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The Royalist Republic : literature, politics and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere, 1639-1660

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The Royalist Republic

Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660

Helmer J. Helmers

Cover illustration: Vincent van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-Life with Crown, Globe and Portrait of Charles I* (c. 1650-1655). Painting, oil on canvas. Paris: Louvre.

The Royalist Republic. Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere 1639-1660

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Contents

List of Illustrations 1
Abbreviations 2
Preliminary Remarks 3
Introduction: The Royalist Republic 5

Part 1: Public Spheres and Discursive Communities

Chapter 1. The Translation of Politics:
Civil War Polemic in the Dutch Republic 31
Chapter 2. Unity and Uniformity:
The First Civil War and the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan Community 65
Chapter 3. 'The Puritan Altar':
Anglo-Dutch Anti-Puritanism and the Re-enactment of History 93

Part 2: Maps of Meaning

Chapter 4. *Eikon Basilike*:
The Cult of the Martyr King in the Dutch Republic 119
Chapter 5. 'When in My Neighbourhood the Cannons Raged':
War and Regicide in Estate Poetry 149
Chapter 6. The Cry of the Royal Blood:
Revenge Tragedy and the Stuart Cause in the Dutch Republic 173
Chapter 7. The English Devil
Stereotyping, Demonology, and the First Anglo-Dutch War 199

Conclusion 231

Illustrations 241

Bibliography of Primary Sources 259

Bibliography of Secondary Sources 277

Samenvatting in het Nederlands (Summary in Dutch) 301

Dankwoord (Acknowledgements) 309

Curriculum Vitae 313

Appendices
Comprehensive Lists of Dutch Materials on Civil Wars and Interregnum ..... CD-ROM

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1: 'Emblem of England and the United Provinces'. Woodcut. From: George Wither, *Tuba Pacifica* (1664). Wing W3204A.

Illustration 2: 'The Execution of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick'. Woodcut. From: *Ootmoedighe Requeste* (1641). Kn. 4726.

Illustration 3: Conradus (engr.) *Mr Christopher Love jn zijn leuen getrouw bedienaer des H. Evangeliums des Laurence Jurij* [St. Lawrence Jewry]. (1651). Pamphlet engraving. BM: Portraits British CIV(2) P2.

Illustration 4: Marshall (engr). 'King Charles the Martyr'. Allegorical engraving. From: *Eikon Basilike* (1649).

Illustration 5: Savery (engr). *Portrait of Charles I*. Engraving after Hollar and Van Dyck. From: Gauden, John [attr.] *Koninclick memoriae* (1649). Kn. 6350-6352.

Illustration 6: Van der Passe (engr). *The Execution of Charles I* (1649). Engraving. From: *Engelandts memoriael* (1649). Kn. 6322.

Illustration 7: Van der Aa, *La Maison Apellée Banqueting House* (c. 1729). Engraving. From: James Beverell, *Les Delices de Grande Bretagne* (Leiden: Van der Aa, 1707), 839.

Illustration 8: Details of Van der Passe's *Execution of Charles I* and Van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* (c. 1435).

Illustration 9: *Engelandts bedroeft schoutoneel* (1649). Pamphlet engraving. Muller 1970.

Illustration 10: *The Execution of Charles I* (c. 1649). Painting, oil on canvas, formerly attributed to Jan Weesop. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PGL 208.

Illustration 11: *Anamorphic portrait of Charles I* (c. 1649-1660). Painting, oil on canvas. Stockholm: Gripsholm Castle.

Illustration 12: Vincent van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-Life With Books, Glass Globe and a Print of Charles I* (c. 1649-1660). Painting, oil on canvas. Present whereabouts unknown.

Illustration 13: Vincent van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-Life with Crown, Globe and Portrait of Charles I* (c. 1650-1655). Painting, oil on canvas. Paris: Louvre.

Illustration 14: 'Lion defending the garden of Holland'. Engraved emblem. From: *Placaet* (1652). Kn. 7291.

Illustration 15: 'The Resprouting Tree of England'. From: Anthony Sadler, *The Loyall Mourner* (1649 and 1660). Wing S266.

Illustration 16: *Vorstelikke-Lijk-staasy ('Bed of State')* (1649) Pamphlet engraving. Muller 1968.

Illustration 17: Allard (engr). *Het Tooneel der Engelsche elende* (1649/1650). Pamphlet engraving. Muller 2045a.

Illustration 18: *Kunstig vertoog en bondig verhaal van de krooning van zijne Maj. Karolus II, koning van Schotland, Yrland en Engelandt, binnen Scoone 1 Jan. 1651* (Amsterdam: Hugo Allard, 1651). Muller, 2045b.

Illustration 19: *De Gehoonde Vrijheit* (1653). Pamphlet engraving. Muller 2071.

Illustration 20: *Sat Doctus Versare Dolos* (c. 1653). Pamphlet engraving. O'D 95.

Illustration 21. Van der Hoeyen. *Koning Cromwell* (1653) Pamphlet engraving. BM Satires 754.

Illustration 22: Visscher (engr), *Parlament haer Testement* (1652/53). Allegorical engraving. BM Portraits British CI.

Illustration 23: *Danck-Predikatien, gedaen over de laste slach by Worchester* (1651). Pamphlet engraving. Kn. 6952.

Illustration 24: *Kragteloose Staat-zucht* (1652). Pamphlet engraving. Kn. 7282.

Illustration 25: *Verkondiginghe van de Vreede* (1654). Pamphlet engraving. Muller 2101.

Abbreviations

Acta	Knuttel, Willem P.C. *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland, 1621-1700*, 6 vols. (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908). <http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/actazh/>.
Aitzema	Aitzema, Lieuwe van. *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*. 6 vols. (1669-1672). <http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/aitzema/>.
BL	British Library, London.
BLNP	*Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*. <http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/blnp/>.
BM	British Museum, London.
DBNL	Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (The Digital Library of Dutch Literature). <www.dbnl.org>.
First Defence	Milton, John. 'A Defence of the People of England (February 24, 1651)', in: *Complete Prose Works* IV, i, 285-537.
Hollstein	Hollstein, F.W.H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450-1700* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949-1996).
KB	Royal Library, The Hague.
Kn.	Knuttel, Willem Pieter Cornelis. *Catalogus van de pamflettenverzameling, 1486-1853* (The Hague: IDC publishers, 2001).
Muller	Muller, Frederik. *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten* (Amsterdam: Muller, 1863-1870).
Nicholas	Warner, George (ed.) *The Nicholas Papers. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State*, 3 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1886-1897).
O'D	O'Donoghue, Freeman and Hake, Henry M, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (London: British Museum, 1908-1925).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008).
RKD	Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History). <http://website.rkd.nl/>.
Second Defence	Milton, John. 'A Second Defence of the English People (May 30, 1654)', in: *Complete Prose Works* IV, i, 538-686.
STCN	Short Title Catalogue Netherlands. <http://picarta.pica.nl/>.
Thomason	Thomason Tracts. Available on http://eebo.chadwyck.com/thomason_browse/thomasonbrowse.
Thurloe	*A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe, Esq; secretary, first, to the Council of State, and afterwards to the two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell*, 7 vols. (London: Thomas Woodward, 1742).
UBL	Leiden University Library, Leiden.
UBU	Utrecht University Library, Utrecht.
Van Alphen	Alphen, G. van. *Catalogus der pamfletten van de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen 1542-1853* (Groningen: Wolters, 1944).
VUL	Library of the Free University of Amsterdam.
WNT	*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. <http://gtb.inl.nl>.

Preliminary remarks

Writing a dissertation means showing one's willingness and capability to conform to the conventions and preoccupations of the scholarly community. In an interdisciplinary work such as this, positioning itself not only in between the disciplines of political and literary history, but also in between Anglo-Saxon and continental traditions of inquiry, that condition inevitably produces contradictory demands, which can be resolved only by rigorous, and in some cases admittedly rather arbitrary, choices.

One particularly iconoclastic choice concerns dating. Contrary to the British convention, all dates are given in the New Style, Gregorian calendar that was used in most provinces of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century when England still used the Old Style, Julian calendar. For those readers accustomed to British history, this results in several awkward-looking and potentially confusing dates. In this book the execution of Charles I, for example, did not take place on 30 January 1648/9, but on 9 February 1649.

As if to balance the affront to British historians, reasons of readability have prompted me, albeit with considerable reluctance, to cite Dutch sources in translation; original quotes are in the notes. Titles of Dutch sources are given in the original Dutch, however, in order to prevent confusion (since similar titles may exist in English). All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Quotes from primary sources are given in the original spelling except in those cases when a modernized edition was available. Only early modern uses of the long 's' and the 'u/v' have been modernized. Punctuation, however, is modernized throughout: the gothic '/' is replaced by the appropriate modern marks, subordinate clauses are punctuated, and colons are replaced by full stops if this enhances readability. In case such amendments involve an act of interpretation, this is indicated.

One area in which it is impossible to be consistent is historical terminology. If several terms for the same object circulate in the secondary literature, I choose the one that is most appropriate in the context in which I discuss it. The events in Britain which eventually led to the abolishment of the monarchy in 1649, for example, have variously been described as The English Civil Wars, The English Revolution, The British Revolution, The Puritan Revolution, The English Troubles or the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Each of these terms tends to highlight one or another aspect of the same insular conflicts, and to have its own benefits and problems. I have chosen to profit from the possibilities offered by such a distinctive range of options rather than to immerse myself in a debate about which term is to be preferred. Thus, when I discuss the Anglo-Dutch Puritan exchange, the term Puritan Revolution is obviously the most pertinent to my subject. Similarly, 'United Provinces' and 'Dutch Republic' are used as equivalent names for the same *Foederata Belgica* that was officially established in 1588. Although the former term is historically the most correct, the latter has the advantage of being widely accepted by the international scholarly community.

Introduction

The Royalist Republic

On 22 January 1649, shortly after eleven o'clock in the morning, the States General of the United Provinces met in The Hague for an extraordinary session. From among the great multitude of carriages assembled at the Inner Court, a most unlikely visitor stepped into the cold Great Hall. The Prince of Wales, in the company of, amongst others, Lord Henry Percy and Sir William Boswell, made his appearance before the national assembly. Taking his position opposite the Lord President, the young Prince muttered a few words in English which few of his Dutch audience understood. Then Boswell took over in French and spoke what must be one of the most dramatic phrases that ever resounded in the ancient Hall: 'J'ai l'horreur de dire, qu'un Prince de Angleterre vient requirir intercession pour la vie du Roy son pere'.[1]

The result of Boswell's impassioned request was immediate. That same day, the States resolved to send an embassy to England in order to prevent the anticipated execution of the reigning monarch of England, Scotland and Ireland. Arriving in London a fortnight later, the emissaries, Adriaen Pauw van Heemstede and Albert Joachimi, were courteously received by Parliament, and were allowed conferences with both the generals Fairfax and Cromwell. Yet of course, as we now know, Pauw and Joachimi were unable to alter the fate of the king. After what must have been three frustrating days for the Dutchmen, Charles I was condemned for high treason on 8 February 1649, and sentenced to be executed the next day. Several members of the entourage of the ambassadors - though not the ambassadors themselves - witnessed the event. 'The execution of the king', one of them wrote in a pamphlet

[1] Charles' audience is reported by Aitzema, who was probably an eyewitness of the event. See: Aitzema III, 297. Boswell's words are also cited by: Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 45.

published in Holland a few weeks later, 'was the most remarkable and saddest spectacle that I ever saw'.[2]

Word of the king's death and the embassy's failure reached Holland five days after the execution, on 14 February, when an express boat delivered confirmation of the feared outcome in Scheveningen.[3] One of the first to be informed was the king's son-in-law, Stadtholder William II. According to one Dutch description of the arrival of the shocking tidings, the Prince of Orange sent one of his chaplains, the Scotsman David Stuart, to inform his brother-in-law Charles, the Prince of Wales, who had been living in The Hague for the past six months. In a dramatic scene, the unenviable dr. Stuart found the future Charles II reading. Utterly uncomfortable with his task, the chaplain talked to the Prince about various issues. When Charles asked why he looked so sad, dr. Stuart reportedly 'fell to his knees, and cried: "God bless your majesty!" upon which the Prince dropped his book and instantly knew the sad truth'.[4] If the execution of Charles I was a tragedy, as royalist authors frequently suggested after 1649, one act of that tragedy was set in The Hague.

In the years following the execution of Charles I, the Dutch Republic witnessed an unprecedented output of publications in support of the Stuart monarchy in England. The Stuarts could count on almost univocal support by Dutch opinion makers; pamphleteers, poets, preachers, politicians and printmakers from all ideological and religious backgrounds conspired to create a profuse and generically heterogeneous corpus of texts that was nevertheless consistent in its partisan royalism. The death of the king caused a genuine media hype in which the executed king and his family were the central figures.

This is especially apparent in Dutch topical poetry of the 1650s. In 1649 and 1650, nearly all living Dutch poets mourned Charles I, and in 1660, they eulogized his son. In the bellicose poetry written during the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654 and Baltic War of 1656-1660, English politics also figured prominently as poets sought to come to terms with the unprecedented economic conflicts. Appendix I identifies 369 poems that had English politics as a subject in this period. They were printed in pamphlets, on engravings, and in books published between 1649 and 1660.[5] In only

[2] Kn. 6309. *Copye van eenen brieff* (1649), 1. Orig. 'Het executeren vanden Coningh is het wonderbaerlijckste en het droevighste spectakel dat ick oyt gesien hebbe'.
[3] Aitzema III, 681.
[4] De Lange, *Tweede deel der Nederlandsche Historien* (1663), 2-3.
[5] The number is the result of a systematic survey of catalogued pamphlets and poetry books published in this period.

three of these poems are the King's opponents defended, all the others emphatically support the House of Stuart.

The unprecedented and unnerving upheavals of war in Britain that culminated in the execution of Charles I also meant that the interest of Dutch historians in Britain intensified. Whereas Dutch historiography had been primarily concerned with the Dutch national past before the outbreak of the English troubles, E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier has shown that Dutch historians published nine original histories of Britain in the years 1639-1660.[6] In addition, the same period witnessed the (re-)publication of existing histories by Englishmen in Latin or in translation.[7] These books did not necessarily reflect on current events as such, but covered the entire history of the British Isles. Such accounts were evidently in demand because they served as a frame of reference with which current events could be understood. 'When the situation returned to normal' after Charles II's coronation in 1661, Haitsma Mulier observes, 'the historiographical interest waned'.[8] The political signature of these histories can be succinctly illustrated by the frontispiece of Montanus' history of the First Anglo-Dutch War, which shows a double-faced male figure representing the English Parliament. Trampling over Neptune, it maliciously kicks three crowns into the air.[9] Like the poetry, these histories adopted a royalist perspective on history.

In the drama the impact of the British troubles was felt with equal intensity. Plays such as Vondel's *Maria Stuart* (1646) and Joan Dullaert's *Karel Stuart* (1649, perf. 1652) have long been recognized as topical to the English civil wars. A systematic study of all the plays published between 1640 and 1660 has enabled me to identify a considerably larger group of plays participating in the discourse on the English revolution. History plays, such as Joachim Oudaen's *Konradyn* ('*Conradin*') (1649), and Lambert van den Bosch's *Roode en witte roos* (*'Red and white rose*') (1652), revenge tragedies, such as Jan Bara's *Herstelde vorst* ('*The Prince Restored*') (1650) and comedies, such as Melchior Fockens' *Klucht van Dronkken Hansje* ('*Farce of drunken Hans*') (1657), are but a few of the dramatic contributions to the discourse on English politics. With the exception of a triad of Thomas More plays, published in the later 1650s, they invariably adopt a royalist perspective. Performed both at the centre of Dutch theatrical culture, the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre, and on stages erected by

[6] Haitsma Mulier, 'The History of Great Britain', passim.
[7] The STCN yields the following titles: Baker, *Cronyke van 't leven* (1649); Carrington, *Het verhael, van het leven en de doot* (1659); Vergil, *Historiae Anglicae* (1649); Vergil, *Historiae Anglicae* (1651); Camden, *Rerum Anglicarvm* (1639); Camden, *Britannia* (1639); Bacon, *Historia regni Henrici Septimi Angliæ regis* (1647); Johnston, *Historia rerum Britannicarum* (1655); Godwin, *Rervm Anglicarvm* (1653).
[8] Haitsma Mulier, 'The History of Great Britain', 146.
[9] Montanus, *Beroerde Oceaan* (1656), *1r.

travelling players throughout the country and beyond, such plays were at least as instrumental in affecting popular opinion as poems and histories.[10]

Debate on the regicide, then, was not limited to the bare, written word. Indeed, other media were equally instrumental in creating a cultish atmosphere surrounding the House of Stuart. Songs and ballads added not only melody but also emotion to the verbal message of prose pamphlets and topical poetry. They were easily committed to memory, and repetition made the lyrics hard to forget. The use of melody could also add new layers of meaning. Walking through the streets of Amsterdam, in the early 1650s, one might have heard a song on Charles' execution to the elegiac melody that was also used in spiritual songs lamenting the death of Christ.[11] Several songs on the king's death were set to the famous royalist melody 'Prince Rupert's March'.[12] By thus referring to Rupert of Bohemia's march on York, in 1644, such songs provided constant reference to the history of the Civil War. Fifteen Dutch songs on English politics have survived in printed form (see Appendix 4), more probably circulated orally.

Visual sources also played an important part in the Dutch discourse on English politics. Images, after all, were powerful weapons of political propaganda and polemic, and functioned alongside or in conjunction with textual and performative genres.[13] Appendix 2 identifies more than hundred Dutch prints published between 1640 and 1660 that reflected on English politics. The vast majority of those supported the Stuart cause. One particular omnipresent pictorial element in this corpus was the engraved image of Charles I after Wenceslaus Hollar's adaptation of Anthony van Dyck. Functioning in a wide variety of contexts, ranging from frontispieces of royalist propaganda to vanitas paintings, the portrait of the king became a veritable icon, worshipped and meditated on by Dutch audiences (see Chapter 4).

The remarkable profusion of pro-Stuart texts in a Republic dominated by Calvinists is the central problem which this study seeks to examine. Why did the Dutch Republic, ostensibly the logical continental ally of the new, equally Protestant English Republic, embrace the royalist cause - at least in print? What constituted the attraction of the royalist cause for Dutch authors? Stuart defenders ranged from the Orangist freethinker Jan Zoet to his Amsterdam Catholic enemy Jan Vos, and from the Calvinist apothecary Jan Six van Chandelier to influential magistrates such as the

[10] Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn have recently argued that performative genres played a central role in early modern public opinion forming. See: Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn, 'Introduction', 1-3.
[11] Thys. 2465. *Een waerachtigh nieu liedt van d'wreede sententie in Enghelant* (1649).
[12] Thys. 2482. *Liedeken* (1649); Kn. 6361. *Prins Roberts Antwoordt* (1649).
[13] In the past years, especially Kevin Sharpe has pointed out the political power of images. See: Sharpe, 'An Image Doting Rabble', passim. See also: Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, passim; idem, 'Anti-episcopacy', passim.

Amsterdam burgomaster Jan Six and the Dordrecht diplomat Cornelis van Beveren.[14] Their motivations cannot unequivocally be explained in terms of domestic partisanship. Indeed, as we shall see, the profusion of royalist rhetoric in Dutch texts and images exposes some of the faultlines in the political culture of the young Republic, since the rejection of the English Revolution and the religious veneration of Charles I are difficult to align with Dutch religious and political identities.

The radical turn in Dutch public opinion on the civil wars in 1649 adds to the problematic status of the ubiquitous Dutch Stuart support in printed texts and images of the 1650s. In the 1640s, Parliament had been extremely successful in acquiring popular support in the Dutch Republic. After the execution of the king, however, Dutch support for Parliament almost disappeared.[15] The politician, spy and news-trafficker Lieuwe van Aitzema was baffled by this sudden change in allegiance, which he considered to be a 'remarkable sign of human fickleness'.[16] In Aitzema's analysis 'the people were so enraptured by Compassion, that they repudiated the actions of the Parliamentarians (with whom they had always agreed before), and now agreed with the king (whom they had always opposed before)'.[17] Although the situation was not as clear-cut as Aitzema presents it, the change in public opinion is indeed remarkable. It is a change, moreover, that requires more rigorous analysis and a better explanation than Aitzema has on offer.

