.¹²⁰ The published letter of 12 September 1685 was addressed to his close friend Pierre Bayle and seems to have been intended for both a domestic and an international audience. Paets began by acknowledging the importance of the Protestant religion to the English nation, stating that he could understand why many were anxious about James ascending the throne: 'It is not unknown, what heart felt and cherishing care this nation since the time of Queen Elizabeth, that is from the beginning or rather the establishment of the Reformation, has for the preservation of the Religion.'^{xii} However, the fact that James had sworn to protect the Church of England and to govern lawfully gave Paets confidence that he would stick to his word: 'So far as I am concerned, the happy beginnings of his rule, the generosity of the King, and his proven faithfulness in carrying out his promises, gives me reason to hope that, as a Prince of the utmost steadfastness, the King will keep his word, given to the nation of his own free will, and will thus fulfil their expectations.'^{xiii}

¹¹⁷ RL Colie, 'John Locke in the Republic of Letters', in *Britain and the Netherlands I*, eds. J Bromley and E Kossmann (London, 1960), pp111-29; R Kiblansky and JW Gough, 'Preface', to John Locke, *Epistola de Tolerantia*, (Oxford, 1968), ppvii-xxxv.

¹¹⁸ GH Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion with special reference to the thought and influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York, 1947); SA Golden, *Jean le Clerc* (New York, 1972); WI Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swanmore, 1941); J Marshall, *John Locke-Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (CUP, 1994).

¹¹⁹ Quoted in R Klibansky and JW Gough, 'Preface', pxiv.

¹²⁰ Knuttel 12363, Anon [A Paets], *Brief van H.V.P. aan B***** (1685), p1.

As a believer in every individual's right to follow his own conscience, Paets stated that he respected James' conversion to Catholicism, although he did not necessarily agree with his choice. It is evident that Paets supported James as the lawful ruler of England but he urged caution, warning James that sometimes one can be too over-zealous in regard to religion:

For His Majesty, who is a very wise King, is not unaware how much false religious zeal can influence the minds of the people, who can otherwise restrain themselves, become enchanted by this holy heat or rather madness, so that they are like bewitched creatures always anxious and unruly.^{xiv121}

Paets also expressed his belief and hope that James would not follow the example of Louis XIV's policy of forced conversions and persecution. Furthermore, in what turned out to be quite a prophetic statement, Paets reminded James that differences in religion often occur between a Prince and his subjects but that he must remember the past examples of Princes who have attempted to dictate the religion of their subjects and, as a result, have been removed from the throne. The pamphlet then moved on to a more general discussion regarding the principles of toleration and the evils of persecution, which was possibly aimed at those Dutch regents who had begun to advocate a restriction of Catholic freedom in the Republic from the summer of 1685. Paets therefore put forward a pretty positive picture of James' intentions in the religious sphere, believing that James' Catholicism would not lead to any serious problems as long as he acted with moderation.

A similar attitude to James' religious policies can be found in the pamphlet literature of 1686, despite the fact that in this year James began using his strong political position to further the cause of Catholicism in England. English anxieties surrounding this question really surfaced in early 1686 when James instigated moves to abolish certain anti-Catholic statutes via the process of 'closeting', whereby he canvassed peers and MPs to agree to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Acts.¹²² The Penal Laws covered a number of Parliamentary acts passed between 1559 and 1610, which imposed fines relating to such offences as recusancy, refusal to take the oath of allegiance, and attending Catholic mass, whereas the Tests required all office holders to receive the Anglican sacrament and to make a declaration against transubstantiation. Although directed primarily against Roman Catholics, these

¹²¹ Knuttel 12363, Anon [A Paets], *Brief van H.V.P. aan B***** (1685), p1.

¹²² JR Jones, 'James II's Revolution: Royal Policies 1686-92', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, ed. J Israel (CUP, 1991), pp47-60.

statutes also extended to Protestant Dissenters, and in 1678, a further Act prevented these groups from entering the Houses of Parliament.¹²³ In spite of his failure to secure support for the repeal of these statutes, James remained undeterred. He not only began to issue dispensations from the Penal Laws to Catholics, but also employed them in civilian and military posts following the success of the *Godden versus Hales* case.¹²⁴ Furthermore, James issued directions to the Anglican clergy in March prohibiting seditious sermons in response to the co-ordinated anti-Catholic propaganda campaign led by Henry Compton, Bishop of London and established an Ecclesiastical Commission by royal prerogative on 15 July, according to Sunderland, 'to regulate the licence of the Protestant ministers and to curb the audacity of the bishops.'¹²⁵ However, the Anglican clergy were extremely worried by these developments and continued to preach sermons attacking Catholicism, as Evelyn noted: 'I went to St Martines in the Morning, where preached Dr Birch on 16 Joh:2 very boldly, Laying open the wicked stratagems, & bloody proceedings of the Papists in that devlish conspiracy: a more pertinent discourse could not be...'¹²⁶

In contrast, the Dutch public did not seem particularly concerned by James' actions, for the coverage of English affairs in 1686 amounted to only five pamphlets and all but one was a translation from an English-language original. Moreover, these were not particularly controversial works. One was simply a news account of Compton's trial by the Commission and contained no commentary.¹²⁷ Another was a translation of Thomas Sprat's history of the Rye House Plot, originally published with James's approval in the preceding year.¹²⁸ The other two translations were reprints of earlier pieces, one being James's Usher's *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies*, and the other Anne Hyde's justification of her conversion to Catholicism.¹²⁹ The only pamphlet written by a Dutch author in this year was a second edition of Adriaen Paets' 1685 work on toleration.¹³⁰

The very small number of pamphlets relating to England in 1686 seems to suggest that the Dutch public were not particularly interested, or worried, by these

¹²³ J Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (CUP, 1973), pp51-66.

¹²⁴ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp66-67.

¹²⁵ Quoted in J Miller, *Popery*, p210.

¹²⁶ J Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 November 1686 (OS), p529.

¹²⁷ Knuttel 12483, Anon, *Verhael van de Proceduren* (1686).

¹²⁸ Knuttel 12479, Anon [T Sprat], *Een Waerachtigh Verhael* (1686).

¹²⁹ Knuttel 12478, J Usher, *Vreemde en Aanmerkelijke Voorzeggingen* (1686) originally published in 1678 and Knuttel 12487, A Hyde, *Copie van een seecker Papier* (1686) originally published in 1670.

¹³⁰ Knuttel 12480a, Anon [A Paets], *Brief van HVP aan B***** (1686).

developments across the Channel. Yet this lack of discussion perhaps reveals something about Dutch thinking concerning English events at this time. Although it is only possible to speculate, the lack of attention given to England in 1686 could be seen as a sign of the Dutch's silent approval of James' policies. A fact that perhaps needs reinforcing when looking at James' policies from the point of view of the Dutch, is that although he issued dispensations from the Penal Laws to Catholics, he also gave them to Quakers, Dissenters and Anabaptists in order to increase his support base. It is therefore conceivable that the Dutch did not view James' policies as being solely to further the cause of Catholicism as the Anglican clergy believed, but rather saw them as moves towards greater toleration for all religious sects. This was certainly the view taken by some of those engaged in the intellectual debate on toleration such as Adriaen Paets, Pierre Bayle and William Penn.

Besides, as John Stoye has pointed out, for the first two years of his reign James was generally viewed as belonging to the 'moderate' camp of Catholic rulers, pursuing a similar policy to that of John Frederick of Hannover who maintained the Lutheran establishment from 1666-79.¹³¹ James' actions at this time also particularly contrasted with those of Louis XIV. As discussed earlier, horrific descriptions of the persecutions in France continued to be published in the Republic throughout 1686 and Dutch citizens continued to be affected. One incident that caused particular outrage in the Republic was the treatment of the Dutch consul at Nantes who was forced by torture to become Catholic.¹³² In comparison to Louis, it perhaps seemed that James had a more tolerant attitude, for he permitted Huguenots to immigrate and allowed collections for their relief, even if the distribution of accounts detailing the French persecutions were suppressed.¹³³ Moreover, when speaking to the Dutch and Spanish ambassadors, James rejected the violent methods such as the *dragonnades* being used against the Huguenots, although the veracity of such statements are difficult to ascertain.¹³⁴ Furthermore, it is perhaps significant that Adriaen Paet's pamphlet on the religious situation in England was reprinted in 1686, again pointing to the fact that many were confident that James would not follow the intolerant policies of Louis XIV.

¹³¹ J Stoye, 'Europe and the Revolution of 1688', in *The Revolutions of 1688*, ed. R Beddard (Oxford, 1991), pp191-213.

¹³² S Baxter, *William III*, p210.

¹³³ For further details see R Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Sussex, 2000).

¹³⁴ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p113; W Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, pp174-78.

Another factor which could also account for the lack of attention given to James' measures was that no pamphlets were published by the community of anti-Stuart exiles living in the Republic. Due to the lack of evidence one can only conjecture, but this could be because many of the exiles went into hiding following the failure of the Monmouth and Argyle rebellions. Indeed, the Republic was not a particularly safe haven for exiles in 1686 as Walker has demonstrated: 'After the collapse of the risings a tolerable degree of security was only to be found in Amsterdam. Rotterdam, where the fugitives could be taken, was shunned by them like the plague.'¹³⁵ John Locke's situation reflected the precarious position of the exiles, for in 1686 he stated that circumstances had forced him to change his will and secretly flee Rotterdam.¹³⁶

This decline in the exiles' position had arisen firstly because James's agents had increased their attempts to apprehend fugitives and secondly, because the Dutch authorities had also been forced to take steps to arrest those wanted. As Hugh Mackay wrote to William in early 1686: 'His Matie doubteth not but that the States last resolution, touching the banishment of his disaffected and rebellious subjects out of their provinces, hath been notably facilitated and advanced by Your Highnesses direction in the Government.'¹³⁷ Both William and the States were making a conscious effort to co-operate with James, fearing that if no action was taken he might ally with Louis to protect himself from possible exile threats.¹³⁸ In addition, Ashcraft has shown that after Monmouth's execution, many exiles actually wanted to return to England and gain a pardon from the King: 'There was talk in the coffeehouses that the next Parliament would pass an Act of Oblivion, making such a return possible...A few individuals, therefore, began to inquire discreetly about the possibility of receiving a pardon from the king.'¹³⁹ It would therefore seem logical to assume that there is a lack of anti-Stuart propaganda written by exiles in 1686 because firstly they did not want to draw attention to themselves for fear of arrest

¹³⁵ J Walker, 'The English Exiles', p121; J Walker, 'The Secret Service Under Charles II and James II', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 15 (1932), pp211-42.

¹³⁶ John Locke to Phillipus van Limborch, 2/12 Dec 1686 and John Locke to Edward Clarke, 4/14 December 1686, *The Correspondence of John Locke*, (hereafter, *The Correspondence*) ed. ES de Beer (Oxford, 1978), vol. 3, pp76-77.

¹³⁷ Hugh Mackay to William, 21/31 May 1686, *Correspondentie*, p731.

¹³⁸ S Baxter, *William III*, p215.

¹³⁹ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, pp472-73.

and secondly, because some did not wish to offend James in the hope of returning to England.

Although the pamphlet discourse of 1685 and 1686 contains little evidence of anxiety concerning the position of the Protestant religion in England, this positive outlook did not continue in 1687, for once James realised that opposition to his plans to repeal the anti-Catholic statutes was widespread, both inside and outside of Parliament, his policies became increasingly radical.¹⁴⁰ In an effort to increase his support base, particularly amongst the Dissenters, James now took a more pro-active approach. He allowed dissenting worship to be conducted in public and promised an early grant of toleration for all sects.¹⁴¹ More importantly, however, James eventually took the first step towards permanently securing Catholic freedoms by use of the royal prerogative. In the spring of 1687 he issued a Declaration of Toleration in Scotland on 22 February and a Declaration of Indulgence in England on 14 April, which effectively disabled the Penal Laws and Test Acts.¹⁴²

In this year, the twin issues of repeal and James' Declarations of Liberty of Conscience were addressed in 14 pamphlets and the majority of these works were highly critical of James' measures. However, as with the coverage of the Monmouth and Argyle rebellions, both sides of the debate were represented. James' standpoint was presented in his Declarations and although authorized versions of these did not occur in pamphlet form, copies were printed in Dutch newspapers such as the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*.¹⁴³ A copy of William Penn's pro-repeal pamphlet, *Good Advice to the Church of England*, was also translated into Dutch.¹⁴⁴ In addition, translations of anti-repeal pamphlets originally composed in England appeared, as well as works written by anti-Stuart exiles living in the Republic, namely Gilbert Burnet and Robert Ferguson.¹⁴⁵ Concerns over James' religious policies also surfaced in unidentifiable pieces of anti-Stuart propaganda, which explicitly portrayed James' measures not only as evidence of his desire to re-

¹⁴⁰ JR Jones, *Country and Court*, p232.

¹⁴¹ J Miller, *Popery*, pp218-219.

¹⁴² JR Jones, 'James II's Revolution', p56.

¹⁴³ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 18 April 1687.

¹⁴⁴ Knuttel 12585, Anon [W Penn], *Goede Raad aan de Kerke van Engeland* (1687).

¹⁴⁵ Knuttel 12579, Anon [G Burnet], *Eenige Reflecties Op zijn Majesteyts Proclamatie*; Knuttel 12583, Anon [G Burnet], *Redenen tegens her herroepen van de Twee Parlements Acten*; Knuttel 12587, Anon, *Een Brief, Begrijpende, in zig eenige opzigten, ten aanzien van zeker Discours, geintituleert, Goedenen Raad*; Knuttel 12592, Anon [G Burnet], *Vertoog van de Droevige Uytwerkingen vande Bitterheid, Dierder tusschen de Protestanten in Engeland*; Knuttel 12594, Anon [R Ferguson], *Ontdekking Van 't Gevaar*; Knuttel 12596, Anon, *Advys voor alle Protestanten* (1687).

Catholicise England, but also his intention to achieve this with the help of the Jesuits and France if necessary.¹⁴⁶

Early in spring, before James issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, an anonymous piece of anti-Stuart propaganda appeared in the Republic, purporting to contain evidence of James' plans for the re-Catholicisation of England.¹⁴⁷ The pamphlet of unknown origin had first appeared in England and a copy given to William's special envoy Dijkvelt was immediately dispatched to The Hague.¹⁴⁸ Although the pamphlet was clearly spurious, written in inflated language and claiming to faithfully reproduce statements made by James, it is clear that some contemporaries believed it to be genuine. As Burnet recalled:

...a great discovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jesuits of Liege, who, in a letter to their brethren in Frijburg, told them that the King of England was received into a communication of the merits of their order; that he expressed a great joy at his becoming a son of the society, and was resolved to bring about the conversion of England, or to die a martyr in endeavouring it...This letter was sent over to Dykvelt, which, when the King was making quite contrary professions, he remonstrated to him, and gave him a copy of it; but the King's making no mention of it afterwards was thought a tacit confession that the thing was no forgery.¹⁴⁹

At the very beginning of the work the supposed Jesuit explained how James and his Jesuit confessor Edmund Petre had been exchanging letters with Louis XIV's confessor, Father la Chaise, who had been giving them advice on how to further the Catholic religion in England.¹⁵⁰ James' plan to re-introduce Catholicism in England was then presented, apparently in his own words:

After the business was concluded, in a familiar discourse, the King declared to his Father, that he would either convert England, or die a Martyr; and that he would rather die tomorrow with their Conversion, than reign 50 years without that in happiness and prosperity. Finally, he called himself a Son of the Society, the welfare of which he said, he as much rejoiced at as his own....^{xv}

Evidence demonstrating the King's success so far was then given, with stress not only placed on the fact that Catholics were being put into positions of power in all parts of the country, but also that the number of Catholic chapels were increasing

¹⁴⁶ Knuttel 12576, Anon, *Missive van een Jesuit tot Luyk...2 Feb*; Knuttel 12558, Anon, *Den Historize en Staatkundige Mercurius* (1687).

¹⁴⁷ Knuttel 12576, Anon, *Missive van een Jesuit tot Luyk...2 Feb* (1687). The pamphlet originally appeared in Latin; see Knuttel 12575, Anon, *Epistola Jesuitae* (1687).

¹⁴⁸ J Muilenberg, 'The Embassy of Everaard van Weede, Lord of Dykvelt, to England in 1687', *University Studies of University of Nebraska XX* (1920), p119.

¹⁴⁹ G Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ed. T Stackhouse (London, 1979), p258.

¹⁵⁰ M Ott, 'François d'Aix de la Chaise', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (1910); JH Pollen, 'Sir Edward Petre, Baronet, SJ' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (1911), both accessible via <http://www.newadvent.org>.

daily, as well as the number of attendees. The pamphleteer also warned the reader that this was just the beginning of James' design and that there were more pro-Catholic measures to come, referring to the King's repeated efforts to abolish the Penal Laws and Tests. Furthermore, it was asserted that the King had resolved to call a Parliament to meet in February, during which James would attempt to secure the admittance of Catholic peers to the House of Lords and the annulment of the Oath or Test. However, according to the Jesuit, James' principal objective was, 'that all penal laws made against the catholics, may be removed', which it was asserted he was willing to achieve by threatening to dismiss those from office who would not comply, or by dissolving Parliament.^{xvi}

There was actually a certain amount of truth in what the pamphleteer stated, for in the previous year James had declared his intention to send one or two Catholic JPs to each county and by January 1687, sixty-four per cent of the new JPs installed were Catholic.¹⁵¹ Yet, regarding the 'increase' of Catholicism, there is no evidence to show that James' policies were leading to mass conversions. As Jones has highlighted: 'the number of converts during the years 1686-8 does not seem to have been very much larger than in normal times, and a high proportion of those who did become Catholics were opportunists.'¹⁵² Furthermore, there is no evidence to show that James was even aiming at the wholesale conversion of England to Catholicism. In Miller's opinion, the motivation behind these measures was that James 'hoped and believed that as soon as the artificial restraints on conversion imposed by the penal laws were removed, the essential and (to him) obvious rightness of Catholicism would become apparent to all and converts would come forward in large numbers.'¹⁵³ Moreover, the English nation was solidly attached to the Protestant religion and given the Catholic minority, any attempt to force Catholicism onto the nation would have met with disaster.¹⁵⁴ Even the French ambassador D'Avaux could see that a plan of this sort would inevitably fail, noting that some sections in England 'fear that there is a design to ruin the Protestant religion and tolerate Catholicism

¹⁵¹ Figure from J Miller, *Popery*, p209.

¹⁵² JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p92.

¹⁵³ J Miller, *Popery*, p200. This view has been contested in W Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, p125.

¹⁵⁴ Catholics represented two per cent of the population see, *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, ed. A Whiteman (1986), pp2-3.

alone. This is a project so difficult – not say impossible – to carry out that sensible men do not fear it.’¹⁵⁵

With hindsight, it is clear that James’ policies were not attracting huge numbers of converts ready to pave the way for the re-Catholicisation of England, as this pamphleteer argued. Yet, this may not have been so clear to the contemporary Dutch citizen when reading a pamphlet such as this, given the news reports of the forced mass-conversions in France. As Haley has pointed out, to many it seemed that James might have a good chance of restoring England to Catholicism because contemporaries had no idea of the true proportion of Catholics living in England, or how many were ‘Popishly affected’. In addition, it was not clear how many people were ‘so indifferent that they would follow wherever self-interest might seem to lead’.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, it may have been possible that some readers believed that James would be successful in re-introducing Catholicism with French help, and once England was lost, where would this leave the Protestant Republic?

A similar argument was put forward in the anonymous *Historical and Political Mercurius*, which also alluded to a possible Anglo-French alliance based on the two kings’ mutual Catholicism.¹⁵⁷ The pamphlet firstly established that James’ goal was ‘the downfall and destruction of the English Religion’^{xvii} and it was asserted that the King would attempt to do this by following the example of Louis XIV if necessary:

There are those that would use the armed forces and the army in the field, but they should know that he cannot have any great reliance on them, in the event that he would want to use them to bring his subjects to his Church and aspirations, as they did in France...I heard with my own ears that soldiers reasoned in this way...^{xviii}

James remains steadfast in his resolve to convert England in spite of the opposition to his policies according to the pamphleteer, and as a result, he has been forced not only to enter into a ‘close friendship with the Pope and the King of France’^{xix}, but also to ‘buy into their level of barbarism’ to achieve his aim.^{xx} Closer Anglo-French relations will have consequences for the whole of Europe the pamphleteer argued, because there is no one to challenge them, for Spain is weak and the Emperor occupied in Hungary. James was therefore also portrayed as a danger to the Republic itself, because it was believed he would ally with France when war broke out, which

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in JP Kenyon, *The Stuarts* (London, 1973), p149.

¹⁵⁶ KHD Haley, ‘“No Popery” in the Reign of Charles II’, p117.

¹⁵⁷ Knuttel 12558, Anon, *Den Historize en Staatkundige Mercurius* (1687).

was seen as likely by the pamphleteer due to Louis' unbridled ambition, 'to make his name known in all the four corners of the World.'¹⁵⁸

In reality James tried to keep his foreign policy independent from France, seeing himself more as an arbiter of European affairs. In 1685 for example, he undertook negotiations with Louis regarding William's Principality of Orange which had been annexed along with Strasbourg as part of his *r union* policy in 1681.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, James was outraged at suggestions that he was subservient to the French King. When a spurious document had appeared in 1686 claiming that James would rather his subjects become vassals of the King of France than remain Protestant, he was apparently furious.¹⁵⁹ Yet, James' desire to keep England independent in European matters was obscured by the fact that he openly favoured Catholics and was relentless in his efforts to elevate their position, using highhanded means against Parliament and the Anglican Church if necessary.

Moreover, suspicions of an Anglo-French alliance had previously surfaced in the summer of 1686 when the Dutch ambassador in London, Aernout van Citters, reported that James was fitting out a great fleet and that he and Louis would attack the Republic next Spring.¹⁶⁰ The Grand Pensionary, Gaspar Fagel, clearly believed that this was a real possibility, for he issued an official warning to the States and had it formally entered into the registers that there would be war in the spring of 1687.¹⁶¹ The Marquis of Albeville, however, who had replaced Skelton in January 1687, guaranteed the Dutch that James did not intend to use the fleet against the Republic, and assured the States: 'that the King was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them, and that the naval preparations he was making were only to enable him to preserve the peace in Europe.'¹⁶²

Albeville had not only been sent over to allay Dutch fears in regard to the fleet, but to also deny reports stating that James was intending to alter the line of succession. James was well aware that even if he succeeded in furthering the Catholic cause in his lifetime, the situation could easily be modified, or even reversed under Mary. Yet, if James managed to secure a Catholic heir they would no

¹⁵⁸ J Miller, *James II*, p160.

¹⁵⁹ L Pinkham, *The Respectable Revolution*, p102.

¹⁶⁰ Van Citters to William, 23 July/2 August 1686, *Correspondentie*, p737.

¹⁶¹ S Baxter, *William III*, p216.

¹⁶² G Burnet, *History*, p256.

doubt follow and strengthen his policies.¹⁶³ Rumours that James was intending to alter the succession had been reported to William in 1686 and were one of the reasons for Dijkvelt's transfer to England in January 1687.¹⁶⁴ Although there is no mention of Mary's removal from the line of succession in the pamphlet literature of 1686, these rumours were given coverage in 1687 and were presented as a real possibility.

Two contenders for removing Mary as heir to the English throne were put forward by the author of the *Historical and Political Mercurius*; James Fitzjames Duke of Berwick, the King's bastard son by Arabella Churchill, and Mary's younger sister Anne.¹⁶⁵ Although the pamphleteer did not state the exact role Fitzjames was to play in the future, he argued that James would make great use of him and was intending to elevate him to a position of power:

The affection in which he [James II] holds him [Fitzjames] is not so blind that he would put his insight before his esteem for him; he wishes to make something great of him, and give him some experience, in order that he [Fitzjames] may afterwards bear himself worthily in the offices with which he [James II] will glorify him [Fitzjames].^{xxii}

The station the King was earmarking for Fitzjames is not made clear in the pamphlet, but most likely refers to the rumour that James was planning to grant him sovereignty in Ireland. In 1686 Van Citters had reported to William that the Catholic Tyrconnell, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of the army in June, was working to turn Ireland into an independent Catholic state whose king might be Fitzjames: '... if the King came to die, he would have been powerful enough, moreover thinking as a papal knight to maybe find a written declaration from the King after his death, he shall be powerful enough to pronounce himself King in that Kingdom should someone of the Protestant religion come to succeed in England.'^{xxiii, 166} Anxieties over such a plan had increased when Tyrconnell replaced Clarendon as lord-lieutenant in early 1687.¹⁶⁷ Fitzjames would have been sure to receive support as King of Ireland, given the numerical predominance of Catholics there, and would have been in a strong position to attack England with French help if Mary were to succeed her father. Indeed, according to Miller, Tyrconnell was

¹⁶³ Until the announcement of the Queen's pregnancy in November, it was thought highly unlikely that Mary of Modena would furnish James with a healthy male heir, see C Oman, *Mary of Modena* (Bungay, 1962), p83.

¹⁶⁴ Dijkvelt was also sent to sound out leaders of the opposition to James see, J Muilenberg, 'The Embassy of Everaard van Weede', pp85-161.

¹⁶⁵ Knuttel 12558, Anon, *Den Historize en Staatkundige Mercurius* (1687).

¹⁶⁶ Van Citters to William, 8/18 October 1686, *Correspondentie*, p742.

¹⁶⁷ J Evelyn, *Diary*, 17 January 1687 (OS), pp535-36.

advocating this policy until the announcement of the Queen's pregnancy in November 1687, but how far James seriously considered such a plan has been a subject of debate.¹⁶⁸

Fitzjames was presented as a threat to Mary's inheritance, due to the risk he might launch an offensive from Ireland. In contrast, Anne was portrayed as a potential danger by the pamphleteer, due to the belief that James was intending to secure her conversion to Catholicism and alter the line of succession in her favour. Although the pamphleteer was doubtful that Parliament or Anne's husband George of Denmark would agree to such a proposal, it was still presented as a possibility:

If you want to object that in doing this he would do injustices to the true heirs, and that the natural order [of succession] is not to be so easily altered as one thinks, I have nothing else to say about that, for him (if he should come to succeed in his aim of introducing a new religion into England) the alternative will also be something hard to do. In order to do this, he must have the consent of Parliament and if he has enough power to have them grant the former, he will easily obtain the acceptance of a younger Princess instead of an older one as his Successor.^{xxiv}

James, acting on the advice of Pope Innocent XI, had actually been trying to secure the conversion of his daughters for some time without success.¹⁶⁹ Mary remained steadfast in her adherence to the Protestant religion and consistently refused to give her consent to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests, despite negotiations undertaken by William Penn on her father's behalf.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, James focused his attention on Anne, for it was thought that even if Mary succeeded her father she would die childless. James therefore saw it as imperative that Anne, as next in line after her sister, be made to see the light of the 'true' religion.¹⁷¹ However, despite constant badgering Anne also refused to entertain any talk of her conversion to Catholicism and it is clear she wanted to guarantee Mary of this: '...all I desire is, that you would not believe any reports of me, whatever you may hear: but assure yourself, I will ever be firm to my principles, and neither threatenings nor promises shall ever make me change my religion, which I hope you are already well assured of.'¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ J Miller, 'The Earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish Policy, 1685-1688', in *Historical Journal*, vol. 20 (1977), pp803-823. However, Patrick Kelly is doubtful that James seriously considered such a plan, P Kelly, 'Ireland and the Glorious Revolution: From Kingdom to Colony', in *The Revolutions of 1688*, pp163-190.

¹⁶⁹ This was apparently public knowledge at the time, D Green, *Queen Anne*, (London, 1970), p44.

¹⁷⁰ V Buranelli, *The King and the Quaker* (Philadelphia, 1962), p132.

¹⁷¹ J Miller, *James II*, p177.

¹⁷² Anne to Mary, 9 May 1687 (OS), in *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, ed. BC Brown (London, 1935), p30.

Although James had failed in his attempts to convert his daughters, he continued to press them to support his plans for repeal. For William and Mary this issue became a particular problem following James' Declarations of Liberty of Conscience in the spring of 1687. The Anglican clergy reacted conservatively to James's announcement and although suspicious of his future intentions, they reserved their political position, with the majority doing nothing to actively oppose the Declarations.¹⁷³ Some Anglicans even backed the new measures. In May 1687, for example, John Locke's close friend James Tyrell wrote to ask him to publish in support of the Declaration:

Your discourse about Liberty of Conscience would not doe amisse now to dispose peoples minds to passe it into a Law whenever the Parliament sits...I find few but the high Chur: E: men highly displeas'd...I believe whatever the chur: of England may loose the R.C.R. [Roman Catholic Religion] will not gaine so much as they imagine...¹⁷⁴

The Dissenters were generally supportive of James's policy, viewing the Declarations as a welcome relief from the penalties they had been incurring under the Penal Laws. However, as with the Anglican clergy, it is clear that some Dissenters were wary of what would happen in the future, as Ralph Thoresby noted: 'though we dreaded a snake in the grass, we accepted it with due thankfulness.'¹⁷⁵

William was extremely worried by these new religious measures and his correspondence at this time reflects his preoccupation with this issue.¹⁷⁶ The main subject of his letters to Fagel was the very specific way Dijkvelt was to tackle the subject of religion with James. William wanted Dijkvelt to make it clear to James that he supported him in all areas of government, aside from religion: '...that, in case he [Dijkvelt] had not yet spoken to the King, he would take the first opportunity to make known to His Majesty my sentiments regarding the abolition of the penal laws...'^{xxv, 177} Although William wanted James to realise that he and Mary would never agree to his plans for repeal, his correspondence shows that he was treading very carefully for he could not afford to alienate the King.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, although

¹⁷³ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics* p481; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp104-119.

¹⁷⁴ James Tyrell to John Locke, 6 May 1687 (OS), *The Correspondence*, p191. See also M Goldie, 'John Locke's Circle and James II', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 35, 3 (1992), p557-86; J Gough, 'James Tyrell, Whig Historian and Friend of John Locke', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 19, 3 (1976), pp581-610.

¹⁷⁵ Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, ed. J Hunter, vol. 1 (London, 1830), p186.

¹⁷⁶ William to Fagel, 15 March, 27 March, 30 March, 13 April, 27 April 1687, *Correspondentie*, pp746-750.

¹⁷⁷ William to Fagel, 13 April 1687, *Correspondentie*, p749.

¹⁷⁸ William to Fagel, 27 April 1687, *Correspondentie*, p750.

William was aware that James's policies had been well received by some sections, at least one of his correspondents believed that trouble was brewing: 'As for what Mr Stuart writes concerning the cheerfulness with which the libertie is embraced in Scotland, it is true...but the fear, Sir, I have of a storm after the calm...' ¹⁷⁹

Anxieties surrounding James' Declarations also surfaced in the pamphlet literature, with the discourse dominated by the works of British exiles in the Republic. As these works were primarily intended for distribution in England, authors such as Burnet and Ferguson, mainly focused on persuading the Dissenters not to go along with James' plans for repeal. Therefore they did not attack toleration for the Dissenters in principle, but alleged that James' Declarations were insincere and just part of his design to re-introduce Catholicism. In the first instance, readers were reminded that the Penal Laws and Tests had been made in Parliament for the defence of the Protestant religion against the dangers of Catholicism. As Burnet's *Reasons against the Repealing the Acts of Parliament* stated:

If the just Fears of the danger of Popery gave birth to the two Laws for the two Tests, or Oaths of Supremacy, the one in regard to all public Offices in the Year 1673 and the other in regard to the constitution of our Parliament in the Year 1678, so is it that the present time and conjuncture does not seem appropriate for repealing them, unless people can imagine that the danger of Popery is presently much less than it was before, that we no more need to guard against it. ^{xxvi} ¹⁸⁰

Secondly, it was asserted that because the King had sworn to uphold these statutes when he ascended the throne and had now gone back on his word, his Declaration was consequently a sign that he aimed to govern arbitrarily, in order to use his new power to re-introduce Catholicism against the will of the nation. Indeed, according to Burnet's *Some Reflections on His Majesty's Proclamation*:

...here is a New sign of his Majesty's Authority set forth of his ABSOLUTE POWER, which is so many times repeated that it deserves to be a little enquired into. Royal Prerogatives and Sovereign Authority, are Terms, already received and known; but concerning this ABSOLUTE POWER, as it is a new term, so those who have coined it will signify what they will...then the true meaning of this seems to be that there is an Inherent Power in the King, that can neither be restrained by Laws, Promises nor Oaths; for nothing less than the being free from all of these, renders a Power Absolute. ^{xxvii} ¹⁸¹

Lastly, Burnet warned the Dissenters that James' religious policies were merely designed to cause divisions amongst Protestants in England, which would then

¹⁷⁹ William Carstares to Hans Willem Bentinck, 2 August 1687 (OS), *Correspondentie*, p759.

¹⁸⁰ Knuttel 12583, Anon [G Burnet], *Redenen Tegens het Herroepen van de Twee Parlements Acten* (1687), p1.

¹⁸¹ Knuttel 12579, Anon [G Burnet], *Eenige Reflecties Op sijn Majesteys Proclamatie* (1687), p1.

enable Catholicism to surreptitiously increase. His *Ill effects of animosities amongst Protestants in England detected* for example, began by quoting Matthew 12:25 to draw attention to his message: 'Every Kingdom divided against itself, is brought to desolation; and every city or House divided against itself shall not stand'^{xxviii, 182} The pamphlet then proceed to explain that whilst James was exiled in France he had been instructed by the Jesuits and other Catholic Princes who had taught him that the best way to re-establish Catholicism in England was by causing divisions among Protestants and by 'embittering their minds against one another.'^{xxix}

Robert Ferguson's *A Representation of the Threatening Dangers impending over Protestants in Great Britain* took an even stronger line in seeking to warn the Dissenters against trusting James' promise of toleration, by placing the King's religious policies within a traditional anti-Catholic framework.¹⁸³ Although Ferguson maintained that every individual had a right to toleration, he argued that the Dissenters should not support James' Declaration, because he was merely using them to re-open England to Catholicism. Readers were therefore reminded that James' offer of toleration could not be sincere because Catholic monarchs are always under an obligation to root out of heresy:

How are all nations in Europe not moistened with the blood of the holy by the barbaric rage of the Papal Regents, acting and prompted by the Roman Bishops and Clergy, to enhance her in her worldly glory, and in her tyranny over the consciences of the people, and to [promote] ignorance, errors, superstition, and idolatry...^{xxx}

Furthermore, depicting the King as the typical intolerant and absolutist Catholic ruler, Ferguson not only drew parallels with the era of Mary Tudor and the recent persecutions in France, but he also compared James to Phillip II whom, it was argued, also hoped he 'could bring his own people under the Yolk, annihilate the Protestant religion from his Dominions, and elevate himself to an absolute-controlling Power.'^{xxxi}

VI. Conclusion

The pamphlet literature published in the Republic between 1685 and 1687 was diverse, encompassing both domestic and international developments, with no one single topic predominating. In the domestic sphere, the chief concerns of

¹⁸² Knuttel 12592, Anon [G Burnet], *Vertoog van de Droevige Uytwerkingen vande Bitterheid. Dierder tusschen de Protestanten in Engeland* (1687), p3.

¹⁸³ Knuttel 12594, Anon [R Ferguson], *Ontdekkinge van 't Gevaar...*(1687).

pamphleteers were regent-*Stadholder* tensions. Two main subjects of interest dominated those pamphlets published on international events; the political and religious developments in England, and the persecution of Protestants in France. However, events in Hungary and Germany were also afforded attention.

Examination of the provenance of this literature has shown that the information available on these topics was varied, consisting of official documents, news reports, poetry, polemic texts and pictorial prints. Furthermore, it is particularly evident that the discussion of international affairs was greatly influenced by translated works. The discourse surrounding the persecution of Protestants in France for example, was dominated by translations of official French documents and the works of Huguenot authors. Similarly, the pamphlets published on developments in England, were mostly translations from English-language originals. Not only were Dutch editions of English news reports and polemical pamphlets available, but the works of anti-Stuart exiles living in the Republic were also translated.

In terms of the treatment of English affairs over the period, it is clear that in 1685 Dutch audiences were presented with a somewhat mixed picture of James II. Translations of anti-Stuart works emanating from the Argyle and Monmouth camps meant that highly critical pamphlets were available to Dutch readers. Yet, despite his portrayal as a tyrannical Catholic usurper, most Dutch authors saw James as the lawful successor and therefore gave him their support. Neither was James' religion an issue, for only one Dutch pamphleteer addressed the possible implications of the King's Catholicism and he was confident that James would be a moderate, fair ruler. However, a change in the portrayal of James' intentions, both domestically and internationally, can be noted in the literature of 1687. This was based on the assumption that the King now aimed at the wholesale conversion of England to Catholicism, using military means and French help if necessary. Nevertheless, this discourse was dominated by the works of British pamphleteers and unknown anti-Stuart propagandists, with no evidence of Dutch authors putting forward their own opinions.

- ⁱ 'Die maar overweegt de Practijken by hem gesmeedt, om London te verbranden, zijn aanperringen tot een verbond-making met Vrankrijk en oorlog tegen Holland, zijn aanstoking en voorsetting van het Paapse Complot, zijn aanmoedigen tot het vermoorden van Sr Edmund Bury Godfrey, om daar door het Complot te smooeren, zijn smeden van verrat tegens Protestantism, en valsche getuigen op te maken, om de Patriotten van onse Religie en Vryheden uyt haar leven te sweeren...'. p2.
- ⁱⁱ 'Wy twiffelen ook niet, of wy sullen geregtveerdigt, en geassisteert worden van alle de Protestantse Koningen, Princen en Republiquen, die so wel het Evangelium Jesu Christi als haar eigen Interest te harte nemen', p8.
- ⁱⁱⁱ 'Zo groot van deugd, als kloek van moed, Vorst Karel's eigen harte bloed...Dat hoeft, geboren tot regeeren, Een spiegel van manhaste deugd...', p1.
- ^{iv} 'En als een Wolf ten prooye gaat; Om Vrind, en Buuren aan te randen...', p2.
- ^v 'Maar, hebt gy anders iets te wragten / Als tieranny, als wraak, en moord? / Wat zal de Dod een zeegen oesten! / Hoe zal de Hel te weyde gaan! / Als Babel's troon te pronk zal staan, / Om al wat vroom is te verwoesten...', p3.
- ^{vi} 'Daar Leezer, hebje nu gesien, met wat voor onbewyzelijke bewyzen den Heer Hertog van Monmouth na sijn dood, werd genoemd een Moordenaar, Hoereerder, Usurpateur, Huychelaar en Bastard', p4.
- ^{vii} 'Daar is niets sekerder, als dat, de Heersugt, om een Kroon buyten regt op sijn Hooft te stellen, en de hoog die den regte en Wettige van 't Hooft te rukken, hem de Wapenen in de handen heeft doen nemen, en tot zo vervloekten besluit doen komen', p1.
- ^{viii} 'Met soo een detestabel, abominabel en horribel voornemen, om Jacobus de Tweede (die wettelycken Successeur van sijn Overleden Heer Broeder Coninck Carel, is) de Conincklycke Kroon, die hem wettigh op 't hooft is geset, daer af te rukken, de Wetten, Privilegien, Vryheden, en Gerechtigheden te vertreden, en die na sijn eygen eynde en passion te verdrayen...Agerende op den naem van de Gereformeerde Religie, en Rechten van die Natie, en om haar te preserveeren tegens de Pausdom, om door dat middel en wegen, den langduyrigen *Vrede* te misbruycken, en den selven in een onverwachten en verwoestenden Oorlogh te veranderen', pp2-3.
- ^{ix} '...den droevigen toestant, waer in het Koninkrijk van Engeland en Schotland sig heeft gevonden, als het selve door het onrechtmatigh geweld van den Hertog van Monmouth, Grave van Argyle, en andere Medestanders is over gevallen geworden, om door het sleve middle haren wettighen Heer en Koninck van sijn Kroon te driven, en om dat men gekroonde Hoofden behoort te ontsien...', p3.
- ^x 'Daer is nooyt soo groote godtloosheyt, nooyt soo sware Crimina...', p4.
- ^{xi} 'Sulcx dat sijn Majesteyt over de conduiten van haer Ho. Mo. [States-General] Seer wel is voldaan, ende vervolgens siet men te gemoet dat de oude Engelsche Vrientschap van den Jare 1575 in desen Koninck Jacob tot desen Staet sal worden vernieuwt, ende geperpetueert...Soo kont gy dan nu met den anderen in groote eenigheyt, en recht verstant als Broeders leven, uwe interessen gelyck maecken, ende de Balance van Europa, aen uwe verknopte eenigheyt hangen, ende als een volck, en als eene Regeeringe te samen ageeren', p6.
- ^{xii} 'U.E. is niet onbekent, met wat hardzorg en bekommering dese natie al zedert den tijd van Koninginne Elizabeth, dat is van den beginner of liever vaststellinge van de Reformatie aangedaan is geweest voor de behoudenis van den Godsdienst', p1.
- ^{xiii} 'Wat my belangt, de gelukkige beginselen van zijne regeering, de grootmoedigheid van den Koning, en zijne beproefde trouwe in het nakomen van zijne beloften, doen my met reden hopen, dat den Koning een Prins sijnde van de uiterste stantvastigheid, sich van zijn word vrywillig en van selfs aen de Natie gegeven wel sal quyten, en daar door voldoen aan des selfs verwachtinge', p1.
- ^{xiv} '...want sijne Majesteit, die een seer verstandig Koning is, is niet onbekent hoe veel een verkeerden yver van Godsdienst op de gemoederen der menschen vermag, en hoe seer Laden, die andersints haar selven wel matigen kunnen, verrukt werden door dese heilige hitte of liever dolligheid waar door de selve als betoverde menschen altijd ongerust en sporeloos zijn', p1.
- ^{xv} 'Na verhandelde zaken heeft de Koning in een gemeen discourse aan dezen Vader geopenbaart, dat hy Engeland of zal bekeeren, of Martelaar sterven; en dat hy liever wilde morgen sterven met hare bekeeringe, also 50 Jaren gelukkiglijk en godvruchtiglijk sonder hare bekering regeeren. Eindelijk neemt hy zich een Zoon van de Societeit, over wiens voorspoet hy zegt, dat hy zoo wel als over de zijne zich verblijd...', p2.
- ^{xvi} 'Dat men, het gemeene het principaalste is, alle de poenale en strafbare wetten tegen de catholijken gemaakt, afschaffe; het welke op dat hy het dies te zekerder mocht by zich zelve besloten heeft alle de gene zekerlijk uit hunne ampten te stooten, die, om dat te verkrijgen, hun best niet sullen doen, zonder het Parlement te dissolveeren', p4.
- ^{xvii} 'den ondergang en de verwoesting van de Engelze Godsdienst', p35.

- ^{xviii} 'Daar zijn 'er die willen dat dit geschiet ter oorzaak van de krijgsmacht en het leger dat hy op de been heeft, maar men moet weten dat hy op deselve geen grooten staat kan maken, in gevalle men haar zou willen gebruiken, om zijn onderdanen, tot zijn Kerk, en gevoelen te brengen, gelijk men in Vrankrijk gedaan heeft...ik hoorde van de Soldaten, met mijn eigen ooren zulke redenen aan...', p31.
- ^{xix} 'Na een zoo naauwe verbintenis met den Paus en den Koning van Vrankrijk...', p35.
- ^{xx} 'Het is derhalven dan zijn belang, dat hy zich in dees baarblijkelijke nootzaakelijkheid doe koopen', p35.
- ^{xxi} '...om zijn naam rugtbaar te maken in alle de vier hoeken van de Werelt', p51.
- ^{xxii} 'De genegtheit die hy hem toedraagt en is zo blind niet, dat hy zijn insight voor des zelfs achtung zou stellen; hy wil er iet groots van maken, en hem eenige bevinding doen hebben, ten einde dat hy naderhand zich in de bedieningen, en amten waar mede hy hem zal komen te verheerlijken, waardig en wel mach dragen', p33.
- ^{xxiii} '...by aldien den Koninck quam te sterven, hy machtig genoeg soude sijn, darenboven gedachten chevalier paeps sijnde ende misschien een schriftelijk declaratoir van den Koninck na sijn doot gevonden werdende, hy machtig genoeg sal sijn, omme hem als Koninck in dat rijk te doen verklaren, soo imant in Engelant van de Protestante religie quam te succederen.'
- ^{xxiv} 'Indien men my wil te gemoet voeren, dat hy met dit te doen de ware Erfgenamen verongelijken zou, en dat de ordre van natuur zoo ligt niet te veranderen is als men denkt, daar op hebbe ik anders niet te zeggen, als dat het hem, (indien hy zijn oogwit ontrent het invoeren van een nieuwe Godsdienst in Engelant komt te bereyken) het andere ook iet zwaar om te doen sal zijn. Om dit te doen moet hy de toestemming van het Parlement hebben, en indien hy magts genoeg heeft om haar het eerste te doen toestaan, zoo zal hy het aanneemen van een jonger voor een ouder Princesse, tot zijn Successeur, ligt verkrijgen', p34.
- ^{xxv} '...dat, in cas hy [Dijkvelt] aen den Coninck nogh niet soude hebben gesproocken, hy d' eerste occasie de beste soude nemen, om aen Syne Majt myne sentimenten bekent te maecken raeckende het aboleeren van de penale wetten ende den test, ingelvolge van syne instructie...'
- ^{xxvi} 'Indien de rechtmatige Vreese van het gevaar van 't Pausdom heeft gebaart de twee Wetten voor de twee Testen, of Eeden van Supremacie, d'eene ten opsigte van alle publique Ampten in den Jare 1673, ende de andere ten opsigte van de constitutie van onse Parlemen ten in den Jare 1678. Soo is 't dat die tegenwoordige tijden ende conjuncturens ons niet soo bequaam toeschijnen om die te herroepen, 't waere dat men sich konde verbeelden het gevaar van het Pausdom tegenwoordigh soo groot niet te zijn, als het van te vooren geweest heeft, ende dat wy oversulx niet meer van noden hebben, daer tegen op onse hoede te wesen', p1.
- ^{xxvii} '...hier is een Nieuwe betekeninge van sijn Majesteyts Authoriteyt, voort gebragt, van sijn ABSOLUTE MAGT, het welk so menigmaal herhaald word, dat het wel een weynig diende ondersogt te worden. Koninglyk Pregatyf, en Souveraine Authoriteyt, zijn Termen, die alreede onder ons bekend en aangenomen zijn; maar aangaande dese ABSOLUTE MAGT, gelijk het een nieuwe Term is, also mogen 't ook de gene die 't gesmeed hebben, doen beteekenen wat sy willen...want de ware meniginge hier van schijnt te zijn, dat 'er een Erfvelyke Magt in de Koning is, de welke door geen Wetten, Belosten, nog door Eed, kan wederhouden of verhinderd worden; want geen minder, dan van alle deze dingen vry te zijn, maakt een Magt Absoluit', p1.
- ^{xxviii} 'Een yder Coningrijk dat tegen hem selven verddelt is, word verwoest, ende een yder Stad, ofte Huys, dat tegen hem selven verdeelt is en sal niet bestaan', p3.
- ^{xxix} 'Het is al van voor langen tijd dat het Hof van England, onder het gesagh van den laatsen Koning en deselvs Broeder, het voornemen opgevat heeft gehad om de Protestantse Religie uyt te roeyen, en het Pausdom te bevestigen. Want die twee Broeders geduurende hun Ballingschap door de Vleyeryen en Importuniteyten van hun Moeder verleyt, door de Belesten van Paapsche Vorsten gewonnen, en gedebaucheert zijnde door de Listen en Konsten van de Priesters en Jesuiten...', p3.
- ^{xxx} 'Hoe sijn niet alle Natien in Europa bevochticht met het bloed der heyligen door de Barbarische woede der Paapse Regenten, sijnde gaande en aangestookt door de Roomse Bisschoppen en Geestelijkheid, om haar te stijven in haar wereldlijke grootheyd, en in haar Tyranny over de conscientien der menschen, en om onwetentheyd, dwalingen, bygeloovicheyd, en afgoderye', pp3-4.
- ^{xxxi} 'sijn eygen volk onder het Jok konde brengen, de Protestantsche Religie uyt sijne Heerschappyen uytroeyen, en hemselven tot een absoluyt-heerschende Macht verhoogen...'. p68.

