"AUTHORITY MAY BE AS MUCH INJURED BY WORDS AS BY ACTIONS"

A reappraisal of Collegiant contributions to the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment based on the activities of the bookseller Isaak Tirion and author Jan Wagenaar

MA THESIS – BOOK AND DIGITAL MEDIA STUDIES – LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

Name:	Pim Geenen
Student number:	1413171
Supervisor:	Prof.dr. P.G. Hoftijzer
Second reader:	Drs. A.P.J. Plak
Date:	23 October 2018
Word count:	21,641

Illustration on the cover:

Painting by Isaak Ouwater (c. 1779) portraying the Amsterdam bookshop and lottery office of Jan de Groot, whose father had bought the premise in 1769 from the widow of the Collegiant publisher Isaak Tirion. Source: Rijksmuseum.[1]

[1] Rijksmuseum, 'De boekhandel en het loterijkantoor van Jan de Groot in de Kalverstraat te Amsterdam', <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-T-1921-462> (22 October, 2018).

CONTENTS

> Cursed be he by day and cursed be he by night; cursed be he when he lies down and cursed be he when he rises up. Cursed be he when he goes out and cursed be he when he comes in.
>
> Quote from Spinoza's *cherem*, read out in front of the Amsterdam synagogue.[2]

On July 27, 1656, the famous Dutch philosopher Baruch de Spinoza (1632-1677) was excommunicated by the Sephardic Jewish community of Amsterdam on account of his blasphemous ideas and misbehaviour. While his philosophical heyday was yet to come, the severity of his *cherem* shows that the then twenty-four year old Spinoza had already developed such radical ideas that a reconciliation with the orthodox community and his Jewish ancestry was impossible.[3] This excommunication, and the subsequent banishment from the city of Amsterdam four years later, in 1660, left him distraught. He was scorned in many circles and had virtually nowhere to go, which led to his mental and spiritual isolation. Eventually, Spinoza found refuge among a religious sect known as the Collegiants. At one moment he even decided to move to the village of Rijnsburg near Leiden, which was known as the spiritual heart of this community (fig. 1).[4]

Figure 1: Spinoza's house in Rijnsburg, where he lived from 1660 to 1663.[5]

[2] S. Nadler, *Spinoza: a life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 120.
[3] W.N.A. Klever, 'Spinoza's life and works', in G. Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: critical assessments*, vol. 1: *Context, sources and the early writings* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 3-45, here 5.
[4] J. Veenbaas, *De Verlichting als kraamkamer: over het tijdperk en zijn betekenis voor het heden* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2013), p. 32.
[5] S.L. Millner, *The face of Benedictus Spinoza* (New York: Machmadim Art Editions, 1946), plate XXXI.

The Collegiants were hardly the only sectarian movement active in the Dutch Republic during this time. The religious landscape of this relatively small and young nation was socially, spiritually and culturally one of the most varied in Europe, being home to, apart from the public Reformed Calvinist Church, among others, Lutherans, Remonstrants, Mennonites, Quakers, Catholics and Jews. The Dutch Republic was only surpassed by England when it came to the number of different religious sects living within its borders.[6] The presence of all these denominations was a distinctive feature of Protestantism and a direct result of the Counter-Reformation. This period, which lasted from 1545 to 1648, saw the Catholic Church gradually evolving into an uncompromising centralized organization, which placed the Bible under strict control and obliged every individual to submit to its ecclesiastical authority. As a result, religious heterodoxy was practically eradicated in the Catholic countries of Europe; everyone who deviated from their authority automatically ended up in the Protestant camp. Even though Protestant countries often attempted to prevent religious sects from taking root in an equally harsh manner as the Catholic Church did, they were never able to put an end to sectarianism completely. This was partly due to the fact that Protestantism held values remarkably close to the ones of the sect movements. Its focus on the Bible, openness for new interpretations of biblical texts and its decentralized structure provided a fruitful soil for all the different sects to flourish. As a result, Protestant nations tolerated their presence to varying degrees, branding them 'dissenters' or 'nonconformists' for their defiance of the predominant church.[7]

What distinguished the religious sect in Rijnsburg from all the other dissenters across Protestant Europe, and made it the ideal environment for a radical thinker like Spinoza, was their emphasis on the importance of free expression, known as 'free prophecy'. The possibility to express dissenting views without fear of punishment or reprobation, made Collegiantism one of only a few religious movements in the seventeenth-century where one was able to freely discuss radical ideas on philosophy, the Bible and religion in general.[8] While the admission of Spinoza into their circle did not mean that every Collegiant agreed with his radical proto-atheistic views, they at least nurtured a much more positive view of his philosophy and even encouraged the study of his ideas.[9] Some of those turned out to be remarkably similar to their own convictions. Like the Collegiants, Spinoza thought confessions of faith robbed the common layman of proper religious practice. He

[6] W.T.M. Frijhoff, 'How plural were the religious worlds in early-modern Europe? Critical reflections from the Netherlandic experience', in C.S. Dixon, D. Freist and M. Greengrass (eds.), *Living with religious diversity in early-modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 21-51, here 33.
[7] E. Troeltsch, *The social teaching of the Christian churches*, vol. 2 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 700-701.
[8] T.L. Frampton, *Spinoza and the rise of historical criticism of the Bible* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), p. 74.
[9] J.I. Israel, *Enlightenment contested: philosophy, modernity, and the emancipation of man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 381.

believed this confessionalism enabled the intellectual and clerical elite to rule over the minds of the masses and therefore he rejected their rule. This opposition towards the established order and the emphasis on the importance of individual interpretation of scripture put Spinoza in line with the Collegiant emphasis on the value of self-determination. Furthermore, his belief that every person should be able to make his or her own decisions when it comes to establishing their religious preference and that the chosen faith could only be judged by its fruits, was a common conception in Collegiant writings as well. Throughout, both the Collegiants and Spinoza asserted the importance of a person's innate ability to make the right rational choice when it came to matters of religion.[10]

These kind of convictions, which emphasized the importance of reason over revelation, were not uncommon in the Dutch Republic during the latter half of the seventeenth-century. Ever since René Descartes' (1596-1650) philosophy had severed the bond between physics and metaphysics around the 1640s, rationalism had been on the march, gaining more ground at the cost of age-old religious truths with each passing year.[11] This trend reached its apogee under Spinoza's ideology of philosophical rationalism, in which he asserted that reason was the sole guide a human should use in life. According to him, society should be secular, not guided by religion and democratic. While some of the most prominent Collegiants joined Spinoza in his philosophical ideas and completely broke with anything related to religion, the majority still remained Christian in their hearts, unable to force themselves to do the same. Instead, they started focusing on creating a symbiosis between philosophy and theology, using rational explanations and a focus on nature's laws to explain phenomena in their Biblical studies, leading to some of the most original literary works of that time (e.g. Pieter Balling's *Het licht op den kandelaar* [*The light upon the candlestick*] from 1662).[12] This period, in which reason found a place alongside religion, or in the case of Spinozism, even surpassed it, is nowadays known as the 'radical Enlightenment'. Unsurprisingly, many contemporaries condemned this development since they believed it to be a direct attack on the established religious and political order. As a result, fierce debates ensued at the end of the seventeenth-century with three parties trying to out-argue one another. The first were the radicals, consisting of Spinoza and his (Collegiant) allies, who challenged the fundamentals of Christianity. The second party consisted of the orthodox Calvinists, who believed that the radicals' focus on

[10] J. Sadler, 'The Collegiants: a small presence in the Dutch Republic, a large metaphor for the book', in L. Hunt, M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt (eds.), *Bernard Picart and the first global vision of religion* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), pp. 59-74, here 66-67.
[11] W.W. Mijnhardt, 'De Nederlandse Verlichting', in F. Grijzenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt and N.C.F. van Sas (eds.), *Voor vaderland en vrijheid: de revolutie van de patriotten* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), pp. 53-80, here 56-57.
[12] J.I. Israel, 'Spinoza and the religious radical Enlightenment', in S. Mortimer and J. Robertson (eds.), *The intellectual consequences of religious heterodoxy, 1600-1750* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012), pp. 181-203, here 181-182.

reason was too much of a destabilizing force. The third group, the moderates, who at least embraced some of the Enlightenment ideals, took the middle ground.[13]

Initially, the radicals succeeded in dominating the public debate, but towards the close of the seventeenth-century, their odds deteriorated. Remarkably enough, the ultimately successful offensive against them was not organized by the orthodox Calvinists, but came from the hands of the moderate theologians and philosophers. They figured that, by attacking Spinoza and his radical collaborators, the attacks of the orthodox Calvinists aimed against themselves would probably soften. Furthermore, the moderates hoped to show that this new philosophy of reason, with its novel ideas on theology, politics and science, did not have to mean the end of religion. They advocated to integrate the new lines of thought to some extent and took it upon themselves to defend the moral and religious order against excesses.[14] The unexpected victory of the moderates was made possible due to a shift in attitude that had taken place among the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic. The nation's wealth was declining rapidly at the end of the seventeenth-century and the Golden Age started to lose its shine. Many Dutchmen thought this decline to be a consequence of the moral depravity that had taken root among the people and blamed, among others, the radicals and their ungodly ideas. They concluded that this decline could only be reversed by a 'moral revolution' that would restore godly values and put religion at the forefront again. There existed an undercurrent, however, that realized that some form of Enlightenment was needed in order to prevent the country from falling behind even further. The moderates offered both, which allowed them, and their ideas, to become culturally dominant after around 1720. The British historian Jonathan Israel has called this the "triumph of the Moderate Enlightenment".[15]

The substitution of the radical Enlightenment for a moderate one around the turn of the century also had far-reaching consequences for the relatively radical Collegiants. The new moderate 'enlightened' consensus that arose from this process of realignment and cultural adjustment, militated increasingly against radical thinkers and people that did not fit within their utopian ideas, leading to a fast decline, and soon virtual extinction, of most of the religious sects that were present in the Dutch Republic.[16] Whereas the radical Enlightenment period had been "the golden age of Collegiant intellectual activity", in which they had been of the utmost importance for the popularization of the ideas of Descartes and Spinoza, the eighteenth-century moderate Enlightenment was, according to the American historian Andrew Fix, "a period of decline and

[13] W.W. Mijnhardt, 'The construction of silence: religious and political radicalism in Dutch history', in W. van Bunge (ed.), *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1750: selected papers of a conference, held at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, 22-23 March 2001* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), pp. 231-262, here 231.
[14] Ibid., pp. 231-232.
[15] Israel, *Enlightenment contested*, pp. 380-384.
[16] Ibid., pp. 380-385.

dissolution", in which they wrote "little of philosophical or theological interest", insinuating that Collegiant contributions to its development were lackluster.[17] While it is true that Collegiantism as a religious movement was on the retreat after the seventeenth-century, there are several scholars who think that Fix's judgement is in need of some nuance and that there were at least some Collegiants that deserve more credit for the role they played during the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment.

One of these scholars is the Dutch historian Leo Wessels, who wrote an in-depth study on the writer and historian Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773) entitled *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*.[18] Although Wagenaar is primarily known for his historical works, Wessels believes he played an important, yet underappreciated, role in the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas as well.[19] A second Collegiant that recently received more recognition for his contribution, is Wagenaar's publisher Isaak Tirion (1705-1765). In an article from 2004, the Dutch church and book historian Piet Visser advanced the idea that Tirion and his published works might have been crucial in promoting the Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic. However, Visser adds, a thorough "cultural-historical monograph that examines the publisher's relevance for the typical Dutch [...] Enlightenment, including Patriotism, is missing to this day".[20] This study aims to fulfill Visser's desire and, in the process, show that the Collegiants were far from nonexistent when it came to furthering the Enlightenment cause in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Since it is already established that there is more to both Jan Wagenaar and Isaak Tirion than meets the eye, their collaboration, which resulted in an impressive fourteen works over the course of twenty-eight years (1732-1760), will function as a case study, aiming to answer the question: 'What was the significance of the writings produced by the Collegiants Jan Wagenaar and Isaak Tirion for the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment?'

The study at hand consists of four chapters. Since Collegiantism had a big impact on both Wagenaar, Tirion and their writings, the first chapter will deal with this group of Dutch dissenters.[21] How did they came into being? What was their position in society? And what set them apart from

---

[17] A. Fix, *Prophecy and reason: the Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 231.
[18] L.H.M. Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden: Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773), een historiografische studie* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1997).
[19] L.H.M. Wessels, 'Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773). Bijdrage tot een herwaardering', in P.A.M. Geurts and A.E.M. Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, vol. 1: *Geschiedschrijvers* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 117-140, here 117.
[20] P. Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765), Amsterdams uitgever en promotor van de Nederlandse Verlichting: een verkenning', in J. Biemans, L. Kuitert and P. Verkruijsse (eds.), *Boek & letter: boekwetenschappelijke bijdragen ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van prof.dr. Frans A. Janssen als hoogleraar in de boek- en bibliotheekgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 2004), pp. 467-493, here 469-470. The original Dutch text reads: "Een cultuur-historische monografie over de relevantie van de uitgeverij voor de typisch Nederlandse [...] Verlichting, met inbegrip van het Patriottisme, wordt tot heden node gemist".
[21] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 35.

other religious sects? These are some of the questions that will be answered. In the second chapter, the focus will be on the protagonists of this study: Jan Wagenaar and Isaak Tirion. This chapter will look at their upbringing, education and relationship to Collegiantism and each other. After these first two chapters, which are of a more descriptive nature, the study will zoom in on the writings produced by both men. Since the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment can be further broken down into two different phases, which both had distinctive characteristics, boundaries and needs, the two remaining chapters will, for the sake of clarity, deal with them separately. The first phase, roughly spanning the first half of the eighteenth-century, is known for being 'mainstream', a period when the Dutch Republic looked at other countries, especially England, that had more experience with a moderate form of Enlightenment for materials and guidance. After this first phase is examined in chapter three, the fourth chapter will look at the second phase, described by the Dutch cultural historian Wijnand Mijnhardt as "a peculiar Dutch brand of moderate enlightenment", during which the Dutch population united as one and looked at the past for answers on how to "restore their Republic to its former glorious position".[22] In each of these last two chapters, the significance of Wagenaar's and Tirion's works, and the extent to which they have contributed to that particular Enlightenment phase, will be examined in the hopes of showing that Collegiant contributions to the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment were far from negligible.

[22] Mijnhardt, 'The construction of silence', p. 232.

I. CONTRARY TO CALVINIST BELIEF

One of the first major milestones in the history of the Dutch Republic was the signing of the Union of Utrecht treaty by the seven northern provinces of the Low Countries on 23 January, 1579. The Dutch Revolt (1568-1648) against Spanish tyranny had already been raging for eleven years and in order to stand stronger against their adversary it was decided that the seven provinces would "ally, confederate and unite [...] to hold together eternally in all ways and forms as if they were but one province", symbolizing the foundation of the Dutch Republic.[23] Furthermore, its thirteenth article guaranteed the people of this new nation 'freedom of conscience', fundamentally acknowledging it as a political right. This high degree of religious toleration would remain the Dutch Republic's hallmark for the rest of its existence and the decree that ensured it is often being hailed as signaling in the start of the codification of freedom rights.[24] The thirteenth article, titled "concerning the matter of religion", of the Union of Utrecht stated that:

> Holland and Zeeland are free to decide for themselves what they think is best, whereas the other provinces of the Republic are encouraged to conform [...] or introduce their own preference, provided that it will lead to peace and welfare for the entire Republic, its cities and inhabitants [...] who will enjoy freedom of religion and should never be persecuted or questioned about their religious conviction.[25]

While this article was indeed a big step forward and seems to guarantee a high degree of religious toleration, some people, especially from among the religious minority groups, were disappointed nonetheless. They were under the impression that the revolt was being fought for the sake of freedom in general and against (religious) oppression. The Dutch Calvinists, on the other hand, believed it to be a Protestant crusade against the tyranny of the Catholic Philip II of Spain (1556-1598) and that, therefore, the independent state that would eventually emerge should be made into a bastion of Calvinism. In the eyes of the religious minority groups, this article favoured the latter and they were afraid it left open too many doors for the Calvinists to increase their influence and

[23] R. Fruin and H.T. Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der republiek* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1901), p. 366. The original Dutch text reads: "verbynden, confedereren, ende vereenyghen sullen [...] ten ewygen daeghen by den anderen te blijven in alle forme ende maniere als off siluyden maer een Provincie waere".

[24] M. van Gelderen, *The political thought of the Dutch revolt: 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 52.

[25] Fruin and Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland*, pp. 381-382. The original Dutch text reads: "sullen hem die van Hollant ende Zelant draegen naer haerluyden goetduncken, ende dandre Provincien van dese Unie sullen hem moegen reguleren [...] ofte daerinne generalick oft particulierlick alsulcke ordre stellen als si tot rust ende welvaert van de Provincien, Steden, ende particulier [...] mits dat een yder particulier in sijn Religie vrij sal moegen blijven, ende dat men nyemant ter cause van de Religie sal moegen achterhaelen ofte ondersoucken".

eventually assume the role of oppressors themselves. It soon turned out they had been right to be concerned.[26]

The thirteenth article of the Union of Utrecht enabled every province to choose whether they wanted Reformed Calvinism or Roman Catholicism to become the predominant church in their territories. In practice, however, all of them were urged to follow the example of the two most powerful and important provinces, Holland and Zeeland, for the sake of unity, stability and peace. Their choice had already been obvious from the start and they soon imposed their will on the other provinces, making the Reformed Calvinist Church the predominant church in the entire Dutch Republic.[27] Somewhat surprisingly, the last clause of the article that stated that inhabitants "will never be persecuted or questioned about their doctrine of preference" was honored, leading to the Dutch Republic having a 'public' rather than an 'established' church. The difference being, according to the British historian John Marshall, that "there was no compulsion placed upon individuals to come to that church [...] One gained advantages such as the capacity to hold civic office from membership of the 'public church', but one did not suffer punishment simply for absence from that church".[28] In the years after 1579, the Reformed Calvinist Church consolidated its position in the Dutch Republic, receiving all the benefits of being a public body, meaning their ministers and other officials enjoyed an important position with respect to proclaiming and standing up for public norms and values. This led to the church becoming a powerful institution, yet largely free from state interference, making the Dutch Republic one of the only European nations of that time where there existed no explicit symbiosis between church and state.[29]

1.1. Origins of Collegiantism

It goes without saying, that these developments turned the Reformed Calvinist Church into both a menacing enemy and a useful ally. Therefore, the government went far in its political, financial and moral support to the public church. They were granted the monopoly on public worship, payment of their staff was provided and they received considerable influence on education. However, the government wanted to see something in return for all these awarded privileges. Over time, they assumed authority over a wide array of religious matters, leading to them appointing

[26] L.H.M. Wessels, 'De beste aller werelden? Politiek, religie en een weerbarstige samenleving. Nederland 1650- 1850' in E.G.E. van der Wall and L.H.M. Wessels (eds.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding: religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007), pp. 36-72, here 41-43.
[27] H. Krop, '"The general freedom, which all men enjoy" in a confessional state: the paradoxical language of politics in the Dutch Republic (1700–1750)', in J.C. Laursen and M.J. Villaverde (eds.), *Paradoxes of religious toleration in early modern political thought* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012), pp. 67-90, here 69.
[28] J. Marshall, *John Locke, toleration and early Enlightenment culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 139.
[29] Frijhoff, 'How plural were the religious worlds in early-modern Europe?', pp. 38-39.

preachers and acquiring an important role in their religious subjects' lives. Obviously, disagreements that arose within this political-ecclesiastical elite, on how to proceed with the process of confessionalization for instance, could lead to far-reaching complications. Dogmatic quarrels quickly gained political meaning, causing social unrest on a relatively large scale. This is exactly what happened in the time of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) with Spain, during which the Dutch lost their common enemy and domestic tensions in religious and political affairs were given free rein.[30]

It all started with a disagreement over the concept of predestination, which divided the country into two opposing camps. On one side stood the liberal Reformed theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), professor at the newly founded university of Leiden, who believed that people were free in accepting or rejecting God's saving grace and that predestination was therefore conditional. His adversary came in the person of Arminius' colleague, the strict Calvinist theologian Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), who adhered to the more orthodox Calvinist idea of predestination being absolute, meaning that the fate of an individual was already set in stone and that actions during their lifetime were not able to influence the outcome of salvation or damnation. Their followers were known as Arminians and Gomarists respectively.[31]

Both the Leiden professors wanted to confine their quarrel to their immediate associates and have a decent academic debate. However, their dispute was soon brought into the open, not in the least because the two most powerful men of the Dutch Republic during that time, grand pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619) and stadtholder Maurice of Orange (1567-1625), got involved. The grand pensionary had already confessed that he sympathized with the Arminians, for they believed that the church should conform to the wishes of the state and that the sovereignty of the provinces was to be maintained. This was unacceptable to the stadtholder. Being the commander in chief of the army and fleet, he wanted nothing more than to continue the fight against the Catholic Spanish as soon as possible, just as the Gomarists did. It was the logical step for him to join their side, if only to counterbalance Van Oldenbarnevelt's ever-growing powerbase. In 1619, the Prince of Orange had finally amassed enough support to joust his political enemies from power, his takeover being complete with the decapitation of the grand pensionary on 13 May.[32] Having lost their political patron, the Arminians were completely at the mercy of stadtholder Maurice and the Gomarists. The Synod of Dort (1618-1619) was convened to deal with the religious disputes that had started it all, but the outcome was already clear from the outset: the

[30] J. van Eijnatten and F. van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), pp. 174-175.
[31] J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 393.
[32] Van Eijnatten and van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, pp. 175-176.