This dissertation argues that the profusion of royalist support in the Dutch public sphere was part of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch discourse inspired by the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Charles II's supplication to the States General in 1649 was only one of the many British appeals for Dutch support in the period between the outbreak of the troubles during the late 1630s and the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Many of these appeals were made in printed pamphlets in the Dutch vernacular. It is the argument of this study that in order to understand the prominence of the royalist voice in the Dutch Republic, it is vital to study it as part of the international debate that found its origin in such appeals.

In line with its subject, this study will adopt a double, Anglo-Dutch perspective on the extensive corpus at hand. Paul Sellin's article on the prefatory material that was added to the Dutch translations of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (subtitled 'notes towards an investigation') has provided a major source of inspiration to undertake that effort.

[14] For the contributions of these poets, see Appendix 1.
[15] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, passim.
[16] Aitzema III, 325. Orig. 'Een merckelijck teecken van de menschelijcke veranderlijckheyt'. On Aitzema's various activities: Rowen, 'Lieuwe van Aitzema', passim; and Van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht*, passim.
[17] Aitzema III, 326. Orig. 'De Gemeente in dese Staet, soo door compassie verruckt, dat sy 't doen der Parlementarissen improbeerden ende nu den Coninck, diese te voor altijdt in 't ongelijck hadden gestelt, gelijck gaven'. Also cited in: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 8.

Sellin pointed out that the many pro-Stuart topical poems ought to be studied as 'a distinct corpus of interrelated material'.[18] He emphasized that from a study of the kind of topical sources outlined above as a distinct corpus of interrelated material 'not merely the political and literary-bibliographical history of the Netherlands can profit but that of the history of English printing and literature'.[19] This book indeed addresses scholars of both British and Dutch history.

For cultural, literary and political historians of the civil war period in Britain, the main text and the appendices of this study disclose a vast amount of sources that have hitherto remained out of view. Although for the most part original Dutch productions, these texts and images are of central importance to the study of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. In the first place because they were of major interest to contemporary Brits, including politicians such as Charles II and Oliver Cromwell, authors such as John Milton and Andrew Marvell, and religious leaders such as William Laud and Robert Baillie. Secondly, because these sources evince the extent to which continental contexts inform both our knowledge of the business of propaganda and the discourse of civil war. Dutch literary scholars and historians already acquainted with at least some of these texts will find familiar sources recontextualized and reinterpreted in the light of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch relations in the mid-seventeenth century. Moreover, as will be dealt with in detail below, I seek to apply the methodology of the new cultural history developed by scholars of the Stuart age to the Dutch republic. Both groups, finally, will hopefully find use in my interpretation of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch moment fraught with religious, political, and literary dialogue.

Dutch Royalism

As my title indicates, this study treats Dutch printed support for the Stuart monarchy as a form of royalism. By challenging the terminological divides between national disciplines, I seek to arrive at a mode of analysis that is able to reveal the fascinating international dynamics of early modern political discourse and the early modern public sphere. Nevertheless, the application of the British political label of royalism on Dutch texts published in a Dutch context is likely to raise eyebrows among scholars, and should be justified from the outset.

Contemporary uses of the terms 'royalist' and its synonym 'cavalier' offer ample justification for applying the term royalism to Dutch authors and texts, as

[18] Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', 259.
[19] Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', 259.

authors on both sides of the channel frequently confounded Dutch and English political terminologies. One 'letter from Holland' published in 1642, pointing out the similarities between English and Dutch political conflicts, reported that 'the Prince and the States are united and separated, as the King and Parliament are in England'.[20] Another pamphleteer blurred the distinction between Orangism and royalism even more explicitly when he wrote about 'the great store of Arms and Ammunition, which were sent from the Prince of Orange and the Dutch Cavaleers to his Majesty'.[21] A decade later, George Downing even considered the entire Dutch republic to be 'a meere nursery of cavallierisme'.[22] Dutch commentators, too, often thought in hybrid, Anglo-Dutch terms. Thus Lieuwe van Aitzema, who worked as a spy for the English secretary of state John Thurloe, wrote about Dutch Calvinist preachers as 'good royalists'.[23] Indeed, Thurloe's pervasive interest in the Dutch popular print of the 1650s (see Chapter 1) depended on the idea that something like Dutch royalism existed in the first place.

If some pamphleteers signaled an Anglo-Dutch royalist faction led by the united Houses of Stuart and Orange, others similarly saw an Anglo-Dutch republican opposition. A dominant theme in the Orangist propaganda against Amsterdam in 1649-1650, for example, was the city's supposed leaning towards the republican, regicidal regime in England (see Chapter 5). In a positive vein, Jacob Cats emphasized the republican brotherhood between the Dutch and the English in public speeches delivered in The Hague and London in 1651-1652.[24] The result of such public utterances was a hybrid political discourse in which Anglo-Dutch parties were pitted against each other.[25] In this discourse, royalists and orangists were fighting an alliance of parliamentarians and state party supporters.

In the religious sphere, too, English, Scottish and Dutch oppositions were often represented as congruous - in Britain as well as in the United Provinces. As Chapter 2 will argue, between 1639 and 1645, Dutch Contra-Remonstrants, Scottish covenanters and English Presbyterians cooperated in a propaganda campaign in the Dutch Republic aimed at representing the first civil war as a battle against 'Arminians' who were jeopardizing the entire reformation. On the other side, prominent Dutch Remonstrants, including the Remonstrant colossus Grotius, were devoted defenders of episcopacy and the Church of England. In their interpretation too, the Civil War

[20] Wing N1036. *Nevves Ovt of the Lovv-Covntries* (January 1643), A3v.
[21] Wing M2930. *A most true relation* (December 1642), 1.
[22] Thurloe VII, 246. Cited in: Scott, 'Good Night Amsterdam', 345.
[23] Aitzema III, 323.
[24] Kn. 7141. Cats, *Oratie* (1652), passim.
[25] Cf. Scott, 'Good Night Amsterdam', passim.

was fought over the future of Anglo-Dutch Protestantism, as we shall see in Chapters 2 and 3 below.

Using royalism as a category for analysing Dutch political discourse also finds support in current developments in royalist studies. Revising the simplified Whig images of the royalist movement, historians of the English Civil Wars have come to realize that royalism was never a monolithic ideology, nor one that can simply be divided into convenient dichotomies such as the divide between 'absolutists' and 'constitutionalists'. Royalism, scholars now realize, was inherently multifarious and dynamic. In terms of religion, for instance, royalists ranged between radicals and conformists. Nor were all royalists constant in their allegiance to the king. As the cases of Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham, and even Abraham Cowley illustrate, loyalty to the monarchy was not necessarily stable: individuals might opt into and out of royalism depending on the circumstances, and adopt appropriately ambiguous rhetoric in doing so. Instead of treating royalism as a unified party, then, scholars now realize that the term covers a broad range of people who rationalized their support for the king in such diverse ways as to cause frequent discord and conflict.[26]

This insight also applies to nationality, since royalism (traditionally studied mainly from Anglocentric points of view) is no longer treated as an English phenomenon. Recent archipelagic perspectives have emphasized that royalism was essentially international, and that Scottish and Irish royalisms were not necessarily identical to English ones. Indeed, this book develops John Kerrigan's suggestion, in *Archipelagic English*, that the Dutch Republic became part of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch triangle in the early 1650s.[27]

In view of these developments, it is remarkable that continental perspectives are still rare in this new and vibrant field of study. It is telling, in this respect, that two outstanding books on royalism, Robert Wilcher's *The Writing of Royalism* and James Loxley's *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars*,[28] are both 'strikingly thin' in their accounts of the 1650s.[29] The underemphasis on this period in the current scholarship on royalism is partly explained by its preoccupation with texts in the English language.[30] After Charles I's disastrous defeat at the battle of Naseby, however, English royalism was increasingly an exiled, continental movement, which

[26] McElligott and Smith, *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, 1-15; 66-88; De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, passim.
[27] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 220-243.
[28] Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, passim; Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, passim.
[29] Raymond, 'Describing Popularity', 123.
[30] Only very recently have scholars of royalism ventured into this period. See: McElligot and Smith, *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, passim.

depended upon continental support both for its survival and its ambitions to regain its former power. Although well aware of this, scholars of royalism have not yet adopted the appropriate Babylonic approach required to assess its political culture during this decade of exile. Particularly if we want to gain an understanding of the royalist propaganda strategies and of the contexts in which royalist and parliamentary rhetoric functioned, foreign contexts and literatures need to be taken into consideration, as continental audiences were foremost in the minds of political actors across the politico-religious spectrum. By labelling Dutch Stuart support as 'royalism', I want to emphasize its affinities and connections with various British royalisms.

In addition to foregrounding international continuities, the title *Royalist Republic* is meant to emphasize the frictions between domestic and international political discourses. Indeed, the very fact that Dutch Stuart support in the 1650s did not easily fit into domestic politico-religious divides, is compelling reason to apply the distinct label of royalism to it and not simply to substitute royalism for Orangism as scholars of English and Dutch politics alike have tended to do.[31] As we have seen above, Dutch allegiances during the 1640s and 1650s did not correspond with domestic ideological divisions as easily as English and Dutch polemicists alike suggested.

In the case of the Anglo-Dutch politico-religious debate on the civil wars, such tensions were aggravated by a structural asymmetry between the political and the religious Anglo-Dutch identities sketched above. As we shall see in Chapter 2, Contra-Remonstrants of the Voetius circle, who had gravitated towards the Princes of Orange in the domestic sphere in the 1620s, supported the Parliament during the First Civil War. They therefore distanced themselves in printed pamphlets from Frederick Henry's royal alliance, and would never have supported an Orange-led war against Parliament in this period. When these Reformed came round to the Stuart/Orange point of view during the Second Civil War, their support of the restoration of Charles II was difficult to reconcile with their religious views. A poignant example of that tension is offered by the most notorious royalist propagandist of the period, Claudius Salmasius. Having published *Defensio Regia* in 1649 in order to propagate the Stuart cause among continental Presbyterians, Salmasius was soon lambasted in private letters for the blatant conflict between his politico-religious argument in favour of a Stuart restoration and his stated religious convictions. Whereas Salmasius defended the English bishops as good Protestants in *Defensio Regia*, he had vehemently argued

[31] Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, passim, esp. 108-109. Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, passim.

against episcopacy only eight years earlier, in *De Presbyteris et Episcopis*.[32] Salmasius' political and religious convictions were evidently in friction, and similar frictions can be descried in many Dutch royalist texts.

This is also apparent in the ideological thought of those authors whose support of the king was largely confessionally motivated. As we shall see in Chapter 3, Dutch Remonstrant, Catholic and heterodox authors who pleaded the Stuart cause in vernacular publications during the 1640s and 1650s were frequently tacit or outspoken supporters of the State Party and the stadtholderless settlement. In several cases they were even vehement opponents of the Prince of Orange (although that did not necessarily imply a principled stance against Orangism). Joachim Oudaen, for instance, developed a dislike for monarchical government, and was a loyal subject of the States of Holland. Yet in the 1650s, Oudaen was one of the main propagandists of the Stuart cause in popular print, and publicly defended the divine right of kings. As such, he acted in opposition to the States of Holland, who were genuinely troubled by the Stuart presence in the Dutch Republic. According to his earliest biographer, Oudaen came to resent his own 'enthusiasm' for the cause of the English monarchy in the 1670s.[33] Presumably he had by then realized that he had contributed to the magical aura of the Prince of Wales, who, as Charles II, had become the Republic's great enemy in 1665. In the 1650s, however, Oudaen either saw no conflict of interests, or chose to ignore it.

Condemning the English revolution during the interregnum also sat uneasily with the Dutch national self-image. Thinking about the English revolution inescapably reflected upon the Dutch revolt against Spain. The question of whether it was justified to revolt against an anointed monarch, and to take government away from him - a central issue in the debate on the Wars of the Three Kingdoms - was also at the heart of the Dutch Republic's new identity as an independent state. This became pointedly apparent when the Leiden law professor Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1612-1653) published a tract in which he defended Charles II's right to the English throne by arguing that the monarch's right to rule could not be unilaterally annulled by his subjects. Boxhorn voiced an opinion that was echoed in texts throughout the 1650s. However, as the Utrecht student I.B. was quick to point out, Boxhorn's argument implied that the Dutch independence from Spain was unjustified. By Boxhorn's

[32] Salmasius, *De episcopis et presbyteris* (1641). The book was published under the pseudonym Wallo Messalinus. A letter of Claudius Serravius (Claude Sarrau) deriding Salmasius over the inconsistency is transcribed and translated in: Symmons, *Life of John Milton*, 353-354n. 'Even a king's advocate', Serravius wrote, 'ought not, in his master's cause, to speak in public different from what he speaks and thinks in private'.

[33] Melles, *Joachim Oudaan*, 40; Van Hoogstraten, 'Het leven van Joachim Oudaen', 20ff.

reasoning, I.B. argued, the monarch deposed by the Dutch revolutionaries (Philip II of Spain) should have been succeeded by his son. In the following polemic, Boxhorn eventually felt compelled to counter I.B.'s allegations in a lengthy study called *De Majestate*, but he never succeeded in fully resolving the contradiction between justifying the Dutch revolt and condemning that of the English at the same time.[34]

The upheavals in Britain, then, necessitated the negotiation of conflicting individual, local, national and international identities in the 1640s and 1650s. They forced the Dutch supporters of Charles II to think about their own state and the relation between their political and religious beliefs. In some cases this led them to re-think their premises, and to confront the contradictions between their domestic and their English loyalties. In Dutch vernacular publications, their English and Scottish allies did not hesitate to point out these contradictions.

Like Aitzema, scholars have hitherto discussed Dutch representations of English politics in terms of national public opinion. Daniel Grosheide's *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten* ('*Cromwell through the Eyes of his Dutch Contemporaries*') - still the major study of Dutch representations of English politics, and an important source of inspiration for the present study - is a case in point.[35] Studying a wealth of mid-century pamphlets, tracts and poems written by Dutch authors for references to Cromwell, Grosheide concluded that public opinion in the Dutch Republic 'was strongly anti-Cromwellian'.[36] This conclusion seems to be confirmed by contemporary testimonies of popular sentiment in letters and diaries. John Thurloe's spies, for example, regularly reported about the general feelings of hatred.[37] Robert Haan's dissertation on the representation of England and English affairs in a number of Dutch pamphlets supported Grosheide's findings.[38]

Although extensively documented, Grosheide's argument is open to criticism. In his study of the relations between the Dutch Calvinists and the house of Orange, M. Th. uit den Boogaard has challenged the idea of a general anti-parliamentary and anti-Cromwellian sentiment in the 1650s. Uit den Boogaard argues that the Dutch Reformed continued to sympathize with their English brothers in the faith after the regicide. Even during the first Anglo-Dutch war, Uit den Boogaard contends, Calvinist opinion was divided between those who supported the war against the regicides, and those who argued for a swift peace. In Uit den Bogaard's view, the

[34] See: Blom, 'Les réactions hollandaises', passim.
[35] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, passim.
[36] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 255.
[37] See Chapter 1 below.
[38] Haan, *The Treatment of England*, passim. Marijke Meijer Drees has studied the Dutch representations of Englishmen in the mid-seventeenth-century. Her findings will be discussed in Chapter 7.

latter are likely to have outnumbered the first, amongst whom those of a 'good reformed' confession.[39] In view of the extant corpus of printed sources, Uit den Boogaard is stretching the evidence. Several prose pamphlets against the war between 'brothers in the faith' (or, in the biblical terms used by one pamphleteer, between Ephraim and Menasse) were published during the first Anglo-Dutch war.[40] But such arguments were incidental. In fact, the number of Calvinist publications in favour of Commonwealth or Protectorate was surprisingly low throughout the 1650s. Unless we are to define the 'good reformed' as those few who continued to profess their loyalty to the English Republic, Uit den Boogaard's statement lacks positive evidence. If the majority of the reformed community in the United Provinces did indeed remain loyal to the Parliament after the regicide, they did so without leaving many traces.

This controversy points out a fundamental problem in these kinds of opinion studies, since Uit den Boogaard is of course right to question the representativeness of the printed sources. It is possible to argue that the Stuart cause dominated the public sphere in the 1650s precisely because there were so many to be convinced. It is equally possible to argue that it dominated because it indeed was the dominant view. Was topical print merely the medium of the underdogs, of those factions excluded from real power? Or did it reflect a widely shared opinion? We may venture an educated guess, but, as Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn write, '[t]he problem of historical opinion research is that we will never know what most people believed'.[41] The vast majority of private or orally expressed opinions is bound to remain closed to the historian, and it would be useless to enter into a debate on that ultimate question. Rather than asking why Stuart support was so ubiquitous in the 1650s, we should examine why it was ubiquitous in public discourse.

The New Cultural History

Dutch literary history of the seventeenth-century has for long time been remarkably unpolitical.[42] It was only in the 1990s that political contexts and political functions of early modern poetry and drama drew the attention of a new generation of scholars. In the drama, Henk Duits and Bettina Noak have investigated drama's involvement in political debate.[43] Topical political poetry, long ignored, now came to be studied and

[39] Uit den Bogaard, *De gereformeerden en Oranje*, 64-131.
[40] Kn. 7435-7437. [Sceperus Amstelda] *Manasse teegen Ephraim* (1653).
[41] Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn, 'Epilogue', forthcoming.
[42] Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', 259.
[43] Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse Opstand*, passim; Noak, *Politische Auffassungen*, passim. See also: Smits-Veldt, *Het Nederlandse Renaissancetoneel*, 112-118.

published by various scholars.[44] In recent years, renewed attention for almanacs and pamphlets has only intensified the interest in the interactions between politics and literature.[45]

What is still lacking in this relatively new field is a clear theoretical and methodological programme that would facilitate fruitful international exchange. As Jürgen Pieters has pointed out in various publications, the dominant historicizing practice in the study of early modern Dutch culture is largely unaffected by developments in the English-speaking world.[46] Whereas the theoretical reflections and the interpretative practice of the New Historicism and the Cultural Materialism have transformed Anglo-American historicist studies, even Dutch scholars inspired by these developments, Pieters has pointed out, have been hesitant to embrace them wholeheartedly. In the context of the present study, which seeks to establish a dialogue not only between seventeenth-century texts in Dutch and English, but also addresses two distinct scholarly audiences, it is therefore important to introduce my own approach, which builds on recent developments in the study of English political culture, at some length.

One possible reason for the lack of success of theory-driven Anglo-American historicism is related to early modern Dutch culture itself. The New Historicism is firmly rooted in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods, which are characterized by a stable centralized government, a relatively effective censorship, a limited public sphere, an aristocratic culture, and a unique religious settlement.[47] In the United Provinces, by contrast, government was organized bottom-up, the censor was unable to quench political debate in print, burghers dominated cultural life, and violent, public religious debate ruptured the state. Major tenets of the New Historicism, such as its concern with aristocratic and monarchic power, its subversion-containment-thesis, and its predominantly secular outlook are difficult to reconcile with such a culture. It may be no coincidence, then, that Pieters has chosen to subject the work of precisely the court-based, aristocratic anglophile Constantijn Huygens to New

[44] Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 'Poëzie als gebruiksartikel', passim; Spies, 'Verbeeldingen van vrijheid', passim; idem, ''Vrijheid, vrijheid', poëzie als propaganda', passim; Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', passim; Meijer Drees, 'Patriottisme in de Nederlandse literatuur'; Van Nispen, *De Teems in Brant*, passim.