Chapter Three: The battle for Dutch public opinion?

Pamphlet discourse January-September 1688.

The importance of the pamphlet war which raged between England and the Dutch Republic in the crucial months leading up to the announcement of William's expedition has not gone unnoticed by historians examining the Revolutionary period. Neither has the fact that much of the literature constituted officially sponsored propaganda emanating from both the Williamite and Jacobite camps.¹ The pivotal role played by pamphleteers and printers in the Republic itself, especially in the production of opposition works destined for England, has also been recognised.² As Van Deursen correctly pointed out, during this period a battle to win the hearts and minds of the English public, and in particular those of Dissenting opinion, was taking place via the pamphlet medium.³ However, because studies have to date primarily focused on the impact of such literature on English audiences, they have failed to consider the effects it may have had on Dutch public opinion. This chapter therefore aims to address this historiographical gap, by thoroughly assessing the pamphlet literature published in the Republic between January and September 1688, specifically from the viewpoint of Dutch audiences. Focus is placed on the information and commentary available to the Dutch public, exploring the extent to which it paralleled that accessible to English audiences. Attention is also afforded to any differences in the way developments in England and Europe were portrayed in pamphlets exclusively intended for Dutch domestic consumption.

I. General overview of the pamphlet literature

Between January and September 1688 there was a marked rise in pamphlet production when some 126 works were published, more than double the entire

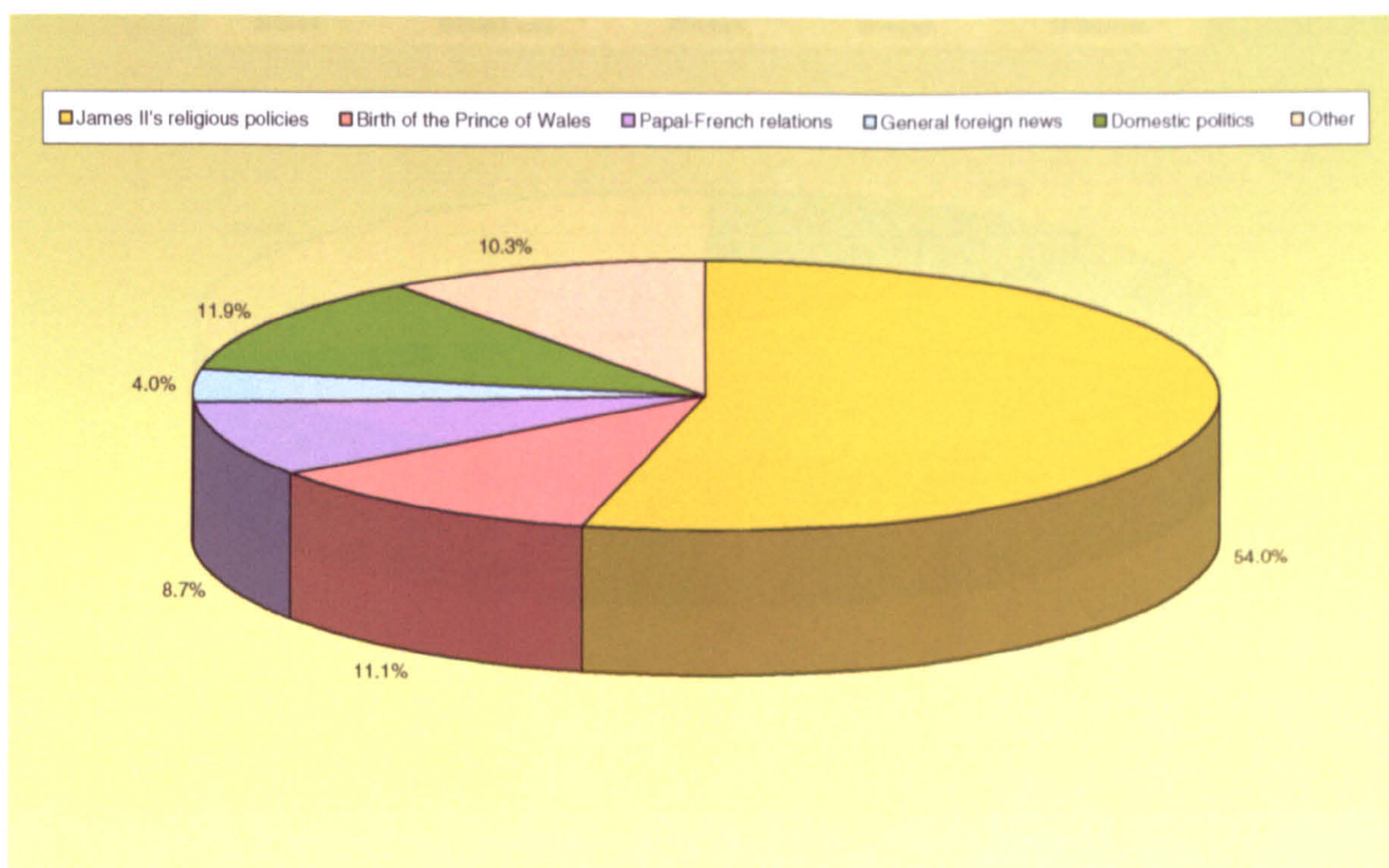
¹ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), pp484-87; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (Birkenhead, 1972), pp226-28; J Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (CUP, 1973), pp252-57; PJAN Rietbergen, ' 's-Werelds schouwtoneel. Oorlog, politiek en economie in noord-west Europa ten tijde van Willem III', in *Willem III. De stadhouder koning en zijn tijd*, eds. AGH Bachrach, JP Sigmond and AJ Veenendaal (Amsterdam, 1988), pp68-88.

² PG Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers Bij de Beurs. De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637-1724* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp152-53; PG Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa. Culturele betrekkingen tussen Groot-Brittannië en de Nederlandse Republiek', in *Willem III. De stadhouder koning en zijn tijd*, pp127-4; L Pinkham, *William III and the Respectable Revolution* (Cambridge, 1954), pp54-72.

³ AT van Deursen, 'Propaganda. The battle for public opinion', in *Science and Culture under William and Mary*, eds. JD North and PW Klein (Amsterdam, 1992), pp23-37.

output of the previous year.⁴ In contrast to the preceding period when domestic politics represented a significant proportion of total output, the literature published between January and September 1688 was overwhelmingly concerned with foreign issues (see Chart 3.1 below).⁵ In particular, the most striking feature of the literature was the heightened attention given to events in England, which now accounted for 65.1 per cent of total pamphlet production and 84.5 per cent of the output on foreign affairs alone.⁶ Two topics dominated the discussion of English affairs; James II's religious policies with which 68 pamphlets (54.0 per cent) were concerned and the interconnected birth of the Prince of Wales, which was addressed in 14 pamphlets (11.1 per cent). It is therefore clear that in the months leading up to William's expedition, the chief subjects of debate in the pamphlet literature were the religious and political developments taking place in England.

Chart 3.1: Pamphlet output, January to September 1688.



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

In terms of the provenance of the literature published on English affairs, the first characteristic of note is that aside from the reproduction of official documents,

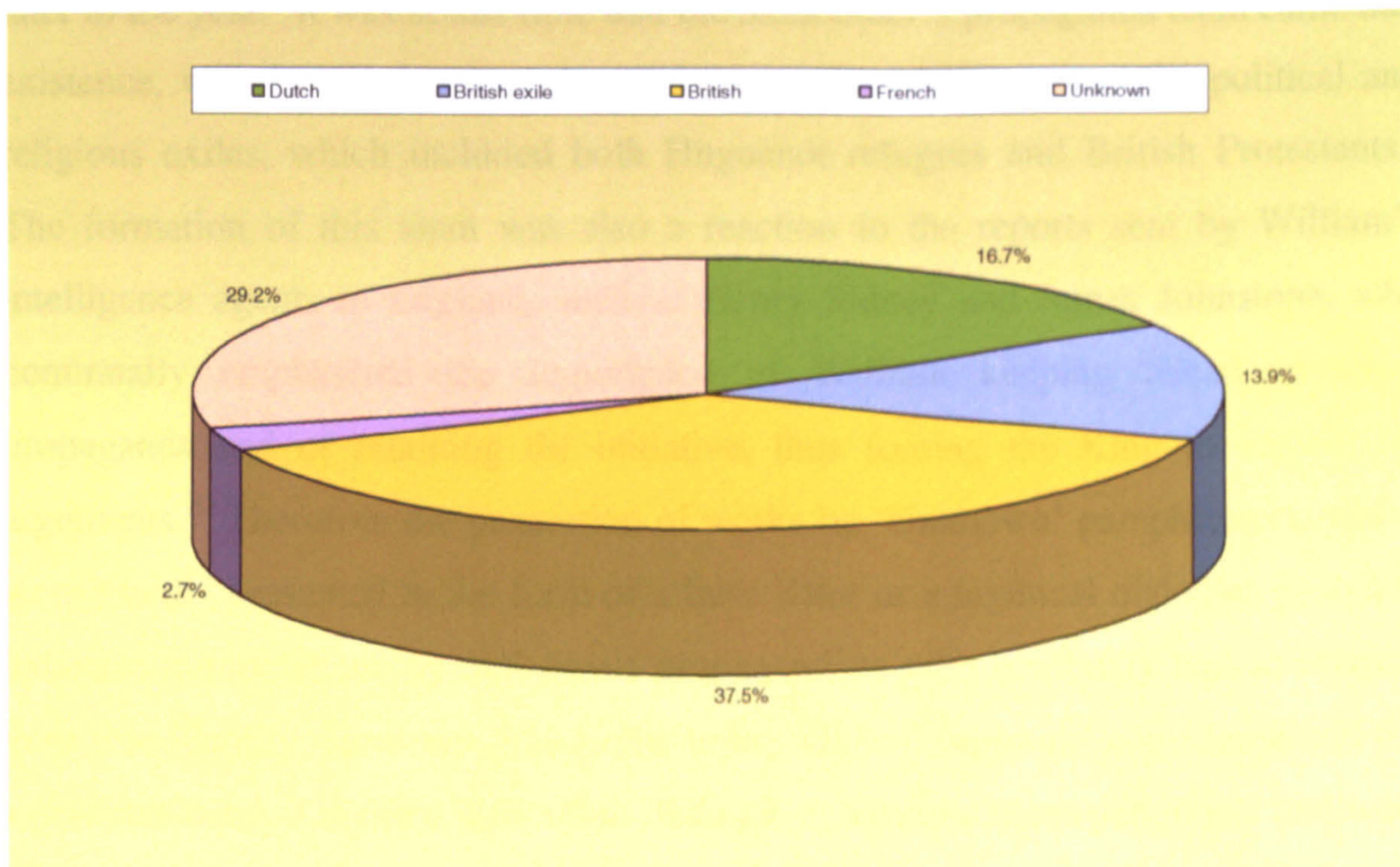
⁴ 58 pamphlets were published in 1687.

⁵ Domestic politics represented 30.3 per cent of total output in the 1685-87 period, Chapter Two, p58.

⁶ English affairs accounted for 23.6 per cent of total pamphlet production in the 1685-87 period and 40.0 per cent of output on foreign affairs alone, Chapter Two, p58.

the majority of pamphlets, 86.1 per cent, were either published anonymously or with fictitious publication details. This has therefore led to difficulties in building up an accurate picture of pamphlet authorship. However, this problem has been partly overcome by cross referencing the pamphlet titles with the STCN and EEBO, which made the identification of certain authors possible. In addition, where a pamphlet stated it was a translation from a specific country and this could be verified by consulting the text, it has been classed as such. As the results show in Chart 3.2, just over half of the pamphlets (51.4 per cent) published on English affairs were translations of works either originally composed in Britain or written by British exiles living in the Republic itself (see Chart 3.2 below).

Chart 3.2: Pamphleteer origin, January to September 1688.



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978), the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands and Early English Books Online.

In the first instance, the large number of imported pamphlets suggests that printers were aiming to satisfy an increased demand for works addressing English affairs for as stated previously, the quickest way to do this was by translating works that already existed.⁷ Secondly, as the majority of pamphlets were English translations,

⁷ See Chapter One, p45.

this would indicate that the information and commentary available to the Dutch public was significantly influenced by the views and opinions of British pamphleteers.

Attention also needs to be drawn to the 'Unknown' category of pamphleteers which constituted 29.2 per cent of the output on English affairs (see Chart 3.2, p99 above). The fact that the origin of these pamphleteers cannot be determined with any certainty is a reflection of the increased number of works which heavily criticised James II's domestic policies, for it was during this period that the *Stadholder* and his advisers began to take an active role in the distribution of such pieces. Although William had initially been passive in the production of anti-James pamphlets, undertaking no active supervision over their composition, a change occurred with the King's religious policies of 1687 and the announcement of the Queen's pregnancy later in the year.⁸ It was at this time that the *Stadholder's* propaganda team came into existence, with Bentinck acting as a liaison between William and the political and religious exiles, which included both Huguenot refugees and British Protestants.⁹ The formation of this team was also a reaction to the reports sent by William's intelligence agents in England, such as Henry Sidney and James Johnstone, who continually emphasised the importance of William keeping ahead of court propaganda and of retaining the initiative, thus forcing the King to answer his arguments.¹⁰ Therefore the proportion of works by 'Unknown' pamphleteers, which were usually presented in the form of a false letter or a mythical dialogue, probably indicates compositions by anti-Stuart propagandists who obviously had to conceal their true identity. However, due to the uniformity of the issues considered and the arguments used, it is often difficult to distinguish between those pamphlets that were officially sanctioned and those pieces that were produced independently on initiative.¹¹ Yet, an important point to bear in mind is that because the overall majority of works dealing with English affairs were published anonymously, the exact provenance of most pamphlets may also have been unclear to Dutch audiences.

The main concerns given attention in the pamphlets published on James' religious policies were, to an extent, similar to those that had been discussed in 1687;

⁸ PG Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa', p128.

⁹ D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The Career of Hans Williem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland 1649-1709' (Utrecht, unpublished PhD thesis, 2004), p34.

¹⁰ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics* p555; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p226.

¹¹ This point is also made in PG Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers Bij de Beurs*, p154.

principally his continuing efforts to repeal the Penal Laws and Test Acts, as well as his renewed Declaration of Liberty of Conscience in April. Both pro- and anti-repeal pamphlets were published and the debate continued to revolve around the same questions – as a Catholic could the King be trusted, was he sincere in offering toleration to all denominations, was repeal just a pretext to enable the wholesale conversion of England to Catholicism, and did James have a legal right to dispense with the Penal Laws and Tests? However, new facets were also brought into this discourse during the course of the year. In the first instance, the publication of Gaspar Fagel's *Letter* in January directly contributed to, and enlarged, the discussion of the repeal issue, not only because it was regarded as an official statement by William and Mary, but also due to the fact that it provoked a pamphlet controversy which continued throughout the Spring. Secondly, additional elements which were now also perceived as interconnected to the King's religious policies were his recall of the six British regiments serving in the Republic in March, his ongoing campaign to pack Parliament, the imprisonment of the seven bishops and most importantly, the birth of the Prince of Wales in June. Lastly, increased attention was afforded to the international implications of James' policies, based on the supposition that he was now allied with Louis XIV as part of an organized effort to eradicate European Protestantism.

II. The Fagel *Letter* Controversy

The Dutch public's increased interest in James' religious policies was initially stimulated by the publication of what was without doubt the most significant pamphlet on the subject. Composed by Gaspar Fagel in November 1687, *A Letter Written by Heer Pensionary Fagel*, appeared in four different Dutch editions and was definitely a 'hot topic' for domestic audiences in early 1688.¹² This was firstly due to the fact that it bore the name of the Grand Pensionary and was therefore guaranteed to rouse curiosity. But secondly and more importantly, because the pamphlet laid out in clear terms the Prince and Princess of Orange's opposition to James' attempts to repeal the Penal Laws and Test Acts. Although the repeal issue had been afforded attention in the previous year, the majority of pamphlets had been translations of works by British exiles. However, now the Dutch public were

¹² Knuttel 12869-72, G Fagel, *Een Brief geschreven door den Heer Pensionaris Fagel* (1688).

presented with an official statement on behalf of their *Stadholder* opposing, and by implication criticising, the domestic policies of the British monarch.

Fagel had been instructed by William to write the *Letter* in response to repeated correspondence from one of the King's supporters, James Stewart, who hoped to secure William and Mary's agreement for repeal. Stewart was a Scottish Dissenter who had previously been connected to the revolutionary movement, composing Argyle's *Declaration* of 1685.¹³ However, Stewart had returned to England after being granted a pardon in return for persuading other British exiles, who were themselves divided over whether to support or oppose James' measures, to come home.¹⁴ Stewart therefore began to write letters to various radicals in the Republic, in which he claimed that the King's offer of toleration was sincere and that his goal was not Catholic domination, but equal rights for all.¹⁵ In his correspondence with his old friend the Scottish clergyman William Carstares, Stewart made it clear that he hoped Carstares would use the letters to convince Fagel, and thus William, to support the removal of the Penal Laws and Tests.¹⁶ As a loyal member of William's secret service since the 1670s, Carstares duly passed on the letters.¹⁷ It was apparently decided that the Pensionary should reply following a debate between William, Bentinck and Fagel over the letters' contents.¹⁸ At first Fagel's reply was to be a private matter, but according to Burnet it was subsequently decided that the *Letter* should be publicly distributed following the appointment of the Jesuit Father Peters to the Privy Council in mid-November 1687 and the receipt of information which stated that William's views on repeal were being seriously misrepresented.¹⁹ The decision to publish the *Letter* was also probably influenced by members of William's intelligence network in England, whose dispatches reported

¹³ Knuttel 12320, Archibald Campbell [J Stewart], *Declaratie van Archibald, Graaf van Argyle* (1685). Stewart's authorship is identified in MS Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999), p130.

¹⁴ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, pp485-86

¹⁵ J Carswell, *The Descent on England: a study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background* (New York, 1969), pp96-97.

¹⁶ Carstares had previously been involved in the composition of Stewart's *An Account of Scotland's grievances by reason of the D. of Lauderdale's Ministrie* (1672).

¹⁷ KHD Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition* (Oxford, 1973), p59, pp205-06, p213.

¹⁸ D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite', p34.

¹⁹ Bishop Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ed. T Stackhouse (London, 1991), p264.

the agitation the pamphlet had caused at Court, recommending that it would be well received by the Dissenters.²⁰

The main argument of Fagel's *Letter* was that William and Mary were committed supporters of toleration: 'it is their opinion, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the public and established Religion.'ⁱ Nevertheless, although they approved of full toleration for Dissenters, they could only permit Catholics to have the same level of freedom as in the Republic. The most important point of the *Letter* however, was that it settled in clear terms, the Prince and Princess' objections to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Acts, 'But their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the Test, or those of the Penal Laws last mentioned, that tend to the security of the Protestant Religion.'ⁱⁱ These statutes should remain in force and Catholics continue to be excluded from office according to the *Letter*, as they cannot be trusted to respect the freedom of others: 'The Roman Catholics not being satisfied to exclude the Reformed from all Offices of profit or trust, they do absolutely suppress the whole exercise of that Religion and severely persecute all that profess it.'ⁱⁱⁱ By using this line of reasoning, the *Letter* made it clear that William and Mary supported increased freedom for Dissenters, but that they would not agree to full toleration for Catholics.

Soon appearing in English, French and Latin editions, the immediate impact of the pamphlet in England and the Republic cannot be overstated.²¹ With great effect the *Letter* was distributed in both countries and according to one contemporary pamphleteer, 45,000 copies had already reached England by early 1688.²² It is evident that the pamphlet was intended to appeal to a socially broad audience, for at just eight pages long it would have been cheap to buy and quick to read. Furthermore, not only was its language clear and understandable, it had the most important authority in the Republic behind it, the Prince and Princess of Orange. Moreover, the publication of the *Letter* provoked an immediate pamphlet conflict during the Spring of 1688, which can be seen in the fact that of the 68 pamphlets published on the religious question in England, 15 of these were published as a direct

²⁰ PwA 2103, Copy letter to 'Monsieur', 25 November 1687 (OS); PwA 2112, Copy letter addressed to 'Sir', 8 December 1687 (OS); PwA 2118, Copy letter from J Schultz, 16 December 1687 (OS); PwA 2120, Copy letter from James Johnstone, 21 December 1687 (OS).

²¹ Knuttel 12866, G Fagel, *A Letter Writ by Mijn Heer Fagel*; Knuttel 12868, G Fagel, *Lettre, Escrite par Monsieur Fagel*; Knuttel 12687, G Fagel, *Literae Illustr: Domini Fagel* (1688).

²² Knuttel 12879, Anon, *Antwoord Op den gesupposeerden Brief, geschreven door den Heer Fagel* (1688).

result of Fagel's *Letter*. Public attention was clearly drawn to this pamphlet controversy and readers were keen to get their hands on the various pieces. As the Rotterdam Quaker Benjamin Furly wrote to John Locke on 22 February: '...our friend tells me he saw this day at the Burgermasters a French answer to the Pensioners Letter', and three days later, 'I cannot get The answer to F.s Letter in this towne in French, 'tis this day come out in Dutch, but I have not seen it...Pray try the widow Browning or Swart about the manus...'²³ The disparaging work Furly was referring to was the *Answer to the Supposed Letter Written by Heer Fagel* dated 13 February.²⁴ Soon after, the *Answer* was followed by another pamphlet *Parliamentum Pacificum*, that was even more critical of both Fagel and the Dutch state itself.²⁵ Although the pamphlets were published anonymously, from the close publication dates and the similarity of their contents, it is clear that they were composed by pro-James propagandists. The Earl of Sunderland's license for *Parliamentum Pacificum* was no secret as it was printed on the title page and although no details exist for the *Answer*, a subsequent pamphlet hinted that Albeville may have been behind it.²⁶

These two pamphleteers strongly supported James' toleration policy and his attempts to remove the Penal Laws and Test Acts. Indeed, the title *Parliamentum Pacificum*, was intended as a reference to the Convention Parliament of 1660 that had favoured a large measure of religious liberty and its author John Northleigh, imparted his desire for another Parliament that would establish toleration by law. The main aim of these pamphlets was to defend James' sincerity in attempting repeal, whilst at the same time increasing his support base amongst Dissenters in England and the Republic, by casting doubt on Fagel's *Letter*. Both therefore questioned whether the *Letter* accurately represented Mary's views and expressed reservations over Fagel's authorship, with Northleigh suggesting that Burnet had actually written it.²⁷ Furthermore, to gain active backing for James' measures in Parliament, especially from those members who looked to the next reign, suspicion

²³ Benjamin Furly to John Locke, 12/22 February 1688 and 15/25 February 1688, *The Correspondence of John Locke* (hereafter, *The Correspondence*), vol. 3, ed. ES de Beer (Oxford, 1978), p363, p368.

²⁴ Knuttel 12877, Anon, *Reponse A la Lettre supposée écrite par Monsieur Fagel...13 Février* (1688) / Knuttel 12879, Anon, *Antwoord op den gesupposeerden Brief, geschreven door den Heer Fagel* (1688).

²⁵ Knuttel 12887, Anon [J Northleigh], *Parliamentum Pacificum Of Het Vreedzaame Parlement* (1688).

²⁶ Knuttel 12881, Anon [G Fagel], *Aenmerkingen Op een Geschrift* (1688), p9.

²⁷ Knuttel 12887, Anon [J Northleigh], *Parliamentum Pacificum* (1688), p72.

was cast on William and Mary's commitment to toleration. The *Answer* for instance, disputed Fagel's portrayal of the level of Catholic freedom in the Republic: 'We here know all too well, that there is no stronger persecution of these poor people [Catholics] in the practice of their Religion, who especially suffer in Gelderland, Zeeland, Friesland, and in the land of Groningen'^{iv} and Northleigh suggested that William's promise of toleration was insincere.²⁸ In contrast, James was depicted as a charitable and understanding man who desired toleration for all denominations, for as Northleigh pointed out, if he was really aiming to re-introduce Catholicism, then why did he give aid to Huguenot refugees and allow them to settle in England?²⁹

Questions were also raised as to why the Dutch were so opposed to the repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests, which these pamphleteers argued merely disadvantaged a group of people who had already demonstrated their loyalty to the state. Undeniably, the *Answer* asserted, the conduct of Dutch Catholics during the Revolt was proof of their trustworthiness: 'there was no small number [of Catholics] serving the Republic during the war...more than two thirds of the good Burghers of the Roman Catholic religion put themselves at risk, and gave up a part of their riches for the establishment and preservation of the common freedom.'^v³⁰ In a more aggressive tone Northleigh claimed that the real reason the Dutch were opposing repeal was merely to prevent James from utilizing all his resources if there were an invasion and although he had no need to do so, he also attacked the Republic's protection of Burnet and criticised the States General for not handing over fugitives wanted by the King.³¹

Extremely offended by Northleigh's pamphlet, the States General not only protested to Albeville at The Hague, but also ordered Van Citters to launch an objection at the English Court.³² Fagel who was also insulted, arranged the official publication of a letter he had written to Albeville, in which he detailed the entire history of the subject, acknowledged his authorship of the original Dutch version and assured readers that before he sent the *Letter*, William and Mary had inspected both

²⁸ Knuttel 12879, Anon, *Antwoord op den gesupposeerden Brief*; p3 Knuttel 12887, Anon [J Northleigh], *Parliamentum Pacificum* (1688), pp52-53.

²⁹ Knuttel 12887, Anon [J Northleigh], *Parliamentum Pacificum* (1688), p50.

³⁰ Knuttel 12879, Anon, *Antwoord op den gesupposeerden Brief* (1688), pp14-15.

³¹ Knuttel 12887, Anon [J Northleigh], *Parliamentum Pacificum* (1688), p49, pp57-58, p67.

³² GH Jones, *Convergent forces: immediate causes of the Revolution of 1688 in England* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), p35.

the English and Dutch copies.³³ A reply was also forthcoming from Burnet as *Parliamentum Pacificum* had attacked him personally. The bishop stated that his pamphlet was intended not only to be a defence of his good character against Northleigh's 'slanders', but also as a naturalised Dutch citizen 'an apology for the protection that is granted me by the States (whose subject I am).'^{vi,34}

The notoriety of the arguments employed by the *Answer* and *Parliamentum Pacificum*, as well as their denigration of the Grand Pensionary and States General, cannot have failed to have gone unnoticed amongst Dutch audiences. Yet, although the *Answer* was just 16 pages long, Northleigh's pamphlet extended to 62 pages, hardly making it accessible to a socially broad readership. Nevertheless, it is evident that William's propaganda team believed that these pamphlets were having an effect on public opinion, for nine replies countering their contentions were soon forthcoming. Although all were published anonymously, according to the STCN one was written by Fagel himself, two were by Burnet, two were contributions from Eric Walten and four were by unidentified pamphleteers. Fagel probably published anonymously for he had already issued an official reaction and as Grand Pensionary, he could not be implicated in a such a pamphlet conflict. For Burnet and the other pamphleteers, anonymity was a standard propaganda technique which also offered them a degree of personal security. Although it cannot be said for certain that all of these pamphlets were officially sanctioned, the consistency of language and argument used points to a co-ordinated effort to reassure readers, both in England and the Republic, that William and Mary's views on repeal been correctly set out in the *Letter*. Indeed in February, one of William's informants James Johnstone, reported that following the publication of *Parliamentum Pacificum* many in England had now started to doubt the authenticity of Fagel's *Letter* and he therefore suggested that it should be enlarged upon.³⁵ If people in England were questioning the *Letter's* legitimacy, it is not inconceivable that there were also reservations amongst the Dutch public, for the pamphlet had been printed by the widow Swart in Amsterdam without privilege, not by the officially appointed States printer Jacobus Scheltus at The Hague.

³³ Knuttel 12897, G Fagel, *Copie van een Missive by den Heere Fagel geschreven in de Franse Tale op den 9 April 1688 aen den Heeren Marquis d'Albyville* (1688).

³⁴ Knuttel 12893-4, G Burnet, *Verantwoordinge van Dr Gilbert Burnet van wegen de Lasteringen* (1688), p3.

³⁵ PwA 2147, Copy letter from James Johnstone, 27 February 1688 (OS).

Hence in the first instance, each of the pamphlets defended Fagel's authorship of the piece, stressing his good character and his credibility as a Minister of the States. William and Mary's involvement was also upheld using the reasoning that the *Letter* only repeated what they had already told Albeville in person: 'the substance of it is no new business, it is only a repetition of the same Answer to his Majesty, that the Prince and Princess of Orange had formerly given to his Majesty's Envoy.'^{vii,36} In fact, it was asserted, William and Mary were reluctant to compose a statement on the matter and only did so because of James' repeated requests, via Stewart's correspondence, to know their views on repeal.³⁷ To reinforce this message, Fagel authorised the publication of extracts from Stewart's correspondence, which were printed in their original English with the Dutch version alongside.³⁸ Through the preface to the pamphlet, Fagel not only took the opportunity to publicly counteract the claims made against him, but also attempted to distance himself from the pamphlet conflict that had arisen. He declared himself averse to any polemics that had been printed on the controversy, maintained that any 'Impartial Reader' could see that Stewart's letters warranted a reply from the Prince and Princess, as well as denying that he had anything to do with the publication of his *Letter*, its various translations or its appearance in England.

Secondly, to dissuade Dissenters from accepting James' offer of toleration, the pamphlets aimed to reassure them that William was working for the interests of all Protestants and that he could be trusted to continue this if he were to ascend the throne. For that reason, William was portrayed as the chief defender of Protestantism in Europe, with his previous record given in evidence: 'The Prince of Orange has above these fifteen years given so great proofs of his firmness and resolution, as well as of his capacity and conduct in opposing the Grand Ravisher...of Liberty and Religion, that he is deservedly, by all impartial men, acknowledged to be the head of the Protestant interest.'^{viii,39} It was in fact, according to another pamphleteer, a family trait that the Princes of Orange look after God's Church: 'It has been established for such a long time, that the Illustrious Princes of the House of Orange, have given their

³⁶ Knuttel 12873, Anon [G Burnet] *Reflectien op den Heer Fagel's Brief* (1688), p2.

³⁷ Knuttel 12885, Anon, *Weerklank Op de uitvlugtige Antwoord* (1688), pp3-4. Stewart continued to insist that the letters only contained his private thoughts on the matter, see Knuttel 12900, J Stewart, *Antwoort Van de Mr Stewart, Op den Brief van Hr Fagel* (1688).

³⁸ Knuttel 12901, G Fagel, *Extract Uyt de Brieven, Op verscheyde tyden geschreven door den Heer Stewart, aen een Vriendt ende Correspondent* (1688), pp3-6.

³⁹ Knuttel 12873, Anon [G Burnet], *Reflectien op den Heer Fagel's Brief* (1688), p3.

blood, for the protection of Gods Church, so that they truly deserve, the glorious Title of Protectors of the Church...^{ix,40} To strengthen this message, the actions of the Princes of Orange were also contrasted to those of the French Monarchy: 'The Maxims of the French Kings have been how to outdo each other, in the injuring of their Neighbours and Subjects. But those of the House of Orange, on the contrary, have been to rescue Europe from its oppressors, and maintain the Protestant Interest by Virtue, Truth, Honour and Resolution...'^{x,41} Although it was admitted that William was born a Presbyterian and Mary an Anglican, it was asserted that the Dissenters could expect their support because they serve the same God and therefore seek to unite all Protestants.⁴²

Finally, the pamphlets sought to add force to the growing doubts regarding James' sincerity, by re-asserting that repeal was just a pretext for the wholesale re-introduction of Catholicism. According to these pamphleteers, James was set on returning England to the Mother Church because he had been overcome by his zeal for Catholicism. In a similar vein to the Dutch pamphlets of 1685, one pamphleteer stated that when James ascended the throne there had been great hopes he would maintain the balance of power in Europe: 'As soon as James the Second, King of Great Britain, ascended the Throne of his Forefathers, there were such great hopes for him throughout the whole of Europe, that he was regarded as a Deliverer...above all that he should put the balance between France and Spain in equilibrium.'^{xi,43} Yet, it was declared that the Princes of Europe have now been disappointed because James has been blinded by his passion for the Catholic religion:

The best Natures in the World can be corrupted by a false Religion; and no matter how good of Nature they are, if they come to embrace such a Religion, and one possessed with the cruellest principles, the more Pious they are, the more truer they will be to the Doctrines of their Church; and by consequence, they will execute all of its cruellest Resolutions with an unrelenting vigour.^{xii,44}

Furthermore, it was alleged that as soon as the opportunity arose, James was bound to seek the destruction of his Protestant subjects as it was a fundamental Catholic belief that heresy must be destroyed. Therefore, because the Pope wants heresy stamped out, James cannot be a tolerant King even if he tried, as any edict would

⁴⁰ Knuttel 12881, Anon [G Fagel], *Aenmerkingen Op een Geschrift* (1688), p7.

⁴¹ Knuttel 12873, Anon [G Burnet], *Reflectien op den Heer Fagel's Brief* (1688), p4.

⁴² Knuttel 12881, Anon [G Fagel], *Aenmerkingen Op een Geschrift* (1688), p10.

⁴³ Knuttel 12875, Anon, *Consideratien Over den Brief van de Heer Fagel* (1688), p3.

⁴⁴ Knuttel 12893-4, G Burnet, *Verantwoordinge van Dr Gilbert Burnet van wegen de Lasteringen* (1688), p18.

have no value because Catholics are free to break their word with heretics.⁴⁵ Certainly all Protestants are brought up with this knowledge one pamphleteer asserted, before going on to mock the author of the *Answer* for thinking that people were stupid enough to trust a Catholic to keep his word: ‘We know all too well, that the Papists have declared all those outside of their confession as Heretics...and that they are taught only that they must by all means and ways seek to injure and destroy those Heretics.’^{xiii,46} Indeed this pamphleteer maintained, it was exactly for that reason that the Penal Laws and Tests in England, and also significantly the anti-Catholic placards in Holland, should remain in place: ‘The Papists bear an inborn enmity against those of the Reformed Religion, and are always inclined to oppress them; therefore the Penal Laws in *England*, and the strong Placards here in *Holland* are the only bulwarks to maintain the security of the Religion and Government.’^{xiv,47}

A medal was also struck by the Dutch engraver Jan Smeltzing, the executor of a large number of anti-James pieces, to further accentuate these arguments (see Figure 3.1, p110 below).⁴⁸ The medal was clearly intended as a contribution to the pamphlet controversy as it appeared around the same time that the *Answer* was published, as Furly wrote to Locke: ‘...but a worse thing then that is coming out, and that is a medal – in which the present state of England is exprest – and among other things Literae Fagelianaee on one side...’⁴⁹ The current state of religion in England was represented on one side of the medal, with the mitre of the Church of England, the chalice, wafer and rosary of Rome, and the dove of the Nonconformists, all having the free Bible as their common centre, placed upon one base alongside Fagel’s *Letter*. Whereas the reverse symbolized James, trampling on Liberty of Conscience, devouring his coronation oath, and removing the Tests and Penal Laws, which were presented as being founded on a firm and eternal basis, sealing the safety of the country.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Knuttel 12886, Anon, *Rechtsinnigh Oordeel*; Knuttel 12892, Anon [E Walten], *Wederlegginge van het schend-schrift, genaamed Parliamentum Pacificum* (1688).

⁴⁶ Knuttel 12885, Anon, *Weerklank Op de uitvlugtige Antwoord* (1688), p4..

⁴⁷ Knuttel 12885, Anon, *Weerklank Op de uitvlugtige Antwoord* (1688), p12.

⁴⁸ *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, compiled by Oxford University Press (2005), accessible via <http://www.groveart.com>.

⁴⁹ Benjamin Furly to John Locke, 15/25 February 1688, *The Correspondence*, vol. 3, p368.

⁵⁰ E Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plates LXI-LXX (London, 1907), p620.

Figure 3.1, *The Religious State of England* (1688).



Source: E Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plates LXI-LXX (London, 1907), p620.

III. Another English Civil War? The aftermath of the Fagel *Letter* controversy

The Fagel *Letter* conflict clearly stimulated Dutch interest in the religious situation in England, for in the subsequent period a further 40 pamphlets were published on the King's policies. The issue of the Penal Laws and Test Acts received particular attention, with 21 pamphlets printed specifically on that subject. As works both supporting or opposing repeal continued to be available, Dutch audiences had sustained access to both sides of the debate. However, just five pamphlets favouring James' proposals were printed and none of these were written by Dutch authors.⁵¹ Each of these pro-repeal pamphlets had been composed by the King's supporters in England and all had originally been printed in 1687. These were most likely brought out in a Dutch version firstly to satisfy domestic interest in the matter, secondly because they were works which had caused a stir in England and lastly, to enable pamphleteers to counter their arguments, whilst at the same time adding more fuel to the current debate.

The pamphlets printed in opposition to repeal were more varied, again including translated works from England that had originally been printed in the previous year, but new works were also published on the matter, with at least five pieces by Burnet.⁵² Both sides sought to gain the support of the Dissenters in regard to the issue of repeal, but obviously argued from opposing sides of the spectrum. Although the majority of these pamphlets were primarily intended for English audiences, the fact that they were translated not only exposed Dutch audiences to this

⁵¹ Knuttel 12903, 12910, 12913, 12933, 12946 (1688).

⁵² English authors: Knuttel 12902, 12929, 12930, 12931, 12932, 12955, 12956, 12958, 12959, 12960, 12963 (1688) and Burnet: Knuttel 12905, 12906, 12908, 12949, 12956 (1688).

discourse, but also meant that to an extent, the debate taking place in England was also being played out in the Dutch public sphere. However, the question of whether the publication of these works was being directed by William's propaganda team with the aim of increasing interest in the subject cannot be answered for certain. Although the widow Swart who was involved in producing Williamite propaganda for example, was responsible for the publication of six anti-repeal pamphlets, it is unclear if these were published in response to a direct request or as a reaction to market demands.⁵³

Pro-repeal works such as Samuel Parker's bestseller *Reasons for Abrogating the Test Imposed on all Members of Parliament*, the Dissenter Henry Care's *Draconica, or, An abstract of all the penal-laws touching matters of religion* and the anonymous *The King's Dispensing Power explicated and asserted*, espoused the cause of repeal by stressing the oppressive and unjust nature of the Penal Laws and Tests, as well as arguing for the King's legal right to dispense with such statutes, which they contended merely deprived him of the good service of his subjects.⁵⁴ William Penn's *Great and Popular Objection against the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests* took a slightly different angle, asserting that the Church of England was only making a case against repeal so that it could continue to oppress people of different persuasions.⁵⁵ People look to France and are afraid, Penn reasoned, yet in England the situation is worse as Protestants are being persecuted by those who profess the same religion. An even harsher assessment of the Church of England was forthcoming in the anonymous *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*.⁵⁶ The pamphleteer who was most likely Catholic, sought to counter the argument that his co-religionists could not be trusted by avowing the Church of England as an enemy and persecutor of mankind, declaring that its members were only opposed to repeal for reasons of self-preservation. In fact the pamphleteer argued, rather than fearing Catholics, people should see that it is the Church of England that cannot be

⁵³ Knuttel 12905, 12906, 12909, 12910, 12930, 12931 (1688).

⁵⁴ Knuttel 12903, S Parker, *Redenen voor het Afstellen en Vernietigen, van de Test, de Leden van het Parlement opgeleght Anno 1678, 30 October Door den Heer bisschop van Oxfort*; Knuttel 12910, Anon [H Care], *Een Extract van alle de Penale Wetten Ter Zaake van Godsdienst*; Knuttel 12936, Anon, *De Dispenserende Macht van den Koningh van Engeland* (1688).

⁵⁵ Knuttel 12913, Anon [W Penn], *De groote en gemeene objectie tegen het afschaffen der Penale Wetten en Tests* (1688).

⁵⁶ Knuttel 12946, Anon, *Een nieuwe Eedt of Test, wegens de getrouwigheyt der Kerk van Engeland* (1688).

trusted, for not only did its previous attempts to impose uniformity lead to the Civil Wars, but it was also responsible for the murder of Charles I.

In order to negate the effects of such works, anti-repeal pamphleteers firstly sought to discredit their opponents by casting suspicion on their motivation in writing. Burnet's three replies to Parker for example, not only accused him of being a secret Catholic who was in league with the Jesuits, but also argued that he was only writing for ambition and profit.⁵⁷ The author of *A New Test* was also criticised by Burnet for misrepresenting the history and reasoning behind the passing of the Penal Laws and Tests in order to dupe readers into thinking that they were no longer necessary.⁵⁸ Henry Care and Roger L'Estrange, two pro-James pamphleteers, were satirized in Thomas Brown's *Heraclitus ridens redivivus, or, A Dialogue between Harry and Roger Concerning the Times*.⁵⁹ In the pamphlet, Care (Harry) was portrayed as a Catholic conspirator, the 'darling of the Papists', who was confident that once the Penal Laws and Tests were removed, the way would be open for them to destroy the Church of England:

This Church of England you know is our greatest obstacle; it vexes me to think that such an heretical church should be established by Law; these Laws are such unlucky fortifications, that they stand more in our way than walls and Bastions. Could we but once level their works, you would not find it long before we fell to storming, and I think we have already made considerable advances.^{xv}

Certainly the belief that James' Declaration of Liberty of Conscience and the idea of repeal had been cooked up by his Catholic schemers in order to cause divisions in Protestantism was a common theme of the anti-repeal discourse. Pamphlets such as Burnet's *An Apology for the Church of England*, the Marquis of Halifax's *Letter to a Dissenter* and the anonymous *A Letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by news of the ensuing Parliament* focused on such an argument, stating that James' measures were just pretext to separate Dissenters from the Church of England so that Catholics could destroy them more easily.⁶⁰ For that reason, the

⁵⁷ Knuttel 12905, Anon [G Burnet], *Een Onderzoek over de Redenen*; Knuttel 12906, Anon [G Burnet], *Tweede Deel*; Knuttel 12908, Anon [G Burnet], *Een Vervolgh van het Tweede Deel* (1688).

⁵⁸ Knuttel 12949, Anon [G Burnet], *Antwoord op een Geschrift...Genaamt Een nieuwe Eedt of Test* (1688).

⁵⁹ Knuttel 12963, Anon [T Brown], *Den Lachende Heraclitus Weer verreesen. Of een t' samenspraak Tussen Hendrik en Rogier Over den tegenwoordigen tijd* (1688), pp5-6. The title and style of Brown's pamphlet was no doubt intended as a mockery of L'Estrange's Royalist newspaper, *Heraclitus ridens, or a Discourse between Jest and Earnest concerning the times* (1682).

⁶⁰ Knuttel 12956, Anon [G Burnet] *Een Apologie voor de Kerk van Engeland*; Knuttel 12929, Anon [G Saville], *Brief aan een Dissenter*; Knuttel 12930, Anon, *Brief Aen een Persoon van Qualiteyt* (1688).

theme of the necessity of unity in Protestantism was also stressed. Samuel Johnson's *The Way to Peace amongst all Protestants*, for example, aimed to show that Anglicans and Dissenters should be united by reference to an issue which had led to the first split in English Protestantism, the Vestments Controversy, which had begun during the reign of Edward VI and was later revived under Elizabeth I.⁶¹ At the beginning of the pamphlet, Johnson reprinted a letter of reconciliation written by the Anglican Bishop Nicolas Ridley to the Dissenter John Hooper, who had been at odds over the matter. The significance of the letter, which was reproduced from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, was that it had been written shortly after the accession of Mary Tudor, who had had Hooper swiftly imprisoned and executed in 1555.⁶² In his observations, Johnson stated that the letter highlighted that although Protestants can have differences, when their religion is in danger, they are capable of uniting for their common defence. Furthermore, he asserted that despite the efforts of the Jesuits to presently stir up these old differences by portraying the Church of England as a persecutor, Anglicans and Dissenters should not let them obscure the fact that they are both of the same religion.

The possibility of serious religious divisions occurring in England, clearly aroused fears in the Republic that the country was heading towards another Civil War. As Jones has argued, in the 1687-88 period, William and his advisers 'consistently exaggerated the danger of a republic being established in England', because they believed that this was the likely outcome of the turmoil being caused by the King's religious policies. Indeed, he maintains that 'William and Dutch opinion generally were drawing a misleading historical parallel with the events that had led up to the establishment of the commonwealth, and to its pursuit of the aggressive commercial policies that had produced the first Anglo-Dutch War.'⁶³ However, from the point of view of the Dutch, was this a complete misreading of the situation? William was certainly aware that trouble was brewing for Thomas Osborne reported on 6 April: 'Our zeal here for the Protestant religion does apparently increase every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made such a union for the defence of itt through the kingdome, that I

⁶¹ Knuttel 12958, Anon [S Johnson], *De Weg tot Vreede* (1688).

⁶² Foxe's work was reprinted in England in 1684, but I can find no evidence on the STCN that it ever appeared in a Dutch translation. EEBO, San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, Wing/F2036, J Foxe, *Acts and monuments* (1684).

⁶³ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p235.

verily believe by violent meanes, and itt is certaine they can do itt no other way.’⁶⁴ It must also be remembered that the English Civil War had arisen in the wake of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, which at the time was assumed to represent a threat to the Republic and all Protestants, because it was perceived as a Jesuit-led Catholic movement, supported by the King of Spain.⁶⁵ The onset of the English Civil War in 1642 was seen as an even greater danger to the Republic, for it was believed that the conflict had been caused by the religious factionalism resulting from Charles I’s pro-Catholic policies, which were seen as interconnected to the massacres being committed in Ireland.⁶⁶ Support for the Parliamentarians had therefore been strongly advocated in the Republic, particularly by orthodox Calvinists, who believed that the Republic was next on the Catholic ‘hit-list’. Gisbertus Voetius’ 1642 pamphlet *The British Lightning*, for example, argued that the Dutch should ‘pray that the Parliamentarians are victorious, for if the King’s party wins, Papists will completely dominate the land and after subjugating England and Scotland, they will begin to attack us.’⁶⁷ Given that the mere accession of the King had provoked a rebellion in 1685, the fact that James’ pro-Catholic measures were associated by implication with Louis XIV’s persecution of the Huguenots, as well as the emphasis placed in the pamphlet literature on the danger they represented to religious stability in England, perhaps it was plausible to the Dutch public that the same situation could be recurring in 1688.

Evidently aiming to tap into such fears, one Dutch printer reprinted the Civil War pamphlet, *The Popes nuntioes, or The negotiation of Seignor Panzani* (1643).⁶⁸ Related in the pamphlet were the findings of the Papal agent Gregorio Panzani, who had been sent to England in 1634 to discuss the possibility of a union between the Anglican and Roman Churches with Charles I.⁶⁹ Panzani reported on the religious make-up of England, describing how there were three factions who all opposed one

⁶⁴ Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby to William III, 27 March/6 April 1688, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck* (hereafter *Correspondentie*), Part II, ed. N Japikse (Den Haag, 1935), p8.

⁶⁵ RL Haan, ‘The Treatment of England and English Affairs in Dutch Pamphlet Literature, 1640-1660’ (Harvard, unpublished PhD thesis, 1960), p39.

⁶⁶ RL Haan, ‘The Treatment of England’, p40.

⁶⁷ Knuttel 4869, Anon [G Voetius], *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1642) translated in RL Haan, ‘The Treatment of England’, p40.

⁶⁸ Knuttel 12955, Anon, *Den Brittanischen morgen-wecker* (1688) / Knuttel 5000, Anon, *Den Brittanischen morgen-wecker* (1643). I can find no evidence on the STCN or EEBO that this pamphlet was re-issued in England in 1688.

⁶⁹ AO Meyer, ‘Charles I and Rome’, in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 19, 1 (October, 1931), pp13-26.

another; the Protestants who hate Puritans more than Catholics, the Catholics who hate Puritans more than Protestants and the Puritans who hate Catholics more than Protestants. According to the pamphlet, the main argument he made to Archbishop Laud, who was in favour of a closer union between Anglicans and Catholics, was that if these two religions combined, then they would be able to wipe out the Puritans.⁷⁰ Significantly, Panzani also discussed the possibility of removing the Oath of Allegiance to Charles, which he contended was an offence to the Pope. However, he was told that as the Oath was enacted in Parliament, it was beyond the King's power to change it. At the end of the letter, the dangers of factionalism in religion were stressed, as Panzani reported that the Kingdom had become so divided, that Catholics were able to increase daily with the approval of the King, so that in time it would be torn by Civil War. The aim in reprinting this pamphlet was clear; Dutch audiences must see that James II's pro-Catholic measures were dividing the nation along religious lines, which could lead to a renewed Civil War and even the wholesale conversion of England to Catholicism. For if Dissenters supported the King's policies, they would then be joining James and his Catholic supporters, aiding them to destroy not only the Church of England, but all shades of Protestantism.

