Emerging at the turn of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic rose to become a powerhouse of economic growth, artistic creativity, military innovation, religious tolerance and intellectual development. This is the first textbook to present this period of early modern Dutch history in a global context. It makes an active use of illustrations, objects, personal stories and anecdotes to present a lively overview of Dutch global history that is solidly grounded in sources and literature. Focusing on themes that resonate with contemporary concerns, such as overseas exploration, war, slavery, migration, identity and racism, this volume charts the multiple ways in which the Dutch were connected with the outside world. It serves as an engaging and accessible introduction to Dutch history, as well as a case study in early modern global expansion.

David Onnekink is Assistant Professor in Early Modern International Relations at Utrecht University. He has previously held a position at Leiden University, and was a visiting professor at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, and the University of California, Los Angeles. He has been a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities at Edinburgh (2004), Het Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam (2016–2017) and the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (2016). He is the author of Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War (2016), and edited volumes on War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713 (2009) and Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe (1650–1750) (2011), also with Gijs Rommelse.

Gijs Rommelse is Head of History at the Haarlemmermeer Lyceum, the Netherlands, and an Honorary Visiting Fellow at the University of Leicester. Having studied at Leiden University and University College London, he has been a researcher at the Netherlands Institute of Military History at The Hague (2007–2012) and a research fellow at Het Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam (2016–2017). His works include A Fearful Gentleman: Sir George Downing in The Hague (2011), Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe, 1650–1750 (2011), also co-edited with David Onnekink, and Ideologies of Western Naval Power, c. 1500–1815 (forthcoming).
The Dutch in the Early Modern World

A History of a Global Power

David Onnekink
Utrecht University

Gijs Rommelse
Haarlemmermeer Lyceum / University of Leicester
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-12581-0 — The Dutch in the Early Modern World
David Onnekink, Gijs Rommelse
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4 Ambassador Joan Cuneaus and his secretary Cornelis Speelman on the road to Isfahan, in Persia. Oil on canvas, 101 × 179 cm, Jan Baptist Weenix, 1653–1659. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-A-3879

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7 A Dutch man-of-war ramming a Spanish galley off the English coast on 3 October 1602. Oil on canvas, 118 × 151 cm, Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, 1617. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-A-460

8 Believed to be the VOC merchant Jakob Martensen and his wife. Oil on canvas, 138 × 208 cm, Aelbert Cuyp, 1640–1660. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-A-2350

9 Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein was taken from his parents in modern-day Ghana at the age of 8. Etching, 245 × 181 mm, Pieter Tarné, 1742. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. RP-P-1903-A-23405
10 The interior of the grand Portuguese synagogue. Oil on canvas, 110 × 99 cm, Emanuel de Witt, 1670–1680. 
Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-A-3738

11 This rare and valuable porcelain hong bowl was produced in China for the European market in 1775. Porcelain, diameter 39.7 cm. Source: Het Scheepvaartmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. A.3484

12 Frans Jansz Post captured the Dutch and European fascination with flora and fauna in his rendering of Olinda, in Brazil. Oil on canvas, 107.5 × 172.5 cm, 1662. 
Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-A-742

13 The States General’s representative Cornelis Hop at an audience with King Louis XV of France, at the Louvre on 24 July 1729. Oil on canvas, 104.5 × 163 cm, Louis-Michel Dumesnil, 1720–1729. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-C-152

14 Produced between 1635 and 1640, Willem Jansz Blaeu’s Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova is one of the earliest maps to focus on this section of what is now the north-eastern coast of the United States. Hand-coloured engraving, 48 × 58 cm. Utrecht University Library, Special Collections, J. Blaeu, Grooten atlas, oft, Werelt-beschryving (1664–1665), vol. 8

15 James Gillray’s cartoon The Orangerie; or the Dutch Cupid Reposing, after the Fatigues of Planting. Hand-coloured etching, 1796. Source: wikimedia.org