Arminians were to be condemned and their convictions anathematized as heretical.[33] Despite a strong and moving plea by their representative Simon Episcopius (1583-1643), the teachings of the Arminians were refuted as heterodox and it was decided that all their preachers had to be removed from office, asserting the supremacy of the orthodox Calvinism of the Gomarists in the process.[34]

Among the around 300 Remonstrant (i.e. the Dutch branch of Arminianism) ministers that were purged as a result of the Synod of Dort was one Christiaan Sopingius, who had been the Calvinist minister of the municipality of Warmond near Leiden since 1612 or 1613.[35] As a result of his removal, the Remonstrants in the congregation were lacking any direction or leadership until Gijsbert van der Kodde, an elder in the church, stood up and proposed to take matters into their own hands.[36] In a letter written in August 1619 to his brothers and other townsmen, he suggested to hold meetings on a regular basis, albeit without an official minister, in order to read chapters from the Bible, pray and have a devotional address if there were people who wanted to speak their mind:

> That one could meet at times and hold a devotional address, catechizing each other in truth without a minister. Someone could read chapters from the Bible and lead in prayer. In case anyone wants to speak their mind, with the intent of educating and enriching others, they are free to do so.[37]

The first meetings of this kind were probably held in secret in Gijsbert's own house in Warmond, because the risk of persecution was still very real. It is known that the small circle which met here consisted of at least the three brothers Van Der Kodde, consisting of 'old' Jan and Adriaan from Rijnsburg, and 'young' Jan from Oegstgeest, and Anthonie Corneliszoon, a fisherman from the Kaag.[38] Originally the Remonstrants of Warmond regarded this move only as a temporary solution,

---

[33] J. Rohls, 'Calvinism, Arminianism and Socinianism in the Netherlands until the Synod of Dort', in M. Mulsow and J. Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists and cultural exchange in seventeenth-century Europe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), pp.3-48, here 38.

[34] N. van der Zijpp, 'Collegiants', in H.S. Bender et al. (eds.), *The Mennonite encyclopedia: a comprehensive reference work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement*, vol. 1: *A-C* (Hillsboro: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1955), pp. 639-640, here 639.

[35] J.C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten: geschiedkundig onderzoek* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1980), p. 16.

[36] G. Voogt, '"Anyone who can read may be a preacher": sixteenth-century roots of the Collegiants', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 85:1 (2005), pp. 409-424, here 411.

[37] G. Brandt, *Hstorie der reformatie en andre kerkelyke geschiedenissen in en ontrent de Nederlanden*, vol. 4 (Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704), p. 99. The original Dutch text reads: "Dat men somwyle eens byeen sou koomen om elkanderen in de waerheit, die naer de godtsaeligheit is, te stichten en dat sonder predikant. Daer sou iemant eenige capittelen uit de Bijbel konnen voorleesen en een gebedt doen. Indien ook iemant iet kon voortbrengen tot vermaening, tot onderwijsing en tot stichting van anderen, dat die sulks sou moogen doen".

[38] H.W. Meihuizen, 'Collegianten en doopsgezinden', in S. Groenveld (ed.), *Daar de Orangie-appel in de gevel staat. In en om het weeshuis der doopsgezinde Collegianten 1675-1975* (Amsterdam: Stichting Weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten "De Oranje Appel", 1975), pp. 83-105, here 84.

one to bridge the period until a new official Remonstrant minister would take over and bring everything back to normal.[39]

This moment came sooner than expected. Already in the autumn of 1619, the Remonstrant Brotherhood was founded in Antwerp, with the purpose of regulating Remonstrant affairs in municipalities that were hit by the effects of the Synod of Dort. From their headquarters, they conducted secret operations into the Dutch Republic, assisting Remonstrant preachers that had illegally and secretly stayed behind at the risk of fines, prison or even death. They also sent their own to congregations that were bereft of ministers, often hiding from the authorities in the homes of their congregations. Many congregations were more than happy with the arrival of these courageous Remonstrant ministers, except the one in Warmond. The Remonstrant Brotherhood minister appointed there was Hendrik van Holten, who arrived in 1620 only to be met with apprehension by Gijsbert van der Kodde. Gijsbert claimed that Van Holten's arrival was troubling and assured him that the people of the Warmond congregation were doing just fine without an official minister. After Van Holten's departure it became clear, however, that not everyone in the congregation shared Van Der Kodde's ideas and that he had been too quick in sending the Remonstrant Brotherhood emissary away. During the next meeting, he was criticized for his unfriendly and arbitrary way of handling the situation and the majority of the attendees voted to give the Brotherhood another chance. The Remonstrants were more than happy to hear this and they continued their endeavour to reintegrate the Warmond congregation with renewed vigour. The Brotherhood appointed Wouter Cornelisz. van Waarder as the new minister and head of the Warmond flock in 1620. His services were attended by several members of the congregation, but Van Der Kodde stayed away, objecting against religious meetings in which only the minister was allowed to speak. This resulted in a rift in the Warmond congregation, with some members attending the services of the new preacher and thus complying with the traditional structure of the Remonstrant service, and some sympathizing with Van der Kodde's standpoint and thus staying away from these services.[40] It became obvious that the two could not be consolidated and the schism was complete when Van Der Kodde decided to move to neighbouring Rijnsburg in order to escape the enduring efforts to reunite the two different groups of worshippers.[41]

The move to Rijnsburg is commonly regarded as the start of Collegiantism as an independent religious movement and as the moment when the Collegiants got their name, referring to the practice of meeting in 'colleges' rather than congregations in order to pray together and

[39] C.B. Hylkema, *Reformateurs: geschiedkundige studiën over de godsdienstige bewegingen uit de nadagen onzer Gouden Eeuw* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1978), pp. 6-7.
[40] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, pp. 36-39.
[41] Hylkema, *Reformateurs*, p. 8.

discuss Scripture.[42] That this concept was popular, is shown by the rapid growth of the movement after 1640, spreading its influence and establishing colleges in many of the larger cities of Holland and other provinces throughout the Dutch Republic. The first attendants of these colleges were mostly (former) Remonstrants, who were looking for greater toleration and more freedom of expression for their broad-minded piety. Resulting from the fact that their members were primarily Remonstrants at this point in time, the Collegiant movement integrated the main points of criticism that the followers of Arminius had put forward regarding the Reformed Calvinist Church. They rejected confessionalism, absolute predestination and the rigid religious doctrine, in favour of a more honest and tolerant religion. This stance against the public Reformed Calvinist Church made Collegiantism work like a magnet, also attracting the various dispersed groups of radical Protestants from abroad that had settled in the Low Countries since the sixteenth-century. Furthermore, the ease and speed with which the Collegiants managed to grow so rapidly can be explained by the fact that they were also able to take advantage of growing disputes and rifts within the Remonstrant and Mennonite congregations in order to convince members to join the Collegiant movement instead. In addition, the religious organization of the Collegiants had similarities with both that of the Remonstrants and Mennonites, which eased their transition to Collegiantism.[43]

Thanks to the influx of these new members and their ideas, the second half of the seventeenth-century was a period of great prosperity and intellectual activity for the Collegiants. It was also a time during which their position in society improved significantly. On 6 November, 1650, William II (1626-1650), Maurice's nephew and current stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, died at the young age of twenty-four with his son and heir only being born a few days later. The supporters of the stadtholderate, known as the *prinsgezinden*, were helpless and had no idea as to how to fill this vacancy. Their opponents, the more liberal *staatsgezinden* with the regents of Holland as their leaders, saw this constitutional crisis as an opportunity to assume power in the Dutch Republic. After a convened meeting of the States General in 1651, it was agreed to abandon the post of stadtholder and continue as a true republic with the regents of Holland at its helm. The period that followed is hence known as the First Stadtholderless Period (1650-1672).[44] Now that they were officially in charge, the regents opted for a policy of *laissez-fair*, believing this was the best way to maintain public order and peace, which in turn was good for business: something the mercantile regents valued above all else. As a result of this attitude, dissenters in the Dutch Republic enjoyed unprecedented toleration and entered an era of prosperity during the twenty-two year reign

[42] E. Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch origins of American religious liberty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 49.
[43] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, pp. 40-43.
[44] P. Geyl, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche stam*, vol. 2: *1609-1688* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1962), pp. 10-11.

of the Holland regents.[45] Furthermore, this regime and their policy enabled them to assert power in politics for the very first time in Dutch history. Some dissenting groups were even able to attract members from the better-educated, wealthier and politically powerful sections of society.[46] The Collegiants, for instance, welcomed Coenraad van Beuningen (1622-1693), the soon-to-be burgomaster of Amsterdam, and the Rotterdam regent and later emissary of the Dutch Republic to Spain and England Adriaan Paets (1631-1686) into their midst.[47]

In turn, this enabled dissenters to influence the more powerful regent circles and some were even allowed to enter government. The British historian Leslie Price suggests this situation could be a consequence of "the 'libertine' attitude towards religion, which had been powerful in the Netherlands since the early sixteenth century", "the regents' dislike for a Reformed Church which seems all too often prepared to trespass into political territory", or "the natural reluctance of such men to submit to the discipline of the Reformed Church".[48] Whichever was the case, the fact remains that the liberal attitude expounded during this First Stadtholderless Period enabled radical thinkers like Spinoza to come forward, ushering in the radical Enlightenment. According to the British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, this development is not surprising. He believed it to be no mere coincidence that every time a Protestant country made a rational contribution to the Enlightenment, it was at a point in time when the established political-ecclesiastical order had loosened their control of the nation's dissenters a bit. In his *The crisis of the seventeenth century*, Trevor-Roper states that "in every instance the new ideas which interest us spring not from the Calvinists but from the heretics who have contrived to break or elude the control of the Calvinist Church".[49] Fix has dubbed this period the "golden age" of Collegiantism, praising the miraculous journey made by the movement from "life as a tiny group of independent-minded believers meeting in an isolated village near Leiden" to "one of the most important and influential religious forces in seventeenth-century Holland".[50]

1.2. Distinctive characteristics

This 'tiny group of independent-minded believers' had indeed come a long way. Over the course of its existence, Collegiantism kept evolving, developing and welcoming new denominations and convictions into their midst. From the Mennonites, the Collegiants adopted millenarian ideas and pacifism, both being important Anabaptist traditions, from Socinianism they took elements of

[45] Frijhoff, 'How plural were the religious worlds in early-modern Europe?', pp. 33-35.
[46] J.L. Price, *Culture and society in the Dutch Republic during the 17th century* (London: Batsford, 1974), p. 174.
[47] J.B. Glasbergen and S.C.H. Leenheer, *Duizend jaar Rijnsburg* (Leiden: De Bink, 1975), p. 41.
[48] Price, *Culture and society in the Dutch Republic*, p. 174.
[49] H. Trevor-Roper, *The crisis of the seventeenth century: religion, the reformation, and social change* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1967), pp. 189-190.
[50] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, p. 42.

rational religion and from radical spiritualists they endorsed their emphasis on the inner light of truth. The Collegiants combined all these radical religious ideas and added some elements of Dutch Remonstrant thought to produce a trenchant critique of the public Reformed Calvinist Church of their own day.[51] According to the Canadian historian Maxwell Kennel, primarily basing his statements on the works of Andrew Fix and Leszek Kołakowski,[52] the resulting unique blend that is known as Collegiantism had four distinctive characteristics, which he compiled and summarized in a recent article from 2017. The study at hand will use the same four characteristics, namely anticlericalism, anticonfessionalism, interior diversity and free prophecy.[53]

a) Anticlericalism

In the eyes of the Collegiants, priests, in service of any church, were people that were "empty, lazy and full of vanity" that wanted nothing more than to live an idle life over the backs of their flock.[54] This negative attitude towards priests, and the authority they enforced, resulted from the numerous religious controversies that had taken place over the course of the late sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth-century. Due to the Reformation, the resulting religious wars and the confessional era, people questioned the idea that God actively involved himself in human lives. The mutually exclusive truth claims of the clashing churches, mixed with the many conflicting ideas among their doctrines and the hostility with which they disregarded all other dogmas, made some people believe that it was no longer possible to arrive at religious truth at all.[55] The Collegiants were convinced that all churches, Catholic as well as Protestant, were to blame for these problems. In their eyes, they had forsaken the general principles of the Apostolic Church and therefore none of them could lay claim to be the true church of Christ. This negative attitude towards Christian churches explains why the Collegiants aspired to a renewal in both religious principles and practices, without actually founding a new church themselves and avoiding any ecclesiastical traditions and practices. Therefore, they had no ministers, church buildings or hierarchical leadership and formed an anti-ecclesiastical and purely lay movement. Even though preachers from other religious sects were active in the colleges, they did so not as church leaders but as private individuals.[56] This anticlerical disposition shows the significant Spiritualist and Anabaptist influences on Collegiant ideas. Like

[51] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, p. 252.
[52] L. Kołakowski, 'Dutch seventeenth century anticonfessional ideas and rational religion: the Mennonite, Collegiant and Spinozan connections', *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 64:3 (1990), pp. 259-297.
[53] M. Kennel, 'Postsecular history: continental philosophy of religion and the seventeenth century Dutch Collegiant movement', *Studies in Religion*, 46:3 (2017), pp. 406-432, here 415-416.
[54] P. de Fijne, *Kort, waerachtigh, en getrouw verhael van het eerste begin en opkomen van de nieuwe seckte der propheten ofte Rynsburgers in het dorp van Warmont, anno 1619, en 1620* (Waer-stadt': s.n., 1671), p. 21. The original Dutch text reads: "leedig-gangers, luye buyken en ydelheyt doenders".
[55] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, p. 11.
[56] Van Der Zijpp, 'Collegiants', p. 639.

the latter group, Collegiantism rejected clerical power and, instead of establishing themselves as a congregation, the religious movement from Rijnsburg proposed a Christianity without strict church structures. Their's was a 'universal Christianity' that stood above doctrinal divisions and aimed for a regeneration of religious life through one's individual piety and moral purity.[57]

Figure 2: Engraving by Balthasar Bernaerts of a baptism by immersion during a Collegiant meeting in Rijnsburg, c. 1736.[58]

b) Anticonfessionalism

In order to become part of this universal Christianity, would be Collegiants were baptized by immersion. According to the Dutch church historian Hendrik Meihuizen, Joannes Geesteranus (1586-1622) was the first person who requested to be baptized in this manner on 1 July, 1620, because it had been customary in the time of the Apostles. These first baptisms were conducted in a pond that was normally used for tanning. Later they were carried out in the Vliet, a canal in Rijnsburg, and at one point a permanent basin was constructed at the *Groote Huis*, the Collegiants' headquarters in Rijnsburg (fig. 2). Johannes Crellius (1590-1633), who had contacts with the Polish Socinians who practiced this kind of baptism as well, supposedly brought the custom to Warmond in the 1620s. However, in compliance with their aversion towards ecclesiastical practices and church hierarchy, they allowed people to remain a member their church or to not adhere to any church at all. This led to the existence of two types of Collegiants: the 'actual Rijnsburgers', who had joined the Collegiants without being part of any other church, and others, who remained a

[57] Kennel, 'Postsecular history', p. 417.
[58] Meihuizen, 'Collegianten en doopsgezinden', p. 99.

member of their original church and congregation.[59] Wagenaar touched upon this subject as well, stating that "people that are baptized, can choose whether or not they want to join the community [...] If they prefer to adhere to any other Christian community instead, they are free to do so without scorn. Here, they have only been baptized in Christ".[60] This baptism by immersion can be regarded as the practical extension of the Collegiants' theological rejection of confessions. This anticonfessionalism, means that they believed that written confessions were threatening to the sincerity of Christian piety. As such the Collegiants believed discussion and toleration were the real virtues, making them an example of 'nondenominational Christianity'. Convinced that dispute and sectarianism were forms of unfaithfulness, the resulting anticonfessional character rejected the restrictions imposed by confessions and simultaneously encouraged the existence of a plurality of beliefs.[61]

c) Interior diversity

Because Collegiantism had no clearly defined membership as a result of their anticonfessionalism, people from all walks of life were able to join. Where the first Rijnsburg meetings had originally been composed primarily by artisans, over time, other people started to join as well.[62] Among Collegiant members at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth-century, one could find both Remonstrant and Mennonite ministers, as well as political figures, academics, simple merchants, poets, physicians and printers. It would not have been unusual to witness a discussion between, for example, a theologian who had enjoyed an extensive education at a university and a simple grocer who had educated himself in Spinozism. Furthermore, Collegiantism was present all over the Dutch Republic. Besides the three big colleges in the province of Holland (Rijnsburg, Rotterdam and Amsterdam), there existed Collegiant colleges in Leiden, Haarlem, Krommenie, Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Wormerveer, Hoorn, Zaandam, Leeuwarden, Grouw, Knijpe, Harlingen, Oldenboorn and Groningen. Unfortunately, little is known about the activities of these smaller colleges, although it is certain that they were not as influential as the larger colleges in Holland. All these local colleges were held surprisingly well together by a common set of beliefs and principles, leading to a feeling of belonging to a distinctive and unified religious movement. This is demonstrated by the meetings they held in Rijnsburg. Twice a year, Collegiant members from all over the Dutch Republic journeyed to their headquarters near Leiden to attend meetings

[59] Meihuizen, 'Collegianten en doopsgezinden', pp. 86-92.
[60] J. Wagenaar, *Redenvoering over den Christelijken waterdoop, gehouden te Rhijnsburg, den 28 augustus 1745* (s.l.; s.n., 1745), p. 58. The original Dutch text reads: "Zo zij, die hier gedoopt zijn, goedvinden zich bij dit Gezelschap te voegen, het staat hun vrij [...] Verkiezen zij, zich meer aan eenig ander Chrsitelijk Gezelschap te houden, zij verongelijken ons niet; zij zijn hier alleen in Christus gedoopt".
[61] Kennel, 'Postsecular history', p. 417.
[62] Price, *Culture and society in the Dutch republic*, p. 175.

in a large house called the *Vergaderplaats* at the east end of the village of Rijnsburg. During these general meetings, they became acquainted with the convictions, feelings, ideas and activities of their fellow members who came from far and wide. Consequently, a lot of intellectual cross-fertilization took place during these biannual general Rijnsburg meetings, not in the least because many different spiritual directions were represented. According to Fix, among the most active Collegiants were "Mennonites and Remonstrants who stressed pietistic values and practical morality", "nonconfessional theologians of a spiritualistic bent", "Socinians who were influenced by humanistic rationalism", "millenarians and others inclined toward prophecy", "adherents of the emerging philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza" and "many people who combined several of these influences in their thought".[63] Not only did the Collegiants represent a rare historical example of pluralistic consciousness, but this inclusiveness was one of the things that defined them and made them stand out from among the dissenting crowd.[64]

d) Free prophecy

According to the Leiden theologian Joan van den Honert (1693-1758) in his 1723 *Versameling van heilige mengelstoffen*, the absence of one common belief and confessionalism could only lead to disorder and would eventually be suicidal for a religious movement. While so much diversity and heterodoxy would in most cases have indeed done more harm than good, the Collegiants managed to prove him wrong and maintained a strong cohesion throughout their existence.[65] This unity and harmony had only been possible due to their emphasis on the importance of free prophecy; they agreed to disagree. According to Fix, this was "the most fundamental of Collegiant principles and practices".[66] They valued both freedom of expression in the domain of belief and freedom of speech in their corresponding practice of free prophecy, which included the idea that one should be free to express dissenting views. The Collegiants symbolized a new type of congregation, one whose essential quality was based originally on absolute freedom of speech in religious matters. However, besides being free in discussing religion, Collegiants extended the practice of free prophecy to more informal discussions as well.[67] "In addition to these regular meetings", Fix states, "the Collegiants often held separate and less formal gatherings for discussion of a wide variety of religious, moral, and philosophical topics. At these meetings the most controversial questions of the day were addressed".[68] That this practice was something truly novel and unprecedented is

[63] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, pp. 46-48.
[64] Kennel, 'Postsecular history', p. 422.
[65] J. van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia: irenicism and toleration in the Netherlands: the Stinstra affair, 1740-1745* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1998), p. 138.
[66] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, p. 47.
[67] Kennel, 'Postsecular history', pp. 417-418.
[68] Fix, *Prophecy and reason*, p. 52.

further demonstrated by John Locke's (1632-1704) astonishment when he attended a Collegiant meeting in Haarlem in 1684 and wrote about his experiences in his journal:

> The Collegiants pray both in the beginning and end and conclude with the Lord's prayer; the rest of their prayer is extempore. Anyone that finds himself moved, has the liberty to speak. One sang a psalm alone; he that sang or spoke or prayed stood up and was bare; and when they prayed, all were bare and many stood, others in their seats were in a kneeling posture. They admit to their communion all Christians and hold it our duty to join in love and charity with those who differ in opinion.[69]

[69] C.D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period: Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), pp. 306-307.