The *English Protestants Joy* took a similar view and although it was evidently the work of an anonymous Orangist pamphleteer, whether it was produced as part of William's official propaganda cannot be known.⁷¹ What is certain is that the pamphlet was primarily intended for domestic readers, for it aimed to explain in clear terms the importance of the Penal Laws and Tests by reference to an episode from the Republic's own history - the disaster year of 1672.⁷² Portrayed in the familiar conversation style, the pamphlet centred on a discussion between a Dutchman and an Englishman over the repeal issue. At the beginning of the pamphlet, the Dutchman was eager to know the latest news from England as he had

⁷⁰ Laud believed that Puritans represented a threat to uniformity in the Church and to the security of civil government, see J Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot', in *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in early modern Europe*, eds. B Coward and J Swann (Aldershot, 2004), pp113-34.

⁷¹ Knuttel 12940, Anon, *Engelsche Protestantse Vreugde, Vervattende sekere Rede-kavelinge tusschen een Nederlander en Engelsman, Over ende ter saecke vande Abolitie van den Text, ende de Wetten van Engelandt* (1688).

⁷² I can find no evidence on the STCN or EEBO that this pamphlet was translated for English audiences.

read Fagel's *Letter* and was aware of the controversy surrounding James' religious policies:

I know that the pretense of the abolition of the Test and Penal Laws; together with what has been written on that subject by Pensionary Fagel in the name of their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, has definitely put the developments in England to the forefront, with the result that people are very seriously thinking about the political storm...^{xvi}

However, rather than commenting on the situation in England, the Englishman questioned why the Prince and Princess of Orange had commented on the King's policies when he had never interfered with Dutch laws. In reply, the Dutchman asserted that they were entitled to make a stance because Protestantism was a pillar of the Dutch state and if it was wobbling in England, then it may do the same in the Republic:

The abolition of the Test and the laws of your Kingdom, do not really affect us any further, other than in this regard, that in such cases a pillar, together with that of our state, the Holy Evangelism, is resting, should become unstable, if not to fall altogether, and because of this the pillar in our state runs the same danger of falling...^{xvii}

Therefore, the Dutchman argued that as they were the defenders of Protestantism, William and Mary had no option but to give their thoughts on the issue, for it was also a matter of consequence for the Dutch state:

And therefore their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange (together as hero and heroine of the People, for the maintenance of Religion, and the laws, and of the welfare of the land cherished in their hearts, and the care they bear that our united pillars remain joined and unbroken in their steadfastness) have done very well, to have noticed this in time, and to have expressed their sentiments in this way...^{xviii}

The pamphlet then moved on to straightforwardly explain to Dutch audiences why the Penal Laws and Tests must be upheld, with the Englishman contending that Britain heard their sounds over the abolition of the Perpetual Edict but did not interfere, yet now the Dutch were attempting to prevent the repeal of English laws.⁷³ In reply, the Dutchman stated that there was no comparison: 'My beloved friend, there is such a great difference between our so-named Perpetual Edict and your Test, as there is between white and black', maintaining (from his Orangist viewpoint) that the Edict was only passed because the Loevenstein faction wanted power for themselves in order to get their own way in the assemblies.^{xix} Reminding readers of the *rampjaar* of 1672, the Dutchman argued that the Edict eventually turned out to be the ruin of their state as men soon began to overstep their boundaries and that was

⁷³ For the controversy surrounding the Perpetual Edict see, J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), pp791-2, pp801-2.

why people strove to have it abolished, so that they could reinstate the old ways and the illustrious House of Orange who was 'confirmed as the medicine-master of all the sicknesses in our state.'^{xx} Then, seeking to explain whether James had a legal right to remove the statutes, the Englishman made the case that as the regents made the Perpetual Edict and abolished it, so it must be the same with James and these English laws. Amazed, the Dutchman explained that because the laws were made in Parliament with the consent of both Houses, they were fundamental laws of the Kingdom and could not be altered by the King alone. The message of the pamphleteer was again stressed at the end of the pamphlet; in the same way that the Republic was almost destroyed by removing one of its pillars, the House of Orange, through the Perpetual Edict, if the Penal Laws and Tests were removed in England then it too would fall into ruin because Protestantism was a fundamental prop of the state:

If the Test were to be abolished and repealed your kingdom shall: (by those men that attempt to change the Religion and Government in Church and Politics) become so wretched that the whole Kingdom shall be unstable, and be divided in Papal Bishops, Deacons, and Pastors, and a complete Papal Hierarchy will be erected right in the centre of this.^{xxi}

IV. The economic implications of James' religious policies

The danger that James' policies posed to the Protestant religion in both England and the Republic was the dominant theme of the pamphlet discourse published during this period. However, another element was also added to this debate in the Spring of 1688 - the possible economic consequences for the Republic if liberty of conscience was established in England. In fact, the King's renewed Declaration of 7 May itself had hinted as much, for in order to establish his sincerity as a sponsor of toleration and to detach himself from Louis XIV's Revocation, James had emphasised the economic benefits of toleration.⁷⁴ He not only argued that immigration would be encouraged, emigration decreased, and trade and industry expanded, but also made it clear that the English would benefit to the detriment of the Dutch:

We must conclude that not only good Christians will join us in this, but whoever is concerned for the increase of the Wealth and Power of the nation. It would, perhaps, *prejudice some of our Neighbours who might lose part of those vast Advantages they now enjoy, if Liberty of Conscience were settled in these Kingdoms, [my italics]* which are above all others most capable of Improvements, and of commanding the Trade of the World.

⁷⁴ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 18 May 1688 and Knuttel 12748, James II, *Zijn Majesteyts Genadige Declaratie* (1688).

Such arguments for religious toleration on economic grounds had been used in England since the 1660s and the Republic was often cited as the standard example of how prosperity could be increased by such a policy. As William Penn stated in 1670: 'Holland, then which, what place is there so improved in wealth, trade and power, chiefly owes it to her indulgence in matters of faith and worship.'⁷⁵ The Dutch case was also used by Slingsby Bethel in *The Present Interest of England Stated* (1671), to show that whereas the restoration strategy of religious persecution only harmed English trade, a policy of toleration would lead to commercial success.⁷⁶ Moreover, in addition to stressing the economic advantages of establishing toleration, authors emphasised that it would enable England to become a serious challenge to the lead of the Dutch in the economic sphere, as Charles Wolseley asserted in 1668: '...Liberty of Conscience here, is that they [the Dutch] fear above any thing, so it would insensibly more weaken them, then all the victories we have obtained over them.'⁷⁷

James' supporters in 1687 and 1688 therefore again stressed the economic benefits toleration would bring to England and the financial damage it would do to the Republic, aiming both to increase support for his policies and to counter at least some of the arguments made in Fagel's *Letter*. One pamphlet written with such a purpose in mind was *A Letter from Holland Concerning Liberty of Conscience*, which purported to be a letter from an Amsterdammer to a friend in London.⁷⁸ Although the STCN and EEBO attribute the piece to Cornelis de Witt (1623-1672), due to the initials C.D.W. at the end of the letter, this seems highly improbable. Firstly, Cornelis and his brother were long dead by 1688 and secondly, there is no evidence of earlier works by him on such a topic.⁷⁹ Rather, the piece which was printed 'with allowance', was clearly the work of a pro-James propagandist that had originally been published in England.⁸⁰ This conclusion is also substantiated by the hostile expressions and language used in regard to the Republic. Indeed, the

⁷⁵ EEBO, San Marino, Henry E Huntington Library, Wing/P1299, W Penn, *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience once more briefly debated & defended* (1670), p41.

⁷⁶ EEBO, Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Wing/B2072, S Bethel, *The present interest of England stated* (1671), pp13-27.

⁷⁷ EEBO, San Marino, Henry E Huntington Library, Wing/W3309, C Wolseley, *Liberty of Conscience the Magistrates Interest* (1668), pp9-10.

⁷⁸ Knuttel 12927, Anon [C.D.W.], *Een Briefuyt Holland Aangaande de Vryheyd van Conscientie* (1688).

⁷⁹ HH Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672* (Princeton, 1978).

⁸⁰ EEBO, New York, Union Theological Seminary Library, Wing/1055:07, C.D.W, *A letter from Holland touching liberty of conscience* (1688).

pamphleteer casts the Amsterdammer supposedly extolling the economic advantages that England can expect by establishing toleration, with the aim of gaining support for James' policies amongst English audiences. However, the Dutch public must have drawn an entirely opposite conclusion. In fact, the pamphlet was most likely translated with the intention of warning those with economic interests in Holland specifically, but not solely, of the possible harmful effects of James' Declaration.

Certainly the links between economic prosperity and toleration were well known in the Republic where the establishment of liberty of conscience had not been the result of any great ideological commitment to the principle of religious toleration, but was more a matter of practical necessity.⁸¹ In consequence, although theoretical justifications for toleration were put forward, such as those by Dirck Coornhert the greatest Dutch advocate of toleration, the policy was usually defended on the grounds of its advantages for trade.⁸² As Pieter de la Court's *Het Interest* argued in 1662, 'the welfare of Holland is founded upon manufactures, fishery, trade and navigation'. For these to be maintained the Dutch must continue in their policy of toleration as, 'Freedom or toleration in, and about the service of worship of God, is a powerful means to preserve many inhabitants in Holland, and allure foreigners to dwell amongst us.'⁸³ De la Court's message was clear, to maintain its pre-eminent position, Dutch trade was dependent on religious toleration. However, this advantage was of course, also dependent on the intolerance of other nations.

Starting from a similar premise to De la Court, in the supposed letter dated 27 April (OS), significantly the same day that James II re-issued his Declaration, the Amsterdammer began by showing how the Republic had benefited from toleration. He argued that although liberty of conscience had been introduced as a unifying factor during the Revolt, because its maintenance had enabled the country to build up great prosperity, it was now an established maxim of state:

..it is one of the fundamental principles of our Policy, and the strongest pile that buoys up our magnificent Stadhouse. It is to the same that we owe our Populousness, and consequently our Trade, Riches and strength: the Engine whereby we have exhausted other Nations and mounted ourselves to such an ascendant of wealth and power as to challenge the most plentiful Kingdoms and the tallest Monarchs.^{xxii}

⁸¹ EH Kossmann, 'Freedom in seventeenth-century Dutch thought and practice', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp296-97; HH Rowen, 'The Dutch Republic and the Idea of Freedom', in *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649-1746*, ed. D Wootton (Stanford, 1994), pp314-15.

⁸² See G Voogt, *Constraint on Trial, Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert and Religious Freedom* (Kirkville USA, 2000).

⁸³ J de Witt, [P de la Court], *The True Interests and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland* (London, 1746), pviii, pp49-51.

Trade and manufactures are the main beneficiaries of toleration, according to the Amsterdammer, because it draws in vast numbers of people, who utilise their skills and experience for the benefit of the common good: 'the most part of those refugees consist of Merchants, Artificers or Laborious Tradesmen, that like Bees, wherever they come, bring in honey to the common hive, by teaching new, or improving old manufactures amongst those where they reside.'^{xxiii} Indeed, the Dutch authorities actively welcomed foreigners, such as the Huguenot refugees, to settle in the Republic as they appreciated the fact that immigrants could be used to increase the prosperity of the state and some cities, such as Amsterdam, had become increasingly reliant on this workforce.⁸⁴ Here the pamphleteer was clearly trying to stress that the Republic owed its prosperity and economic strength to toleration, so if James's plan for repeal was successful then England could expect the same advantages.

To be sure, the Amsterdammer asserted, English merchants could already see that James' policies were encouraging immigration to the detriment of Dutch trade and manufactures, by describing how before the King had announced his Declaration, a family of English Dissenters had emigrated to the Republic in 1686 where they then set up a factory manufacturing cloth at Leeuwaarden in Friesland. However, according to the pamphlet, because the factory was an economic blow to the English clothing trade, James II ordered his Ambassador to assure the Dissenters of complete liberty of conscience to entice them home. As a direct result of James' toleration, the Dissenters returned to England and the factory was closed down. The significance of this story is that it was actually a real case which the pamphleteer recounts almost perfectly, for a group of Dissenters had indeed established a linen factory in Friesland in January 1686 with the support of the Dutch authorities who were extremely interested in the venture. As the yearly value of the English clothing trade with Holland was about £800,000, the Dissenters had been offered all sorts of incentives such as a rent free workhouse for twenty years, interest free loans of 25,000 guilders and a twenty year exemption from taxes.⁸⁵ Yet as the pamphleteer mentions, Skelton's spy Everard reported that it would be prejudicial to the manufacture of English cloth and advised James to pardon the Dissenters, which he

⁸⁴ JL van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy* (Manchester, 1993), p62.

⁸⁵ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, pp508-09.

duly did and the factory was closed at the end of July 1686.⁸⁶ By using this example, the pamphleteer aimed to show that if Dissenters supported the establishment of toleration by law not only would immigration increase, but it would also boost the flagging cloth trade, in which they had a principal interest.⁸⁷

Another obvious boon for English merchants was that James' policies were already harming their economic rivals, so if Parliament consented to toleration then it would be an even greater blow to the Dutch: 'if the free Exercise of Religion has been able to yield such excellent effects in these Provinces, who sees not that the same firmly established in England, must produce far greater advantages.'^{xxiv} Alluding to the disastrous effects of the first Anglo-Dutch War on the Republic, the Amsterdammer aimed to show what the Republic would lose and what England would gain by James' measures: 'your happy Britain, as she is the Queen of Isles, so seems designed by Nature to be the Sovereign of the Seas, and a Mistress of Trade, the Grand Magazine of Commerce and chief Emporium of the World...'^{xxv} The Amsterdammer claimed that it would be easy to achieve all these things if toleration was instituted because England has so many natural advantages over the Dutch, such as better climate and soil, navigable rivers, safe harbours and an abundance of native commodities. Although the Amsterdammer did not directly mention the Republic at the end of the pamphlet, it is evident that the author wanted to reinforce his message that James' design would be an economic disaster for the Dutch: 'I need not add who or what People would lose the most by this...It being certain that Liberty of Conscience established by Law in England...would more mortify them in seven Years, than a war so long carried on against them with success.'^{xxvi}

This line of argument was also taken in another piece of pro-toleration propaganda translated from the English.⁸⁸ In *A Letter from an English Merchant in London to His Dutch Correspondent in Amsterdam*, the pamphleteer stated that because the Dutch had been commenting so much on the King's intentions, he thought it was time to give his opinion.⁸⁹ Again using old anti-Dutch rhetoric from

⁸⁶ J Walker, 'The English Exiles in Holland during the reigns of Charles II and James II', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 30 (1948), p112.

⁸⁷ J de Lacy Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880* (Oxford, 1971), p21.

⁸⁸ According to James Johnstone 20,000 copies of this pamphlet had been produced in England along with a second edition of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, see PwA 2161, Copy letter from James Johnstone to Dr John Hutton, 23 May 1688 (OS).

⁸⁹ Knuttel 12928, Anon, *Een Brief van een Engelsch Koopman in London Aan zijn Duytsche Correspondent tot Amsterdam* (1688), pp1-2.

the Anglo-Dutch wars, according to this pamphleteer, the Dutch were only thinking of themselves, preferring interest to religion: 'so it is evidently an irrefutable Truth, that the first Article of Your Belief is Interest.'^{xxvii} In reality, it was asserted, the Dutch were only opposing James' Declaration so that they could continue to undermine another Protestant nation's trade. Furthermore the author maintained, the Dutch were only inciting people against liberty of conscience specifically using anti-Catholic arguments because they were afraid of the economic consequences: 'you therefore sit very afraid for the success of these measures...in Parliament.'^{xxviii} The same line of reasoning as in the previous pamphlet was also utilised, with the long list of economic advantages to England and the detrimental effects for the Dutch laid out. Again, even though the work was primarily intended to make a positive case for toleration to English audiences, at the same time the negative consequences must have been apparent to Dutch readers as the pamphleteer concludes 'all that we shall gain by these measures, you must lose.'^{xxix}

V. James II and the international Jesuit Conspiracy

Clear attempts were also made to place the King's domestic policies in a specifically European context, by putting James' measures at the heart of a supposed international Jesuit conspiracy aimed at the extirpation of Protestantism. This message was mainly portrayed via the production of explicit pieces of anti-Jesuit propaganda. Seven such pamphlets were printed on the King's religious measures in the Spring, with two more following the birth of the Prince of Wales in June.⁹⁰ Indeed, it was significant that the majority of these pamphlets were published in the same period as the Fagel *Letter* controversy, for either February or March was stated as the date of composition. Usually put in the form of secret Catholic letters, these works were often accompanied by a preface or commentary in which the printer stated that they were being printed both to expose, and to provide 'evidence' of, the Jesuits' evil designs. Alternatively, some were presented as conversations between Jesuit Priests, who discuss their plans to reduce the world to slavery and Catholicism. Catchy titles such as *The Jesuit Unmasked*, *The Discarded Letters* or *A Letter from Father Peters to Father La Chaise* were used, equally to attract attention

⁹⁰ Knuttel 12921, 12922, 12924, 12925, 12926, 12950, 12954, 12968, 12971 (1688).

and to indicate their contents.⁹¹ It is evident that these pamphlets aimed to appeal to a broad audience, both in England and the Republic, for they were presented in familiar formats, as well as being short and understandable.⁹² Due to the very nature of these pamphlets however, it is not surprising that their provenance cannot be determined. It is probable that they were composed and printed in the Republic, but it is difficult to ascertain whether they were produced at the request of one of William's propaganda team or composed independently. Certainly the popular effects of such propaganda on English audiences had already been reported by William's agent James Johnstone, who in November 1687, had recommended that the *Letter From a Jesuit at Liege* should be reprinted with a preface claiming that it was a true letter.⁹³

Exactly how this anti-Jesuit propaganda was perceived by the public cannot be known, but Johnstone's advice to William does suggest that the veracity of this correspondence was believable. After all, plotting was a clandestine business covertly conducted, therefore the presentation of this plot in supposedly 'discovered letters' was perhaps convincing. Indeed, the 'authenticity' of the letters was emphasised by the use of a commentary which accompanied each of the pamphlets. In the preface to *The Discarded Post* for example, the printer recounted to the reader how one of his friends had found a bag of letters a mile from Paris and after realising their significance, he thought that it would be in the public's interest to print those relating to the Jesuits' scheme: 'I thought that it would not be unwelcome, if some of these [letters] were made public to the world, the others were just letters of commerce or love, with which I do not think the Reader will have any concern...^{xxx,94} The legitimacy of the evidence was further emphasised in a postscript at the end of each letter, which also enabled the pamphleteer to restate his main points, as the printer of a supposed letter of Father Peters stated: 'For my part, I was rather taken a back, after I had read this and the previous Letter, and saw what hellish thoughts the Jesuit brood had come up with, to eradicate Christ's Church, if it

⁹¹ Knuttel 12954, Anon, *De Ontmomde Jesuit, of Samen-spraak tusschen...Vader la Chaise...Vader Peters...en Vader Taschart*; Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afgesette Post* and Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688).

⁹² Five of the nine pamphlets were translated for English audiences, Knuttel 12921, 12924, 12954, 12968, 12971 (1688).

⁹³ PwA 2099, Copy letter from James Johnstone to 'Honoured Sir', 17 November 1687 (OS); Knuttel 12576, *Missive van een Jesuit tot Luyk* (1687).

⁹⁴ Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afgesette Post* (1688), pp3-4.

could be possible, from the face of the earth.^{xxx1,95} One entire pamphlet was even published with the sole intention of commenting on Peters' letter, in which the author praised God for allowing it to come to light, as now it made clear that James and his Queen were slaves of the Society, just like all other Catholic monarchs have been, Phillip II included.⁹⁶

Furthermore, if these pamphlets were to be successful pieces of propaganda, they had to tap into the way people were already thinking, for as Ellul explained: 'The good propagandist knows what his public wants and adapts to it. He knows its fears and expectations, its desires and prejudices. He will, if at all possible, exploit for himself an established view, and under no circumstances fight it.'⁹⁷ Certainly in the mindset of the Dutch public, there was a fundamental difference between traditionally content Catholics and those Papists that were energetically aggressive.⁹⁸ Therefore by placing developments in England within the context of an active international Jesuit conspiracy, this propaganda aimed to develop Dutch anxieties of an unbridled Catholicism which, as discussed in Chapter Two, had already been stimulated by Louis XIV's policy of forced conversions and persecution.⁹⁹ In addition, this conspiratorial state of mind was strengthened by attributing the plot to the Jesuits, who were traditionally regarded as 'the superpapists, the diabolical schemers, liars who justify their deceit with the doctrine of equivocation and mental reservation, the international vagrants threatening the modern nation-state, the political subversives with access to the wealthy and powerful.'¹⁰⁰

Moreover, the public were repeatedly invited to draw parallels between past and present events by reminding them of previous Catholic atrocities committed at the Jesuits' instigation. Events such as the murders of Henry III, Henry IV, William I, the attempted assassination of Elizabeth I, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Popish Plot of 1678, were therefore invoked to suggest they might reoccur at any moment. Also prominent were references to the Saint

⁹⁵ Knuttel 12971, Anon, *Brief van Vader Peters...Aan Pater la Chaise* (1688), p22.

⁹⁶ Knuttel 12922, Anon, *Een Brief Aen Een Vriend, Zijnde eenige Aenmerkingen Op den Brief van den Eerwaardigen Vader Peters* (1688).

⁹⁷ J Ellul, *Propagandes* (Paris, 1962), p46 quoted in AT van Deursen, 'Propaganda. The battle for public opinion', p25.

⁹⁸ I Schöffner, 'Het grote waagstuk', p12.

⁹⁹ Chapter Two, pp66-67.

¹⁰⁰ AF Marotti, 'Alienating Catholics in early modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies', in *Catholics and Anti-Catholicism in early modern English Texts*, ed. AF Marotti (Basingstoke, 1999), p12.

Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 which was regarded as the pivotal event in the Protestant martyrological tradition.¹⁰¹ The use of this example also had added political significance in the Republic, for during the peace negotiations at Münster in 1648, the advocates of peace who were often anti-French, had made frequent use of the massacre as evidence of the unreliability of the French towards Protestants.¹⁰²

Another factor strengthening this propaganda was that the Jesuit plotters were not faceless Catholics, for two main conspirators were put in the frame; James II's confessor Edward Peters (or Petre) and Louis XIV's confessor François d'Aix de la Chaise. Peters was an English Jesuit whom James had made a clerk of the closet on his accession, a position without political power. However, he had soon risen to become a close and influential adviser of the King, especially after his appointment to the Privy Council on 21 November 1687.¹⁰³ Although little evidence has survived, it is clear that Peters was unpopular, even amongst Catholics.¹⁰⁴ The Jesuit had annoyed the Pope for example, due to James' repeated attempts to have him made a bishop *in partibus*, requests that were refused on every occasion.¹⁰⁵ Due to Peters' ambition, he was widely believed to be one of the driving forces behind the King's religious policies. La Chaise was regarded in much the same way in France, evoking strong reactions from both friendly and hostile contemporaries alike.¹⁰⁶ Due to the extent of his influence on the King, it was widely assumed that he was guilty of conspiring with Madame de Maintenon in persuading Louis to revoke the Edict of Nantes.¹⁰⁷ La Chaise was also believed to be directly involved in Louis' strategy of

¹⁰¹ B Diefendorf, 'Prologue to a Massacre: Popular Unrest in Paris, 1557-1572', in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 90, 5 (December, 1985), pp1067-91; DR Kelly, 'Martyrs, Myths and the Massacre: The Background of St Bartholomew', in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 77, 5 (December, 1972), pp1323-42.

¹⁰² H Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amersfoort, 1990), p13.

¹⁰³ JH Pollen, 'Sir Edward Petre, Baronet, SJ' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 9 (1911), accessible via <http://www.newadvent.org>.

¹⁰⁴ Mary of Modena apparently disliked Peters and was worried by the extent of his influence over the King, C Oman, *Mary of Modena* (Bungay, 1962), p105.

¹⁰⁵ James made applications to the Pope on 24 November 1685, 28 June 1686, 16 June 1687, 24 September 1687 and finally on 22 December 1687 (OS), J Miller, *Popery and Politics*, pp229-38.

¹⁰⁶ For contemporary comments on La Chaise see Louis de Rouvroy Duc de Saint Simon, *The Entire Memoirs of Louis XIV, His Court and the Regency*, vol. 6, ch. XLVI (London, 1926), accessible via <http://www.blackmask.com>

¹⁰⁷ M Ott, 'François d'Aix de la Chaise', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (1910), accessible via <http://www.newadvent.org>.

persecution after 1685, being responsible for the introduction and enforcement of galley service for Huguenots caught fleeing the country.¹⁰⁸

Without a doubt, both James and Louis were continually portrayed as dupes of their Jesuit confessors, who had sucked the Kings into their plans to eradicate Protestantism either by religious zeal or bribery. Any action taken by James or Louis, whatever its real intention, could therefore now be interpreted, and thus offered, as evidence of this plot. The policy of forced conversions in France was presented as the first stage of this scheme, with La Chaise bragging that it had resulted in the conversion of more Protestants in the space of a year than the teachings of Christ and his Apostles did in ten.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it was asserted that Louis had only revoked the Edict of Nantes and taken such harsh measures against the Huguenots because of La Chaise's influence:

On then with the Chief, I will say our Monarch to begin, so is it certain that he is naturally good, and that he loves not to do evil, unless men rouse him to do it: that then being so, I can say, that without the clergy of France, and without our Society, he never would have undertaken the conversion of his subjects.^{xxxii}

Although the French King was unwilling to undertake such action at first, because La Chaise would not absolve him for sleeping with his daughter in law, he had no choice. In fact, the Jesuits now have such a hold over Louis that he has even abandoned his attempts at gaining universal monarchy, despite being aware that the Jesuits' plan to destroy Protestantism goes against his real aims:

On the other side he is a Prince so enlightened, and who very well observes that what we put upon him, is contrary to his interests, and that nothing is more opposite to his great designs, and his glory, he aiming to make himself the Terror of all Europe...the people's fears begin to lessen, as to his aspiring to a universal Monarchy: and men must be assured, that he thinks no more on that, nothing being more opposite to that design, as the policy that we instruct him in.^{xxxiii}

As the Jesuits' scheme was progressing well in France, the next stage was the conversion of England. For that reason, La Chaise advised Peters to read the Jesuit Father Robert Parsons' book, *The Memorial for the Reformation of England* (1596), which was a sort of blueprint for the kind of society that England would become after its return to the 'true' Catholic faith.¹¹⁰ However, because James was not as

¹⁰⁸ M Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688* (Brighton, 2002), p30.

¹⁰⁹ Knuttel 12924, Anon, *Antwoort Van den Eerwaardigen Vader la Chaise* (1688), p3.

¹¹⁰ Knuttel 12924, Anon, *Antwoort Van den Eerwaardigen Vader la Chaise* (1688), p7. Parsons was a controversial figure due to his association with Cardinal William Allen in hoping for a conquest of England by the Spanish Armada and because of his implication in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. His *Memorial* was reprinted in English with a new commentary in 1690, see EEB0, London, British

powerful as Louis they had to use stealth tactics, such as the King's Declaration of Liberty of Conscience and his attempts to repeal the Penal Laws and Tests, for their plan to succeed.¹¹¹ Again, as stated in other pamphlets, the Jesuits' supposed motivation for repeal was to cause divisions in Protestantism, which would then enable Catholicism to surreptitiously increase. One of the *Discard Letters* written by an English Protestant for example, referred to the King's closeting campaign, explaining that when the King first enquired about repeal: 'there was not one single person found, who was willing to take off the Test and the Penal Laws, since doing that would undermine the foundations of the Protestant Religion.'^{xxxiv, 112} However, since James' Declaration great changes have occurred: '...men today see the Monks in their usual habits with their great beards....wandering around the City, and the Jesuits with wrinkled foreheads...like Locusts, jumping from street to street, from one House to another. Men hear nothing else spoken of but conversion...'^{xxxv} The King's continuing attempts to pack Parliament were therefore also used as evidence that the Jesuits were determined to secure repeal: 'When your Reverence shall see a Parliament assembled by his Majesty, you may justly conclude that our party will be strong enough, because it is not probable that we should call a Parliament without being first assured what the members are that compose it.'^{xxxvi, 113} James was currently taking measures to ensure this, according to Peters, by making applications to the shires and corporations to ensure that favourable persons are chosen, and to add weight to this, a copy of an address from the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Burghers of Newcastle in Stafford promising to choose members compliant with James, was enclosed.¹¹⁴

Another constituent element brought into this conspiracy was James' demand for the return of the six British regiments serving in the Republic, which were to be used to secure the conversion of England by force if the Jesuits' attempts at repeal

Library, Wing / P569, R Parsons, *The Jesuit's memorial for the intended reformation of England* (1690).

¹¹¹ Knuttel 12968, Anon, *Brief van Pater la Chaise...Aan Vader Peters* (1688).

¹¹² Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afsesette Post* (1688), pp13-14.

¹¹³ Knuttel 12954, Anon, *De Ontmomde Jesuit, of Samen-spraak tusschen...Vader la Chaise...Vader Peters...en Vader Taschart* (1688), p16.

¹¹⁴ Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688). It has been argued that although James' campaign to pack Parliament aroused opposition, it probably would have succeeded if it were not for William's invasion, JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp128-75; MJ Short, 'The Corporation of Hull and the Government of James II, 1687-88', in *Historical Research*, vol. 75, 175 (June, 1998), pp172-95.

failed.¹¹⁵ The King's decision to recall these regiments had been taken in response to William's refusal to appoint any Catholic officers to commands in the brigades.¹¹⁶ Although these troops had always officially been under the nominal control of the English monarch, their anomalous position had certainly created awkward diplomatic situations in the past. In 1680, for example, William had annoyed Charles II by rejecting the employment of the Catholic George Douglas to Commander-in-Chief of the brigade. Again in 1688, because William was worried by the increased number of Catholics entering the English army, he refused to appoint the Catholic Earl of Carlingford as Commander General. Extremely irritated, James therefore issued orders that the six regiments were to be returned, with the added bonus that it might deprive William of one of the elite corps of his army.¹¹⁷

The Dutch public were well informed in regard to this matter, for Albeville's Memorial to the States General of 1 March requesting the return of the troops was soon published.¹¹⁸ In addition, James' official announcement recalling the regiments on 14 March was also printed in pamphlet form, as well as being reported in Dutch newspapers.¹¹⁹ The King's Proclamation, which not only stated that he was giving all his natural born subjects in the pay of the States General two months to quit their service, but also that Captains and Officers were permitted to seize anyone who would not comply, soured relations between the two countries as the Dutch authorities refused to acquiesce to James' demand. In the view of the States General, James had no right to insist on the return of the regiments as units because he had nothing to do with their formation. As the King he could command his own subjects to return home, but the order must be to individuals, not to the men as a body. Those men who wished to return were therefore permitted to go, but the authorities stated that they would not actively force them to comply with James' command.¹²⁰ As extracts from the Resolutions of the States General replying to Albeville's request,

¹¹⁵ Knuttel 12954, Anon, *De Ontmomde Jesuit, of Samen-spraak tusschen...Vader la Chaise...Vader Peters...en Vader Taschart* (1688).

¹¹⁶ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England*, p181.

¹¹⁷ M Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange*, pp80-81.

¹¹⁸ Knuttel 12741, I White, *Memorie van den Heer Marquis d' Albyville* (1688).

¹¹⁹ Knuttel 12745, James II, *By de Konigh, Proclamatie, commanderende het wederkeeren van alle sijne Majesteyts Onderdanen* (1688); *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 1 April 1688.

¹²⁰ S Baxter, *William III*, p221.

along with copy of his original Memorial was also distributed, the States' opposition was evident to Dutch audiences.¹²¹

However, the States General's refusal to return the regiments must have caused some confusion in the Republic, particularly in light of the fact that the troops had been sent back just three years earlier, for the author of the *English Protestants Joy* attempted to explain this decision to the Dutch public.¹²² Firstly, the pamphlet addressed the question of why the present situation in England was so different from that in 1685, when the States General had returned the regiments for his Majesty's service. It was argued that at that time the troops had been sent to help the King defend himself against a rebellion and the States General's Resolutions of 1685 were reproduced as evidence of this.¹²³ However, the pamphleteer maintained that if the men were sent over now, it would be against the interests of both the King and the whole country, because the troops would be used for the massacre of Protestants 'by bloodthirsty Papists.' This was bound to happen, according to the pamphleteer, because after reading Fagel's *Letter*, James realised that the Prince and Princess would not agree to the abolition of the Penal Laws and Tests. For that reason, and because the resistance to repeal had increased, his evil councillors had persuaded him to recall the regiments in order to ensure Parliament's consent. Therefore having weighed things up the States General, significantly in agreement with William, now believed that the King intended use the troops on his own subjects and consequently, they could not contribute to the ruin of other Protestants:

But their High Mightinesses [the States General] together with the Prince of Orange, have reflected and considered, that he [James] is resolved to employ these aforementioned 6 Regiments to no other end, than to force his own people to abolish the Test and penal Laws...and should our Nation send these Troops, it would have an eternal disgrace attached to it, and it would be unjustifiable to God, that by such a supply we should contribute such a remarkable disadvantage to your Kingdom and to our State, and to the destruction of Gods Church, and to the extirpation of our Brothers and the Body of Jesus Christ^{xxxvii 124}

Certainly, the belief that James was now committed to the use of force in England and that the decision to recall the regiments was a direct response to Fagel's *Letter*, had already been put forward by William's intelligence agents in England and

¹²¹ Knuttel 12742, States General, *Antwoort Van de Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenigde Nederlanden Op de Memorie by den Heere Marquis d'Albyville* (1688).

¹²² Knuttel 12940, Anon, *Engelsche Protestantse Vreugde* (1688).

¹²³ The Resolutions of the States General in regards to the regiments and the rebellions were dated 9 June 1685 and 6 July 1685.

¹²⁴ Knuttel 12940, Anon, *Engelsche Protestantse Vreugde* (1688), p9.

this opinion was also asserted in the anti-Jesuit propaganda.¹²⁵ Indeed, in one of the supposed letters, Peters explicated that the troops had been recalled as a result of Fagel's *Letter*: 'This Letter has extremely provoked the King, who is of a temper not to bear a refusal...this very affront has hastened his Resolution of recalling the English regiments in Holland.'^{xxxviii, 126} According to Peters these troops were now to be used to secure the conversion of England by force, for James would '...let loose the Holy Missionary Dragoons upon them, who will persuade them of the truth of our religion. This is the aim of the King of Britain, and there are more than 2400 Jesuits and Monks in England that give undeniable testimony of this.'^{xxxix, 127} More worrying, however, was that the regiments were only to be part of a much larger Catholic army, as Peters explained that James was already building up such a force using regiments sent over from Ireland and he hoped La Chaise could get more from France.¹²⁸ The primary objective of this Catholic militia was to secure repeal by force because no soldiers would be appointed unless they agreed to swear an oath to help abolish the Penal Laws and Tests.¹²⁹ The King was even depicted discussing this scheme with the ghost of the 'murdered' Charles II, who had returned from the grave in order to warn him that his plan could never succeed due to the nation's attachment to Protestantism.¹³⁰ Yet despite Charles' reservations, James was confident of success, asserting that he could rely on support from other Catholic nations if necessary:

I presently have the whole Catholic Religion on my side; so if it comes to it, the Emperor shall send me money to destroy the Heretics; as he has sent to the Pope for His conflict against the Unbelievers. Besides because I have the King of France in particular on my side, who has promised me Ships and Troops, I have nothing to fear.^{xl}

However, according to the anti-Jesuit propaganda there was another possible explanation for James' recall of the six regiments and his attempts to pack Parliament; that the King harboured hostile intentions towards the Republic. Certainly Albeville's request for the troops' return increased William's belief that James was planning to launch an attack on the Republic, probably with French

¹²⁵ PwA 2118, Copy letter from J Schultz, 16 December 1687 (OS); PwA 1231, Copy letter from James Johnstone to Dr John Hutton, 23 January 1688 (OS); PwA 2133, Copy letter from James Johnstone, 24 January 1688 (OS).

¹²⁶ Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688), p3.

¹²⁷ Knuttel 12954, Anon, *De Ontmomde Jesuit, of Samen-spraak tusschen...Vader la Chaise...Vader Peters...en Vader Taschart* (1688), p7.

¹²⁸ Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688).

¹²⁹ Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afgesette Post* (1688).

¹³⁰ Knuttel 12981, Anon, *De Geest van wijlen Carel de II* (1688), p10.

help.¹³¹ It is also evident that such rumours were circulating in England, as John Freke wrote to John Locke:

I had once thought this summer might have afforded me another occasion of seeing you for I had found a companion that was willing to ramble a few years about the world with me on condition I would have first visited Holland and Flanders but the late proclamation that recalls home our forces is pend in such terms that my Gentleman is affrightened from his purpose.¹³²

The anxieties surrounding such a possibility were also depicted in one of the *Discarded Letters* from a Protestant in London, although like most members of the English opposition, he was confident that James would not receive any support for such action in England:

Men here speak of War, the cause of which being differences with the Hollanders, but if that came to happen, the majority of sailors in the present-day conjuncture of business would not fight, and if my Lord the Prince of Orange, embarked in person with Holland's Fleet, so is it certain that half of our fleet would make him their Chief, instead of fighting against him...^{xli133}

Similar worries were put forward in another pamphlet which purported to be a letter from a Dutch Protestant who held the same opinion. In the letter the Dutchman asserted that James only wanted a compliant Parliament so that he could get funding to launch a war against the Republic: '...he will find the means to acquire money, possibly for the commencement of war against the States, and it would principally be against those of Holland: because the fears he has of the Prince of Orange...and in the direction of the Grand Pensionary Fagel, are very great.'^{xlii, 134}

Evidence for this Jesuit conspiracy was stepped up a gear with the King's imprisonment of the seven bishops in June, which was also perceived as proof of James' increasingly absolutist position. The King and members of the Anglican Church had come into conflict following an Order of Council on 14 May which commanded that James' re-issued Declaration of Liberty of Conscience was to be read out and distributed on two successive Sundays by officiating ministers in all churches and chapels of the kingdom.¹³⁵ However, the great majority of London clergy decided not to read it and on 28 May, the archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft and six of his colleagues, drew up a petition pointing out that the dispensing power on which the Declaration rested had been declared illegal in Parliament,

¹³¹ W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III* (Hilversum, 2001), p191.

¹³² John Freke to John Locke, 19 March 1688 (OS), *The Correspondence*, vol. 3, p418.

¹³³ Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afsesette Post* (1688), p13. See also NA Robb, *William of Orange – A Personal Portrait*, vol. 2, 1674-1702 (London, 1966), p262.

¹³⁴ Knuttel 12926, Anon, *Brief van een Voorwerp* (1688), p4.

¹³⁵ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 18 May 1688.

notably in 1663 and 1673.¹³⁶ As news of the petition leaked out and copies circulated, James was initially unconcerned because he believed that such opposition to toleration would merely widen the breach between Anglicans and Dissenters.¹³⁷ However, when the King realised that he was wrong and that many leading Dissenters actually openly supported the bishops' stance, he became anxious to reassert his authority and so imprisoned the bishops in the Tower of London on 18 June.¹³⁸ Following the acquittal of the seven bishops, who were charged with seditious libel, there was not only great rejoicing in England, but also an increase in anti-Catholic rioting which saw the Pope and the young Prince of Wales burned in effigy.¹³⁹

Even though no commentaries appeared on the anti-Catholic disturbances, the Dutch public were aware of the bishops' harsh treatment, for an account describing the reasons for their imprisonment was soon in print.¹⁴⁰ Pamphlets produced in England on this issue were also translated and despite the fact that they all opposed the King's actions, it was clear that there were differences of opinion on the matter. Written in support of reading the Declaration was the bishop of Hereford's *A Short Discourse Concerning the reading of his Majesty's late Declaration in the Churches*.¹⁴¹ Although its author Herbert Croft was no great supporter of James, his pamphlet justified reading out the Declaration on the grounds of obedience to the monarch. The bishop stated that he had been torn between defying the King or disagreeing with his brothers in religion, for he had James' order in one hand and the bishop's petition in the other. Although he did not agree with its contents, Croft asserted that because James had commanded that the Declaration be read out, in accordance with the law of God, he had no choice but to obey the King's command. On the opposite side of the debate, the Marquis of Halifax's *A Letter From a Clergyman in the city*, defended the bishops' decision, arguing that if the Declaration was read out, then it would open the doors of the Church for Catholicism to come in.¹⁴² According to Halifax, because the Anglican clergy believed that the

¹³⁶ The six bishops were Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Sir Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol. I can find no evidence that the Bishop's petition was translated for Dutch audiences.

¹³⁷ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp122-27.

¹³⁸ J Miller, *James II. A Study in Kingship* (London, 1977), pp185-86.

¹³⁹ J Miller, *Popery and Politics*, p259.

¹⁴⁰ Knuttel 12750, *Tyding uyt London den 8/18 Juny* (1688).

¹⁴¹ Knuttel 12933, H Croft, *Redenen van den Bisschop van Hereford* (1688).

¹⁴² Knuttel 12931, Anon [G Saville], *Een Brief Van een Kerkelijke Persoon in de stad London* (1688).

Penal Laws and Tests were vital for the safety of the Protestant religion, they could not read out James' Declaration, for this would imply that they were consenting to, and thus recommending, the King's religious policies.

It was also evident to Dutch audiences that James' actions had increased opposition to his policies in England, as now even those clergymen who had formerly supported the King began to desert him. The bishop of Rochester who had written *A History of the Rye House Plot* at James' request for example, resigned from the Ecclesiastical Commission, stating that although he was still a faithful servant to the King, following the trial of the bishops he could no longer sacrifice his religion and conscience.¹⁴³ In addition on 26 July, the archbishop of Canterbury dispensed a list of Articles to all Anglican bishops, announcing that he wanted his clergy to reassure their congregations that despite pressure from the King, the Church of England would continue to fight against its antithesis, the Catholic Church.¹⁴⁴ Given the number of works published on this issue, it is clear that the treatment of the bishops aroused interest and sympathy in the Republic. Indeed, the printer of the archbishop's articles stated in the pamphlet's preface that he thought it was good that the Head of the Church of England had the courage to dispense this work at such a bad time.

In addition, James' conduct towards the bishops also served to substantiate the claim that the King desired to abolish the Penal Laws and Tests merely to reduce the country to slavery and Catholicism. The *Ten Seasonable Queries proposed by a Protestant that is for Liberty of Conscience for all persuasions*, purported to be the work of an English Protestant who was in favour of the King's toleration policy.¹⁴⁵ However in reality, as well as reinstating the familiar argument that James was merely using the Dissenters to pull down the Church of England, the pamphlet argued that the suspension of the bishop of London and the prosecution of the bishops was proof that the King intended to rescind his offer of Liberty of Conscience as soon as he got the chance. A similar message was also put forward in *Some queries concerning Liberty of Conscience directed to the Chief Quaker of England, William Penn and Henry Care*, which mocked the King's toleration policy,

¹⁴³ Knuttel 12752, T Spratt, *De Heer Bisschop van Rochesters Brief* (1688); Knuttel 12479, Anon [T Spratt], *Een Waerachtigh Verhael* (1686).

¹⁴⁴ Knuttel 12751, W Sancroft, *De Artykelen, Door den Aartsbisschop van Canterbury* (1688).

¹⁴⁵ Knuttel 12959, Anon, *Tien Vragen, Tet bequamer tijd voorgesteld, door een Protestant die de Vryheit van Conscientie probeert, aen alle Gevoelens* (1688).

asking if it extended to pagans, Jews and Turks, as well as asserting that Liberty of Conscience was really just a license for idolatry and blasphemy.¹⁴⁶ Certainly, the view that James' treatment of the bishops was part of the concerted effort to re-Catholicise England, was also made clear in the anti-Jesuit propaganda. In *The Jesuit Unmasked* for example, Peters, La Chaise and Taschart discuss how their campaign to extirpate Protestantism is progressing, with Peters judging that the King was foolish to imprison the bishops because it has only served to hinder their plans.¹⁴⁷ As a result of this, the three Jesuits in the guise of assassins, now plot the death of the Anglican bishops: 'the Archbishop of Canterbury, should make a journey to the other world, with the Bishops his Colleagues, then it should be easier to carry out our designs.'^{xliii} Furthermore, the pamphlet explicitly linked the bishops' treatment to James' recall of the six regiments, as Peters stated that the King was told that if the bishops keep stirring people up against his policies, then he should use his Catholic army to murder, rape and pillage, in order to force the country to comply.

VI. The birth of the Prince of Wales and the Jesuit conspiracy

The most significant development in England however, which soon became central to the portrayal of an international Jesuit conspiracy, was the birth of the Prince of Wales on 20 June, which was addressed in 16 pamphlets published during the summer of 1688.¹⁴⁸ News that the Queen had given birth to a healthy boy was worrying both to William and the English opposition, as now the King was assured of a male Catholic heir. This firstly aroused concern because previously any changes that James introduced could be reversed under Mary, but as she had now been removed from her place in the succession, the King could invigorate his religious policies safe in the knowledge that they could be continued by the new Prince after his death.¹⁴⁹ Secondly, the birth increased anxieties over those parts of the nation who were secretly 'Popishly affected', because with the Catholic succession now guaranteed, there was nothing to prevent people openly declaring for the Catholic

¹⁴⁶ Knuttel 12960, Anon, *XLVI Vragen over de vryheyd van Conscientie, aan de hoofquaker van Engeland, William Penn en Henrik Carig voorgesteld* (1688).

¹⁴⁷ Knuttel 12954, Anon, *De Ontmomde Jesuit, of Samen-spraak tusschen...Vader la Chaise...Vader Peters...en Vader Taschart* (1688), p8.

¹⁴⁸ Knuttel 12862, 12863, 12865, 12966, 12968, 12971, 12975, 12978, 12979, 12981, 12982, 12986, 12988, 12989, 12990, 12991 (1688).

¹⁴⁹ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p187.

faith.¹⁵⁰ Lastly, the aspect of the birth which created the most anxiety for William and his Dutch advisers, was that with his domestic objectives secured, James would be free to turn his attention to foreign affairs, perhaps to even openly support Louis XIV if he launched an attack on the Republic.¹⁵¹ For many in England and the Republic therefore, the fortuitous birth of a male child was just too unbelievable.¹⁵²

Although news of the Queen's pregnancy was generally known in November 1687, it was not officially announced until December. Yet, because in the past eleven years the Queen had miscarried five times and borne three children that had not survived, it was at first thought there was no cause for concern.¹⁵³ However, once it became clear that the pregnancy was progressing, doubts soon began to surface in England and these were reported to William by his intelligence agents.¹⁵⁴ As Thomas Osborne wrote on 6 April, 'Many of our Ladies say that the Queen's great belly seems to grow faster than they have observed their own to do...'¹⁵⁵ Princess Anne was even more forthright in her suspicions of the pregnancy, 'I must tell you I can't help thinking Mansell's wife's great belly, is a little suspicious...Her being so positive that it will be a son, and the principles of that religion being such that they will stick at nothing, be it never so wicked, if it will promote their interest, give some cause to fear there may be foul play intended.'¹⁵⁶ Therefore, on hearing the news of the Prince's birth, William dispatched Count Zuylestein to England on the pretext of conveying his congratulations to the King and Queen, but with the real aim of furthering his contacts with members of the English opposition.¹⁵⁷ Zuylestein soon reported that not one in ten people believed the child to be the Queen's, a view also supported by Princess Anne: '...it may be her child; but where one believes it, a

¹⁵⁰ Such worries had been reported to William after the announcement of the Queen's pregnancy, see PwA 2120, Copy letter from James Johnstone to Hans Willem Bentinck, 21 December 1687 (OS).

