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Introduction

Refugee politics in early modern Europe

David de Boer and Geert H. Janssen

The term *refugee* made its entry into European dictionaries long after the refugee had come into being as a phenomenon. Denis Diderot's concise 1765 description in the *Encyclopédie*, for one, defined the figure as a Protestant who had been forced to leave France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).¹ This exclusionary characterization, however, was not universally accepted. Two hundred years earlier, in the correspondence of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), the term *refugee* had made its first known appearance, singling out not beleaguered Protestants but repressed Catholics who had fled the Calvinist Netherlands.² A flexible neologism, *refugee* thus emerged as an ambiguous and politicized tool in early modern Europe. Its use was typically conditioned by rhetorical purpose and confessional preference. The refugee's complex conceptual history is at the heart of the current volume, which seeks to map and explain how the emergence of refugee categories shaped European politics, informed migration management and affected humanitarian sensibilities in early modern societies.

Historians have generally explained the discursive invention of the refugee as the outcome of growing religious conflicts in Europe and the security concerns of its modernizing states, which generated a dramatic rise in displaced persons between 1450 and 1750. Some have seen the expulsion of Jewish minorities from the Iberian peninsula in 1492 as a watershed moment in this regard; others have cast the Reformation as Europe's first refugee crisis. The protection of refugees likewise depended on the utilitarian motives of rival confessional regimes, who began to welcome displaced coreligionists as victims of repression deserving of solidarity.³ Thus, the notion of refugee was strictly bounded by confessional discourse. Only in the eighteenth century did the Enlightenment further a new emotional culture that fuelled a more inclusive sense of empathy and advocated for universal human rights. The thinking of humanitarianism and international law pertaining to refugees would eventually emerge and develop out of this broadening of sentiments.⁴

Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe aims to challenge the narrative of this state-centred perspective. We propose that the refugee's emergence was largely shaped by the activism of displaced people seeking religious freedom, international solidarity and legal protections abroad.⁵ Religious dissenters of the Reformation era appear to be the first to have exploited this rhetorical strategy, thus transforming unprivileged migrants

from social outcasts into victims of repression deserving of special status in civilized societies. Media spin and a common 'brand name' proved key to these campaigns. Such exercises in refugee identity formation also informed lobby campaigns for charity, privileges and diplomatic intervention, and paved the way for a broader human rights' thinking on which Enlightenment philosophes would build. Shifting the focus of attention to such strategies and campaigns allows us to approach forced migrants as historical actors, whose ambitions, plans and decisions made a profound impact on early modern societies.⁶

By tracing the origins of the concept of refugee and its political utilization, *Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe* engages with three ongoing debates in historical scholarship. First, the authors in this volume address the shifting language of migration to explain the semantic development of refugee categories. The early modern period generated various forced migrations, whose causes ranged from religious persecution and warfare to economic deprivation and climate change. Yet not all afflicted groups – which is to say, only certain *specific* groups – framed their position in terms of refuge, asylum, diaspora or exile. Building on a set of selected case studies, this volume will elucidate when, where and why migrants and host societies considered such terminology useful, on what religious and classical models they were based, and how legal concepts of refugees followed from this.

Second, the volume seeks to identify the role of displaced minorities in forging humanitarian networks. The forced migration movements of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coincided with the rise of support and pressure groups that advocated for refugee protection and that also organized charity efforts, framed media coverage and lobbied for diplomatic interventions.⁷ By studying how diasporic communities organized themselves as political actors, the authors of this volume uncover the significance of displaced persons in initiating transnational charity networks, promoting an international culture of empathy and influencing domestic and foreign policies. To allow a comparative analysis, they will chart this process across different religions (Christian, Jewish, Muslim), geographies (from the Baltic to the Maghreb) and periods (from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century).

Third, *Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe* examines the impact of refugees on European state formation and imperialism. Early modern states were largely responsible for the rise of forced migrations, but displaced migrants also helped forge these modernizing states. Persecuted outcasts in their lands of origin, refugees not infrequently committed themselves to serve rival states, shaping their policies and religious cultures. By addressing the dialectical relationship between governments and displaced communities, the volume will assess the interaction of the accommodation and legal protection afforded to refugees and the ambitions of state authorities to expand their territories and forge confessional regimes.