16 Map produced by Jacob Florisz van Langren in Amsterdam in 1612. Scale: 1:24,000,000. Source: Het Scheepvaartmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. RA 0959

17 Watercolour painting by the Lutheran preacher Jan Brandes showing his young son Jan and an anonymous slave working at a spinning-wheel. 195 × 155 mm, 1784. Source: Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), inv. no. NG-1985-7-2-4
Maps

1 The Dutch Republic around 1648
Maps

2 Europe around 1713
3 The Dutch Empire

All maps were created for this volume by Bert Stamkot
Acknowledgements

While writing this book, we have profited from the assistance and feedback of a number of institutions and people. The award, in 2016, of a Dr Ernst Crone Fellowship enabled us to conduct research in Het Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam. Sarah Bosmans, Joost Schokkenbroek and Diederick Wildeman are thanked for sharing their expertise. David Onnekink wishes to acknowledge the fellowship provided by the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Amsterdam, which enabled him to write part of the manuscript. The finalization of the form and content of the book was helped by the critical feedback of the anonymous referees. Thanks are also due to our colleagues who at one stage or another read and commented on parts of the book or the original proposal: Tony Claydon, Christian DeVito, Hugh Dunthorne, John Hattendorf, Maarten Prak, Reinier Salverda and Urs Wyder. The following students, at Utrecht University and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), are thanked for their comments on several of the chapters, which helped us improve the book: Brytani Calzada, Diede Kok, Caroline Kreysel, Claartje Salzmann and Freya Sixma. Kate Delaney and Roger Downing copy-edited the text. Obviously we remain fully responsible for any shortcomings. Finally, we wish to thank Liz Friend-Smith and her colleagues from Cambridge University Press for guiding the whole process from idea to book. Both authors are deeply sensible of the love and caring support of their families: David Onnekink to Martine for her encouragement throughout and to Rebecca, Seth and Hannah-in-heaven; Gijs Rommelse to Barbara for her enduring patience and support to his activities as historian, and to Julia, Josephine, Elizabeth and Madelief for the happy distraction they provide.
Grand Pensionaries of Holland

Paulus Buys (1572–1585)
Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1586–1591)
Andries de Witt (1619–1621)
Anthonie Duyck (1621–1629)
Jacob Cats (1629–1631)
Adriaan Pauw (1631–1636)
Jacob Cats (1636–1651)
Adriaan Pauw (1651–1653)
John de Witt (1653–1672)
Gaspar Fagel (1672–1688)
Michiel ten Hove (1688–1689)
Anthonie Heinsius (1689–1720)
Isaac van Hoornbeek (1720–1727)
Simon van Slingelandt (1727–1736)
Anthonie van der Heim (1737–1746)
Willem Buys (1746)
Jacob Gilles (1746–1749)
Pieter Steyn (1749–1772)
Pieter van Bleiswijk (1772–1787)
Laurens Pieter van de Spiegel (1787–1795)
Stadholders of Holland

William, Prince of Orange (1572–1584)
Maurice, Count of Nassau (Prince of Orange from 1618) (1585–1625)
Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange (1625–1647)
William II, Prince of Orange (1647–1650)
First Stadholderless Period (1650–1672)
William III, Prince of Orange (King of England from 1688) (1672–1702)
Second Stadholderless Period (1702–1747)
William IV, Prince of Orange (1747–1751) (hereditary stadholder)
William V, Prince of Orange (1751–1795) (hereditary stadholder)
Timeline of the Dutch in the Early Modern World

1566 Dutch nobility petition Margaret of Parma to end religious persecution
   Large-scale Protestant iconoclast riots against the Catholic Church
   King Philip II dispatches the Duke of Alba to restore public order
   Thousands of Protestants flee in anticipation of Alba’s imminent arrival