¹⁵¹ S Baxter, *William III*, (London, 1966), p230.

¹⁵² Bishop Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, pp268-71.

¹⁵³ C Oman, *Mary of Modena*, p83.

¹⁵⁴ PwA, 2110, Copy letter sent from London addressed to 'Honoured Sir', 18 December 1688 (OS); PwA 2118, Copy letter from J Schultz, 16 December 1688 (OS); PwA 2120, Copy letter from James Johnstone, 21 December 1688 (OS); PwA 2124, Copy letter, 4 January 1688 (OS).

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby to William, 27 March/6 April 1688, *Correspondentie*, Part II, p8.

¹⁵⁶ Anne to Mary, The Cockpit, 14/24 March 1688, *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (hereafter *The Letters*), ed. BC Brown (London, 1935), p34.

¹⁵⁷ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp238-9.

thousand do not.’¹⁵⁸ In addition, Mary sent Anne a questionnaire covering all the details of the birth and her sister’s reply left more than enough room for suspicion.¹⁵⁹

Even though these doubts were not mentioned in Dutch news reports of the Prince’s birth, they were nevertheless frequently portrayed as truth in the pamphlet literature in order to undermine the legitimacy of the young Prince, who was widely believed to be a supposititious child.¹⁶⁰ Such an approach had certainly been advocated by James Johnstone, who suggested to Bentinck that the rumours surrounding the Prince of Wales be exploited.¹⁶¹ Indeed soon after the birth, the French ambassador D’Avaux noted that William convened a meeting with Fagel, Dijkvelt and Bentinck, which resulted in the suspension of public prayers for the new Prince.¹⁶² Furthermore, Bentinck refused to lend trumpeteers to Albeville who had organised a banquet and firework display to celebrate the birth, and Dutch dignitaries were encouraged to boycott the festivities, a response that was interpreted by pamphleteers as a humiliating blow to the English ambassador.¹⁶³ Moreover, the fact that Albeville’s fete was ruined by a hostile crowd which hurled insults about the King and stones at the ambassador’s windows, highlights that such rumours were already circulating throughout the Republic.¹⁶⁴

Indeed, it is clear that the pamphlets published after the Prince’s birth were intended to cultivate the seeds of doubt that had already been planted in the preceding period, for pamphleteers had already indicated that there might be something amiss with the pregnancy. Such reservations had first appeared at the beginning of the year in pamphlets published during the Fagel *Letter* controversy, which described the initial reports of the Queen’s pregnancy as lies and wishful dreams, as one of Burnet’s works stated:

You say you are informed, that such and such Great Men doubted of it [Fagel’s *Letter*]; but some might as well pretend to doubt of the Truth of that Letter, (though they knew

¹⁵⁸ NA Robb, *William of Orange*, p261; Anne to Mary, The Cockpit, 18/28 June 1688, *The Letters*, p37

¹⁵⁹ D Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, 1980), p58.

¹⁶⁰ The birth was reported six days later, *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 26 June 1688.

¹⁶¹ PwA 2086, Copy of a pamphlet with annotations by James Johnstone, June 1688; PwA 2173, Copy letter from James Johnstone to ‘Sir’, 18 June 1688 (OS).

¹⁶² D Onnekink, ‘The Anglo-Dutch Favourite’, pp35-36; I Schöffner, ‘Het grote waagstuk’, p21.

¹⁶³ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde*; Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688).

¹⁶⁴ KHD Haley, ‘The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689’, in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, ed. L Schwoerer (CUP, 1992), p28; J Israel, ‘The Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the English Revolution of 1688’, in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 103 (1990), p425.

it to be true) as believe her Majesty to be with child, almost before she knew it herself; and that she was quick, when the Embryo, as Anatomists say, is not much above an Inch long; I do not think that Popish Successors, like certain weeds, grow faster than others.^{xliv, 165}

Others expressed the view that due to the health of the King and Queen, impregnation was out of the question, and so if a male heir were born, he would be a substitute.¹⁶⁶ The scepticism regarding the King and Queen's health was perpetuated after the Prince's birth, with pamphleteers maintaining that the child must be false because the Queen was incapable of pregnancy due to her many miscarriages and that it was unlikely James could father any children as it was common knowledge that when he married her he had the pox.¹⁶⁷ It is also evident that such suspicions existed in England, for Van Citters reported to William in January that he had spoken to doctors and on medical grounds they had judged that the Queen could not be pregnant.¹⁶⁸

For that reason, it was suggested that the Queen had walked around for nine months with a cushion upon her belly. This rumour first surfaced in the anti-Jesuit letters of the Spring, with Peters lamenting about the 'heretical libels' that had been appearing on the Queen's pregnancy: 'There was one lately found upon a Pillar of a Church that imported, that such a day of thanks should be given to God for the Queen's being great with a cushion.'^{xlv, 169} In another, La Chaise recommended to Peters that if the child should die, they should do the same as before, which was for James to go to St Winifred's and 'wash the little he has' and for the Queen to walk around for nine months 'with a cushion upon her belly.'¹⁷⁰ The circulation of such printed rumours had even been reported in Dutch newspapers: 'Dublin 3 March. On the 26th of last month in this Town a day of thanksgiving was held for the pregnancy of her Majesty and a lampoon against the King, Queen and Queen Widow was found pasted on the Door of Christ's Church.'^{xlvi, 171}

¹⁶⁵ Knuttel 12873, Anon [G Burnet], *Reflectien op den Heer Fagels Brief* (1688), p8.

¹⁶⁶ Knuttel 12882, Anon, *Aanmerkingen Op een Gepretendeerd Antwoord van den Heer Fagel's Brief* (1688).

¹⁶⁷ Knuttel 12985, Anon [P Boyer], *De Geusurpeerde Kroon, en de Gesupponeerde Prins* (1688). D'Avaux believed that Zuylestein was responsible for the printing of this work according to J Carswell, *The Descent on England: A Study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background* (New York, 1969), p175.

¹⁶⁸ Van Citters to Fagel, 13 Jan 1688, cited in W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p190.

¹⁶⁹ Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688), p4.

¹⁷⁰ Knuttel 12968, Anon, *Brief van Pater la Chaise... Aan Vader Peters* (1688), p13.

¹⁷¹ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 25 March 1688.

Given these arguments, it is easy to understand why the birth was ridiculed as a Catholic ‘miracle’. In particular, the Prince was mocked for being the result of the prayers and offerings that had been made for the Queen at the shrine of our Lady of Lorette, supposedly the house in which the Virgin Mary was born, who had surpassed all the Queen’s wishes and impregnated her with a male heir.¹⁷² According to the pamphlet literature, these offerings had been made by the Jesuits who were determined to have a male heir.¹⁷³ As one of the *Discarded Letters* from a Portuguese Catholic described: ‘They make great use of a certain Idol, which is at Lorette in Italy, and to praise her, they say that she does great miracles, and so by their intercession, she has made the Queen pregnant.’^{xlvii, 174} Significantly however, the Catholic attacked the Jesuits for idolising such absurdities, calling them ‘Meschumadim’ (the damned), a term used by Jews to describe those who have converted to Christianity and forsaken their religion.^{xlviii} Sunderland, one of the King’s Catholic ministers, was also portrayed as backing up this story, as when supposedly pressed to explain the Prince’s birth, he recounted a fantastic story about how the Queen was woken by an Angel who told her that she would have a son: ‘So as she slept an Angel appeared to her several times, saying, “Have good thoughts, you shall bear a Son, and his name shall be Wales.” The Queen suddenly woke up, and said the Angel was like that which had appeared before to the Virgin Mary.’^{xlix, 175}

However, even if the Queen was really pregnant, it was asserted that the Jesuits would not allow her to give birth to a girl, as a male heir was central to their plan to re-Catholicise England. Perhaps there was some basis of truth in this story, for as Speck has shown, Fagel managed to infiltrate a spy into the group that accompanied the Modenese envoy Abbé Rezini when he visited England. It appears that, ‘Mary confided in the Abbé, who confided in the spy. Thus within a week of their arrival, Fagel’s informant was able to tell him that the queen was so upset by the Jesuits telling her constantly that she must produce a boy or all would be lost that

¹⁷² Knuttel 12862, Anon, *Pasquinde op het Swanger gaen van de Koninginne van Engelant* (1688).

¹⁷³ This rumour probably originated from the fact that before her death in July 1687, Mary of Modena’s mother had taken votive offerings to the shrine of Lorette in order to assure her daughter of a son, see C Oman, *Mary of Modena*, pp101-02.

¹⁷⁴ Knuttel 12925, Anon, *Den Afsesette Post* (1688), pp27-28.

¹⁷⁵ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p8.

she could not stop herself bursting into tears in his presence.’¹⁷⁶ Certainly the opinion that the birth of a male child was the result of a Jesuit conspiracy was put forward in every pamphlet considering the Prince of Wales. In one of the imaginary Jesuit letters for example, Peters thanked La Chaise for his help in procuring the male child.¹⁷⁷ This scheme was made to seem even more believable by reminding readers that James and the Jesuits had ‘conspired’ before, with Peters portrayed as gloating over their previous success, the ‘murder’ of Charles II, describing how they had:

...made his present-day Majesty a little hazy with snuff, neatly prepared with poison, and advised him to present the same to his brother, with assurances that he should not live long after...And in so doing we helped his present-day Majesty to the Crown, and his brother to the Death.¹

The Prince’s true origin was therefore a matter of speculation, with the contention made that even if the Queen had been pregnant her child, which had died soon after, was switched for a supposititious infant who was snuck into the bedchamber.¹⁷⁸ One idea as to where the child had come from, was that Peters had impregnated twelve nuns so that a substitute would be on hand if necessary or that he had got a woman called Betty pregnant by sitting with her in the bath!¹⁷⁹ Many other rumours were being banded around the Republic, especially in print, and it is clear that these were intended for a domestic audience as unfamiliar terms were explained for the Dutch public:

I have received a letter out of The Hague by which I am told that in Holland they use very irreverent expressions of the young Prince...they say this is a Miller’s son: others say it was a carpenters son from Holborn (a street in London)...others say he was a month old....others say he had six teeth in his mouth...^{li, 180}

The belief that a replacement child had been foisted upon the English nation was clearly gaining credence in the Republic, for it was tackled in two short poems. *The Miller’s Prince in The Hague* centred on the idea that James was deceiving everyone by passing off a miller’s son as the Prince of Wales.¹⁸¹ The Dutch poet assured James that people were aware of the ‘wretched game’ he plays and that they do not

¹⁷⁶ WA Speck, ‘The Orangist Conspiracy against James II’, in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 30, 2 (1987), p459.

¹⁷⁷ Knuttel 12971, Anon, *Brief van Vader Peters...Aan Pater la Chaise* (1688), p10.

¹⁷⁸ Knuttel 12971, Anon, *Antwoord van Vader Peters...Aan Pater la Chaise* (1688). See also RJ Weil, ‘The Politics of Legitimacy: women and the warming-pan scandal’, in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, ed. L Schwoerer (CUP, 1992), p65-83.

¹⁷⁹ Knuttel 12971, Anon, *Antwoord van Vader Peters...Aan Pater la Chaise*; Knuttel 12925, Anon, *De Afgesette Post* (1688).

¹⁸⁰ Knuttel 12968, Anon, *Brief van Pater la Chaise...Aan Vader Peters* (1688), pp14-15.

¹⁸¹ Knuttel 12991, Anon, *Den Molenaers Prins in den Haegh* (1688).

think much of it.^{lii} People now make fun of him, according to the poet, because they know that the King is a fool for trying to pass off a miller's child as his own.^{liii} *The English Waking Dreamer*, was even harsher in its assessment of the child, portraying it as the work of the Antichrist and a deceit by Father Peters: 'A Prince cursed! on Gods people in slavery / To carry, men prepare Ships and Galleys / To banish and condemn, all who will not flatter / The Roman Antichrist, or the purple Beast, / Who have been Enemies of Gods Church from her beginning...^{liv, 182}

To further stress the potential threat of the Prince to Protestantism, his birth was associated with the reign of Mary Tudor, who was repeatedly invoked as a historical reminder of the dangers of a zealous Catholic monarch.¹⁸³ In particular, Mary of Modena was cast in the role of a second 'Bloody Mary', with one Jesuit supposedly reporting that the Queen told him she hoped 'that the Roman Catholic Religion should again bloom in these three Kingdoms, as it did during the time of Queen Mary' and that 'men may call her a second Mary, in piety and zeal.'^{lv, 184} In fact, the Jesuit asserts, the Queen should be given the title, 'Protector of the Faith', in whose footsteps the Prince of Wales will follow. One work originating in England on this theme was also translated and adapted for Dutch audiences. *The Pregnancy of the present-day Queen of England* utilized excerpts from the English pamphlet, *Idem iterum, or, The history of Q. Mary's big-belly*, but it was published with a different commentary by its Dutch printer.¹⁸⁵ The pamphlet was portrayed to Dutch audiences as the work of a Jesuit historian, comparing the Queen's pregnancy with a supposed plot to get Mary Tudor a healthy child in 1556.¹⁸⁶ According to the story, for a long time a rumour was spread that Mary Tudor was pregnant, but the business 'vanished in smoke' when the child died. Yet, although fires were stoked and bells rang out all over the country, a letter was subsequently received saying that the child was still alive. The printer, clearly making allusions to the birth of the Prince commented: 'See how tidy this business is as an example for the present-day Comedy, that men play on the world.'^{lvi} Furthermore, the testimony of one Isabella Malt was presented,

¹⁸² Knuttel 12979, Anon, *Den Engelschen Ontwaecten Droomer* (1688), no pagination.

¹⁸³ Knuttel 12875, Anon, *Consideratien over den Brief*; Knuttel 12882, Anon, *Aanmerkingen op een Gepretendeerd Antwoord* (1688).

¹⁸⁴ Knuttel 12925, Anon, *De Afgesette Post* (1688), p9.

¹⁸⁵ Knuttel 12863, Anon, 't Swanger gaen Vande tegenwoordige Koninginne van Engeland, *Vergeleken by die Aardige Jesuitse Historien Voorgevallen ten tijden van Maria...in t jaar 1556* (1688), pp4-6; EEBO, New York, Union Theological Seminary Library, J Foxe, *Idem iterum, or, The history of Q. Mary's big-belly from Mr Fox's Acts and Monuments* (1688).

¹⁸⁶ The pamphlet actually contained extracts from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

in which she recounted how she had received money in return for handing over her child to a member of the House of Lords, who then took it away. Again, parallels with the present conspiracy were drawn by the printer: 'See here the true History of that time, which in some parts so gravely resembles what has happened in the same City at this time.'^{lvii} The complicity of the Queen in the plot and the belief that she was to blame for the King's religious policies, was certainly the view held by some Protestants in England. In particular, Princess Anne had been one of the Queen's fiercest critics following James' first Declaration of Liberty of Conscience in 1687:

One thing I must say of the Queen, which is that she is the most hated person in the world of all sorts of people; for everybody believes that she pressed the King to be more violent than he would be of himself; which is not unlikely, for she is a very great bigot in her way, and one may see by her that she hates all Protestants.¹⁸⁷

This view was also perpetuated in the anti-Jesuit propaganda, for Peters assured La Chaise: 'You must not doubt...that she was born a great Enemy to Protestants, and that she has done all that is possible, and has promoted all she could to his Majesty, to hasten their ruin.'^{lviii, 188}

VII. The Prince of Wales and the European balance of power

Although the majority of pamphlets dealing with the Prince of Wales mirrored the type of commentary available to the English public, an important facet was added and emphasised in those pamphlets published exclusively for Dutch audiences; namely, the implications of the Prince's birth to the European balance of power. Even though the birth continued to be portrayed as part of the Jesuit conspiracy to eradicate Protestantism, it was now also explicitly linked to French and Habsburg manoeuvrings in Germany and in particular, to Louis XIV's interference in the archbishopric of Cologne. Indeed, although both James's and Louis' religious policies continued to be interpreted as threats to the safety of the Protestant religion, following the Prince's birth, the position of England was now also considered in terms of its strategic importance to the security of the Republic, in the light of developments on the continent.

Certainly the birth of the Prince had added significance for William and his advisers, coming as it did in the wake of ever more alarming reports from England, which stated that the King was now not only assured of a loyal Parliament, but that

¹⁸⁷ Anne to Mary, Richmond, 9/19 May 1687, in *The Letters*, p31.

¹⁸⁸ Knuttel 12921, Anon, *Brief van den Eerwaardigen Pater Peters* (1688).

he had also been guaranteed military and naval assistance by Louis XIV.¹⁸⁹ In addition, the birth of the Prince coincided with the increasingly unstable situation on the continent, following the death of the archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian Henry on 3 June. As the death of the archbishop had been expected for some time, both Louis and the Habsburg Emperor Leopold had already taken steps to secure the succession of a friendly candidate, in order to strengthen their presence in the Empire.¹⁹⁰ On 7 January Louis had managed to get his agent Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, bishop of Strasbourg, elected as coadjutor. However, as the July election resulted in a deadlock, with neither Fürstenberg nor the candidate supported by William and the Emperor, Joseph Clemens of Bavaria, having the required two thirds majority, the outcome would have to be decided by Papal confirmation.¹⁹¹

Whilst Innocent XI procrastinated throughout July, August and most of September, Fürstenberg maintained effective control of the electorate's administration.¹⁹² Yet, given his dispute with Louis over the Gallican articles, the King's failure to support a crusade against the Turks and the aggressive stance taken by the French Ambassador Lavardin in Rome, it was widely thought that the Pope would not support Fürstenberg's election.¹⁹³ Louis therefore informed Innocent that if Fürstenberg was not confirmed, he would secure his appointment by force.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, with the Emperor still tied up in his Hungarian campaign against the Turks, Louis decided to take advantage of situation. Determined to secure his vulnerable eastern frontier, Louis moved his troops to the Cologne border in mid-August, ready to defend Fürstenberg's control of the electorate when necessary.¹⁹⁵

The spectre of a French puppet gaining control of the archbishopric was worrying to William, because not only did it include Cologne, but also Münster, Liège and Hildesheim, an area of crucial strategic importance along the Rhine which

¹⁸⁹ D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite', p36.

¹⁹⁰ For a detailed examination of their preparations see, JT O'Connor, *Negotiator out of Season. The Career of Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg 1624 to 1704* (Athens, USA, 1978), especially pp120-207.

¹⁹¹ S Baxter, *William III*, p223.

¹⁹² JT O'Connor, *Negotiator out of Season*, p160.

¹⁹³ JC Rule, 'France caught between two balances: the dilemma of 1688', in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, p44.

¹⁹⁴ JB Wolf, *Louis XIV* (London, 1968), p437.

¹⁹⁵ It has been argued that Louis' policy in Germany was primarily defensive by R Place, 'Bavaria and the Collapse of Louis XIV's German Policy, 1687-88', in *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 49, 3 (September, 1977), pp369-93; JB Wolf, *Louis XIV*, pp426-45.

Louis had used as an entry route for his 1672 invasion of the Republic.¹⁹⁶ Added to this anxiety was the fact that James openly supported Fürstenberg, which was taken as a sign that he was now definitely committed to a French alliance.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, with Leopold still engaged in his war with the Turks, there was no possibility of Imperial forces returning to the Rhine to oppose the French army or the Emperor being able to unite the German Princes, whom Louis was attempting to divide along confessional lines.¹⁹⁸

Given this dangerous situation, William was now even more convinced that his intervention in English affairs was necessary, for he was well aware that without the support of England, the Republic could not successfully withstand an attack from France.¹⁹⁹ For that reason, Bentinck was sent to Berlin to muster support for the expedition from the German Princes and three Amsterdam burgomasters, Nicholas Witsen, Johannes Hudde and Cornelis Geelvinck, were secretly informed of the Prince's plans.²⁰⁰ However, although the burgomasters gave their tacit consent to the expedition, they were appalled by the risks of an autumn invasion and proposed that it should be postponed until the Spring. Moreover, William was not yet confident enough to reveal his intentions to the regents in the States of Holland and the States General, as he was well aware that even though they could see the possible threat from Cologne, it would be difficult for him to persuade them of the need to take pre-emptive action in England, given their inclination to actively avoid conflicts in the international arena in the interest of protecting Dutch trade.²⁰¹

With this in mind, it is significant that a series of three pamphlets was published on the Prince of Wales with the objective of showing that given the unsteady continental situation, England was now of central importance not only to the balance of power in Europe, but also to the very survival of the Dutch state itself.²⁰² Although these pamphlets appeared anonymously, judging from the

¹⁹⁶ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. R Hatton (Plymouth, 1976), pp188-89.

¹⁹⁷ S Baxter, *William III*, pp222-23.

¹⁹⁸ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp202-03; W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p181; JB Wolf, *Louis XIV*, p444.

¹⁹⁹ S Baxter, *William III*, p194, pp213-14.

²⁰⁰ J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p116; D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite', pp39-40.

²⁰¹ KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', p29.

²⁰² Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel*; Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde*; Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688). I can find no evidence on the STCN or EEBO that these pamphlets were published in English.

similarity of their style and content, they appear to have been composed by the same author. Given that this writer was clearly well informed on the key political issues at stake and the fact that many of the concerns expressed were those held by William as outlined above, it is probable that the pamphleteer was a member of the *Stadholder's* propaganda team. Moreover, although the pamphleteer was comfortable denigrating James II, Louis XIV and the Jesuits, he was careful to avoid disparagement of William or his potential European allies. The pamphlets were conveyed in the familiar conversational style, with all the rulers of Europe depicted as characters assembled in the mythical setting of the Temple of the Oracle. Taking such an approach was useful because it enabled the author to present his fiction as a more objective portrait of political reality, by presenting the characters speaking and acting in a way that the public would not normally be privy to. In addition, it permitted him to offer advice and pass judgement on European matters via the 'impartial' non-confessional character of the Oracle, which was obviously important given that William was building an anti-French coalition which included both Catholic and Protestant allies. For that reason, vitriolic anti-Catholic rhetoric was much less forthcoming in these pamphlets than had previously been the case.

The European context of the Prince's birth was made clear from the outset, with the preface explaining why all the Catholic and Protestant Rulers were gathered in the mythical Temple:

The Catholic and Protestant Princes quarrelled together, with the latter claiming that the Prince of Wales was a supposititious Child, and with the former holding the opposite stance; so it was finally decided by both sides, that they should go to the Oracle; and that the Divine Apollo should be the arbiter in the dispute, as the happiness or misfortune of the whole of Europe was dependent on this.^{lix203}

Emphasis was again placed on the belief that the Prince's birth was the result of a Jesuit conspiracy to ensure England of a Catholic heir and the pamphleteer depicted James entering the Temple declaring: 'I come here to give a Godson to His Holy Father Innocent XI, to the King of France and to the Duke of Modena. A nephew to the Society. A Brother to the Princess of Denmark. And a Competitor to Princess Mary, who shall help relieve her of the burden of the Crown of England.'^{lx,204} Indeed, even William was portrayed as publicly avowing the Prince's birth as a Jesuit deceit: 'I have always heard said that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers are good instigators, and

²⁰³ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p4..

²⁰⁴ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p11.

that they have sweet secrets for infertility; they also say that, my Consort the Princess' family is enlarged with a brother, which to all appearances has been well made, since he has been passed through so many hands.^{lxi,205}

However, an important difference was that the immediate consequences for the Republic were stressed more forcefully in these pamphlets, for the Jesuits explained to the Oracle that they had created the Prince primarily because once England had fallen to Catholicism then the Dutch would too: 'Regarding Holland, once England is converted, it shall be easier for us to submit them to the same.'^{lxii,206} In addition, the strategic danger of the birth was accentuated, as Louis XIV was presented as determined to maintain the Catholic succession in England by the use of force if necessary: 'I swear on my life, that the Young Prince of Wales is lawful: And if forced I am ready to use my Army, by my Bombs and Shells, to turn the whole World into rubble and ash, and to punish the rebellious Nation, who puts itself against the intentions of King James.'^{lxiii,207} He therefore asserted that he had ordered his Vice Admiral, Marshall d'Estrées, to sail his fleet towards the English coast not only to compel the country to submit to James' will, but also 'to force the Upper and Lower House, to revoke the Test and Penal Laws.'^{lxiv,208} Indeed Barillon, the French Ambassador in England who had previously offered such aid to James, was portrayed as content with the Prince's birth, for it not only meant that 'an enduring Alliance with the Crown of France' was now secure, but that the 'Spirit of persecution' would also be continued.^{lxv,209}

Furthermore, despite the fact that developments on the continent had received little attention in the pamphlet literature up to this point, they were now presented as interconnected to events in England, with the objective of highlighting their mutual significance to the security of the Dutch state. The disputed succession in Cologne was the chief focus of attention and it is evident that these pamphlets were written before the movement of French troops into the Rhineland at the end of September and whilst the confirmation of Fürstenberg's appointment was still uncertain.²¹⁰ Certainly in the spurious Jesuit letters printed on the Prince's birth, the attempts to

²⁰⁵ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p15.

²⁰⁶ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p12.

²⁰⁷ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p10.

²⁰⁸ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), pp26-27.

²⁰⁹ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p11.

²¹⁰ Joseph Clemens was enthroned on 20 September and Louis invaded Germany five days later, JT O'Connor, *Negotiator out of Season*, p181.

get Fürstenberg confirmed had been portrayed as the next step in the conspiracy to eradicate Protestantism and for that reason, Cologne was presented as being of strategic importance to the Jesuits, because it was via this avenue that they would be able to subjugate Dutch Protestants:

When I consider these things it rejoices my spirit to think how zealous his Majesty is to execute our design in England...And Cardinal Furstenberg (when he shall be made Elector of Cologne) can bring the Holland Republic under his obedience, having first made himself Master of his own Subjects and brought them under the subjection of his Absolute Power.^{lxvi}²¹¹

This line of reasoning was also taken in the series of three pamphlets, as the Jesuits were depicted as encouraging Louis to intervene in Cologne because it was 'absolutely necessary' for their design.²¹² Moreover, making it clear that a repetition of 1672 was on its way, Peters not only asserted that this was 'the best chance in the world' that Louis had to attack Holland, but also that he could expect English support as James was ready to declare war on the Dutch at sea.²¹³

The pamphleteer clearly sought to emphasise the real and pressing strategic threat of another French invasion of the Republic, especially if Louis managed to get Fürstenberg established in Cologne, for rather than being concerned with the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, the majority of Louis' enquiries to the Oracle were in regard to his territorial ambitions. His first objective as represented in the pamphlets, was to secure his position in the Empire by confirming the appointment of Fürstenberg and for that reason he asked the Oracle: 'Is eighty thousand Frenchmen...enough to wage war on the Rhine?'^{lxvii},²¹⁴ Once Louis was established in Cologne, he would then be free to turn to his second, more important aim – the invasion of the Dutch state: 'The Emperor has his hands full, and I can pursue my desires, as it is easier to call on the Hollanders, for the Empire would have done its utmost to keep me busy...'^{lxviii},²¹⁵ As Louis' agent, Fürstenberg was represented as a willing participant in this, because he would permit French troops to enter his territory: 'I shall allow the Troops of my Patron to march into Liège, and I shall do my best, to open the gates of Cologne for the Marquis of Boufflers, who is on the

²¹¹ Knuttel 12968, Anon, *Brief van Pater la Chaise...Aan Vader Peters* (1688), p5.

²¹² Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p12.

²¹³ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p13.

²¹⁴ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p8.

²¹⁵ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p9.

march with an Army.^{lxi,216} From there, Fürstenberg asserted that Louis would be in a position to control the Rhine, keep the German Empire at bay, take Flanders, and then within a year he would be assured of victory in Holland.^{lxx217}

In the light of this, the pamphleteer proceeded to show that as the Republic was in such clear danger from France, it was now necessary to join with Catholic allies. For that reason, even Joseph Clemens of Bavaria, a member of the traditionally pro-French Wittelsbach family, was depicted as warning the Dutch of the danger that France represented: ‘...to let the Hollanders know that they must take heed of the designs of France.’^{lxxi,218} Moreover, it was asserted that the Republic and the Empire now had a mutual interest as the Anglo-French alliance was aimed at both of them: ‘so men think this has been done to wage war on Holland and to give the Emperor more work.’^{lxxii,219} However, given the Truce of Regensburg between France and the Emperor, Leopold’s son Joseph of Hungary, was represented as confused as to why Louis was now intent on breaking its terms and invading the Rhine.²²⁰ The possibility of war resuming between the two Catholic powers was simply explained by the Oracle as being the result of the Jesuit’s evil advice, who ‘promised him [Louis] the whole Earth, so he would go on with the war.’^{lxxiii,221} Yet the main problem for the Dutch, was that until the Emperor concluded his Hungarian campaign, there could be little hope of him returning with military assistance. Clearly aiming to highlight this precarious situation, Leopold was portrayed as being torn over what to do for, as on the one hand he was aware that Louis intended to be ‘master of the Rhine’, but on the other he was determined to have victory over the Turks.²²² As a result, the Emperor asked for the Oracle’s ‘impartial’ advice with the reply ‘make peace with the Turk.’²²³

However, again this was not so straightforward because since Louis’ refusal to take part in the siege of Vienna of 1683, it was widely assumed that he was allied

²¹⁶ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p6. The Duke of Boufflers, a General in the French army, was ordered to move towards the border of Liège on 23 July, JT O’Connor, *Negotiator out of Season*, p171.

²¹⁷ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p25.

²¹⁸ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p10.

²¹⁹ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p23.

²²⁰ The Truce of Regensburg (Ratisbon) of 1684 recognised French possession of Strasbourg and the reunited territories for twenty years, R Place, ‘Bavaria and the Collapse of Louis XIV’s German Policy’, p369.

²²¹ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), pp21-22.

²²² Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p19.

²²³ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p21.

to the Turkish Sultan with the aim of encouraging him to continue the war, thus making Leopold unable to check French expansion in the Rhineland.²²⁴ The Sultan was therefore depicted as being under Louis' influence: '...and nevertheless I imagine that I have even worse enemies than she [The Empire] has, because the King of France deceives me the most, to gain his advantage by my loss, as I am wholly inclined to make peace, but he always advises me not to.'^{lxxiv,225} Given that 'the Turk' was a referential symbol for absolute monarchy, it was also significant that the pamphleteer depicted the Sultan taking a moral stance on the issue of the Prince of Wales.²²⁶ Shocked at how deceitful the Princes of Europe are, especially James for putting forward a miller's son as his own, the Sultan stated that although he was a Turk, even he would not take such measures to oppress his people: 'Sons to procure to destroy his own subjects, even I would not do that.'^{lxxv,227}

Nevertheless, even if Leopold did conclude peace, there was still the additional worry that he would not be able to count on the support of the Princes of the Empire, whom Louis had been seeking to disunite, either by stirring up confessional differences or by bribing them into a French alliance.²²⁸ All the Princes of the Empire were therefore portrayed as gathered together in the Temple to ask the Oracle for advice on this predicament:

We find ourselves between the claws of the Eagle, and the paws of the Fox. The great Leopold assembles on the one side entire Cities, Provinces, and Kingdoms, by his great victories. And the great Louis on the other side, wanders around us, sometimes as a Lion with his bombs, and sometimes as a fox with his sweet promises...The great Leopold seeing all these things, warns us on the one hand, that we should watch out for deceitful promises. The Great Louis on the other side makes quiet announcements through his spies, who tell us to beware, Leopold is too powerful, you shall be slaves of the House of Austria.^{lxxvi229}

The Oracle's judgement was obviously in the interest of the Dutch as the Princes were told to hold with the Empire and the Emperor, because the 'fox will do his best to ensnare the eagle and his young in his net'.²³⁰

Although the Emperor could count on the unwavering support of the Duke of Lorraine, who was depicted as ready with his sword still dripping with Ottoman

²²⁴ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', p182.

²²⁵ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), pp15-16.

²²⁶ In the *Two Treatises*, John Locke used 'the Turk' to refer the absolutist tendencies of Charles II and James II's administration, see R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics*, p423.

²²⁷ Knuttel 12865, Anon, *De Machten der Aerden in optocht na het Orakel* (1688), p16.

²²⁸ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', p200-01.

²²⁹ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p28.

²³⁰ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p28.

blood to defend the Empire, two Princes were singled out as still in flux as to whether or not to follow a pro-French policy.²³¹ The first was Maximilian of Bavaria whom Louis had been trying to bribe to become a French partisan in the Empire for some time, despite him being a signed up member to the League of Augsburg.²³² The pamphleteer was clearly well informed of the key issues which might sway the Elector's thinking, for allusions were made to Louis' offers of riches and territory, as well as to the Emperor's efforts to placate Max's hostility towards the Duke of Lorraine: 'The Emperor my father-in-law has promised me that there shall be no more jealousy between me and Lorraine, for I alone shall command his Armies. The King of France promises me that I can share with him Spain, Flanders, the Milanese, Peru, Mexico, and all the riches of his brother-in-law after his death.'^{lxxvii} The Oracle tells him he should think more of the honour and glory he will get from the German Empire, than from the deceitful promises of Louis XIV.²³³

Another Prince who was seen to be vacillating as a result of Louis' inducements was the Elector of Saxony, who had renounced his father's pro-French orientation, but declined William's offer of a treaty of mutual defence earlier in May.²³⁴ Again the pamphleteer presented the Elector as uncertain over which side to choose: 'I love French wine, but not the French. I now think more of the Rhenish Wine and I am resolved to drink no other. The King of France makes great promises and whispers to me night and day, *my Louisen, my beautiful Wine of Champagne*. I ask you, what party shall I choose?'^{lxxviii} Of course the Oracle tells him, 'the party of the Emperor and Holland.'²³⁵ Significantly the one Prince of the Empire who was not represented in any of the pamphlets was William's most important German ally, the Elector of Brandenburg, with whom the *Stadholder* had already concluded an agreement on 30 June providing him with a detachment of 6,000 troops under Marshall Schomberg.²³⁶

What was also significant about these pamphlets was that major French political figures, such as Vauban and Louvois, were also portrayed as critical of

²³¹ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p32.

²³² R Place, 'Bavaria and the Collapse of Louis XIV's German Policy', pp369-93; J Rule, 'France caught between two balances', p43.

²³³ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p32.

²³⁴ S Baxter, *William III*, p225; JB Wolf, *Louis XIV*, p428.

²³⁵ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p24.

²³⁶ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', p195; W Troost, 'William III, Brandenburg and the construction of the anti-French coalition, 1672-88', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp299-333.

Louis' bellicose policy in Germany. In fact, rather than supporting any kind of military action, these key ministers were presented as advocating a peaceful foreign policy, due to the disastrous effects of the Revocation of Nantes on French finances and trade.²³⁷ Referring to the drain of military talent and manpower from France following the Revocation, Vauban for example (who did actually question Louis' wisdom in revoking the Edict), lamented that Louis' armies were now regarded as a joke by the rest of Europe and he expressed anxiety that they would suffer defeat.²³⁸ Furthermore, despite being one of the Revocation's strongest supporters, Louvois was depicted as critical of the King's determination to take Cologne by force, believing that the King's mind had been corrupted by the Jesuits. Instead, Louvois recommended 'we should reinstate the Edict of Nantes' because he believed that it was the only way to mend the economic damage caused, 'France is presently a sick Body that has lost much blood. And I see no other means of refilling the Coffers of his Majesty, as a speedy transformation.'^{lxxix,239} This line of thinking was also conveyed by the Dauphin who asked 'what shall I do to repair the damaged commerce?'^{lxxx} to which the Oracle replied, 'Take a man as your Confessor, like Mr Jurieu in place of Father la Chaise. Leave the Huguenots and the Reformed in peace.'^{lxxxi,240}

Here the pamphleteer was clearly seeking to draw attention to the detrimental economic effects that Holland could expect if Louis were to successfully attack the Republic, by emphasising the perceived connection between popery, tyranny, and poverty.²⁴¹ To further strengthen this argument, the character of 'France' was portrayed considering her past greatness, when the arts blossomed, when there was an abundance of trade and when all her subjects were united. However, she laments to the Oracle that due to the tyranny of the Jesuits, she is overloaded with taxes and is penniless, as all of her children have been driven to seek asylum in other countries.²⁴² In contrast, the character of 'Holland' was depicted rejoicing the fact

²³⁷ For the Revocation's effect on French finances see, S Baxter, *William III*, p208; M Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange*, pp54-56; G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', pp184-87.

²³⁸ Knuttel 12975, Anon, *Het Orakel Aangesproken Door de Magten der Aarde* (1688), p35.

²³⁹ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), p21.

²⁴⁰ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), pp18-19.

²⁴¹ B Lenman, 'Providence, Liberty and Prosperity: An aspect of English Thought in the Era of the Glorious Revolution', in *The World of William and Mary. Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, eds. D Hoak and M Feingold (Stanford, 1996), pp135-51.

²⁴² Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), pp27-28.

that because she exercises justice over her inhabitants, does all she can to preserve the peace, and does not hinder consciences, her commerce flourishes.²⁴³

VIII. Conclusion

In the months leading up to the Glorious Revolution, English affairs were clearly at the forefront of discussion in the Republic. The main subjects considered in the pamphlet literature were primarily those which were afforded the greatest attention in England; the repeal of Penal Laws and Test Acts, James' Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, the recall of the British regiments serving in the Republic, the King's attempts to pack Parliament, his treatment of the seven bishops, and the birth of the Prince of Wales. In the first instance this was due to the fact that the translated works of British authors, which were primarily intended for consumption in England, constituted a large proportion of the information and commentary available to the Dutch public. As this body of pamphlets included works both supporting and opposing the King's policies, this meant that Dutch audiences were exposed to the debate that was taking place in England. Secondly, the coverage of these issues was also heightened by the increased production of anti-Stuart propaganda in the Republic which, it has been shown, sought to appeal to Dutch, as well as to English audiences. In addition, the works of Jacobite propagandists were also translated, but only when their pamphlets directly criticised or concerned the Dutch state itself.

As there is so little evidence of pamphlets produced by independent Dutch authors, it is not possible to build a complete picture of Dutch public opinion regarding the developments in England. However, the literature does provide an insight into the way the public's understanding and perceptions of the English situation could have been shaped by the information available to them. Firstly, the publication of Fagel's *Letter* clarified William and Mary's opposition to the King's desire to increase Catholic liberties in England, and the ensuing pamphlet controversy brought this official reaction even further into the public domain. Secondly, the works of British pamphleteers not only highlighted that there were differences of opinion regarding the sincerity of the King's religious policies in England, but they also drew attention to the dangers of their divisive nature. Indeed, it is evident that the prospect of serious religious factionalism arising in England was an issue of concern in the Republic, for two pamphlets addressing this possibility

²⁴³ Knuttel 12978, Anon, *Nieuwe Voorseggingen* (1688), pp38-39.

were published specifically for Dutch audiences. Lastly, the fact that anti-Stuart propagandists made such a concerted effort to place the King's domestic and religious policies, as well as the birth of the Prince of Wales, at the centre of an international Jesuit conspiracy to eradicate Protestantism, highlights that these pamphlets must have had a receptive audience in both England and the Republic. Although these pamphlets were intended to develop the fears of a resurgent Catholicism that already existed in both countries, it has been shown that greater emphasis was placed on the strategic dangers of the birth of the Prince of Wales in those pieces published specifically for Dutch audiences.

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- ⁱ 'dat zy van opinie zyn, dat geen Christen om zyne Conscientie behoort vervolgd, of om dat hy van de publyke en vastgestelde Religie verseheelt, qalyk gehandeld te worden', p2.
- ⁱⁱ 'Maar haare Hoogheden konnen 't vernietigen van den Test niet consentceeren, of van die andere Penale Wetten laast gemeld, dewelke tot Securiteyt van de Protestantsche Religie strekken', p2.
- ⁱⁱⁱ 'Want de Rooms Catholyken zyn niet te vrede met de Gereformeerde van alle Officien van profyt of belang uyt te sluyten, maar onderdrukken absolutyt de geheele Exercitie van die Religie, en vervolgen alle de gene die daar Belydenis van doen zeer strengelyk', p4.
- ^{iv} 'Wy weten hier maar al te wel, dat 'er geen sterker vervolging is, als die deze arme lieden in d'oeffening hunner Religie, inzonderheid in Gelderland, Zeeland, Vriesland, en in het Land van Groningen lijden', p3.
- ^v 'het geen klein getal was 't welk de Republyk in den oorlog diende...meer als de twee darden der goede Burgers van de Roomsche-Katholijke Religie hun persoonen in de waagschaal stelden, en een gedeelte hunner goederen tot de bevestiging en behoudenis der gemeene vryheid gaven', pp14-15.
- ^{vi} 'zoo wel een Verantwoordinge is voor de bescherminge die my word vergunt van syn Ho: Mo: Heere Staten (welkers Onderdaan ik ben)', p3.
- ^{vii} 'de substantie daar van is geen nieuwe saak; het is alleen een Repetitie van 't selve Antwoort aan sijn Majesteyt, dat den Prins en Prinsesse te vooren al aan sijn Majesteyts Envoyè aldaar hadden gegeven', p2.
- ^{viii} 'Den Prince van Orangie heeft meer als dese vijftien jaar lang sulke groote proeven van sijn bestendigheyt en resolutie gegeven, so wel als van sijn Capaciteyt en Conduite in sig te opponeren tegen den Grooten Berover...van vryheyd en Religie, dat hy verdient, om van alle onpartijdigen voor het Hooft van 't Protestantse interest erkent te werden', p3.
- ^{ix} 'T is nu al soo langen tijdt geleden, dat de Doorluchtige Princen van het Huys van Orange, haer bloet vergoten hebben, tot bescherminge van de Kerke Godts, datse voorwaer wel een gedeelte mogen hebben, van die glorieuse Tytel van Beschermers der Kerke...', p7.
- ^x 'De Maximen der Koningen van Vrankryk heeft sijn geweest, om den een den anderen te boven te gaan in 't beledigen van hare Gebuuren en Onderdanen. Maar die van 't Huys van Orangie ter contrarie, hebben Europa van hare verdrukkers gered, en 't Protestantse interest gemainteneert door Deugd, Waarheyd, Eere en Resolutie...', p4.
- ^{xi} 'Soo vas als Jacobus de Tweede, Koning van Groot-Brittannien, op den Throon van zyne Voorvaderen verheven was, soo scheidte gants Europa van hem een groote hoope, hem voor haer Verlosser aensiende...boven al dat hy de balance tusschen Vrankrijk en Spangien in den Evenaar soude stellen', p3.
- ^{xii} 'De beste Natuur ter Wereld, door een valsche Religie kan bedorven worden; en als dan yemand die goed van Natuur is, zodanig een Religie komt te omhelsen, en eens met die wrede beginsels is ingenomen, hoe Godvrugtiger dat hy dan is, hoe getrouwer dat hy dan sal zyn, aan de Lere van sijn Kerke; en by gevolg sal hy al de wrede Besluiten van de selve, met een onversagtelyke strengigheyt agtervolgen', p18.
- ^{xiii} 'Wy weten immers al te wel, dat de Papisten al de gene die buiten haar zijn, voor *Ketters* hebben verklaard...en dat sy niet alleen leren, datmen de selve door allerlei middelen en wegen moet soecken te benadeelen, en uyt te roeien', p4.
- ^{xiv} 'De Papisten dragen een aangeborene viandschap tegen die van die Gereformeerde Religie, en zijn altijd genegen om de selve te onderdrukken; en de Penale Wetten in *Engeland*, en strenge Placaten hier in *Holland* zijn anders niet bolwerken om de Religie en het Government in veiligheid te stellen', p12.
- ^{xv} 'Dese Kerk van Engeland weet gy wel is onse grootste hinderpaal; het spijt my als ik der aan denk date en *Kettersche* Kerk door de Wet dus sou bevestigd zijn; dese Wetten sijn sulke ongelukkige fortification, dat sy ons meer in de weg staen als muuren en Bolwerken. Konden wy dit werk maer eens slegten; 't zou niet lange duuren eer wy aen 't stormen raekten, en ik denk dat wy alreede fray geadvanceert sijn', pp5-6.
- ^{xvi} 'Ick bekenne dat de pretense abolitie van den Test ende Paenale Wetten; mitsgaders uyt den name ende van wegen sijn Hoocheydt den Heere Prince ende Mevrouw de Prinsesse van Orange, door den Heere Raedt-pensionaris Fagel over dat subject naar Engelandt overgeschreven, ons de saecken van Engelandt seer leevendigh voor oogen stellen, ende veroorsaecken, dat men geweldig het onweer in 't hooft heeft', pp2-3.
- ^{xvii} 'Het vernietigen van den Test ende de wetten uwes rijcks, gaet ons eygentlijk niet verder aen, dan dat wy daer in te gemoet sien, dat in sulken gevalle een pilaer op den welcken neffens een van onsen staet, het Heylige Evangelium is rustende, soude komen te waggelen, soo niet gantsch te vallen, en dat over sulx den pilaer in onsen staet mede pericul mogte loopen, van mede te vallen...', p3.

- ^{xviii} 'En daerom heeft sijn Hoocheydt den Heere Prince en de Mevrouw de Princesse van Orangen (als mede heldt ende heldinne des Heeren, die de maintainue van de Religie, ende de wetten, ende des landts beste van herten beminnen, ende Sorge dragen, dat onse vereenigde pylen vast in een gebonden en onverbroomden blyven) seer wel gedaen, dat deselve by tijds daer op hebben gelet, ende daer over haere sentimenten soodaenigh hebben geuyt...', p3.
- ^{xix} 'Myn lieve vriendt, tusschen ons also genoemt Eeuwigh Edict ende uwen Test, is een sulcken grooten onderscheydt als 'er is tusschen wit en swart', p4.
- ^{xx} 'tot medicijn-meester van alle siecktens van onsen staet aengenomen', p5.
- ^{xxi} 'Den Test dan geboleert ende vernietigt sijnde sal uwe Rijk: (door dien men als dan de Religie en Regeringe in Kerke en Policies al trachten te veranderen) soo elendig worden dat het gantsche Rijk sal Waggelen, ende in Paepsche Bisdommen, Decanien, en Pastorien sal verdeelt ende also een volkomen Pauselijcke Hierarchie in 't midden van dien opgericht worden', pp5-6.
- ^{xxii} 'het een van de fundamentele gronden onser Policy is, en de sterkste suyl die ons prachtig Stadhuis onderschraagt. Aan de selfde mogen wy onse Volkrijkheid dank weeten, en by gevolg onse Koophandel, Rijkdom, en vermogen: sijnde dat werktuig waar mede wy andere Natien hebben uitgeput, en ons selven so veel rijkdom en magt verkregen, dat wy de overvloedigste Koningrijken, en grootste Monarchien kunnen uittarten', p3.
- ^{xxiii} 'het grootste gedeelte van die vluchtelingen bestaat uit Kooplieden, Konstenaars, of arbeidsame Ambachtlieden, die overall waar sy komen als de Byen, honig in de gemeene Byekorf brengen, door nieuwe Handwerken waar sy haar ter neerslaan aan anderen te leeren, of oude voort te setten', p3.
- ^{xxiv} 'By aldien de vrye Exercitie der Godsdienst magtig is geweest om sulke heerlijke effecten in dese Provincien voort te brengen; wie isser die niet sien kan dat deselfde in Engeland vastgesteld sijnde, daar veel grooter voordeel moet voortbrengen', p6.
- ^{xxv} 'uw gelukkige Brittanien, gelijk het de Koningin der Eilanden is, so schijnt het van de Natuure geschikt te sijn om een Souverain der Zeen te wesen, en een Meesteres van de Koophandel, het groot Magasijn der Commercie, en de voornaamste Koopplaats der Wereld', p6.
- ^{xxvi} 'Ik niet daar by te voegen wie of wat voor Volk het meest daar by souden verliezen. Dewyl het...seker is, dat Vryheid der Conscientie door een Wet in Engeland vastgesteld zynde...haar meer drukken sou in seven Jaar, dan een oorlog die so lang tegen haar met voorspoed gevoerd wierd', p7.
- ^{xxvii} 'zo zal het blijken een onwedersprekelijke Waarheid te zijn, dat het eerste Arttykel van U Geloof Interest is', p2.
- ^{xxviii} 'gy daarom also seer bevresst zijt voor het success van deese mesures...in 't Parlement', p3.
- ^{xxix} '...want schier al wat wy door deeze mesures te neemen zullen winnen, zult gy moeten verliezen', pp4-5.
- ^{xxx} 'Ik hebbe gemeynt, dat het niet onaangenaam soude wesen, sommige der selver aan de weerelt gemeen te maacken, synde de andere niet andere als brieven van Coopmanschap of Amourettes, met welke ick den Leeser niet hebbe willen moeyelyck vallen...', pp3-4.
- ^{xxxi} 'Voor mijn part, ik en was 'er goen kleintjen over versteld, doe ik desen en den voorgaanden Brief hadde gelesen, en gesien, wat onderaardsche vonden het Jesuitsche gebroedsel bedenkt, om de Kerke Christi, indien het mogelijk was, van de Aardbodem te verdelgen...Maar nu tonese ter dege datse van den Duivel zijn, die van den beginner of een Menschen-Moordenaar en een Bedrieger geweest is', p22.
- ^{xxxii} 'Om dan met het Hooft, ik wil seggen onsen Monarch te beginnen, zoo is seker dat hy van natuyren goedaerdig is, en dat hy het quaeddoen niet en bemint, ten minsten datmen hem aenporren moet om het te doen: dat dan zoo synde, zoo kan ik seggen, dat hy noyt de bekeeringe van sijne Onderdanen, sonder Geestelykeyt van Vrankryk, en sonder onse Societeyt, ondernomen soude hebben', p3.
- ^{xxxiii} 'Van d' andere kant zo is he teen Vorst die verstant heeft, en die seer wel bemerkt dat het beleyt, dat wy hem doen houden, contrarie aen sijn interessen is, en datter nietwes zoo aen sijn groote desseyen, en aen sijn glorie tegengesteld is, om dat hy voor heeft sich tot een schrick van gantsch Europa te maecken...ook zo begintmen onthefte te werden van de vreesse, dat hy na d' algemene Monarchie is trachtende, en men moet verseekert zyn, dat hy daer niet meer om denkt, niet wes aen dat desseyen, so tegengesteld zynde, als het beleyt dat wy hem doen houden', p3.
- ^{xxxiv} '...en daar wort niet een eenigh Mensch gevonden, die bewilligen wil in 't afdoen van den Test en van de penale Wetten, nademaal daar door de fundamenten van de Protestantsche Religie ondermynt...', pp13-14.
- ^{xxxv} 'Zedert dat gy van Londen vertrocken zyt soo is er grote verandering voor gevallen, tegenwoordig sietmen de Monnicken in haar gewoonlijke habytten met haar grote baarden...door de Stadt wandelen,

en de Jesuiten met een gefrontselt voor-hoof. ...als Sprinkhanen, springen straat uyt straat in, van 't eene Huys in 't ander. Men hoort haar niet anders spreken als van bekeringe...', pp13-14.