Refugee politics

Our very title prompts the question: What do we mean by 'refugee politics'? The term, though lacking clear conceptualization, regularly pops up in academic texts

and in the news media, usually denoting government policies vis-à-vis refugees on the local, national or international level. According to the political scientist Cheryl Benard, refugee politics can refer to a variety of practices. It can pertain to 'national and international decision-making process concerning the admission, treatment, and administration of the refugees'. It can encompass the policies of organizations which operate in the interests of refugees, or allude to the idea of refugees 'as a kind of polity, having its own kind of political process'.⁸ Adopting a broad, historical perspective, this book uses 'refugee politics' as an umbrella term pertaining to all forms of political behaviour aimed at influencing or changing the position of displaced people, whether carried out by refugees themselves, representatives of (potential) host societies, persecuting authorities or (humanitarian) interest and lobbying groups. This holistic approach allows us to draw a fuller picture of the many decision-making processes that determined the lives of displaced people and their environments.

Use of the term 'refugee politics' allows us to shift the focus of attention to a myriad of political actors; examining their attempts to exert pressure as well to negotiate and to compromise; and explaining when, where and why such efforts succeeded or failed. In so doing, *Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe* aims to fill a gap in our knowledge about the origins of refugee discourses, the development of humanitarian sensibilities and the emergence of transnational refugee management. Its cross-confessional and transnational approach will also enable readers to identify similarities and differences across time and space.

Part I: Refugees and belonging

Studies of Reformation Europe have long recognized the experience of displacement as a crucial component to the development of new confessional identities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unprecedentedly centralized state persecutions in various parts of Europe created Calvinist diasporas in safe havens such as London, Emden and Geneva, well-connected cities that heavily influenced other parts of the Protestant world.⁹ Catholic refugees, less numerous overall, also laid the foundations of a militant confessional worldview in exile.¹⁰ The progeny of (former) exiles bore the memory of persecution as a badge of honour and maintained these networks, which distinguished them as especially godly members of the community.¹¹ Some scholars have seen exile experiences as the cradle of Reformed Protestantism or have demonstrated how diaspora fostered a (re)Judaization among dispersed Iberian communities.¹²

Exiles also played a formative part in shaping a religious culture in which the memory of persecution became key to all believers. For most adherents of the emerging confessions, the theological hairsplitting that had dominated the early decades of the Reformation went only so far in defining their religious consciousness. Building on the theological common ground that cast God's true Church as a persecuted Church, all emerging confessional groups soon began to cultivate a shared memory of religious violence. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, commemorations of the violent deaths and displacement of steadfast true believers from different parts

in Europe became an integral part of religious life. As Andrew Pettegree has argued, the immensely popular martyr books and songs authored by Lutherans, Calvinists, Catholics and Mennonites formed 'a critical step in building a sense of a church that extends to all of common faith in different European nations'.¹³

The religious conflicts that plagued Christendom between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries thus not only created new enemies but also forged new long-distance solidarities among people who recognized in each other fellow believers in a dark world of heresy. As various parts of Europe lapsed into religious warfare in the 1560s and 1570s, identification and commiseration with persecuted coreligionists intensified. Historians may have only recently begun to rewrite their accounts of the sixteenth-century wars of religion as transnational conflicts, but many contemporaries readily regarded these conflicts as interconnected struggles.¹⁴ News of local persecutions reverberated throughout Europe, suggesting that what had happened was every reader's concern.¹⁵ Pamphlets connected the dots, spreading the idea that instances of religious violence were not isolated events but local skirmishes in a universal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Benjamin Kaplan reminds us that even at the height of the wars of religion, day-to-day conviviality between religious groups outweighed – by far – acts of interconfessional violence.¹⁶ Yet among most confessional groups, the transnational memory of displacement evolved into a cornerstone of a shared religious identity.