II. BEING IN EACH OTHER'S GOOD BOOKS?

On 11 December, 1753, the British poet, essayist, literary critic and lexicographer Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) wrote in his bi-weekly newspaper *The adventurer* that he believed he lived in:

> The Age of Authors; for, perhaps, there never was a time, in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardour so general to the press. The province of writing was formerly left to those, who by study, or appearance of study, were supposed to have gained knowledge unattainable by the busy part of mankind; but in these enlightened days, every man is qualified to instruct every other man.[70]

While Johnson was referring to his native England, his statement holds true for the rest of Europe as well. Many men and women aspired to become authors during the eighteenth-century, a trend that is clearly demonstrated by the numbers. In France, for instance, the amount of published writers nearly tripled over the course of thirty years: from 1,187 in 1757 to 2,819 in 1784. Furthermore, many authors from this new generation had an entirely different focus than their predecessors from previous centuries. Whereas, in the past, the goal of writers had often been to get the attention of an important patron or strive for eternal glory, this new group of authors was much more concerned with the depth of their readers' purses.[71]

This eighteenth-century development was a direct result of the staggering rise in literacy rates and the increase in consumption of the printed word that went with it. The reading public that started to emerge consisted of a wide variety of new types of readers, like women, the middle class and even artisans, grocers and servants. Furthermore, they demanded novel, provocative and untraditional kinds of reading material, leading to the dethronement of courtly literature, classical texts, legal treatises and religious works as the predominant genres circulating the book market. Instead, secular genres, in line with the ideas of the Enlightenment, became increasingly more popular in the eighteenth-century and were specifically aimed at answering the demand of the middle and lower classes.[72]

However, it was not only the rise in literacy rates, the emergence of a new reading public and the increase in the total number of published writers that made this period, compared to

[70] W.J. Bate, J.M. Bullitt and L.F. Powell (eds.), *The idler and the adventurer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 457.
[71] C. Hesse, 'Print culture in the Enlightenment', in M. Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment world* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 366-380, here 370.
[72] Ibid., p. 369.

previous centuries, the 'age of the author'. During the eighteenth-century, writers would acquire a new political and cultural role as well. Print became the most appropriate and useful medium for the rational and effective expression of public opinion, making authors, and their publishers, of the utmost importance for the dissemination and popularization of Enlightenment ideas. According to the American historian James van Horn Melton, writers during this time "were simultaneously teachers and tribunes, seeking to educate the public while also representing its interests *vis-à-vis* those who exercised formal power over it".[73] One such eighteenth-century writer that wanted to make a name for himself and was dedicated to furthering the Enlightenment cause in the Dutch Republic, was the Collegiant Jan Wagenaar.

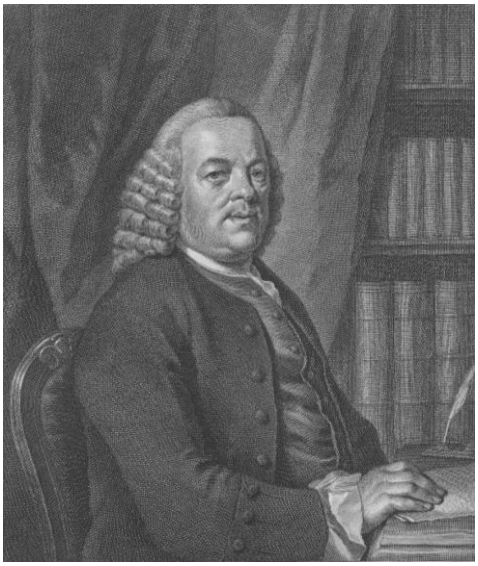

Figure 3: Engraved portrait of the writer Jan Wagenaar by Jacobus Buys, made in 1767. Source: Rijksmuseum.[74]

2.1. Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773)

Jan Wagenaar was born on 21 October, 1709, in Amsterdam as the eldest son of a large shoemaker's family (fig. 3).[75] His parents, Jan Wagenaar sr. and Maria Sagtleven, were members of the Dutch Reformed Calvinist Church, which Jan jr. joined as well. He was already demonstrating an above average intellectual growth as a child, which resulted in him writing poetry at a young age; at the age of eleven or twelve he even wrote a farce comedy, which was printed without his knowledge. In 1722, at the age of thirteen, he wrote a poem on a certain Paulus Loot, which was commissioned

[73] J. Van Horn Melton, *The rise of the public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 123-124.
[74] Rijksmuseum, 'Portret van Jan Wagenaar', <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1937-1191> (22 October, 2018).
[75] L.H.M. Wessels, 'WAGENAAR, Jan (1709-73)', in W. van Bunge et al. (eds.), *The dictionary of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch philosophers*, vol. 2: *K-Z* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), pp. 1062-1064, here 1062.

by the parish clerk of Zandvoort and printed in Haarlem.[76] As a boy he learned French, Latin and English and to some degree Greek and Hebrew in his free time. Unfortunately his parents could not afford to give him a formal education at the Latin school, so he was educated to become a merchant.[77] He found a job with a prominent Roman Catholic merchant, but this did not stop him from educating himself. He spent his time during the nights and on Sundays on reading and was even spotted leafing through a book in front of the Amsterdam post office, while waiting for letters addressed to his employer during his working hours. And when he was not reading, studying or working, he could be found enjoying the nightlife of Amsterdam on Saturday evenings.[78]

It was during one of these parties that he realized continuing this way was not right for him, so he decided to dedicate his life to the pursuit of study and knowledge. He hoped to learn from the Collegiants and so, in 1726, around the age of seventeen, he started attending the weekly Amsterdam colleges of the religious movement. His parents, although delighted that their son had ended his nightly excesses, were not happy that he attended these meetings.[79] This did not bother Wagenaar and on 26 August, 1730, he was baptized, for the second time, together with the fellow Amsterdammers Willem van Maurik, Gerrit du Plouis and Jan van Rijswijk in Rijnsburg and thus became a full-fledged member of the Collegiants.[80] This new environment enriched his life. It was in this milieu that he became good friends with Tirion, who asked Wagenaar to come and work for him around 1730. Furthermore, it was in the Collegiant environment that Wagenaar's capabilities were discovered and where he was able to thrive. There were many books available for reading and afterwards he could discuss their contents with kindred Collegiant spirits. No less important, he acquired many writing and translating assignments, at first mostly in the fields of theology, physics and philosophy, later increasingly in the fields of politics and, above all, history.[81] At the same time as Wagenaar was working on these commissions, his life started to change dramatically. He met his future wife, the Collegiant and well-to-do Christina Vergoes from Haarlem, marrying her in 1739. A year later, in 1740, he acquired a stake in a deceased fellow Collegiant's lumber-yard, that was actually run by his business associate, enabling Wagenaar to fully devote himself to writing, which would eventually lead to the publication of his *magnum opus*, the *Vaderlandsche historie* (see appendix, nr. 10).[82]

---

[76] A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 20 (Haarlem: Brederode, 1877), pp. 21-22.
[77] P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1921), p. 1085.
[78] Van Der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 20, p. 22.
[79] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 420-421.
[80] Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, p. 353.
[81] L.H.M. Wessels, "Vrijheid' of 'Gods woord'. Twee interpretaties van de vaderlandsche geschiedenis', in Van Der Wall and Wessels (eds.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding*, pp. 390-408, here 392-393.
[82] I.L. Leeb, *The ideological origins of the Batavian Revolution: history and politics in the Dutch Republic 1747-1800* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), p. 77.

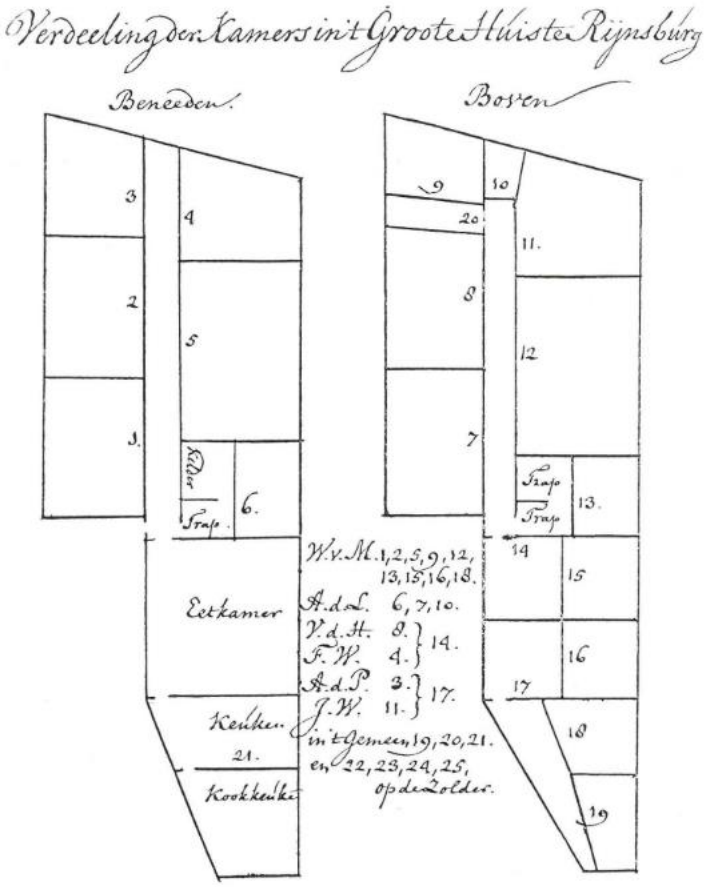

Figure 4: Wagenaar's rooms on the first floor of the *Groote Huis* in Rijnsburg. Number eleven was his own and number seventeen he shared with his friend Antonie du Plouis.[83]

At the same time, Wagenaar wanted to do something back for the community that gave him so much. He started playing an active social role in the Collegiant milieu in the 1740s and must have visited Rijnsburg often, since he had both a room to himself and one that he shared with his friend Antonie du Plouis in the *Groote Huis* (fig. 4). Wagenaar especially dedicated himself to caring for the children of the Collegiant *Oranje-appel* orphanage in Amsterdam, of which he was one of the regents from 1745 to 1750.[84] This orphanage was also the place where the Collegiant college of Amsterdam was located. It had its origin in the former house of alderman Nicolaas Opmeer on the Keizersgracht, which was rented in 1675 with the intention of holding the colleges here. As the building was very spacious, it was decided to use the vacant rooms as an orphanage. This was such a success that, when the house was eventually bought in 1677, it was decided to convert it entirely into an orphanage. A new and separate room was constructed for the colleges. Three years later, the house on the Herengracht 346 could also be acquired, the garden of which bordered onto that

[83] Meihuizen, 'Collegianten en doopsgezinden', p. 93.
[84] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 36.

of the orphanage. In it, a girls' orphanage was built, as well as a chapel. The board members of the orphanage also were the landlords of the new meeting room of the Collegiants, where they met on Fridays and Sundays.[85] The orphans of the *Oranje-appel* came from all over the Dutch Republic and were raised in accordance with the Collegiant principles. Wagenaar, who did not have children of his own, took it upon himself to educate them and primarily provided their classes on theology.[86] The well-known eighteenth-century writer Aagje Deken (1741-1804), who stayed in the orphanage from 1746 to 1767, received her education from Wagenaar and his lessons left a distinctive mark on her later works.[87] The *Oranje-appel* orphanage was ahead of its time, enjoying a good name thanks to the focus on a more practical upbringing and the unwavering commitment of the regents when it came to preparing the children for a future full of opportunities.[88] According to the Dutch Reformed clergyman and scholar Jacob van Slee, Wagenaar was one of the best regents the orphanage has known. During the years he was in charge, the *Oranje-appel* enjoyed days of wealth and prosperity.[89]

In 1757 Wagenaar sold his share in the lumber-yard, as it was losing money. Furthermore, he had received an invitation to become the editor-in-chief of the Amsterdam newspaper in December 1756, which ensured him of a fixed income.[90] A little less than two years later, on 26 October, 1758, he received a new offer from the burgomasters of Amsterdam. His *Vaderlandsche historie* had become such a success that he was promoted to the position of the city's official historian, a post only occupied by Wagenaar. He was provided with access to the city's archives, a privilege not even the famous historian Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647) had enjoyed. In his quest for objective and legitimate sources, Wagenaar even asked the Calvinist church council to grant him access to their archives, which he received as well.[91] This enabled him to honour the position he received from the Amsterdam burgomasters in 1760, when his history of the city, entitled *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen* (see appendix, nr. 14), was published.[92] After this monumental work, Wagenaar decided it was time to slow down. Both his *Vaderlandsche historie* and his history of Amsterdam had been huge undertakings that took up much of his time. From 1761 onwards, he was one of the contributors to a new magazine, the *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*, that would eventually develop into one of the leading Dutch periodicals of that time,

[85] Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, pp. 164-165.
[86] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 36.
[87] Wessels, 'Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773)', p. 134.
[88] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 36.
[89] Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, p. 329
[90] Molhuysen and Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, p. 1087.
[91] R.B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam*, vol. 4: *De kerk der hervorming in de achttiende eeuw: de grote crisis* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1974), p. 14.
[92] J.D.M. Bardet, 'Wie schreef het vierde deel van "de Wagenaar"?', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 36 (1939), pp. 253-256, here 253.

and, in 1766, he became a member of the prestigious literary society *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*.[93]

Jan Wagenaar died in Amsterdam on 1 March, 1773, and was buried in the *Nieuwe kerk* just south of the church organ.[94] His brother in law, Pieter Huisinga Bakker, wrote an extensive biography about Wagenaar's life, describing his career from a simple merchant to the best known historian of the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Furthermore, Bakker provided a list of his writings and over sixty letters, making it an invaluable source on Wagenaar's interests, opinions and convictions.[95]

2.2. Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)

Despite all his talents, Jan Wagenaar could have never gotten this far without the help of his most talented publisher, Isaak Tirion. Born as the second son of Christoffel Tirion and Dorothea Aldenhoven in 1705, Isaak grew up in an intellectual Mennonite family, with his father being a medical doctor as well as a preacher of the 'Lamist' congregation in Amsterdam.[96] These Lamists, deriving their name from the hideaway church called *'t Lam* [The Lamb], were the radical branch of the Dutch Mennonites and sometimes even associated with Socinianism.[97] Isaak's father, Christoffel, was censured for misconduct in 1703, because he had supposedly tried to marry another woman after he had impregnated Dorothea. He was recalled by the ministry of the Mennonite congregation in Utrecht to answer for his misbehaviour. However, the Mennonites in Utrecht suffered from a severe lack of preachers, resulting in his pardon if he would become a preacher there. He agreed and the Tirion family moved to Utrecht after Christoffel was reinstated on 1 June, 1704. A year later, Isaak was born, who would live in Utrecht for his first five years. During his years as a Mennonite preacher in Utrecht, Christoffel was continuously harassed for his radical Lamist views by fellow members of his congregation.[98] As it turned out, Utrecht was not ready for a liberal Amsterdam thinker like Tirion's father and in 1710 he drew the line; he resigned and returned to Amsterdam focusing on his medical practice only to die the next year. Isaak then was only six years old.[99] Unfortunately, not much is known about Isaak's childhood and education

---

[93] Molhuysen and Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, p. 1089.
[94] J.G. Frederiks and F.J. van den Branden (eds.), *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1888), p. 864.
[95] P.H. Bakker, *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1786).
[96] P. Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', in Van Bunge et al. (eds.), *The dictionary of Dutch philosopher*, vol. 2, pp. 987-990, here 987.
[97] J. van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord in the United Provinces: religious toleration and the public in the eighteenth-century Netherlands* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), p. 184.
[98] A.M.L. Hajenius, *Dopers in de Domstad: geschiedenis van de doopsgezinde gemeente Utrecht, 1639-1939* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), pp. 231-233.
[99] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', p. 987.

but seeing that he possessed extraordinary language skills later in his life and had liberal ideas himself, it seems certain that he attended the Amsterdam Latin school and inherited some of his father's radicalism. The next time he emerges again in the archives is when he joined the Amsterdam guild of booksellers on 5 May, 1727, at the age of just twenty-two. With whom he had been apprenticed regretfully is not known. The next year he was baptized and became a member of the Lamist congregation in Amsterdam, just like his father before him. This Mennonite congregation had close ties with the Amsterdam Collegiants and so he started to attend their meetings and eventually made the switch to Collegiantism.[100]

Figure 5: Tirion's printer's mark on the title-page of the fifth volume of Jan Wagenaar's *Tegenwoordige staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1744).