1568 Start of the Eighty Years’ War
   The rebels suffer a crushing defeat at the Battle of Heiligerlee

1569 Gerardus Mercator produces his most famous world map, employing his Mercator projection

1572 ‘Sea Beggars’ capture the town of Brille
   The Siege of Haarlem commences

1573 Haarlem is captured by the Spanish army
   Alba fails to capture Alkmaar
   The Spanish lay siege to Leiden

1574 The Siege of Leiden is aborted

1575 Leiden University is established

1576 The Spanish Fury at Antwerp
   The Pacification of Ghent

1579 The Union of Arras
   The Union of Utrecht

1580 Philip II declares William of Orange an outlaw, triggering the Prince to publish his famous Apology

1581 The Duke of Anjou is appointed Sovereign Lord of the Netherlands
   Rebelling states pass the Act of Abjuration against Philip II

1584 Prince William of Orange is assassinated in Delft
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>The Spanish army captures Antwerp, prompting mass migration to the northern provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td>Maurice becomes captain general of the States’ army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>The Republic formally declares its independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Spanish Armada is defeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>The French scholar Scaliger becomes the Leiden University’s intellectual luminary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>First Dutch expedition to the East Indies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justus Lipsius publishes <em>On the Roman Army</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>Jan Huygen van Linschoten publishes his famous <em>Itinerario</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch expedition to find the North-East Passage to Asia ends on Novaya Zemlya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>The States General pass the ‘Instruction regarding the admiralties’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Battle of Nieuwpoort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>The Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) is founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Frederick Houtman publishes <em>Dictionary of the Malay and Madagascar Languages</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1605</td>
<td>The VOC captures Ambon, in the Moluccas</td>
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<td>1606</td>
<td>The VOC vessel <em>Duyfken</em>’s crew ‘discovers’ Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Pieter Willemsz. Verhoeff and 46 other VOC personnel are assassinated on the Banda Isles</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The VOC establishes a factory in Hirado, Japan</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>The Twelve Years’ Truce commences</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commissioned by the VOC, Henry Hudson explores Chesapeake Bay and the present-day Hudson River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Dutch ambassadors promoted in London and Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hugo Grotius publishes <em>Mare Liberum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>The Dutch participate in the War of the Jülich Succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>Dutch traders build Fort Nassau on the coast of present-day Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>An expedition led by Willem Cornelisz Schouten and Jacob le Maire circumvents Tierra del Fuego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>The VOC establishes a factory in Surat, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bredero Gerbrand publishes <em>The Spanish Brabander</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617–1630</td>
<td>Pieter Christiaensz Bor publishes <em>Origins, Start and Continuation of the Netherlandish Wars</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1618–1619 The Synod of Dordt
1619 Van Oldenbarnevelt is executed in The Hague
The VOC conquers Jacatra, on the island of Java, and sets up its Asian headquarters in Batavia
The VOC and the English East India Company (EIC) agree to co-operate against Spain and Portugal, and to apportion between them the Indonesian spice trades
1621 The West-Indische Compagnie (WIC) is founded
The Twelve Years’ Truce ends – war is resumed
1622 Jan Pieterszoon Coen has most of the population of Banda killed and the few survivors abducted as slaves
The Seminarium Indicum is established in Leiden to train preachers who go to the colonies
1623 The ‘Amboyna Massacre’. The VOC executes ten Englishmen on the grounds of subversive activities
1624 The VOC establishes Fort Zeelandia on Formosa
1624–1625 The WIC briefly takes possession of Salvador da Bahia in Brazil
1625 The WIC establishes the colony of New Netherland
Hugo Grotius publishes On the Law of War and Peace
1626 Peter Minuit ‘purchases’ Manhattan from the indigenous inhabitants
1627 Settlers from Zeeland establish a colony in Berbice, present-day Guyana
1628 Led by Admiral Piet Hein, a WIC fleet captures the Spanish silver fleet off the coast of Cuba
René Descartes takes up residence in the Republic
1629 Frederick Henry captures Den Bosch
1630 The WIC launches a large-scale attack against the Portuguese colony on the coast of Brazil
1635 Diego Velázquez paints The Surrender of Breda
1637 The States Bible is published
1638 Fort Elmina, in present-day Ghana, is taken by the WIC from the Portuguese
1639 The Battle of the Downs. The Dutch navy crushes a Spanish Armada
1641 The WIC captures Luanda and Sao Tomé
The Dutch Republic and Portugal sign a ten-year truce
The VOC captures Malacca
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1642 | Abel Tasman ‘discovers’ Tasmania  
Rembrandt completes his famous *Night Watch*  
Pieter Cornelisz Hooft publishes *Netherlandish Histories* |
| 1644 | Johannes Megapolensis publishes *A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians* |
| 1645 | The WIC becomes engaged with an irrepressible Portuguese insurgency in Brazil |
| 1648 | Peace Treaty of Münster. The Dutch Republic is formally recognized as an independent, sovereign state  
Willem Piso and Georg Markgraf publish their *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* |
| 1650 | Prince William II leads the army against Amsterdam in an attempt to seize power  
Sudden death of Prince William II  
Stadholderate is abolished |
| 1651 | Great Assembly in The Hague  
