

The Dutch Republic

David Onnekink, University of Utrecht

Introduction

In his *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1668), the English ambassador, Sir William Temple, enumerated the achievements of the young state, and concluded that the Dutch Republic had become 'the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours'.^[1] The admiration of Sir William was not shared by his contemporary, the poet Andrew Marvell. Reflecting upon *The Character of Holland* (1653), he argued that Holland 'scarce deserves the name of land, As but the off-scouring of the British sand ... This indigested vomit of the sea, Fell to the Dutch by just propriety'.^[2]

Prelude: England and the founding of the Dutch Republic

This ambivalence was perhaps typical for the relationship between England and the Dutch Republic throughout the early modern age, and was first reflected in the attitude of Queen Elizabeth when dealing with the once rebel state. Formally, the Dutch Republic became independent in 1588, but effectively, the provinces, led by the Prince of Orange, were by 1572 in full rebellion against their overlord, Philip II, for whom the Dutch provinces were but one part of his extensive Spanish-Habsburg empire.^[3] Of these, the seven northerly provinces finally broke with Philip II in 1581. The provinces in the south were granted formal independence under the Archdukes, but remained tied to Spain. Elizabeth, conscious of English vulnerability in the face of Spanish power, conducted a cautious foreign policy. She sympathised with the Dutch Protestants but naturally loathed rebellion, and when she was offered sovereignty by the Dutch in 1585, she politely refused.^[4] However, the Spanish, besieging Antwerp, threatened to overrun the northern provinces, and thus formed a potential strategic threat to England. Their successes, moreover, might encourage Catholics in England and endanger English trade with the Low Countries. On 20 August 1585 the Dutch provinces and England concluded the treaty of Nonsuch; the first pact with a European state the Dutch ever concluded.^[5] The Queen decided to send an expeditionary force under the Earl of Leicester in support of the Dutch rebels. In response, Philip sent his Armada in 1588 to punish England and squash the rebellion once and for all. As it was, the Dutch continued their struggle against the Spanish in the Eighty Years War until 1648. The English monarchs would continue to patronisingly remind the Dutch of their support for independence, as becomes apparent in a letter from the English ambassador to the States General from 3 February 1672: 'His Maty [Charles II] taking to mind what a share his Predecessors had in establishing & protecting ye Govmt of ye States Generall of ye United Provinces in its infancy ...'.

Dutch Economy

Paradoxically, it was precisely during those war years that the Dutch achieved their economic 'miracle'.^[6] The trade of the towns in the western province of Holland, mainly Amsterdam, was growing spectacularly, due to the blockade of Antwerp in 1585 and the influx of capital and skill from exiles from the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch provinces were eminently suited to become a European centre for trade, with easy access to the North Sea as well as to the French and German hinterland via the Maas and Rijn rivers. The backbone of the Dutch *entrepôt* was its role in connecting two important trade routes, that of the traditional Baltic trade (grain, timber) and of the newly-gained Levant trade (luxuries), complemented by the East India^[7] spice trade that took off in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Moreover, it was mainly on Dutch ships that this trade was carried, backed by an efficient, state-supported system and low costs due to improvements in shipbuilding (the *fluit* was a cheap cargo ship with maximum loading capacity). For the larger part of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was the leading trading metropolis and staple market in northern Europe, until it was overtaken by London.

Dutch art, science, society and religion

Successes in trade created a solid economic foundation on which the Dutch Golden Age could build. It was during this period that the Dutch developed a remarkable culture, famous for painting and architecture. Dutch science achieved an international reputation and would, for several decades, infuse science in England with ideas and inventions.[8] Perhaps the greatest 'miracle' was Dutch society. Unlike surrounding countries, the Dutch Republic was ruled by a bourgeois elite that had its roots in commerce. There was a substantial, urbanised, literate middle-class. Although poverty was ubiquitous, the lower classes were relatively well off, and were at least spared the spectre of famine due to the steady influx of cheap grain from the Baltic. It was also a relatively tolerant state, allowing Jews and Catholics to (covertly) attend their religious services and conduct business. In recent years the sometimes jubilant assessment of the Dutch Republic as a haven of liberty has been toned down, based upon empirical evidence of local intolerance, but as a whole the Dutch Republic remained a uniquely tolerant state.[9] There was also a steady influx of religious refugees, such as Jews from the Iberian peninsula, Huguenots from France and English and Scottish puritans. All this made the Dutch Republic an immigrant state, attracting both religious and economic migrants from France, the Southern Netherlands, the British Isles[10] and Germany.