Tirion's publishing career, which had a good start thanks to the inheritance of family capital, but also owed to his solid business instinct and innovative entrepreneurship, was highly productive. Between 1728 and 1765 he would bring out well over 250 titles, an average of 6,5 per year. Both in content and typographical design, his books can be qualified as outstanding when compared to that of most of his contemporaries. Some of his books carry the printer's mark of a portrait of Hugo Grotius, himself a Remonstrant, with the accompanying motto '*Na Druk Volgt Vreugde*' [After printing/pressure follows rejoicing] (fig. 5).[101] His publishing list is made up of the following genres: history and geography (34,5%), theology and philosophy (28,2%), legal and political titles (15,5%) and natural sciences (12,7%).[102] While being primarily specialized in voluminous and high-standard

[100] Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', pp. 471-472.
[101] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', pp. 987-989.
[102] Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', p. 472.

titles, both of Dutch origin and in Dutch translation, he is also known for the publication of a large number of maps and some atlases, most notably the *Nieuwe en beknopte handatlas* (c. 1740, and with numerous reprints), which contains over fifty newly designed regional and city maps of the Dutch Republic, which set the standard for many years to come.[103] As his firm was highly successful, Tirion already had to expand his business in 1742, until then his shop had been situated on the Nieuwendijk near Dam square. For 28,000 guilders he bought two new premises, one in the Jonge Roelensteeg and one in the highly fashionable Kalverstraat, where he established his bookshop, named '*In Hugo Grotius*'.[104] The property in de Jonge Roelensteeg, an alley off the Kalverstraat, was connected to the shop through the back and probably acted as a storage space for his books.[105]

One field in which the economic decline of the eighteenth-century was felt, was in the international book trade. As a result of economic factors and the increasing competition of pirated French books produced in the French parts of Switzerland, the period 1725-1795 is known for the slow decline of the sale of Dutch books on foreign markets. Even the intermediary position in England was lost. This led to an exponential growth of publications in the Dutch vernacular, both original works and translations.[106] Tirion was one of the first major Amsterdam booksellers who focused primarily on the inland Dutch book trade, exploiting this new market to the fullest, which to some extent explains his early growth and success.[107] Furthermore, he knew exactly what his reading public wanted and how to stimulate readers to read materials that attacked political and religious conservatism. The extent to which he recognized the spirit of renewal and change is proven by the many foreign Enlightened publications he put on the market in Dutch translation (see the following chapter). Being a supplier of these foreign Enlightened texts brought him into contact with some of the principal English Enlightened dissenters and provided him with an international reputation. This is demonstrated in a letter from David Longueville to the English dissenting theologian, and one of Tirion's English authors, Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), of 21 February, 1748.[108] Tirion was, according to Longueville, who acted as Doddridge's agent in the Dutch Republic, not only "one of the principal Booksellers of these 7 Provinces, but a man who has spared no Charges either in the translation, paper, printing &c. of some of your Works".[109]

---

[103] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', pp. 987-988.
[104] Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', pp. 472-473.
[105] J. van Lennep and J. ter Gouw, *De uithangteekens in verband met geschiedenis en volksleven beschouwd*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1868), p. 42.
[106] W.W. Mijnhardt, 'De geschiedschrijving over de ideeëngeschiedenis van de 17e- en 18e-eeuwse Republiek', in W.W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *Kantelend geschiedbeeld: Nederlandse historiografie sinds 1945* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1983), pp. 162-205, here 175.
[107] I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. 5-1: *De boekhandel van de Republiek 1572-1795* (Amsterdam: Israel, 1978), p. 93.
[108] Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', pp. 469-476.
[109] G.F. Nuttall, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)* (London: H.M.S.O., 1979), p. 270.

Tirion was able to achieve this popularity inside and outside of the Dutch Republic by combining his great skills in publishing and his intellectual and ideological eagerness in putting out so many important titles on the Dutch book market. The financial head start he had obtained at the beginning of his career, thanks to his family fortune, enabled him to be selective in his choice of authors, translators, advisers and illustrators, which resulted in an output that not only met the highest qualitative standards, but was at the same time a commercial success, answering to a desire among the reading public to follow the intellectual debates of the eighteenth-century.[110]

The last time we hear of Tirion and his bookshop is when he auctioned off a big part of his unbounds book on 17 October, 1763. By now, he was already quite old and had decided to close his shop, from then on only acting as a publisher and wholesale dealer. This was common among successful booksellers, because, in this way, Tirion was able to organize sales of publisher's stock and at the same time remain active as a bookseller.[111] Having devoted almost his entire working life to publishing Enlightened works and always having been a faithful member of the Collegiants, Isaak Tirion died on 7 October, 1765, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the *Westerkerk* in Amsterdam.[112]

After his death, his widow, Johanna Coster, continued the business for many years, albeit on a smaller scale, until she sold the rights and remaining copies of the most important publications in 1779 to a company of booksellers.[113] This firm, named the *Compagnie Tirion*, but sometimes also the *Amsterdamsche Compagnie*, consisted of Jan de Groot, whose father had already bought Tirion's shop on the Kalverstraat in 1769, and Gerrit Warnars from Amsterdam, Samuel and Johannes Luchtmans from Leiden, Volkert van der Plaats from Harlingen and Abraham and Pieter Blussé from Dordrecht. This relatively conservative and cumbrous company, with participants from four different cities in the Dutch Republic, did little with the famous Tirion list, for which they had jointly invested 38,700 guilders. This led to the mistake of selling the rights to Jan Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche historie* to Johannes Allart (1754-1816) in 1788-1789.[114] Allart had already published two continuing volumes to Wagenaar's history in 1788 and 1789 respectively, which were written by the Mennonite minister Petrus Loosjes (1735-1813). The success of these prompted the publisher to strike a deal with the *Compagnie Tirion* in order to acquire the privileges to the original twenty-one volume *Vaderlandsche historie* on 12 November, 1789. A year later, in 1790, Allart took a gamble by publishing a third edition of Wagenaar's historical work, only twenty years after the

[110] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', pp. 987-989.
[111] H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), p. 126.
[112] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', p. 987.
[113] Van Eeghen, *De boekhandel van de Republiek 1572-1795*, p. 93
[114] A. Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij: familiebelangen en uitgeverspolitiek in de Dordtse firma A. Blussé en Zoon, 1745-1823* (The Hague: Sdu, 2000), pp. 314-315.

second edition had been published by Isaak Tirion's widow.[115] Although the company had sold the rights to the *Vaderlandsche historie* and possible future continuations for 27,500 guilders, which was more than half their original investment for the entire Tirion list, Allart would eventually draw the longer straw.[116]

2.3. Their relationship

Allart's optimism about the publication of a third edition of the *Vaderlandsche historie* turned out to be more than justified. Based on the impressive sales figures, the subscription list for this edition counted no less than 3,038 people who paid forty-two guilders each, the history was still in high demand even forty years after its original release.[117] This shows that, even after both Wagenaar and Tirion had passed away, their legacy lived on, making them one of the most successful writer-publisher duo's of the eighteenth-century. Especially Wagenaar had turned out to be a goldmine for Tirion and, according to Visser, it was this "close contact and friendship with Jan Wagenaar" that was "of fundamental importance throughout his [Tirion's] career".[118] But how close was this contact and friendship in reality? And did it change over the course of their collaboration? Working together for twenty-eight years must, on some occasions, have taken its toll on their (professional) relationship, one might expect.

Wagenaar and Tirion first met each other in the Collegiant milieu. When exactly is unclear, but Wagenaar started attending Collegiant meetings in 1726 and officially joined the movement in 1730, when he was baptized during one of the biannual meetings in Rijnsburg. This was also the year in which he received his first commission by Tirion for a translation of several sermons by the Anglican Latitudinarian Archbishop John Tillotson (1630-1694). In the years that followed after this first successful publication, Wagenaar would become one of Tirion's primary translators. He was skilled in French, Latin and English and his translations primarily covered the fields of theology, nature, medicine, morality and ethics. From 1734 onwards, however, Wagenaar started to gradually break free from the mundane business of helping with translations and started working, albeit still under commission by Tirion, on his first own original work. This would become the *Hedendaagsche historie* series (see appendix, nr. 6 & 7), which was published in 1738 and signaled in a new period in Wagenaar's life, as well as in his relationship with Tirion. The writer was ecstatic that he had created something of his own and became more confident and outspoken as a result.[119]

---

[115] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 244-245.
[116] Baggerman, *Een lot uit de loterij*, p. 315.
[117] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 245.
[118] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', pp. 987-989.
[119] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 33-34.

However, for this project, Wagenaar had still been very dependent on Tirion, who helped him in acquiring historical sources and actual information in order for him to be as original and reliable as possible in his writings. One of Tirion's methods was to place advertisements in newspapers, asking readers if they were willing to send in information or particularities that could help the duo in making their books on Dutch history.[120] An example of how this worked can be found in the *Boekzaal der geleerde waerelt*, which was a magazine that was primarily read in the Protestant countryside of Holland. In 1745, Tirion places the following announcement:

> Izaak Tirion announces that he again received a patent from the States of Holland and that he therefore plans on printing the continuation of the Hedendaagsche historie as soon as possible [...] And because he is determined to be as accurate as possible in the execution of this project, he requests ever lover of history to send him their particularities and descriptions.[121]

While Wagenaar appreciated Tirion's efforts, he had already found another provider of historical sources, one that, in his eyes, was more reliable. This was Frans van Limborch (1679-1765), a high-ranking Remonstrant jurist in government service, with whom Wagenaar started exchanging letters from 1740 onwards. Because of his position, Van Limborch was able to provide him with all sorts of relevant materials and sent Wagenaar historical works, pamphlets and written off documents on numerous occasions. Over time, a close friendship was formed between the two men.[122]

As a result, his relationship with Tirion started to recede to the background and Wagenaar became increasingly more rebellious. In 1744, he suddenly decided that he no longer wanted to contribute to the *Hedendaagsche historie*, out of dissatisfaction about the quality of the series, faulty contacts and the limited time window he had received from Tirion. Wagenaar blamed his publisher and left the project, leaving his 'friend' behind to deal with the difficult task of finding new authors in a short period of time.[123] A possible explanation for this rapid change of behaviour can be found in the fact that Wagenaar had become increasingly independent of Tirion and his commission as of 1740. When on 30 August of that year, his friend and fellow Collegiant Jan de Jager died at the age of forty-two, it turned out that he had taken up Wagenaar in his will, giving him the opportunity

---

[120] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 57-59.
[121] I. Tirion, 'Bekentmaking', *Maandelvke uittreksels, of boekzaal der geleerde waerelt*, 60:1 (1745), pp. 88-89, here 88-89. The original Dutch text reads: "Izaak Tirion, maakt bekent dat hy, opnieuw begunstigt met een Octroy van haar Ed. Groot Mogenden, voornemens is in 't kort voort te varen met het drukken van het vervolg der Hedendaagsche Historie, [...] en dewyl hy dit werk met zo veel naauwkeurigheidt, als mogelyk is tragt uit te voeren, verzoekt hy de Beminnaars dezer Historie, die genegen mogten zyn hem enige byzonderheden of Beschryvingen mede te delen".
[122] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 60-61.
[123] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

to get a stake in De Jager's lumber-yard at a reduced price. Another event which helped him financially was his marriage. His wife, whom he had married in community of property in 1739, brought in 11,185 guilders, while Wagenaar himself only contributed 3,453 guilders to their household. These two events enabled him to become financially independent and gave him enough time to continue his studies and historical research.[124] On top of this, he had risen to a higher position in the Collegiant milieu, becoming a regent of the *Oranje-appel* orphanage in 1745 with Tirion only following him a year later in 1746.[125] All this made it so that Wagenaar became more confident and was able to do his own thing, resulting in the fact that he started to protest some of Tirion's decisions.[126]

In the 1750s, the relationship between Wagenaar and Tirion was at an all-time low. Thanks to the contacts and letters with Van Limborch, we know a bit more about Wagenaar's dealings with Tirion during this period, in which he was writing his *magnum opus*. Every time Wagenaar was not sure about something or had a problem with his publisher, he contacted Van Limborch. This is exactly what happened when the tenth volume of his *Vaderlandsche historie* (1754-1755), dealing with the religious strife of the Twelve Years' Truce, led to a serious conflict with his publisher and his friends. This occurred even though Wagenaar had made an explicit deal with Tirion that he was free to write whatever he wanted, as long as he took all responisbility. While Tirion agreed on this deal at first, he later started to regret his decision and wanted Wagenaar to make adjustments, for he supposedly had been biased towards the Remonstrants.[127] On 29 September, 1753, Wagenaar entrusted to Van Limborch that:

> The time after finishing the [part on the Twelve Years'] Truce, which is currently at the press, has been one of the worst in my life, never have I been more dispirited. There are rumours circulating, not in the least among people that pretend to know me [Tirion], that my impartiality on that most invidious time is not to be trusted. This saddens me.[128]

Although the work was finished regardless, the once warm contact between Wagenaar and Tirion would never be the same again. The deterioration of their relationship might have been accelerated even more due to the distribution of proceeds from the publications. It is known that both the

---

[124] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 83.
[125] S. Groenveld, 'Lijst van regenten en regentessen van de Oranjeappel, 1675-heden', in Groenveld (ed.), *Daar de Orangie-appel in de gevel staat*, pp. 190-194, here 191.
[126] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 83.
[127] Ibid., p. 213.
[128] P.H. Bakker, *Brieven van en aan Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1786), pp. 34-35. The original Dutch text reads: "Nooit ben ik zo moedeloos geweest. Zo maakt my de tyd na 't sluiten van 't [deel over het Twaalfjarig] Bestand, tot welken wy nu met drukken gekomen zyn. Daar is er, onder die my meenen te kennen [Tirion], die zig verbeeldt, dat my het onzydig beschryven van dien neteligen tyd niet te wel te betrouwen is. Dit smert my".

editions of 1749-1759 and of 1770 were sold for a price of sixty-three guilders per piece. This price, which can be considered quite high, was asked for complete volumes with added plates.[129] Regarding the split of profits coming from the publications, Tirion enjoyed a much bigger piece than Wagenaar. The latter did not receive more than 1,000 guilders per volume, or 20,000 in total. Meanwhile, the profit of Tirion is estimated to be a total of 168,000 guilders.[130] Possibly aware of the enormous profits Tirion was making thanks to his works, Wagenaar decided to switch to a new publisher, Yntema and Tieleboel in Amsterdam, for the third volume of his *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen* in 1760, ending the professional relationship once and for all.[131]

[129] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 85-86.
[130] W. Bilderdijk, Geschiedenis des vaderlands, vol. 13 (Amsterdam: Meyer Warnars, 1851), p. 62.
[131] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 87.

When Wagenaar and Tirion joined the scene in the 1730s, the moderate form of Enlightenment had already prevailed over its radical predecessor and Spinozism had been all but eradicated as a result. The societal decline, however, was still felt and the Dutch now turned their attention to what they regarded as another stain on the morality of their country: French influences. As a result of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had expelled most Protestants from France, by Louis XIV in 1685, the Dutch Republic was swarmed with learned refugees. At first, the country had profited immensely from the arrival of the Huguenots, among whom were many scholars, journalists and booksellers. They brought their skills with them and introduced new types of media, such as the periodical, enabling the Dutch publishing industry to extend its grip on the European market, thus securing its position as a distributor of early Enlightenment ideas. The Huguenot intellectuals, however, had no interest in integrating in Dutch society and saw the Republic first and foremost, in the words of Mijnhardt, as "a sanctuary, an employer, or a printshop".[132] Furthermore, among them were some of the main advocates of the Radical Enlightenment at the end of the seventeenth-century, such as the philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). This made them increasingly suspect in the eyes of the moderates and, as a result, the two intellectual worlds grew apart.[133] The rift was complete when Justus van Effen (1684-1735) started blaming French influences for the deplorable state the Dutch Republic was in. In his *Hollandsche spectator* (1731-1735), he agitated against the imitation by the Dutch upper classes of French decadency in their fashion and luxurious living, which, Van Effen believed, distracted them from traditional Dutch virtues and values. It is one of the reasons why French *philosophes* were not able to gain a foothold in the Dutch Republic during the first half of the eighteenth-century. Their encyclopaedists, naturalists and materialists were met with disapproval rather than adherence.[134]

Having no *philosophes* of their own, the Dutch historian Zwager even claimed the Dutch intellectuals were nothing more than "second- and third rank figures" in the grand scheme of things, and as the French were considered too radical, the Dutch had to look elsewhere for guidance.[135] Unsurprisingly, their choice fell on England, which already enjoyed a moderate form of Enlightenment since the 1680s, embodied by scientists and philosophers like Isaac Newton

[132] W.W. Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment: humanism, nationalism, and decline', in M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century: Decline, enlightenment, and revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 197-223, here 198-206.
[133] Ibid.
[134] P.P. de Quay, *De genoegzaamheid van het natuurlijk gezond verstand: prijsverhandelingen over godsdienst, zedenkunde en burgerlijke maatschappij in Nederland aan het einde der 18e eeuw* (The Hague: Sdu, 2000), p. 103.
[135] H.H. Zwager and R. van Gelder, *Nederland en de Verlichting* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1980), p. 11.

(1643-1727) and John Locke (1632-1704). They stressed rationality, order, balance and compromise in both politics and religion.[136] Newton especially had proposed an ideology that enabled divine providence to be present in the laws of nature, making the English variant of the moderate Enlightenment all the more appealing for many Calvinists in the Dutch Republic. This notion of providence had been missing in the more radical seventeenth-century philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza and, as a reaction, a more middle-of-the-road form of Enlightenment had emerged in England by the end of the century, in which theology regained its superiority. According to Newton, one of the moderate Enlightenment's primary champions, "the order and regularity of the universe existed only due to the grace of God; it was solely due to his responsibility towards his creatures that the laws of nature were formed in God's universe".[137] Therefore, additional to studying Biblical texts, the study of nature became a valid way to discover God's true meaning and purpose for the world as well. The Dutch craze for English ideas in the 1730s and 1740s, which constituted the first phase of the Dutch eighteenth-century Enlightenment, has been characterized as "Anglomania" by Jonathan Israel.[138] The main distributors of these ideas in the Dutch Republic were the dissenters, with our protagonists Wagenaar and Tirion primarily focusing on two topics: Latitudinarian toleration and natural theology.[139]

3.1. Latitudinarian toleration

As already asserted in the first chapter, the Synod of Dort was more of a reckoning than a proper debate about the future of the Reformed Calvinist Church. While the orthodox Calvinists, with their idea of absolute predestination, had come out on top in the Dutch Republic, not all attendants of the synod were convinced theirs was the right conviction. Apart from the sixty-one Dutch representatives present at the synod, there were also twenty-three foreign delegates invited.[140] Of these, the ones from England were especially disillusioned after what had unfolded before their eyes. John Hales (1584-1656), who was one of the observer at the synod on behalf of England, is said to have arrived as a staunch Calvinist, but returned as an Arminian, reportedly stating on his return that "there, I bid John Calvin good night".[141] And he was not the only one. Over the course of the seventeenth-century, some leading Anglican theologians, all coming from a "solidly Calvinist

---

136 P.F. Boller, 'Untangling ideological webs', *Southwest Review*, 62:2 (1977), pp. 194-197, here 195.
137 H.J. Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public: the translation of popular texts on experimental philosophy into the Dutch language in mid-eighteenth century', in S. Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural transfer through translation: The circulation of enlightened thought in Europe by means of translation* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 231-262, here 234-235.
138 J.I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 518.
139 Mijnhardt, 'The construction of silence', pp. 235-236.
140 Rohls, 'Calvinism, Arminianism and Socinianism', p. 38.
141 J. Hales, *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales of Eton College &c* (London: T. Garthwait, 1659), letter of Anthony Farindon.

stock", made the same move and left the Calvinism they had been brought up with behind. In the post-Restoration period (i.e. after 1660), Calvinist influences were extremely weak in the Anglican Church and instead Arminian tendencies became dominant.[142]

Eventually, these tendencies started to live their own life and gradually developed into a whole new theological perspective, which received the name 'men of latitude' or 'Latitudinarians'. Using the writings of Episcopius, the Dutch Remonstrant representative at the Synod of Dort, as their primary inspiration, this 'Latitudinarianism' was heavily influenced by Arminian ideas, leading to an emphasis on God's love in their theology and a strong aversion towards the absolute predestination orthodox Calvinists believed in. Furthermore, Latitudinarians had more faith in man's natural capacities than their orthodox counterparts. They believed humankind's main goal in life was to strive towards happiness and not so much the glorification of God at every corner. In short, the Latitudinarians made themselves strong for the cause of practical Christianity, civil liberty and rational piety. Dutch Arminian influences are clearly discernible in their convictions, making Espicsopius and his followers directly responsible for the rapid rise of Latitudinarianism, and the more Enlightened form of theological thinking that went with it, across The Channel. In the eighteenth-century, after the Latitudinarians had managed to consolidate their position in England, these originally Dutch ideas would found their way back, through translations, to their rightful birthplace, the Republic.[143]

a) All the sermons

One of the leading English Anglican Latitudinarians of the seventeenth-century was John Tillotson (1630-1694), who managed to find favour with William III and Mary by guiding the Church of England during the turbulent years following their accession to the English throne in 1689. As compensation for his efforts, he was awarded the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1691, making Tillotson the principal leader of the Church of England. Although an amiable personality, as was demonstrated by his generous gifts and outstanding piety, he was not appreciated by many due to his church politics.[144] He was a good friend of John Locke and, as a result, shared some of his ideas. Like Locke, Tillotson believed that Christ's procurement of salvation had been available since the creation of mankind and open to all men and women whether they believed in Christ or not. Tillotson went even further, by declaring that he believed that 'good' heathens could be accepted by God and were not excluded from the blessing of the Saviour, even though they were ignorant