First annual newsbook (*Hollantsche Mercurius*) established |
| 1652 | Outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War  
The VOC establishes a colony at the Cape of Good Hope |
| 1654 | Peace Treaty of Westminster with England  
The WIC is expelled from Brazil |
| 1655 | Gisbertus Voetius publishes the first systematic treatise on Protestant mission, *Heathendom and the Calling of the Gentiles* |
| 1656 | First continuous newspaper (*Opregte Haarlemse Courant*) is established |
| 1658 | The VOC captures the remaining Portuguese positions on Ceylon |
| 1661 | The Dutch Republic and Portugal conclude the Peace of The Hague |
| 1662 | A Chinese force under the Ming-loyalist Zheng Chenggong drives the VOC from Formosa  
Joan Willemsz Blaeu publishes his famous *Atlas Maior* |
| 1662 | Defensive alliance with France  
Pieter de la Court publishes *The Interest of Holland* |
| 1663 | The VOC captures the Portuguese factory at Cochin, on India’s Malabar Coast  
The first coffee house opens in Amsterdam |
1665 Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War
1666 Christiaan Huygens becomes the first director of the newly founded Académie Royale des Sciences
1667 Raid on the Medway
1668 Peace Treaty of Breda. The Republic retains Surinam, but England retains New Netherland
1669 Triple Alliance between England, the Republic and Sweden to force Louis XIV to abandon his invasion of the Spanish Netherlands
1670 Louis XIV and Charles II conclude the Secret Treaty of Dover, whereby they agree jointly to subjugate the Republic
1672 Year of Disaster. France, England, Münster and Cologne attack and overwhelm the Republic
1673 Prince William III appointed captain general and subsequently stadholder
1674 The Republic concludes the Quadruple Alliance with the Emperor, Spain and Lorraine
1675 William Temple publishes *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*
1676 Peace of Westminster with England
1677 The WIC bankrupted
1678 Petrus Valckenier publishes *Europe in Turmoil*
1679 Peace of Nijmegen with France
1680 Antoni van Leeuwenhoek is elected a member of the Royal Society
1681 The VOC conquers the Kingdom of Bantam
1682 Abraham de Wicquefort publishes *The Ambassador and his Functions*
1683 Louis XIV takes Luxembourg; the Dutch decide not to respond
1684 Edict of Fontainebleau. Thousands of Huguenots flee to the Dutch Republic
1685 Alliance between the Dutch Republic and Brandenburg
1686 William III is instrumental in the establishment of the anti-French League of Augsburg
1687 The Glorious Revolution. A Dutch army invades England. James II abandons his British kingdoms
1688 France declares war on the Dutch Republic. Start of the Nine Years’ War
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Prince William III and his wife Mary Stuart crowned in London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>At the Battle of the Boyne, William III’s army defeats the troops of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his own father-in-law James II</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Europische Mercurius</em> established, annual newsbook of foreign</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affairs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nicolaas Witsen publishes his <em>Muscovian Journey</em> 1664–1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691–1695</td>
<td>Balthasar Bekker’s work <em>The World Bewitch’d</em> has a major</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>impact in Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>The Treaty of Ryswick ends the Nine Years’ War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691–1695</td>
<td>Czar Peter the Great visits the Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698/1700</td>
<td>William III and Louis XIV conclude partition treaties to divide</td>
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<tr>
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<td>the Spanish Empire on the occasion of the death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Carlos II</td>
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<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>Outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>The stadholderate is abolished upon the death of William III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>Willem Bosman publishes <em>Description of the Guinea Coast</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>Herman Boerhave is appointed professor of medicine and botany at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leiden University</td>
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<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>The Peace of Utrecht ends the War of the Spanish Succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Simon van Slingelandt writes *Discourse on the Ancient Government</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>of Holland</td>
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<tr>
<td>1716–1717</td>
<td>Second Great Assembly in The Hague</td>
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<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>The Dutch join the Quadruple Alliance to contain Spanish expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the Mediterranean</td>
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<tr>
<td>1721–1725</td>
<td>The Dutch participate in the Congress of Cambrai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>A Dutch expedition under Jacob Roggeveen ‘discovers’ Easter Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723–1737</td>
<td>Bernard Picard and Jean Frederic Bernard publish *Religious</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ceremonies of the World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728–1729</td>
<td>The Dutch participate in the Congress of Soissons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>Moravians start missionary work on the Virgin Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733–1738</td>
<td>War of the Polish Succession in Europe; the Dutch remain neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Carolus Linnaeus gains his doctorate from the University of Harderwijk. He publishes his <em>Systema Naturae</em> in Leiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740–1748</td>
<td>War of the Austrian Succession in Europe. The Dutch remain neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>until 1747</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
xx Timeline