Dutch society was tolerant and diverse, but the state was Calvinist. The memory of the struggle for independence against Catholic Spain generated a patriotism that was defined by liberty and Protestantism.[11] This notion strengthened diplomatic relations with England, especially with regard to alliances against Catholic powers, Spain and France. Anglo-Dutch religious ties were strong, most notably through a shared tradition of Puritanism. Both states defined themselves and recognised each other as Protestant. Typically, James I sent a delegation to the defining 1618-1619 Synod of Dordt, during which the Dutch Calvinist church crystallised.

Dutch political system

The decentralised organisation of the Dutch Calvinist churches matched the political make-up of the state. Before the Revolt, the Provinces had been independent until they were swallowed up by the mighty Habsburg Empire. After 1581, sovereignty devolved again to the provincial assemblies, although matters of foreign policy were delegated to the States General. In practice, foreign policy was discussed by a special committee headed by the Grand Pensionary, officially a mere secretary. Still, real power rested in the provinces and in the cities, and the Grand Pensionary always needed to build consensus. In practice, the province of Holland had most power, based upon an economy that was larger than that of the other six provinces combined. Within Holland, the city of Amsterdam was dominant. Provinces and cities often maintained their own ties with foreign partners. Moreover, the Princes of Orange, who were stadtholders (stewards) in most provinces, as well as military and naval commanders-in-chief, kept their own informal diplomatic service. Officially, the stadtholders were executives and answerable to the States, but in fact they often behaved as quasi-sovereigns, and were regarded as such abroad. Although the Republic never experienced civil war, on three occasions (1618, 1650 and 1672) the two power centres (the stadtholder, who stood for centralisation, and the province of Holland, championing a decentralised state) were on a collision course, leading to a short-term political crisis. The complex constitution never entirely crystallised, and was to be swept away after the French Revolution. The intricate system baffled and often enraged foreign diplomats. Jonathan Swift once remarked that the Dutch Republic was 'crazily instituted'.[12]

The Dutch Republic thus maintained a complicated system of foreign relations,[13] one that was not always successful because of its lack of coherence. Still, the system had its advantages. For one, the multitude of formal and informal, political and commercial, agents created a network of information that was unsurpassed, making the Dutch Republic a centre for news in Europe, buoyed by an extensive information infrastructure of newspapers and pamphlets that were difficult for a decentralised government to censor. According to Secretary of State, Robert Harley, 'The Hague is the centre of all business and intelligence'.[14]

Relations between the Dutch Republic and England

Throughout their history, England and the Dutch Republic have mostly maintained cordial relations, based upon a mutual perception of common interests. The very first document from the reign of James I, typically, is a letter from the States General to Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, from March 1603, thanking him for his goodwill towards the Dutch state. Both states regarded themselves as Protestant, liberal, maritime and capitalist, in which they felt to be different than surrounding monarchies, especially absolutist and Catholic ones. On the other hand, economic rivalry frequently soured their ties.