[142] J. van den Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents: essays on early modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), p. 6.
[143] J. van den Berg, 'Eighteenth century Dutch translations of the works of some British Latitudinarian and Enlightened theologians', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 59:2 (1979), pp. 194-212, here 194-199.
[144] G. Reedy, 'Interpreting Tillotson', *The Harvard theological review*, 86:1 (1993), pp. 81-103, here 81-82.

of their existence.[145] These kind of ideas made Tillotson a tenacious opponent of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Although he rarely touched upon his radical viewpoints while preaching, Tillotson did, be it cautiously, opt for more religious toleration in his sermons, making him unpopular among the more orthodox clergymen in his own church, and popular in dissenting circles inside and outside of England.[146] Eventually, in 1671 Tillotson would publish 254 of his sermons, compiled over the course of thirty years, in which he explored a wide variety of topics.[147] In his eulogy of Tillotson, Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), bishop of Salisbury and one of his closest friends, wrote that "he [Tillotson] set himself to compose the greatest Variety of Sermons, and on the best Subjects, that perhaps any one Man has ever yet done".[148]

Translating all of these sermons must have been an equally daunting task, but one that Isaak Tirion was eager to embark on, for he believed that "however colossal it may be [...] no one that ever read anything of the great man will complain about it".[149] The first mention of this monumental undertaking, known as the *Alle de predikaetsien* [*All the sermons*] (see appendix, nr. 1), dates from 19 December, 1729, when Tirion placed an advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* (fig. 6). In it, he promoted his work, informing readers that it was still possible to reserve a subscription copy for the price of eight guilders and ten stuivers beforehand and another ten guilders upon receiving all six quarto volumes.[150] The entire project was finished in 1732, thanks to the help of Jan Wagenaar, who assisted Tirion with the last two volumes, translating sermons 207-213 in volume five, sermons 243-254 in volume six, and providing the complete register at the back of the last volume.[151]

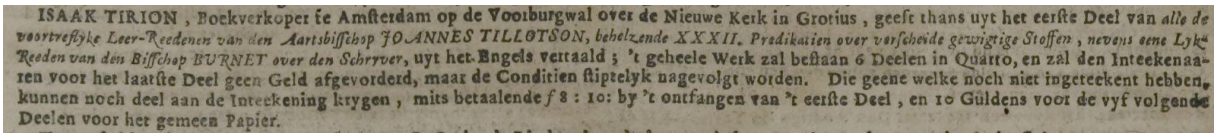
ISAAK TIRION, Boekverkoper te Amſterdam op de Voorburgwal over de Nieuwe Kerk in Grotius, geeft thans uyt het eerſte Deel van *alle de voortreffelyke Leer-Reedenen van den Aartsbiſſchop JOANNES TILLOTSON, behelzende XXXII. Predikatien over verſcheide gewigtige Stoffen, nevens eene Lyk-Reeden van den Biſſchop BURNET over den Schryver*, uyt het Engels vertaald; 't geheele Werk zal beſtaan 6 Deelen in Quarto, en zal den Inteekenaaren voor het laatſte Deel geen Geld afgevorderd, maar de Conditien ſtiptelyk nagevolgt worden. Die geene welke noch niet ingeteekent hebben, kunnen noch deel aan de Inteekening krygen, mits betaalende *f* 8 : 10: by 't ontfangen van 't eerſte Deel, en 10 Guldens voor de vyf volgende Deelen voor het gemeen Papier.

Figure 6: Advertisement for Tirion's translated edition of John Tillotson, *Alle de predikaetsien* in the *Leydse Courant* of 19 December, 1729. Source: Delpher.[152]

[145] Marshall, *John Locke, toleration and early Enlightenment culture*, pp. 616-617.
[146] Van Den Berg, *Religious currents and cross-currents*, p. 8.
[147] Reedy, 'Interpreting Tillotson', pp. 81-82.
[148] G. Burnet, *A sermon preached at the funeral of the most reverend father in God, by the divine providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: R. Chiswell, 1694), p. 13.
[149] I. Tiron, *Alle de predikatien van den zeer vermaerden Johannes Tillotson* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1730), Preface, p. *3. The original Dutch text reads: "Maer hoe groot het ook mag wezen, zoo heb ik reden om te gelooven dat niemant, die slechts eenige Leerredenen van dien grooten Man heeft gelezen, daer over zal klagen; doch veel eerder wenschen dat 'er nog meerder van dat slag te vinden waren".
[150] Delpher, 'Advertentie' <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011013360:mpeg21:a0007> (22 October, 2018).
[151] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 33.
[152] Delpher, 'Advertentie'.

Tillotson's sermons turned out to be wildly popular among the Dutch reading public, which probably assured Wagenaar a place among Tirion's primary translators. Anglican churchmen like John Tillotson and Isaac Watts introduced a new way of preaching in the hopes of revitalizing the serviceability of sermons. This so-called 'synthetic preaching' was characterized by the use of plain language, clear arguments and an emphasis on pragmatic themes.[153] The *Alle de predikaetsien* would eventually become the model for the 'English' way of preaching, as it was known in the Dutch Republic, which gradually gained ground during the eighteenth-century, first in dissenting circles and later also in the Dutch Reformed Calvinist Church.[154] One of the first who had actually practiced this synthetic preaching before it became mainstream, was Wagenaar himself. After translating the sermons, he started implementing Tillotson's ideas during the religious lectures he held in the *Oranje-appel* orphanage. When it turned out to be a huge success, Wagenaar became a staunch advocate of the English way of preaching and a pioneer of its popularization among the Dutch. By focusing on practical themes, instead of the sterile and quirky intellectualism that had been the hallmark of the traditional way of preaching, synthetic preaching enabled Enlightenment thinking to seep into the once so dogmatic sermons.[155]

b) Collection of several tracts on toleration and freedom of worship

While Tirion's edition of Tillotson's *Alle de predikaetsien* played an important role in the popularization of Enlightenment thinking in the Dutch churches of various denominations, Tirion probably intended it to be more of a cry for religious toleration. When it turned out that this underlying message was largely neglected by his readers, he published a new and more outspoken work on the subject in 1734. This anthology on religious toleration, entitled the *Verzameling van eenige verhandelingen over de verdraagzaamheid en vryheid van godsdienst* [*Collection of several tracts on toleration and freedom of worship*] (see appendix, nr. 3), would become one of Tirion's most important and controversial contributions to the Dutch Enlightenment and its debate on toleration, that started to manifest itself around the same time. Apart from its content, this publication is also significant for Tirion's own motivations and ideas.[156] More than in the preface to *Alle de predikaetsien*, which was basically a panegyric on Tillotson, he now voiced his own opinions on religious toleration in a lengthy introduction. According to the Dutch cultural historian Joris van Eijnatten this was "somewhat unusual for an eighteenth-century Dutch publisher: if they wrote at all, they usually restricted themselves to a page or two of matter-of-fact information". This makes it evident that

[153] J. Bosma, 'Van natuur geen redenaars: De gedrukte en uitgegeven preek in Nederland in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', *De achttiende eeuw*, 23 (1991), pp. 29-46, here 33-34.
[154] Van Den Berg, 'Eighteenth century Dutch translations', p. 209.
[155] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 448.
[156] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', p. 988.

Tirion was personally interested in this issue and that he wished to present himself as a cautious protagonist of religious toleration.[157]

The *Verzameling* consists of five texts, of which four were translated into Dutch and one was an originally Dutch text. The translations consisted of John Locke's *Epistola de tolerantie*, the famous speech of the Leiden jurist Gerard Noodt, originally written in Latin but now translated as *De godsdienstvry van heerschappye, naar het regt der volkeren*, a translation from French of the treatise by the Groningen jurist Jean Barbeyrac, entitled *Aanmerkingen over de verdraagzaamheid*, and the highly controversial sermon of Benjamin Hoadly, which he had delivered in front of the new king of England, George I, in 1717, translated into Dutch as *De natuur van het Koninkryk of de Kerke van Kristus*. The only originally Dutch text that was added was a sermon by the Remonstrant minister Johannes Drieberge entitled *Predikaetsie over het gedrag van Paulus tegen de Kristenen voorzyne bekeering*. Of these, Wagenaar translated the French contribution of Barbeyrac and the English speech of Benjamin Hoadly. These will be examined next.[158]

The first treatise Wagenaar translated, was the one by Jean Barbeyrac (1674-1744), who was a professor of private and public law at the University of Groningen when he wrote his discourse on religious toleration in 1728. However, before he came to the Dutch Republic, he had already quite a reputation. As his father was a Huguenot minister, his family was exiled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and had moved to Switzerland where Jean was educated to become a clergyman. Before accepting his position in the Dutch Republic, Barbeyrac had already worked at the *Collège français* in Berlin and at the University of Lausanne. Since he had witnessed religious intolerance first hand, Barbeyrac made it his life goal to improve the situation of religious minorities all across Europe. He started out by publishing translations into French of writings by the German jurist Samuel Pufendorf and the Anglican theologian John Tillotson, as well as two orations by the Leiden law professor Gerard Noodt. For the University of Groningen, this made him an interesting candidate. Here was a jurist who was particularly interested in natural law and who wasn't a supporter of Calvinist orthodoxy, making him a likely supporter of the Groningen magistrates' cause of increasing their sovereignty at the cost of the public Reformed Calvinist Church.[159] The university curators had been right. Barbeyrac, being the anticlerical protégé of the Groningen magistracy that he was, in his thinking, believed only political leadership had the right to stand up to tyranny, but at the same time he did not debate the status quo of a dominant religion. This tendency to back the political establishment and preserve a Latitudinarian ecclesiastical order in the process, put Barbeyrac in line with the Dutch republican tradition. Being

[157] Van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, pp. 31-33.
[158] Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', pp. 483-484.
[159] Van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, pp. 45-47.

a Latitudinarian Huguenot, reliant on the generosity of the Groningen magistrates, Barbeyrac maintained God's will to make sure that the political and moral establishment did not fall apart. Moreover, he firmly stressed freedom of conscience over ecclesiastical oppression, as well as rationalism over religious superstition.[160]

The second treatise Wagenaar translated was exactly what he and Tirion needed to get their point across. This was the speech by Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), bishop of Bangor in England and a Latitudinarian theologian who spent much of his career trying to obstruct the influence of High Church, that is the orthodox and conservative, Anglican ecclesiastics. The real controversy regarding his person started when, on 31 March, 1717, Hoadly preached a sermon before King George I, titled *The nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ*, in which he seemingly denied that there should be a bond of unity in the church and that therefore every member was entitled to believe whatever he or she wished to believe. This strong plea for freedom and toleration was clearly not something the more conservative church leaders could leave unanswered. Hoadly was accused of disputing the jurisdiction of religious councils, defending religious indifference and subverting the church.[161] In his preface, Tirion stated he thought it an alluring fact that, in the case of Hoadly, a clergyman, even one who belonged to an established church, had made it his duty to defend the cause of religious toleration. It was commonly said that the only ones who wrote about this subject were those belonging to a dissenting sect that needed toleration the most. To Tirion, Hoadly was a welcome exception to the rule, or even a precedent that disproved it.[162] He concluded the part on Hoadly in his preface by stating that, if others were to follow the bishop on this point, soon the doctrine of toleration would become the general doctrine of Christianity as a whole, adding "but it is more desirable than probable, that we shall live to see those happy times".[163] While Tirion was indeed right that it would take a long time before full religious freedom was realized, that is after around sixty years when the Batavian Republic was founded in 1793, his publication did much to boost the development of thought on religious toleration in the Dutch Republic during the first half of the eighteenth-century and inspired others to take up this cause as well.[164]

The debates about religious toleration would become especially heated from 1740 until 1795, with Dutch officials sometimes trying to interfere by issuing decrees to stop the discussions, which only added fuel to the fire. The issue of religious toleration was a complex one with different

---

[160] J. van Eijnatten, 'The Church Fathers assessed: nature, Bible and morality in Jean Barbeyrac', *De achttiende eeuw*, 35 (2003), pp. 15-25, here 24-25.
[161] Van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, pp. 49-51.
[162] Van Den Berg, 'Eighteenth-century Dutch translations', pp. 203-204.
[163] I. Tiron, *Verzameling van eenige verhandelingen over de verdraagzaamheid en vryheid van godsdienst* (Amsterdam: J. ter Beek & Isaak Tirion, 1734), p. *6. The original Dutch text reads: "Dog het is meer wenschelyk dan waarschynelyk, dat wy die gelukkige tyden zullen beleeven".
[164] Van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, pp. 33-35.

groups of people fighting for different kinds of freedom. Some wanted full freedom of worship for non-Reformed denominations, others merely toleration of Remonstrant and Latitudinarian sentiments within the Dutch public Reformed Calvinist Church. The so-called 'Stinstra-affair' started this period of almost continuous debates about religious toleration in 1740, when the Mennonite minister Johannes Stinstra (1709-1790) presented a plea for more religious freedom to the Frisian States, known as the *Deductie*.[165] In it, Stinstra referred to the ideas of Barbeyrac and Noodt, which he had read about in the 1734 *Verzameling*, making Tirion's publication one of the inspirations for him and all other participants in the debates that followed the 'affair'.[166] As a result of its importance during these years, the *Verzameling* was reprinted in 1774, forty years after its initial publication, as *De vryheid van godsdienst in de burgerlyke maatschappy*. The editor of this enriched and enlarged edition was Abraham Arent van der Meersch (1720-1792), one of the leading Remonstrant theologians of the second half of the eighteenth-century and a professor of theology and philosophy at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam. To his new edition of Tirion's collection of texts, Van Der Meersch added a Dutch translation of Locke's *Second letter concerning toleration*, first published in England in 1690, as well as most of the footnotes added by Barbeyrac to Noodt's text. Furthermore, he added a hefty seventy page introduction to this new edition, in which he discussed the principles of religious freedom and the improvements that had yet to be made.[167]

3.2. Natural theology

Another quintessentially English idea that was welcomed with great enthusiasm in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic was the 'argument from design', better known as natural theology. Being both a theological and philosophical argument, it became a widely acceptable basis for the reconciliation of faith in a divine Creator and the progress that was being made in the field of science, making it one of the central ideas of the 'mainstream' moderate Enlightenment.[168] At first, natural theology mainly played a prominent role in the Dutch Republic's bourgeois culture, however, its popularization started gaining speed when it became a subject in academic circles around 1715.[169] One of its main protagonists was Bernard Nieuwentijt (1654-1718), a minister's son and physician in the town of Purmerend, who believed that God's greatness was confirmed by the perfection of His creation. He managed to quickly gather a following of other Dutch scientists,

---

165 E. van der Wall, 'Toleration and Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic', in O.P. Grell and R. Porter (eds.), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114-132, here 118.
166 Van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia*, pp. 33-35.
167 Van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord*, pp. 264-265.
168 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 456.
169 Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', p. 233.

consisting of, among other, Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), Willem Jacob 's Gravesande (1688-1742) and Pieter van Musschenbroek (1692-1761).[170] It was not until the 1730s that people from varied social backgrounds first came into contact with this new experimental philosophy. This was a result of the Englishman John Theophilus Desaguliers' (1683-1744) tour through several Dutch cities, during which he gave lectures on science and demonstrated spectacular experiments, sometimes having an audience of more than a thousand listeners.[171] A telling illustration of this craze for natural theology, and especially its experiments, is given by Jan Wagenaar, who attended one of Desaguliers' lectures himself:

> Nowadays, everyone is establishing societies in which people deliberate about physics and perform experiments. Several extraordinary persons go out of their way to collect many and expensive apparatuses; instead of entertaining their friends with appetizing food and drinks, they conduct a series of physical observations. There exists some sort of envy among the common people. Everyone wants to become an authority on natural philosophy. The merchant leaves his desk to work with an air pump and he does not hesitate to work up into a sweat on the composition of his machines. The artisan takes a break from his work, in order for him to do things in which he takes far more pleasure. Yes, if one would believe it, even farmers who are usually regarded as being examples of stupidity, are practising mathematics and turning into natural philosophers.[172]

It comes as no surprise that this popularization brought about a demand for scientific literature. The majority of these were Dutch translations of foreign publications, primarily of an English origin. Remarkably, the majority of these translators came from dissenting movements. Especially the wealthy Mennonites, and thus to some extent the Collegiants, contributed greatly to the dissemination of experimental philosophy and natural science, making them some of the key players when it came to the transmission of these new Enlightened ideas.[173]

---

[170] C. Kwa, *Styles of knowing: a new history of science from ancient times to the present* (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), p. 125.
[171] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', pp. 238-239.
[172] J. Wagenaar, *Filozoofische onderwyzer of algemeene schets der hedendaagsche ondervindelyke natuurkunde* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1737), pp. *2-*3. The original Dutch text reads: "Men regt Gezelschappen op, daar men de Natuurkunde verhandelt, en proeven doet. Verscheide byzondere Persoonen maaken hun werk van het verzamelen van veele en kostbaare Werktuigen, en onthaalen hunne Vrienden minder op smaakelyke spyze en drank, als op eene reeks van natuurkundige Waarneemingen. Daar heerscht een soort van een naaryver onder 't gemeen. Elk zoekt een Natuurkenner te worden. De Koopman trekt zyne hand van de Schryftafel, om die aan de Lugtpomte slaan, en ontziet zig niet daar aan, en zelfs aan het samenstellen van Werktuigen, tot zweetens toe, te arbeiden. De Handwerksman verpoost zig van zyn werk, door een ander, daar hy meer vermaak in schept. Ja, zou men 't gelooven, Landluiden zelve, die men als voorbeelden van domheid pleeg aan te zien , oefenen zig in de Wiskunde, en worden Natuurkenners".
[173] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', pp. 260-261.

a) Selected physical treatises

A good example of the new, experimental science of the eighteenth-century is Tirion's *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen* [*Selected physical treatises*] (see appendix, nr. 4). Published in three volumes between 1734 and 1741, it contains a large variety of articles by some of the most distinguished Dutch, English and French scholars, including Hoadly, Desaguliers, Mortimer, Curties, Barbeyrac, Bradley, Hales, Du Fay, De Reaumur and Pointer, as well as Johan Lulofs, Gorter, Boerhaave and Van Musschenbroeck.[174] With the publication of this work, Tirion had two goals in mind. First of all, he wanted to give his readership the opportunity to study important contributions to natural philosophy, originally published in foreign journals, in the Dutch language. Secondly, he invited Dutch experts on the subject to submit their own contributions. It seems that it was Tirion's goal to produce a Dutch equivalent of the *Philosophical transactions*.[175] This journal, was the first to only cover scientific topics. It was originated in 1665 and published by the Royal Society of London. In the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, it reached a wide European audience, becoming one of the principal scientific journals of its time.[176] Tirion sought, in a similar manner, to create a network to discuss scientific discoveries and news in the Dutch Republic. However, after a promising start in 1731, the venture quickly came to a standstill, after the two editors Tirion had employed both died unexpectedly.[177] Again, he turned to Wagenaar for assistance, who, according to his biographer Bakker, "loved physics" to such a degree that he was more than "capable of translating writings on this matter".[178] He was not exaggerating. Thanks to Wagenaar's knowledge on the subjects and his skill in translating, not only readers with a pre-established interest in physics, but also uneducated people were able to grasp the discussed topics, of which there was a wide variety. They ranged from contributions on the characteristics of mercury and steam, dissections of animals and plants, kidney stones, observations regarding the weather and atmosphere, to experiments with electricity.[179] Wagenaar would only stay with the project for the first volume, which was completed in 1734. It seemed an assuring beginning, yet the initiative lost momentum fairly quickly. Eventually, only three volumes of the *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen* were published and the project was terminated in 1741.[180]

---

[174] Visser, 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', pp. 988-989.
[175] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', p. 240.
[176] D. Atkinson, *Scientific discourse in sociohistorical context: the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999), p. 17.
[177] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', p. 240.
[178] Bakker, *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar*, p. 14. The original Dutch text reads: "Zyne liefhebbery voor de Natuurkunde maekten hem bekwaem tot het vertolken van stukken over die stoffe".
[179] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 33-34.
[180] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', p. 240.