^{xxxvi} 'Wanneer U Eerwaarde sal sien door ordre van zijne Majesteit een Parlement vergadert, kunt gy niet regt daar uyt besluyten dat onse party sterk genoeg daar in moet zijn, nadien het waarschijnlijk is dat wy een Parlement souden beroepen, sonder voor-af versekert te zijn wegens de Leden die het composeren', p16.

^{xxxvii} 'Maer haer Ho: Mo: met ende neffens sijn Hoocheydt den Heere Prince van Orangie, ingesien ende geconsidereert hebbende, van dat hy dese voorsz 6. Regimenten tot geen ander eynde van voornemens was t'employeren, dan om sijn volck tot d'Abolitie van den Test ende de poenele Wetten t'obligeren...en soude onse Natie door het toesenden deser Troupen, sich een eeuwige schande hebben aengehangen, en het soude voor Godt onverantwoordelijck sijn, dat wy door sodanigen toevoer, en sulcx tot soo merkelycken nadeel van uw Koninckrijck ende onsen Staet, en tot onderganck van de Kerke Godts, ende tot extirpatie van onse Broederen en Ledematen Jesu Christi souden contribueren', p9.

^{xxxviii} 'De Brief heeft Den Koning uyttermaten opgehits, als zijnde van soodanigen aerd dat niet gaern refuys lijd...Die weygeringe heeft hem heel eerder doen resolveren sijne troupen uyt Holland wederom te eysschen', p3.

^{xxxix} 'als de Heylige Dragondersche Messionarissen uyt te laten, die haar uytwendig sullen persuaderen van de waarheyd onser Religie. Dat is het oogmerk van zijne Brittanische Majesteit ende meer dan 2400 Jesuiten en Monnicken die in England zijn, zijn daar van invincible bewijsen', p7.

^{xl} 'Ick heb tegenwoordigh de heele Catholijcke Religie op mijn zijde; soo het daer op aen komt, so sal den Keyser mijn gelt senden om de Kettters te verdelgen; soo als hy aen den Paus gedaen heeft om tegen d'Ongelovigen te strijden. Wijders so heb ick den Coninck van Vrankrijk t' eenemaal op mijn zijde, die heeft my Schepen en Troupen belofft, ick heb niets te vresen', p10.

^{xli} 'Men spreekt alhier van Oorlog ter saacke van eenig different met de Hollanders, maar soo dat quam te gebeuren, soo souden de meeste boots-gesellen in de tegenwoordig conjuncture van saacken niet willen vegten, en indien mijn Heer den Prince van Orange, sig in persoon op de Hollantsche Vloot begaf, soo is het seecker dat de helft van onse Vloot hem het Hof soude maacken, in plaats van tegens hem te vegten...', p13.

^{xlii} '...hy de middelen vinden om gelt te bekomen, om den Oorlog misschien tegen de Staten aan te vangen, ende dat zy het soo soude te boven komen tegens die van Holland: want de vrees die dese heeft voor den Prins van Orangie...en in directie van den Raad Pensionaris Fagel zijn zeer groot...', p4.

^{xliii} 'den Aartsbisschop van Cantelberg, de moeyte nam van een reys te doen na d' andere wereld, met de Bisschoppen zijne Collegen: dan soud het ons ligt zijne onse desseyne uyt te voeren', p8.

^{xliiv} 'UE zegt geïnformeert te zijn, dat sulke en sulke Grooten Persoonen daar aan twiffelden [Fagel's Letter]; maar sommige mochten also wel pretenderen te twiffelen aan de waarheyd van dien Brief (al was het noch so waer) als te gelooven dat haar Majesteyt swanger was, schier eer sy 't selfs wist; en dat sy leven droeg wanneer de Vrucht, na 't zeggen de Anatomisten, pas een duymbreet lang was. Ik denk immers niet dat de Paapsche Successeurs, gelijk seker onkruyt, vasser groeijen als andere', p8.

^{xlv} 'daer wierd onlangs een gevonden, het welke aen de Kerkdeur gehecht was, van inhoud dat men op soo een seker dag God de Heere danken sou voor des Koninginnes swanger gaan van een kussen', p4.

^{xlvi} 'Den 26 passato wiert in dese Stad de dankdag voor het swanger zijn van haer Majesteit gehouden en een Pasquil tegen den Koning, Koningin en Koninginne Weduwe aen de Deur van Christi Kerk aengeplacht gevonden.'

^{xlvii} 'Sy maken alhier groot werk van een sekere Afgodinne, die te Lorette in Italien is, en seggen tot haer lof, dates groote Mirakelen doet, en dat door hare intercessie, de Coninginne is swanger geworden', pp27-28.

^{xlviii} 'en ondertusschen so stellen dese MESCHUMADIM al hun vertrouwen op dese Afgoden...', p28.

^{xlix} 'Zo als zy sliep verscheen haar een Engel verscheyde maalen, zeggende, "Hebt goede moet, gy zult een Zoon baaren, en zijn naam zal Walles zijn". De Koningin schielijk wakker werdende, zag dat het een Engel was gelijk die, de welke eertijts Maria was verscheenen', p8.

^l '...na dat ons verscheidene aanslagen en heilige Conspiratien mislukt waren, sijn tegenwoordige Majesteyt een doesje met snuiftabak, netjes met vergif toebereid, gegeven, en hem geraden om het selve aan sijn Broeder te vereeren, met versekeringe dat hy niet lang daar na soude leven...En so doende hielpen wy sijn tegenwoordige Majesteyt aan de Kroon, en sijn broeder aan de Dood', p10.

- ^{li} 'Ik hebbe eenige Brieven uit den Haag ontsangen waar in gemeld word, dat 'er in Holland sulke oneerbiedige praatjes van den jongen Prins omgaan; date en segt..dat men er daarom een Molenaars-kind toe genomen heeft. Den ander segt, dat he teen Timmerman's kind uit Holborne (een Straat in London)...Sommige segen de jonge Prins was een Maand oud...Andere seggen hy als ses tanden in de mond...', pp14-15.
- ^{lii} 'Ach *Jacobus* waer wilt heenen / 't Spel dat is geheel verbruyt? / En men aght het niet een duyts / Altydt loop je blaeuwe scheenen / Ach *Jacobus* waer wilt heenen', p3.
- ^{liii} 'Want ghy kunt het niet beletten/ Dat men om uw sotheyt laght / Die uw sotheyd uw aanbraght? / En die nogh ten toon gaet secten / Want ghy kunt het niet beletten', p5.
- ^{liiv} 'Een Vorst vervlockte! om Godts volck in slaverny / Te voeren, hier toe rust men Scheepen en Galeyen, / Daer men op bant en doemt, al wie dat niet wil vleyen / Den Roomschen Antichrist, of het gepurpert Beest, / Vyanden van Godts Kerk van haer begin geweest...' [no pagination].
- ^{liv} '...dat de Rooms Catholyke Religie in dese drie Coninghryken soodanigh soude bloeyen, als die gedaan heeft ten tyden van de Coninginne Maria. En men mag haar met regt noemen een tweede Maria, in vroomheyd en in yver...', p9.
- ^{lvi} 'Siet hoe aardig is deze saak een voorbeeld van de tegenwoordige Comedie, die men spelt op de wereld', p4.
- ^{lvii} 'Siet daar de waerachtige Historie van dien tyd, soo deftig overeenkomende in sommige deelen met die gene welke in deselven Stadt nu ter tyd gebeurt', p6.
- ^{lviii} 'Gy moet niet twiffelen...dat deselve geen groote Vyandinne vande Protestanten geboren is, en dat deselve by sijn Majesteyt niet al dat mogelyk is, aengewent heeft in all 't gene datter gedaen is, om haren onderganck te bevorderen.'
- ^{lix} 'De Katholijke en Protestantsche Vorsten twist-redenen te samen, de laatsten beweerden dat de Prins van Wallis een opgeraapt Kind was, en de eersten hielde het tegendeel staande; zo dat 'er eindelijk aan wederzyde beslooten wierd, dat men zich aan 't Orakel gedraagen zou; en dat de Goddelijke Apollo scheidsman zou weezen in een geschil, daar 't geluk of ongeluk van gantsch Europa aan hangt', p4.
- ^{lx} 'Ick kome aen den H:Vader Innocentus den XI aen den Koning van Vrankrijk, en aen den Hertogh van Modena, een Peetje te geven. Een neefje aen de Societeit. Een Broertje aen de Princesse van Denemarken. En een Competiteur aen de Princesse Maria, dewelke haer de swaere last van de Kroon van Engelant sal helpen dragen', p11.
- ^{lxi} 'Ik heb altijt hooren seggen dat d'Eerw: Vaders Jesuiten goeden inblaesers sijn, en dat hy schoone secreeten voor d'onvrugtbaerheyd hebben; hoe dat het ook sy, de Princesse mijne Gemalinne is haere familie met een Broeder vermeerderd, den welke naar alle apparentie wel gemaect sal sijn, vermits hy door soo veel handen gepaaseert is', p15.
- ^{lxii} 'Wat Hollant aengaet, soo wanneer dat Engelant bekeert sal sijn, sal het ons soo veel te lichter vallen het selve t' onderwerpen', p12.
- ^{lxiii} 'Ik hou by levens gevaar staande, dat de Jonge Prins van Walles wettelijk is: En indien ik 'er mijn Leger aan waagen moet, door mijn Bomben, en Carcassen de gantsche Wereld in puyn en asch veranderen, en de wederspannige Natie, die zig tegen de voornemingen van de Koning Iacobus kant, straffen...', p10.
- ^{lxiv} 'en 't Hooger en Laagerhuis te dwingen, om de Test en Poenale Wetten te herroepen', pp26-27.
- ^{lxv} 'een geduyrige Alliantie met de Kroon van Vrankrijk, en den Geest der vervolginge van syn Vader en van syn Oom te houden', p11.
- ^{lxvi} 'Als ik maar dese dingen gedenke, so verheugd sig mijn geest en als ik den yver van en sijn Majesteyt in 't volbrengen van ons dessein in Engelandt...en die van den Kardinaal van Furstenberg (die nu Keurvorst van Keulen sal worden) de Hollandsche Republijk onder sijn gehoorsaamheid kan brengen, als hy sig eerst Meester van sijne eigene Onderdanen sal gemaakt, en haar door 't bevestigen van sijn Absolutie Magt, aan den band gebragt hebben...', p5.
- ^{lxvii} 'Is tachtig duysendt France...genoeg, om aan den Rijn te gaan Oorlogen?', p8.
- ^{lxviii} 'de Keyser heeft zyn handen vol werk, en kond ik het na myn begeerte krijgen, zoo kond ik de Hollanders te gemakkelijker bezoeken, en de Keyserse als zy 't meest te doen hadden werk geven, maar ik vrees voor ongemak, en dat ik veel slagen, van de Arends-klaauwen heb af te wagten', p9.
- ^{lxix} 'Ick dan de Troupen van mijn Patroon in Luycker-landt sal doen trecken, en mijn beste sal doen, om de poorten van Ceulen voor den Marquis van Bouflers open te krijgen, om de met een Leger in Marsch is', p6.
- ^{lxx} 'Dewijl 't voordeel van zig Meester van den Rhyne te zien, van daar door de gemeenschap van 't Duytsche Rijck, met Vlanderen weg te neemen, en zig binnen eenige Jaar de overwinning van Holland te kunnen verzeekeren', p25.

^{lxxi} ‘...en de Hollanders te laten weten dat zy op de desseynen van Vrankrijk moesten acht nemen’, p10.

^{lxxii} ‘want de Koning van Vrankrijk, wil om dat hy eenig verbondt met Engellant gemaakt heeft, zoo men merken kan om Hollant den Oorlog aan te doen, en den Keyser nog meerder werk te geven’, p23.

^{lxxiii} ‘De Jesuiten van haar kant belooven hem de Monarchy van het gantsch Aardrijk, zo hy den oorlog voortzet’, pp21-22.

^{lxxiv} ‘...en nogtans beelde ik my in dat ik nog erger vyanden als haar heb, want de Koning van Vrankrijk, bedrieght my ‘t aldermeest, om zijn voordeel door myn schade, te doen, want ik ben geheel genegen om vrede te maken, maar hy raadt het my altijd af...’, pp15-16.

^{lxxv} ‘Soons te procureren om zyn eigen onderdanen te verderven wat zal hy my dan niet willen doen’, p16.

^{lxxvi} ‘Wy bevinden ons tusschen de klauwen van den Arend, en de pooten van de Vos. De groote Leopold verzamelt van de eene kant geheele Steeden, Provincien, en Koninkrijken, door zijne groote overwinningen. En de groote Lodewijk van de andere kant, swerft rondom ons, dan als een Leeuw met zijne bomben, en dan als een vos, met zijne schoone beloften...De groote Leopold alle deeze omweegen ziende, waarschouwt ons onder de hand, dat wy ons zullen wachten voor bedriegelijke beloften. De Groote Lodewijk doet ons van zijn kant door zijne bespieders zoetjens aanzeggen, weest op uw hoede, Leopoldus werd te machtig, gy zult slaaven van ‘t Huis van Oostenrijk werden’, p28.

^{lxxvii} ‘De Keyser mijn Schoonvader belooft my, dat ‘er geen meer Jalousy tusschen my en Lottheringen sijn sal, en dat ik sijne Legers alleen sal commandeeren. De Koning van Vrankrijk belooft my dat ik met hem Spanje, Vlaandren, ‘t Milanees, Peru, Mexica, en al ‘t goed van sijn Schoon-broeder na sijn dood, sal deelen’, p32.

^{lxxviii} ‘ik bemin de Fransche Wyn, maar niet de Fransche. Ik hou noch meer van de Rynsche Wijn, en ik ben voorneemen om geen andere te drinken. De Koning van Vrankrijk doet groote beloften, en lelt my dag en nacht aan de ooren, *mijne Louisen, mijne schoone Wyn van Champagne*. Ik bid u, wat party zal ik kiezen?’, p24.

^{lxxix} ‘...wy souden ‘t Edict van Nantes herstellen...Vrankrijk is tegenwoordigh een siek Lichaem dat veel bloet verloren heeft. En ik sie geen ander middle om de Coffers van sijn Majesteyt te vervullen, als een spoedige transformatie’, p21.

^{lxxx} ‘wat sal ik dan doen om de verdorven commercie weder te herstellen?’, p18.

^{lxxxi} ‘Een man tot Biechtvader nemen, als d’Heer Jurieu is in plaatse van Pater la Chaise. De Huguenoten en de Reformatie in haer rust laten’, p19.

Chapter Four: The Glorious Revolution.

Pamphlet discourse September 1688-December 1689

The title of this chapter, 'The Glorious Revolution', is testament to the important role that pamphlets, prints and propaganda played in the events of 1688-89. Just as William III recognised the vital role that printed materials would play in influencing public opinion over 300 years ago, so too have historians of the Revolutionary period. Indeed, attention has not only been afforded to the extensive propaganda campaign that was carried out in England to gain support for William's invasion, but also to the pamphlet debates that quickly arose in relation to the Revolutionary settlement.¹ However, little consideration has been paid to the body of pamphlet literature that was published in the Dutch Republic over the same period.² This chapter therefore aims to address this historiographical gap, by thoroughly assessing the pamphlet literature published in the Republic between September 1688 and December 1689. Focus is initially placed on the way that pamphlets were utilized to gain support for William's intervention in England, both from Dutch regents and the general public. Attention is then afforded to the way Dutch pamphleteers responded to, and perceived, both William's expedition and the Revolutionary settlement, with any differences between the discourse in England and the Republic noted.

I. General overview of the pamphlet literature

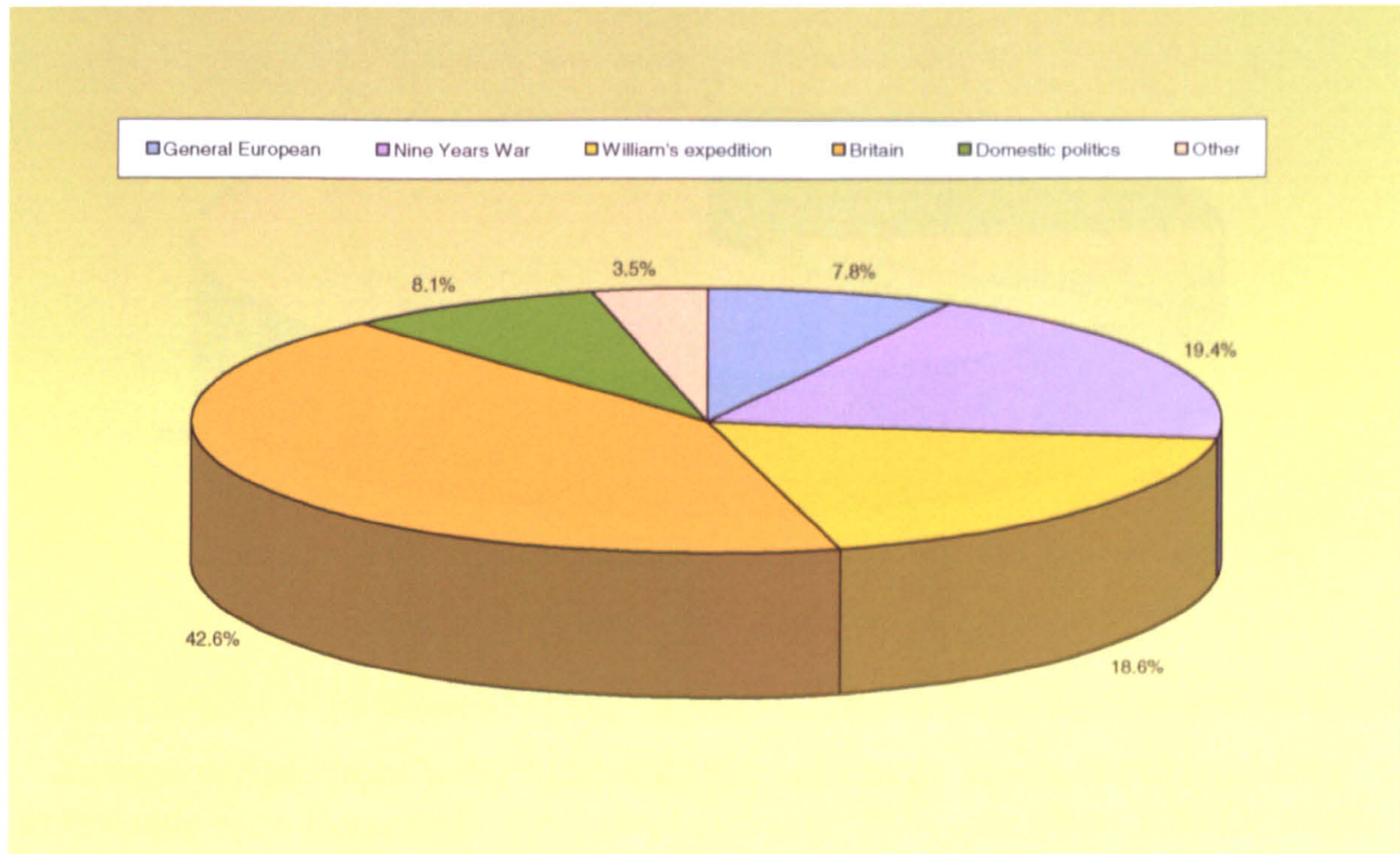
The period surrounding the Glorious Revolution was one of heightened pamphlet production, for between September 1688 and December 1689, 371 pamphlets were published. As can be seen in Chart 4.1, this literature followed the pattern of output generated in the preceding period, for it was still primarily concerned with foreign affairs (see Chart 4.1, p159 below). Events across the Channel continued to predominate, accounting for 61.2 per cent of total pamphlet output and 69.2 per cent of production on foreign affairs alone. In the literature published on British affairs,

¹ T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (CUP, 1996); M Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument: An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', in *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* (Winter, 1980), pp473-546; J Israel, 'Propaganda in the making of the Glorious Revolution', in *Across the narrow seas*, ed. S Roach (London, 1991); L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights, 1689* (Baltimore, 1981); L Schwoerer, 'Press and Parliament in the Revolution of 1689', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 20, 3 (1977), pp545-67; L Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', in *American Historical Review*, vol. 82, 4 (October, 1977), pp843-74.

² Except PJAN Rietbergen, "A Fateful Alliance? William III and England in Dutch Historiography, 1688-9 - 1988-9", in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp463-80.

two interconnected topics were afforded particular attention; William's expedition with which 69 pamphlets (18.6 per cent) were concerned and the ensuing developments in England, Scotland and Ireland, which were addressed in 158 pamphlets (42.6 per cent).

Chart 4.1: Pamphlet output, September 1688-December 1689

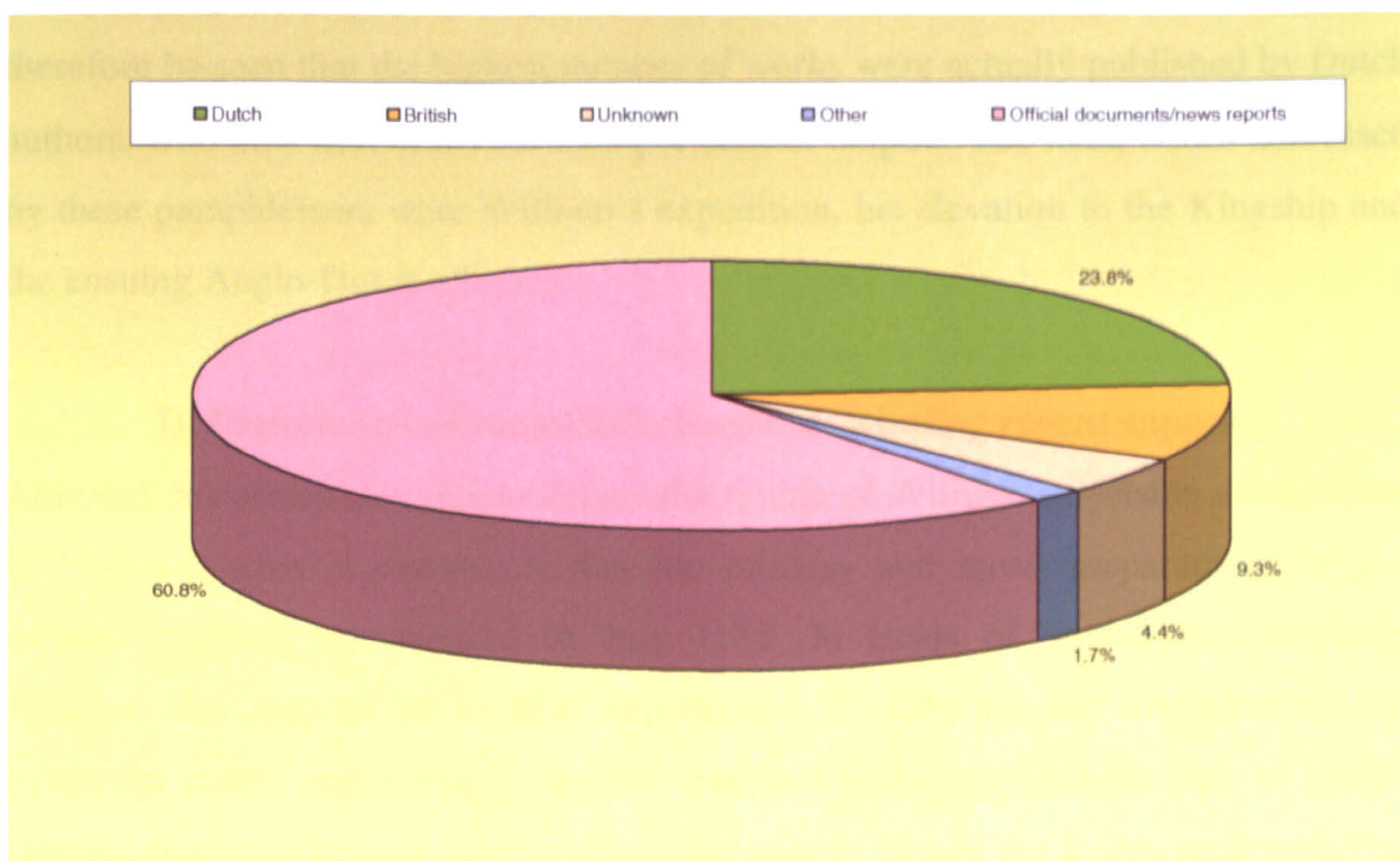


Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

In terms of the provenance of the literature published on these two topics, the most striking feature of Chart 4.2 is that 138 pamphlets (60.8 per cent) were either reproductions of official documents or news reports that were published with little or no commentary (see Chart 4.2, p160 below). That this type of pamphlet constituted such a high proportion of output is significant, for it firstly indicates that the progress of William's expedition was definitely a 'hot topic' for Dutch audiences. Secondly, from the information contained, it is evident that this interest began to rise with the sailing of the fleet in November and then rapidly declined following the coronation of William and Mary in the Spring of 1689. Lastly, it reveals that the Dutch public were attentive to the fact that William's actions had evoked a reaction, albeit

differing, in each of James' kingdoms and as such, they were conscious that the Revolution was very much a British event.³

Chart 4.2: Pamphlet origin, September 1688 – December 1689



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978), the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands and Early English Books Online.

Attention also needs to be drawn to the fact that whereas in the previous period, the works of British authors and Unknown propagandists had dominated the discourse on English affairs, by this stage the contribution of these two groups had now declined to just 13.7 per cent of output.⁴ This can firstly be explained by the fact that William and his propaganda team, as well as British exiles such as Robert Ferguson, who had previously been active in the Republic were now entirely focused on gaining the support of English audiences, initially for William's landing and then

³ Tim Harris has highlighted that each of James' Kingdom had their own distinct Revolution, see T Harris, 'Incompatible revolutions?: the Established Church and the revolutions of 1688-9 in Ireland, England and Scotland', in *The Stuart Kingdoms in the seventeenth century*, eds. Al Macinnes and J Ohlmeyer (Scarborough, 2002), pp204-25; T Harris, 'The People, the Law, and the Constitution in Scotland and England: A Comparative Approach to the Glorious Revolution', in *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 38 (January, 1999), pp28-58; T Harris, 'Reluctant Revolutionaries? The Scots and the Revolution of 1688-89', in *Politics and the Political Imagination in Later Stuart Britain*, ed. H Nenner (New York, 1997), pp97-120.

⁴ In the preceding period, British pamphleteers accounted for 51.4 per cent of output and Unknown pamphleteers 29.2 per cent.

later for his assumption of *de facto* power after James' flight.⁵ Secondly, these pamphleteers no longer needed to utilize Dutch presses to print their material, for during the winter of 1688-89 although the Licensing Act used to control the press was theoretically still in force, the agencies responsible for enforcing it had ceased to function properly, resulting in greater freedom of the press in England itself.⁶ It can therefore be seen that the highest number of works were actually published by Dutch authors, who now accounted for 23.8 per cent of output.⁷ The main issues addressed by these pamphleteers were William's expedition, his elevation to the Kingship and the ensuing Anglo-Dutch alliance.

II. Prelude to intervention in England: winning regent support

Although historians continue to debate the timing of William's decision to intervene in England, what is certain, is that the military and naval preparations for the invasion actively commenced in July 1688. In terms of international backing, William was assured of English support on 20 July via the invitation of the 'immortal seven' and by early August, Bentinck had negotiated the hire of 14,000 German troops to defend the Republic's borders in lieu of the Dutch regiments that were earmarked for England.⁸ Practical assistance was also forthcoming from within the Republic itself, for back in June William had already advocated that given the increasingly unstable international situation, the States of Holland should enlarge their forces, toughen their fortifications and prepare for war.⁹ Therefore on 13 July the States General agreed to William's request, in his capacity as Admiral-General, that an extra 21 men-of-war be fitted out to supplement the ordinary equipage that been set in the spring and a week later, despite opposition from the Amsterdam *vroedschap* (town council), the go ahead was given for the expansion of the navy by

⁵ R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), pp521-89; T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp24-71; MS Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999), pp149-72.

⁶ L Schwoerer, 'Press and Parliament', p545; F Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana, 1965), pp300-01.

⁷ Dutch pamphleteers had accounted for 16.7 per cent of output in the preceding period.

⁸ The troops were provided by Brandenburg, Celle, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbüttel, D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The Career of Hans Williem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland 1649-1709' (Utrecht, unpublished PhD thesis, 2004), pp39-40.

⁹ J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, ed. J Israel (CUP, 1991), p116.

9,000 men.¹⁰ The hiring of transportation then began in late August and inside a month, 400 vessels had been taken into service.¹¹ However, as more than half the ships and total naval manpower were provided by Amsterdam, Fagel and Bentinck worked closely with both Job de Wildt, the secretary of Amsterdam Admiralty College, and Cornelis Evertsen, a senior Dutch naval commander, in organising the provisioning and equipaging of the fleet.¹² Thus, by the time William was ready to set sail at the end of October, his armada totalled 463 ships carrying 40,000 men and 5,000 horses.¹³

Yet, all of these preparations were shrouded in the utmost secrecy and until the third week of August they were not yet on a large enough scale to attract a great deal of attention.¹⁴ In fact, James' ambassador Albeville was so unconcerned that he took a leave of absence and returned to England for most of August.¹⁵ Nevertheless it soon became apparent to both the Dutch public and foreign diplomats alike, that some kind of major offensive was being planned, but as the true destination of the fleet remained obscure, many believed that the preparations were being made against France.¹⁶ The uncertainty surrounding the build up was reflected in the dispatches of Daniel Petit, the English consul at Amsterdam, who reported:

They are at work night and day to get their ships ready but against whom is diversely spoken of, some guess it to be to oppose France in case that crown does by force undertake something in favour of the Cardinal Fürstenberg, others say that the equipping of this fleet is to prevent any design the two fleets of England and France may form to their prejudice.¹⁷

At this stage, even though the Dutch public were still in the dark regarding William's plans, it was becoming clear that war with either England or France was probably now inevitable. Such beliefs were reflected in the movement of share prices on the Amsterdam stock exchange, which witnessed its second most disastrous crash

¹⁰ William and Witsen evaded the need to put the matter to a vote by using a fund designated for this purpose in 1682, KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives*, ed. L Schwoerer (CUP, 1992), p29.

¹¹ J Israel and G Parker, 'Of Providence and Protestant Winds: the Spanish armada of 1588 and the Dutch armada of 1688', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp351-52.

¹² J Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p168-69; S Groenveld, "'J'equippe une flotte tres considerable": The Dutch side of the Glorious Revolution', in *The Revolutions of 1688*, ed. R Beddard (Oxford, 1991), p240; D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite', p40.

¹³ J Israel and G Parker, 'Of Providence and Protestant Winds', pp337-8.

¹⁴ J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange and the English Revolution of 1688', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 103 (1990), p426.

¹⁵ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (Birkenhead, 1972), p258.

¹⁶ S Groenveld, 'J'equippe une flotte tres considerable', p240.

¹⁷ London, BL, MS Add 41816, fos. 157-58, Petit to Middleton, Amsterdam, 24 August 1688, quoted in J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange', p429.

in the seventeenth century when between 25 and 29 August, VOC share prices decreased by 210 points and WIC shares fell by a third.¹⁸ Yet whilst these ambiguous circumstances undoubtedly caused those with financial interests to panic, at the same time there also seems to have been enthusiasm for whatever action the Dutch authorities were arranging. Indeed, when Albeville returned to The Hague he was so surprised by the changed atmosphere in the Republic that on 7 September he reported: 'the people generally are everywhere mad for war both against England and France, those of Amsterdam more than any, and beyond all reason and imagination.'¹⁹

The uncertainty surrounding the build up was soon removed however, for on 11 September the first published assertions that the fleet was destined for England appeared, when three Memorials from Albeville and D'Avaux to the States General were reproduced.²⁰ Albeville had clearly been shaken by the rumours surrounding the preparations, for although his Memorial of 8 September aimed to determine their purpose, its tone was deliberately conciliatory in order to placate any enmity towards the King:

The great and serious preparations for War on Water and Land that Your High Mightinesses make, in a season where ordinarily all operations, and principally those at Sea, come to cease, gives a just subject of concern and alarm to the whole of Europe...His Majesty, as your same old Ally and Confederate, is of the opinion that he has the right to seek clarification...¹

On its own, Albeville's statement might have dampened the fears that James harboured hostile intentions towards the Republic but this was not to be the case, for his address to the States General was published alongside two extremely menacing Memorials which had been presented by D'Avaux the following day. The French ambassador not only stated that Louis was now persuaded that the Republic's preparations were directed against England, but he also gave a clear warning that as soon as any action was taken against James, as his ally the King would have no option but to declare war:

...the King has...burdened me to declare, that the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, would oblige him not only to assist him [James]; but also to regard the First Act of

¹⁸ The most devastating crash occurred after the French invasion of 1672, J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange', p429.

¹⁹ London, BL, MS Add 41816, fo.170v, Albeville to Middleton, The Hague, 7 September 1688, quoted in J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange', p435.

²⁰ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 11 September 1688; Knuttel 12755, D'Avaux, *Memorien van den Graaf d'Avaux* (1688).

Hostility by Your Troops or by Your Ships against his Britannic Majesty, as an open fracture of the Peace and as an act of war against his own Crown."ⁱⁱ

Simultaneously, D'Avaux also informed the regents of Louis' intention to move an army into the Electorate of Cologne on the pretext of maintaining 'the Cardinal and the Chapter in their Rights and Privileges' against any incursions from the Dutch troops stationed at Nijmegen,ⁱⁱⁱ and in an attempt to intimidate the States not to intervene, he reiterated his warning of 10 June that any movement from the Dutch side would lead to war.²¹

In reality, James had not concluded any formal agreement with Louis, even though his extremist Catholic ministers urged him to do so, because he was totally engrossed in his campaign to pack Parliament and was astutely aware that any French alliance would have negative electoral repercussions.²² In fact, D'Avaux's assertion originated with Skelton, James' envoy in Paris and former ambassador to the Republic, who hoped that it would actually push James into concluding such a treaty.²³ Therefore conscious of the possible domestic and international ramifications, James immediately sent a disclaimer to the States General, assuring the Dutch of his peaceful intentions and Albeville presented a further Memorial on 5 October, reiterating that there was no Anglo-French pact: 'But men try to make the whole world believe that the King my Master has entered into a close Alliance with his Most Christian Majesty. And because of that his Majesty would like to make clear the great hopes he has that the Friendship and Alliance between himself and Your High Mightinesses should continue.'^{iv,24}

Despite James' professions of innocence, D'Avaux's threat was an extremely significant development, for in the preceding period pamphleteers had made a concerted effort to demonstrate the existence of a secret Anglo-French alliance, but no official proof had been provided. Yet now the Dutch public were being offered the evidence direct from the mouth of the French ambassador himself. Surely from the viewpoint of the Dutch public, D'Avaux's statement merely confirmed what pamphleteers had been warning them about all along. Indeed from this point

²¹ On 10 September 6,000 French troops entered the Electorate of Cologne at Bonn, JT O'Connor, *Negotiator out of Season. The Career of Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg 1624 to 1704* (Athens, USA, 1978), p181.

²² KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', p26; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p177.

²³ JR Western, *Monarchy and Revolution* (London, 1972), p256.

²⁴ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 9 October 1688; Knuttel 12761-2, Albeville, *Memorie van den Marquis d'Albyville* (1688).

onwards, no matter how many times James avowed his sincere intentions towards the Republic, pamphleteers could use D'Avaux's Memorial to prove their contention that the Dutch's worst fears had been realised – the English and French Kings had concluded a secret treaty and a repeat of 1672 was on its way. Another factor which perhaps strengthened this belief was the fact that the Dutch public were left to draw their own conclusions, for the States General did not issue an official reply until over a month later. Even then its Resolution started from the premise that there *was* such an alliance and it was requested that Albeville provide evidence to the contrary.²⁵

Certainly the importance of the Memorials did not go unnoticed by William and his supporters, for they were soon seized upon and used as proof that the two Kings were now united against the Republic, in order to consolidate concrete support for his English enterprise.²⁶ For that reason, Dijkvelt was sent to Amsterdam to explain the Memorials' significance and Fagel addressed the States of Holland, where he not only stressed the dangerous situation the Republic was now in, but also the connection between Louis' Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and James' attempts to stamp out Protestantism in England.²⁷ Yet, the main problem for William was that although the States General were convinced that there was an Anglo-French alliance, the Amsterdam *vroedschap* which met on 14 September was still split.²⁸ One of the chief reasons for this was that its regents still hoped to reach a diplomatic resolution with France regarding the aggressive tariffs that were severely harming Dutch trade.²⁹ So although they co-operated with William's strategy of rearming the Republic and building up the fleet, they did so mainly to exert pressure on Louis to back down.³⁰ However, as a result of this, Amsterdam's regents not only continued to block proposals for retaliatory measures against French trade that were put forward in the States of Holland, but they also refused to agree to William's expedition.³¹ Conscious of the increased risk to the Republic of having a French

²⁵ Knuttel 12769, States General, *Extract uyt het Register der Resolutien van de Hoog Mog. Heeren Staten General...14 October* (1688).

²⁶ W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III* (Hilversum, 2001), p193.

²⁷ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p198. The fact that the Memorials had been sent to each of the Provincial States was reported, *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 11 September 1688.

²⁸ G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. R Hatton (Plymouth, 1976), p202.

²⁹ By the summer of 1688 Dutch trade with France had already been reduced by a quarter and the export of herring from South Holland had dropped by one third, S Baxter, *William III*, p211; J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', p115.

³⁰ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), p846.

³¹ J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', pp116-17.

army in Cologne and aware that his invasion of England could not proceed without the consent of Amsterdam, William was clearly exasperated by the *vroedschap's* stance: 'I am appalling fearful for the timidity of some Amsterdammers and the malice of others, for if this business is not strongly tackled, men can expect no good success...'³²

With this situation in mind, it is significant that two pamphlets explaining the importance of the ambassador's Memorials quickly appeared.³³ As the pamphlets were published anonymously it is difficult to determine their exact provenance, but from the knowledge displayed and the arguments used, it is evident that they were composed by someone moving in government circles who concurred with William's view of the Republic's precarious position. Written in a plain straight forward manner and devoid of fervent religious language, the pamphlets were clearly intended to convince Amsterdam's regents that given the increasing threats to the Republic's safety, if they persisted in their policy of inaction, then the state would be overwhelmed by both England and France as it had been in 1672. The overall aim of the pamphlets therefore, was to gain backing for William's enterprise by explicating that as war was now inevitable, preventative action was essential. However, as the pamphlets would also be available to the general public, care was taken to stress the fact that any action taken would essentially be defensive.

Consequently, in order to demonstrate that 1672 was on its way again, the first pamphlet focused on establishing the veracity of the Anglo-French alliance.³⁴ D'Avaux's Memorial was cited as confirmation of this and it was pointed out that the regents in the States General regarded it as credible: 'After that their High Mightinesses understood, from the mouth of Count d'Avaux, that there was a great union of friendship and alliance between the two Monarchs, which they had never made public and which they had concluded in secret...'^v However, as the ambassadors' conflicting statements had perhaps led some Amsterdammers to question the legitimacy of D'Avaux's assertion, emphasis was placed on their close relationship and the case made that the timing of the two Memorials was not just coincidence:

³² William to Bentinck, 14 September 1688, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, ed. N Japikse, Part I (Den Haag, 1935), p57.

³³ Knuttel 12753, Anon, *Oprechten Raedt voor den Heer Marquis d'Albeville*; Knuttel 12756a, Anon, *Aenmerckingen op D'Aensprake en de Memorie van den Heere Grave D'Avaux* (1688).

³⁴ Knuttel 12753, Anon, *Oprechten Raedt voor den Heer Marquis d'Albeville* (1688), p3.

...we believe nothing but what we see, that is, that they confer together daily, and that they communicate together in a brotherly fashion over their memorials and designs; the great intelligence that there is between their Masters as well as that between the two Ministers, through the great alliance that they have together, persuades us that Count d'Avaux has said the truth, and that he nevertheless, on order of the King his Master, and with the permission of the King of Great Britain, has acted, to the best of his ability, by threatening their High Mightinesses by means of intimidation...^{vi}

Albeville's continual denials were therefore explained as cunningly disguised double-talk which intended to create such an atmosphere of misunderstanding that the Dutch state would be paralysed and thus rendered unable to defend itself from attack. Clearly seeking to shake the Amsterdam *vroedschap* out of its obstructionist stance, the pamphleteer mocked Albeville's use of the Jesuit's tactic of mental reservation, asserting that it would back-fire because he does not understand the Republic's capability to take action when necessary:

... he does not know the power of these Provinces, which when it was in need could in less than six weeks put 200 War ships to Sea, and if the City of Amsterdam were angered they could alone be powerful enough to produce such a number of Ships that should be sufficient, to go against the King of England...^{vii}

Using this line of reasoning was also necessary to negate the recent, and fairly successful, attempts made by Albeville to resolve the ongoing dispute between James and Amsterdam over the colony of Bantam.³⁵ Previously, not only had Albeville lodged numerous complaints regarding the VOC's conduct in the region, but rumours that James intended to take punitive action against the company had also surfaced in July leading to a fall in share prices, and as Petit reported: 'It is generally believed that they will fall more...because of the fear which the Dutch have that their Smyrna or East India fleet will be attacked by the English or French.'³⁶ However, in the wake of D'Avaux's Memorial, Albeville reassured Amsterdam's deputies at The Hague that James sincerely wished to resolve the Bantam issue.³⁷ Therefore hoping to counteract Albeville's statement, the pamphleteer reminded Amsterdam's regents that the States General had commenced the equipping of the fleet partly because of the requests made by the *Bewinthebbers* of

³⁵ For the background to the crisis see KN Chadhuri and J Israel, 'The English and Dutch East India Companies and the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp412-14; S Groenveld, 'J'equipe une flotte tres considerable', pp237-38; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p180; B Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550-1688* (Singapore, 2001), pp187-206.

³⁶ London, BL, MS Add 41618, fo101, Petit to Middleton, Amsterdam, 13 July 1688, quoted in J Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange', p425. Albeville's complaints about the VOC's conduct in Bantam were published alongside the States General's replies, Knuttel 12612, 12613, 12614, 12615 (1687).

³⁷ Albeville met Amsterdam's deputies at The Hague on 17 September, J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', p117.

the VOC (of which they constituted a substantial proportion) for a protective convoy to defend their ships against James' 'frivolous pretensions' to Bantam and his fitting out of 20 war ships in the summer.³⁸ Undoubtedly seeking to prove that James still entertained hostile intentions towards the VOC, whilst simultaneously appealing to Amsterdam's pockets if nothing else, the pamphleteer also drew attention to the fact that the King was continuing to turn a blind eye to the attacks made on Dutch ships by Algerian Corsairs in the Channel: '...the King of Great Britain has for a year or two against the Treaties allowed the Corsairs of Algeria to retreat into his Harbours, only with the intention of ruining the commerce of the subjects of the State...'viii

Nevertheless, although it was necessary to portray the preparations as a defensive measure designed to guard Dutch shipping, the pamphleteer now opened up the possibility that the Republic might have no choice but to use it in an offensive capacity. Again to protect the authorities from any accusations of provoking a conflict and to weaken D'Avaux's influence in Amsterdam, the blame for this was laid on the intrigues of the French. In fact, it was argued that even before the preparations had begun Barillon, the French ambassador in London, had done his best to stoke up anti-Dutch feeling in the King by giving 'evil reports' about the Prince of Orange. Across the Channel D'Avaux had worked on Louis, persuading him that the fleet was destined for England in order to force an open rupture between France and the Republic. Therefore because of their machinations, the pamphleteer explained, Bonrepos was sent to England and a formal treaty against the Republic was concluded.³⁹ Without a doubt, the pamphleteer asserted, it was now evident that the two Kings were joined in a secret agreement, for surely there was no other reason to explain the sending of Frenchmen, monks, and troops to England, much to the nation's alarm? Then reminding Amsterdam's regents of 1672 when the English and French Kings made 'sweet promises' before promptly attacking the state, the pamphleteer stressed that given these latest developments, the Republic now had no choice but to protect itself.

Moreover, in a similar vein to the series of three works published on the Prince of Wales, the second pamphlet explicated that England's position was now

³⁸ For the role of Amsterdam regents in the VOC see FS Gastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Haarlem, 1982).

³⁹ Bonrepos arrived as a special ambassador at Windsor on 25 August/4 September and a naval treaty was drawn up on 3/13 September but the amount of French help was left blank, J Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p162; G Symcox, 'Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War', p202.

inextricably tied to developments on the continent, for as well as the pressing danger of an Anglo-French offensive at sea, Louis' determination to secure Fürstenberg in Cologne pointed to a co-ordinated attack on land.⁴⁰ The pamphleteer of course disputed D'Avaux's assertion that Louis had been forced to move his army into the Electorate because of William's aggression and it was insisted that the *Stadholder* had only assembled the Dutch troops at Nijmegen as a preventative measure. However, it was made clear that given the current state of affairs, William had been proven correct to make such provisions, for Louis was now prepared to risk open warfare to secure Fürstenberg's candidacy: '[He will] enter by force an Archbishop of his faction... against the election of the Chapter, and perhaps also against the confirmation of the Pope... and so this situation may bring war anyway, which can only be fatal for Christendom...'^{ix,41} Events were therefore now out of the Republic's hands and it was emphasised that Louis would not back down: 'The King will conserve the public peace, but it is with this Condition, that men will let him do anything that he wants...'^x

To strengthen this argument, the damaging French tariffs were also tagged on as extra proof of Louis' intractable behaviour towards the Republic. Indeed by this stage, the Amsterdam *vroedschap* had become increasingly isolated in the States of Holland because of their refusal to prohibit the import of French products.⁴² Now even Rotterdam, a chief depository of French wine, and Delft, which was traditionally anti-Orangist and pro-French, favoured a complete ban, arguing that given the damage Louis' measures had done to Dutch trade there was nothing more to lose.⁴³ Clearly aiming to tap into such anti-French sentiment, the pamphleteer criticised the 'frivolous pretexts' used by Louis to exclude Dutch *lakens* and herring, such as 'not broad enough' or 'cured with bad salt'.^{xi} More importantly, however, the passing of retaliatory measures against French trade was advocated, for once Amsterdam had approved this, they could no longer justify their opposition to William's expedition. It was therefore asserted that in the light of Louis' declaration

⁴⁰ Knuttel 12756a, Anon, *Aenmerckingen op D'Aensprake* (1688).