Economic relations

Almost inevitably, overwhelming economic success put the Dutch on a collision course with England, an upcoming global power. [15] Around the turn of the seventeenth century, both countries established an East India Company (the EIC and the VOC), which turned out to be engines for sustained conflict in East Asia. Relations reached a low point in 1623 when the Dutch executed ten English traders, suspected of treason against the Dutch authorities on the Indonesian spice island Amboina. Still, separate English and Dutch spheres of influence emerged. The English focused mainly on India, whereas the Dutch built their commercial empire on the islands of Indonesia. They also possessed trade settlements and territory in Malabar, Ceylon and Malacca, maintained trading posts in Bengal and held a monopoly of trade with Japan.[16] In the West, competition revolved around the shores of Western Africa and the colony of New Netherlands, which was taken by England in 1664. Further rivalry ensued in the Baltic and the Levant.[17] England challenged the Dutch Republic in three short naval wars (1652–1654, 1665–1667 and 1672–1674).[18] The State Papers provide important information about these conflicts. For instance, English ambassadors would have resolutions of the Dutch States General extracted and translated for their superiors in London. State Papers 159, for instance, contains such a resolution about prizes in the First Anglo-Dutch War (SP 84/159 f.32). England was not always victorious in the short run, but these conflicts did eventually cripple Dutch economic and naval power. Together with French and English restrictions (most notably the Navigation Acts) on Dutch imports, these efforts succeeded in slowing down Dutch economic growth. Perhaps this was inevitable. Around the middle of the seventeenth century, both France and England had been in turmoil because of the civil wars, but by 1660 these far larger states had stabilised, and were able to exploit a much greater potential than the small Dutch state.[19]

Strategic relations

Economic competition remained, but by the late seventeenth century, strategic considerations drove the two states together in defence against what was regarded as French Catholic absolutist expansion under Louis XIV. Protestantism alone was unable to sustain an alliance, but it could cement an existing relationship and create a unified front when confronted with Catholic threats. Oliver Cromwell had made the Dutch Republic a target of his foreign policy in 1652. In 1672 Charles II, who had concluded a secret alliance with Louis XIV at Dover, even joined France when it invaded the Dutch Republic in 1672. That year is known in Dutch history as the Year of Disaster, as it almost led to the very extinction of the state. By 1674 however, the tide began to change. The Protestant House of Commons forced the king to alter the course of English foreign policy, carried by a public opinion that was increasingly anti-French.[20]

The sympathy of Charles II[21] and his successor James II[22] for the French state, and Parliament's fear of Louis's aspirations, paralysed English foreign policy, until the remarkable invasion of the Dutch in 1688 forced a breakthrough. Prince William III of Orange,[23] stadtholder in the Dutch Republic but as a grandson of Charles I also a Stuart heir to the throne,[24] invaded England in November. This was not totally unforeseen, and was in fact also rumoured about outside diplomatic circles. Testimony to the importance of private newsletters, these are also found in this archive. A certain Thomas Moore, for instance, wrote from The Hague to William Blackstone in Newcastle warning him: 'This is to desire you to take care of yourselfe & what you have, for you will certainly finde [an] invasion & rupture in England in fifteen days time ...'. William was joined by a crack army of Dutch veterans, as well as returning English and Scottish exiles who wished to see James II overthrown.[25] By December James II had fled the

country, and in April 1689 William III and his wife Mary II, daughter of James II, were crowned King and Queen, inaugurating an alliance between the Dutch and the English against France in two wars that would last until 1713.[26] The two 'Maritime Powers' [27] formed the core of the Grand Alliance of 1689 (renewed in 1701) controlling the seas and providing the financial muscle to keep the war effort going, despite latent opposition against the Dutch alliance among the English population.[28]

Postlude: England and the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century

However, whereas England emerged in 1713 as a global power, the Dutch were financially exhausted.[29] Throughout most of the eighteenth century, accordingly, the Dutch state was no longer able to maintain its status as a great power. The balance of power was maintained by the so-called Pentarchy (England, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria), and the Dutch Republic pursued a prudent foreign policy of neutrality or aloofness, unless assured of the firm backing of England. On the whole, Anglo-Dutch relations remained cordial. Testimony to this, the Dutch offered military assistance to the Hanoverians when confronted with Jacobite rebellions in 1713 and 1745. English troops aided the Dutch in 1747, when attacked by France in the War of the Austrian Succession, and intervened on behalf of the Dutch government in 1787 when confronted with the Patriot Rebellion. Only in 1780 did relations temporarily cool down when the Dutch insisted on continuing to trade with the rebellious American colonies, thus prompting the English to declare a war that lasted until 1784. Yet all in all, despite commercial rivalry and occasional naval conflict, the Dutch Republic and England maintained remarkably friendly relations throughout the early modern age.[30]