However, Tirion's dream of a national scientific journal did inspire others. In 1757, Frans Houttuyn revived Tirion's initiative of an academic journal and marketed it as the spiritual successor to the *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen*. This journal, entitled the *Uitgezogte verhandelingen uit de nieuwste werken van de societeiten der wetenschappen in Europa en van andere geleerde mannen*, lasted nine years and ended in 1765. In total, ten well edited and amply illustrated quarto volumes were produced. Around the same time, Frans Houttuyn re-issued the leftover supply of Tirion's *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen*, with a final gathering and a new title.[181]

b) The philosophical teacher

Wagenaar was under the impression that the *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen* and other Dutch scientific journals had flopped because they targeted only highly-educated and knowledgeable readers. He believed it was time for "the common people to also come into contact with the practice of physics".[182] If they managed to publish a work that was able to do this, Wagenaar and Tirion would be able to open up a whole new market and reap the rewards. Their eyes fell on Benjamin Martin's *The philosophical grammar*, published in London in 1735. This work contained selected writings of the greatest naturalists of Europe of that time, which were all intentionally moulded in the form of a dialogue in order to make the content interesting and captivating for both male and female, old and young readers. The book was adorned and illustrated with a variety of copperplates and maps, which made the *Philosophical grammar* easily accessible.[183]

Benjamin Martin (1704-1782) was an English instrument maker, mathematician, general editor and compiler of scientific writings. As a boy he had spent his spare time studying mathematics and astronomy, which brought him into contact with the ideas of Newton. When he was older, he was able to afford philosophical instruments and books, with which he toured the country, giving lectures on natural philosophy. Another important work by Martin was his *Bibliotheca technologica, or philological library of literary arts and sciences* from 1737, which was a very comprehensive and skillful compilation, epitomizing the latest information and ideas on physics under twenty-five headings. When the book appeared, Martin had been living in Chichester for three years, where he kept a school and worked as an innovative maker of optical instruments, in particular spectacles. After 1740, he owned his own shop for scientific instrument making at the sign of 'Hadley's Quadrant and Visual Glasses' on London's Fleet Street near Crown Court. During

[181] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', pp. 248-250.
[182] Tirion, *Filozoofische onderwyzer*, p. *2. The original Dutch text reads: "het Gemeen zig ook aan de oefening der Natuurkunde liet gelegen leggen".
[183] C. Platts, 'Martin, Benjamin', in S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1893), p. 272.

these years, he actively continued his writing, resulting in the publication of a large amount of popular scientific books.[184]

Martin's *Philosophical grammar* was released in the Dutch Republic under the title *De filozoofische onderwyzer of algemeene schets der hedendaagsche ondervindelyke natuurkunde* [*The philosophical teacher*] (see appendix, nr. 5) in 1737, just two years after the initial publication in England. Martin's original was only expanded or altered in some situations, the text being marked in square brackets. In parts of the text where Martin had used Greek expressions, Wagenaar had rewritten them in his own words, since he knew that the average Dutch reader would not understand Greek.[185] These kind of works, tailor-made for educating the common people in the field of science and showing them what it had to offer, led to an intensification of social interaction.[186] David Hume (1711-1776) described this phenomenon in his 1752 essay *Of refinement in the arts*, in which he stated that:

> The more these refined arts advance, the more sociable men become: nor is it possible , that, when enriched with science, and possessed of a fund of conversation, they should be contented to remain in solitude, or live with their fellow citizens in that distant manner, which is peculiar to ignorant and barbarous nations. They flock into cities; love to receive and communicate knowledge; to show their wit or their breeding; their taste in conversation or living in clothes or furniture.[187]

Furthermore, it also brought people into contact with natural law and its new ideas of what was natural to man and conceptions about the character of human nature. This rise in the popularity of natural law meant that secular political questions, rather than theology, were increasingly discussed within the Dutch Republic. It contributed to the construction of patriotism in the latter half of the eighteenth-century and fuelled the idea that love of country was a natural social duty.[188]

The wind-up of the *Filozoofische onderwyzer* in 1737 also meant the end of Wagenaar's translation work for Tirion, which had resulted in five high quality publications in the field of theology, religious toleration and natural science (see appendix). After 1738, Wagenaar would manifest himself as an independent author and focused on writing his own works instead of making translations.[189] When the second edition of the *Filozoofische onderwyzer* was published in 1744,

---

184 Platts, 'Martin, Benjamin', p. 271.
185 Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', pp. 247-248.
186 D. Gordon, 'Sociability', in A.C. Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 4: *Sade-Zoology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 96-104, here 99.
187 S. Copley and A. Edgar (eds.), *Selected essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 169.
188 P. Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined: changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch, and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), pp. 558-559.
189 Visser, 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765)', p. 474.

enlarged with additions on optics and mechanics, Tirion had to look for another translator as Wagenaar was now fully committed to his own ambitious project, a new history of the entire Dutch Republic.[190]

[190] Zuidervaart, 'Science for the public', pp. 247-248.

IV. DEFINING THE DUTCH

In 1740, the War of the Austrian Succession commenced, a conflict during which the Dutch wanted to stay neutral. They initially succeeded. However, in April 1747, French troops invaded the Dutch province of Zeeland and managed to conquer several defensive positions without facing any serious resistance. Panic ensued and parallels with the *Rampjaar* [Disaster year] of 1672 were quickly drawn. Just as had been the case back then, this invasion provoked a call for the restoration of the stadtholderate. Although the regents of Holland opposed this idea, they had no other choice than to comply when a large part of the Dutch population started rioting. On 4 May 1747, William IV (1711-1751), Prince of Orange, was inaugurated by the States General as stadtholder of the entire Dutch Republic.[191] The population was ecstatic and convinced that this new stadtholder would quickly expel the French and restore Dutch self-respect, just as his predecessor William III (1650-1702) had done seventy-five years prior. Unfortunately, their confidence was misguided. Both the army and fleet were in bad condition and William IV turned out to be a poor commander on the battlefield, resulting in an inconclusive peace in 1748. The Dutch Republic had appeared untrustworthy and impotent during this conflict and lost face in the eyes of the other European nations. The urgency of the national problems could no longer be ignored, something had to change.[192]

Neither the restoration of religious values during the first half of the eighteenth-century nor the restoration of the stadtholder in 1747 had resulted in ending the much dreaded national decline. As a result of the continuous failing of the established order, the Dutch population became restless and started taking matters into their own hands. They began uniting in a national network in which they could come into contact with one another and where they were able to exchange ideas on pressing matters independently from the local, regional and national government.[193] This network would eventually give rise to a new definition of the public sphere,[194] that was given shape by a conglomeration of societies, clubs and associations, as well as opinion-forming publications. What was novel about this public sphere, according to the Dutch Historian Niek van Sas, was that it "transcended the constitutional fragmentation of the Republic [...] cutting across boundaries where the various social strata were concerned" and ignoring "the dividing lines between the

[191] L. Kooijmans and C. Misset, 'Van rebellen tot "koningen in eigen huis". Opstand, regentenbewind en politieke cultuur', in T. de Nijs and E. Beukers (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland*, vol. 2: *1572 tot 1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), pp. 9-77, here 64.
[192] E.H. Kossmann, 'The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century', in Jacob and Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century*, pp. 19-31, here 25.
[193] Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, pp. 241-242.
[194] J. Habermas, *The Structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

various confessions".[195] The Dutch became first and foremost citizens of a single fatherland, a fatherland that could use every hand in battling its decline, whether someone was a poor commoner, a rich banker or a Collegiant dissenter.[196] Empowering and expanding this public sphere, by creating a national identity everyone could identify with, became the defining characteristic of this second phase in the Dutch eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Only if the Dutch people were united, they could grow into a force to be reckoned with and one that would be capable of forcing the established order to usher in 'democratic' reform.[197]

4.1. Spectatorial writings

Getting all these people to put their differences aside and work together in harmony towards a common goal was no small achievement. Individual urges and passions that could potentially undermine the cohesion had to be restrained and conflicting sentiments aligned. Key concepts for this ideal society were "moderation, conformity, harmony, reasonableness, prudence, equality, adaptability and balance".[198] This utopia could only be realized if knowledge and information was freely exchanged between the members of the public sphere, with the aim of construing shared views, ideals and truths. Making people aware of their shortcomings and reaching a consensus became as important as influencing their opinion. The weapon of choice for this 'sophistication' process was the spectator, a type of periodical that was first published in England by Addison and Steele in 1711-1712. These spectators had a fairly fixed formula. They generally appeared once or twice a week, consisted of eight or twelve pages and contained one or two (made-up) moralizing observations in the form of an essay, in which the author acted as censor. Using both irony and a serious undertone, the authors tried to unveil shortcomings in people and their manners, initiating discussions about deeply rooted moral problems.[199]

According to Mijnhardt "the most important breeding ground for this new civic discourse was located in the circles of Dutch dissent".[200] This is hardly surprising, since the more inclusive public sphere that started emerging gave them the opportunity to be equal and have a hand in political matters. Strengthening this movement and campaigning for an even more 'dissenter-friendly' environment, became one of their top priorities during this second phase. This can explain

---

[195] N. van Sas, 'The Netherlands: A historical phenomenon', in D.W. Fokkema and G. Grijzenhout (eds.), *Dutch culture in a European perspective*, vol. 5: *Accounting for the past: 1650-2000* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 41-66, here 53.
[196] Ibid.
[197] N. van Sas, 'The Netherlands, 1750-1830', in H. Barker and S. Burrows (eds.), *Press, politics, and the public sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 48-68, here 52.
[198] C. Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen: literaire discussiecultuur in Nederlandse praatjespamfletten (circa 1600-1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), p. 13.
[199] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[200] Mijnhardt, 'The construction of silence', pp. 235-236.

why Wagenaar and Tirion were among the first to start distributing spectatorial writings. At the start of May 1747, immediately after the restoration of the stadtholderate, Tirion published Wagenaar's *Koffy-huis-praatje, tusschen een oud Amsterdamsch koopman, een Fries, en eenige anderen* (see appendix, nr. 8). This work reconstructs a fictional conversation that supposedly took place during the night between the 4th and 5th of May, 1747, in the midst of the Amsterdam festivities to celebrate the instatement of William IV as the new stadtholder. The two most important participants in this dialogue are 'an old merchant from Amsterdam', usually referred to as the 'Patriot', and 'a Frisian'. There are also some secondary figures, who are, however, not further specified. The scene of the conversation is a typical eighteenth-century coffeehouse on the Dam square in Amsterdam. After the discussion is disrupted by some merry-makers who barge in from the square, the proprietor of the establishment leads the gentlemen to a secluded room upstairs, from where they can observe the festivities on the Dam square in peace and quiet and talk about more serious business.[201]

At one point during the conversation between the two men, the Patriot is invited to defend the regent government and their failed attempts to prevent the French invasion and the war of 1747. His reply is nothing if not moderate and it becomes clear that he is a true supporter of whatever government is chosen by the authorities. The allegations against the previous regent government, which is the subject of many rumours and hearsay among the people, the Patriot boisterously refutes.[202] He believes the regents are not to blame because "they are human and therefore have their flaws, which explains why they sometimes might have come across as careless and made mistakes".[203] Throughout the conversation, the Patriot is presented with just the slightest bit of sarcasm when he applauds the virtues of stadtholderate government. There is a kind of slyness about his views which makes the entire argument somewhat suspect.[204] However, he manages to keep his posture and reminds himself on multiple occasions that unity is more beneficial to the country during these turbulent times than picking sides, making the old Amsterdammer the embodiment of the true patriotic mind-set that was becoming the hallmark of the new public sphere. In a likewise moderate fashion, the Patriot concludes the conversation with the wish that "our country [...] under the high authority of the provincial regents and the wise policy of our brave stadtholder, will enjoy many years of peace and prosperity".[205]

---

[201] Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen*, p. 307

[202] Leeb, *The ideological origins of the Batavian Revolution*, pp. 77-78.

[203] J. Wagenaar, *Koffy-huis-praatje, tusschen een oud Amsterdamsch koopman, een Fries, en eenige anderen* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1747), p. 12. The original Dutch text reads: "dat ik onze Regenten voor menschen houde, die hunne gebreken hebben; en die zig, somtyds, onvoorzigtiglyk, iets hebben konnen laaten ontvallen".

[204] Leeb, *The ideological origins of the Batavian Revolution*, p. 78.

[205] Wagenaar, *Koffy-huis-praatje*, p. 32. The original Dutch text reads: "dat ons Land [...] onder het hoog gezag der Heeren Staaten, en het wys beleid van onzen braaven Stadhouder, lange jaaren in Vrede en welstand bloeije".

This call for harmony, by presenting a reasonable middle ground and loyalty to the established order, makes the *Koffy-huis-praatje* a typical spectator. It was meant to educate the readers and mould them into a society of true patriots, that would put the well-being of the Dutch Republic before anything else. The spectatorial characteristic of the author being a silent observant during the conversation, projecting his own ideas on the participants, and the presence of storytelling elements to make the story more believable and real were typical for this genre. Furthermore, the location of the dialogue, a coffeehouse, was a natural setting for these kind of 'Enlightened' debates. This was the number one meeting place of the self-assured citizen, where he could read the latest newspapers and pamphlets, exchange news, debate or chat, maintain contacts or make new ones, and observe people. Wagenaar's attitude of reasonability, moderation and tolerance, in combination with his wish to educate the population through his publications, made him a figurehead of this new Enlightened form of citizenship.[206] The *Koffy-huis-praatje* turned about to be great success and would sell thousands of copies within a fortnight. Wagenaar himself later remarked that he had "felt some secret excitement over this".[207]

This success tasted like more and Wagenaar decided to continue his plea in a new weekly spectator called *De Patriot* (see appendix, nr. 9), which Tirion published from 26 June, 1747, onwards. This time, however, he was more outspoken and *De Patriot* is therefore generally regarded as one of the first Dutch spectators that dared to discuss political issues in a more direct manner. In the entire collection, the reader could find about thirty contributions in which current topics were commentated on.[208] Each issue consists of around eight pages in octavo format, preceded by a motto retrieved from a classical author. Sometimes fictional and non-fictional letters were added and answered. This feature was inspired by the English spectators of Addison and Steele, to which Wagenaar explicitly refers multiple times.[209] The majority of the issues of the *De Patriot* consists of commentaries and reflections on actual social and political affairs. Within these, Wagenaar included elements of education and advice. Some examples of subjects discussed in *De Patriot* are: justifiable war, sales of offices, the origin and consequences of civil disturbances, political fanaticism, the origin and privileges of Amsterdam's civil militia, and the ideal character of an upright patriot.[210]

In all of these issues, a diverse cast of fictitious figures is introduced. Most of them only appear once, but there are some who keep returning, giving the variety of subjects treated in *De*

---

[206] Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen*, pp. 308-314.
[207] J. Wagenaar, *De patriot, of politike bedenkingen, over den staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden in 't jaar MDCCXLVII* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1748), p. 4. The original Duch text reads: "Ik wil niet ontkennen, dat ik, hier over, eenige heimelyke kitteling gevoelde".
[208] D. Sturkenboom, *Een verdeelde Verlichting: stemmen uit de spectators* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2001), p. 163.
[209] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 296-298.
[210] Leeb, *The ideological origins of the Batavian Revolution*, pp. 77-80.

Patriot some unity and consistency.[211] The lead character again is, just as in the *Koffy-huis-praatje* and as the title of the spectator already suggests, the 'Patriot'. He serves as the narrator and shares many similarities with his counterpart in Wagenaar's previous publication, presenting himself as 'an old man' and 'obedient patriot' with a lot of life experience. Furthermore, he possesses all the good qualities that belong to the author's image of a true patriot, such as a distaste for war and uproar, obedience to the government and a preference for peace and unity. Throughout all the issues of *De Patriot*, the emphasis is on regaining harmony and concord in the Dutch Republic, which had been temporarily shaken as a result of the coronation of William IV as the new stadtholder.[212] This main goal was already explained in the very first issue of *De Patriot*, where Wagenaar states that he wants to "take away the disunity between all the different opinions using reason for the sake of peace in the nation and [...] make sure my fellow countrymen [...] know their duties in order to become obedient citizens".[213] Although successful from the start, *De Patriot* quit its weekly publications around the new year. Its thirtieth and last discourse, which was most likely not written by Wagenaar himself, is dated 16 January, 1748.[214]

The *Koffy-huis-praatje* and *De Patriot* were only two of such spectatorial publications that flooded the Dutch book market around this time. In total, more than seventy Dutch spectators are known for the second half of the eighteenth-century. According to the Dutch historian Remieg Aerts, the most successful of these sold about a hundred to a few thousand copies, but they reached a much larger audience since they were often reprinted and circulated in coffeehouses and other public spaces. This makes the publications of Wagenaar and Tirion, which sold over a thousand copies, some of the most successful and most read of their time. Together, all of these periodicals had a significant role in defining the rules of the public sphere. They created a network of readers who shared their views on issues related to religion and every-day life. Furthermore, they assessed the manners and conduct of their fellow citizens, slowly but surely making Dutch society more homogenous. Aerts defines this phenomenon as "an ambitious attempt at socialization, or the realization of something that might best be called 'burgherhood', as it neither completely coincided with 'citizenship', nor with middle-class culture".[215] What it meant to be part of this patriotic 'burgherhood', is best described by Wagenaar in the seventh issue of his *De Patriot*, dating from 8 August, 1747:

---

[211] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, pp. 296-298.
[212] Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen*, p. 314.
[213] Wagenaar, *De Patriot*, pp. 5-6. The original Dutch text reads: "de verdeeldheid der gemoederen, door kragt van redenen, weg te neemen [...] mynen Landsluiden de [...] pligten van een braaf Burger aan te pryzen".
[214] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 314.
[215] R.A.M. Aerts, 'Civil society or democracy? A Dutch paradox', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 125:2 (2010), pp. 209-236, here 219-221.

> A patriot has such a strong and sincere feeling when it comes to the welfare of his fatherland, that he is not only willing to put his own interests in the balance, but, if it is really necessary in order advance the interests of his fatherland, dares to put them entirely on one side. He considers his fellow countrymen and himself to be members of one body. His highest wish is that he himself and all individual members of the civil state be happy and work together towards each other's fortune [...] He will never press his own interests to the disadvantage of the common cause [...] A patriot does not complain about the present government, as long as it maintains the law and leaves the liberties and privileges intact. He does not move against the government, even if the people's liberties are violated in only one or another particular instance, or the law is not properly maintained here and there [...] If they are assured of one another that they both have the common welfare as the ultimate goal, they can consider themselves, and recognize each other, as being true patriots, however much they may differ over the means with which this goal should be achieved.[216]

4.2. National history

As a result of such statements in popular periodicals, Dutch society gradually developed into a society of patriots, that tried to use the forces of Enlightenment to stem the decline of their fatherland and restore it to its former glory. However, this newly defined national identity lacked a historical dimension, something that could help them learn from their past mistakes and offer guidelines on how they might be able to turn the tide. This changed in 1749, with the publication of Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche historie* (see appendix, nr. 10). This work, and especially its chapters on the Dutch Golden Age during which the nation had been a major European power, developed into a guide after which all reform efforts had to be modeled.[217] On top of this, Wagenaar's work strengthened the unity between the Dutch citizens, and thus the public sphere, even further. According to Wessels, Wagenaar must have been aware of the tremendous power a shared history holds when it comes to forging a solidary society well before he embarked on his *Vaderlandsche historie*. He must have perceived similar effects when he helped Tirion with the publication of the

---

[216] Wagenaar, *De Patriot*, pp. 66-68. The original Dutch text reads: "Een Patriot heeft zulk eene sterke en opregte zugt voor den welstand zyns Vaderlands, dat hy zyn eigen belang niet slegts in de waagschaal, maar, daar 't nood eischt, geheellyk aen een' zyde stellen durft, om het belang zyns Vaderlands te bevorderen. Hy merkt zyne Landsluiden en zig zelven aan, als Leden van één Lighaam. Zijn hoogste wensch is, dat hy zelf en alle byzondere Leden van den Burgerstaat gelukkig zyn, en tot elkanders geluk medewerken mogen [...] Nooit bevordert hy zyn eigen, ten nadeele van het gemeene belang [...] Een Patriot mort niet over de tegenwoordige Regeering, zo lang zy het Regt handhaaft, en de Vryheden en Voorregten der Onderzaten ongekreukt laat. Hy vaart zelfs niet tegen de Overheid uit, wanneer 's Volks Vryheden, slegts in 't een of 't ander byzonder geval, geschonden worden, of 't Regt hier of daar, niet behoorlyk wordt gehandhaafd [...] En wanneer zy van elkanderen verzekerd zyn, dat de gemeene welstand hun uiterste oogmerk is, agtenze zig gehouden, elkanderen voor Patriotten te erkennen, hoe zeerze ook, over de middelen, om dit oogmerk te bereiken, verschillen mogen".