[45] Salman, 'Troebelen en tijdsordening'; De Kruijf, Meijer Drees and Salman, *Het lange leven van het pamflet*, passim; Dingemanse, *Rap van tong*, passim; Vrieler, *Het poëtisch accent*, passim. See also: Harms, *De uitvinding van de publieke opinie,* passim; Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, passim.

[46] Pieters, 'In Imaginary Presence', passim; idem, 'New Historicism Revisited', passim; idem, 'De blinde vlekken van de historische letterkunde', passim. A notable exception is: Korsten, *Sovereignty as Inviolability*, passim.

[47] Especially the early New Historicism of Stephen Orgel and Stephen Greenblatt was 'absolutism-centered', and attuned to a historical situation in which the monarchy was presumed to be the unquestioned source of power. See: Mendle, 'An Enduring Discourse Community', 226.

Historicist analysis.[48] Huygens, however, was exceptional, both as a courtier, a scholar, and a poet. Most other forms of seventeenth-century Dutch literature may require a different reading method.

Such an alternative is available in the study of the political culture of the Stuart era, which, like the Dutch literature, 'has not proved especially amenable to some New Historicist readings of early modern culture and authority'.[49] In Loxley's words, '[t]he mid-seventeenth century has proved a fruitful territory for the practice of a cultural rather than a literary history, a more detailed, less unified practice which embraces an exceptionally diverse body of work'.[50] Such a practice in my view also suits the Dutch culture of that period. The present study therefore adopts the methodological premises of this new cultural history, as developed by scholars of English political culture such as Kevin Sharpe, Peter Lake, Blair Worden and Steven Zwicker.[51] Many of the differences between the New Historicism and the dominant practice in the study of mid-seventeenth century political culture can be explained with reference to the rapid emergence of political print culture in the post-Jacobean era. Characterized by an emphasis on the political moment and topical debate, the new cultural history is well equipped to deal with the emerging public sphere of the seventeenth century.

In *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, Sharpe and Lake have lucidly described the parallel developments in history and literary scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s that have led to their 'approach that builds on and incorporates a range of insights and approaches' from both disciplines.[52] They explain that the movement emerged from two distinct, but parallel developments in the 1980s. On the one hand, revisionist history, with its reliance on manuscript sources, its deep-rooted distrust of printed material and its negation of textuality, came under attack for stripping history of ideology, and viewing history through the keyhole of archival material. 'In this interpretative world', Sharpe and Lake observe, 'what was closed to contemporaries was clear to the modern historian, the line between the real and the represented was sharply drawn and well policed'.[53] On the other hand, the success of the New Historicism, with its eclectic theoretical underpinnings, remained largely confined to circles of literary criticism. Historians increasingly criticized the movement for its

[48] See: Pieters, 'In Imaginary Presence', passim.
[49] Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, 2. See also: Mendle, 'An Enduring Discourse Community', 226.
[50] Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, 2.
[51] See, for instance: Sharpe and Zwicker, *Refiguring Revolutions*, passim; Sharpe and Zwicker, *Politics of Discourse*, passim; Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England*, passim; Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, passim; Knoppers, *Historicizing Milton*, passim; Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, passim.
[52] Sharpe and Lake, 'Introduction', passim.
[53] Sharpe and Lake, 'Introduction', 2.

historical 'howlers',[54] even to the point of accusing its most prominent representative, Stephen Greenblatt, rather maliciously of being 'innocent of history'.[55] Yet despite the growing uneasiness with its method - or lack of method - among both historians and literary critics, it is largely due to the New Historicism's emphasis on authority and the crucial role of texts in shaping power relations that ideology has re-entered the study of history, and literature and art have been rehabilitated as genres worthy of serious historical inquiry. As Sharpe and Lake put it, the New Historicists' 'widened sense of the political, the vision of a pervasive role of the ideological and the cultural in shaping, indeed, determining the political lives and intentions of contemporaries (…) cannot but be of help to historians'.[56]

Like New Historicists, scholars of Stuart politics and culture have focused on representation and discourse to investigate the relationship between literature and politics, between ideological and aesthetic frameworks and political experience, between the represented and the real. Like New Historicists, they hold that the relationship between what happens and the representation thereof is reciprocal. In the words of Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, '[t]he literary shapes and provides a framework, a narration, not only for the events which are witnessed, but also for intellectual and imaginative participation in the social and political world'.[57] Yet the tendency among these cultural historians has been to write a horizontal history, even more strictly synchronic than the New Historicists, and to add a sense of historical specificity and concreteness, a geographical as well as a temporal fixation to the New Historicists' concern with representation, discourse and power. The focus, one might say, has shifted from contextualizing literature to textualizing history. Unlike New Historicist works, studies of the reciprocal relationship between culture and politics focus on specific events and specific persons; even more than the New Historicism, this movement tends to stress the importance of the historical moment. It is interested in the way power is shaped, fortified and subverted by cultural artifacts also, but it is

[54] Sharpe, 'Culture, Politics and the English Civil War', 110. Sharpe points out the historical errors, 'some of the most elementary kind', in three New Historicist books.

[55] See: Fowler, 'Review of Greenblatt, *Will in the World*', passim. It should, in Greenblatt's defence, be said that the book under discussion was not a scholarly work, but a popularizing biography. Moreover, Fowler's attack on Greenblatt itself contained some questionable historical statements. It is indicative, however, of the intensity of the mistrust with which historians have approached the New Historicism's encrouchment upon their terrain, which is largely due to historical errors of the kind described by Fowler.

[56] Sharpe and Lake, 'Introduction', 5.

[57] Healy and Sawday, 'Introduction', 2. In another introduction, Claude Summers and Terry Pebworth similarly write: 'In a real sense, all poetry - all discourse - is political, for texts inescapably both reflect and reflect on society, constructing imaginary social and political worlds that bear some relation to actual and political realities. Hence, politics and poetry exist in a reciprocal cultural relationship in which literature is necessarily politicized and politics unavoidably attempt to co-opt social forms, including literature, in a project of aestheticization and mystification'. See: Summers and Pebworth, 'Introduction', 2.

generally more sensitive to the problems and concrete historical role of texts and images in political processes, in political agency, and how texts relate to historical actors. Culture is, in this approach, 'viewed as the maps of meaning and interpretation with which contemporaries navigated their way through the world and conferred meaning on their experience'.[58]

Given this emphasis on the production of political meaning, it is not surprising that reading habits have played a much more prominent role in the study of Stuart culture and politics than in the New Historicism.[59] Zwicker specifically emphasizes the role of reading habits in the processes of opinion making. Throughout Christian Europe, Zwicker stresses, even the most basically literate people would have had a mind that was disposed towards analogy and the application of old stories upon the present. The fact that 'comparisons', 'analogues' and 'applications' feature large in the early modern pamphlet literatures in Britain and the United Provinces up until the late seventeenth century, is an unmistakable sign of this mentality. Political commentators ransacked history and literature for parallels with contemporary events, and readers were expecting to find them as well. 'Allegory and application were', in Zwicker's words, 'temperamental and intellectual impulses, trained and cultivated by the deep convictions of Protestant exegesis, yet honored far beyond the reach of sacred narrative'.[60]

Importantly, this seventeenth-century mode of reading - and writing with allegorical reading habits in mind - transcends generic distinctions. Both verbal and visual texts, like nature and history, were often read emblematically, their elements - whether in detail or the entire composition - expected to point towards an alternative reality.[61] As Randall writes, 'modes of analogous thinking (…) undergirded coats of arms, sermons, songs, tapestries and even penny pamphlets'.[62] In a recent essay on early modern poetry and history, Blair Worden has argued that 'the categories were capacious and fluid', not in the least because of the political application of history by analogous, allegorical reading.[63] To take an example from this study, a closet drama such as Vondel's *Maria Stuart* and a work of history on the same subject could both function as political pamphlets, simply because the parallel between Mary and her grandson was evident to contemporary readers. This emphasis on the early modern

[58] Sharpe and Lake, 'Introduction', 4.
[59] About early modern reading, politics and public opinion, see especially: Sharpe and Zwicker, *Reading Revolutions*, passim; Sharpe and Zwicker, *Reading, Society and Politics*, passim; Andersen and Sauer, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, passim; Sherman, *John Dee*, passim.
[60] Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, 3.
[61] Foucault (*The Order of Things*, 17-44) describes this mode of reading as an episteme, or epistemology.
[62] Randall, *Winter Fruit*, 5.
[63] Worden, 'Historians and Poets', passim.

sensitivity to a text's participation in a semiotic system that was ultimately founded on religion distinguishes the current practice in civil war historicism from both the practice of New Historicists (focusing on the Elizabethan and early Jacobean era) and (revisionist) political history.

The early modern urge to allegorize and to apply texts to current events rendered texts highly unstable. It did so in the first place because authors only had limited control over the allegorizing reader: an author's intended subtext did not necessarily coincide with the reader's application. Notwithstanding dominant cultural and religious tendencies, readers might simply decline to allegorize at all. Paratexts frequently attempted to direct the interpretation of the main text, yet the very existence of such authorial interventions only underlines the basic uncontrollability of the reader's act of signification. Secondly, seventeenth-century reading for signs, correspondences and analogies rendered texts unstable because of their changing contexts. Since application is an act of reading, the date of composition is less relevant to a text's meaning than the moment of its consumption, and the reader's frame of reference at that particular moment. Throughout this dissertation, I will therefore be sensitive to what Zachary Lesser calls the 'politics of publication',[64] to the meaning of a (literary) text at one specific historical moment - the moment it came off the press or appeared on the stage.

Shifting our focus from the conception of a text to the publication and consumption in a specific context has several implications. In the first place, as Sharpe points out, it means that we 'may see the highly topical, immediate and (perhaps) radical comment in the articulation at a specific moment of the timeless trope or convention'.[65] Indeed, one of the reasons for the early modern delight in commonplaces was the fact that these fixed forms, in the words of Hans Blumenberg, were subject to continuous 'reoccupation', or 'Umbesetzung'.[66] Either by conscious or unconscious appropriation, new significance was bestowed on old forms. Even literary genres and modes such as the estate poem, the martyr drama or revenge tragedy could be reinvigorated and 'reoccupied' by the specific concerns and anxieties at specific moments. In *Lines of Authority*, Zwicker has argued that 'in the 1640s, literature becomes politicized at many levels, and most deeply and complexly so through politically inspired choices and manipulations of genre and mode'.[67] Other studies of mid-seventeenth-century English literature, such as Nancy Maguire's

[64] Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, passim.
[65] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 45.
[66] Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit*, passim.
[67] Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, passim. The quote is from: Deluna, 'Review of Zwicker', 984.

Regicide and Restoration and John Kerrigan's article 'Revenge Tragedy Revisited', have applied this insight to the dramatic genres of tragicomedy and revenge tragedy.[68] In *Archipelagic English*, Kerrigan again emphasized the importance of 'the generic modes and belief paradigms' such as Foxean martyrologies, which were the 'conventions which affected the packaging and consumption [of the news]'.[69] These were indeed 'maps of meaning and interpretation'. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 below will specifically address the ways in which such belief paradigms, including specifically Dutch genres such as vanitas painting, affected debate on English politics and Anglo-Dutch relations.

When applied to isolated texts, the interpretative focus on the historical moment of course carries the danger of circular argumentation. If one tries hard enough, any contemporaneous event or political meaning might be read into a text that happened to be published at that specific moment. In the absence of any documentary evidence of how a text was read, in the form of marginalia, responses or paratexts, the 'politics of publication' are liable to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Yet once such texts are read as part of a larger cultural-political discourse, in which larger processes of 'reoccupation' and appropriation can be demonstrated, such a danger subsides. The contextualizing study of this kind may therefore not rely on a few literary texts, but should aim to reconstruct the contestation of symbols, images and genres in a large corpus. The purpose of such a project is never, of course, to provide final topical interpretations of literary texts, but to point out cultural impulses in the reading of politics and vice versa.

An Anglo-Dutch Approach

'A serious flaw in much current historicism', Paul Sellin wrote in his Donne-study of 1988, 'is its seeming reluctance to connect English literature (…) with anything other than domestic politics and patronage, almost to the point of effectively excluding from consideration matters involving foreign policy or relations with the Continent and the world abroad'.[70] Despite the emerging interest in cultural hybridity and exchange, Sellin's critique is still painfully to the point, and monolingual approaches to early modern literature still dominate the field, which continues to revolve around the English canon, and, in contrast to studies in medieval or colonial literature, continues to show little awareness of the bigger international picture. And yet, omitting those relations from literary history of an age as fraught with international conflict and

[68] Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration*, passim; Kerrigan, *On Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture*, 230-254.
[69] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 88.
[70] Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, vii.

exchange as the seventeenth century, is, in Sellin's dramatic, but apt comparison, 'as though one were attempting to reconstruct the Washington scene between 1939 and 1946 without really realizing that the nation was at war or that conflict with the Axis powers might have any bearing on the rhetoric and letters of the day'.[71] Indeed, the monolingual approach prevalent in literary studies amounts to, what Anne Coldiron has recently called 'anachronism-by-omission'. As a way out, Coldiron has pleaded for a 'Comparative New Historicism' which is sensitive to the international writing and reading of literature.[72] I agree, yet comparative historicism still implies a separation. In my opinion, the first task of internationalizing the historicisms of the early modern period is to identify shared spaces, international identities, and discourses that interrogate national paradigms and vernacular divisions. An International Historicism should be a hybrid historicism rather than a comparative historicism.

Historians have been less encumbered with the inheritance of the nineteenth century than literary historians (although political histories of England and the Dutch Republic, too, have long been written in national frameworks 'that [tend] to obscure wider perspectives').[73] In British historiography of the past decades, an anglocentric tendency has given way to a greater awareness of British and international contexts. First proposed by John Pocock in the 1970s,[74] archipelagic re-interpretations of seventeenth-century history and the 'English revolution' in particular have recently been undertaken by both political and literary historians.[75] Initially, this 'New British History' challenge to the nineteenth-century national paradigm was only partial, resulting in a shift of perspective from one island nation to an insular archipelago.[76] In recent historiography, however, the archipelagic move away from Anglo-centric history has been accompanied by a heightened awareness of the importance of international contexts for the history of the Civil War.[77] With Jonathan Scott, a

[71] Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, vii.
[72] Coldiron, 'Toward a Comparative New Historicism', passim, esp. 98. Coldiron makes a related point in her discussion of the early modern Public Sphere: Coldiron, 'Public Sphere / Contact Zone', passim.
[73] Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe*, 1.
[74] Pocock, 'British History', passim.
[75] For the most recent contributions to archipelagic 'New British History', see: Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, passim; and Scott, *Politics and War*, passim. Kerrigan (*Archipelagic English*, passim) seeks to map the interactions of archipelagic politics and archipelagic literatures.
[76] John Morill ('Review of Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe*', 1313) has remarked that 'The recent surge of interest in 'British' or 'archipelagic' history, and in Atlantic-rim or anglophone-diaspora history, needs to be matched by a thorough investigation of Britain's participation in a European cultural confederation'.
[77] Ohlmeyer, 'The 'Old' British Histories?', passim.

growing number of historians now recognize that 'the Channel was (as it were) a bridge not a moat'.[78]

Kerrigan's recent *Archipelagic English* transfers this awareness to the study of literature. Twenty years after Sellin's outcry, Kerrigan proposes to view literature as the result of 'the fraught, bloody, but often creatively productive relations between different ethnic and religious groups' within Britain.[79] Kerrigan's project is a great step forward on the path towards a less insular approach of literature, particularly because he is aware of the fact that continental relations - even if they were slightly less bloody - were at times at least as creatively productive as those within the British archipelago.[80] 'The United Provinces', he argues, 'were a crucible of the military and literary conflicts that troubled mid-seventeenth-century Britain and Ireland',[81] and he foregrounds the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch triangle that was of such deep concern to many English poets of the seventeenth-century - Milton and Marvell not in the least. This book adds a wide range of Dutch voices to Kerrigan's study of Milton's and Marvell's concern with the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch triangle.

I consider the Dutch responses to the Wars the Three Kingdoms and the regicide in England as contributions to an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch dialogue in an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere. This is to take the argument in traditional studies in Anglo-Dutch relationships one step further. Ranging from J.F. Bense's *The Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third* (1924) to Lisa Jardine's *Going Dutch* (2008),[82] these studies in various disciplines share an awareness that the long seventeenth-century (which I take to begin with the Anglo-Dutch alliance against Spain and end with the death of the Stadtholder-king, William III) was an Anglo-Dutch century.[83] The interactions between England and the Dutch Republic in this period were manifold and central: religiously,[84] economically,[85] politically,[86] ideologically,[87] and culturally,[88] the fates of both states were deeply

[78] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 10.
[79] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 1.
[80] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 220-243.
[81] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 220.
[82] Bense, *The Anglo-Dutch Relations*, passim; Jardine, *Going Dutch*, passim.
[83] Israel, 'England, the Dutch Republic and Europe', 1117.
[84] Religious enquiries focusing on the early and mid-seventeenth century include: Nijenhuis, *Ecclesia reformata* II, passim; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* 377-447; 503-522; Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade', passim; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, passim.
[85] See for example: Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires*, passim; Hamilton, *Friends and Rivals in the East*, passim; Klooster, 'Anglo-Dutch Trade in the Seventeenth Century', 261-284.
[86] Of the wide range of historical works on 'high' Anglo-Dutch politics, the following are most pertinent to the subject of this book: Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, passim; Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, passim; Groenveld, 'The English Civil Wars', passim; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism,* passim; Israel, 'England, the Dutch Republic and Europe', passim.

intertwined, and Anglo-Dutch approaches flourished.[89] Yet the contributions to Anglo-Dutch studies have been largely separated by disciplinary boundaries,[90] and the research of international, intervernacular politico-religious discourse is therefore still in its infancy.

Arguably the least fruitful field in Anglo-Dutch studies is that of literary exchange.[91] Theatre scholars have paid much attention to English strolling players travelling through the Dutch Republic in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[92] Yet few English plays found their way to Dutch audiences.[93] In poetry, Constantijn Huygens' translations of John Donne have long retained their interest.[94] The late nineteenth-century interest in the influence of Vondel's drama on John Milton, by contrast, already died a slow death in the early twentieth century.[95] In fact, besides Huygens, examples of Anglo-Dutch literary exchange are relatively rare compared to other cultural domains. 'Dutch literature', Cees Schoneveld writes, 'was and was to remain continental in orientation'. In the field of literature, J.L. Price confirms, 'it would seem that the idea of a common culture between the countries (…) is at its weakest (…). [I]n literary terms, both countries shared similar values and aspirations, but they shared these with the rest of mainland Europe and there was little or nothing to mark them out even as belonging to a specific sub-culture'.[96]

The Royalist Repubic wishes to nuance such statements. Surely, if one defines 'orientation' in terms of literary influence, Dutch literature was indeed 'continental in orientation'. Yet if one asks with which texts Dutch authors engaged in ideological

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[87] Scott, 'Good Night Amsterdam', passim; Scott, *Commonwealth Principles*, passim; Rommelse, 'Dutch Radical Republicanism', passim.

[88] In the field of the arts, see for example: Curd, *Flemish and Dutch Artists*, passim; Roding, *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain*, passim; Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny*, passim; Kollmann, *Niederländische Künstler und Kunst*, passim; White, 'Through Foreign Eyes', passim; Alexander, 'Dutch Mezzotint Engravers in Holland and England', passim. See also: Westerweel, *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, passim.

[89] Interdisciplinary works on Anglo-Dutch relations include: Bense, *The Anglo-Dutch Relations*, passim; Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, passim; Van Dorsten, *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, passim; Wilson, *The Anglo-Dutch Contribution*, passim; Sellin and Baxter, *Anglo-Dutch Cross-Currents*, passim; Haley, *The British and the Dutch*, passim; Van Dorsten, Van den Berg and Hamilton, *The Anglo-Dutch Renaissance*, passim; Groenveld and Wintle, *The Exchange of Ideas*, passim; Schoneveld, *Sea-Changes*, passim; Jardine, *Going Dutch*, passim; Westerweel and D'Haen, *Something Understood*, passim; Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*, passim; Duke and Tamse, *Clio's Mirror*, passim; Stilma, *A King Translated*, passim.