⁴¹ This comment highlights that the pamphlet was written before Innocent XI issued the Papal Bull confirming Joseph Clemens on 17 September and hence whilst the Amsterdam *vroedschap* was still undecided about William's expedition, see JT O'Connor, *Negotiator out of Season*, p182; JB Wolf, *Louis XIV* (London, 1968), p444.

⁴² J Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution', p118.

⁴³ S Baxter, *William III*, p211; KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', pp24-30.

that he was 'master in his own land and could do as he wished', on the same foot the States would be justified in banning French goods if they so wished, using the same reasoning.^{xii}

Whether these two pamphlets were written independently or by one of the *Stadholder's* propaganda team cannot be known, but it is certain that they represent a last ditch attempt to overcome Amsterdam's oppositionist stance. As such, it is significant that the arguments used in these pamphlets parallel the line of reasoning used by Fagel to gain the consent of Amsterdam and the States of Holland for William's expedition.⁴⁴ Indeed, when addressing the regents, Fagel began by citing D'Avaux's Memorial to prove his case that due to the 'conspiracy which the two kings of France and England have formed against this state', if the Republic remained in a defensive position they could expect to be overrun as they had been in 1672. Moreover, as French economic aggression meant that war was now a foregone conclusion anyway, the only way to make the Republic safe was to intervene in England, for this would enable William to break the absolute power of James, suppress the pro-French Catholic faction at Court and convene Parliament, thereby turning England into a trusty ally of the Republic once again.⁴⁵

That such similar arguments were used would also support those historians who take issue with Jonathan Israel's view that 'the decisive factor determining Dutch policy with regard to Britain was the escalating conflict over commerce between the United Provinces and France.'⁴⁶ Based on this assumption, which plays down the importance of the perceived alliance or the situation in Cologne, Israel argues that Amsterdam only gave the green light for the expedition once news was received that Louis XIV had arrested more than 100 Dutch ships in French ports.⁴⁷ Yet Petra Dreiskämper's research has demonstrated that Amsterdam had already approved the expedition on 26 September, before both Fagel and the States of Holland were informed of the ships' confiscation, on 27 and 30 September

⁴⁴ The Amsterdam *vroedschap* approved the expedition to England on 26 September, followed by the States of Holland on 29 September and the States General on 8 October, S Baxter, *William III*, p235; W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p198.

⁴⁵ S Baxter, *William III*, p235; J Carswell, *The Descent on England*, pp172-73; S Groenveld, 'J'equippe une flotte tres considerable', p240; J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp846-49; J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', pp118-20.

⁴⁶ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p846.

⁴⁷ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p847-49.

respectively.⁴⁸ As a result, it could be argued that although the need to protect the well being of Dutch trade was undoubtedly a key issue for regents, by this stage, it had become subsumed within a common concern to achieve permanent strategic security and principally, a determination to avoid a repetition of the *rampjaar* of 1672. Indeed as Franken, Groenveld and Haley have pointed out, checking French imperialism became a key priority of Dutch foreign policy after 1672 and for that reason, when necessary, the survival of the Dutch state would always take precedence over the promotion of trade.⁴⁹ Moreover, given that the experience of 1672 had shown the regents that they could not successfully resist France without the support of England, perhaps the perceived danger of a renewed Anglo-French alliance should really be regarded as the key factor, both in overcoming Amsterdam's opposition and in determining Dutch policy towards England.⁵⁰

III. For Liberty and Religion: winning public support

When the Dutch public were officially informed of the expedition at the end of October, two tracts were vital to their understanding of the basis for such action; William's *Declaration of Reasons* of 10 October and the States General's *Resolution* of 28 October.⁵¹ However, neither of these documents were composed solely with the Dutch public in mind, rather they were intended to justify William's expedition to both a domestic and an international audience. As a result, the pamphlets were carefully prepared so as to complement each other and both had to take similar considerations into account. Firstly, it was of course necessary to explain to the Dutch public why their *Stadholder*, backed by the States General, was leaving the Republic and taking action in England when D'Avaux's Memorial had made it perfectly clear that such an undertaking would guarantee war with France. Secondly,

⁴⁸ P Dreiskämper, *Aan de vooravond van de overtocht naar Engeland. Een onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen Willem III en Amsterdam in de Staten van Holland, 1685-88* (Utrecht, 1996), pp66-69.

⁴⁹ MAM Franken, 'The General Tendencies and Structural Aspects of the Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of the Dutch Republic in the latter half of the seventeenth century', in *Acta historiae Neerlandica*, vol. 3 (1968), pp1-42; S Groenveld, 'J'equippe une flotte tres considerable', p231; KHD Haley, 'The Dutch, the invasion of England and the alliance of 1689', pp28-29.

⁵⁰ MAM Franken, *Coenraad van Beuningen's Politieke en Diplomatieke Aktiviteiten in de jaren 1667-1684* (Groningen, 1966); KHD Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-74* (Oxford, 1953); III Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672* (Princeton, 1978).

⁵¹ Knuttel 12774-8, William III [G Fagel], *Declaratiën van syn Hoogheyt Wilhelm Hendrik*; Knuttel 12785, States General, *Resolutie, Inhoudende de redenen, die haer Ho. Mo. Hebben bewogen, om Syne Hoogheyt, In Persoon naer Engelandt overgaende* (1688).

in order to gain widespread support, William and the States had to convince not only their own nation, but also the English people and the international community, that they were not acting out of self-interest. Finally, in order to negate Albeville and D'Avaux's assertions that William was pursuing a specific anti-Catholic policy, it was also necessary to reassure the Republic's Catholic allies that their co-religionists in England and the Republic would be protected.⁵²

As the *Declaration* was primarily intended to be the centrepiece of William's propaganda campaign in England, its arguments were meticulously drawn up over a period of two months. William did not actually write the *Declaration* himself, rather it was a composite piece derived from various drafts that had been submitted by several of the *Stadholder's* English conspirators in August.⁵³ Under William's close supervision, Fagel compiled the final version of the text, after consulting Dijkvelt and Bentinck over the best arguments to employ.⁵⁴ Burnet then adapted the pamphlet to make it more attractive and readable for an English audience, although 'not to every one's taste and liking.'⁵⁵ Indeed, the fact that many of the radical Whigs in Holland were angered by its moderate tone, as well as its appeal to both Tory and Whig sentiment, highlights that the *Declaration* was very much a product of William's propaganda team.⁵⁶ Various presses were then used simultaneously at The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam to enable the *Declaration* to be printed quickly and in great quantity, but tight security was employed both to ensure the pamphlet's secrecy and to prevent piracy.⁵⁷ Copies were therefore only made available at the end of October to coincide with the sailing of the fleet and the first advertisement for the *Declaration* appeared in Dutch newspapers on 4 November.⁵⁸ Altogether the pamphlet was disseminated in four different languages; Dutch, English, French and German, highlighting that it was intended to cross national boundaries.⁵⁹

⁵² The ambassadors had been making such accusations to various Imperial ministers since the Spring in an effort to sabotage William's relationship with the Emperor, JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp185-86.

⁵³ J Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p160; L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights*, pp105-117.

⁵⁴ T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p24; J Israel, 'Propaganda', p173; D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite', p42

⁵⁵ G Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, ed. T Stackhouse (London, 1991), p279.

⁵⁶ For this reason, Fagel's version was deliberately withheld from the Whig leadership until they reached Hellevoetsluis, J Israel, 'Propaganda', p173.

⁵⁷ J Israel, 'Introduction' to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p13; L Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', p854.

⁵⁸ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 4 November 1688.

⁵⁹ Knuttel 12774-8, William III [G Fagel], *Declaratien van syn Hoogheyt Wilhelm Hendrik*; Knuttel 12773, William III [G Fagel], *The Declaration of William Henry Prince of Orange*; Knuttel 12779,

The *Declaration's* central premise was that William was taking action in England 'to preserve and maintain the Laws, Liberties and Customs, and above all the established Religion' of the country, which were in danger of being replaced by popery and arbitrary government.^{xiii} Significantly however, the King himself was not blamed for assailing England's religion and liberties, for doing so could expose William to the accusation that he was intending to seize the Crown for himself. Rather, these attacks were attributed to the machinations of James' 'evil councillors', who persuaded him that he had a legal right to 'suspend with the execution of the Laws', in order to achieve their aim of reducing the country to slavery and Catholicism.^{xiv} Therefore, not only were these advisers held responsible for all the King's pro-Catholic absolutist policies, but evidence of their actions was also provided, including the suspension of the Penal Laws and Tests, the setting up of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the prosecution of the seven bishops, the open worship of Catholicism, as well as the employment of Catholics in judicial, military and civil office.

Given this dire state of affairs, the *Declaration* explicated that William had no choice but to intervene for it was clear that the country might be heading towards Civil War. Reminiscent of the pamphlets published in the wake of the Fagel *Letter* controversy, it was asserted that this unstable situation stemmed from the religious divisions caused by these 'evil councillors', who sought to separate Anglicans and Dissenters using the pretext of Liberty of Conscience so that Catholicism could surreptitiously increase. Indeed, the public were reminded that because William and Mary were aware of the dangers of this policy they had consistently sought to reach an agreement with the King over the issue of the Penal Laws and Tests. Yet, it was asserted that their efforts had come to no avail as 'these evil Councillors have put such ill constructions on these Our good intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from Us, as if we had designed to disturb the peace and welfare of the Kingdom.'^{xv} In addition, the *Declaration* referred back to the doubts cast on the legitimacy of the young Prince of Wales to show that these 'evil councillors' were now so intent on completing their design that:

[They]...published that the *Queen* had borne a *Son*: though there appeared during the Queen's pretended pregnancy, and the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and tangible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the

William III [G Fagel], *Declarations de Guillaume Henry Prince d'Orange*; Knuttel 12780-82, William III [G Fagel], *Dero Königl. Hoheit Wilhelm Henrichs Printzen von Oranien* (1688).

good Subjects of these Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen.^{xvi}

Consequently, as he and Mary have a great interest in the issue, as well as having a 'Right to the Succession of the Crown', William could not just stand by.^{xvii} However, it was made clear that William was not playing the role of invader, for not only had he been invited by '...a great number of Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks'^{xviii} to redress the nation's grievances, but it was also explained that 'the afore-mentioned expedition is intended for no other purpose, but to have a free and lawful Parliament'^{xix} William's forces were therefore only accompanying him to provide protection from 'from the violence of these evil Councillors' and it was explained that they would be sent back to the Republic as soon as the country was secure.^{xx} Moreover, as his *Letters* appealing for the support of the army and navy were appended to the *Declaration*, the Dutch public could see that William expected the English to participate in securing their own deliverance.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the public were aware that William was not acting on his own initiative, but with the consent and support of the States General, for the publication of its *Resolution* was timed to match the release of the *Declaration*.⁶¹ However, as the document primarily aimed to justify the States' naval and military 'assistance' for the expedition to the international community, it was also translated to facilitate its circulation among foreign diplomats in Holland and its dissemination abroad was carried out by the Dutch diplomatic service in a matter of days.⁶² As the *Resolution* was intended to complement the *Declaration*, it started from the same premise that England's religion and liberties were in danger from the designs of the King's 'evil councillors' who aimed to replace them with popery and arbitrary government.^{xxi} Again, justifying the legitimacy of William's actions, it was not only reiterated that the Prince had been invited by 'several Lords and other persons of great consideration in that Kingdom', but it was also made clear that because of the

⁶⁰ William's *Letters* to the Army and Navy were appended to the original of 10 October along with his *Additional Declaration* and his *Scottish Declaration*.

⁶¹ Knuttel 12785, States General, *Resolutie, Inhoudende de redenen, die haer Ho. Mo. Hebben bewogen, om Syne Hoogheydt, In Persoon naar Engelandt overgaende* (1688); *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 2 November 1688.

⁶² Knuttel 12786, States General, *Resolution contenant les raisons qui ont melles leurs Hauts Puissants Seigneurs d'assister Son Altesse Allant en Personne en Angleterre, avec des vaisseaux et de la Milicie* (1688); EEBO, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library, Wing/N482, States General, *Extract of the States General their resolution Thursday, 28th October* (1688). See also J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', p123.

country's instability, his lawful right to the succession was under threat.^{xxii} The States were therefore assisting the expedition as William assured them that he did not intend to invade the Kingdom, remove James, alter the lawful succession, or persecute Catholics, but only to help the nation re-establish its laws and privileges, maintain its liberty and religion, and call a lawful Parliament.^{xxiii}

However, as the *Resolution* was not intended for mass distribution in England, it differed from the *Declaration* in three significant ways. Firstly, the *Resolution* explained to the Dutch public that William's actions in England were also intended to benefit the Republic: 'His Highness was persuaded that the Welfare of this State, the care of which is also entrusted to him, was in the highest manner concerned, that the afore-mentioned Kingdom might continue in peace and that all the misunderstanding between the King and the nation might be taken away.'^{xxiv} Secondly, despite William's insistence on the dangers of the alleged Anglo-French alliance, no mention of this was made in his *Declaration*. William probably declined to use this argument because doing so would necessarily entail referencing the 1672 Treaty of Dover and he did not want to bring up the reign of Charles II for fear that his expedition might be interpreted as a Whig enterprise by English audiences.⁶³ Yet it was used in the *Resolution*, both to justify the States' support for William and to underline the essentially defensive nature of the expedition:

That their Highnesses having maturely weighed all things, and considered that the Kings of France and Great Britain stood in...a strict and particular Alliance...that their Majesties had attempted and laboured, to separate this State from her Allies...that then both Kings out of interest of State and hate, and zeal against the Protestant Religion, would endeavour to bring this State to confusion, and when possible, to subject it...^{xxv}

Finally, the Dutch public were shown that if William was successful, England would once again become a trusty ally against France, for the country would be made to 'concur to the common benefit of Christendom, and to the restoring and maintaining of the Peace and tranquillity in Europe.'^{xxvi}

Of these two documents, William's *Declaration* has received the most attention from scholars, who have concentrated on examining the pamphlet's significance in England. In particular, Israel and Schwoerer regard it as *the* key document of the Revolution, not only because the manifesto's promise to call a free

⁶³ Radical Whigs such as John Wildman and Charles Mordaunt wanted the *Declaration* to include an attack on the Anglican clergy and to cite evidence for approaching tyranny from the previous reign by referring to the unconstitutional actions of Charles II, R Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986), pp549-50; JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp246-48; L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights*, p110.

and lawful Parliament limited William's scope of movement, but more importantly in their opinion, because its domination of English political discourse in the winter of 1688-89 ensured William's successful elevation to the throne.⁶⁴ However, in the context of the Dutch Republic, William's *Declaration* must be examined alongside the States General's *Resolution*, for both documents were vital to the public's understanding of the reasons behind the expedition. Moreover, given the well documented regent-*Stadholder* conflicts in 1684 and 1685, the fact that these two often-opposing elements in the Dutch body politic were now united in their profession that action in England was absolutely essential, was extremely important for the Dutch public.⁶⁵ Indeed, it must be remembered that not only were the Dutch public being asked to support an extremely hazardous sea-borne offensive in the middle of Winter, but also, in the light of D'Avaux's Memorial, to do so even though it meant running the risk of war with France.⁶⁶ Therefore given 'this dangerous conjuncture of times', the States General proclaimed an official prayer day for 27 October, asking all churches to pray that the Almighty would: '...bless the Design of the State and His Highness the Prince of Orange' who, it was explained, was working for 'the preservation of the Reformed Religion, the Peace of Christendom, the prevention of all unjust external Violence...the preservation of our dearly paid for Freedom and the Salvation of all our Souls.'^{xxvii,67}

IV. Dutch perceptions of 1688-89

From the available evidence it is clear that news of the expedition to England was greeted with overwhelming support from the Dutch public. As the Polish envoy at The Hague reported: 'the whole nation, which had formerly cared only for peace so as to advance its business and commerce, was now ardently in favour of war and the English adventure.'⁶⁸ Contemporary reports not only described the 'great number of people' who congregated at Scheveningen (Albeville included), to count the ships en

⁶⁴ J Israel, 'Introduction' to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp1-47; J Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', pp105-62; L Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', pp843-74; L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights*. Their views have been challenged in T Claydon, 'William III's *Declaration of Reasons* and the Glorious Revolution', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 39, 1 (1996), pp87-108.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Two, pp58-60.

⁶⁶ Louis carried out his threat and declared war on the Republic on 26 November, nine days after William's landing at Torbay, Knuttel 12715-17, Louis XIV, *Ordonnantie van den Koningh van Vranryks Declaratie van oorlogh...tegen de Hollanders* (1688).

⁶⁷ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 23 October 1688.

⁶⁸ Quoted in JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688*, p200.

route to congregate with the fleet at the Maas, but also the crowds of men and women who accompanied the Dutch troops moving towards their places of embarkation, cheering and weeping along the way.⁶⁹ Moreover, the prayer day held for the expedition's success was not just celebrated in Reformed churches alone, for surviving sermons show that Remonstrant, Mennonite and Lutheran churches held services too.⁷⁰ Even the Portuguese-Jewish community of Amsterdam, several leading members of whom helped to finance the expedition, laid on special services and prayers to God, which they later published to demonstrate their solidarity with the state.⁷¹ However, although prayers for the expedition's success were said in the Spanish embassy, disappointingly little is known about the reactions of Dutch Catholics who apparently, if Albeville is to be believed, prayed 'ardently' for James' preservation.⁷²

That the Dutch public recognised the importance of the expedition is not only evident from the large number of news reports that were published to satisfy the demand that clearly existed for all the latest information relating to developments across the Channel, but also from the fact that 69 pamphlets written in support of William's actions soon appeared. Indeed, the Knuttel collection contains just two works criticising the expedition and neither was written by a Dutch author.⁷³ Rather these pamphlets were composed by Jacobite propagandists who sought to counter-act the popular effects of William's *Declaration*.⁷⁴ As a result, both accused the *Stadholder* of spreading 'false rumours' about the Anglo-French alliance and the Prince of Wales, as well as depicting William as a self-seeking conqueror whose real

⁶⁹ *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 30 October 1688; Knuttel 12787-91, Anon, *Lyste van de Regimenten* (1688). See also J Israel, 'Introduction', p39.

⁷⁰ D Haks, 'Propaganda from the Pulpit?', in *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720*, eds. JAF de Jongste and AJ Veenendaal (Den Haag, 2002), pp93-94.

⁷¹ Knuttel 12784a, Anon, *Gebedt, gedaen op Woensdag, sijnde den 27 Oct 1688, Door de Portuguese Joden in hare kerk, ofte Sinagoge, binnen Amsterdam* (1688). See also H den Boer and J Israel, 'William III and the Glorious Revolution in the eyes of Amsterdam Sephardi writers: the reactions of Miguel de Barrios, Joseph Penso de la Vega, and Manuel de Leão', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, pp439-62; P van Rooden, 'The Jews and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Republic', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, eds. R Po-chia Hsia and H van Nierop (CUP, 2001), pp132-47.

⁷² J Israel, 'Introduction', p39; PJAN Rietbergen, 'William III of Orange (1650-1702) between European politics and European Protestantism: the case of the Huguenots', in *La Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies, 1685*, eds. JAH Bots and GHM Posthumus-Meyjes (Amsterdam, 1986), p47.

⁷³ Knuttel 12773a, Anon, *The Prince of Orange his Declaration: Shewing the Reasons Why he Invades England* (1688); Knuttel 13242, Anon, *Avis Donné à...le Prince d'Orange* (1689).

⁷⁴ H Blom, "'Our Prince is King!' The Impact of the Glorious Revolution on Political debate in the Dutch Republic', in *Parliaments, Estates and Representations*, 10 (1990), p45; L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights*, pp122-23.

aim was to become the 'absolute ruler' of Britain and the Republic. Given the damaging nature of these allegations, it is perhaps not too surprising these pamphlets were not translated for a Dutch domestic audience. Furthermore, it is clear that the authorities were taking active steps to suppress the publication of such works, for the *Avis Donn * was banned by the *Hof van Holland* on 4 March 1689.⁷⁵ This however, raises the question of how far the pamphlet literature accurately reflects the views of every section of Dutch society, for if certain groups did disagree with William's actions, their opinions certainly did not appear in print.

With this in mind it is significant that 54 of the pamphlets published on the expedition (78.3 per cent) were composed by Dutch pamphleteers or by foreign authors who were established members of Dutch society. Although many pamphleteers published anonymously, those whom it is possible to identify include, the Dutch artist Pieter Fris, the poet Joan Pluimer, Johann Georg Graevius a German classical scholar and Chair of rhetoric at Utrecht, Jacobus Perizonius the Chair of eloquence and history at Franeker, the Sephardi-Jewish writer Gregorio Leti, Johannes Quintius a Reformed preacher at Herwijnen and Wilhelmus Velingius, a Reformed preacher in Rotterdam.⁷⁶ Pamphlets were also forthcoming from members of William's propaganda team, the most prolific of whom was the etcher Romeyn de Hooghe, who produced at least seven satirical prints in 1689.⁷⁷ Most pamphlets however, appear to have been published independently and as such, they cannot strictly be classed as propaganda, for they were not produced as part of a co-ordinated effort. Nevertheless these pamphlets definitely helped William's cause, for they all sought to explain and legitimate his actions in England to a Dutch domestic audience.

In the first instance, when pamphleteers explained the reasons for the expedition, they did so by reiterating the official line of reasoning given in the *Declaration* and the *Resolution*; William and the States were defending England's

⁷⁵ WPC Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden Beredeneerde Catalogus* ('s-Gravenhage, 1914), p12.

⁷⁶ Biographies and articles relating to each of these individuals can be found on the DBNL web site, accessible via www.dbnl.org

⁷⁷ Knuttel 13075, 13075a, 13075b, 13151, 13229, 13230, 13230a (1689). De Hooghe's entire output is catalogued in FWH Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 9 (1954, Amsterdam). For information on De Hooghe see, C van de Haar, 'Romeyn de Hooghe en de Pamflettenstrijd van de jaren 1689 en 1690', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 64 (1956), pp155-77; J Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe the etcher* (Leiden, 1973); WH Wilson, 'Romeyn de Hooghe's Emblem Books', in *Quaerendo*, vol. 8, 2 (1978), pp135-57.

liberties and Protestantism, which had been grievously assaulted by a resurgent Catholicism. William was therefore portrayed, as he was by his supporters in England, as the country's selfless Deliverer and his *Declaration* was cited as proof that he did not want 'honour, or Glory, or to commit deeds that will stand for eternity, But to release the people laden with the Roman Yoke from their heavy burden.'^{xxviii,78} Yet although pamphleteers generally denied any dynastic motivation on William's part, insisting that he was not acting 'for the Kingdom's honourable Crown, Nor to shed War blood for his Father-in-law's Throne'^{xxix}, one author advocated that he should take the opportunity to 'kick St James from his Throne, And put on the Throne, her lawful head and Lord.'^{xxx,79} As for the States, they were merely assisting William in this task, for although their previous disputes with James over the failure of English ships to strike the flag and the damage caused in Bantam were acknowledged, it was emphasised that the 'wise fathers of the Fatherland' had 'let these small provocations go by' because they were not just causes of war.^{xxxi,80} It was therefore made clear that the States had not assembled the fleet as a retaliatory measure, rather 'it is for the business of Religion that we have made these preparations, for the Protestant Religion and the Freedom of England.'^{xxxii}

Furthermore, it was maintained that William's expedition was now absolutely essential, not only to rescue England from slavery and Catholicism, but also to save the Republic from the same fate. This line of reasoning was certainly put forward by Whig pamphleteers such as John Wildman, whose *Memorial from the English Protestants* reminded the Dutch that:

...these Attempts and endeavours to subvert our Liberty in our Religion and Government, is a part of that general Design, that was formed and concluded many Years ago in the secret Councils of the Papist Princes, and chiefly by the management of the Jesuits, to root out from Europe the Profession of the Protestant Reformed Religion and the Liberties of the People.^{xxxiii 81}

Yet although this argument was necessary to gain public support for William's expedition, it seems that it was not merely a propaganda tool for Dutch pamphleteers. One printer for example, recognising the relevance of a Civil War pamphlet that purported to be a 'distress cry from the orthodox in England', adapted

⁷⁸ Knuttel 13031, Anon, *Ter eeren van... Wilhelm III* (1688), no pagination.

⁷⁹ Knuttel 13023b, Anon, *Gedichten op de Brittannise Krijghs-Tocht*, no pagination; Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Den Engelschen Bokkum* (1688), p22.

⁸⁰ Knuttel 13027, Anon [T.W.], *Helden-spoor, In de Noord-zee gemaakt* (1688), p4.

⁸¹ Knuttel 13011-14, Anon [J Wildman], *Memorie van de Engelsche Protestanten Aan haare Hoogheden den Prince en Princesse van Orangie* (1688), p8; *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 30 October 1688. Wildman's authorship is posited in L. Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights*, p154.

part of the work which he used to show the unconvinced: 'God will open your eyes to see, that your ruin depends on us: our enemies are yours; those who hate us, hate you; their aim against us is also against you; those who go after our Religion and Freedom, also go after yours.'^{xxxiv},⁸² Such conviction was particularly evident after William's first abortive attempt to sail on 30 October, which not only kept the fleet held in at Hellevoetsluis, but also led some advisers to question whether the expedition would be able to proceed at all.⁸³ Reacting to this news, one pamphleteer warned:

By this measure men shall not only bring punishment on themselves, but also misery on that Land where the King has a Bastard-child; by this suspension and recall of the Fleet men shall see thousands of people in England perish...And should men not expect to bring a judgement from God on themselves, if they put this great business aside? The English Protestants stand, with open arms, and look for their deliverance.^{xxxv} ⁸⁴

Indeed, he asserted that action against James was now vital, for if England was lost to Catholicism then the Republic would fall too:

...if the Fleet was laid up, even though it was ready for the design on England, so can we, to all outward appearances, expect the force and all the power of the two great Pharaohs, the one at sea and the other on Land, as the one has already come as far as Philipsburg...he shall not wait long until he carries out his Jesuits design, together with England.^{xxxvi}

Consequently, given the set-back to the fleet and the perceived necessity of the expedition, William's successful landing in England and the ensuing developments which culminated in his eventual elevation to the throne, were interpreted by pamphleteers and the public alike, as a work of divine Providence. As the Remonstrant theologian Philippus van Limborch, reflecting on the changes that had occurred in England wrote to John Locke:

Truly no sane person can believe that so great and sudden a change in such a mighty kingdom can have come about without the especial direction of God. For my part, I acknowledge in this with gratitude the inexpressible loving-kindness of the Deity, in that he has in his mercy brought about the liberation of England as well as our own country, under the auspices of the Prince of Orange, from the threat of bondage to the Papacy.⁸⁵

⁸² Knuttel 13008, Anon, *Droevige Tranen en Benauwde Suchtingen der Verdrukke* (1688), p3. For the original see Knuttel 4980, Anon, *Het inghewant der bedrukke* / Knuttel 4983, *Engels in-ge-want* (1643). See also RL Haan, 'The Treatment of England and English Affairs in Dutch Pamphlet Literature, 1640-1660' (Harvard, unpublished PhD thesis, 1960), pp77-80.

⁸³ EB Powley, *The naval side of King William's war 16th/26th November 1688 - 14th June 1690* (London, 1972), pp45-46.

⁸⁴ Knuttel 13023, Anon, *Hollants, Engelants En aller Protestanten aenstaende Wee* (1688), pp4-7.

⁸⁵ Philippus van Limborch to John Locke, 27 January/6 February 1689, *The Correspondence of John Locke*, vol. 3, ed. ES de Beer (Oxford, 1978), p542.

In line with this belief, William was praised as God's chosen instrument whom He had used not only 'to deliver the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland from the slavery of Popedom', but also to prevent the 'sworn enterprise of the Kings of France and England, that is, of the Jesuit Fathers La Chaise and Peters'^{xxxvii} to subject the Republic to the same fate.⁸⁶ God's will was undeniably evident according to pamphleteers, for just as He sent a three day storm to destroy Spanish ships during the Revolt,^{xxxviii} and sent great waves to overwhelm the Anglo-French fleet in 1672,^{xxxix} so God had now sent an east wind and a calm sea to carry the Prince of Orange to England with his blessings.^{xl87} It was therefore apparent to pamphleteers that William had been wonderfully guided by the Almighty's hand to protect His chosen people once again: 'God has now in many ways delivered these our Netherlands (and very miraculously) from her Enemies; Here he does it in reverse, and has weighed the balance, In the hope that Neêrlands stock will bear even better fruit.'^{xli,88}

This emphasis on Providence, the depiction of William as God's tool, the references to earlier deliverances and the assertion of God's especial protection of the Dutch, all reflected the continuing belief that the Republic was a second Israel and its inhabitants God's chosen people.⁸⁹ As Groenhuis and Huisman have demonstrated, this Reformed concept of nationhood was developed during the Revolt of the sixteenth century, when Calvinist preachers began to compare their own struggle against Spain with the experience of the Israelites of the Old Testament.⁹⁰ Comparisons between the Republic and Israel continued to be drawn throughout the seventeenth century, particularly at times of national crisis such as 1672, and although these parallels occur most frequently in the works of strict Calvinist ministers, it has been shown that other Protestant groups such as

⁸⁶ Knuttel 13291, Anon, *Hollants Heyl In haar Eenigheyt, met Engeland gelegen* (1689), pp3-4.

⁸⁷ Knuttel 13294, N.N. [J Quintius], *Een Woort op Zijn Tijd* (1689), pp37-38; Knuttel 13023b, Anon, *Gedichten op de Brittannise Krijghs-Tocht*, no pagination. See also Knuttel 13028b, Anon [H.B.], *De Staat der Strydende Kercke* (1688), p17; Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), p2.

⁸⁸ Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), p35.

⁸⁹ G Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness: the Dutch Republic as the New Israel', in *Britain and the Netherlands VII*, eds. AC Duke and CA Tamse (Den Haag, 1981), pp118-33; G Groenhuis, *De Predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor 1700* (Groningen, 1977), especially pp77-103; C Huisman, *Neerlands Israël* (Gouda, 1953); S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York, 1987), especially pp69-113.

⁹⁰ G Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness', p118-121; C Huisman, *Neerlands Israël*, p140.

Remonstrants and Mennonites, also identified themselves just as strongly with the Israelites.⁹¹ At the heart of *Neêrlands Israel* was the notion that a special relationship between God and the Republic existed; God had entered into a covenant with the Dutch whereby he would protect them as long as they continued to champion His cause.⁹² Central to this covenant was the strict observance of the true religion and its defence against the idolatry of Rome, the Antichristian whore of Babylon.⁹³

Therefore pamphleteers interpreting the events of 1688-89 from this standpoint, maintained that William's elevation to the throne was justified because it was in line with God's will; God was aware that the two Catholic Kings and their Jesuit confessors were conspiring to eradicate the true religion and so He used the Prince to prevent their wicked plans:

We must know to thank God, that the condition of Europe being brought in so great a danger, and while the other Princes themselves, as if poisoned by a deadly sleep- tonic, stayed quiet, only the Prince of Orange, enlightened by a Heavenly power in his mind, had all too long before perceived the deceits, arts and undertakings of our very frightful enemies, who were attempting to rule not only our Republic, but the whole of Europe, and to the pure Religion, with all the roots and fibrous plants of it, the one time to destroy.^{xlii94}

In order to strengthen this argument, pamphleteers not only reminded readers of the contrast between the two churches: 'The true Christian Church...contains nothing but toleration, loyalty, love and peace', whereas the false church, 'plagues pious People, oppresses or expels',^{xliii} but they also drew attention to recent examples of the cruel, persecuting nature of Catholicism.⁹⁵ Louis XIV's attacks on Protestantism in France, Piedmont and Savoy were repeatedly cited and parallels were drawn between his Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the ordering of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the atrocities committed under the Duke of Alva.⁹⁶ According to

⁹¹ G Groenhuis, *De Predikanten*, p80-81; J Israel, 'Introduction' to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p35; S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p97; KW Swart, *The Miracle of the Dutch Republic as seen in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1967), p18. English Protestants of the Tudor and early Stuart period also identified themselves with the Israelites, see P Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: religious and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988).

⁹² C Huisman, *Neerlands Israël*, p140.

⁹³ G Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness', p126-28.

⁹⁴ Knuttel 13274, JG Graevius, *Reeden Over de seer voorspoedige togt na Brittannien* (1689), pp9-10. See also Knuttel 13031, Anon, *Ter eeren van... Wilhelm III* (1688), no pagination.

⁹⁵ Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), p12.

⁹⁶ Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Den Engelschen Bokkum*, pp10-13; Knuttel 13028b, Anon [H.B.], *De Staat der Strydende Kercke* (1688), pp14-15; Knuttel 13294, N.N. [J Quintius], *Een Woort op Zijn Tijd* (1689), p20; Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), p8, p32.

pamphleteers, Louis was the chief servant of the Antichrist and his brutality knew no bounds. He was 'an oppressor, the cruellest persecutor, and destroyer of the true Belief...a ghastly Tyranny'^{xliv} and he was variously depicted as Croesus, Bajazeth, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh, but most frequently as Nero, the ultimate paradigm of megalomania, evil, cruelty and persecution.⁹⁷ Yet, it was argued that Louis was not just content with destroying his own Protestant subjects, but that he was determined to eliminate the Dutch in particular, because he was envious of the Republic as 'a land where milk and honey flows'^{xlv,98} Thus to pamphleteers, God had clearly used the Prince to thwart the spread of Louis' persecution: 'We are assured that such Religious wickedness does not please God, and he has therefore prevented it by means of his Highness...'^{xlvi,99}

Consequently, James' removal from the throne was also explained in the same terms. Indeed, although constitutional justifications for his removal were put forward in the translated works of British pamphleteers, such as Burnet's *Enquiry into the Measures of Submission*, his *An Enquiry into the present State of Affairs* and Ferguson's *Brief Justification*, the only Dutch contribution to this line of reasoning came from Eric Walten's *The Orthodox Policy*.¹⁰⁰ Rather, the predominant argument used by Dutch pamphleteers, was that God had stripped James of his throne not only as punishment for his endeavours to impose slavery and Catholicism on the English nation, but also because he had turned away from the true religion. Readers were therefore reminded that the downfall of those who oppose God's will had been shown by history and in this light, James was often likened to Saul.¹⁰¹ According to one Remonstrant pamphleteer who quoted Hebrews 6:4-6 to prove his case, because

⁹⁷ Knuttel 13286, G Mulock, *Geestelijke en Wereltijke Meditatiën* (1689), pp13-15; Knuttel 13028b, Anon [H.B.], *De Staat der Strydende Kercke* (1688), p23; Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), p29. For Nero's role in the development of the Antichrist legend see B McGinn, *Antichrist. 2000 Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1996), pp46-47.

⁹⁸ Knuttel 13296, Anon, *De Welmenende Bataviërsche Nederlanders* (1689), p3. See also Knuttel 13031, Anon, *Ter eeren van... Wilhelm III* (1688), no pagination.

⁹⁹ Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), pvi.

¹⁰⁰ Knuttel 13019, Anon [G Burnet], *Ondersoek Over de manier van onderwerping Aan de Hoochste Macht* (1688); Knuttel 13235-37, Anon [G Burnet], *Een Onderzoek Ontrent de tegenwoordige Staat der Affairen; En in 't bysonder, Of wy in desen toestand Gehoorsaamheyd aan den Koning schuldig zyn*; Knuttel 13234, Anon [R Ferguson], *Korte Justificatie Van de Overkomst des Princen van Orangie in Engeland*; Knuttel 13250, E Walten, *De Regtsinnige Policy: Of een nauwkeurig Verloop van de Magt en Plicht Der Koningen* (1689). For information on Walten's contribution see, H Blom, 'Our Prince is King!', pp50-53; WPC Knuttel, 'Ericus Walten', in *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis*, 4e reeks, 1 (Den Haag, 1900), pp345-455.

¹⁰¹ Knuttel 13027, Anon [T.W.], *Helden-spoor, In de Noord-zee gemaakt* (1688), p6; Knuttel 13286, G Mulock, *Geestelijke en Wereltijke Meditatiën* (1689), p12.

of his efforts to promote Catholicism and as he intended to follow the example set by Louis XIV in so doing, James was now *The English Julianus*, the *afvalligen* (apostate or fallen away) who now had no hope of salvation because he had deliberately turned away from Christ: 'For it is impossible, for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the Heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and then have fallen away, to renew them again to repentance.'^{xlvii, 102} However, although another pamphleteer believed that James had been justly punished, he still held out hope that he could again be brought back into God's grace, but only if he turned away from Catholicism: 'Turn again ô Sulamith! turn again, so you may look upon your God, whom you have forsaken, and gone over to Idolatry. Turn again to me (spoke the Lord) so shall I again turn to you. Detest the cunning adultery of the bloodthirsty Jesuits, and deceitful French.'^{xlviii, 103}

As for the exclusion of the Prince of Wales from the line of succession, this was explained by pamphleteers as evidence of God's determination to combat the machinations of James' 'evil councillors' who had worked to undermine the true faith. Consequently, the illegitimacy of the young Prince continued to be addressed and emphasis was placed on the established belief that he was the product of a Jesuit conspiracy.¹⁰⁴ Clearly aiming to render this understandable to a socially a broad audience, one printer for example, adapted the emblem *Pertinacia* from Johann de Bry's *Emblemata saecularia*, which he published with an accompanying verse in Dutch to show his readers that James and his advisers had received the necessary punishment for their stubborn and wicked attempts to secure Catholicism in England (see Figure 4.1, p185 below).¹⁰⁵ As can be seen in the print, the head of Father Peters

¹⁰² This was a reference to Julian the Apostate, the mid-fourth century Roman Emperor who abandoned Christianity for paganism, see K Hoerber, 'Julian the Apostate', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (1910), accessible via <http://www.newadvent.org>. Knuttel 13219, Anon, *De Engelsche Julianus, Of den afvalligen Koning van Groot Brittanje*, Jacobus de Tweede (1689), p2. This should not be confused with Knuttel 12992, Anon [S Johnson], *Julianus Den Apostaat* (1688).

¹⁰³ Knuttel 13286, G Mulock, *Geestelijke en Wereltijke Meditatiën* (1689), p11.

¹⁰⁴ Knuttel 12988, Anon, *De onwettelyke Getuygen*; Knuttel 12989, E Walten, *Mirakel der Mirakelen* (1688); Knuttel 13221, Anon [G Leti], *De Minnerye van Messalina*; Knuttel 13222, Anon [G Leti], *De Minnerye... Tweede Deel*; Knuttel 13223, Anon, *Een Volkomen Antwoort Op de Depositien... Wegens de Geboorte van den Prins van Walles*; Knuttel 13224, E Walten, *De nieuwemodische Getuigen*; Knuttel 13226, Anon, *Den Ouden Bastaard, Beschermmer van den Nieuwen* (1689).

¹⁰⁵ Knuttel 13230c, Anon, *Aan den Expertten Hollandschen Hoofd-Smith* (1689). For the original emblem taken from JT de Bry, *Emblematum secularium* (1627), see Appendix One, p217-22. Useful introductions to Dutch emblem books include, W Frijhoff and M Spies, *1650. Bevochten Eendracht* (Den Haag, 1999), pp457-76; K Porteman, "'Embellished with Emblems": About the incorporation of

was depicted lying on an anvil in the centre of the room, at the foot of which were the heads of James II and Mary of Modena, alongside their fallen crowns. Three oranges were placed on the floor behind the smith, representing William. According to the verse, the smith is crushing Peters' head so he can no longer disturb the peace of Europe, but as he strikes, the Prince of Wales appears tooth in hand. Alluding to the Jesuit art of mental reservation, the smith discovers that Peters' brains are rotten and that the whole of London deplores the smell. However according to the poem, the smith continues to work his way through the rest of the heads and the air is soon purified by the refreshing odours of Orange.

Figure 4.1: Knuttel 13230c, *To the Expert Hollander Head-Smith* (1689).



Source: WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

emblems in other genres of Dutch literature', in *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe*, eds. A Adams and J Harper (Leiden, 1992), pp70-89; K Porteman, *Inleiding tot de Nederlandse emblematliteratuur* (Groningen, 1977).

Yet it is evident that the young Prince was not merely seen as a product of the Jesuits, but also as an embodiment of the near triumph of the false church, as one pamphleteer asserted: 'He is a fright for many Tyrants...Men see his father's virtue in him.'^{xlix, 106} Indeed, it is instructive that the Prince of Wales was represented in five of Romeyn de Hooghe's graphic prints, and played a key role in three, for although these were overt pieces of propaganda intended to legitimate the events of 1688-89, as Dorothy George has argued: '...not only do prints seek to influence public opinion, they also reflect that opinion [for] the most effective propaganda takes into account themes that may be expected to elicit a positive response'(see Appendix One, p217-22).¹⁰⁷ If this is so, then it is worth noting that the common theme of these prints was that the Jesuit conspiracy to eradicate European Protestantism, to which the Prince of Wales was integral, has been dealt a blow by William's providential intervention in England.

In *La Belle Constance* for example, the figure of Constantia (representing Princess Anne, the full hardy Protestant) recoils in horror as James, Louis and the Jesuits attempt to secure her conversion by forcing her to look upon the Prince of Wales, but thankfully their plans are thwarted when her brother William comes to the rescue. *L'Europe Alarmee pour le fils d'un Meunier* sees all those involved in the Jesuit conspiracy congregate around the young Prince to grieve over the failure of their plans to destroy Protestantism, especially Louis XIV, who laments that he has been frustrated in his 'dessein par Hollande.' Such themes were even more explicit in *L' Epiphane du Nouveau Antichrist* in which Louis, James and the Dauphin, egged on by their Jesuit confessors, spin their 'Star of Unrest' throughout Europe whilst the young Prince, who is identified as the Antichrist, looks on. However, they are prevented from going any further by William, who enters carrying a spear and freedom hat, signifying the triumph of personal liberty.¹⁰⁸

Such views were also expressed by Dutch pamphleteers who hailed William as a true Christian Prince, designating him the title 'Heroic protector of Britain, the

¹⁰⁶ Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Den Engelschen Bokkum* (1688), p29.

¹⁰⁷ Knuttel 13075a, 13075b, 13229, 13230, 13230a (1689), see Appendix One, pp217-22. M Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature to 1792: A Study in Public Opinion and Propaganda* (Oxford, 1959), p1.

¹⁰⁸ In the 1570s and 80s, the symbol of the freedom hat was often depicted on the top of a pike or lance, S Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp69-70.

true Defender of Religion, Guardian of the Freedom, Restorer of the Law.¹⁰⁹ In keeping with the idea of *Neêrlands Israel*, pamphleteers also drew upon the imagery of the Revolt, portraying William as Alexander the Great, Atlas, Marcus Curtis, David, Joshua, Moses, Solomon and Samson.¹¹⁰ Pieter Fris praised William as the Dutch Mars who sailed to safeguard the tribe of Dutch Protestants from the tyranny of the two Catholic kings and Wilhelmus Velingius celebrated William's coronation by basing his published sermon on Kings 10:9: 'Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice.'¹¹¹ Another pamphleteer paid thanks to William for ensuring God's continuing favour of the Dutch: 'So shall the freedom never go from our Lands; For as long as the good freedom remains here in the Land, God shall us bless us with his grace, So our Land blooms in joy; to the edification of Gods honour: So the tyranny in the British Empire comes no further.'¹¹²

However, whilst some pamphleteers focused on celebrating their providential deliverance, Johannes Quintius a proponent of the *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation), took the opportunity to remind readers that God's grace was not unconditional, and he warned that God was capable of withdrawing His favour from His chosen people, if they persisted in sinful behaviour.¹¹³ Pressures for moral and social reform had already been advocated in November 1688, when the consistory at Amsterdam for example, had petitioned burgomasters for 'the closure of taverns and other places of debauchery on the Lord's Day', as well as for the suppression of prostitution and dance halls, due to the dangerous situation the Republic faced.¹¹⁴ In a similar vein, as Louis had now declared war on the Republic, Quintius firstly

¹⁰⁹ Knuttel 13275, J Perizonius, *Seegreeden Voor De...Krooning van Groot Britanjen... op den 11 van April* / Knuttel 13275a, J Perizonius, *Panegyricvs serenissimo Britanniae Franciae Scotiae et Hiberniae regi Vilhelmo Aravsiaco A.D. III eidus aprileis qvo die regno fvit* (1689), p15.

¹¹⁰ Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Den Engelschen Bokkum*, p23; Knuttel 13027, Anon [T.W.], *Helden-spoor, In de Noord-zee gemaakt* (1688), pp6-7; Knuttel 13031, Anon, *Ter eeren van... Wilhelm III* (1688), no pagination; Knuttel 13273, J Pluimer, *Gedichten Op aan den Prinse van Oranje*; Knuttel 13286, G Mulock, *Geestelijke en Wereltijke Meditatiën*, pp3-4, p12.

¹¹¹ Knuttel 13264, P Fris, *De Gerechtigheyt vol Moedt, Over het vertreck van den Nederlandschen Mars*, Knuttel 13277, W Velingius, *Nederlands Dank- en Vier-Dags-Taal* (1689). This was reprinted to celebrate William's return to the Republic in 1691, Knuttel 13605, W Velingius, *Nederlands Dank- en Vier-Dags-Taal* (1691), p8.

¹¹² Knuttel 12667, Anon, *Den Engelschen Bokkum* (1688), p24.

¹¹³ Knuttel 13294, N.N. [J Quintius], *Een Woort op Zijn Tijd* (1689), pp56-57. See also, C Graafland, WJ op 't Hof and FA van Lieburg, *Nadere Reformatie: opnieuw een poging tot begripsspaling* (Stichting Studie Nadere Reformatie, 2004), accessible via www.ssnr.nl

¹¹⁴ J Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p698.

advocated the banning of the Kermissen, which he argued were 'occasions for all sorts of Sounds and Godlessness, men shout and rant, men fight, men scuffle, men run around like drunken Pigs, as if Bacchus was God...We have Enemies enough, we do not need to make an Enemy of God.'^{liii} He also warned that people should resist 'Comedies, Ballets, Dance-schools, Whore-houses, Cursing and Swearing' to ensure that 'God shall have a heart for our Land.'^{liv}

The pamphlets discussed above clearly represent a Protestant response to the events of 1688-89 and as such, they shed little light on how Dutch Catholics perceived William's intervention in England. Although these should be treated with extreme caution, if the comments of some pamphleteers are to be believed, not only did Dutch Catholics pray for the failure of William's enterprise in the 'hope they can again wash their hands in Protestant blood...'^{lv}, but they also 'unashamedly dare to smear, the Expedition of his Highness to England; and say: it was to rise up against his Father-in-law.'^{lvi,115} Another pamphleteer recounted a supposed conversation he had with a Catholic acquaintance, who refuted the depiction of Louis' brutality and asserted that William was waging a war of religion.¹¹⁶ The pamphleteer's answer to this last accusation is certainly revealing, as he explains to the Catholic: '*...offensive no: but defensive from necessity, we seek the peace.*'^{lvii} Indeed, this statement really sums up the Dutch view of 1688-89 as revealed in the pamphlet literature; William's actions had defended the true church and all that it stood for, including toleration, liberty and peace, from the threat of a resurgent Catholicism which aimed to reduce Europe to slavery and persecution.