The archives

It is this political relation that is reflected in the rich and extensive diplomatic and political correspondence in the State Papers Foreign. The bulk of the correspondence covered by State Papers Online, Parts II and IV (1509–1714) is contained in 250 volumes of State Papers Foreign SP 84 [volumes 1–250, 500] Part IV of the collection spans the entire Stuart period. SP 84 contains the bulk of the material, mainly letters of envoys and ambassadors to the secretaries of state, mostly those of the Northern Department, who were responsible for relations with the Dutch Republic.[31] It tracks the eventful Anglo-Dutch relations through such monumental events as the English Revolution and the First Anglo-Dutch War (see SP 84, vol. 150), the English assault on the Dutch Republic in 1672 (see SP 84, vol. 150, the Glorious Revolution (SP 84, vols 220–222) and the negotiations concerning the Peace of Utrecht (see SP 84, vol. 246). The State Papers Foreign also contain other sources, such as newsletters (see SP 101, vol. 45), treaties (see SP 103, vol. 36), and letter books (SP 105, vol. 92).

Relations between England and the Dutch Republic were not always maintained solely through the formal despatches of English envoys, and the researcher needs to complement these with the personal correspondence envoys maintained with the Secretaries of State,[32] such as Secretary of State Charles Middleton, whose papers are in the British Library.[33]. Some of these collections of correspondence, such as those of secretaries of state, the Earl of Nottingham and Sir William Trumbull, have been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.[34]

Similarly, the Nationaal Archief in the Hague contains the diplomatic correspondence of Dutch envoys in London, some of which have been copied and are now in the British Library.[35] Traditionally, the Dutch envoys to London were recruited from the province of Zeeland, and they were not always close with the Grand Pensionary, a Holland official. Therefore, these despatches must be complemented with the personal correspondence of the Grand Pensionaries[36] and the Princes of Orange.[37] A number of relevant sources for Anglo-Dutch relations have been published online by the Institute of Netherlands History, including sources on the Dutch Levant trade,[38] Anglo-Dutch and Scotto-Dutch trade,[39] the formal Dutch East India Company correspondence,[40] a biographical dictionary of English envoys in Holland and Dutch envoys in London,[41] and the correspondence of English envoys in The Hague in the 1680s.[42]. Lastly, Anglo-Dutch relations can also be tracked through the correspondence of the ministers of the Dutch Church in London at Austin Friars, as well as the Dutch consuls in Gibraltar and on the Channel Islands. Likewise, the ministers of the English Church in The Hague, the representatives of the English (Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam and Dordrecht) and Scottish (Veere) staple ports, as well as the consuls in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Middleburg should be consulted.[43]

Citation

David Onnekink, 'The Dutch Republic', *State Papers Online, 1509–1714*, Cengage Learning EMEA Ltd, 2011

Notes

[1] Sir W. Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, ed. G. N. Clark (Cambridge, 1932), preface. On Sir William Temple's embassy in the Dutch Republic, see K. H. D. Haley, *An English diplomat in the Low Countries: Sir William Temple and John de Witt, 1665–1672* (Oxford, 1986).

[2] A. Marvell, *The Character of Holland* (1653), lines 1–8.

[3] G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1985); G. Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven and London, 1998). Strictly speaking, the rebellion had started in 1568. For an overview of the history of the Dutch Republic, see J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995).

[4] On Elizabethan foreign policy, see C. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970).

[5] Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (see note 3 above), p. 219.

[6] For an overview of Dutch economic and commercial development, see J. de Vries and A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997) and J. I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1989).

[7] The East India Company (VOC) was established in 1602, and achieved great success, unlike the West India Company (WIC), founded in 1623.