[217] J.J. Kloek and W.W. Mijnhardt, *1800: blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague: Sdu, 2001), p. 231.

histories of the provinces of Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland and the Generality Lands in his *Tegenwoordige staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden* in 1739 (see appendix, nr. 7).[218]

This kind of historical writings, which focused exclusively on single provinces or sometimes even towns, had been the standard in the past. This trend was a result of both the high degree of urbanization within the Dutch Republic and the jealousy with which the provinces and towns defended their own interests. This changed over the course of the eighteenth-century, when the Dutch population increasingly started to identifying themselves with larger entities such as the country as a whole. Many publications in this century reflect this shift in focus, first in the numerous books written by orthodox Reformed ministers who identified their group and their prevailing church with the fatherland, and later in Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche historie*. The latter was the first complete history of the Dutch Republic, in which the traditional hollandocentric view was expanded to include an interest in other parts of the country's territory as well.[219] To strengthen this feeling of unity, nationality and inclusivity even further, Wagenaar wrote in his foreword to the first volume of the *Vaderlandsche historie* that he aimed to deliver a history of the people and not, as had been common, one of rulers:

> We do only mind his [the stadtholder] foreign wars when our nation is involved. Our work does not describe his journeys, domestic pursuits or other things that concern his person. If we do write about him, it will only be in passing, for we have another main objective. However, everything that has to do with the people, like religion, form of government, habits, commerce etc. will be described in as many details as possible. Giving a general history of the Dutch people will be the main goal of our work.[220]

When Wagenaar published this first part in 1749, he could not have imagined that his *Vaderlandsche historie* would become such a success. Right from the start there was a big interest in his work, which received positive as well as negative reviews from both experts and amateurs. As it turned out, there was a considerable need for a new and complete history. The previous standard in Dutch national history, Cornelius Aurelius' *Divisiekroniek* from 1517, was already more than two centuries

---

[218] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 66.

[219] E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Between humanism and Enlightenment: The Dutch writing of history', in Jacob and Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century*, pp. 170-187, here 171-172.

[220] J. Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1749), pp. V-VI. The original Dutch text reads: "Wy bekreunen ons zyner [de stadhouder] uitheemsche Oorlogen niet, dan wanneer 'er onze Staat in gemengd is. Wy maaken ons werk niet van zyne Reizen, huisselyke bedryven en veele andere dingen, hem in zynen Persoon betreffende. Spreeken wy 'er van; 't is in 't voorbygaan, en zo, dat men merken kan, dat wy een ander hoofdoogmerk hebben. Al wat daarentegen den ouden Godsdienst, Regeeringsvorm, Gewoonten, Koophandel enz. van het Volk betreft, verhandelen wy zo naauwkeurig als ons, naar de bepaaldheid van ons bestek, mogelyk geweest is. De Geschiedenissen des Volks in 't algemeen zyn de hoofdstof van ons werk".

old by that time and only covered Dutch history until the end of the Middle Ages. What added even more to the popularity of the *Vaderlandsche historie*, was the fact that it was much more accessible and easier to read than the old work by Aurelius.[221]

The contents were structured in a traditional and chronological way. The entire work consists of twenty 'volumes' and eighty 'books', which are further subdivided in multiple chapters. Wagenaar admired the way Livius had "artistically bonded together historical events" and thought this to be better and more clear than "to write without any form of separation between different historical periods" like De Thou, and after him Grotius, Hooft and Brandt, had done.[222] To give his work more consistency, Wagenaar used the notion of 'freedom' as a constant factor throughout all the periods (he distinguished five of them) described in his *Vaderlandsche historie*. Over the course of Dutch history, the concept of freedom in his view had changed several times, but was nevertheless always present, serving as a structured and directional principle throughout the entire nation's past.[223] By taking as its overarching theme this supposedly age-old Dutch spirit of liberty, the *Vaderlandsche historie* managed to convey a unique historical identity to the Dutch Republic, which, as an independent nation, was still very young (since 1648).[224] Wagenaar purposely presented his work as a history of the "distressed, oppressed, resurgent and victorious liberty" of the Dutch people.[225]

Another distinct feature of Wagenaar's way of writing history, was his effort to be as impartial as possible. According to him, a writer of history should be a rational being, someone who aims to uncover the motivations of people from forgotten times through the use of authentic documents. Wagenaar believed it was of the utmost importance not to make judgments that had no clear-cut foundation in the source material and that it was better to avoid praise or blame and leave the verdict to the reader. Although Wagenaar ensured the readers of the *Vaderlandsche Historie* on several occasions that he was impartial in his study of the historical sources, he did ultimately draw some controversial conclusions himself. In particular, he identified freedom with the undisputed sovereignty of the provincial States. In Wagenaar's eyes, the stadtholder could only carry out his responsibilities in close collaboration with the representatives of the provinces and within the limits of the rightful privileges of the Dutch people.[226] This conviction would eventually

[221] Wessels, 'Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773)', p. 119.
[222] Bakker, *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar*, p. 21. The original Dutch text reads: "Ook heeft hy den vermaerden Romein Livius het kunstig aeneenhegten der gebeurten, en andere fraeiheden, afgekeeken. Om zonder scheiding van *Perioden* door te schryven, als Thuanus gedaen heeft, dien de Groot, Hooft, en Brandt gevolgd hadden, behaegde hem niet".
[223] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 65.
[224] Wessels, 'WAGENAAR, Jan (1709-73)', p. 1063.
[225] Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie*, p. VI. The orginial Dutch text reads: "wy zien haar [vrijheid] nu eens tergen, schenden, verdrukken; en dan 't hoofd wederom boven haalen en over alle haare Vyanden zegepraalen".
[226] Haitsma Mulier, 'The Dutch writing of history', pp. 176-182.

cost Wagenaar dearly and left a strong mark on the reception and interpretation of his work and on the sincerity of his person. He learned the hard way that, no matter how much a historian attempts to be nuanced and impartial, people will always try to find a deeper political meaning behind a work of history, especially in the turbulent years of the 1740s and 1750s.[227]

Wagenaar became pre-eminently known as a supporter of the regents and his *Vaderlandsche historie* was considered a 'Whig' history in which he covertly tried to legitimize the more liberal politics conducted by the States Party.[228] The first time he faced opposition as a result of this stance was in 1754 and 1755, when the tenth volume came out which treated the Twelve Years' Truce. The orthodox Calvinists expressed their criticism and voiced allegations against the *Vaderlandsche historie* and against Wagenaar himself, because they believed he had been too positive about the Remonstrants, whom they considered as the enemy.[229] This controversy over his alleged biased treatment of Arminianism became so heated that Wagenaar was forced to find himself a patron among the Amsterdam magistrates to protect him against the Calvinist ministry.[230] According to Wagenaar's biographer, this was one of the hardest periods in the writer's life:

> When book thirty-seven of part ten was printed, in which the origins of the Dutch Republic's frictions concerning religion, the doctrines of the old and young Christians and their bones of contention were briefly treated, he encountered [...] so many hardships and adversity, that the project was not only halted for some time, but the entire history was in danger of not being finished.[231]

However, the worst was yet to come. In 1757, the much anticipated volume thirteen, covering the period in which grand pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-1672) had reigned supreme, was published by Tirion. This time, Wagenaar's partiality towards the regents was even more obvious than before and people who had once been favourable towards him now distanced themselves. As a reaction, the Orangist (i.e. the people who supported the stadtholders, who were princes of the House of Orange) author Pieter Le Clerq published a pamphlet entitled *Het karakter van den Raadpensionaris De Witt*, in which he explained everything that was wrong about grand pensionary De Witt's

---

[227] Price, *Culture and society in the Dutch Republic*, pp. 225-226.
[228] C. Offringa, 'Classicisme en Verlichting: Wagenaar, Stijl en Van de Spiegel over de middeleeuwen', in H.B. Teunis and L. van Tongerloo (eds.), *Middeleeuwen, tussen Erasmus en heden* (Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1986), pp. 63-87, here 73-75.
[229] Wessels, 'Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773)', p. 125.
[230] Van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord*, p. 177.
[231] Bakker, *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar*, p. 36. The original Dutch text reads: "Toen het 37 Boek van het X Deel ter perse gaen zou, waerin de Oorsprong der verdeeldheid over den Godsdienst, in de Vereenigde Gewesten, mitsgaders, de Leer der oude en laatere Christenen, omtrent de betwiste punten, beknoptelyk, ontvouwd werdt, ontmoette hy [...] zo veele zwaerigheden en vitteryen, dat niet alleen het voortdrukken eenigen tyd gestremd werdt, maer zelfs het voortschryven der Historie zelve gevaer liep van gantschelyk afgebroken te worden".

character. Not long after, the Leiden author and publisher Elie Luzac joined Le Clercq and the Orangists in their allegations on the address of De Witt with his *De zugt van J. de Witt voor zijn vaderland en deszelfs vrijheid*. Wagenaar could no longer sit by idle and countered with his *Het egt en waar karakter van den heere raadpensionaris Johan de Witt* (see appendix, nr. 11), unleashing a fierce polemic that has later been dubbed the *Witten-Oorlog* or 'De Witts War'.[232] More than fifty titles were published over the course of the polemic, which raged between the Orangists, represented by Luzac and Le Clercq, and the States Party, represented by Wagenaar, Burman and Hemsterhuis. Although at first the emphasis had been on the historical appreciation of De Witt, the polemic was soon twisted and turned into a war dealing with contemporary arguments and contradictions between the two parties.[233]

The Orangist Elie Luzac believed that the principles advocated by De Witt and his eighteenth-century admirers, undermined the very foundations of the Dutch state. According to him, both the people and the regents had entrusted Prince William I (1533-1584) with the care of the Dutch Republic at the time of revolt against Spain. In Luzac's eyes, this meant that acting against the House of Orange was acting against the people's sovereignty. After all, it had been the Dutch people who had changed the regime during times of crisis in 1618 and 1672, and for that, all legitimacy of the Dutch Republic derived from them. Wagenaar countered by mocking this legitimacy which the Orangists claimed was derived from the people, though he willingly agreed that in the end sovereignty came from the Dutch people. The people, however, could not be allowed to intervene continually to adjust the shape of sovereignty, for its loyalties and views were inherently inconsistent and always shifting. For Wagenaar, it was without question that sovereignty was reserved for the provincial States as the representatives of the people, just as Grotius had argued.[234] Furthermore, Wagenaar berated the unprecedented elevation of the stadtholderate after 1747. The position had become hereditary, which he believed was much more than the position traditionally deserved and was a first step towards an absolute monarchy.[235] Although the De Witts War fizzled out surprisingly quick and ended inconclusively, Wagenaar knew that the closer he would come in his history to contemporary events, the more extreme these kind of controversies and debates would become. As a result, he quitted the project in 1759 after having continued the history up to the death of Prince William IV against his will.[236]

Despite all the controversies surrounding its publication, the *Vaderlandsche historie* remained a historical and literary masterpiece. Based on an exhaustive knowledge of almost all the archival

[232] A. Wilschut, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties: 1700-1800* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), pp. 98-99.
[233] Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 72.
[234] Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* pp. 1084-1085.
[235] Wilschut, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties*, pp. 98-99.
[236] Molhuysen and Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, p. 1088.

and published materials to that date, it was reprinted and revised several times and expanded long after Wagenaar's death in 1759.[237] That the *Vaderlandsche historie* was indeed a great success, is demonstrated by the fact that, despite of its size (twenty-one volumes) and substantial price, it became an enormous bestseller. The work not only functioned as the breeding ground for a new interpretation of the concept of 'fatherland', but it was also the first work in which, according to modern insights, the ideal image of the seventeenth-century Dutch Golden Age was coherently canonized.[238] It would mould the perception of the Dutch of their own history for at least a century and at long last provided them with a shared national history.[239]

[237] G.J. Schutte, "'A subject of admiration and encomium". The history of the Dutch Republic as interpreted by non-Dutch authors in the second half of the eighteenth century', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985), pp. 109-131, here 117.
[238] Kloek and Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, p. 231.
[239] Schutte, "'A subject of admiration and encomium'", p. 117.

CONCLUSION

During its time, the Dutch Republic was known as one of the most religious tolerant nations in Europe. It was home to many different religious groups, sects and minorities, seemingly living together in harmony. However, appearances can deceive. Since the Republic's foundation in 1579, the Reformed Calvinist Church kept consciously gaining influence at the cost of religious minority groups and started encroaching into political territory, leading to one of the darkest chapters in the history of Dutch religious toleration: the Synod of Dort (1618-1619). As a result of this conclave, which was attended by representatives of Calvinist countries from all over Europe, Arminianism was refuted as heterodox and the reins on divergent religious groups, better known as 'dissenters' or 'nonconformists', tightened. The Collegiants were one such group and a very special one at that. During the second half of the seventeenth-century, they were in the vanguard of what is nowadays known as the radical Enlightenment, a period in which traditional religious beliefs were shaken by the advent of reason. The dissenting sect from Rijnsburg was among the first to embrace this new way of thinking and played an important role in its popularization, becoming one of the most influential religious forces of that era. However, the rise of, among others, a more moderate variant of Enlightenment thinking at the start of the eighteenth-century soon halted their ascent. It is commonly believed that this was the deathblow to the important role the Collegiants had once played in the Dutch Republic's intellectual climate and resulted in their receding to the background during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment period. However, was this indeed the case? Did the Collegiants only play a minor role during the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment? This study examined the writings produced by two Collegiants of that time, the author Jan Wagenaar and the publisher Isaak Tirion, in an attempt to present a different image.

Before one can deal with such an issue, it was necessary to thoroughly analyze the religious movement known as Collegiantism. In the first chapter their origin, position in society and distinctive characteristics were described, in order to present a clear image of the dissenting sect that played, and would continue to play, an important role in the Dutch Enlightenment period. They can be characterized as descendants of the Mennonites and the Arminians and, as a result, had a deep aversion towards orthodox Calvinism, especially scorning their ideas on absolute predestination and strict confessionalism. However, Collegiants, and dissenters in general, were in the minority and, as such, restricted by the public Reformed Calvinist Church and the government from holding civic office. As a result, they were very susceptible to the Enlightenment and its ideas, believing it could act as a vehicle to secure a more equal position in society and perhaps even usher in a new age of complete religious freedom. In the meantime, the Collegiants would do everything

in their power to facilitate the spread of these Enlightenment ideas in the Dutch Republic, their main weapons being 'anticonfessionalism' and 'free prophecy'.

As a result of these two distinctive Collegiant traits, the movement became a melting pot of all kinds of different philosophies and convictions. It was entirely possible for two people with completely different backgrounds and upbringings to meet in Collegiant circles and enter into a (professional) relationship. This is exactly what happened to the protagonists of this study, whose lives are explored in the second chapter. Jan Wagenaar was born in Amsterdam as the eldest son of a large shoemaker's family. Although not poor, his parents were not able to afford him going to the Latin school, despite Wagenaar's above average intellect, and so he was educated to become a merchant instead. However, he continued studying by himself and became versed in French, Latin, English, Greek and Hebrew. He soon wrestled himself free from his parents and circle of friends, aspiring to become more. Believing he had more options for intellectual development with the liberal-minded Collegiants, he renounced his parents' Reformed Calvinist beliefs and joined the religious sect in 1730. It was here that he met his future publisher, Isaak Tirion. Being born to a radical Mennonite preacher and medical doctor, Tirion was brought up in an environment of deviant ideas and relative wealth. Being Wagenaar's superior both in age and within the Collegiant circle, Tirion saw something in the self-made young man and asked Wagenaar to work for him. The remarkable combination of these two individuals and their attributes, can explain why it was exactly this duo that tried to keep the Enlightened Collegiant legacy alive.

With the help of Wagenaar's nearly unlimited drive and intellectual potential and Tirion's capital, entrepreneurship and network, the two men were able to take more risks and started focusing on the publication of Enlightenment works in the Dutch vernacular. At first, these were primarily translations of English origin, since the first phase of the Dutch eighteenth-century Enlightenment was characterized by a change of direction towards the more moderate English variant. The third chapter examined to what extent Wagenaar's translations, which were published by Tirion, contributed to its solidification and advancement. The topics chosen by the duo provide a good representation of what interested Dutch dissenters the most during this time, namely Latitudinarianism and its ideas on toleration as well as the experimental natural theology as it was practiced in England by Newton and his followers. Works belonging to this first category were archbishop Tillotson's *Alle de predikaetsien* (1732) and the *Verzameling van eenige verhandelingen over de verdraagzaamheid en vryheid van godsdienst* (1734), which inspired many. The first publication introduced a new kind of 'practical' preaching and the second became a reference book for everyone who wanted to take up the cause of religious toleration, exemplified by the so-called 'Stinstra affair' in the years 1740-1745. Tirion's publications on natural theology had a similar effect. The journal

Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen (1734-1741), although it failed in its ambition to become the Dutch equivalent of the English *Philosophical transactions*, was for many one of the first encounters with this new experimental science. Later, publishers, like Frans Houttuyn, tried again and took the initiative to new heights. Another important scientific work, translated by Wagenaar and published by Tirion, was the *Filozoofische onderwyzer* (1737), which was specifically meant to indulge amateurs in the marvels and possibilities of natural theology, popularizing general Enlightenment thinking among the masses in the process.

As a result, an interest in everything the Enlightenment had to offer was taking root among the Dutch population and the before mentioned pioneering works in the vernacular had played an important role in this development. As a result, people began to develop a new collective identity and when the Dutch Republic was once again embarrassed during the War of the Austrian Succession, they started to organize themselves in a nation-wide network in order to make a fist and usher in political and societal reform. Empowering and expanding this 'public sphere', in which everyone was able to partake as long as they were willing to fight for the well-being of their beloved 'fatherland', became the key characteristic of the second phase of the Dutch Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. It goes without saying that the dissenters benefited greatly from this more inclusive form of citizenship, being for once able to influence national politics, and Wagenaar and Tirion played their part accordingly. No longer confined to the publication of translations, the duo started working on publications intended specifically for the Dutch population and their newfound fatherland, engaging in national politics in the process. Their spectatorial writings the *Koffy-huis-praatje* (1747) and *De Patriot* (1747-1748) played an important role in educating the people and creating a national identity characterized by patriotism and love for the Dutch Republic and its glorious history. This feeling would be strengthened even further when Wagenaar published his monumental *Vaderlandsche historie* (1749-1759) with Tirion, the first truly Dutch national history. However, Wagenaar soon found out that his representation of the past did not please everyone. He was accused on several occasions of being a too outspoken supporter of the States Party, as opposed to the House of Orange and the stadtholderate, which gave rise to a fierce polemic in 1757. Following these controversies, Wagenaar, to some extent, lost faith in the Dutch Enlightenment project and receded to the background. Nevertheless, his work would remain influential for many years to come and helped to fuel the Dutch patriotic movement to the next stage, that of revolution.

To what extent these later works of Wagenaar and Tirion inspired the Patriot Revolution of the 1780s is not answered in this study, but it is safe to say that, although the radical Collegiant heritage of the early Enlightenment was softened into a more moderate version after 1720,

Wagenaar and Tirion managed to contribute to the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment in a most meaningful way. While not necessarily in a direct manner, they highly influenced the views of leading Dutch Enlightenment figures like Stinstra, Houttuyn and even Capellen tot den Pol. As is often the case, the people who are not directly at the forefront of important events in history get left out of the books and become forgotten. In the same way, the influential works of Wagenaar and Tirion might be eclipsed and considered unimportant compared to the actions of the before mentioned people. However, as Spinoza already foreshadowed in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (vol. 20, p. 258) from 1670:

"Authority may be as much injured by words as by actions"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Bakker, P.H., *Brieven van en aan Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1786).

Bakker, P.H., *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1786).

Brandt, G., *Historie der reformatie en andre kerkelyke geschiedenissen in en ontrent de Nederlanden*, vol. 4 (Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704).