Yet the extent to which the pamphlet literature reflects mere rhetoric or genuine belief is difficult to ascertain. As Donald Haks' examination of the prayer day sermons has pointed out, one of the main stumbling blocks in addressing this issue is that, 'We can no longer know how many of those listening to the sermons were convinced, as their preachers were, of God's direct influence over the outcome of battles. Nor can we count how many people genuinely believed that William III was God's instrument to save Europe from the evil of the Servant of the Antichrist, Louis the Great.'¹¹⁷ With this in mind, it is worth noting that in England, as Tony Claydon has shown, Gilbert Burnet also drew upon this language and imagery,

¹¹⁵ Knuttel 13023, Anon, *Hollants, Engelants En aller Protestanten aenstaende Wee* (1688), p6;

Knuttel 13295, Anon, *De Goddelyke bestieringe overde machten der aarde* (1689), pvi.

¹¹⁶ Knuttel 13286, G Mulock, *Geestelijke en Wereltijke Meditatiën* (1689), p31.

¹¹⁷ D Haks, 'Propaganda from the Pulpit?', p105.

placing stress on the fact that William's actions had promoted 'the true church, godly magistracy and moral reform', as well as drawing parallels between the English and the Hebrew nation, in order to secure support for the Revolutionary settlement.¹¹⁸ That such similar arguments were used in both England and the Republic, firstly highlights the fact this vocabulary could clearly be adapted to local circumstances, before being employed to legitimate a given situation.¹¹⁹ But secondly, and more importantly, it raises the question that surely these arguments could not have been employed so widely, and so successfully, if they did not at some level, reflect genuine belief?

V. Dutch perceptions of the English alliance

The coronation of William and Mary on 21 April marked the start of a new era of closer Anglo-Dutch relations personified in William's position as *Stadholder-King*. Yet, despite the fact that the coronation was widely celebrated in England, it soon became clear that the Revolutionary settlement did not meet with unanimous support.¹²⁰ Firstly, as the Convention's choice of William had violated the hereditary succession, publicly printed accusations of illegality were quickly forthcoming and large numbers of clergy, as well as several prominent laymen refused to swear the oath of allegiance to the new monarchs.¹²¹ Secondly, William also faced hostility from the English public who, annoyed by the continued presence of Dutch troops and William's perceived bias towards the Republic, had begun to express virulent anti-Dutch sentiment.¹²² This uneasy situation was further exasperated by the works of Jacobite propagandists who sought to weaken William's position by tapping into

¹¹⁸ T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp31-50.

¹¹⁹ A similar point is also made in P Collinson, 'Biblical Rhetoric: the English nation and national sentiment in the prophetic mode', in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, eds. C McEachern and D Shuger (CUP, 1997), p20.

¹²⁰ C Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: sermons, Medals and Civic Ceremonies in Later Stuart Coronations', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 53 (1990), pp311-36; L Schwoerer, 'The Coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, pp107-130.

¹²¹ M Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument', pp473-546; II Horwitz, 'Parliament and the Glorious Revolution', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 47 (1974), pp36-52; CF Mullet, 'Religion, Politics and Oaths in the Glorious Revolution', in *Review of Politics*, X (1948), pp462-74; JP Kenyon, 'The Revolution of 1688: Resistance and Contract', in *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of JH Plumb*, ed. N McKendrick (London, 1974), pp43-70; II Nenner, 'Sovereignty and the Succession of 1688-89', in *The World of William and Mary. Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, eds. D Hoak and M Feingold (Stanford, 1996), pp104-117; L Schwoerer, *The declaration of rights* (Baltimore, 1981); L Schwoerer, 'Press and Parliament in the Revolution of 1689', pp545-67.

¹²² G van Alphen, *De Stemming van de Engelschen tegen de regeering van den Koning-Stadhouder Willam III, 1688-1702* (Assen, 1938).

the underlying tensions caused by a century of bitter trade rivalry and three Anglo-Dutch wars (1652-54) (1664-67) (1672-74).¹²³ Indeed, in aiming to exploit English discontent and envy of Dutch trade, early Jacobite pamphlets such as *The Dutch Design Anatomized*, not only argued that William's invasion was solely intended to benefit Dutch trade, but also warned that the Dutch would use the new King to empty England's treasury.¹²⁴

Conversely, although some regents were uneasy about William's elevated position and expressed annoyance at his failure to oppose the clause of the Marine Treaty of 29 April which gave English admirals precedence in the combined war fleet, the overall atmosphere in the Republic was one of great support for the Revolutionary settlement and there was certainly no comparable outbreak of anti-English feeling.¹²⁵ After all, James' removal had safeguarded the country's liberties and religion, the threat of a combined Anglo-French offensive had been eliminated and, following the English declaration of war in May 1689, the Republic now had England's assistance in its struggle against Louis XIV. Moreover, only negligible attention was paid to the constitutional and theological disputes that had arisen in England, and all of these pamphlets were translations from English language originals.¹²⁶

With this in mind it is significant that three pamphlets written to support both William's position as *Stadholder-King* and the new reality of closer Anglo-Dutch relations, were published in the Spring of 1689.¹²⁷ In the first instance, the fact that

¹²³ CR Boxer, 'Public Opinion and the Second Anglo-Dutch War 1664-67', in *History Today*, 16:9 (September, 1966), pp618-26; R Davis, *English Merchant Shipping and Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1975); JR Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century* (London, 1996); S Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism Ideologies in the making of English foreign policy, 1650-68* (Cambridge, 1996); S Pincus, 'Republicanism, absolutism and universal monarchy: English popular sentiment during the Third Anglo-Dutch War', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration*, ed. S Maclean (CUP, 1995), pp241-66; S Pincus, 'Popery, trade and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War', in *English Historical Review*, vol. 107 (1992), pp1-29; C Wilson, *Profit and Power. A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (London, 1957).

¹²⁴ T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp12-14, pp122-25; JR Jones, 'The Revolution in Context', in *Liberty Secured? Britain before and after 1688*, ed. JR Jones (Stanford, 1992), p11-52; C Rose, *England in the 1690s. Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford, 1999), pp28-37.

¹²⁵ ES van Eyck van Heslinga, 'A Competitive Ally, The Delicate balance of Naval Alliance and Maritime Competition between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic, 1674-1795', in *Navies and Armies. The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace, 1688-1988*, eds. GJA Raven and NAM Rodger (Worcester, 1990), p4; J Israel, 'Introduction' to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, p40; PJAN Rietbergen, 'A Fateful Alliance?', p469; W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p237.

¹²⁶ See Knuttel 13166, 13217, 13234, 13235, 13244, 13248, 13249, 13259 (1689).

¹²⁷ Knuttel 13291, Anon, *Hollant's Heyl in haar Eenigheid met Engeland gelegen*; Knuttel 13292, Anon, *De Gemoederen Van een Roomsche Catholyk, Remonstrant en een Protestant. Vry uyt*

these pamphleteers felt that it was necessary to promote the new settlement, highlights that perhaps not everyone was convinced that nearer relations with England was a good thing. Secondly, in seeking to prove their case, each pamphleteer sought to assuage concerns that had clearly been put forward and as such, they provide an insight into the sorts of anxieties that were raised at the time. Lastly, although all these pamphleteers believed that an alliance with England could only benefit the Republic, as each author approached this objective from a different standpoint, they represent three different perspectives on exactly what those advantages would be.

According to the author of *The Minds of a Roman Catholic, a Remonstrant and a Protestant freely spoken in a Conversation*, the main benefit of William's elevation to the throne was that Protestantism in both countries would be strengthened under his leadership.¹²⁸ Portrayed in the form of a dialogue between William the Calvinist, Frederik the Remonstrant and James the Catholic, the pamphleteer presented his characters debating the developments that had occurred since the sailing of the fleet to William's proclamation as King, with the Calvinist getting the better of the argument. The author made his stance quite clear at the very beginning of the pamphlet, as the Calvinist argues that if the Prince had not gone over to England then the Republic would have only survived for another year because the Anglo-French alliance would have succeeded in reducing the country to slavery and Catholicism.^{lviii} He therefore maintained that as a result of William's actions, the English are now on the Dutch side which is extremely advantageous against the French tyrant whose design is the conquest of Europe.^{lix} Yet the Remonstrant, representing the traditional anti-Orangist States-party, is not so convinced that things will be so harmonious between the two countries. He raises worries over the reliability of the English, arguing that they swore oaths to protect James and then abandoned him, so how can they be sure that the English will not change their minds about William?^{lx} In addition, he believes it will be impossible for William to unite England and the Republic, due to their conflicts in the East Indies.^{lxi} However the Calvinist, passing over the problem of the East Indies and rejecting any

gesproken in een T'samenspraak; Knuttel 13293, Anon, *De Gelukkige aanstaande Gevolgen uit de Unie en Verbintenis tusschen... Willem de III en Maria de II... en de Staten Generaal Der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, (1689).

¹²⁸ Knuttel 13292, Anon, *De Gemoederen Van een Roomsche Catholyk, Remonstrant en een Protestant. Vry uyt gesproken in een T'samenspraak* (1689).

thoughts of difficulties, expresses confidence that William will unite the various parties in England who he believes will support the King out of gratitude for saving the country's liberties and religion.^{lxii} Given that the pamphlet was only 15 pages long and presented in a familiar, accessible format, it is evident that this author was seeking to appeal to a general audience.

In contrast, *Hollands Welfare lying in her Unity with England* was primarily aimed at addressing the concerns of an Amsterdam readership. For that reason a very different approach was taken by the author, who focused on showing the necessity of waging war on France in alliance with England, by stressing the commercial benefits the Republic could expect.¹²⁹ Consequently, the pamphleteer began by arguing that there was an unbreakable oneness between the Republic and England, firstly due to the fact that they profess the same religion, but secondly and more importantly, because they both have a principal interest in trade and sea navigation.^{lxiii} Although it was admitted that this had been a source of conflict in the past and would continue to be so, the pamphleteer offered some realistic solutions as to how this problem could be solved.^{lxiv} Firstly, the Dutch must forcefully defend their trade and to that end, they must sustain a presence in the sea at least equal to England.^{lxv} Secondly, the Dutch must give way to formal niceties such as the striking of the flag and disregard small injustices rather than fighting about them, as the midst of war was not the time to split hairs.^{lxvi} However, reflecting the hopes of the States' deputies in London, what he believed would remove all difficulties, would be to have 'a free trade and fruit of our work on reasonable conditions.'^{lxvii, 130} He therefore advocated that a new treaty of commerce should be drawn up, whereby both nations would have access to each others' harbours and colonies.^{lxviii} If this were to happen, he reassured readers that the Republic would prosper more than England, for the sea was wide enough for both and in any case, the English were extravagant, whereas the Dutch were frugal.^{lxix}

Even if his idea did not come to fruition, the pamphleteer asserted that England's friendship was not only advantageous, but indeed necessary, for the three Anglo-Dutch wars had shown how much economic harm a conflict with England

¹²⁹ Knuttel 13291, Anon, *Hollant's Heyl in haar Eenigheit met Engeland gelegen* (1689). According to the title page the pamphlet was published by AD Oosaan at Amsterdam.

¹³⁰ GN Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the war against French Trade, 1688-1697* (Manchester, 1923), especially pp8-43; S Groenveld, 'J'une flotte tres considerable', p243; PJAN Rietbergen, 'A Fateful Alliance?', p471; NAM Rodger, 'The British view of the Functioning of the Anglo-Dutch Alliance, 1688-1795', in *Navies and Armies*, p12; W Troost, *Stadhouder-koning*, p236.

could cause.^{lxx} Moreover, a war with England would only damage Dutch trade, for Louis would no doubt take advantage, perhaps by moving into the Spanish Netherlands, where he might open the Scheldt, enabling Antwerp, Brussels and other Brabander towns to blossom again at their expense.^{lxxi} It was therefore better that the English were allies rather than enemies, for they both had a mutual interest in blocking Louis' efforts to promote French trade and navigation through out the world, particularly in the East Indies, 'the richest jewel of the Republic'.^{lxxii} Even though this pamphleteer cannot be classed as a fervent promoter of closer Anglo-Dutch relations, he clearly believed that an alliance with England was the lesser of two evils and if the Republic could influence English trade policy, then they might even profit by it in the long term.

As can be seen by the title of *The Happy forthcoming Results of the Union and Alliance between their Majesties William III and Mary II...and the States General of the United Netherlands*, the third pamphleteer was an enthusiastic advocate of William's elevation to the throne and the alliance with England.¹³¹ Taking a political as opposed to a commercial line of reasoning, the main argument of the pamphlet, which was printed at The Hague, was that if the two countries remained united under the *Stadholder-King*, then there would be better prospects for the containment of France. Again, highlighting that there were reservations about the combined war effort, the author stated that he had written his pamphlet as people had begun to waver about the prospect of its success, with some even advocating that it should be suspended.^{lxxiii} Perhaps alluding to those Amsterdam regents who had reopened correspondence with France, the pamphleteer explained that such feelings had arisen because people had been listening to the 'treacherous arguments of the supporters of France', who had been spreading rumours about the Prince to create anxiety about the English alliance.¹³² Therefore to restore confidence and to establish the necessity of maintaining the alliance against France, the pamphleteer began by refuting their contentions point by point.

¹³¹ Knuttel 13293, Anon, *De Gelukkige aanstaande Gevolgen uit de Unie en Verbintenis tusschen... Willem de III en Maria de II...en de Staten Generaal Der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, (1689). The title page stated that the pamphlet was printed at The Hague by J Albertsz. Although the pamphlet was primarily addressed to a Dutch audience, it was also translated into English and licensed on 20 May, EEBO, San Marino, Henry E Huntington Library, Wing/W94, *The Happy Union of England and Holland* (1689).

¹³² According to the testimony of the Amsterdam regent Jan Hol who was arrested in February 1689, some 'well-intentioned' regents had resumed correspondence with France in an effort to negotiate an end to the war, see S Baxter, *William III*, p260.

The first concern addressed was that perhaps William was too powerful as King of England, Stadholder and Captain General, and that he might therefore use one country to crush the other.^{lxxiv} Rather than playing this issue down, the pamphleteer maintained that William's new position could only benefit the Republic internationally, for never have Protestants had such a powerful Prince to defend their interests against the designs of France.^{lxxv} He denied that William would increase his power in the Republic and reassured readers that the Prince would continue to respect the fundamental laws and privileges of the state, such as the fact that the burgomasters and magistrates are freely chosen.^{lxxvi} Indeed, there was no need to worry about William's intentions towards either country, for there were many signs of his honesty and bravery.^{lxxvii} After all, the pamphleteer asserted, he has never bought towns, seduced commanders, falsified his word or sought his advantage in treachery, and everyone knows that he did not take up arms for own his interest, but to rescue an oppressed nation.^{lxxviii}

Secondly, as with the author of *Holland's Welfare*, the pamphleteer countered the allegation that as both England and Holland draw their Empires from sea navigation, one must flourish to the detriment of the other.^{lxxix} Again, he admitted that in the past both nations have been at war over the issue, but he maintained that these should simply be forgotten as the need to unite against their mutual enemy is more important. Indeed, he quickly passed over the problems between the two by arguing that the Treaty of Breda had satisfactorily dealt with the issue of the flag, the export of goods and the herring fisheries.^{lxxx} Although he believed that the disputes between the two East India companies might be more of a problem, he still held out hope that these could be settled amicably, perhaps by an amalgamation of the two or by some other means.^{lxxxi}

However, the foremost way the pamphleteer got around this problem was by attributing all past disagreements between the two nations to political and religious reasons, rather than to a conflict of interest over trade. In particular, he argued that the three Anglo-Dutch wars had all been caused by the intrigues of French Court, the two Cardinals and Jesuits.^{lxxxii} From this perspective, the First Anglo-Dutch War originated in Cromwell's hatred of the Stuarts which forced him into a secret alliance with France and as for 1672, well that was caused by Louis XIV's encouragement of Charles II's Catholicism and he was soon forced by Parliament to make peace with the Republic.^{lxxxiii} These examples were therefore proof, according to the

pamphleteer, that any jealousy between the two nations has now vanished, because the Anglo-Dutch Wars were only brought on by tyrants who aimed to destroy the Protestant religion, privileges and freedom.^{lxxxiv}

Having established that there was no grounds for concern over William's position or the Anglo-Dutch alliance, the pamphleteer then turned to what he believed was the most desirable consequence of the union; the humiliation of France. In the first instance, he argued that the allies have an interest in waging war on France so they can stop the pretensions of Louis XIV and the Jesuits to Universal Monarchy, for without the changes in England, they would have achieved this position of power already.^{lxxxv} Their removal would therefore greatly contribute to the peace of Europe, according to the pamphleteer, for it would lead to the downfall of Catholicism, the establishment of toleration and a general increase in prosperity.^{lxxxvi} In addition, reflecting the hopes of those Huguenots who fervently supported William's cause and perhaps revealing his origins, the pamphleteer also laid down the terms on which Louis should be forced to make peace.¹³³ The allies must make the King allow all refugees to return to France and re-establish the Edict of Nantes, for if they were to do this, it would not only mark an end to his reign of persecution, but it would also ensure a lasting peace in Europe.^{lxxxvii}

It is therefore clear that the Dutch response to the Revolutionary settlement differed greatly from that in England where, as Mark Goldie has shown, more than 2,000 pamphlets were published in 1689, to tackle the political, constitutional and theological disputes that had arisen.¹³⁴ Indeed, only a tiny proportion of this immense literature was translated into Dutch and it is clear that the domestic problems in England were not key topics of concern for Dutch pamphleteers. Rather, these authors writing in support of William's elevation to the throne and the English alliance, specifically addressed concerns that had emerged within the Republic itself. Yet, even though there is no evidence of opposition to the new settlement in print, it is clear that to an extent, the reservations being expressed paralleled those that came

¹³³ GH Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion with Special Reference to the thought and influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York, 1974); GC Gibbs, 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Emigrés in the United Provinces, c.1680-1730', in *Bijdragen en Mededeelen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 90, 2 (1975), p276; M Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688* (Brighton, 2001), p109; GHM Posthumus Meijes and F Wieringa, *Vlucht naar Vrijheid: De Huguenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1985), pp92-93.

¹³⁴ M Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689', p478.

to light in England. These chiefly related to fears regarding William's increased power, uncertainty over the reliability of the English, anxiety for the well being of Dutch trade (particularly in the East Indies), and even doubts as to whether the war with France in alliance with England should continue at all. However, the three pamphleteers who sought to assuage such worries expressed not only their support for the new arrangement, but also their hopes that the Republic's religion, economy and integrity, would be strengthened by it.

VI. Conclusion

Perhaps not surprisingly, English affairs remained very much at the forefront of discussion in the Republic during the Revolution of 1688-89. However, although the level of output displayed in the preceding period was maintained, there was a change in the provenance of the literature published. In the first instance, the vast majority of pamphlets were news reports or official documents that were published with little or no commentary. This was both a reflection of the increased availability of information from England itself and also an indication of the eagerness of the Dutch public to keep up to date with the progress of William's expedition. Secondly, as there was a marked decrease in the number of pamphlets published by British pamphleteers and anti-Stuart propagandists, this meant that the level of influence exerted by these two groups on Dutch public opinion had declined accordingly. This was partly due to the fact that Dutch presses were no longer being utilized to print such material, but mainly it was because these pamphleteers were now addressing internal problems within England which were no longer so relevant to Dutch audiences. Finally, it is evident that the importance of William's expedition prompted Dutch authors into putting forward their own views on the developments in England, for the proportion of works written by pamphleteers within the Republic itself increased significantly. As a result, the pamphlet literature provides a much better insight into Dutch public opinion than has previously been the case.

The pamphlets published to persuade readers of the necessity of William's expedition have shown that although his intervention in England was portrayed as an essentially defensive enterprise, two different approaches were taken. When addressing a regent audience, although religious and economic factors were afforded attention, greater priority was given to the strategic dangers of the alleged Anglo-French alliance. In contrast, those pamphlets intended for the general public centred

on the dangers of a resurgent Catholicism, which was depicted as not only a threat to England's Protestant religion and liberties, but also to those of the Republic. Yet, both sets of arguments made it clear that William's expedition was intended to benefit the Republic just as much as England, and the overwhelming support displayed by subsequent pamphleteers illustrates that the Dutch public were well aware of this fact.

However, it is evident that the pamphlet literature reflects a predominantly Protestant interpretation of the events of 1688-89 and as such, it sheds little light on the perceptions of other groups in the Republic. As the religious factor was paramount to these pamphleteers, William's actions in England were understood in terms of the struggle between the 'true' and 'false' religions. William was therefore seen as the heroic protector of Europe's Protestant religion and liberties, against the aggressive Catholicism and tyranny of Louis XIV, James II and the Jesuits. As a result, these pamphleteers did not regard William's intervention as the start of an offensive religious war, rather it was perceived as a defensive measure that was intended to safeguard the Protestant religion where it was already established. For that reason, James' removal from the throne and William's elevation to the Kingship were seen as legitimate because they were interpreted as in line with God's will. Yet it is clear that once the Protestant religion had been safeguarded in England, Dutch pamphleteers quickly lost interest in the country's domestic affairs and instead turned to addressing problems within the Republic itself.

ⁱ 'De groot en bedenkelyke toebereytselen van Oorloge die U Ho. Mo. te Water en te Lande maken, in een saysoen waar inne ordinaries alle operation, en voornamentijck der Zee, komen te cesserem, ende die een rechtvaardig subject van bedencklykheyd en van alarme aan gantsch Europa geven...Syn Majestyt, als deselver oude Geallieerde en Geconfedereerde, vermeynt regt te hebben om dat esclarissement te versoecken...'

ⁱⁱ 'Alle de omstandigheden, mijn Heeren, en soo veele andere alhier niet verhalen moet, persuaderen met reden den Coning, mijn Meester, dat de toerustige op Engelandt siet; en daarom heeft den Coning...my belast U van sijent wegen te verklaren, dat de Verbintenissen van Vrientschap en van Alliantie, die hy niet alleen verplichten sullen, om hem te secoureren; maar ook omme de Eerste Acte van Hostiliteyt, die door Uwe Troupen ofte door Uwe Schepen tegen sijn Brittanische Majesteyt gescheiden sal, als een manifest Vrede-breuk en ook voor een openbare rupture tegen sijn Kroon aen te sien.'

ⁱⁱⁱ '...also sijn Majesteyt geïnformeert is van de mouvementen, dewelke omtrent de Frontieren van het Ceurvorstendom Ceulen tegens den Cardinael van Furstemberg en tegen het Capittel gemaakt werden, de selve geresolveert is, den Cardinael en het Capittel in hunne Rechten en Privilegien tegens alle die gene, die deselve daer inne sullen willen troubleren, te maintaineren. En sijn Majesteyt verseekert sig, dat de gene, die de conservatie van de publijcque Rust beminnen, sig tot gene Acte van Hostiliteit tegen den Cardinael en het Capittel, noch tegen de Steden en het Lant van het selve Ceurvorstendom.'

^{iv} 'Maar dat men aan de Wereld heeft willen doen gelooven dat den Koning myn Meester in nadre Alliantien met sijn Alderchristel. Majesteyt soude getreden sijn. En om dat sijn Majesteyt soude doen blyken de grote estime die hy heeft om de Vrienschap en d' Alliantie die tusschen hem en Uw Ho. Mo. sijn te continueeren.'

^v 'Naer dat den haer Hoogh Mog: uyt de mont van den Heere Grave d'Avaux, de groote verbintnisse van vrientschap en van alliantie, die der tusschen die twee Monarchen is verstaen hadden, van welke sy noit door haer geadverteert sijn geweest, en welke sy tot noch toe soo secreet hebben gehouden...', p3.

^{vi} '...wy geloven het geen dat wy sien, dat is, dat sy alle dagen t'samen confereren, en dat sy malcanderen broederlijk over en weder hare memorien en haer desseyn communiceren; de grote intelligentie die tusschen haer Meesters also wel als tusschen de twee Ministers is, door de groote verbintenissen die sy te samen hebben, persuaderen ons lichtelijck dat den Heere d'Avaux de waerheyt geseyt heeft, en dat hy nietwes als op ordre van den Coninck sijn Meester, en als met toestemminge van den Coninck van Groot Brittanien ter nedergestelt heeft, om haer best te doen van door die dreygementen haer Hoogh Mog: te intimideren...', p7.

^{vii} '...en dat hy de macht van dese Provintien niet en kent, dewelcke als het van nooden was in minder als ses weecken 200 Oorlog schepen in Zee soude connen brengen, en de Stadt van Amsterdam als zy gramsteurigh wiert soude alleen machtig genoegh zijn om sulken getal van Schepen by te brengen dat genoegsaem soude zijn, om tegens den Coninck van Engelandt aen te gaen...', p9.

^{viii} '...den Coninck van groot Brittanien voor een Jaer of twee de Corsairen van Algiers tegens de Tractaten in sijne Havenen retraits verleent heeft, alleenelijck met de insigt om de commercie van de onderdanen van den Staet te ruineren...', p5.

^{ix} 'Maer wil daer (genoegsaem tegen wint en stroom) een Aerts Bisschop van sijn factie...tegen d' electie van het Capittel, en misschien oock tegen de confirmatie van de Paus... indringen; en soo die saecke althans een oorlogh mede brengt, die niet anders als seer doodelijck voor de Christenheyt can wesen...', p9.

^x 'Den Coninck wil de publijke ruste conserverem, maer 't is met dese Conditie, mits dat men hem alles laet doen wat dat hy wil...', p16.

^{xi} 'het sy met rechten op de Coopmanschappen die uyt dese Provintien comen verhoogen, off met de selve te verbieden gelijk als de Laeckenen en de Haringh, onder firvole pretexten, dat d'eene niet breedt genoegh en d'ander met quaet sout gesouten is...', p15.

^{xii} 'Haer Hoogh Mog: connen op de selve voet in haer Landt den invoer van den Wijnen, Brandewijnen, en alle andere Manufacturen van Vrankrijk verbieden...', p15.

^{xiii} '...dat de Wetten, Vryheden en Kostuymen, en voor al de vastgestelde Gods-dienst gchandhaest en bewaert werden', p1.

^{xiv} 'Dese quade Raedslieden hebben, omme dese saken voort te setten, en die te bewimpelen met eenige plausible pretexten, verdigt, en den Koning geattribueert een Dispencerende Magt, uit kragt van wleke sy pretenderen dat Hy geregtigt soude zyn de executie van de Wetten, die door het gesagh van de Koningh en het Parlement...gemaakt zyn, te connen opschorten...', p2.

^{xv} '...dorgh dese quaede Raedslieden hebben sulke verkeerde uitleggingen aen dese Onse goede meening gegeven, dat sy getragt hebben den als of wy beoogd hadden de vrede en welstand van het Koninkrijk te ontrusten', p10.

^{xvi} '...hebben uitgestrooit dat de *Koninginne* een *Soon* hadde gebaert: schoon dat, gedurende het gepretendeerde swanger zijn vande *Koninginne*, ende de manier op welke het in de kraem komen is bestoocken, soo veel regtvaardige en tastelijke gronden van agterdogt zijn gebleecken, dat niet alleen wy self, maer alle de goede Onderdanen van dese Rijken, kragtiglijk vermoeden dat de gepretendeerde Prins van Wales vande *Koninginne* niet is ter Werelt gebragt', p12.

^{xvii} 'Ende aengesien Onde lieve en seer beminde Gemalinne, de Princesse, ende van gelijcken Ons self soo grootlijks aen dese sack gelegen is, ende Wy soodanigen Regt tot de Successie van de Kroon hebben...', p12.

^{xviii} '...van een groot getal Heeren, soo Geestelijke als Wereltlijke, ende van veel Edelen en andere Onderdanen van allerhande Conditien', p13.

^{xix} 'So hebben Wy geraedsaem gevonden mits desen te Verklaren, dat gemelde expeditie met geen ander oogmerk is ondernomen, als om een vry ende wettigh Parlement', p13.

^{xx} 'Weshalven Wy hebben goetgevonden in Engeland over te gaen ende soodanigen magt met ons te nemen, die bequaem zy om onder Gods zegen Ons te beschermen van het geweld van dese quaede Raedslieden', p13.

^{xxi} '...dat het al de wereltd kennelijk is, dat de Engelsche Natie, zedert een geruymen tijd heeft gemurmureert ende geklaeght, dat den Koningh ongetwiffelt door den quaden raedt ende inductie van syne Ministers, empieteerde op haer Fondamentele Wetten, ende arbeyde, om door het verbreecken van de selve, ende door het invoeren van de Roomsche Catholicque Religie, hare Vryheyte te onderdrukken, ende de Protestantsche Religie te ruineren, ende alles te brengen onder eene arbitraire Regeeringe...', p1.

^{xxii} 'Syne Hooghheydt den Heere Prince van Orange, op de menighvuldige representation, ende het gereitereert ende emsigh aenzoek, het welck aen Syne Hoogheydt door verscheyden Lords, ende andere Persoonen van veel consideratie dat Koninkrijk, is gedaen, ende mede uyt insicht, dat haer Koninklijke Hoogheydt ende syne Hoogheydt selfs in den welstant van dat Rijk, soo hoogh zijn geinteresseert, ende niet wel konden aensien, dat door twisten ende oneenigheden, die pericul liepen, van hoe het mochte gaen, van de Kroon te werden gesecludeert, derhalven was verplicht, om voor des selfs welstant te vigileren...', pp1-2.

^{xxiii} '...Syne Hoogheydt aen haer Hoogh Mog. heeft verklaert geresolveert te zijn, om onder Godes genade en gunste naar Engelandt over te gaen, niet met eenigh het minste insicht ofte intentie om dat Rijk te invaderen of te t' onder te brengen, of om den Koningh van den Thron te stooten, veel min om sigh daer van Meester te maken, of de wettige successie te inverteren ofte te benadeelen, oock niet om de Roomsche Catholijcquen te verjagen, of die te vervolgen, maer eenighlijck ende alleen om de Natie te hulpe te komen, tot het herstellen van de verbroockene Wetten en Privilegien, als oock tot behoudenis van hare Religie ende Vryheydt; ende tot dien eynde te bevorderen ende te weegh te brengen, dat een vry ende wettigh Parlement magh werden beroepen...', p5.

^{xxiv} '...syne Hoogheydt was gepersuadeert, dat het welvaren van den staet, over de welke aen de selve de sorge oock is toevertrouwt, ten hoogsten daer aen was gelegen, dat het welgemelte Koninkrijk mochte blyven in ruste, ende het mistrouwen tusschen den Koningh ende de Natie werden weghgenomen...', p4.

^{xxv} 'Dat haer Hoogh Mogende, naer alles rypelijck te hebben overwogen, ende geconsidereert dat het Koningen van Vrankrijk ende van Groot Brittanien met malkander stonden in...een nacuwe en particuliere Alliantie...dat by hare Majesteyten de concert wierdt toegeleght ende gearbeyt, om den Staet te ontsetten van haere Geallieerden...beyde die Koningen te samen uyt interesse van Staet ende uyt haet, ende yever tegens de Protestantsche Religie, desen Staet soudent trachten over hoop te werpen, en waer het mogelijk, uyt te delgen...', pp4-5.

^{xxvi} '...om oock krachtigh te kunnen concurren tot het gemeene wel-wesen van de Christenheydt, ende tot de herstellinge en handthavinge van de Vrede, ende tranquilliteyt in Europa', p5.

^{xxvii} 'Nademael by de gesamentlijke Bontgenoten, na voorgaende deliberatie, by dese gevaerlijke conjuncture van tijden en saken voor het welwesen van ons algemeene lieve Vaderlant ten hoogsten nodig en dienstig geoordeelt is, over alle de Geuniceerde Provinciën...van een algemeynen Dank-Vast en Bede dag tegens huynen en 8 dagen, die wesen sal den 27 van dese lopende Maent October...Om God den Heere Almachtig ten selven dags in alle de Kerken deser Landen te danken...en insonderheyte, dat sijne Goddelijke Majesteyt wil zegenen de Desseynen van den Staet en van sijn Hoogheyte den Heere Prince van Orange, eenighlijck gaende en strekende tot de conservatie van de Gereformeerde Religie, de Rust van de Christenheyte in 't gemeen en het af-keeren van alle

onrechtvaardig Gewelt van buyten; alles tot arbreydinge en grootmackinge van sijn Alderheyligste Naem, behoudenisse van de voorsz. Ware Christelijcke Gereformeerde Religie, conservatie van onse soo diergekochte Vryheyt en onser aller Zielen Zaligheyt.'

^{xxviii} 'Niet om sijn Eer, of Roem, of daaden Te doen dat Eeuwigh mogen staan; Maar 't volk met 't Roomsche juk beladen Haar van dien swaren last t' ontslaan', [no pagination].

^{xxix} 'Hy stiert sijn talloos-schepenen-tal door stille baren / Na 't Eng'lants-West, met toeyug van sijn Helden scharen. / Niet om een vyant-roof, noch om Rijcks-eere-Kroon, / Noch om Krijgs bloet te plengen voor Schoon-Vaders Thron: / Maer soeckt ten steun van 't Rijk herstel der Oude-wetten, / Trouloos vertreen, eer and'ren 't Rijk in bloed-badt setten', [no pagination].

^{xxx} 'Zie Leezer in het kort, aanschouw deez' gruweldaen, / Wie kan de dwinglandy van Stuart wêderstaan? / Want wijl Vader Peters ziet dat onse Vloot nu neê, / Met Volk zeer wel bemand, komt zeilen op de Zee; / Digt by de Britsche Kust, en by de Britsche Stranden: / Om daar met onse magt (het spijt Louijs) te landen, / En schoppen dan Sint Jams van sijne Troon ter neêr, / En setten op den Troon, haar wettig hoofd en Heer', p22.

^{xxxi} 'De sake die men een goede oorsake des Krijghs noemen sal /moet zijn. Gewichtig, 't zweerd moet om geen beuselingen worden uytgetogen. Onse Hooge Overheden hebben die kleyne terginge ook laten voorby gaen /welke onse vervreemde Nabueren somtijds hebben gegeven /wanneer sy 't minste teeken van eere op de Nederlanders niet mochte sien ende selfs een Sloepvlaggetjen dedden strijken: Doch dit heeft den toorn van de wijse Vaderen onses Vaderlands ontsteken /als die weeten /dat de eere komt op de gene [?] bewijst. Ook hebben sy de hand aan 't zweerd niet geslagen /om dat men haar in de Beurs meende te slaan over 't werk van Bantham, daar de onse verhoed hebben /dat de schade van andere niet grooter geworden is', p4.

^{xxxii} 'Maar 't is de sake des Godsdienst waarom dese toerustinge is gedaan / voor de Protestantse Religie ende de Vryheit van Engeland...', p4.

^{xxxiii} 'Wy behoeven Uwe Hoogheden niet indagtig te maaken; dat dese Aanslagen en poogingen om onse Vryheyt in onse Religie en Regeering te subverteeren, een gedeelte is van dat generale Dessein, het welk al over veele Jaaren geformeert en beslooten was in de geheymste Raadvergaderingen der Paapse Vorsten, en voornamentlijk bestiert door de Jesuiten om uyt Europa de Belijdenisse der Protestantse Gereformeerde Religie en de Vryheden des Volks uyt te roeyen', p8.

^{xxxiv} 'God wil u alle de oogen openen, om te sien, dat u ruine aen de onse hangt; onse vyanden zijn uwe; die ons haten, haten u; haer oogmerk tegen ons is ook tegen u; sy staen na onse Religie en Vryheyd, ook na de uwe; het voedsel, en broedsel van onse verwerringe, is ook by u', p3.

^{xxxv} 'Men sal dit niet alleen sijn selfs door dit middle op den hals halen, maer wee dat Land daer de Koningh een Bastaart-kind heeft; men sal door dit staeken en inroepen van de Vloot duysenden van menschen in Engelandt sien omkomen...En wat soude men niet een oordeel van Godt op sijn hals halen, indien men dese groote saeck aen een kant steld? De Engelsse Protestanten staen, met open armen, en wachten na haer verlossingh', p4.

^{xxxvi} 'Ten laetsten, soo de vloot werdt opgeleyt, die tot het desseyen op Engeland was gereet, soo hebben wy, na alle uysterlyke apparentie, het geweld en al de machten van die twee groote Pharoos te verwachten, de eene ter Zee ende de andere te Landt, wnt de eene is door Philipsburg nu al soo verre gekomen, dat...hy mogelyck niet langh sal wachten om sijn Jesuites desseyen, neffens Engeland, uyt te voeren', p7.

^{xxxvii} 'Maar also het den alvermoogende beliest heeft, de hand ende Persoon van Zijn Hoogheit te gebruyken, als een Instrument om de drie zoo zeer berugte Koningrijken van Engeland, Scotlant en Yerland te verlossen van de slaverny des Pausdoms, waar onder deselve begonden te verzugten, en ons na haar al seen zaak tusschen de Koningen van Vrankrijk en Engeland of wel de Paters Jesuiten la Chaise en Peters beswooren, zou overgekomen hebben', pp3-4.

^{xxxviii} '...God bestreed haar met de Winden...God toonde (seid een) dat hy kon die Spaansche Leviathan en Zee-Draak verdelgen, want zy wierden verstroyt...Waar op Phillippus Koning van Spanjen sey, Ik heb een Vloot uytgesonden tegen de Menschen, maar niet tegen de Winden. Heel Spanjen was als een Sterf-huys...', p37.

^{xxxix} 'Men heeft ook God's Hand gesien, Anno 1672, tegen de Fransche en Engelsche, den eenen wierd sijn Oogmerk door schielijken Doy verhindert, en den andere door een Extraordinair Ebben het Landen belet, die tot sijn merkelijke schade en schande moest te rugge deynsen', p38.

^{xl} 'En siet! Hoe haest de wind sich hem ter hulpe keert? En God sich aende Zijde van sijn Volck komt setten. Vaer spoedich voort, hael op het zeyl, de riemen roer, Want Zeen, en Windt strije'n voor ons Prins d'Oranges poogen', [no pagination].

^{xl} 'God heeft nu menig reis deeze onze Nederlanden, (en zeer miraculous) verlost van haar Vyanden; Hier doet hy 't wederom, gelijk hier is gewaagt, Op hope of Neêrlands stam eens beter vruchten draagt...', p35.

^{xlii} 'Wy moeten 't God dank weten, dat de saaken van Europa in soo groot een gevaar zijnde gebragt, en terwijl de andere Vorsten sich, als door een doodelijken slaapdrank vergiftigt, gerust hielden, den Prince van Orange alleen, als door een Hemelsche kragt in zijn gemoet verlicht, al lange te vooren bemerkt hadde de bedriegereyn, konsten en ondernemingen van onse seer vervaarlijke vyanden, streckende niet alleen om onse Republiek, maar geheel Europa, te overheeren, ende den suyveren Godsdienst, met alle de wortelen ende veselkens derselven, 't eenemaal uyt re roeyen', pp9-10.

^{xliii} 'De ware Christen Kerk...Behelst maar lijdzaamheid, getrouwheid, liefde en vreed, Uw Kerk, in tegendeel, doet vroomme Menschen plagen, (De ervaring toont het klaar) verdrukken of verjagen', p12.

^{xliiv} 'Die niet alleen voor een onderdrukker, maar voor den wreedsten vervolger, en uitblusser des waare Geloofs...een afgrijsseslijke Tyrannye', pp13-15.

^{xli v} 'Gezegende Ingesetenen van het gezegende en om den overvloedigen zegen des Heeren van den Koning van Vrankrijk benijt, van sommige met dwersche oogen aangesien ende van alle inwoonders betreurt, Sevenpijlig Nederlandt daar 't al Melck en Honnig vloeyt, uw aanbiddelijk andere hatelijk', p3.

^{xli vi} 'Wy zijn verzekert dat God zulke Kerkelijke boosheden niet en behagen, en daarom ook het zelve door middel van zijn Hoogheid verhindert...', pvi.

^{xli vii} 'Want het is onmogelijk, de gene die eens verligt gewest zijn, en de Hemlse gaven gesmakkt hebben, ende des Heyligen Geestes deelagtig geworden zijn, ende gesmaakt, hebben het goede Woort Gods, en de kragten der toekomende eeuwe, en de afvallig worden, die te vernieuwen tot bekeeringe', p2.

^{xli viii} 'Keerd weder ô Sulamith! keerd weder, dat wy U mogen aansien tot uwen God, dien gy verlaten hebt, en bent tot den Afgoden overgegaen. Keert weder tot mijn (spreekt de Heere) soo sal ik weder tot u keeren. Verfoeit de listige adultien der bloedorstige Jesuiten, en bedriegelijke Francoisen', p11.

^{xli x} 'Dat hy zelfs Pluto zou verbannen / Hy is een schirk voor veel Tyrannen / Men ziet in hem zijns Vaders deugd', p29.

^l 'Beschermheld van Groot Brittanjen, de waare Verdaadiger der Godsdienst, Verweerder der Vrijheit, Hersteller der Wetten', p15.

^h 'Geloofd zy de Heere uwe God, die behagen is u gehad heeft, om u op den throon Israels te setten: om dat de Heere Israel in eeuwigheid bemint, daarom heeft hy u tot Koning gesteld, om regt en gerechtigheid te doen', p8.

^{li} 'Zo zal de vrijheid nooit uit onse Landen gaen; / De goude vrijheid blijft hier in het Land dan woonen, / En God zal ons dan lang met sijne zegen kroonen. / Zo bloeid ons Land in vreugd; tot stigting van Gods eer: / Zo leid de dwinglandy in 't Britsche Rijk ter neêr', p24.

^{lii} 'De Kermessen zijnde Hoogten van ons Land, die moeten weg, want het zijn oorsaken of occasien van allerley Sonden en Godloosheden, men roept en tiert, men vecht, men smijt, men loopt als dronke Verkens, als Bachus God was, en of de Duyvel was los gelaten om alle soorten van Menschen tot die Ydelheden te trekken...Wy hebben Vyanden genoeg, al maken wy onsen God niet tot onsen Vyand', p56.

^{li v} 'De Comaeden, Baletten, Dans-scholen, Hoer-huysen, Vloeken en Sweeren moeten worden geweert, Sak en Asse souden ons beter voegen, klagen en weesen over onse langdurige Sonden souden ons meer goet doen. Dit alles en meer kunnen onse Hooge Machten uit den Lande voor nu altos weg doen. Dan sal God een herte hebben voor ons Lant, zijn Segen schenken en sijne hulpe souden uit het Heyligdom', p57.

^{li v} 'Indien het voornemen op Engelandt niet wert in 't werk gestalt, soo sullen onse Paepse Inlanders haer grootelycks verheugen, en lichen in ons verderf, hoewel die ellendige blinde Mollen haer eygen ellende belachen, want sy weten niet dat de Koningen geen geloof hebben, en denken weynigh om de reden van Duc d' Alba, welke zijn Roomsgesinden antwoorde, als sy haer beriepen op haar geloof: Benje Roomsche (seyde die bloedthondt) dat is goet voor je Ziel; wat meenen dese bloedtdorstige menschen, die tegenwoordig noch durven seggen, datse hoopen haer handen noch in t' Geuse bloedt te wasschen', p6.

^{li vi} 'Dat veele van de Papisten, onbeschaamt derven besmaden, de Reize van zijn Hoogheid na Engeland; en zeggen: dat hy tegen zijn Schoon-Vader zoude zijn opgestaan. Waar op ik antwoorde, dat zulks onwaarheid is: maar ik zegge het tegendeel, als dat hy tegen de Paapse boosheid is opgestaan, die onzen geheelen Staat hadde geswooren te verderven...', pvi.

^{li vii} 'Ik seide *offensive* neen: maar *defensive* is 't nootsaakelijk: wy socken de vreedde', p31.

^{lviii} '...het is meer als al te openbaar, wat voor Contracten daar gemaakt zyn tusschen hem en den Aller-onchristelyksten Koning van Vrankryk, om Engelant en dese vrygevochte Nederlanden, onder de Roomsche slaverny te brengen', p7. 'Ik segge...want als Zijn Koninglijke Hoogheyt niet na Engelant gegaan had, wy mochten een Jaar langer vry geweest hebben, tot dat den Engelschen Koninck sijn hant de voet op de nek geset had: en voorwaar, hy diende niet verder met sijn saaken gekomen, of daar soude geen helpen aan geweest hebben...', p10.

^{lix} 'en Zijn Hoogheys saaken verder voorspoedig gaande, zoo hebben wy Engelant op onse zyde te verwachten; soo dat wy (menschelijker wijs gesproken) meerder voordeel zyn te bekoomen...', p11.

^{lx} 't Is aanmerkelijk van het volk van Engelandt, met wat yver sy aangedaan waren met den gewesen Konink; want ieder een was even vierig niet Addressen aan den Koninck te presenteren, vol van beleeftheyt en estime; elk beloofde trouwe aan den Konink: maar waar was haar bystant doe hy 't van noden had? Elk hield hem eyen stil, en wat meer was, sy verheren hem noch. En daarom segh ik, als sy maar weer een andere gelegentheyte vinden, twiffel ik niet of, de zelfde pots zullen met Konink Willem ook spelen; want sy schijnen tot verandering genegen te wesen, en te groeijen', p12.

^{lxi} 'Onmogelyk is het dat Engelandt en desen Staat haar soude vereenigen kunnen, te meer om de Oost-Indische Compagnie, die in-sonderheyt in die gwesten malkander byna als erf-vyanden aansien...', p14.

^{lxii} 'Wat voor een dankbaarheyt is Engelandt hem niet verschuldigt? Ten minsten de Kroon: te meer, om dat haar Konink haar verlaaten heeft, en ook noch wel een verschuldige gehoorsaamheyt, om sijn rechtvaardige pretensie, die hy op Vrankrijk heeft, te helpen vorderen: want hy laat haar in haar Wetten, en hy doet niemant lijden om haar Religie en den Staat wil haar verschuldige dankbaarheyt nooit ongeloont laten', p13.

^{lxiii} 'Zoo is mijn oogmerk in dit Tractaatje te toonen, hoe veel er desen staat aangelegen is, dat er een onverbreekelijke eenigheit tusschen dese Provintien en de drie voornoemde Koningrijken is, en dit om diverse zaaken, waar van de eerste het stuk van de Godsdienst is....Maar het geen dat wel het voornaamste bind, is, de Negotie en de Zeevaart...', pp4-5.

^{lxiv} 't Is waar Engelant en dese Landen, ten aansien van hun Staat, aart, en Interest hebben beyde op de Negotien gemunt, en dit baart aatuurlijke wyse, Vyandschappen tusschen ons en haar. Dog dit is altyt zoo geweest, en sal zoo zyn, zoo lang als menschen menschen zyn. Maar wat sal hier uyt volgen?', p7.

^{lxv} 'Dat wy onse Negotie wakker moeten voorstaan, als het gaen daar onse tydelijke welvaart aanhangt...Dat wy tot dien eynde een magt in Zee moeten houden, de hare ten minsten gelijk, om haar also te houden, aan billike en behoorlijke condition en Palen van Koophandel en Zeevaart', pp7-8.

^{lxvi} 'Dat wy in 't toekomende haar in Poinciljes van eere zouden toegeven...Maar ingevalle zy ons t' onrecht wilden onderkruypen, dat na alle aparentie niet zal geschieden, zoo wanneer wy haar de hand van broederschap en gemeenschap in de Negotie willen bieden...', p8.

^{lxvii} 'Maar zo wanneer wy een vryen handle, ende vrugt onser arbeyd op reedlijke Conditien van wederzyden kunnen bekomen, soo is het veele beeter en Heylsamor voor ons...', p8.

^{lxviii} 'En daarom nogmalen issen om dit te verbeeteren, niets nootzaakelykers als dat 'er by dese aanstaande verandering in de Regeering van Engelant, zoodanigen Tractaat van Commerce gemaakt, mogt worden, waar door het dese beyde Natien vry mogt staan, op malkanders plaatsen en Zee Havenen en zulx met allerlye Coopmanschappen te handelen', p10.

^{lxix} '...maar de Prodigaaliteyt van de Engelse en de zuynigheyt der waare Hollanders kent zal niet lang met dusdanige gedagte beswangert gaan, maar in tegendeel wel kunnen zien, dat dezelve indien men zoodanigen vryheyt quam te erlangen, daar veel meer als de Engelse by proffiteeren zoude...Want de Werelt is wyt, en de Zee ruym genoeg voor beyde de Natien om hun verstant en neerigheyt in het werk te stellen', p11.

^{lxx} 'Engelants Vriendschap is ons derhalven nut en nodig, niet om met haar in onmin te leven, en door afgunst malkanderen te Beoorlogen, gelijk sedert dat deese Republijke stant heeft gegreepen al drie malen is geschiet...', p13.