Migrants could sometimes use the widespread celebration of exile to their advantage. Although the construction of the refugee as a social category and legal identity has not been the subject of systematic scrutiny, scattered evidence suggests that refugee identity formation included the development of a more varied vocabulary of migration, a language that provided displaced men and women with tools to reinvent themselves as semi-martyrs of the faith. The emerging refugee idiom was typically shaped by biblical or classical frames of reference, giving rise to scripted exile narratives.¹⁷ Of course, the use or eschewal of these semantic categories and tropes was influenced by time and space: for migrants who aimed for social assimilation or economic integration into host communities, the vocabulary of exile was not always useful or appropriate. Yet in early modern Europe, being considered a refugee or exile by a host society often provided substantial benefits compared with migrants who failed to communicate a history of displacement.

For all its admirable qualities, Reformation scholarship has tended to study religious migrations in isolation, resulting in claims about, for instance, 'typically Calvinist' or 'uniquely Sephardic' responses to exile. While differences among Europe's displaced religious communities are undeniable, comparative analysis can only increase our understanding of the underlying mechanisms that shaped these groups, including expelled Muslims ('Moriscos'), who have mostly been left out of traditional Reformation histories. Against the backdrop of this rich yet compartmentalized tradition of scholarship, the time is right for a volume that tests the merits of a more comprehensive and comparative history of the coping strategies and language used by refugees.

The authors of this volume take the discursive strategies of religious minorities themselves as a point of departure: for example, which arguments, rhetorical models

and vocabulary did they use to articulate their 'refugeedom'? Which audiences (fellow refugees, secular authorities, posterity) did they seek to address in this way, and for what purposes? This approach is also pertinent for the analysis of emerging legal categories. Susanne Lachenicht has recently suggested that opposing groups of refugees copied each other's rhetorical strategies, for example by using the Edict of Potsdam (that offered particular privileges to Huguenots in Brandenburg after 1685) as a legal frame of reference.¹⁸ Transnational competition among different refugee communities and rivalling regimes thus appears to have stimulated the creation of common refugee categories and a gradual standardization of refugee protection laws. As a result, by 1800 the refugee had firmly established itself as a known type among European governments and as a term in various dictionaries.

Part II: Humanitarianism

In today's world, refugee relief is typically recognized as a form of humanitarianism. Few historians, however, regard the treatment of refugees in the age of Reformations as humanitarian. The dominant narrative goes that only in the second half of the eighteenth century did philosophers such as Smith, Hume and Rousseau herald a 'humanitarian revolution', as they replaced the thoroughly negative Hobbesian view of humankind that had defined Europe's age of persecution with a more positive view of humans as naturally sociable and benevolent.¹⁹ The ability of pre-Enlightenment Europeans to sympathize with people across social boundaries, so it is implied, had been far less developed. A narrative first established by late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century philosophers remains widely endorsed among historians today;²⁰ in the words of Juan Pablo Domínguez, 'the Enlightenment, as a whole, was an effort to overcome the divisions created by the Wars of Religion.'²¹ The (often no so) implicit assumption is that the emergence of a humanitarian culture went hand in hand with a cooling of religious tensions.²² In recent years, however, new studies on early modern refugees prompt us to question some of the assumptions about the genealogy of long-distance compassion and humanitarianism. Any discussion about the origins of an ideology or practice begins, of course, with establishing a working definition. We should therefore first ask the obvious question: What is humanitarianism?

While the historiographical debate is somewhat diffuse and definitions often remain implicit, three crucial characteristics almost invariably emerge in the conceptual approaches and definitions applied to humanitarianism. First, as Michael Barnett summarizes, humanitarianism is a practice oriented towards 'life-saving relief in response to mass suffering'.²³ Humanitarianism thus pertains to 'emergencies that threaten mass suffering and death'.²⁴ As such, it is centred not around a notion of global progress, as in human rights, but around a sense of 'precariousness', the constant fear of 'instability, mass violence, dispossession, and injustice'.²⁵ Second, humanitarian practices are typically transnational or trans-regional. They are meant to relieve the suffering of distant strangers living in a different polity. Partly, this orientation can

be explained because discourse on humanitarianism often focuses on humanitarian *intervention*, which implies cross-border political action. More importantly, it is meant to describe a practice in which aid crosses social and political boundaries, thereby differentiating it from local charity and disaster relief.²⁶