[90] Notable exception are: Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, passim; Stilma, *A King Translated*, passim.

[91] De Vries, *Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature*, passim.

[92] See for instance: Riewald, 'New Light on English Actors', passim.

[93] Helmers, 'Unknown Shrews', 123-128.

[94] See, for example: Todd, 'Constantijn Huygens' Translations', passim; Leerintveld, Todd and Streekstra, 'Seventeenth-century versions of Constantijn Huygens' translations', passim; Streekstra, *Afbeeldings-relaties*, passim; Daley, 'Good Friday', passim; Strengholt, 'Constantijn Huygens' Translation', passim.

[95] Edmundson, *Milton and Vondel*, passim.

[96] Price, 'Regional Identity and European culture', 88.

debate, in which political discourses they participated, the picture changes dramatically. Joris de Wijze's history play *Voorzichtige dolheit* ('*Prudent madness*') (1650) illustrates the gap between narrow intertextuality and discursive engagement. Although De Wijze translated Lope de Vega's *El Cuerdo Loco* (1602), he consciously intervened in the debate on English politics as his play was written with the explicit intention to redeem Charles I. In his dedication, De Wijze stated that considering 'the unprecedented fall of neighbouring kingdoms and kings', he had chosen his source text 'to show' that the kings of these countries 'had no wickedness, but only goodness'.[97] De Wijze may have been translating a continental source, but his mind was fully fixed on contemporary events England and Scotland. Rather than being 'continental in orientation', he engaged with both royalist and Parliamentary tracts that had been appealing for Dutch support in the previous years. Indeed, I would argue that *Voorzichtige dolheit* is at least as much under the spell of *Eikon Basilike* as it is under Lope's.

This study will therefore take a different approach to the notion of exchange. The central, recurring questions are *why* certain English subjects and English books appealed to Dutch audiences at a given time, and *how* they were read. What events caused the interaction? And in what discourses did they intervene? Without adopting Stephen Greenblatt's mystifying 'social energy', I do want to ask the questions asked by Greenblatt in *Shakespearean Negotiations*: 'Whose interests are served by the borrowing? And is there a larger cultural text produced by the exchange?'[98] Borrowings such as De Wijze's play may be Spanish, but the 'larger cultural text' they produced, I contend, is Anglo-Dutch. De Wijze reacts to news, opinions and arguments circulating in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere.

A final word should be said about this last concept. Within the study of public opinion Jurgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere is paradigmatic.[99] It has frequently been argued that '[s]omething similar to a Habermasian public sphere' developed in the seventeenth century with the rise of mercantile capitalism and the development of print culture and newspapers in the Dutch Republic and England.[100] However, as Harold Mah rightly observes, it is generally underappreciated that '[t]he theory of the public sphere is inscribed in a discourse of modernity'.[101] Habermas envisioned the public sphere as a realm of secular, rational public opinion, mediating

[97] De Wijze, *Voorzichtige dolheit* (1650), *4r. Orig. 'd'ongehoorde ondergang van koningrijken en koningen (…) aan te wijzen (…) dat zy geen quaatheit, als te veel goetheits hadden'.
[98] Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 95.
[99] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, passim.
[100] See for example: Raymond, 'Describing Popularity', 127; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 313-314.
[101] Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere', 180.

between the 'sphere of public authority' and the bourgoisie, which cannot unproblematically be transferred back in time. Historians of the early modern period have therefore appropriated the concept and applied it to the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth centuries without, as Peter Lake and Michael Questier express it, the 'desire to bring with it all the normative and conceptual Habermasian baggage that usually attends [it]'.[102] For the study of seventeenth-century political debate and the role of the public as a political agent, a wholly different conceptualization of the public sphere is needed, which takes into account its highly developed print culture and the proliferation of the news, as well as the still dominant, but shifting, roles of religion, rhetoric, ceremony, aesthetics, and patronage.[103]

The communication scholar Gerard Hauser has developed an alternative to the Habermasian model that is better accommodated to seventeenth-century political and discursive practice.[104] Hauser rejects the ideal Habermasian focus on a universalized public sphere governed by rationality, because reasonableness is public-specific and closely connected to the interests of those participating in the debate.[105] Foregrounding the plurality and the rhetoricality of public spheres, Hauser proposes a model which is centred on meaning production specific to particular issues and audiences; it allows for multiple public spheres, which are characterized by permeable group boundaries and contextualized language. The study of such rhetorically modelled public spheres involves the formation of both networks and discourses surrounding specific issues. According to Hauser, we need to enquire how publics merge and diverge in accordance with changing circumstances, rhetoric and symbolic meanings.

The Anglo-Dutch public sphere is Habermasian only to the extent that it is a sphere mediating between the 'private sphere' and the 'sphere of public authority'.[106] For the remainder, I use the term in a Hauserian, discursive sense. Especially in the seventeenth-century, which experienced a crisis of authority, neither the private sphere nor the sphere of public authority were monolithic entities. The Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere therefore exists alongside, or rather overlaps with, local and

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[102] Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the Public Sphere', 590. Also cited in: Raymond, 'Describing Popularity', 126-127.

[103] Various scholars have emphasized various ways in which the early modern public sphere deviated from Habermas. Wohlfeil ('Reformatorische Öffentlichkeit', passim) has stressed the prominence of Reformation conflicts and languages. More specifically, Peter Lake and David Como have argued for a Puritan public sphere, 'within which, in the pulpit, in private conferences, through correspondence and the circulation of position papers, rumours and anecdotes, claims to orthodoxy were canvassed and derided, attacked and defended'. See: Lake and Como, 'Orthodoxy and its Discontents', 63. Cited in: Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 314. Cf. also: Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, passim.

[104] Hauser, 'Vernacular Dialogue', passim; Hauser, *Vernacular Voices*, passim.

[105] Hauser, *Vernacular Voices*, 52-56.

[106] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 30.

national spheres. Within the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere, various international discursive communities, such as 'Puritans', 'Arminians', Stuart-Oranges' and 'Republicans', were contesting for the support of English, Scottish and Dutch vernacular audiences. The issue that structures the public sphere I am studying is the Wars of the Three Kingdoms; the publics I am interested are Anglo-Dutch.

This book is divided into two sections. In the first part, I will develop the concept of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere in which various discursive communities were active. Chapter 1 will argue that the British troubles of the late 1630s, which led to an explosion of popular print in Britain, also caused an explosion of Anglo-Dutch translation activities. Between 1638 and 1660, the Dutch market was flooded with pamphlets that were translated from the English, which caused the approximation of the British and Dutch vernacular public spheres. By appealing to either religious or political kin through translation, English and Scottish authors in time created a hybrid space, in which news, images, symbols, and opinions circulated and in which transnational political and religious identities were made. Chapter 2 will describe the politicization of a particularly strong religious identity in this space, Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism. It was the close relationships between religious groups in England, Scotland and the Dutch Republic, forged by a shared history, which ensured the translation of the British polemic into Dutch as well as its centrality in Dutch politico-religious debates.

The second part will focus on the 'maps of meaning' available to Dutch observers of the British troubles. The chapters in this section will analyse the ways in which specific events and issues in the Anglo-Dutch sphere shaped and were shaped by the reading of specific texts. Each of these chapters investigates one aspect or problem of royalism within the Anglo-Dutch discursive sphere. Thus, Chapter 4 will focus on the impact of the *Eikon Basilike* in the Dutch Republic, and Chapter 5 will investigate how Constantijn Huygens and Andrew Marvell thought about the moral appeal of regicide through the lens of the pastoral mode. Chapter 6 will reflect on the remarkable popularity of revenge tragedy in the Dutch Republic of the 1650s, and reflect on the question of how this genre related to the royalist appeals for Dutch support in the 1650s. Chapter 7, finally, will address a fundamental problem presented by the English Civil War: the fragmentation of Protestantism. While the war with Spain had fitted the binary perception of the Reformation as a battle between Catholicism and Protestantism, the Anglo-Dutch hostilities of the 1650s necessitated the search for new binary divisions to contain contemporary politics within a demonological frame of thought.

Public Spheres and Discursive Communities

Chapter 1

The Translation of Politics: Civil War Polemic in the Dutch Republic

The storm began in Scotland in the late 1630s. Alienated from their absentee king and resisting the imposition of the Book of Common Prayer in their Kirk, the Scots drew up a National Covenant in 1638 that threw their country in open opposition to their monarch, Charles I. The conflict rapidly hardened, and within months both king and Scots were preparing for armed combat. In November, the Covenanters abolished episcopacy at their General Assembly in Glasgow: the final step towards rebellion. Early in 1639, Charles invaded Scotland with an English army to wage war on his own subjects. The armed conflicts that followed are known as the Bishops' Wars. They left Charles excessively weakened, and were the prelude to two tempestuous decades of revolution, civil war, and armed conflict in his three kingdoms.[1]

The Bishops' Wars also signalled the beginning of a battle for public opinion in vernacular pamphlets that was unprecedented in early modern Britain. When the Scottish Covenanters appealed to their English religious kin in a flood of pamphlets in 1638-1639, and the English Presbyterians replied favourably to their call, a Pandora's box of public political debate was opened that would never again be fully shut. In 1642, after several turbulent years, the First English Civil War broke out and central censorship in England collapsed. An explosion of political polemic in print was the result. The divided political and religious elites were dependent on popular support, and they battled for the minds of their readers, attacking their enemies and defending themselves in numerous pamphlets. Magistrates, preachers, soldiers and ordinary citizens became pamphleteers. The political newspaper was born. Politics were

[1] On the 'Storm over Scotland' and the Bishops' Wars, see: Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 85-154.

publicly debated in print as never before. The Wars of the Three Kingdoms were fought both on the battlefield and in the press, and both were considered equally important.[2]

Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, politicians and pamphleteers were engaged in a printed debate unleashed by the Bishops' Wars and the First Civil War. They were exceedingly sensitive to the need to answer the allegations of their opponents.[3] Even though many resented the public debating of politics, few thought that the printed word or image of their opponents could be allowed to go uncontested. As one parliamentarian author argued: 'if our adversaries write all (…) and we nothing at all, the conquering sword will be conquered by the pen'.[4] This rationale, of course, did not only apply to the domestic sphere. In a civil war in which both parties were dependent on foreign weapon shipments, financial support or military assistance, the battle for international public opinion was as vital to the war effort as the battle for domestic opinion. Especially the Dutch Republic, the ally which was geographically, religiously and politically closest to England, was a major target for British politicians and pamphleteers. The Dutch royalism of the 1650s, as defined in the introduction, would have been impossible without the approximation of the English, Scottish and Dutch public spheres in the late 1630s. This chapter will therefore specifically explore the Dutch dimensions of the British pamphlet war of 1638–1660.

In the past two decades, early modern studies have been increasingly occupied with public opinion, which is now widely recognized as an essential part of early modern politics. Hitherto, most studies of early modern public opinion have adopted a national approach, and most of the work done in this field is structured around national political issues.[5] In recent years, however, several scholars have challenged this paradigm in public opinion studies. Anne Coldiron has pointed out that a national conception of the public sphere, as imagined by Habermas, is unsuitable for the pre-Enlightenment period.[6] Especially in the age of the Reformation, domestic ideological debates and conflicts tended to grow into international ones due to the

[2] On the proliferation of political print in England in 1637-1660, see: Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 161ff; Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, passim; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 36ff; Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, passim. See also: Harms, *Uitvinding van de publieke opinie*, 169-179.

[3] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 38-43.

[4] Cited in: Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 38.

[5] See for instance: Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn, 'The Sharpness of a Honed Tongue', passim; Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, passim; Lake, *The Politics of the Public Sphere*, passim; Pollmann, *Public Opinion*, passim; Harms, *De uitvinding van de publieke opinie*, passim.

[6] Coldiron, 'Public Sphere / Contact Zone', passim. In two publications on internationally circulating political imagery in the pamphlet literature, Paul Smith has also argued for polylingual approach to public opinion. See: Smith, 'Zon en moeras, hanen en kikkers', 76-77; idem, 'De Gestaarte Engelsman', 167-168.

mixture of political and religious interests of the parties involved.[7] To ignore such international contexts and exchange amounts, in Coldiron's phrase, to 'anachronism-by-omission'.[8]

Recent scholarship on the pamphlet literature of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms has begun to expose the international dimensions of the politico-religious pamphleteering occasioned by the outbreak of the troubles in 1639. Thus Joad Raymond pointed out that the outburst of pamphlets 'occurred upon a geographical axis of print and polemic extending between Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Leiden, and Amsterdam'. According to Raymond, print culture should be viewed within a British and European rather than an English, London-centred perspective.[9] It is equally clear that English and Scottish politicians attached great value to international audiences.[10] As Jason Peacey writes: 'the "public" which politicians of all persuasions sought to address was an international as much as a domestic one'.[11] Both the print industry and political actors, then, tended to internationalize civil war polemic.

Despite the increasing awareness of the international reach of British print, studies of the international political polemic and propaganda inspired by the Wars of the Three Kingdoms are still scarce. Steve Murdoch's article on the royalist propaganda campaign in Scandinavia is one important exception. Tracing both the agents and the texts involved in gaining Scandinavian support, Murdoch has argued that the Stuarts won a propaganda battle in Denmark-Norway in the 1650s as a result of their diplomatic networks.[12] Paul Sellin has adopted an Anglo-Dutch approach in his article on the prefatory poems in the Dutch translations of the *Defensio Regia* as Orange-Stuart propaganda.[13] Yet both the extent and the effects of the British impact on foreign public opinion are as yet largely unknown.

Building on these recent insights, and challenging the national paradigm in the current study of early modern public opinion, this chapter will argue that translating Civil War news and opinion for the Dutch Republic was carried out on a large scale by British politicians, printers and pamphleteers. I will first demonstrate the various ways in which British political and religious parties and factions sought to control

[7] Wohlfeil ('Reformatorische Öffentlichkeit', passim) develops the concept of a Reformed Public Sphere, an idea which is akin to the Puritan public sphere of Lake and Questiers ('Puritans, Papists and the Public Sphere', passim). Although applied to Germany and England respectively, both concepts can be applied internationally.
[8] Coldiron, 'Toward a Comparative New Historicism', passim, esp. 98.
[9] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 163.
[10] See: Murdoch, 'The Search for Northern Allies', passim.
[11] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 321-322.
[12] Murdoch, 'The Search for Northern Allies', passim. Cf. also: Catterall, 'Fortress Rotterdam', passim.
[13] Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', passim. Although Pincus (*Protestantism and Patriotism*, passim) also adopts an Anglo-Dutch perspective, his using only English pamphlets undermines his premises.

Dutch public opinion. By actively and incessantly appealing to Dutch audiences, monitoring Dutch vernacular print, and putting pressure on the Dutch censor, they were directly manipulating political debate in the Dutch language. Secondly, I will consider the role British migrant communities played in translating Civil War news and polemic for their Dutch neighbours. Although their activities were at times difficult to separate from those of political agents, migrants were vital intermediaries between the British and Dutch public spheres. In terms of direct political gain, as we shall see in the following chapters, the success of the British pamphlet translators varied. In terms of politico-religious debate, however, the British concern with Dutch public opinion had a profound impact: it created a liminal, Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere, in which British and Dutch vernacular political discourses overlapped and Anglo-Scoto-Dutch identities could be negotiated.

Translations of Civil War Pamphlets in the Dutch Republic

As a result of the Civil War, translation from the English into the Dutch soared in the 1640s and 1650s. Both in religious and historical writing, the period shows a significant increase in translation activity.[14] In the pamphlet literature, which has not previously been analysed, the rise in translated texts may even be called spectacular.[15] A survey of the Dutch Royal Library pamphlet collection in The Hague (Knuttel) suggests that Anglo-Dutch translation activity in the field of topical publications more than doubled during the years of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Whereas translations from the English make up 3.0 and 5.5 percent of all the catalogue's pamphlets published in the Dutch language in 1601-1620 and 1621-1640 respectively, the figure rises to 12.2 percent in 1641-1660.[16] Peaking in 1643, when one in every two pamphlets had originally been written in English,[17] the figure dropped to 4.3 percent in 1661-1680 (Figure 1).

[14] On religious translations, see: Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 124; on histories, see: Haitsma Mulier, 'The History of Great Britain', passim. Although Haitsma Mulier does not explicitly address translation, his article can be read as an argument about historical translation.

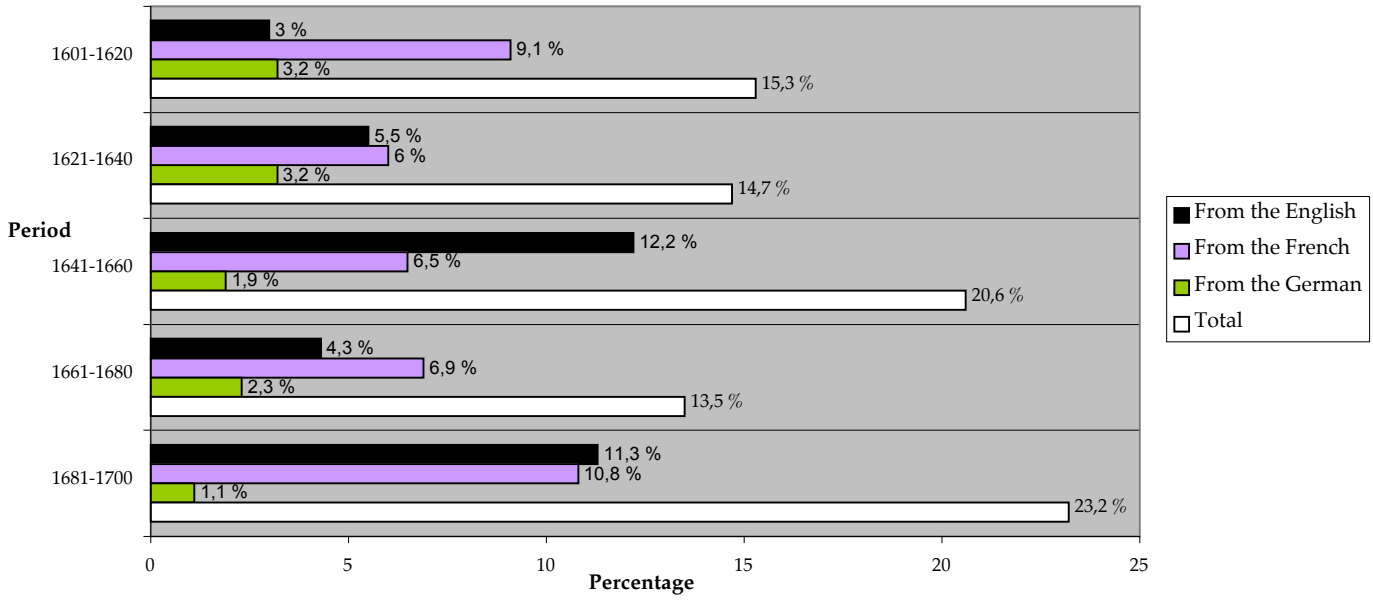
[15] This category has hitherto been largely ignored by scholars of Anglo-Dutch translation. Schoneveld, who lists almost all of the books translated from the English into the Dutch in the seventeenth century, ignored texts shorter than 40 pages, effectively excluding all pamphlets. See: Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, 164. Individual pamphlet translations have been studied occasionally. See for example: Van Ittersum, 'Three Moneths Observations', passim.

[16] Between 1641 and 1660, 3244 pamphlets in the Royal Library catalogue were printed in the vernacular. Of those, 396 are catalogued as being translated from the English - the actual number probably being higher.

[17] 67 translations (including reprints) out of 132 pamphlets published in the Dutch language in total (including reprints).