^{lxxi} '...daar we in tegendeel indien wy met Vrankrijk heulde, de Spaanse Nederlanden wel haast onder aijn geweld gebragt zouden zien, ende hem tot onse gebuur hebben. Als wanneer de Schelde door hem buyten alle bedenken, weder open gestelt zoude worden, en wy in ons Provintie zoo veel van onze Negotie komen te missen, als men die in Antwerpen, Brussel, Meghelen, Leuven en andere Brabantze Steeden zouden zien aangroyen', p13.

^{lxxii} 'De Oost Indische handle, het rijkste Juweel van deeze Landen, en een brokje daar Vrankrijk lang op gevlamt heeft, is een zaak die men met de Engelse Oost-Indise Maatschappy een zekere portie in d'onse te geven, onwrikbaar vast zou kunnen maken...zoo wanneer deze en de Engelse Oost-Indische

Compagnie een Lyn in de Indien trokken wel haast tot nabedenken ende het bewaren van zijn eygen vastigheeden zou brengen Hoe gemakkelijk zouden die beyde de Fransse uyt d'Oost-Indische handle wanner zy wilde kunnen slaan?', p16.

^{lxxiii} 'Dog indien de menschen al te vaardig zijn n 't vonnis vellen over gedaane zaken, zy zijn in 't tegendeel zo slaauw in 't voortzetten van haar beraadinge, dat de gelukkigste en aenzienlijkste voornemens meenigmaal door ongestadigheid en talmery schipbreuk komen te lijden... En of schoon het geoorloft was een groot voornemen te staken: zo is 't anders met een begonnen werk geleegeen, om dat het t' samen gevaarlijk en schandelijk is 't zelve te verlaten', p3.

^{lxxiv} 'Dat een Koning van Engeland, Stadhouder en Capiteyn Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden een te machtige Vorst is... Datse hierom op hun onerling voerspoed jalours zijn, en het makkelijk aan een behendinge Prins vallen zal, de eene te gebruikenom de andere te verpletteren', pp3-4.

^{lxxv} 'Ik bekenne ten eerste dat de protestanten zo een machtigen Vorst nooit gehad hebben, als de Prins van Oranje t' eeniger dag zijn zal; gelieft maar God onze gebeden te verhooren, en sijn godvruchtige voornemens te zegenen', p4.

^{lxxvi} 'De form van der Regeering is en blijft de zelve; de Burgermeesters en verdere Magistraat der Steden worden altijd met vrye Stemmen verkooren', p25.

^{lxxvii} '...en dienvolgens hun Koning en Stadhouder geen geleegentheid vinden, om haar voeregten te verminderen; voorders zijn we verzeekert dat hy ze niet zoeken zal; maar sijn best liever doen, om de verdeelt-heid van twee evenwaarde volkeren voor te komen', p13.

^{lxxviii} 'Nooit heeft men hem Steden op zien kopen, Commandanten en Oversten verleiden, sijn woord vervalschen, of sijn voordeel in verraderyen zoeken', p13.

^{lxxix} 'Dat de Engelsche en Hollanders de Zeevaart genegen zijn, hun meeste rijkdom uit die neering trekken, en de eene niet kunnen bloeyen dan door de verneeding van de andere', p3.

^{lxxx} 'T is de pyne niet waard, dat wy van 't stryken der Vlagge, uitvoeren der Waren, en de Haring-Visschery souden spreken, want de Bredaasche Vrede van 't jaar 1667 heeft 'er genoeg voor gezorgt', p12.

^{lxxxi} 'De twisten van de twee Oost-Indische Maatschappyyen schynen van grooter belang, egter mogtenze wel in der mine veressent worden, en die steen des aanstoots weggenomen, 't zy door een inlyvinge, of door andere middelen, die ons niet staan voor te schryven', pp12-13.

^{lxxxii} 'Daar en boven weeten ze zeer weld at de burgerlijke Oorlog van Cromwel, de quade geneegentheid der twee laatste Koningen; hun innerlijke verdeeltheden en Zee-slagen tegen de Nederduitse Protestanten: met een word al wat zy en hare Broeders, van vyftig jaren af, geleeden hebben, uitbroeizelen zyn van 't Fransse Hof, twee Cardinaelen en de Jezuiten', p14.

^{lxxxiii} 'Wyders beloofde Vrankrijk haar heimelijk by te staan, de Nederlanders, door trouwlooze hulpbenden, om den tuin te leiden, en hen by tijd en gelegentheid op het lyf te vallen... Dit wierd sijne Britannische Majesteyt zoo krachtig voorgehouden, en de Parlementen weigeren zo standvastig de nodige schattingen ot voortzetting des Oorlogs, dat Coning Carel gedwongen was de vredens voorstellingen van de Staten Generaal aan te nemen...', p12.

^{lxxxiv} 'Uit die geschiedenissen sullen wy driegevolgen trekken, die de ydele jaloersheid tusschen de twee volkeren doen verdwynen. De eerste is dat de Engelsche en nederlanders geenzints op malkanderen gebeeten zyn, nademaal hun laatse Oorlogen te wege gebracht wierden door een Dwingeland, die de Koninkijke Stam wilde uitroeyen, en door twee Koningen hun verborgene vyanden, die sig tegen de Protestantsche Godsdienst hun voorregten vryheden verbonden hadden', p12.

^{lxxxv} 'Men heeft dit Hof beschuldigd van na Algemeene Monarchy te staan; en ik durf zeggen dat het zonder de verwisseling van Engeland, op het punt stond van sijn begeerte te verkrygen... Nu is er ymand die ter goeder trouwe hochenen mag, dat de Koning van Vrankryk op die hooge van vermogentheid by na gestegen was, en dat hy naar alle waarschijnlijkheid daar toe geraakt zou hebben, indien sijn getrouwe Bondgenoot Jacobus de Tweede op den Throon gebleven had', pp35-36.

^{lxxxvi} 'Indien Vrankrijk verandert en de vrede herstelt was, Engeland en Holland vereenig bleeven, en de Protestanten vryheid over al genoten, zou men wel haast den afval van 't Pausdom zien... Geen aangener tyding kan men aan de gemeente brengen, als die van den afslag der tolleren... en Het Bloeyen van den Koophandel is een der wenschelijkste vruchten van de Vrede en den afslag der Tollen', pp37-51.

^{lxxxvii} 'De herstellinge der afgesettene Prinssen en gevluichte Protestanten, is een gelukkigste en gewichtigste gevolgen van de Unie der Bondgenoten... Maar indien de Geallieerden de herstellinge van 't Edict van Nantes sterk doordringen, en na geen Vrede willen verstaan, dan onder die Voorwaarde, zoo zullen se het hart der Protestanten verwinnen, en zig machtige, anhang in dat Rijk kunnen verzeekeren, dewelke altijd met schele ogen de overrompeling van Duitsland zal aanzien, als

een voorteecken van het verderf hunner Religie...De herstelling der Gereformeerden zal van een goed gevolg zyn, zonder 't welk alle andere goede dingen smakeloos zouden zyn, en de Vrede de zelfs zoo een kwaad gerekent mogt worden: namelijk, opschorring der vervolgingen', pp37-51.

Chapter Five: Pamphlet coverage of English affairs after the Revolution, 1690-1700

The period after the Glorious Revolution witnessed the continuation of close cooperation between the two 'Maritime Powers' of England and the Dutch Republic who, under the leadership of the *Stadholder-King* William III, remained united in their struggle against Louis XIV. Indeed, although the two countries often had conflicting mercantile concerns at sea, as well as disagreements over the joint trade embargo, both governments realised that it was in their interests to maintain their combined participation in the allied coalition, as the only practical way to overcome the superior military and naval strength of France.¹ Consequently, given the predominant position that English affairs occupied in the pamphlet literature of 1688-89, did this new era of closer Anglo-Dutch relations then lead to a sustained level of interest in England amongst the Dutch public? As historians have not yet addressed this question, this chapter seeks to offer an insight into this issue by examining the pamphlet literature published in the Republic between 1690 and 1700. An overview of the pamphlet output is provided in the first instance, in order to assess how far English affairs were afforded attention compared with all other topics. Once the level of interest in England has been established, the chapter will then proceed to posit some explanations for the pattern of output.

I. Overview of pamphlet output

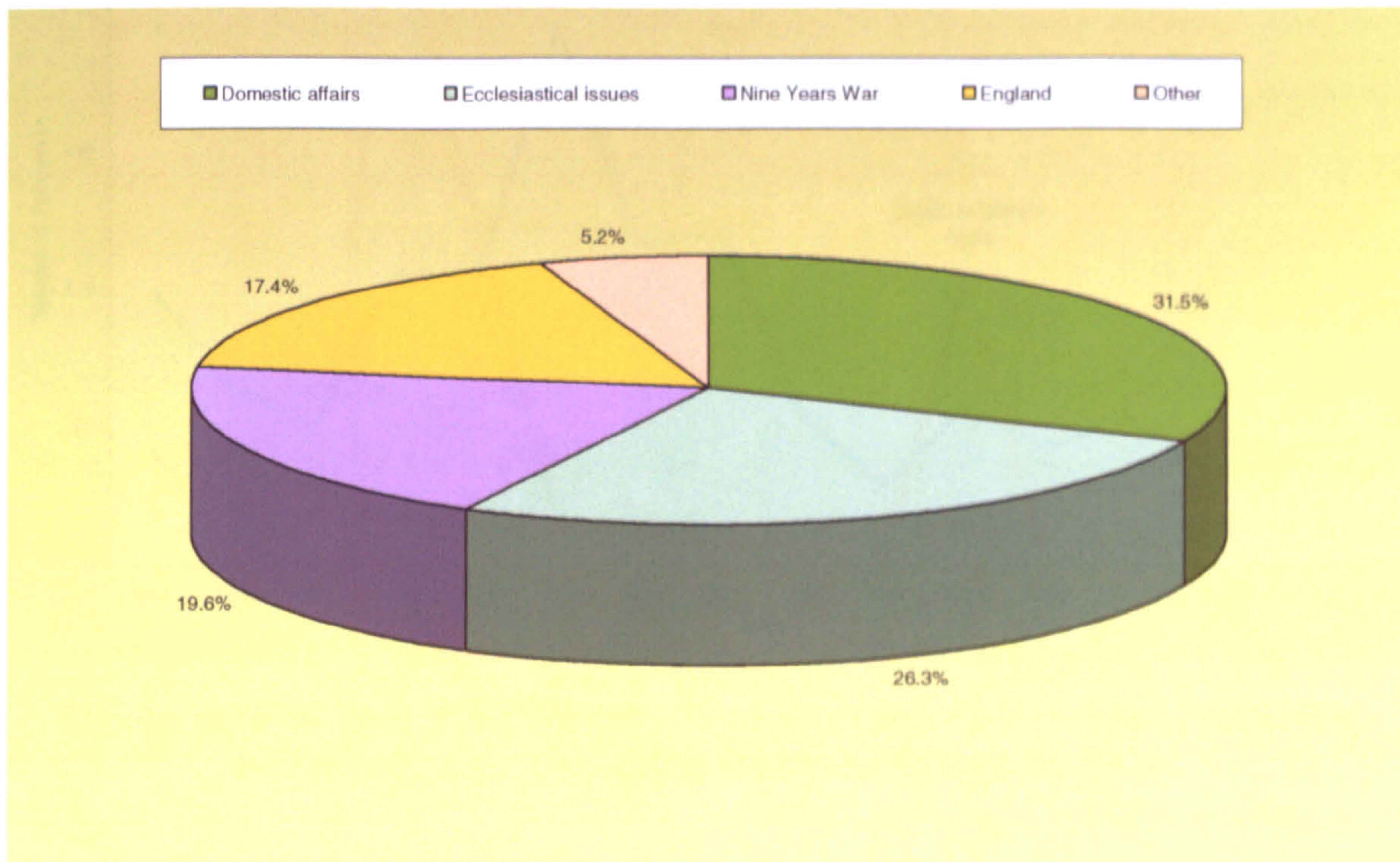
Between 1690 and 1700, some 895 pamphlets were published in the Republic and this literature addressed four main areas; Domestic affairs, Ecclesiastical issues, the Nine Years War, and England (see Chart 5.1, p206 below). In the first instance, the most striking feature of Chart 5.1 is that in contrast to the preceding period, when foreign affairs overwhelmingly dominated the pamphlet discourse, this literature was chiefly concerned with issues arising in the Republic's own political and religious spheres, which now accounted for 57.8 per cent of total output.² Secondly, whilst the

¹ GN Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War Against French Trade, 1688-1697* (London, 1923); JB Hattendorf, ' "To Aid and Assist the Other". Anglo-Dutch Cooperation in Coalition Warfare at Sea, 1689-1714', in *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720. Politics, War and Finance*, eds. JAF de Jongste and AJ Veenendaal (The Hague, 2002), pp177-98.

² In terms of actual figures, 282 pamphlets were published on Domestic affairs and 236 on Ecclesiastical issues.

Nine Years War received roughly similar attention to that afforded in 1689, the coverage of English affairs had now decreased to just 17.4 per cent.³

Chart 5.1: Pamphlet output, 1690-1700



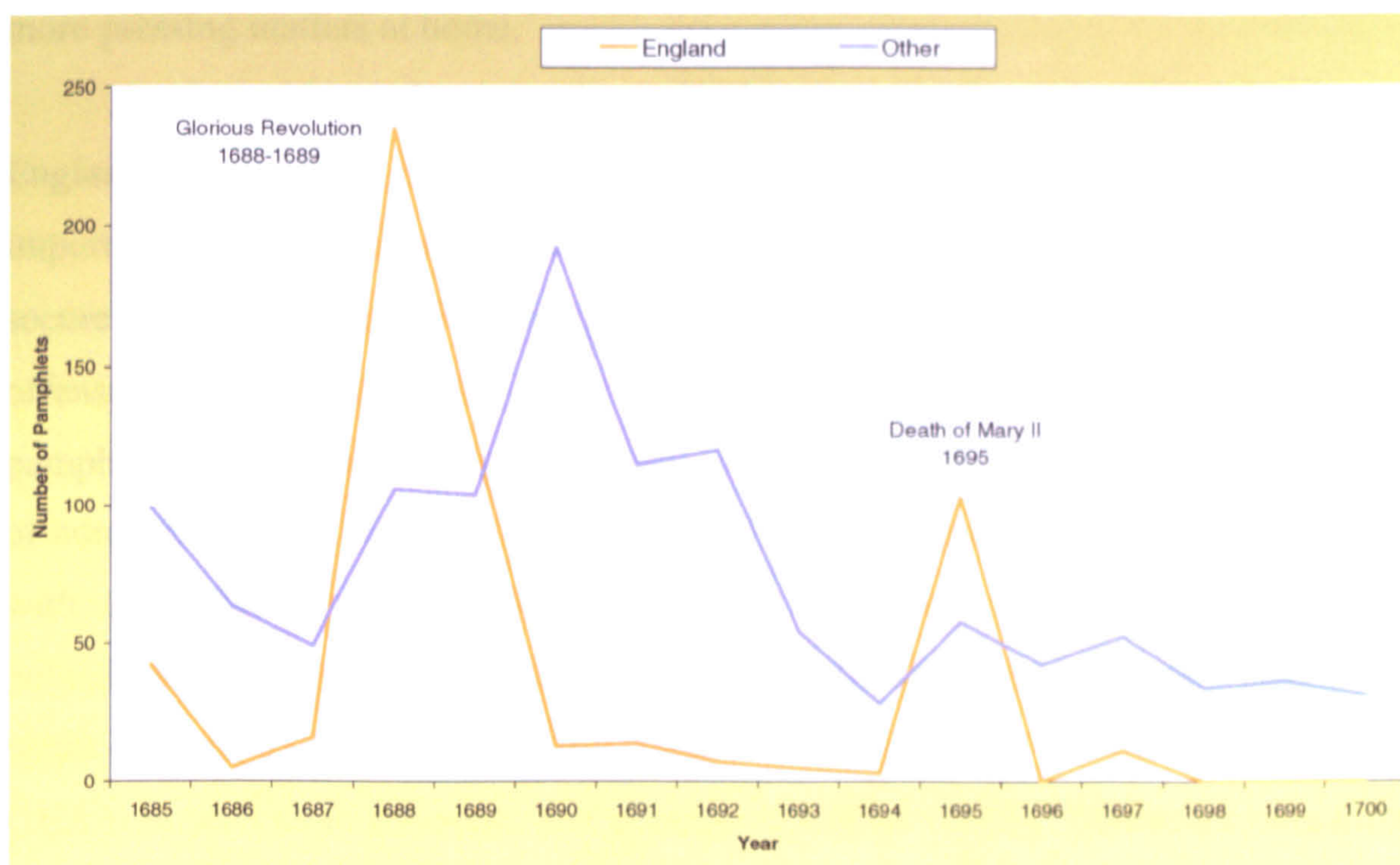
Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Moreover, this decline in output on England began immediately after the Revolution and the only significant increase in production was prompted by the death of Mary II on 6 January 1695 (see Chart 5.2, p207 below). In fact, this event, which was addressed in 103 pamphlets, constituted the bulk of output on England for the 1690-1700 period.⁴ Whilst this heightened attention illustrates the massive outpouring of grief that accompanied her death, at the same time, it also highlights the fact that the remaining 53 pamphlets represent a relatively weak stream of interest that was dispersed primarily between 1690 and 1697. Indeed, it can be seen that the pamphlet coverage of English affairs actually ceased following the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, which ended the Nine Years War.

³ In terms of actual figures, 175 pamphlets were published on the Nine Years War and 156 on England.

⁴ This figure is roughly equivalent to the number of pamphlets that were published in England, see L. Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 42 (1989), pp717-48.

Chart 5.2: Pamphlet output, 1685-1700



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

II. Explanations for the pattern of output

The first factor accounting for this decline is that the public's interest in England was no longer being stimulated, either by British pamphleteers or by William's propagandists, who had made a concerted effort to draw attention to the country's political and religious affairs in the preceding period. Indeed, following the Revolution they no longer had any reason to do so, for the regents had given their consent to William's expedition and it had proceeded with great public support. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter Four, these British pamphleteers now had different objectives in mind.⁵ Gilbert Burnet for example, was totally engrossed in his campaign to ensure the continued support of English audiences for both the Revolutionary settlement and the Nine Years War, whereas Robert Ferguson had gradually moved into the Jacobite camp.⁶ The priorities of William's Dutch propagandists such as, Romeyn de Hooghe and Eric Walten, had also shifted, for

⁵ Chapter Four, pp160-61.

⁶ See also, T Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (CUP, 1996); MS Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England* (Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999), pp189-90.

rather than focusing on foreign affairs, these pamphleteers were now concerned with more pressing matters at home.⁷

In fact, this leads on to the second reason for the reduced production on England; in the light of the Revolution, English affairs were just no longer so important to Dutch audiences. After all, England's religion and liberties were now secure under William's leadership, and the threat of a combined Anglo-French offensive had been removed along with James. Therefore, as can be seen in the pamphlet coverage of foreign affairs, the war with France was now the chief subject of concern. Indeed, it is clear that the Dutch public were eager to keep up to date with the progress of the allied campaigns, for a host of news accounts were published throughout the duration of the conflict, with particular attention paid to the battle of the Boyne (1690), the sea battles of Beachy Head (1690) and La Hogue (1692), as well as to the siege and capture of Namur (1695).⁸ Moreover, when the pamphlets that were published on England are examined, it is evident that the Dutch public were primarily interested in issues concerning the joint war effort, such as the proroguing and calling of Parliament, the voting of funds and troops for the allied campaigns, as well as the Jacobite conspiracies to restore James by assassinating William.⁹ As a result, only minimal attention was paid to the allegiance debate or the ongoing disputes between the Whigs and the Tories.¹⁰

The third factor behind the decline in output on England is that greater attention was afforded to problems arising within the Republic itself. Indeed, the period after the Revolution witnessed the renewal of regent-*Stadholder* tensions which, as can be seen in Chart 5.1, led to a heightened interest in domestic affairs (see Chart 5.1, p205 above). These conflicts, the most serious of which occurred in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Goes, were both manifestations of increased regent anxiety concerning the extent of William's power in the Republic, as well as

⁷ C van de Haar, 'Romeyn de Hooghe en de Pamflettenstrijd van de jaren 1689 en 1690', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 64 (1956), pp155-77; WPC Knuttel, 'Ericus Walten', in *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, vol. 4, 1 (Den Haag, 1900), pp345-455.

⁸ See for example, Knuttel 13377-13403 (1690); Knuttel 13756-13769 (1692); Knuttel 14025, 14026, 14029, 14030, 14032, 14034-14037, 14039, 14042, 14043 (1695).

⁹ See for example, Knuttel 13408, 13409, 13413, 13416-13418 (1690); Knuttel 13592, 13597-13600 (1691); Knuttel 13727, 13730, 13733-13736 (1692); Knuttel 13907 (1693); Knuttel 13984, 13985, 13990 (1694).

¹⁰ Knuttel 13410, Anon, *t'Zamenspraak Tusschen een Smit En een Zwaerdveeger, Wegens de Whigs en Tories* (1690); Knuttel 13603, Anon, *Verdrags-Punten, Toegestaan door de Vereenigde Predikanten In en ontrent London* (1691); Knuttel 13905, Samuel Johnson, *Bonigh Vertoogh Dat d'afsettingh van Koning Jacobus by het Volck van Engelant vande Konincklijke Troon...is volgens de constitutie vande Regeringe van Engelant* (1693).

expressions of dissatisfaction over his use of favourites to influence local and provincial bodies. Opposition to the *Stadholder* first surfaced at Amsterdam in January 1690 following a power struggle in the city's *vroedschap*, which saw William's chief supporters Johannes Hudde and Nicolaas Witsen, lose ground to a more republican-minded group directed by Jan Huydecoper and Gerard Bors van Waveren.¹¹ Not only did this group challenge William's right to appoint the city's seven *schepenen* (civic magistrates) by refusing to send him the customary double list of nominations, but they also argued that in his absence, the elections should be made instead, either by the States of Holland or by the *Hof van Holland* (High Court).¹² This situation was further complicated by the fact that the Amsterdam *vroedschap* issued a circular letter to all the other Holland towns appealing for support, thereby extending the issue throughout the province. Moreover, when Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, arrived as William's representative, Amsterdam's deputies would not allow him to sit in the Holland *Ridderschap* (the noble element of the provincial States), maintaining that he was no longer entitled to do so as he was now a naturalized subject of the English Crown and therefore in the service of a foreign sovereign.¹³

The conflict between William and Amsterdam, which continued for two months, was clearly a 'hot topic' for Dutch audiences as 107 pamphlets were published on this issue in 1690, compared to just 30 on the Nine Years War and a mere 13 on England. Such a high level of output was chiefly due to the fact that both William's supporters and the Amsterdam regents turned to the press in an effort to gain public support for their standpoint. Indeed, not only were official documents relating to the dispute published by each side, but a plethora of lampoons, satires, and graphic prints also appeared. Moreover, the conflict took on an increasingly personal character, as the Williamite propagandists Romeyn de Hooghe, Govert Bidloo, and Eric Walten, exchanged a series of hostile invectives with Amsterdam's leading advocate, Nicholaas Muys van Holy.¹⁴ In fact, the pamphlet war became so

¹¹ S Baxter, *William III* (New York, 1966), pp259-62; JAF de Jongste, 'The 1690s and after. The Local Perspective', in *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic*, pp67-68.

¹² S Baxter, *William III*, p261; JL Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century. The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford, 1994), pp140-42.

¹³ D Onnekink, 'The Anglo-Dutch Favourite. The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland 1649-1709' (Utrecht, unpublished PhD thesis, 2004), pp75-76.

¹⁴ C van de Haar, 'Romeyn de Hooghe en de Pamflettenstrijd van de jaren 1689 en 1690', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 64 (1956), pp155-77.

severe that the States of Holland were forced to issue a placard prohibiting the publication of further satires on the matter.¹⁵ Given the scale of the Amsterdam dispute, it is perhaps not surprising that the regent-*Stadholder* tensions that resurfaced along with mob rioting in Rotterdam in the autumn of 1690, as well as in Goes in 1692, also attracted attention.¹⁶

In addition to the heightened production on domestic politics, it is also evident that there was substantial interest in ecclesiastical issues after the Revolution, for this area constituted the second highest category of output for the 1690-1700 period. The bulk of this literature was particularly concerned with the debate surrounding the publication of the first two volumes of Balthasar Bekker's *De Betoverde Wereld* (The World Bewitched), in 1691. Bekker, a Calvinist preacher in Amsterdam, had written the work in order to attack what he saw as popular paganism and unfounded superstitious beliefs.¹⁷ In particular, he aimed to disprove the notion that devils, evil spirits, ghosts and witches could influence people's lives or any other worldly affairs, thereby demonstrating that everything in nature was exclusively dependent on God's power and providence.¹⁸ However, Bekker's work caused a storm of controversy, not only because it appeared in the midst of the later seventeenth century intellectual contest over the reality of magic and the supernatural, but also as it drew heavily on Cartesian reasoning to establish its case.¹⁹

When the book appeared it immediately met with a hostile reaction from the majority of theologians, initially in Amsterdam and then gradually throughout the whole Republic. Indeed, Bekker's opponents not only included hard-line Calvinists, but also Remonstrants, Lutherans, Mennonites and Collegiants, who mainly objected to his use of Cartesian philosophy on the basis that it had no place in the

¹⁵ Knuttel 13510, States of Holland, *Placcaat Vande Staten van Hollant...Tegens de Pasquillen en Discourssen* (1690).

¹⁶ The Rotterdam dispute was covered in 27 pamphlets published between 1690 and 1691, whilst the Goes dispute was addressed in 19 pamphlets published between 1692 and 1693. For further information see, P Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, Part II, 1648-1715 (London, 1964), pp259-61; J Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), p858; JL Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, pp101-02.

¹⁷ A Fix, 'Angels, Devils, and Evil Spirits in Seventeenth-Century Thought: Balthasar Bekker and the Collegiants', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 50, 4 (Oct-Dec, 1989), p536.

¹⁸ H van Ruler, 'Minds, Forms and Spirits: The Nature of Cartesian Disenchantment', in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 61, 4 (2000), p382.

¹⁹ J Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001), especially pp332-443; K Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1978); DP Walker, *The decline of Hell: seventeenth century discussions of eternal torment* (Chicago, 1964).

interpretation of religious truth.²⁰ Moreover, his critics argued that by using Cartesianism to refute the power of the devil, Bekker was encouraging both scepticism about divine mysteries and even a rejection of God.²¹ As the ideas expressed in *De Betoverde Wereld* were therefore deemed blasphemous, heretical and scandalous, the Holland synods petitioned for the book's prohibition, which resulted in Bekker's dismissal from the Reformed ministry in 1692.²² Yet, not everyone disagreed with Bekker's arguments and support was soon forthcoming, both from radical laymen such as Eric Walten and Willem Goeree, as well as from theologians such as the ultra-liberal Collegiant Herman Bouman and the libertine Willem Deurhoff.²³ The controversy generated by Bekker's work was not just confined to theological circles however, for the book was an immediate bestseller and within two months of its publication, all four thousand copies had sold out completely.²⁴ Indeed, public interest in *De Betoverde Wereld* was so high, amongst both the upper and lower levels of society, that one of Bekker's critics stated that he had caused 'more trouble in two months than all the priests could put a stop to in twenty years.'²⁵

As a result, both Bekker's opponents and his supporters turned to the press in an attempt to influence public opinion round to their way of thinking. The extent of their efforts can be seen in the fact that 138 pamphlets were published on Bekker's work between 1691 and 1693, compared to just 44 pamphlets on the Nine Years War and only 26 on England. Most of this literature appears to have been written by anti-Bekker theologians of varying persuasions and although some published anonymously, those whom it is possible to identify include Henricus Groenewegen, Everard van der Hooght, Jacobus Koelman, Melchior Leydekker, Johannes Molinaeus, Petrus Schaak and Jacobus Schuts.²⁶ Yet the literature was not all one-sided, for there is also evidence of pamphlets published in defence of *De Betoverde Wereld*, most notably by Bekker himself, but also by his supporters mentioned

²⁰ J Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p388.

²¹ A Fix, 'Angels, Devils, and Evil Spirits', p542; J Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p382.

²² R Attfield, 'Balthasar Bekker and the Decline of the Witch-Craze: the Old Demonology and the New Philosophy', in *Annals of Science*, vol. 42 (1985), p388.

²³ A Fix, 'Angels, Devils, and Evil Spirits', pp542-47; J Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p385-87.

²⁴ The book was also translated into English, French, German and Italian, R Attfield, 'Balthasar Bekker and the Decline of the Witch-Craze', p387.

²⁵ Quoted in R Attfield, 'Balthasar Bekker and the Decline of the Witch-Craze', p388.

²⁶ See for example; Knuttel 13690-98, 13703-06 (1691); Knuttel 13868, 13877, 13879-13882, 13889 (1692); Knuttel 13966-68 (1693).

above, as well as Pieter Rabus and Zacharias Webber.²⁷ Furthermore, it is evident that this debate had spread throughout the Republic, for the publication details given show that pamphlets were not only printed at Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam and The Hague, but also at Dordrecht, Franeker, Middelburg and Utrecht. Yet the most significant aspect of this literature was that rather than being written in Latin, the usual language of clerical debates, all of these pamphlets were published in Dutch. It is therefore evident that these pamphleteers aimed to appeal to a socially broad audience and in so doing, they not only brought Bekker's ideas further into the public domain, but they also ensured that *De Betoverde Wereld* became a 'hot topic' for Dutch pamphlet audiences.

The last reason for the decreased attention given to England relates to the nature of the pamphlet literature itself, for as discussed previously, the main function of the genre was to address topical and urgent issues, and to influence public opinion over a specific problem or crisis.²⁸ As a result, even though there was continued coverage of English affairs in Dutch newspapers after the Revolution, it is clear that they were not important enough to warrant sustained pamphlet attention. Indeed, it is evident that once the situation in England had stabilised and problems began to arise elsewhere, the pattern of pamphlet output fluctuated accordingly. Moreover, as can be seen in Chart 5.3, when the pattern of output on England for the whole of the seventeenth century is plotted, it becomes clear that 1688-89 represented a brief period of especial interest in English affairs (see Chart 5.3, p213 below).

III. Conclusion

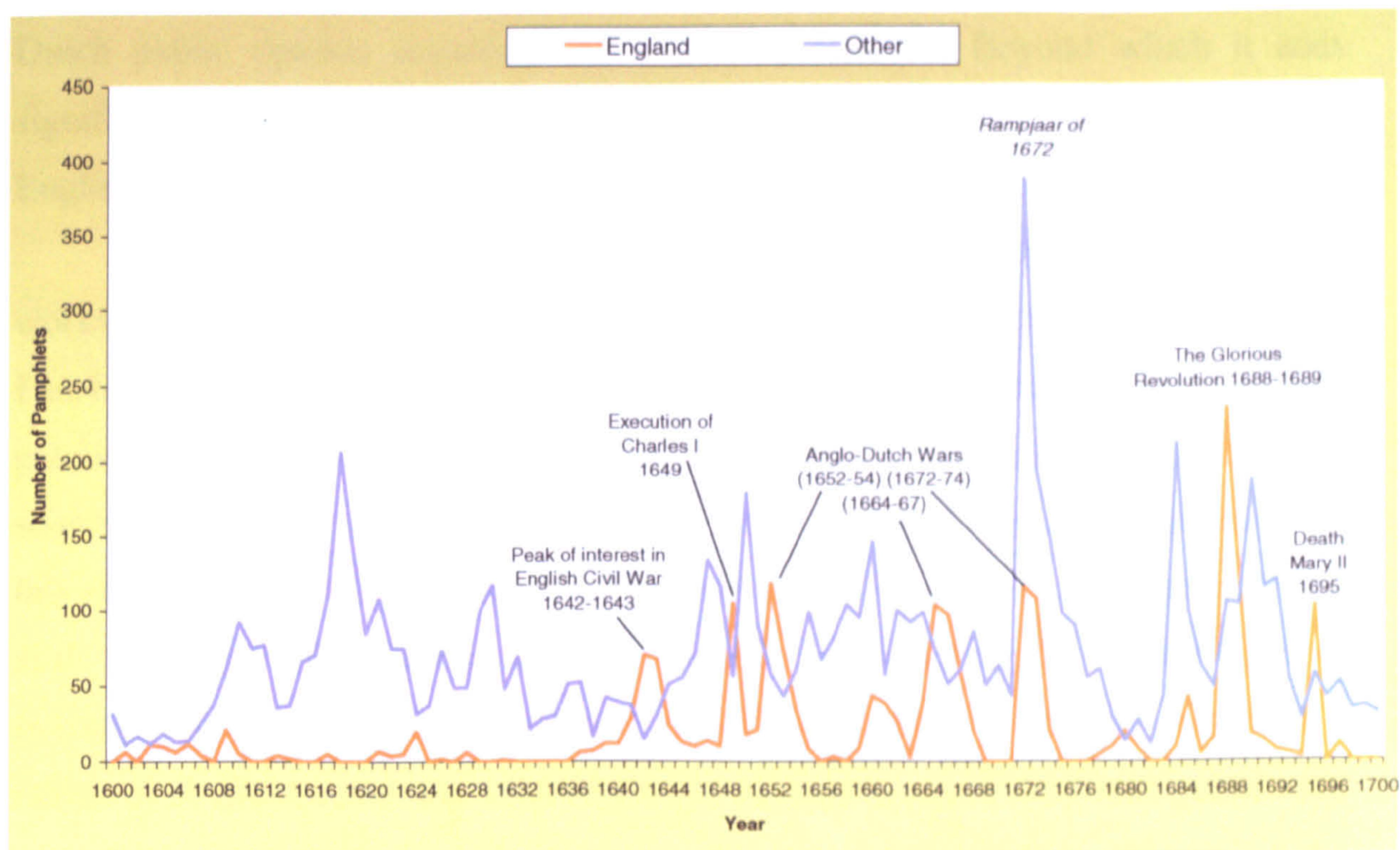
The years after the Glorious Revolution were marked by a decline in pamphlet output on English affairs. Although those issues that were deemed relevant to the Dutch public were addressed, such as the combined war effort and particularly the death of Mary II, it is evident that the political and religious condition of England generated little interest. Partly, this was because anti-Stuart propagandists were no longer drawing attention to such matters, but chiefly it was due to the fact that after the Revolution, England was no longer such a pressing priority for Dutch audiences. Rather, greater consideration was given to more immediate problems arising in the

²⁷ See for example; Knuttel 13711-13713 (1691); Knuttel 13840, 13863, 13873, 13888, 13895 (1692); Knuttel 13957, 13959, 13961-65, 13973-76 (1693).

²⁸ Introduction, p9.

Republic's own political and religious spheres, as well as to the Nine Years War. It can therefore be seen that the reality of closer Anglo-Dutch relations after the Revolution, did not lead to a sustained interest in English affairs.

Chart 5.3: Pamphlet output, 1600-1700



Source: derived from WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a comprehensive analysis of the pamphlet literature published in the Dutch Republic between 1685 and 1689. In so doing, it has explored several new areas of knowledge. Primarily it fills a gap in current historiography by addressing one of the most neglected aspects of the Glorious Revolution; namely, Dutch public opinion regarding the events of 1688-89. Beyond which it adds significantly to an understanding of the nature of the public debate concerning English affairs in the Dutch Republic during the Revolutionary period.

The high degree of anonymous authorship and the large number of translated works do raise questions as to what extent the pamphlet literature is representative of Dutch public opinion as a whole. Nevertheless, as Groenveld and Harline have pointed out, in the absence of more concrete evidence, pamphlets are still the best source available for analysing public opinion.¹ In addition, both the importance of this study and its focus on pamphlet literature is justified, due to the unprecedented scale and scope of interest in English domestic affairs during the 1688-89 period. Initially, this thesis has confirmed and quantified what has previously only been a matter of conjecture; that the 1688-89 period was one in which the Dutch public took a particular interest in English domestic affairs owing to the significance of the Glorious Revolution. The two years witnessed a level of pamphlet output on England unmatched at any point throughout the seventeenth century. Moreover, the published literature comprised a wide range of official documents, news reports, polemic, propaganda and graphic prints.

This is further evinced by placing the pamphlet literature published during those two years within the broader context of output over the 1685-1700 period. Fluctuations in output on England over time have been determined, together with the proportion of attention afforded to England in a given period compared to all other topics. This has permitted the identification of three distinct phases in regard to Dutch interest in England. The first corresponds to the early period of James' reign between 1685 and 1687. Attention was afforded to English affairs; however, they were not the dominant topic of debate. The second corresponds to the period immediately surrounding William's intervention in England, when the years 1688-89

¹ S Groenveld, *De Prins voor Amsterdam reacties uit pamfletten op de aanslag van 1650* (Bussum, 1967), p5; C Harline, 'Mars Bruised: Images of War in the Dutch Republic, 1641-1648', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 104 (1989), p190.

witnessed the peak of interest in the nation's affairs. The period 1690 onwards constitutes the third and final phase in which interest in England declined.

In regard to Dutch public opinion surrounding the Revolution of 1688-89, this thesis has confirmed the standard view that William's expedition and his ensuing elevation to the Kingship received overwhelming support from the Dutch public. However, in contrast to previous studies, this thesis has analysed in greater detail the reasoning underpinning that support. It has been demonstrated that William's intervention in England was understood as an essentially defensive measure. From the point of view of the Dutch public, his actions were primarily intended to safeguard Europe's Protestantism and liberties from the threat of a resurgent Catholicism headed by James II, Louis XIV and the Jesuits. Louis' Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 was taken as the first sign of this, to which was later added James' pro-Catholic policies. Indeed, both the domestic and foreign policies of those two Kings were not viewed in isolation, but were seen as part of a co-ordinated effort to eradicate the Protestant religion. As James and Louis were believed to be united in this mutual aim, William's intercession was seen as absolutely necessary, for a successful Anglo-French attack would have meant an end to Dutch Protestantism, liberty and prosperity. Yet, it has been shown that this was not a matter of pure self-preservation, for the Dutch public clearly felt an obligation to rescue their co-religionists in England from the same fate.

John Carswell has asserted that the belief in an international Jesuit conspiracy designed to eliminate the Protestant religion was 'ludicrously wide of the mark' and in reality it was, for there is no evidence to validate the existence of such a plot.² Yet through its rigorous examination of the information and commentary circulating in the Republic during the crucial months leading up to the Revolution, this thesis has shown how the Dutch public arrived at such a conclusion. In the first instance, the publication of Gaspar Fagel's *Letter* in January 1688 clearly drew attention to James' efforts to further the cause of Catholicism in England. As an official statement on behalf of William and Mary opposing the King's religious policies, this was taken as confirmation of already existing suspicions regarding his sincerity. This point was picked up most clearly in the ensuing pamphlet controversy, which further heightened public awareness.

² J Carswell, *The Descent on England. A study of the English Revolution and its European Background* (New York, 1969), p57.

That the Dutch public were interested in, and concerned by, the English situation, is evident by the number of works published in the subsequent period on the King's religious policies. Before this point, only a few pamphlets by British exiles in the Republic itself had been published, but now Dutch printers were translating works from England, many of which had originally been published in 1687. What motivated this interest was the perceived implications for the Dutch Republic, for the same worries that were expressed during the English Civil War resurfaced. Although JR Jones has suggested that the Dutch were worried about the re-establishment of the English Commonwealth and its associated economic repercussions, in these pamphlets the religious factor was clearly dominant.³ Indeed, the main thrust of this literature was the dangerous and divisive nature of King's measures.

Dutch views of the English situation were also significantly influenced by the various pieces of anti-Jesuit propaganda which primarily focused on James' religious policies in their international context. Although it is often assumed that these pamphlets were solely intended for English audiences, they clearly also had appeal to the Dutch. In addition, they certainly served the purpose of preparing the Dutch public for William's invasion of England in November 1688. Yet, a more important point is that even though this was propaganda, it was a propaganda which knew its audience and is evidence in itself of the Dutch public's concern for religious issues. Indeed, this is substantiated by the fact that those pamphlets published in reaction to William's intervention in England, clearly viewed foreign policy in religious terms. Nor were these all written by preachers and neither were they part of a co-ordinated propaganda effort. So although the role of religion in the events of 1688-89 continues to arouse debate, it is clear that at least in the minds of Dutch pamphleteers, the religious factor was predominant.

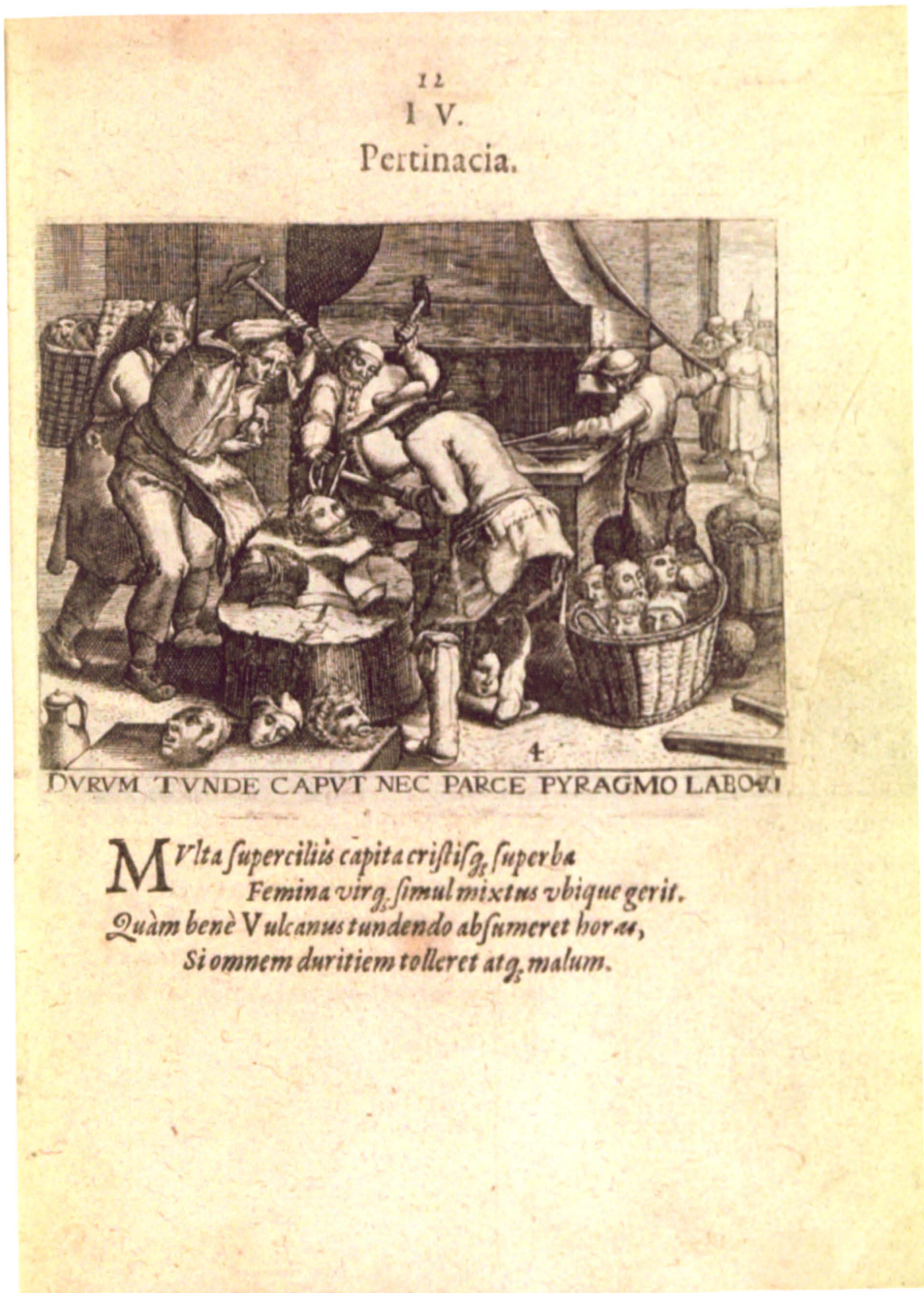
However, in concluding this study it should be noted that some issues remain partially explored. Whilst it is evident that there was a lively pamphlet literature that responded to questions of the moment, how far this reflects what might be called public opinion remains necessarily unclear. A better understanding of the significance of such literature is undoubtedly needed, particularly in regard to how pamphlets were actually received, what their reach was and who was writing them.

³ JR Jones, *The Revolution of 1688* (Birkenhead, 1972), p235.

Although the degree to which a public sphere had developed and the extent to which public opinion existed remains rather vague, it is apparent that there was a significant degree of public interest in civil and religious matters which was fed by a flood of pamphlets. The response of the civic authorities clearly shows constant and consistent concern about the effects of pamphlet literature, but on whom needs further investigation.

Appendix One

Figure One: *Pertinacia*



Source: Johan de Bry, *Emblematum secularium* (1627).

Figure Two: Knuttel 13075a, *Arlequin Deodat, et Ramirge Hypochondriaques* (1689).



Arlequin Deodat, et Ramirge Hypochondriaques.

*Wie vryp den Docten, vult geyuen
Wilt en het vhal en geyken heyn*

*Wel heb noch vryp vryt te geyuen
Wie vryt op zyn del cal vryt*

De Duytse Docten, en de vreemde Patientten.

21. **H**et Arlequin? Het Doctor?
 22. **I**n den Docten...
 23. **W**ie vryp den Docten...
 24. **D**ie Docten...
 25. **D**ie Docten...
 26. **D**ie Docten...
 27. **D**ie Docten...
 28. **D**ie Docten...
 29. **D**ie Docten...
 30. **D**ie Docten...

31. **D**ie Docten...
 32. **D**ie Docten...
 33. **D**ie Docten...
 34. **D**ie Docten...
 35. **D**ie Docten...
 36. **D**ie Docten...
 37. **D**ie Docten...
 38. **D**ie Docten...
 39. **D**ie Docten...
 40. **D**ie Docten...

Source: WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Figure Three: Knuttel 13075b, *La Belle Constance* (1689).



Source: WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Figure Four: Knuttel 13229, *L'Europe Allarmee pour le fils d'un Meunier* (1689).



L'Europe Allarmee pour le fils d'un Meunier.

^{1.} **I**n vreesde wyl dit di magan nou,
 Bader met jouge wotale' wad.
^{2.} Wie dult die Woldmanen vrennt pad.
^{3.} Vech is er vechen overvroued.
 Doch isje dit noed, en isse dit floues;
 Die woude an der ongelfich;
 Zo kint de vreesde van Enne.

^{4.} Pips, veldende gode degne
 Dit is de fure de St. Goude,
 Van een herme luh gekroon,
 Den Dem, sluyden Algen,
 Den Sikkon, zumer mijn vlandan,
 Zo't uot vanden veldan,
 Die vromphoelich wat vreden.

^{5.} Beld en vreesde, die vreesde
 't is heren Nomen wel ghoude.
^{6.} Frense den vreesde, die vreesde.
^{7.} Hoe, an vreesde vreesde vreesde,
 Die vreesde vreesde vreesde,
 Er's vreesde vreesde vreesde!
 Die vreesde vreesde vreesde.

Source: WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

Figure Six: Knuttel 13230a, *L'Epiphane du Nouveau Antichrist* (1689).



Source: WPC Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht, 1978).

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W Aglionby

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- Fagel* (1688); Knuttel 12877, *Response a la letter supposée écrite par monsieur Fagel* (1688).
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- Knuttel 12335, *Antwoord op de Declaratie van Jacob, Hertog van Monmouth* (1685).
- Knuttel 12924, *Antwoord Van den Eerwaerdigen Vader la Chaise* (1688); a variation of this can be found in EEBO, Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois, Wing/C5638A, *A Compleat Collection of Papers in Twelve Parts* (1689).
- Knuttel 13242, *Avis Donné à...le Prince d'Orange* (1689).
- Knuttel 12930, *Brief Aen een Persoon van Qualiteyt* (1688); EEBO, San Marino, Henry E Huntington Library, Wing/S133, *A letter to a person of quality, occasion'd by the news of the ensuing Parliament* (1688).
- Knuttel 13175a, *Brief, Behelsende het goed Neus uyt Engeland...22 Feb* (1689).
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A Paets

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