This brings us to the final characteristic, one that singles out the *human* in humanitarian – and explains why its origins are usually traced to the late eighteenth century. Most scholars state or imply that a relief practice should be called humanitarian only if it is motivated by, or at least justified with recourse to, a universalizing discourse of humanity – that is, suffering foreigners deserve support simply because they are human.²⁷ In this light Didier Fassin provides an apt definition of ‘humanitarian’ as ‘connoting [. . .] on the one hand the generality of human beings who share a similar condition (mankind), and on the other an affective movement drawing humans toward their fellows (humaneness).’²⁸

In important respects, early modern refugee engagement failed to meet this last condition. Notable exceptions aside, most relief efforts appear to have remained bounded by confession until the mid-eighteenth century. However, public evaluations of the treatment of minorities as either humane or inhumane have a deeper history. Inclusive expressions of compassion already developed into an important polemical tool during at least the seventeenth century, paving the way for the cautious (and incomplete) breakdown of confessional boundaries separating relief efforts in the eighteenth century.

Take, for example, the publicity campaign orchestrated by the Reformed Waldensians in Piedmont after suffering a massacre at the hands of their sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, in 1655. While taking refuge in France, the Waldensians drew up several pamphlets describing what had befallen them, in what turned out to be a successful attempt to garner international support. Because they hoped to convince as wide and international audience as possible that they deserved aid, these pamphlets were surprisingly low on confessional rhetoric. Instead, the refugees focused on the illegal and inhumane nature of the violence to maximize their gains. Internationally, governments could support the refugees without drawing accusations of engaging in confessional politics. By evading confessional rhetoric, even Catholic Monarchs might lend their support: the Waldensians received diplomatic and financial assistance not only from the Dutch Republic and the Commonwealth of England but also from Louis XIV, who offered them shelter and intervened with the Court of Savoy on their behalf. Throughout the seventeenth century, one recurrently sees refugees, persecuted minorities and their advocates adopting this sort of deconfessionalized language to attract international support across confessional boundaries.²⁹

The current volume builds on this growing body of scholarship on early humanitarianism by demonstrating how refugees themselves acted to shape a new type of transnational solidarity in Europe; it delves into when, where and how these charitable networks lost their confessional connotations. This is not to suggest that ‘modern’ secular narratives gradually replaced more traditional confessional ones over the course of the early modern period, as some scholars in the past assumed. As we will see, these two rhetorical models seem rather to have existed side by side, and their use depended on audience and purpose.

Part III: Migration management and imperialism

The formation of European states has been a classic, much debated topic in historical scholarship. Tying in with Charles Tilly's seminal thesis that 'war made the state, and the state made war', refugees have typically been portrayed as marginalized victims of emerging modern states.³⁰ In a similar fashion, confessionalization, with regard to Europe's religious minorities, has been seen as a negative, repressive force. The rise of religiously cohesive and effective bureaucracies was predicated on curbing and expelling dissenters. Nonetheless, this dominant narrative fails to acknowledge that refugees could also benefit from, and even actively shape, the same modernizing or confessionalizing polities. As this volume will show, states made refugees, but refugees also made states.

Some examples of this dialectic phenomenon are, in fact, wellknown. Scholars have long been aware that Prussian accommodation of Huguenot refugees in the 1680s served as an instrument of the Brandenburg authorities to populate parts of their territory, reinvigorate its local industries and reinforce Protestant authority.³¹ Numerous early modern armies, including those of Philip II of Spain and William III of England, likewise benefitted from the integration of Catholic or Protestant refugees into their regiments.³² Displacement could also be an opportunity for expelled minorities to assert claims to political or religious recognition. In the sixteenth-century Low Countries certain refugees capitalized on sympathetic attitudes towards their victimhood, seizing key positions in the emerging Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands. In the Ottoman Empire, too, displaced Iberian Moriscos made their mark as dedicated brokers within the sultanate's diplomatic networks.³³ In these contexts, refugees became shapers of policy.