1740 Chinese Massacre in Batavia
1743 Jacobus Canter Visscher publishes *Letters from Malabar*
1747 The invasion of the southern provinces by a French army sparks public protests, culminating in the restoration of the Orange stadholderate
1756–1763 The Seven Years’ War in Europe; the Dutch remain neutral
1765 Start of the Boni Wars in Surinam
1766 William V and his mentor, the Duke of Brunswick, conclude the secret Act of Consultancy, making the young prince’s dependency official
The VOC completes its dominion of Ceylon’s coastal region
1767 William V marries Wilhelmina of Prussia
1776 The American Revolutionary warship *Andrea Doria* receives a formal salute from the island of St Eustatius
1780 Outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War
1781 Battle of the Dogger Bank; this tactical draw is hailed in the Republic as a major victory
The anonymous publication of the important oppositional pamphlet *To the People of the Netherlands*, written by Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol, provides the impetus for the emergence of the Patriot movement
1783 The first Patriot militia is raised in Dordrecht
1784 Brunswick is forced to give up his function as the stadholder’s advisor and leaves the Republic
Peace of Paris. The VOC loses its factory at Negapatnam, India. The English EIC gains the right to operate in the Indonesian archipelago without restrictions
1786 The Patriots hold a national convention in Utrecht
1787 A Prussian army intervenes on behalf of stadholder William V. Many Patriots flee into exile
1788 Great Britain and Prussia guarantee to uphold the stadholderate in the Republic
1792 The second WIC is disbanded
1793 Revolutionary France declares war on the Dutch Republic. A French invasion is repelled
1794 The States’ army proves unable to withstand a second French invasion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Stadholder William V and his entourage go into exile in London. The French army completes its occupation of the Northern Netherlands. The Dutch Republic is disbanded. The United Kingdom declares war on the Batavian Republic. Britain seizes the Cape Colony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Establishment of the Dutch Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>The VOC is formally liquidated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>