[8] On the Dutch Golden Age, see M. Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1995); A. Th. van Deursen, *Plain lives in a Golden Age. Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge, 1991); S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1991); J. L. Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1974). On Anglo-Dutch scientific and cultural cross-fertilisation, see L. Jardine, *Going Dutch. How England plundered Holland's Glory* (London, 2008). On Anglo-Dutch financial relations, see M. 't Hart, 'The Devil or the Dutch: Holland's Impact on the Financial Revolution in England 1643–1694', *Parliaments, Estates and Representations*, 11 (1991), pp. 39–52.

[9] R. Po-Chi Hsia and H. F. K. van Nierop, eds, *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2002).

[10] Since the later Middle Ages there had been English and Scots merchant communities in the Low Countries.

[11] On the political theory and religious background to the Dutch Revolt, see M. van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1990); A. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London and Ronceverte, 1990).

[12] J. Swift, *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (London, 1758), p. 159. Still, Dutch historians are now re-evaluating the efficiency of the decentralised state, see for instance S. Groenveld, *Regeren in de Republiek. Bestuurspraktijken in de 17e-eeuwse*

Noordelijke Nederlanden: terugblik en perspectief (Leiden, 2006).

[13] On the organisation of Dutch foreign policy, see M. A. M. Franken, 'The General Tendencies and Structural Aspects of Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of the Dutch Republic in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century', *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, 3 (1968), pp. 1-42; R. Hatton, *Diplomatic Relations between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic* (London, 1950), pp. 21-29; C. W. Wood, 'A Study of Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Grand Alliance, 1701-1706' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, 1981), pp. 9-34.

[14] Quoted in D. B. Horn, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1689-1789* (Oxford, 1961), p. 19.

[15] On Dutch and English commerce, see D. Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires. England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003).

[16] On the Dutch colonial Empire, see C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London, 1965).

[17] A. Hamilton et al., eds, *Friends and Rivals in the East. Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 2000).

[18] On the Anglo Dutch Wars, see S. Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij. De Nederlandse Republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog 1640-1646* (Dieren, 1984); G. Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667). International raison d'état, Mercantilism and Maritime Strife* (Hilversum, 2006); J. R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1996); S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism. Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996); C. Wilson, *Profit and Power. A Study of England and the Dutch Wars* (Cambridge, 1957).

[19] Around 1700, the Dutch Republic had 2 million inhabitants, England 5 million and France 19 million. Cf. E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Scofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981), p. 196.

[20] S. Pincus, 'From butterboxes to wooden shoes: the shift in English popular sentiment from anti-Dutch to anti-French in the 1670s', *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995).

[21] On the foreign policy of Charles vis-à-vis the Dutch Republic, see R. Hutton, 'The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover 1668-1670', *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986) pp. 297-318; K. H. D. Haley, 'The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677', *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958) pp. 614-648; C. L. Groose, 'The Anglo-Dutch Alliance of 1678', *English Historical Review*, 39 (1924) pp. 349-373 and pp. 526-552.

[22] On James II, see J. Miller, *James II - A Study in Kingship* (London, 1989).

[23] On William III, see S. B. Baxter, *William III* (London, 1966); W. Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography* (Aldershot, 2005).

[24] On William's Stuart relations, see Pieter Geyl, *Orange and Stuart, 1641-1672* (New York, 1970).

[25] On the Glorious Revolution, see J. Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991); L. Schwoerer, ed., *The Revolution of 1688, Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1992); R. Beddard, ed., *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991); D. Hoak and M. Feingold, eds, *The World of William and Mary - Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford, 1996).

[26] On war, diplomacy, trade and the Anglo-Dutch alliance during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, see M. Lane, 'The Diplomatic Service under William III', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 10 (1927), pp. 87-109; J. Childs, *The Nine Years War and the British Army 1688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991); G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade 1688-1697* (New York, 1923); idem, 'The Dutch Missions to England in 1689', *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), pp. 529-557; G. Van den Haute, *Les relations Anglo-Hollandaises au début du XVIIIe siècle d'après la correspondance d'Alexandre Stanhope 1700-1706* (Leuven, 1932); R. Hatton, *Diplomatic Relations between Great Britain and the Dutch Republic* (London, 1950); J. G. Stork-Penning, 'The Ordeal of States - some Remarks on Dutch Politics during the War of Spanish Succession', *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, 2 (1967), pp. 107-140; C. W. Wood, 'A Study of Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Grand Alliance, 1701-1706' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, 1981).