FIGURE 1

Dutch seventeenth-century pamphlets translated from other European vernaculars: The share of translations in the total number of publications in the Royal Library Pamphlet Catalogue (Knuttel)



The increase in the middle decades is remarkable considering the fact that the relative numbers of translations from both the German and the French remained much more stable. This means that more than fifty percent of all the translated pamphlets in the Knuttel catalogue had English as their source language in this period. Although we should be careful to draw conclusions from these numbers,[18] it is a fact that the share of pamphlet translations out of the English was significantly higher in 1640-1660 than in any other period during the seventeenth century (including even the Glorious Revolution). Moreover, English news and opinions were represented far more prominently in the Dutch pamphlet literature during these decades than those of any other nation.

Obviously, the increase of translational activity in religious and topical literature was related to the changing politico-religious situation in Britain. As Haitsma Mulier has stated with regard to the rise in historical translations: 'the direct source were the momentous religious and political upheavals in Great Britain. When

[18] We should take in consideration the likelihood that Dutchmen who were able to read French and German outnumbered those who were able to read English. This means that the need to translate pamphlets from these languages was less acute. Moreover, since the Royal Library catalogue may not be an entirely representative selection, the picture sketched above may be slightly distorted due to specific emphases in the collection (for example the emphasis on pamphlets printed in the province of Holland, the province which was, with Zeeland, geographically and culturally closest to England and Scotland).

the situation returned to normal, the historiographical interest waned'.[19] Although intuitively satisfying, this observation denotes a concurrence, not a causal relationship. It implies that the momentous nature of the events is sufficient explanation for the increase in translation. However, the Fronde was not intrinsically less momentous than the English Revolution, and yet it inspired only a fraction of the amount of translations occasioned by the latter. The uprising against royal rule in Naples, in 1648, caused a stir in Europe, but it did not produce a deluge of translations from the Italian into the Dutch. In order to understand what produced the peak in Anglo-Dutch pamphlet translation in the mid-seventeenth century, the question should perhaps be rephrased: why did the revolution and the interregnum occasion more translations *than any other major political development* - including the Glorious Revolution?

One answer is that the increase in the translation of politico-religious polemic in the mid-seventeenth century was the result of active translation campaigns by British political and religious parties and factions. When, in 1643-1644, more than half of all the pamphlets published in the Dutch Republic were translated from the English, this was not due to an intrinsically interesting quality of the developments in Britain. By contrast, as we shall see, the direct cause for the increase in Anglo-Dutch translations in 1640-1644 was a major propaganda campaign organized by Parliament and its agents in the Dutch Republic. The Dutch, then, were not translating English texts because they wanted to read civil war news. From the outset of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms until the Restoration, British political parties and factions actively *made* the Dutch into a public of their war, drawing them into their own public sphere.

The special interest that British politicians and pamphleteers took in Dutch public opinion found its expression in two fields of activity: the publishing of propaganda, and the monitoring of Dutch political debate in print. Although closely related, I will discuss these in consecutive order, in order to identify the variety of actors and purposes involved.

Making an Audience: British Politicians Publishing Dutch Propaganda

Before investigating the forms, the extent and the impact of civil war propaganda in the Dutch Republic, it is necessary to distinguish between what Peacey calls 'political polemic' (publications advocating a partisan political opinion) and political

[19] Haitsma Mulier, 'The History of Great Britain', 146. In a similar vein, Schoneveld (*Intertraffic of the Mind*, 124) writes: 'There can hardly be any doubt that the increases [in the translation of religious prose from English into Dutch - HH] from 1649 to 1661 are closely connected with the Cromwellian regime and the flowering of Protestantism in those years'.

propaganda proper,[20] which should be defined as 'a concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine'.[21] In such a definition, propaganda is a form of polemic emanating from a centre of power. In the seventeenth century, such a centre normally would either be the state, the church, or a court. Although there is a large grey area of polemic that may or may not be propaganda, it is possible to distinguish those texts that definitely are.

The first Civil War propaganda in the strict sense of the word was published in the United Provinces by the Scottish Covenanters. The Scots, who claimed to be fighting for the preservation of their Presbyterian church, did not only appeal to the Presbyterian community in England, but also sought the support of their religious kin in the Dutch Republic, with whom they had a close relationship.[22] Since the Scots were partly dependent on Dutch weapon shipments, support from Holland was essential for their war effort.[23] The propaganda campaign launched by the Covenanters in 1638 therefore targeted an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch market.

The Scottish campaign was premised upon the role of the Dutch Republic as the 'bookshop of the world'.[24] Scottish residents in Holland and Zeeland, such as William Spang in Veere, employed Dutch printers for the Kirk. Covenanter pamphlets in English were published in Amsterdam and Leiden and exported to England and Scotland. However, Scottish pamphlets continued to address an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch audience.[25] *A Short Relation of the State of the Kirk of Scotland Since the Reformation of Religion* (c. July 1638), for example, circulated in English both in England and the Netherlands, but a Dutch version was also issued for the benefit of the Dutch Reformed.[26] There is a direct line from such translations to the later attempts to include the Dutch Protestants into the Sacred Vow and Covenant (see Chapter 2).

When civil war broke out in 1642, the English Parliament (dominated by the Presbyterians) continued the polemic in Dutch pamphlets along the lines set out by the Covenanters. Various Parliamentary agents were engaged in a concerted propaganda campaign in the Dutch Republic, but the most important figure was

[20] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 2.
[21] OED, 'Propaganda' (2).
[22] Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership', 233-234; Catterall, *Community without Borders*, passim; Catterall, 'Fortress Rotterdam', passim.
[23] Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 106. The Dutch weapon industry, it should be noted, played an underestimated role in the Civil Wars. It was also essential to the royalists, as Henrietta Maria's visit to the Dutch Republic in 1641 would abundantly show. On the world dominance of the Dutch weapon industry, see: Puype and Van der Hoeven, *Het arsenaal van de wereld*, passim.
[24] Hellinga, Duke, Harskamp and Hermans, *The Bookshop of the World*, passim.
[25] Kn. 4561. *De confessie des gheloofs* (1638). Translated from the English by: F.W. Pennock; Thys. 4222. Abernathi, *Wonderlijcke historye vande paepsche regeringhe* (1639). Translated from the Scottish into Dutch by 'A lover of God's Church'.
[26] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 175.

Walter Strickland.[27] Strickland, having been elected as Parliamentary ambassador for his Dutch connections,[28] arrived in The Hague on 6 September 1642.[29] An 'obscure gentleman' according to Edward Hyde,[30] Strickland was working on a grand Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant alliance in the style of the Covenanters. He was soon a pivotal figure in a network that consisted of, among others, Parliament leader John Pym, the Scottish Covenanters Robert Baillie and William Spang and the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants Gisbertus Voetius, Willem Apollonius and Godefridus Udemans (see Chapter 2). Strickland even tried to include Mary Stuart's chaplain John Dury into his project.[31]

It was against the background of the Irish troubles in 1643 that Parliament's well-oiled propaganda machine in the Dutch Republic really picked up steam. In September, Parliament sent the parliamentary chaplain and future confident of Oliver Cromwell Hugh Peter to join Strickland in Holland. Although Peter officially came to support the Irish fund collections of Thomson, he was also gathering information on royalist efforts to organize support, and deeply engaged in propagating the Parliamentary cause in print. Peter was well suited for his mission. His long earlier stay in the Dutch Republic - he had lived and preached in Friesland and Holland in the late 1620s and early 1630s - had not only made him a proficient speaker of Dutch, but also a fervent Hollandophile. He was convinced of the brotherhood between the English and the Dutch people. Throughout his career, he would labour to introduce Dutch achievements in England, ranging from the remodelling London after the example of Amsterdam (enabling the English 'to live cleanly and neatly as in Holland') to introducing a Dutch system of law.[32] Being a radical proponent of Protestant internationalism, he became one of the driving forces behind the projected Anglo-Dutch union.[33] Moreover, as the Dutch scientist Isaäc Beeckman noted in his

[27] Venning, 'Strickland, Walter', ODNB.
[28] Strickland was married to a Dutchwoman, misleadingly named Anne Morgan.
[29] Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, 104.
[30] Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion* VI, 107.
[31] On Strickland's correspondence with Pym, see: Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, 52. Grotius mentioned Strickland's correspondence with Spanheim and Dury in a letter to Wicquefort (14 February 1643): 'J'ay eu aussi advis d'autre part que Spanheim tient grande correspondance avec Strickland et je croy que Dureus [John Dury] en est le mediateur. Si on pouvoit interciper quelques lettres qui passent entre eux, peut-estre qu'on apprendroit des choses qui meriteroient d'estre sceues'. See: *The Correspondence of Hugo Grotius*.
[32] Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan*, 370-375.
[33] Peter viewed the English Civil Wars entirely in the light of Protestant Internationalism. In 1645, in a sermon before Parliament, he preached that after years of inaction England was finally geared up to commit itself to the International Protestant cause. According to Peter, all the Protestant world, from the French Huguenots to the Palatinate and the Dutch Republic, were now looking to Parliament for leadership: 'the Lord hath made us warlike, awaked us thoroughly out of our effeminacy and we are become formidable to our neighbours'. Cited in: Creed, 'The Pamphleteers' Protestant Champion', 2.

diary, he was a gifted rhetorician.[34] This mixture of qualities, combined with his extraordinary energy, made him a formidable Anglo-Dutch propagandist.

The efforts of Strickland and Peter were not without result. The English collection for the Irish Protestants in Holland and Zealand, led by Maurice Thomson and Dirk Hoste, procured more than 30,000 pounds.[35] To contemporary estimates, the great majority of the Dutch in this period supported Parliament.[36] With the pamphlets of English and Scottish Presbyterians conquering the minds of their Dutch neighbours, in 1639-1644, royalists were obliged to react.

In the 1640s, the weighty task of doing so rested on the shoulders of Sir William Boswell, Charles I's resident in The Hague. In contrast to Strickland, whose diplomatic status had not yet been recognized, Boswell had access to the Dutch government.[37] This meant that he had an option unavailable to Strickland at that moment: he could appeal to the censor. He did so regularly. At a meeting of the States General on 18 March 1643, Boswell complained 'about the printing and circulating of a variety of bluebooks, such as *The Bowels of the Oppressed, suffering and truly-religious Englishmen*; *England's Complaint and Outcry* and *The Netherlandish Dream or Wonderful Vision*'.[38] In November 1643, he sent a memorial to the States General warning them that 'Mr. Peeters (…) preached three times last week to the English congregation in Amsterdam some seditious things of very dangerous effect (…), such as, the continuation of the war in England, which is opposed to the peace of this state'. Moreover, Boswell complained that 'he has from day to day circulated defamatory and pernicious pamphlets to arouse the people unjustly against His Majesty and to induce them to contribute to the maintenance of the unnatural war and confusion in England'.[39] Boswell's complaints, however, did little to abate the stream of Parliamentary propaganda. In 1645 one of his complaints was successful when the Supreme Court of Holland ('Hof van Holland') banned the French pamphlet *Extrait de la Maladie de l'Angleterre*, which contained passages that were considered to be offensive to the English royal family.[40] Yet that hardly silenced Parliament. Even if an appeal was granted, censorship in the Dutch Republic often failed.

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[34] Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, 44.
[35] Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid', 752.
[36] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 5; Aitzema III, 323; 325.
[37] In 1642-1644, Strickland was only accidentally allowed access to the meetings of several provincial States, but he did not have an official status. See: Groenveld, *Verlopen getij*, 126-127.
[38] Aitzema V, 478. The original titles are: Kn. 4973. *Engelandts klachte* (1643); Kn. 4980-4983. *Het inghewant der bedruckte, lijdende, recht religieuse Engelsche* (1643). Kn. 4983 is entitled *Engels In-ge-vvant*, but the main text is identical; Kn. 5029. Van Baert, *Nederlandtse droom* (1643).
[39] Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan*, 219.
[40] In the same year, the Utrecht magistrate investigated the provenance of another anti-royalist pamphlet: Kn. 5167. *Klachten des Parlements van Engelandt* (1645). Cf. Daniëls, *Het toezicht op de publicatie*, 81.

Joop Koopmans has shown that throughout the seventeenth century, Dutch authorities showed little interest in censoring books denouncing foreign governments or leaders. In general, the censor was only active when foreign relations were at stake, that is to say, when a formal complaint was made by a foreign government.[41] English governments were the most active petitioners. English meddling with Dutch censorship had a long history. The religious disputes leading up to the Synod of Dordt in the 1610s were the cause of many English interventions. Through his ambassador, Dudley Carleton, James I regularly appealed to Dutch authorities. Occasionally he requested to have bans lifted; for instance in the intriguing incident when the States of Holland banned the translation of a protest against the Vorstius appointment written by James himself. More regularly, however, James asked for a ban to be proclaimed, as in the notorious case of a Dutch libel against Sir Dudley Carleton.[42]

The problem was that, in contrast to centralized states such as France and England, the Dutch Republic lacked preventive censorship; it did not have an equivalent to the Stationer's Office. Censure was enforced locally, by the cities. In the absence of a centralized preventive system, authorities were frequently running behind the facts – and after the prints. When the States General attempted to prohibit the distribution of *Den (t'onrecht getituleerden) heer protecteurs Brouvaten* ('*The (falsily styled) Lord Protector's Hop Boilers*'), an anonymous diatribe against Cromwell,[43] in the interest of the fragile Anglo-Dutch peace in 1654, they were unable to take matters into their own hands, but had to send a request to the Utrecht magistrate to conduct searches of houses there - a cumbersome and ineffective procedure, which in many cases allowed authors, printers and sellers to evade the censor.[44] On issues which divided the Dutch polity - as British politics invariably did in this period - Dutch censorship was powerless: if publication or distribution failed in one city or province that upheld a ban, printers simply moved their business to a place which did not.[45]

Because of this lack of effective censorship Boswell had to revert to publishing counterpropaganda. If Dutch authorities could or would not stop the Parliamentary

[41] Koopmans, 'Dutch Censorship', passim.
[42] See: Koopmans, 'Dutch Censorship', 223-224.
[43] Kn. 7534. *Den (t'onrecht getituleerden) heer protecteurs Brouvaten met Cromwels meyneedicheyt* (1654); Cf. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, 24, nr. 82.
[44] Daniëls, *Het toezicht op de publicatie*, 84. See also: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 66; Van Sypesteyn, 'Bijlage V', 13; Fruin (*Brieven van De Witt* I, 120) mentions a Vondel poem, 'Protecteur Weerwolf', being subject to censorship in Utrecht.
[45] On (the ineffectiveness of) Dutch seventeenth-century censorship, see: Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, passim; Groenveld, 'Het mekka der Schrijvers?', passim; Harline, 'Libelli non Grati', 129-130; Daniëls, *Het toezicht op de publicatie*, 23-29. Cf. also: Kossmann, 'Het probleem van vrijheid in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse Republiek', 80-84;

publications, the only possible alternative was to defend the king's cause in public. In July 1643, Boswell published a *Declaration* of the king to the States General in a Dutch translation in which Charles complained about the 'tracts and booklets circulated amongst your subjects'.[46] The King defended himself against allegations of popery made by Parliament and declared that he had 'reason to believe that the Parliamentary agent Strickland is very zealous in the printing and spreading of the abovementioned books'.[47] King and Parliament were now openly fighting a propaganda battle in the Dutch Republic, which would continue until the end of the First Civil War, in 1646.[48]

What kinds of pamphlets resulted from this battle? In the first place, of course, there were the inflammatory, explicitly persuasive pamphlets published by Strickland and Peter in 1642-1644. These included appeals in prose such as *Engelants Klachte* ('*England's Complaint*'), *Yrlands bloedende request* ('*Ireland's Bleeding Request*'), *Den Enghelschen paus* ('*The English Pope*'), and *Brittannischen Morgen-wecker* ('*British Alarm*'), which were all translated from the English, and voiced the official Parliament line.[49] Moreover, as was indicated in the king's *Declaration*, they occasionally published poetry, a genre considered to be particularly persuasive. Yet throughout the 1640s and 1650s, British agents also published pamphlets which were less readily recognizable as polemic, yet had a profound influence on the Dutch perception of the British conflict. In order to appreciate the nature of this political discourse, and the extent to which Dutch audiences were informed of British affairs, it is appropriate briefly to outline two other genres in their repertoire: state publications and scaffold speeches.

State publications were a particularly ubiquitous form of British propaganda in the United Provinces, and they constitute a significant part of the Dutch pamphlet catalogues.[50] Declarations, ordinances, proclamations and petitions of both sides were frequently translated into Dutch, as well as speeches in Parliament by both moderates

[46] Kn. 4989. Charles I. *Sijne Koninckl. Majest. van Engelants verklaringe* (1643). The original English version is: Kn. 4988; Wing C2277. Charles I. *The king of Great-Brittaines declaration* (1643).
[47] It is worth noting that 'the abovementioned books' were both translations of English Parliamentary propaganda mentioned above as well as original Dutch works such as Van Baert's *Nederlandtse droom* ('*Netherlandish Dream*').
[48] In 1645, for instance, Strickland laboured to counter Archbishop Laud's scaffold speech, which was printed in great numbers on the continent. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 38.
[49] Kn. 4973. *Engelants Klachte* (1643). Orig. unknown; Kn. 4993. *Yrlands bloedende request* (1643). This pamphlet was a compilation of various English sources, both in English and Latin; Kn. 4999. *Den Enghelschen paus* (1643). Orig. Wing E3109. *The English Pope* (1643); Kn. 5000. *Den Brittannischen Morgen-wecker* (1643). Orig. Wing P2937. *The Popes nuntioes* (1643).
[50] The Knuttel catalogues contains 137 official British state documents that were translated into Dutch between 1640 and 1660.

and radicals.[51] Some of these texts were translated because they were related to Anglo-Dutch affairs. The *Declaratie van beyde de Huysen des Parlements van Enghelandt* ('*Declaration of both Houses of the Parliament of England*'), for example, which Parliament ordered to be translated and distributed in June 1645, represented its reactions to the Dutch embassy of 1645.[52] Other state documents, however, were evidently translated to educate the Dutch people on the domestic quarrel. Indeed, Peacey has shown that Parliament ordered the German diplomat Theodore Haak to translate many such documents into European vernaculars in the 1640s.[53] Although I know of no such orders from the Crown, pamphlets such as the King's *Placcaet ende verclaeringe om onse welbeminde ondersaten van* (...) *Engelandt te onderrechten, aengaende de oproerighe practijcken van sommighe in Schotlandt* ('*Placard and Declaration to Educate Our Well-beloved Subjects of England on the Rebellious Designs of Some in Scotland*') explicitly invoked the authority of the king.[54] State publications were an important form of political translation: they justified the warring parties' policies abroad, and were used by Dutch authors who responded to the British appeals.[55] For Parliament in the early 1640s, they had the additional benefit to assert its newly claimed authority abroad. Judged by sheer numbers, official state publications were a vital part of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch political discourse.

Scaffold speeches and trial reports also reflected on the authority of king and Parliament. Both parties recognized their value. Culminating in the numerous translations of the reports of the king's trial and execution in 1649 (see Chapter 4), a range of trial descriptions were published in the Dutch Republic throughout the Civil Wars. As propaganda, the genre was highly effective. Several descriptions of the executions of English Presbyterians published by Covenanter networks in the late 1630s, martyrized the Presbyterians for an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch audience, and did much to help the Puritan cause (see Chapter 2). Scaffold speeches, then, were predominantly the genre of the opposition. The trial report and scaffold speech of Archbishop Laud, who was executed by Parliament in 1644, were therefore evidence

[51] Kn. 4915. Montagu, *Twee oratien* (1643); Kn. 4674. Rudyerd, *Oratie, in het Parlement* (1640). Orig. not found, but the text is in: Wing R2184. Rudyerd*, Five speeches in the High and Honourable Court of Parliament* (1641), 8-16; Kn. 4675. Colepeper, *Een treffelycke oratie* (1640). Orig. Wing C5058. Colepeper, *Sir Iohn Culepeper his speech in Parliament.* (1641). An example of a royalist speech translation is: Kn. 5049. Charles I, *Sijne koninckl: maj: van Engelants oratie* (1644). Orig. Wing C2815. Charles I, *His Majesties speech* (1644).
[52] Aitzema III, 40; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 59-60.
[53] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 322.
[54] Kn. 4603. Charles I, *Placcaet ende verclaeringe* (1639).
[55] Voetius, for example, copied passages from Parliamentary state documents into his own polemic. See Chapter 2.

of Parliament's new powers,[56] and they enabled the royalists to adopt the martyr pose. Fearing their impact on Dutch opinion, Strickland in 1645 suggested to the Council of State to publish a response in order to mitigate their effect.[57] It was perhaps an indication that Strickland was losing the initiative in print towards the end of the First Civil War (1646).