Burnet, G., *A sermon preached at the funeral of the most reverend father in God, by the divine providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: R. Chiswell, 1694).

Fijne, P. de, *Kort, waerachtigh, en getrouw verhael van het eerste begin en opkomen van de nieuwe seckte der propheten ofte Rynsburgers in het dorp van Warmont, anno 1619, en 1620* ('Waer-stadt': s.n., 1671).

Hales, J., *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales of Eton College &c* (London: T. Garthwait, 1659), letter of Anthony Farindon.

Tirion, I., 'Bekentmaking', *Maandelvke uittreksels, of boekzaal der geleerde waerelt*, 60:1 (1745), pp. 88-89.

Tiron, I., *Alle de predikatien van den zeer vermaerden Johannes Tillotson* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1730).

Tiron, I., *Verzameling van eenige verhandelingen over de verdraagzaamheid en vryheid van godsdienst* (Amsterdam: J. ter Beek & Isaak Tirion, 1734).

Wagenaar, J., *De patriot, of politike bedenkingen, over den staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden in 't jaar MDCCXLVII* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1748).

Wagenaar, J., *Filozoofische Onderwyzer of Algemeene Schets der Hedendaagsche Ondervindelyke Natuurkunde* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1737).

Wagenaar, J., *Koffy-huis-praatje, tusschen een oud Amsterdamsch koopman, een Fries, en eenige anderen* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1747).

Wagenaar, J., *Redenvoering over den Christelijken waterdoop, gehouden te Rhijnsburg, den 28 augustus 1745* (s.l.: s.n., 1745).

Wagenaar, J., *Vaderlandsche historie*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1749).

Secondary literature

Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 20 (Haarlem: Brederode, 1877).

Aerts, R.A.M., 'Civil society or democracy? A Dutch paradox', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 125:2 (2010), pp. 209-236.

Atkinson, D., *Scientific discourse in sociohistorical context: the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999).

Baggerman, A., *Een lot uit de loterij: familiebelangen en uitgeverspolitiek in de Dordtse firma A. Blussé en Zoon, 1745-1823* (The Hague, Sdu, 2000).

Bardet, J.D.M., 'Wie schreef het vierde deel van "de Wagenaar"?', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 36 (1939), pp. 253-256.

Bate, W.J., J.M. Bullitt and L.F. Powell (eds.), *The idler and the adventurer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

Berg, J. van den, 'Eighteenth century Dutch translations of the works of some British Latitudinarian and Enlightened theologians', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 59:2 (1979), pp. 194-199.

Berg, J. van den, *Religious currents and cross-currents: essays on early modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

Bilderdijk, W., Geschiedenis des vaderlands, vol. 13 (Amsterdam: Meyer Warnars, 1851).

Boller, P.F., 'Untangling ideological webs', *Southwest Review*, 62:2 (1977) , pp. 194-197.

Bosma, J., 'Van natuur geen redenaars: De gedrukte en uitgegeven preek in Nederland in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', *De achttiende eeuw*, 23 (1991), pp. 29-46.

Copley, S. and A. Edgar (eds.), *Selected essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Dingemanse, C., *Rap van tong, scherp van pen: literaire discussiecultuur in Nederlandse praatjespamfletten (circa 1600-1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008).

Eeghen, van I.H., *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. 5-1: *De boekhandel van de Republiek 1572-1795* (Amsterdam: Israel, 1978).

Eijnatten, J. van, *Liberty and concord in the United Provinces: Religious toleration and the public in the eighteenth-century Netherlands* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003).

Eijnatten, J. van, *Mutua Christianorum tolerantia: irenicism and toleration in the Netherlands: the Stinstra affair, 1740-1745* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1998).

Eijnatten, van J., 'The Church Fathers assessed: nature, Bible and morality in Jean Barbeyrac', *De achttiende eeuw*, 35 (2003), pp. 15-25.

Evenhuis, R.B., *Ook dat was Amsterdam*, vol. 4: *De kerk der hervorming in de achttiende eeuw: de grote crisis* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1974).

Fix, A., *Prophecy and reason: the Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Frampton, T.L., *Spinoza and the rise of historical criticism of the Bible* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006).

Frederiks, J.G., and F.J. van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1888).

Frijhoff, W.T.M., 'How plural were the religious worlds in early-modern Europe? Critical reflections from the Netherlandic experience', in C.S. Dixon, D. Freist and M. Greengrass (eds.), *Living with religious diversity in early-modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 21-51.

Fruin, R., and H.T. Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der republiek* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1901).

Gelderen, M. van, *The political thought of the Dutch revolt: 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Geyl, P., *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche stam*, vol. 2: *1609-1688* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1962).

Glasbergen, J.B., and S.C.H. Leenheer, *Duizend jaar Rijnsburg* (Leiden: De Bink, 1975).

Goinga, H. van, *Alom te bekomen: veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999).

Gordon, D., 'Sociability', in A.C. Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, vol. 4: *Sade-Zoology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 96-104.

Habermas, J., *The Structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

Haefeli, E., *New Netherland and the Dutch origins of American religious liberty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

Haitsma Mulier, E.O.G., 'Between humanism and Enlightenment: The Dutch writing of history', in M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century: Decline, enlightenment, and revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 170-187.

Hajenius, A.M.L., *Dopers in de Domstad: geschiedenis van de doopsgezinde gemeente Utrecht, 1639-1939* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003).

Hesse, C., 'Print culture in the Enlightenment', in M. Fitzpatrick et al (eds.), *The Enlightenment world* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 366-380.

Hylkema, C.B., *Reformateurs: geschiedkundige studiën over de godsdienstige bewegingen uit de nadagen onzer Gouden Eeuw* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1978).

Ihalainen, P., *Protestant nations redefined: changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch, and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005).

Israel, J.I., 'Spinoza and the religious radical Enlightenment', in S. Mortimer and J. Robertson (eds.), *The intellectual consequences of religious heterodoxy, 1600-1750* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012), pp. 181-203.

Israel, J.I., *Enlightenment contested: philosophy, modernity, and the emancipation of man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Israel, J.I., *Radical Enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Kennel, M., 'Postsecular history: continental philosophy of religion and the seventeenth century Dutch Collegiant movement', *Studies in religion*, 46:3 (2017), pp. 406-432.

Klever, W.N.A., 'Spinoza's life and works', in G. Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: critical assessments*, vol. 1: *context, sources and the early writings* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 3-45.

Kloek, J.J., and W.W. Mijnhardt, *1800: blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (The Hague: Sdu, 2001).

Kołakowski, L., 'Dutch seventeenth century anticonfessional ideas and rational religion: the Mennonite, Collegiant and Spinozan connections', *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 64:3 (1990), pp. 259-297.

Kooijmans, L., and C. Misset, 'Van rebellen tot "koningen in eigen huis". Opstand, regentenbewind en politieke cultuur', in T. de Nijs and E. Beukers (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland*, vol. 2: *1572 tot 1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), pp. 9-77.

Kossmann, E.H., 'The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century', in Jacob and Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century*, pp. 19-31.

Krop, H., '"The general freedom, which all men enjoy" in a confessional state: the paradoxical language of politics in the Dutch Republic (1700-1750)', in J.C. Laursen and M.J. Villaverde (eds.), *Paradoxes of religious toleration in early modern political thought* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012), pp. 67-90.

Kwa, C., *Styles of knowing: a new history of science from ancient times to the present* (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

Leeb, I.L., *The ideological origins of the Batavian Revolution: history and politics in the Dutch Republic 1747-1800* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

Lennep, J. van, and J. ter Gouw, *De uithangteekens in verband met geschiedenis en volksleven beschouwd*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1868).

Marshall, J., *John Locke, toleration and early Enlightenment culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Meihuizen, H.W., 'Collegianten en doopsgezinden', in S. Groenveld (ed.), *Daar de Orangie-appel in de gevel staat. In en om het weeshuis der doopsgezinde Collegianten 1675-1975* (Amsterdam: Stichting Weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten "De Oranje Appel", 1975), pp. 83-105.

Mijnhardt, W.W., 'De geschiedschrijving over de ideeëngeschiedenis van de 17e- en 18e-eeuwse Republiek', in W.W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *Kantelend geschiedbeeld: Nederlandse historiografie sinds 1945* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1983), pp. 162-205.

Mijnhardt, W.W., 'De Nederlandse Verlichting', in F. Grijzenhout, W.W. Mijnhardt and N.C.F. van Sas (eds.), *Voor vaderland en vrijheid: de revolutie van de patriotten* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), pp. 53-80.

Mijnhardt, W.W., 'The construction of silence: religious and political radicalism in Dutch history', in W. van Bunge (ed.), *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1750: selected papers of a conference, held at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, 22-23 March 2001* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), pp. 231-262.

Mijnhardt, W.W., 'The Dutch Enlightenment: humanism, nationalism, and decline', in Jacob and Mijnhardt (eds.), *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century*, pp. 197-223.

Millner, S.L., *The face of Benedictus Spinoza* (New York: Machmadim Art Editions, 1946).

Molhuysen, P.C., and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1921).

Nadler, S., *Spinoza: a life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Nuttall, G.F., *Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge DD (1702-1751)* (London: H.M.S.O., 1979).

Offringa, C., 'Classicisme en Verlichting: Wagenaar, Stijl en Van de Spiegel over de middeleeuwen', in H.B. Teunis and L. van Tongerloo (eds.), *Middeleeuwen, tussen Erasmus en heden* (Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1986), pp. 63-87.

Platts, C., 'Martin, Benjamin', in S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1893), pp. 271-272.

Price, J.L., *Culture and society in the Dutch Republic during the 17th century* (London: Batsford, 1974).

Quay, de P.P., *De genoegzaamheid van het natuurlijk gezond verstand: prijsverhandelingen over godsdienst, zedenkunde en burgerlijke maatschappij in Nederland aan het einde der 18e eeuw* (The Hague: Sdu, 2000).

Reedy, G., 'Interpreting Tillotson', *The Harvard theological review*, 86:1 (1993), pp. 81-103.

Rohls, J., 'Calvinism, Arminianism and Socinianism in the Netherlands until the Synod of Dort', in M. Mulsow and J. Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarians, Calvinists and cultural exchange in seventeenth-century Europe* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), pp. 3-48.

S. Groenveld, 'Lijst van regenten en regentessen van de Oranjeappel, 1675-heden', in Groenveld (ed.), *Daar de Orangie-appel in de gevel staat*, pp. 190-194.

Sadler, J., 'The Collegiants: a small presence in the Dutch Republic, a large metaphor for the book', in L. Hunt, M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt (eds.), *Bernard Picart and the first global vision of religion* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), pp. 59-74.

Sas, N. van, 'The Netherlands, 1750-1830', in H. Barker and S. Burrows (eds.), *Press, politics, and the public sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 48-68.

Sas, N. van, 'The Netherlands: A historical phenomenon', in D.W. Fokkema and G. Grijzenhout (eds.), *Dutch culture in a European perspective*, vol. 5: *Accounting for the past: 1650-2000* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 41-66.

Schutte, G.J., "'A subject of admiration and encomium". The history of the Dutch Republic as interpreted by non-Dutch authors in the second half of the eighteenth century', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985), pp. 109-131.

Slee, J.C. van, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten: geschiedkundig onderzoek* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1980).

Strien, C.D. van, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period: Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

Sturkenboom, D., *Een verdeelde Verlichting: stemmen uit de spectators* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2001).

Trevor-Roper, H., *The crisis of the seventeenth century: religion, the reformation, and social change* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1967).

Troeltsch, E., *The social teaching of the Christian churches*, vol. 2 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992).

Veenbaas, J., *De Verlichting als kraamkamer: over het tijdperk en zijn betekenis voor het heden* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2013).

Visser, P., 'Isaak Tirion (1705-1765), Amsterdams uitgever en promotor van de Nederlandse Verlichting: een verkenning', in J. Biemans, L. Kuitert and P. Verkruijsse (eds.), *Boek & letter: boekwetenschappelijke bijdragen ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van prof.dr. Frans A. Janssen als hoogleraar in de boek- en bibliotheekgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 2004), pp. 467-493.

Visser, P., 'TIRION, Isaak (1705-65)', in W. van Bunge et al. (eds.), *The dictionary of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch philosophers*, vol. 2: *K-Z* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), pp. 987-990.

Voogt, G., "'Anyone who can read may be a preacher": sixteenth-century roots of the Collegiants', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 85:1 (2005), pp. 409-424.

Wall, E.G.E. van der, 'Toleration and Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic', in O.P. Grell and R. Porter (eds.), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114-132.

Wessels, L.H.M., "Vrijheid' of 'Gods woord'. Twee interpretaties van de vaderlandsche geschiedenis', in E.G.E.. van der Wall and L.H.M. Wessels (eds.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding: religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2007), pp. 390-408.

Wessels, L.H.M., 'De beste aller werelden? Politiek, religie en een weerbarstige samenleving. Nederland 1650-1850' in Van der Wall and Wessels (eds.), *Een veelzijdige verstandhouding: religie en Verlichting in Nederland 1650-1850*, pp. 36-72.

Wessels, L.H.M., 'Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773). Bijdrage tot een herwaardering', in P.A.M. Geurts and A.E.M. Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, vol. 1: *Geschiedschrijvers* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 117-140.

Wessels, L.H.M., 'WAGENAAR, Jan (1709-73)', in W. van Bunge et al. (eds.), *The dictionary of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch philosophers*, vol. 2: *K-Z* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), pp. 1062-1064.

Wessels, L.H.M., *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden: Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773), een historiografische studie* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1997).

Wilschut, A., *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties: 1700-1800* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008).

Zijpp, N. van der, 'Collegiants', in H.S. Bender et al. (eds.), *The Mennonite encyclopedia: a comprehensive reference work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement*, vol. 1: *A-C* (Hillsboro: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1955), pp. 639-640.

Zuidervaart, H.J, 'Science for the public: the translation of popular texts on experimental philosophy into the Dutch language in mid-eighteenth century', in S. Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural transfer through translation: The circulation of enlightened thought in Europe by means of translation* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 231-262.

Zwager, H.H., and R. van Gelder, *Nederland en de Verlichting* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1980).

Websites

Delpher, 'Advertentie', <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011013360:mpeg21:a0007> (22 September, 2018).

Rijksmuseum, 'De boekhandel en het loterijkantoor van Jan de Groot in de Kalverstraat te Amsterdam', <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-T-1921-462> (22 October, 2018).

Rijksmuseum, 'Portret van Jan Wagenaar', <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1937-1191> (17 October, 2018).

APPENDIX

In the following appendix, a list is added of Jan Wagenaar's writings that are published by Isaak Tirion over the course of their collaboration. The names of the works are standardized according to the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN) and their descriptions and specifications are based on Pieter Huisinga Bakker's *Het leeven van Jan Wagenaar benevens eenige brieven van en aan denzelven* (Amsterdam: Yntema & Tieboel, 1786), combining the old and the new in order to get a comprehensive and well-rounded list.

1. Alle de predikaetsien

Published in Amsterdam in 1732 in quarto format, the *Alle de predikaetsien* contained all 254 sermons of the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson, which he had published himself in English in 1671. Wagenaar translated sermons 207-213 in volume five, sermons 243-254 in volume six, and providing the complete register at the back of the last volume.

2. Historie der paussen[*]

Published in Amsterdam in 1733 in octavo format, the *Historie der paussen* was, presumably, a translation of the first volume of an originally five-volume French work by a François Brueys. Only the first volume was translated by Wagenaar, because it flopped.

3. Verzameling van eenige verhandelingen over de verdraagzaamheid en vryheid van godsdienst

Published in Amsterdam in collaboration with another publisher, J. ter Beek, in 1734, this cheap octavo booklet did much to boost the toleration debate in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. It contained Dutch translations of the following five texts: John Locke's *Epistola de tolerantie* (1689), Gerard Noodt's address *De religione ab imperio jure gentium libera* (1705), the twelfth chapter of Jean Barbeyrac's *Traité de la morale des pères* (1728), Benjamin Hoadly's *The nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ* (1717) and Johannes Drieberge's *Predikaetsie over het gedrag van Paulus tegen de Kristenen voorzyne bekeering* (1723). Of these, Wagenaar translated the French contribution of Barbeyrac and the English speech of Benjamin Hoadly.

[*] This title is not in the STCN. The information given is based on Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden*, p. 33.

4. Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen, waar in berigt gegeeven word van veele voornaame deelen van de natuurkunde en natuurlyke historie

Published in three volumes between 1734 and 1741, the *Uitgeleeze natuurkundige verhandelingen* was a journal in octavo format, containing articles by some of the most prominent English, French and Dutch scholars. It was meant to become a Dutch equivalent of the Royal Society of London's *Philosophical transactions*, but started to lose momentum fairly quickly.

5. Filozoofische onderwyzer; of Algemeene schets der hedendaagsche ondervindelyke natuurkunde

Published in Amsterdam in 1737 in octavo format, the *Filozoofische* onderwyzer was deliberately written in the form of a dialogue to accommodate the inexperienced physics reader. It was a Dutch translation of Benjamin Martin's *The philosophical grammar*, which was published in London in 1735.

6. Hedendaagsche historie of tegenwoordige staat der Oostenrykssche, Fransche en Pruissische Nederlanden

Published in Amsterdam in 1738 in octavo format, the *Hedendaagsche historie der Oostenrykssche, Fransche en Pruissische Nederlanden* was Wagenaar's first original monography and probably the publication that inspired him to start writing his history of the fatherland.

7. Hedendaagsche historie, of Tegenwoordige staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden

Published in Amsterdam in 1739, this historical work was a continuation of nr. 6, adding a history of the Dutch Republic to the corpus. During the writing process of this octavo book, Wagenaar already started to amass sources that would aid him in his later historical work.

8. Koffy-huis-praatje, tusschen een oud Amsterdamsch koopman, een Fries, en eenige anderen

While technically not a spectator, the *Koffy-huis-praatje* was a sole publication, this work from 1747 had all the characteristics of one, with the author acting as a silent observant during the conversation, projecting his own ideas on the participants, and the presence of storytelling elements. It was published in Amsterdam in 1747 in octavo format.

9. De patriot, of Politike bedenkingen, over den staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden in't jaar MDCCXLVII

Published from 1747 to 1748, the *Patriot* consisted of about thirty issues on a wide variety of topics. This cheap octavo booklet was full of commentaries and reflections on actual social and political affairs. Within these, Wagenaar included elements of education and advice, in the hopes of shaping the Dutch people into a patriotic society.

10. Vaderlandsche historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden, inzonderheid die van Holland

Wagenaar's *magnum opus*. The *Vaderlandsche historie* was a historical work of the entire Dutch Republic, whereas, in the past, these kinds of works always had a predominantly hollandocentric outset. Furthermore, the work was presented as a history of the liberty of the Dutch people, giving them a unique historical identity. It consisted of twenty volumes in its entirety and was published in Amsterdam between 1749 and 1759 in octavo format.

11. Het egt en waar karakter van den heere raadpensionaris Johan de Witt, getrokken uit de brieven van den graave d'Estrades [...] en overgesteld tegen het valsch en wanschaapen karakter, onlangs in't licht gegeven

As a reaction to Wagenaar's somewhat biased description of historical events, Orangists started to distribute pamphlets in which his characterization of grand pensionary Johan de Witt was criticized. When Wagenaar responded with his *Het egt en waar karakter* in 1757, a polemic broke lose. Published in Amsterdam in octavo format.

12. Vrymoedige aanmerkingen over de zedige beproeving van de voorgestelde karakters van [...] Johan de Witt

Published in Amsterdam in 1757 in octavo format, the *Vrymoedige aanmerkingen* was again part of the De Witts War and the last contribution from the hand of Wagenaar to this fierce polemic.

13. Vaderlandsche historie verkort

In order to reach an even bigger public, Wagenaar summarized and simplified his *Vaderlandsche historie* leading to the publication of the *Vaderlandsche historie verkort* in 1758. This book in octavo format was meant for educational purposes and especially targeted young children and their families.

14. Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen

When Wagenaar became the official historian of the city of Amsterdam in 1758, he wrote his *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen* and had the first two volumes published two years later, in 1760, by Tirion. The third volume was published by Yntema and Tieboel in Amsterdam, with whom Wagenaar would stay for the rest of his writing career.