[27] George Stepney, the English envoy in Vienna spoke to secretary of state, Charles Hedges, of the '... Puissances Maritimes, as the English and the Dutch are generally styled here [abroad].' Stepney to Hedges, 23 December 1702, in SP 105, vol. 66.

[28] On English opinion on the Dutch, see G. van Alphen, *De Stemming van de Engelschen tegen de Hollanders in Engeland tijdens de Regeering van den Koning-Stadhouder Willem III 1688-1702* (Assen, 1938); D. Coombs, *The Conduct of the Dutch. British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance during the War of the Spanish Succession* (The Hague, 1958).

[29] J. Aalbers, 'Holland's Financial Problems (1713-1733) and the Wars against Louis XIV', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse, eds, *Britain and the Netherlands VI: War and Society* (The Hague, 1977), pp. 79-93.

[30] Several extremely useful comparative volumes of essays on Anglo-Dutch history have been published as the series *Britain and the Netherlands*.

[31] For the organisation of the British diplomatic service, see D. B. Horn, *The British Diplomatic Service 1689-1789* (Oxford, 1961). For an overview of diplomats, G. M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509-1688* (Woodbridge, 1990) and D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789*, Camden 3rd series XLVI (London, 1932).

[32] Researchers should also check the *Calender of State Papers Domestic* (included in *State Papers Online*, Part IV and in Part III with the domestic manuscript series).

[33] British Library, Additional Manuscripts 41803-41846.

[34] *Manuscripts of the late Allan George Finch, Esq., Of Burley-on-the-Hill Rutland* (5 vols, London, 1913-2004); *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire preserved at Easthampstead Park Berkshire, Papers of Sir William Trumbull* (2 vols, London, 1924).

[35] British Library, Additional Manuscripts 17677. For a description of the archives of Dutch envoys, see J. C. M. Pennings and T. H. P. M. Thomassen, eds, *De archieven van Nederlandse gezanten en consuls tot 1813* (The Hague, 1994).

[36] *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. Bescheiden betreffende zijn staatkundig beleid en zijn familie 1570-1620*, ed. S. P. Haak and A. J. Veenendaal (The Hague, 1934-1967); *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius 1702-1720*, ed. A. J. Veenendaal (19 vols, The Hague 1976-2001).

[37] The correspondence of the Princes of Orange is in the monumental *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*. A separate edition was edited by Nicolaas Japikse, and contains the printed correspondence of William III, some of which is from the State Papers (SP 8 King William's Chest included in *State Papers Online*, Part III): Correspondentie van Willem III en

van Hans Willem Bentinck, Eersten Graaf van Portland, ed. N. Japikse (5 vols, The Hague, 1927–1937).

[38] *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel 1590–1826*, ed. K. Heeringa and J. C. Nanninga (3 vols, The Hague, 1923–1931).

[39] *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland 1150–1585*, ed. H. J. Smit (4 vols, The Hague, 1928–1942).

[40] *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, eds, W. Ph. Coolhaas, J. van Goor, J. E. Schooneveld-Oosterling and H. K. s' Jacob (7 vols, The Hague, 1960–1979).

[41] *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland 1584–1810*, ed. O. Schutte (The Hague, 1976); *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in Nederland 1584–1810*, ed. O. Schutte (The Hague, 1983).

[42] *The Dispatches of Th. Plott (1681–1682) and Th. Chudleigh (1682–1685): English Envoys at The Hague*, ed. F.A. Middlebush (The Hague, 1926).

[43] *Repertorium* (see note 41 above), ed. Schutte.