When hostilities resumed during the Second Civil War, in 1648-1649, the tables had been turned. Parliament had gained the upper hand in England, but had lost the initiative in Dutch propaganda to the royalists. Foreign support was the royalists' last hope, and they greatly intensified their international propaganda.[58] Boswell's role was played out: in January 1649 he was still in The Hague, but was seriously ill. He was succeeded by several royalist propagandists, who regularly appealed to Dutch audiences. At times royalists were pursuing rather different agendas. During Charles II's negotiations with the covenanters, in 1649, for example, the Anglican John Bramhall and the Presbyterian Robert Baillie (now supporting the Prince of Wales) clashed in Dutch pamphlets.[59] On the whole, however, royalist propagandists were bound by necessity, and maintained a fair degree of cooperation. That was partly due to the fact that Edward Nicholas, Charles II's secretary, and Edward Hyde were overseeing royalist print on the continent.[60] The precise nature and extent of Nicholas' activities is obscure, but it is clear from several sources that he was involved in the publication of Dutch pamphlets. In December 1652, for example, he sent a print written by Joseph Jane 'touching the interest [of the Dutch Republic] in the restitution of the King' to Edward Hyde, who had it translated and printed by Samuel Browne, a prolific royalist printer in The Hague.[61] Peacey has noted that 'in January 1648, Sir Edward Nicholas informed the royalist ambassador in Paris of his intention 'to rectify the understanding' of Europe's Protestant ministers regarding 'the goodness of the king's cause''.[62] In the following year, the Dutch press regularly printed expressions of support from Dutch and English reformed preachers. Whether Nicholas had a hand in them is unknown, but they did fit his stated purpose. Edward Hyde's involvement is even more obscure than Nicholas', but he too was evidently involved in the writing, publishing and coordination of propaganda for the Dutch market. In 1653, Hyde

[56] Kn. 5053. *Den aertz-bisschop van Cantelbergh voor de recht-banck in't Parlement* (1644). Kn. 5155. Laud, *Des aerts-bisschops van Cantelbergs Oratie* (1645).
[57] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 38.
[58] Murdoch, 'The Search for Northern Allies', passim.
[59] Kn. 6435. Bramhall, *Een schoone waerschouwinge* (1649). Kn. 6436. Baillie, *Ondersoeck van doctor Brambels* (1649).
[60] On Nicholas, see: McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship*, 143.
[61] Nicholas to Hyde (12 December 1652), in: Nicholas I, 321. The translated publication is: Kn. 7426. [Jane] *Hoe veel den Vereenigde Provintien behoort gelegen te zijn* (1653).
[62] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 322.

alluded to these activities when he wrote to John Kent, the royalist resident in Venice, that 'the Dutch are instructed how necessary it is for them to join with the King'.[63]

Another royalist official who was publishing Dutch-language propaganda for Charles II was the Scottish Presbyterian, Sir William Macdowell. Macdowell became Charles II's Scottish ambassador in the Low Countries early in 1650, after Charles had accepted the crown of Scotland.[64] Like Strickland and Peter, Macdowell - husband of two Dutch wives, Bernardina van Frittema and Elizabeth van Zandt, a former professor of philosophy at the University of Groningen, and an envoy of the Province of Friesland to England in 1629, 1633, and 1635 - was an in-between character, whose linguistic abilities and contacts in the United Provinces rendered him a natural intermediary and an able propagandist. One intercepted letter by Nicholas shows that Macdowell translated and published tracts prepared by the court in exile.[65] In 1651, a Dutch pamphlet accused him of spreading royalist propaganda, reminding its readership of 'those Victories, successes, and advantages which he daily forged, and printed here last Summer, which by the [Battle] at Dunbar evaporated all immediately'.[66] However, only one surviving pamphet can be identified as Macdowell's, since he signed it with his name: *Antvvoort op seker propositie by d'Engelsche gesanten (so sy hun intituleren)* ('*Answer to a certain Proposition of the English Ambassadors (as they entitle themselves)*') (1651).[67] During the First Anglo-Dutch war, in 1653, Macdowell was banished from Holland at the instigation of Cromwell.[68]

Now it was Strickland who was in the defensive in the public sphere.[69] In 1648-1653, as we have seen in the introduction, the Dutch Republic was flooded with royalist publications in the vernacular, and Strickland was endlessly labouring to have them answered and suppressed. His efforts to have royalist texts banned were largely in vain. The problem was not so much to obtain a ban. In November 1649, the States of Holland issued a proclamation forbidding the printing, importing and selling of all texts 'damaging and disrespectful to either the king or the parliament of

[63] Hyde to Kent (21 March 1653). Cited in: Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 108-109.
[64] For biographical information on Macdowell, I rely on: Venning, 'Macdowell, William', ODNB.
[65] Peacey (*Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 86) mentions 'a seven page manuscript tract entitled 'reasons and motives against [The States of Holland] acknowledging the present power in England', which had been sent to Sir Edward Nicholas by Sir William MacDowal in January 1651'.
[66] Kn. 6988. *Aenmerckinge op seeckere Schots antwoort* (1651), A4v. Orig. 'De prognosticatie van den 16. Octob. daer hy van spreecke sal van een stoffe zijn, als de Victorien, Successen ende avantagien die hy verleden Somer hier dagelijcx deede drucken, die alle met den slach van Dunbar verdweenen'. With the exception of the inaccurate translation of the word 'slach' (lit. 'blowe'), I have used the contemporary English translation of the Dutch text in: Wing A3178. MacDowell, *Anglia liberata* (1651), 22.
[67] Kn. 6986. MacDowell, *Antvvoort op seker propositie* (April 1651).
[68] Venning, 'Macdowell, William', ODNB.
[69] Note that I do not mean to say that he was on the defensive politically. By contrast, Commonwealth diplomacy was aggressive and on the initiative.

England'.[70] With Salmasius about to publish his universally expected *Defensio Regia*, and pamphlets supporting the king's cause pouring from the presses, it was obvious that this seemingly neutral measure was highly beneficial to Parliament. Strickland's problem, like Boswell's before, was that the ban could not be enforced. Within two weeks, the Elzevier press had already sold 2,400 of Salmasius' Latin text in folio and duodecimo.[71] In January 1650, the States of Holland specifically banned Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (November 1649) 'in whatever size or language' it should be published.[72] Within months, a Dutch translation appeared in Rotterdam, which opened with a triumphant address 'to Mr. Strickland':

> Hereby we offer to the Hollanders the *Defence of the murdered King of England*, by the learned professor Claudius Salmasius, which has before been published in Latin. This is the child which you, like a second Herod, tried to smother in its cradle, and like a second Pilate, have orphaned. All your doings and stirrings, all your orations and threats, will not prevent the clear light of truth to shine upon the free Dutchmen.[73]

Apparently, the Dutch censor was powerless against royalist propagandists when they were supported by both the Prince of Orange and a large part of the political nation.

Like Boswell, Parliament was therefore forced to commission Dutch-language counterworks. Yet despite the resources available to him, Strickland was no match for his royalist opponents. Arguably the most momentous result of Parliament's counter-propaganda in the Dutch Republic was the publication of Milton's *First Defence,* the Dutch translation of which was published during the negotiations in The Hague of 1651.[74] Strickland's predicament appears clearly from the fact that Milton's book was often bound up with John Rowland's, *Pro rege et populo* (…) *apologia*, which satirizes Milton.[75] In this case, counter-propaganda itself was countered even before it had been sold.

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[70] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 26.
[71] Madan, 'A Revised Bibliography', 117.
[72] Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, 34, nr. 113. Cf. Thys. 5546. *Placaet, vande ed: groot mogen: heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* (17 January 1650).
[73] Salmasius, *Koninckl*ijcke verdedigingh (1650), *6v. Orig. 'Hier geven wy aan de Hollanders, de *Verdediging des vermoorden Konings van Engeland*, die voor desen uytgegaan is in't Latijn, van den Hooggeleerden Claudius Salmasius. Dit is het Kind dat gy, als een tweeden Herodes, in de wieg hebt willen versmooren, en, als een tweeden Pilatus, hebt verwesen; al u loopen, al u woelen, al u vertoogen, en al u dreygementen, sullen niet vervorderen, dat 't heldere licht der waarheyd, aan de vrije Nederlanders'.
[74] Milton, *Verdedigingh* (1651). Translated from the Latin. Cf. Milton, 'A Defence of the People of England' (1651).
[75] Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, 20.

Dialogues such as that between Rowland and Milton were made possible by the extensive knowledge of what was printed in the Netherlands among British politicians. Indeed, the interest of British politicians in Dutch vernacular audiences is not only mirrored in their publishing vernacular propaganda, but also in the energy which they devoted to monitoring Dutch public opinion.

Public opinion was one of the stock ingredients in letters of intelligence from Holland. One way for an agent to report on Dutch public opinion was simply to convey his private impression of the political situation in the Republic: 'Here are men favouring the course of the prince, &c. and there are others, that had rather be governed without a prince',[76] or '[t]hose that are for R.C. [King Charles] here, do expect a breach betwixt the two Commonwealths, and then to com in ranting, that if Holland will take Cromwell's quarrel against Charles, they will do strange things, &c'.[77] Another way for agents to convey public opinion, however, was to report on ephemeral print.

The National Archive in Kew holds 1035 Dutch gazettes and pamphlets assembled in the State Papers between 1597-1784, the great majority of which was published during the seventeenth century.[78] They were sent to England by government agents in the United Provinces (mainly in Holland), sometimes as a source of information, but frequently to give an impression of popular sentiments. In the 1650s, various agents, among whom the centrally placed Dutch politician Lieuwe van Aitzema,[79] regularly sent pamphlets to Britain to keep either the government or private politicians abreast of public opinion. These Anglo-Dutch reports on pamphlet verses and dialogues in print were not unique. Indeed, agents from all over Europe were engaged in monitoring foreign presses. It is necessary, however, to appreciate the nature and the proliferation of such reports in the Anglo-Dutch sphere to understand the role that printed material in the vernacular played in international politics.

[76] Thurloe I, 410. 'Letter of intelligence from the Hague' (22 August 1653).
[77] Thurloe II, 7. 'Letter of Intelligence' (15 January 1654).
[78] National Archives, series reference SP 119. Although pamphlets printed between 1643 and 1660 are not part of this archive, it does give an impression of the kind of subject which were of interest to the English Secretaries of State. The relative size of the Dutch State Paper collection is indicated by a comparison with the other European countries: France (1580-1781): 767; Holy Roman Empire (1588-1791): 180; Italian States (1663-1778): 162; and Spain (1583-1795): 93.
[79] On Aitzema, see: Rowen, 'Lieuwe van Aitzema', passim; Van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht*, passim.

Especially publications we would now consider as literary forms - verses, engravings, dialogues and ballads - were treated as valuable evidence.[80] One correspondent of Sir William Clarke, sending a satirical print of Cromwell as Lord Protector, remarked '[t]hough it be a beastly emblem yet I thought good to let you know it that you may not only smile at the conceit but see how much things are at present thereby too freely [deregulated]'.[81] In the State Papers, too, literary publications in Dutch feature as the *vox populi*. In 1653 John Thurloe, Parliament's State Secretary, received information from Amsterdam that '[h]ere is also come out in print a notable dialogue betweene one Hartte and his companion Sadd-heade, wherein is notably sett forth between them the present state of the times heere'.[82] The use of the word 'notable' is indicative of the political importance attributed to such pamphlets: they mattered, and not in the least to the English government.

Reports on public opinion to Thurloe often involved negative Dutch representations of Cromwell. In 1657, for example, when Anglo-Dutch tension over the Baltic was rising, John Thurloe was informed that '[t]hey have published here in Dutch a most furious book against the lord protector',[83] which is probably a reference to the *Vergelijckinge tusschen Claudius Tiberius (…) en Oliver Cromwel* ('*Comparison between Claudius Tiberius and Oliver Cromwell*'), by far the most furious anti-Cromwellian diatribe of the year.[84] A particularly interesting example of Dutch anti-

[80] In 1655, during the Baltic War, an agent of Thurloe gauging public opinion wrote 'they have not made so many pictures to raise laughter, nor so many verses and ballads and the like invectives against the Swede as they did against the Protector'. Thurloe IV, 145. 'A letter of intelligence from the Hague' (12 November 1655).

[81] 'Newsletter from W.W. to William Clarke' (20/30 March 1654), in: Clarke, *The Clarke Papers* XIV, 166-167. W.W. describes the print as follows: 'His Highness the Lord Protector is pictured treading with one foot on an Englishman another upon an Irish and a Scotsman between his legs raising up a Dutchman before, with cap in hand bowing for peace, besides his breeches down and [skirt/shirt] advanced which the king of Spain is hastening to kiss but thrust back by the king of France'. I have not been able to find a print exactly matching this description in the major catalogues - it seems to have been lost. For images similar to the one described here, see for instance the 1652 engraving with Cromwell subduing the Irish, the Scottish and the Dutch: Kn. 7276. Van der Passe, *Uytheeldinge van de Hoogmoedige Republijk van Engelandt* (1652); or the Dutch medal struck in 1655 which showed France and Spain courting Cromwell: Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, 420-421; Van Loon, *Beschrijving van Nederlandsche historie-penningen* II, 395.

[82] Thurloe I, 254. 'A letter of intelligence from Holland' (May 1653). The pamphlet in question is: Kn. 7439. *Hollandschen rvyker* (1653). This dialogue was of particular interest to the English government because it condemned the Dutch embassy that was negotiating peace in London as a prostration before the tyrannical and hypocritical fanatic Cromwell. Citing the prominent jurist of the Dutch revolt, Elbertus Leonius, the main character argued that 'they who yearn for freedom, should only settle for peace, when they have triumphed over their enemy, or have shown themselves to be of equal strength' (p. 24). Orig. 'Die na vryheyd joken, dienen dan eerst van vrede te dadingen, als sy 's Vyands heyr overwonnen, of hunne krachten tegens de zijne vereffend hebben'.

[83] Thurloe VI, 322. Similarly, in 1655, Bradshaw complained about printed letters in Dutch arriving in Hamburg from Amsterdam in which the Protector's death was announced. The Dutch resident in Hamburg, he wrote, took great delight in those reports. See: Thurloe IV, 26.

[84] Kn. 7822. Schultz, *Vergelijckinge* (1657).

Cromwellian pamphleteering in Thurloe's papers is a Dutch dialogue in which Cromwell was portrayed as the 'scourge of London, and Holland's double-pest'.[85] It had been sent by one of his agents 'to let you see what spirits reign amongst us',[86] and Thurloe took the trouble to have it translated. This may suggest an answer to the question of why the majority of the pamphlets sent to Thurloe were hostile to the Parliamentary cause: they served a purpose. The fact that Thurloe had a pamphlet translated may be interpreted as an indication of his interest in its contents, but it is more likely that he considered making active use of it.

English politicians employed their knowledge of Dutch print in two ways. In the first place, they could quote or translate foreign pamphlets in the domestic press. As John Kerrigan has observed, the government newsletter *Mercurius Politicus* in 1651 published a satirical Dutch epitaph on the death of William II with an English translation. The poem showed its readers the republican virtue of the Hollanders who, it was implied, were now free to join the English in a republican and Protestant political union.[87] The verse was carefully selected to convey the desired political message during the negotiations for political union: that there was a good party abroad with which the current leadership should work in peace. Quoting a Dutch poem here introduced an authentic and benign neighbourly voice. During wartime the opposite strategy was adopted, and perverted Dutch opinion was shown to the English readership. Thus one English pamphlet published during the First Anglo-Dutch War reported that the Dutch had been charmed by royalism and that 'their pens are busie in railing against the English (not onely in prose, but in verse too) calling them Devils, Wolves, Murtherers, Bastards, Dogs, and what not?'[88]

Another way in which reports on anti-Parliamentarian or anti-Cromwellian pamphlets could be put to use was by answering them in Dutch. One of Walter Strickland's letters to Walter Frost (the predecessor of John Thurloe)[89] is particularly revealing about this practice. He wrote:

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[85] Thurloe I, 361. 'A letter of intelligence from the Hague' (18/28 July 1653). The title of the pamphlet is given in English as 'Upon the nulling of the English parliament by Oliver Cromwell their general'. Two different 1653 pamphlets with that title exist in Dutch. The original of Thurloe's translation is not: Kn. 7367. *Op't vernietegen van 't genaemde Engels Parlement door Olivier Cromwel hun Generael* (1653), but the eponymous Muller 2070.

[86] Thurloe I, 360.

[87] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, 223. Cf. *Mercurius Politicus* 33 (16-23 January 1651), 542.

[88] Wing D689. *A Declaration of the Hollanders tovching the late King* (Thomason: 23 July 1652). Nedham's official newspaper *Mercurius Politicus* similarly reported on poems as evidence of perverted opinion (see: Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 108).

[89] Frost was State Secretary of Parliament from 1649 until his death, in March 1652, when he was succeeded by the (markedly anti-Dutch) John Thurloe.

> The verses you sent me were printed heere, and have bin answered as you see: pray set him on work to reply, and send me a copie, and I will disperse them, for I can make them multiply.[90]

Here we glimpse Parliamentary officials in London being engaged in a printed debate with Dutch royalists. Apparently, Parliament employed someone (possibly the Parliamentary secretary Weckherlin, who knew Dutch and translated state documents) who could not only read and translate Dutch, but also answer Dutch poetry.[91] It is one indication that the extensive monitoring of Dutch pamphlets was conducive to creating an Anglo-Dutch political dialogue in Dutch.

That English, Scottish and Dutch texts could speak to each other through translation is exemplified by an English pamphlet published during St. John's embassy in 1651. This pamphlet, *Anglia Liberata*, is in fact a small collection of three texts.[92] It contained an English translation of a Dutch pamphlet by Charles II's Scottish envoy in the Dutch Republic, MacDowell. This text had been smuggled into England as royalist propaganda.[93] The next item in *Anglia Liberata* was a translation of a Dutch critique of MacDowell's *Answer* 'by an ingenious Dutchman'.[94] The pamphlet concluded with an additional reply written by an Englishman 'to diffuse the [Dutchman's] main point more fully' and to 'touch upon many particulars in MacDonnel's [=MacDowell's] answer wholly neglected by the Dutch *Animadvertor*'.[95] Jason Peacey has shown that this English reply was written by a specially assigned subcommittee of the English government.[96] The committee was anxious to portray the Dutch in a favourable light by choosing to translate one of the rare pro-parliamentary Dutch pamphlets. In order to present the Dutch as suitable allies, they also referred to the 'royal welcome' received by St. John – an ironic qualification considering the fact that St. John and Strickland had been reviled as king-killers by the people of The Hague. This collection shows the English government not only being acutely aware of royalist propaganda and counter-propaganda published across the Channel, whether in English or in Dutch, but also translating and appropriating such texts when domestic political circumstances required so.

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[90] Thurloe I, 119. Cited in: Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 215.
[91] On Weckherlin's translations of state documents into Dutch: Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 59.
[92] Wing A3178. MacDowell, *Anglia liberata* (1651).
[93] The Dutch text can be found in Kn. 6986. MacDowell, *Antvvoort op seker propositie* (April 1651). The smuggling is mentioned in: Venning, 'Macdowell, William', ODNB.
[94] The Dutch original is Kn. 6988. *Aenmerckinge op seeckere Schots antwoort* (1651). Cf. Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 29-30.
[95] Wing A3178. MacDowell, *Anglia Liberata*, A2r.
[96] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 214.