The protection and recruitment of refugees also served to expand the interests of states globally. Religious migrations have only recently been studied more systematically as a part of empire-building and geopolitical concerns. Here Jonathan Israel has paved the way by demonstrating how Sephardic Jews were at once agents and victims of empire.³⁴ Expelled from Habsburg Spain, they became brokers of global maritime networks and European colonization plans. Owen Stanwood has recently highlighted a similar role played by Huguenot diasporas in the overseas expansion plans of France's rivals.³⁵ Labour historians, for their part, have observed that maritime states like Britain and the Dutch Republic heavily relied on the influx of migrants to fulfil their expansionist ambitions in Asia, Africa and the Americas.³⁶ Displaced Protestants from the German Palatinate, Waldensian refugees from Piedmont and escaping Huguenots from France were, for instance, routinely employed by the Dutch East and West India Companies. Refugee crises elsewhere in Europe thus facilitated British and Dutch global expansion.

Several authors in this volume address the dialectical relationship between emerging states and displaced communities. They examine how the relocation and protection of refugee communities by confessional regimes should be seen as part of their ambition to expand their territories and to strengthen state power. They also confirm the importance of comparative analysis to avoid the pitfalls of exceptionalism and

isolationism that have long coloured our understanding of religious migrants and their fate. By positioning itself at the intersection of social, religious and political history, *Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe* seeks to rewrite refugees into mainstream European historiography. It rethinks common images of refugees as marginalized, anonymous victims of conflict and presents coerced human displacement as a driving force behind the evolution of certain social categorizations and humanitarian sensibilities, as well as the development of European states.

Outline

The eleven chapters of this volume follow from these three major themes. Part I, *Refugees and belonging*, engages with questions about refugee discourse, identity formation and ‘refugeedom’ by studying these processes among different national and religious groups: Protestant exiles in England (Pirillo) and the Low Countries (Spohnholz), Irish Catholics in exile (Ó hAnnracháin) and English Catholics in Rome (Pirillo), Iberian Moriscos in the Ottoman Empire (Wiegiers) and Swedish refugees in the Great Northern War (Nauman). Part II, *Humanitarianism*, examines and compares forms of charity, long-distance solidarity and support networks among Protestant minorities in Central Europe (Schunka), Jewish communities from Poland-Lithuania (Teller) and media reports as a humanitarian tool in eighteenth-century newspapers (Arnold). Part III, *Migration Management and Imperialism*, addresses the politics of refuge, asylum and empire-building among Mennonites in Prussia (Hill), Huguenots in Switzerland, Britain and its colonies (Stanwood), and the counter-revolutionaries in the Atlantic orbit around 1800 (Jansen). The Afterword (Klose) establishes the similarities and differences between these different groups, regions and periods, and identifies the underlying factors that guided these. In this way, it also provides some helpful tools for re-assessing nineteenth- and twentieth-century approaches to refugee politics in an increasingly globalized world.

Notes

- 1 ‘Réfugiés: C’est ainsi que l’on nomme les Protestans françois que la révocation de l’édit de Nantes a forcés de sortir de France, & de chercher un asyle dans les pays étrangers, afin de se soustraire aux persécutions qu’un zele aveugle & inconsidéré leur faisoit éprouver dans leur patrie.’ *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert (Paris, 1751–1772), Vol. 13 (1765), 907 (article assumed to be written by Denis Diderot himself). Compare Peter Burke, *Exiles and Expatriates in the History of Knowledge, 1500–2000* (Brandeis: Brandeis University Press, 2017), 2–4; Max Scholz, ‘The Expanding Definition of Refugee in Early Modern Hesse-Kassel and Württemberg,’ *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 112, no. 11 (2021): 296–307.
- 2 Geert H. Janssen, ‘The Legacy of Exile and the Rise of Humanitarianism,’ in *Remembering the Reformation*, ed. Brian Cummings et al. (London: Routledge, 2020), 229–30.