Exploiting Divisions: The Value of Dutch Vernacular Audiences

The propaganda battle between king, Scots and Parliament in the Dutch Republic was fought mainly in the vernacular. Both king and Parliament did issue propaganda in the *linguae francae* of the period, Latin and French. Indeed, some of the most renowned works of international civil war propaganda, including Salmasius' *Defensio Regia*, Du Moulin's *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum* and Milton's *Defences* were written in Latin, and the *Eikon Basilike* was also translated into Latin for an international market. Other international publications, such as the royalist newspaper *Le Mercure Anglois*, or the pamphlet *Maladie de l'Angleterre*, were composed in French.[97] In the Dutch Republic, however, British propaganda in Latin and French, aimed at an educated European audience, was greatly outnumbered by vernacular publications for a general Dutch audience. Most Latin propaganda was translated into Dutch. This is true for Salmasius, Du Moulin and Milton, but also for more obscure Latin texts. A pamphlet such as *Enchiridon, dat is: Handt-boecxken, daer in [...] ghestelt is, de teghenwoordige staet van Engeland* ('*Enchiridon, or, a manual in which the present condition of England is stated*') (1642), for example, had been translated from the Latin by an anonymous 'learned political man' at the instigation of 'certain English cities'.[98] Evidently, there was a sustained effort to make propaganda for the international market available for a Dutch vernacular public.

There are various reasons for the English and Scottish preoccupation with Dutch vernacular audiences. In the first place, the United Provinces were particularly susceptible to foreign propaganda.[99] As we have seen above, the federal structure of government led to ineffective censorship, which stimulated propaganda. Another effect of that structure was that vernacular propaganda was potentially more effective here than in centrally governed European polities. The Dutch Republic was governed according to a representative, bottom-up structure of 'instruction and consultation' ('last en ruggespraak'). The Union of Utrecht, the founding charter of the Republic that functioned as its unofficial constitution, had located sovereignty in the provincial States. The provinces had delegated various subjects, including foreign policy and questions of war and peace, to the States General, but the hands of provincial delegates in the national assembly were tied by the instructions of the provincial states. If a decision had to be made for which no instructions had been given, the delegate had to consult with the province before the matter could be put to the vote.

[97] Cf. McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship*, 130ff.
[98] Kn. 4851. *Enchiridon* (1642).
[99] For the organization of the Dutch state, see: Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 276-306; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 84-97; Dreiskämper, 'Het staatsbestel van de Republiek', passim.

The States General's decisions pertaining to foreign policy therefore depended on the votes of the nobles and the cities in the provincial assemblies. In turn, members of the provincial states operated on the instructions of their city councils. Ultimately, then, foreign policy and questions of peace and war depended upon the consent of city delegates. In practice, individual city councils (the dominant Amsterdam excepted) may have wielded little influence over such issues. However, if the States were divided, the difference between peace and war could be made by a few votes - especially since matters of foreign policy were decided by majority vote. Under certain conditions, then, much could be achieved by convincing relatively few local regents, either by addressing them directly, or through the rank and file of their civic factions.

This was the situation brought about by the English Civil War. Throughout the Civil War period in Britain, the States General adopted a policy of neutrality. However, this neutrality was the result of a stalemate between the maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland, who were inclined to support the Covenanters and the Parliament, and the eastern provinces, which had fewer vested interests in the British trade and were following the lead of the Prince of Orange in supporting the king. The 'English policy' of the Republic was a precarious equilibrium: if the balance of power shifted only slightly towards either the States of Holland or the Prince, active Dutch intervention in the Civil War was not unthinkable. Hence, for British politicians seeking support there were two (complementary) ways to influence Dutch decision-making: through regular diplomatic channels, and through appealing to public opinion in pivotal towns in Holland and Zeeland. As we have seen, both ways were actively pursued. As one pamphleteer observing the English courtship of the States of Holland observed proverbially: 'The States of the Lands, or the People, are the Bride all dance about'.[100]

British politicians knew that the Dutch were divided, and tried to exploit the divisions.[101] Political propaganda was aimed to have an effect on the short term, and propagandists simply chose the audience most likely to serve their political aims, regardless of language or nationality. The considerations given by one royalist propagandist, in 1652, illustrate the extent to which the language in which propaganda was published could be governed by international political circumstances. Writing from the court in Paris, this anonymous pamphleteer published a tract in English, in which he argued that Parliament illegitimately

[100] Kn. 6988. *Aenmerckinge op seeckere Schots antwoort* (1651), A2v. Orig. 'de Staten van de Landen, of het Volck, zijn de Bruydt daer't al om danst'.
[101] On the diplomatic manoeuvres of both parties, see: Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, passim.

persecuted its own sovereign, Charles II. In the introduction to his text, which was smuggled across the Channel, he made a remarkable confession:

> My resolution was to have set out this Remonstrance in the Dutch tongue for the satisfaction of those Provinces; but the treaty [between the 'pretended parliament' and the United Provinces - HH] ended almost as soon as I began to actuate my resolution: whereupon I altered my purpose, and have now set it out in English.[102]

This royalist author, at least, would only write in Dutch when there was a motive to do so.

Opportunism played its role, but there was also a genuine sense of historical connectedness. For the Covenanters and the English Parliament, Dutch Protestants were logical allies since they fought together against Catholic Spain. The royalist translation campaign in the Dutch Republic was based not only on the strategy outlined by Nicholas (to alienate the Dutch Protestants from the Parliament), but also on the Orange-Stuart connection and the popular loyalty in the Dutch Republic towards the Stuarts.[103] Because the following chapters will address these Anglo-Scoto-Dutch identities in detail, it suffices here to conclude that, to some extent, Dutch audiences and British audiences were considered equal, either in the cynical sense that both were thought of as instrumental to a specific purpose, or in the sense of being closely connected ideologically.

A material manifestation of this mid-seventeenth-century sense of equality is offered by the bilingual pamphlet. Physically Anglo-Dutch, such bilingual pamphlets were sporadically published throughout the seventeenth century.[104] The Civil Wars, however, occasioned a variety of them. In 1648, for example, one particular (London?) printer published various bilingual pamphlets with a similar loyalist message.[105] The 1648 declaration of the royalist army officer Sir Marmaduke Langdale was published not only in separate English and Dutch editions, but also in a bilingual one.[106] When

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[102] Wing R1017. [Hughes?] *A remonstrance of the Un-lawfulnesse of the Warre* (1652), *2r.

[103] Hyde knew of popular sentiments. 'The Dutch people', he wrote after the Restoration, 'had always a passion for [the king's] prosperity'. Cited in: Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 198.

[104] Simoni, 'Dutch Printing in London', passim. Cf. for an account of a bilingual seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch soldier-poet: Simoni, 'William Fennor', passim.

[105] See: Wing S4454. *Protestation solemnele = Een solemnele Protestatie = A solemn protestation* (1648); and Wing V238A. *Een verclaringe vande officieren ende compagnie van het zee-volck = A declaration of the officers and company of sea-men* (1648). These pamphlets were probably translated into Dutch by an Englishman, which is suggested by the spelling of words such as 'woonsdach'.

[106] The bilingual edition is: Kn. 5641/Wing L378. *De verclaringe van den Heere Marmaduke Langdale Ridder = The declaration of Sir Marmaduke Langdale Knight* (1648). The English edition is: Wing L379. A

the famous leveller, John Lilburne, was exiled in Amsterdam after being sentenced by Parliament, in 1652, he defended himself before an Anglo-Dutch audience in a bilingual pamphlet, *Apologetisch verhael / Apologetical Narration*.[107] Bilingual pamphlets represent a form of political print that does not prefer one vernacular audience to the other. Of course there was an economic incentive for printers to produce bilingual material. That may explain the fact that a large share of bilingual pamphlets contained expensive engravings. A bilingual form was a cost-effective way to reach both English and Dutch speaking audiences at the same time.[108] Yet this economic explanation does not alter the fact that Civil War in Britain produced a variety of publications that were physically Anglo-Dutch in nature. Had there been no sense of shared interests and anxieties, there would have been no shared market.

'Communities without Borders': British Migrants Translating of Civil War Pamphlets

Presbyterian networks and government officials such as Boswell and Strickland were responsible for an important form of political translation, which put British politicians in direct contact with Dutch audiences. We should be careful, however, not to exaggerate church and state control over polemic publications in translation. Recent English and Dutch scholarship has shown that the scale of organized state propaganda, by modern standards, was limited in this period.[109] The evidence of the involvement of courts in propaganda making, moreover, is suggestive but scarce.[110] Politicians, in short, cannot be credited with the hundreds of Dutch translations from English and Latin Civil War Pamphlets. The pamphlet war in Britain was also translated by those who were not directly employed by court, church or government. That does not necessarily mean that these translations were initiated by interested Dutchmen, however. Much additional news and polemic was translated by British

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monolingual Dutch edition now in the British Library (T. 2425:39*) was printed by Jan van Hilten in Amsterdam in 1648.

[107] Kn. 7110. Lilburne, *Apologetisch verhael = Apologetical Narration* (April 1652).

[108] Several bilingual prints are mentioned in: Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain*, 18. Other examples are: Muller 2069; BM Satires 858. *Dit huys is te huyr = This house is to lett.* (1653); Muller 2119. *Quaakers vergadering = The Quakers meeting*; Muller 2162. Examples of bilingual pamphlets on the Restoration are: BM: British XVIIc Mounted Imp. Gaywood, *Magnificentissimus Progressus = The most magnificent Riding = De Koninckklijcke rijding* (1661); BM: History 1660 Imp. *Uyttocht van Syne Majesteyt* (1660); and BM: History 1660 Imp. Schut, *Caroli II Regis Magnæ Britanniæ* (1660).

[109] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 417-418.

[110] Simon Groenveld has shown that there is no evidence in the accounts of the stadholders of concerted propaganda campaigns as neither poets nor engravers or printers involved in William II in the mid-seventeenth century were on the stadholder's payroll. Groenveld, 'Van opklimmende vorstenzoon tot neerstortende Faëtoon', 155-160.

migrants in the Dutch Republic, who amplified the appeal of British parties to Dutch audiences.

British migrants were an important minority in the Dutch Republic. Due to the long Anglo-Scoto-Dutch peace, the flourishing North Sea trade, and the shared Protestant faith, soldiers, students, courtiers, merchants, and politico-religious refugees from Britain were numerous in many towns in Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht.[111] Douglas Catterall's calculation that in Rotterdam, in the second half of the seventeenth century, more than 25 percent of the marriages involved at least one British partner, may not be representative due to the prominence of English and Scottish trade on the harbour of Rotterdam, but it does offer an indication of the relative size British communities in Dutch cities could reach.[112]

Migrants, many of whom became bilingual, were ideal traffickers in news and opinion.[113] As part of British networks, or, in Catterall's terms, 'communities without borders', they often maintained close contacts with their fatherland.[114] As a result, they were well provided with British news and polemic. Indeed, Civil War pamphlets and newspapers in English were printed in Holland especially for migrants. One of Thurloe's agents, John Adams, complained about 'the English pamphlets' circulating in Holland for the English 'malignant party'.[115] Moreover, letters from contacts in England and Scotland supplied migrants with the latest news.

Migrants shared their knowledge of British news and debates with their Dutch neighbours in print. Divided by the upheavals of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms as much as their fellow-countrymen at home, migrants used their knowledge of British texts and contexts to 'educate' Dutch audiences in polemical pamphlets on behalf of the party with which they identified. Letters from Britain were frequently translated and published in pamphlet form.[116] The migrant T.G., possibly George Tuevelt,[117] even professed that the publication of his anti-Cromwellian pamphlet, *Den volmaeckte*

[111] Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 160-163. On British migrants in general: Worthington, *British and Irish Emigrants*, passim.
[112] Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 25.
[113] Catterall has shown that bilingualism was common among Scottish migrants, who frequently translated texts from and into the English. See: Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 198-199.
[114] Murdoch, *Network North*; passim; Catterall, *Community without Borders*, passim.
[115] See: Thurloe II, 322. 'Letter of intelligence from Holland' (5 June, 1654). Printing houses such as Samuel Browne's office were doubtlessly responsible for such pamphlets.
[116] See for instance: Van Alphen 212. *Cort ende bondigh verhael* (1641); Kn. 6594. *Extract uyt een brieff gheschreven uyt Aberdyn* (1650); Kn. 7219. *Extract uyt seeckere brief* (1651); Kn. 7363. *Twee brieven vyt Londen geschreven* (1653).
[117] T.G. was an English royalist living in Delft, as he stated in his introduction. His printer, Abraham Spranckhuysen, may have been related to Dionysus Spranckhuysen, the Delft minister mentioned by Sprunger (*Dutch Puritanism*, 158) who worked together with Henry Hexham to counter the Puritan influence in the English Church in Delft. Another associate of Hexham against the Puritan minister was one George Tuevelt, whose initials match those of the author of this work.

hypocryt ('The Perfect Hypocrite') was 'an act of love' towards the Dutch, 'who have obliged me so much', and 'are in danger of becoming damaged and entangled by [Cromwell and the Independents]'.[118]

T.G.'s introduction suggests that he was publishing on his own account. Strictly speaking, his translation would therefore not be propaganda but polemic, since there is no indication that it belonged to a concerted movement. The content of his pamphlet, however, closely echoes royalist propaganda of the period. It is therefore difficult to distinguish such pamphlets in Dutch from propaganda emanating from centres of power. Nevertheless, an attempt to distinguish both categories is important in order to grasp the discursive dynamic created by propaganda in the Dutch Republic.

One reason for the difficulties of distinguishing propaganda from polemic is that British parties were actively seeking to mobilize migrant support. We have already seen that agents such as Spange, Strickland, Peter, and Macdowell, who were instrumental in translating British politics for Dutch audiences, had either been migrants themselves, or had close connections with the migrant community. As a result of these connections, migrants were frequently following the propaganda strategies of the party of their loyalty, and amplifying the voice of government or church propaganda. Political exiles, of course, were particularly keen to do so, since they had most to gain. In the 1650s, the English courts in The Hague were centres of a kind of polemic very close to propaganda. Sermons delivered for the court by royalist ministers were printed in Dutch, and various Dutch visitors to the English courts printed their adhesions to the king in exile. Moreover, exiled strolling players who were entertaining both the courts and Dutch citizens retained their royalist ethos.[119] Here I will especially consider those groups who had lived in the Dutch Republic for years, since they were in possession of Dutch networks.

Ministers of British churches in the Dutch Republic were a pivotal group. After the Second Civil War, various English preachers were known for their vehement opposition to Parliament and the Protectorate, and they frequently incited their congregations in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and elsewhere against the English government.[120] In Rotterdam, English supporters of Parliament who did not want to hear their regular minister preach for the king early in 1649, were forced to join the

[118] Kn. 7376. T.G. *Den volmaeckte hypocryt* (1653), A1v-A2r. Orig. 'een daet van liefde voor de gene die in perijckel zyn om geschadigt en verstrickt te worden door hun-luyden [Cromwell en de Independenten]: soo en cost ick niet langer swygen sonder onruste in myn selve ende ongelijkc te doen tot de plaetse [de Republiek in het algemeen of Delft], daer de privilegiën die ick geniete my soo veel geobligeert hebben'. Cf. Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 22n.
[119] Helmers, 'Unknown Shrews', passim.
[120] Thurloe I, 514. See also: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 378-396.

local Brownists, 'amongst whom thanks was given to God for the Kings murther'.[121] William Price, preacher at the English Church in Amsterdam, was by far the most notorious royalist preacher. 'The fowlest-mouthed priest in the world', according to Walter Strickland, who reported in 1649 that Price left no opportunity unused to inveigh 'against the state of England, and the counsell of state'.[122] 'I heard Price say, that any man might with a safe conscience kill the protector; and that he himself could do it,' John Adams wrote to Thurloe in 1654.[123]

To appreciate the cultural and political importance of the fact that a part of the English political nation was resident in Holland, it is essential to recognize that preachers such as Price, although they were largely preoccupied with instructing English migrants, were not detached from Dutch society. Indeed, their profession ensured that they were in contact with Dutch ministers. This made them valuable allies to politicians. In a letter Charles II wrote to Price from Brussels, in November 1658, the king complains about the malice done to him by his enemies, who 'continue to lay all manner of scandalls upon Us', and 'make Our affection to the Protestant Religion (…) suspected', and calls on Price to refute such slander. Since Price 'cannot but have much conversation with the Ministers of the Dutch church and others in that populous place [Amsterdam]', Charles implored him to:

> roote out those unworthy aspersions so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon Us by wicked men; and that you assure all who will give credit to you that We valew Our selfe soe much upon that part of Our title of being Defendor of the Faith.[124]

Although Price's answer is unknown, he did try to win Amsterdam for the King's cause. Even before Charles' request, one of Price's royalist sermons was published in Dutch. It was a tirade against Cromwell and prayed for the salvation of the true Protestant faith of the king and the Dutch.[125]

Even more harmful than the preachers, according to Strickland, were the activities of some members of the English Merchant Adventurers. They too interacted professionally with Dutchmen, which rendered them influential polemicists. In a 1649 report to the English Council of State, Strickland wrote that Merchant Adventurers

[121] Hatton to Nicholas (9 March 1649). See: Nicholas I, 118-119.
[122] Thurloe I, 118.
[123] Thurloe II, 319. Cited in: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 122.
[124] Nicholas IV, 70-72. The same letter was sent to the minister of the English Church in Rotterdam, Thomas Cawton.
[125] Price, *Een gebroocken geest* (1652).

'poyson the Dutch more than any'.[126] In a letter to Parliament of 7 July 1644 (NS), Strickland named five 'malignant Merchants, Englishmen, dwelling in the Country at Amsterdam and Rotterdam' who did 'great Hurt (…) by providing Arms and all other Things for the Assistance of those who are in Rebellion against the Country'.[127] Nine days later, Parliament declared John Webster, Theofilus Bainham, Edward Manning, Richard Ford and James Yard to be 'enemies to the Parliament and Kingdom of England' and 'incendiaries between the States of the United Provinces, and Parliament of England'.[128] The governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Rotterdam was ordered to exclude them from their meetings and to have them apprehended by the authorities. Theofilus Bainham, the only resident of Rotterdam, was indeed excluded from the Merchant's Court. Unlike the Parliamentarian merchant governor, however, Rotterdam authorities refused to act on the orders of Parliament. The city magistrate responded by naturalising Bainham, which put him out of Parliament's reach.[129]

Royalist merchants were able to continue their activities, which included arranging loans and weapons for the king, but also 'poisoning' the Dutch by publishing royalist polemic. Arguably the most spectacular result of these activities was Lambert van den Bosch's *Florus Anglicus* (1651), which appeared in various editions and in four languages (Latin, Dutch, English, and German) in 1651-1660.[130] A history of the kings of England, Van den Bosch' texts was unequivocally royalist in nature (although he denied this in the introduction to the English edition). In the Dutch edition, the main text was supplemented by royalist poems lamenting the 'parricide' in England as well as a prayer of Charles I excerpted from *Eikon Basilike*.[131] This book was dedicated to John Webster, the wealthy English merchant who had been a loyal supporter of the Stuart cause from the beginning of the First Civil War,[132] and whom Charles II considered to be his 'trusty and well-beloved' servant.[133] It is likely that Webster funded the entire enterprise.