- 3 Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders. Refugees in Europe since 1492* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 4 Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity. A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights. A History* (New York: Norton, 2007); Fabian Klose, ed., *The Emergence of Humanitarian Intervention. Ideas and Practice from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 5 Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 6 This is the working hypothesis of the project ‘The Invention of the Refugee in Early Modern Europe’, based at the University of Amsterdam and funded through a NWO-Vici grant.
- 7 Ole P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile. Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Adam Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls. The Great Jewish Refugee Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020); David de Boer, *The Early Modern Dutch Press in an Age of Religious Persecution. The Making of Humanitarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).
- 8 Cheryl Benard, ‘Politics and the Refugee Experience’, *Political Science Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (1986): 624.
- 9 Heiko Oberman calls the Calvinist Reformation a ‘Reformation of Refugees’; H. Oberman, ‘Europa Afflicta. The Reformation of the Refugees’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 91–111; for exile identities see Johannes Müller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt. The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- 10 Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (London: Boydell, 2011); Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- 11 Müller, *Exile Memories*; Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*; Judith Pollmann, ‘Met grootvaders bloed bezegeld. Over religie en herinneringscultuur in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29, no. 2 (2013): 154–75.
- 12 Heiko A. Oberman, *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Geneva: Droz, 2009); Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Menna Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism, 1541-1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation. Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); David Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute. Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580-1700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora. Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World of Maritime Empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry. A New Cultural History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 23–40; Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, eds, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

- 13 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 206–7.
- 14 Rosanne Baars, *Rumours of Revolt. Civil War and the Emergence of a Transnational News Culture in France and the Netherlands, 1561–1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).
- 15 Jonas van Tol, *Germany and the French Wars of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), 145–51.
- 16 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
- 17 Burke, *Exiles*, 2–4, 39–81; Corens, *Confessional Mobility*; Müller, *Exile Memories*, 203–5; Max Scholz, *Strange Brethren. Refugees, Religious Bonds, and Reformation in Frankfurt, 1554–1608* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022).
- 18 Susanne Lachenicht, ‘Refugees and Refugee Protection in the Early Modern Period’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 261–81; Benjamin Kaplan, ‘The Legal Rights of Religious Refugees in the “Refugee-Cities” of Early Modern Germany’, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 32 (2019): 86–105.
- 19 Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*; Thomas L. Haskell, ‘Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1’, *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985): 339–61; Norman S. Fiering, ‘Irresistible Compassion. An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 2 (1976): 195–218; Patricia Margaret Warthon, ‘The Humanitarian Movement in European History’, *Il Politico* 43, no. 4 (1983): 693–726.
- 20 But see the discussion of seventeenth-century theories of compassion in Fiering, ‘Irresistible Compassion’.
- 21 Juan Pablo Domínguez, ‘Introduction. Religious toleration in the age of Enlightenment’, *History of European Ideas* 43, no. 4 (2017): 273–87.
- 22 See for instance Warthon, ‘The Humanitarian Movement’, 695.
- 23 Michael Barnett, ‘Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and the Practices of Humanity’, *International Theory*, 315, 326; compare with David J. B. Trim and Brendan Simms, ‘Towards a History of Humanitarian Intervention’, in *Humanitarian Intervention. A History*, ed. Brendan Simms and David J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4; compare with Fiering, ‘Irresistible Compassion’, 195.
- 24 Barnett, ‘Human Rights’, 326.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 336.
- 26 Responses to disasters within a state are, instead, typically covered by disaster studies. See, for instance, Hanneke van Asperen and Lotte Jensen, eds, *Dealing with Disasters from Early Modern to Modern Times. Cultural Responses to Catastrophes* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023).
- 27 Abigail Green, ‘Humanitarianism in Nineteenth-Century Context. Religious, Gendered, National’, *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 1159.
- 28 Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason. A Moral History of the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 2.
- 29 De Boer, *The Early Modern Dutch Press*, 22–53. Compare David J. B. Trim, ‘If a Prince use Tyrannie towards his People. Interventions on behalf of Foreign Populations in Early Modern Europe’, in *Humanitarian Intervention. A History*, ed. Simms and Trim, 29–66; Jeremy Fradkin, ‘Christian Hospitality and the Case for Religious Refuge in Interregnum England’, *Past and Present* 254, no. 1 (2022): 51–85; Erica Boersma, ‘Supporting the Waldensians. The Politics of Transnational Aid in the Dutch Republic’, *Early Modern Low Countries* 6, no. 2 (2022): 201–32.

- 30 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990).
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