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[126] Thurloe I, 737.
[127] *Journal of the House of Lords* VI (6 July 1644).
[128] Wing E1405. *A declaration of the Lords and Commons* (13 July 1644). Also see: *House of Commons Journal* III (6 July 1644).
[129] Te Lintum (*De Merchant Adventurers in de Nederlanden*, 174-175) cites the Dutch archival records on Bainham.
[130] Van den Bosch, *Florus Anglicus, sive Rerum Anglicarum ab ipso exordio* (1651, 1652); idem, *Engelsche Florus, of Kort begryp der Engelsche geschiedenissen van de eerste tyden af* (1652); idem, *Florus Anglicus, or an Exact History of England from the Reign of William the Conqueror* (1656, 1658, 1659); idem, *Der engeländische Florus* (1660).
[131] Van den Bosch, *Engelsche Florus*, P3v-P8v.
[132] Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij*, 125; 289; 303; 304; 307; 343.
[133] Charles II to James Graham (5 Sept. 1649), in: Wishart, *Memoirs* (1819), 447.

The final group of migrants closely related to politico-religious circles, and essential to the approximation of the British and the Dutch public spheres, were printers. Englishmen active in the book trade had long been a familiar sight in the Dutch Republic.[134] Almost by definition, these printers worked in an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere, printing material for the English-speaking market, for the British migrant communities, as well as for Dutch audiences. As intermediaries between both print cultures, British booksellers and printers had a profound influence on the selection of English texts that reached the Dutch market in translation. It is therefore appropriate to briefly investigate these printers.

As we have seen above, Covenanter propaganda in 1638-1639 was the result of a close collaboration between Scots and Dutch printers. Indeed, in his *Note of Some Things I Have Observed in the Low Countries*, the English printer Matthew Simmons wrote that he had descried various secret printing networks producing Covenanter propaganda during his travels through the Netherlands.[135] John Canne was one of the most active printers within these Anglo-Scoto-Dutch networks. In the late 1630s and early 1640s, this future news-writer, Fifth Monarchist and defender of the regicide printed booklets about British politics and religion in Amsterdam in his printing house, *The Richt Right Press*.[136] The very name of Canne's printing house - with its emphasis on the similarities of English and Dutch - indicated his bilingual ambitions. Although many of his books, including 'smal Bibles', were printed either for the English black market or for 'the Benefit of the English Churches in the Netherlands',[137] Canne also issued various pamphlets in Dutch. In the build-up to the Bishops' War, the press's religious output became explicitly political. The Richt Right Press, like Christiaensz van der Boxe's Leiden office, came to function as a centre of anti-Laudian propaganda for English, Scottish and Dutch audiences alike.[138] In 1637, after having been reported as a subversive printer by one of Archbishop Laud's agents, Canne was fined £300 by an Amsterdam tribunal for printing and distributing literature 'prejudicial to Charles I'.[139] This did not prevent him from printing anti-Laudian material, however, and he continued to publish several pamphlets in Dutch

[134] On exiled English printers in the Netherlands see: Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs,* 8-10. Only after the Glorious Revolution, Hoftijzer writes, did the phenomenon of the English booktrader and printer in exile cease to exist.
[135] Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, 90.
[136] For short accounts of Canne's life, see: BNLP II, 116; and Hayden, 'Canne, John', ODNB.
[137] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 72-73.
[138] For example, Canne published an apology of John Lilburne in 1638, when Lilburne was still sympathizing with Presbyterians such as Bastwick and Prynne. Kn. 4560. Lilburne, *A worke of the beast* (1638). On Lilburne, see: Sharp, 'Lilburne, John', ODNB.
[139] Hayden, 'Canne, John', ODNB.

advocating the overthrow of bishops and supporting the Scots after the outbreak of the war in 1639.[140]

Printing networks were instrumental in translating the Civil War for Dutch readers. Here I want to emphasize that, in contrast to merchants, the activities of British printers in general favoured the party that was out of power in England. Since British printers active in the Netherlands were often refugees who owed their business to stringent censorship in Britain, they published mainly non-conformist bibles, tracts and pamphlets. Printers loyal to the regime in England were less likely to emigrate, and if they did, they had fewer customers. As a result, when the politico-religious climate in Britain changed, printers who had constituted the press in exile frequently returned to London. Thus, Canne's impress ceased shortly after the outbreak of civil war in England, when unlicensed printing became possible in England and the demand for foreign Puritan presses diminished.[141] When Parliament emerged triumphant from the First Civil War, Presbyterian printers returned to England, lost their trade to England-based printers, or simply kept a low profile.[142]

Whereas the Parliamentarian press in the Dutch Republic declined in proportion to Parliament's political fortune, the royalist press flourished in proportion to the demise of the king's cause in England. The most famous royalist printer profiting from the rising demand for a foreign royalist press undoubtedly is Samuel Browne. Browne was the most prolific royalist printer, and the pivot of much exiled royalist activity. He set up his shop in The Hague in January 1647. In the following decade, he was active as a translator and a publisher of royalist propaganda in the English and the Dutch vernaculars, as well as in Latin.[143] Printing a variety of royalist newsbooks, answers to Parliamentary tracts, appeals to the Dutch people and the States, as well as multiple editions of the *Eikon Basilike*, Browne made his mark on Dutch public opinion. Remarkably, he was able to pursue his activities relatively unhindered. Only once did the States of Holland attempt to rein him in. In March 1651, Browne was summoned to the court of Holland on account of 'a pamphlet which he had published anonymously, and in which he rhetorically questioned the

[140] See: Kn. 4601. *Een cort verhael van de misdaden ende crimen* (1639).
[141] Cf. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 179.
[142] The latter is true for Joseph Bruyningh or Browning (d. 1672) a separatist refugee who lived and worked in Amsterdam. Browning, who published several political tracts in the late 1630s and 1640s, obviously held little love for the king during the Civil Wars. After the Restoration he admitted his support for the 'king's murderers' and started to print radical texts. During the Interregnum, however, Browning remained silent on matters political until well into the 1660s. For the radical activities of Browning and his colleague Swart, see: Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs,* 133-157.
[143] Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, 271-304. See also: Keblusek, 'Browne, Samuel', ODNB.

legitimacy of the 'murderous mock-parliament'.[144] On account of a general ban on publications discussing foreign states or governments, issued in January, Browne was sentenced to a heavy fine and banishment from the province of Holland. Because the particular pamphlet was not a very exceptional one, the action taken against Browne is likely to have been related to the St John embassy, and was possibly taken at the instigation of Walter Strickland. With the negotiations faltering, Browne could remain in The Hague and soon resumed his royalist activities. Occasionally, he was even employed by the States General as a translator.

Thanks to Marika Keblusek, Browne's case is well documented. Other British printers who were active in the 1650s are more obscure. Little is known, for example, about George Trigg, who worked in Amsterdam between 1649 and 1659. His list, however, leaves few doubts about his ideological preferences. Although Trigg printed mainly religious works, he published several patently royalist political tracts.[145] John Ramsey of The Hague is a rather similar case.[146] More is known about John Crosse, a royalist British printer in Holland whose career is particularly interesting for the range of activities he deployed.[147] Between 1643 and 1648, Crosse worked as a bookseller near the English church in Amsterdam, publishing several English theological works in translation.[148] In later years he became a notary, first in Amsterdam, then in Rotterdam, frequently working for English-speaking clients visiting the Netherlands.[149] Crosse's royalist inclinations were apparent early in his career. In 1644, he published *Een nieuwe inventie ofte een christalijne brill*, a translation of the English pamphlet *A New Invention; or, a paire of cristall spectacles* written by another exile, John Coghen.[150] In 1648, Crosse contributed to Montrose's royalist reputation on

[144] Keblusek, 'Browne, Samuel', ODNB. The pamphlet is: Kn. 6445. *Vrage ofte het meer behouden of Gerechtight is* (1649).
[145] The most explicit example is Thomas Fuller's *Andronicus* (1659) (see below).
[146] From 1652 onwards, John Ramzey of The Hague printed works of the royalist playwright, William Lower, and the Church of Ireland Archbishop, John Bramhall, as well as a weekly bulletin with news from England and several poems on the Restoration. A royalist pamphlet in Dutch, published in 1660 under the fictitious name Anthonette Rams-ey, may well have been his. See: Kn. 8236. *Hervadte Beeste-spraeck* (1660).
[147] Johannes (John) Crosse may be the son of the chaplain poet and translator William Crosse, who published a history of the Dutch Wars and was connected to Sir John Ogle, colonel in the Dutch army between 1591 and 1619. About Crosse, see: Van Eeghen, *Amsterdamse Boekhandel* V-1, 117; Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs,* 9; Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, 277-279.
[148] Occasionally, Crosse also published books in English. One of those, the anonymous Wing E3869. *An Exhortation unto the Learned Divines Assembled at Westminster* (1643), is the first publication sold by Crosse I have been able to find. On the title page, it states that Crosse was a bookseller 'in the Bagijne Steegh near the English Church' in Amsterdam. An example of the theological translations sold by Crosse is: Sibbes, *Het gekroockte riet* (1646).
[149] Murdoch, *Network North*, 150; 155; 195; 198; 200. On Crosse's work in Rotterdam, see also: Catterall, *Community without Borders*, 197.
[150] Kn. 5064. Coghen, *Een nieuwe inventie ofte een christalijne brill* (1644). The English version is: Wing N650. *A new invention; or, A paire of cristall spectacles* (June 1644).

the continent when he issued George Wishart's *De rebus auspiciis*, the Marquess's first biography, which was later translated into English and re-published by Samuel Browne.[151]

Although their influence is negligible in comparison with Samuel Browne, minor printers such as Trigg, Ramsey and Crosse helped translating English and Scottish politics for a Dutch audience. They were mediators between royalist exiles and Dutch society. Crosse's career quite literally shows this because he devoted his bilingualism to helping royalist exiles such as the captain James Neale when they clashed with Dutch authorities.[152] In 1658-1659, he deployed his language skills for propagandistic purposes when he translated Thomas Fuller's prose work *Andronicus, or, The vnfortunate politician shewing sin stoutly punished, right surely rescued* (1646) into Dutch.[153] The central image on the Dutch title page, showing a beheading as the worst of Andronicus' many crimes, was an unmistakable sign that the book was intended to be interpreted as a comment on Cromwell's regicide.[154]

The fact that the Dutch republic was a place of refuge for British political and religious exiles favoured the translation of oppositional polemic into Dutch. It rendered the Dutch public sphere into a kind of countersphere, in which the party excluded from power in England could dominate political discourse. It was partly for this reason that Dutch pamphlets tended to favour the anti-Laudians in the 1630s and 1640s, and the royalists in the 1650s.

A Hybrid Sphere

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic became the scene of a paper battle between British parties. As a result of activities by British politicians and migrants, the Civil War was translated for a Dutch audience. Pamphlets with phrases

[151] I.G. [=George Wishart] *De rebus auspiciis serenissimi* (1647). Crosse's name is mentioned on the title-page of the second edition (Amsterdam: Crosse, 1648). Browne's English edition was published in The Hague between 1647 and 1649.

[152] Crosse helped Neale in August 1660. See: Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, 117.

[153] Fuller, *Andronicus of rampsalige arghlistigheyt* (1659). On Fuller's *Andronicus*, later published in the form of a tragedy, see: Randall, *Winter Fruit*, 121-127. Randall writes: 'Part of the interest of Fuller's *Andronicus* [the tragedy] lies in the fact that its story of a bloody Byzantine tyrant has no very close English parallel, despite, say, Charles' tragic abandonment of the Earl of Strafford to the headsman in 1641' (p. 24). In the intervening period between the original publication and the translation, the meaning of the book had obviously changed, since royalist propaganda had firmly associated Cromwell with tyranny. For a comparable book in this period, see: Wing P1609A. Perrinchief, *The Syracusan tyrant* (1661), which was a thinly veiled attack on Cromwell and even included an image of Agathocles with the head of Cromwell.

[154] Moreover, the translation emphasized Fuller's capacity as: 'court preacher of Charles I, King of Great Britain, of blessed memory'. Orig. 'hof-predicker van Carolus den I, Koning van Groot-Britagnien, H.L.M [Hoog Loffelijker Memorie]'.

such as 'translated from the English', or 'faithfully rendered after the English copy' on their title-page (which indeed most translations had) explicitly introduced British voices into the Dutch public sphere. This voice did not only provide Dutch readers with news and information; it also made the British polemic and the rhetoric accessible to them. From the late 1630s until the Restoration, the Dutch were regularly confronted with conflicting appeals for their loyalty and support.

Scholars who have studied Dutch responses to the English Civil War and Revolution have hitherto neglected the pivotal role of translated English and Scottish pamphlets. In his study of Dutch representations of Oliver Cromwell, Daniel Grosheide excluded translated text from consideration, arguing that they 'do not belong to Dutch public opinion'.[155] This book, by contrast, argues that the culture of political translation was central to mid-seventeenth-century Dutch public opinion. In the 1640s and 1650s, when Anglo-Scoto-Dutch relations were at the heart of many political debates, it was exactly these translated texts, as transnational appeals from the one political community to the other, which determined the rhetoric, the issues and the assessment of political topics.

Early modern politicians and pamphleteers were well aware of the powerful appeal of such political translations, and we have seen that contemporary British authors felt obliged to answer them. Dutch authors, of course, replied as well. As a result, an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch debate on the Civil Wars developed, in which British and Dutch voices gradually became difficult to separate. Occasionally, Dutch reactions to British appeals register a sense of confusion about who was making the appeal, or which polity was under discussion. *The Bowels of the Oppressed, Suffering, Truly-religious Englishmen*, for instance, was a pamphlet asking the Dutch Reformed to support their English brothers in their battle against popery and tyranny. Purporting to be a direct address from the English people to the Dutch, it stated to be translated 'from the English into the Dutch'.[156] This claim, however, was attacked in another pamphlet, *Schryvens uyt London* ('*Letter from London*'), in which an anonymous 'Londoner' tells his Dutch correspondent that *The Bowels* was actually written in the Dutch Republic itself:

> It looks as if it was printed and written in England, but because we here have not seen such a text (among the many which, to our great concern, do appear here daily) and also for other reasons, it is certain that it has been written in your Country. Who ever may be the other, of what quality, ecclesiastical or

[155] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 20. Only for Salmasius did Grosheide make an exception.
[156] Kn. 4980. *Het inghewant* (Before March 1643).

> political, I do not intend to research, as your honours may well be able to venture a guess on those questions; but it is easily perceived that the author has used the disguise, as if it had been written in England, to colour and to cover up his rebellious designs for the simple folk.[157]

According to this pamphleteer, the *Bowel*'s use of the phrase 'translated from the English' was a ruse designed by the Dutch opposition to stir up the common people against their regents.

Although an English source text for *The Bowels* is indeed unknown, it is highly questionable whether the accusation in the *Letter* was true. *The Bowels* closely echoed parliamentary pamphlets whose English origins are beyond doubt. Indeed, it was among the pamphlets mentioned in Charles I's *Declaration* as having been 'zealously' printed and distributed by Strickland.[158] On closer inspection, the English origin of the *Letter from London* is more likely to be feigned than that of *The Bowels*. Relying heavily on a chapter on the English Parliament by the Dutch chronicler Emmanuel van Meeteren, the *Letter* shows but little affinity with the London debate either in tone or in content.

It is not my purpose here to argue for authenticity of either case. It is the confusion about the provenance itself that interests me. Apparently it had become possible, by 1643, to contest *the claim of translation*. The accusation of fraud in the *Letter* exploits the uncertainty among Dutch readers about whether an English appeal truly was an English appeal. The aims of English and Dutch political authors - 'ecclesiastical or political' - had become difficult to distinguish. As the Dutch polity became divided by the English appeals, translated English texts and models gradually became interchangeable with Dutch texts, and reflected on Dutch politics as much as on British politics. The translation of British politics into Dutch by Englishmen and Scotsmen had created an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch discourse.

In this hybrid discourse, which was the result of the extensive exchange and monitoring of print in the Anglo-Dutch sphere, English texts could be answered by Dutch texts in translation and vice versa. Thus, a translation of an English pamphlet, *Een klachte aen't Huys der Gemeente* ('*A Complaint to the House of Commons*') (1643) was

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[157] Kn. 4984. *Schryvens uyt Londen* (March 1643), A2r. Orig. 'Inschijn als oft in Englandt ware gedruckt en geschreven, maer also wy hier soodaanige Schrift (onder menigeen die hier tot onser ontrustinge dagelijcx uyt-komen) niet en hebben vernomen, als oock om andere reden soo ist sekerlijck te houden dattet in u Landt is geschreven. Wie ofte van qualiteyt dat den autheur zy, kerckelijck of politijcq, dat wil ick niet onder-soecken, daer sal misschien by U.E. al eenige gissinge op gemaeckt konnen worden; maer dat den Autheur het Mom-aensicht, als oft in Engelandt geschreven ware, gebruyckt heeft, om sijn op-roerig desseyn by de eenvoudige een coleur te geven en te bewimpelen is lichtelijck te mercken'.

[158] See n. 38 above.

printed as 'an answer' to Voetius' *Den Brittanischen Blixem* ('*British Lighting*').[159] Who commissioned this translation? Was it Boswell? Or the Dutch Remonstrant printer Johannes Naeranus, as Voetius' sequel to *Den Brittanischen Blixem*, *Den Brittannischen Donderslach* ('*The British Thunderclap*') suggested?[160] We cannot be certain. As we shall see in Chapter 2, it is not even unthinkable that they collaborated. Yet whoever was behind the anonymous, translated reply to *Den Brittanischen Blixem*, the fact that an English text was translated and printed as an answer to a Dutch text exemplifies the overlap between British and Dutch public spheres as well as British and Dutch politico-religious discourses.

The following chapters will explore these discourses. They will study the Dutch reception of civil war polemic as part of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch discourse. They will build on and elaborate the hypothesis that the essentially political process of translation set in motion by the Civil Wars led to the approximation of British and Dutch political languages. Politico-religious signifiers came to be shared and contested by supranational, Anglo-Scoto-Dutch political communities. When, in Chapter 5, for example, we investigate the correspondences between the works of Huygens and Marvell, we should realize that they participated in one single public sphere, were drawing from the same sources, and shared the same concerns.

[159] Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Brittanischen Blixem* (1642); Kn. 4968. *Een klachte aen 't Huys der Gemeente* (1643). The original is the royalist pamphlet Wing C5620. *A Complaint to the House of Commons* (early 1643).
[160] Kn. 4971. *Den Brittannischen Donderslach* (1643), 4.

Chapter 2

Unity and Uniformity: Civil War and the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan Community

Shortly after the outbreak of the First Civil War in England, probably in November or December 1642, the authoritative Utrecht contraremonstrant theologian Gisbertus Voetius published a pamphlet dialogue called *Den Britannischen Blixem* (‘*The British Lightning*’).[1] In the introduction to this pamphlet, Voetius invited the Dutch to consider the ‘spectacle of a divided England’.[2] ‘These thinges wee see afarre of’, he complained in the contemporary English translation, ‘we hear this, but with little observation to provoke us to behold ourselves in them, that so we may avoide those where-on they have suffered ship-wrack’.[3] *Den Britannischen Blixem* was designed to show to the Dutch reader that instead of being an insular affair, the conflict in Britain was similar to the conflicts within Dutch society. In the *Blixem* proper, which is a dialogue between a Dutchman and an Englishman, recognition is therefore a recurrent pattern. As the Englishman explains the situation in Britain and its causes, the Dutchman discovers that ‘[i]t goes just so also amongst us’, ‘it hath gone

[1] Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642). The text was reprinted thrice (Kn. 4964-4966) and translated into English in 1643: Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643). According to the translator’s dedication, he finished his text on 20 January 1643, which suggests that Voetius’ original had been published late in 1642 (A2v). In the remainder of this chapter, I cite the 1643 English translation. The original Dutch text is cited in the notes from the 1642 edition.

[2] The phrase is Haan’s (*The Treatment of England*, 26). Haan summarizes *Den Britannischen Blixem* at length (38-51).

[3] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A3v. Orig. ‘Dit sien wy van verde, dit hooren wy, maer met kleyne opmerckinge of beweginge, om ons aen haer te spiegelen, om de klippen te schuwen, daer op sy Schip-breucke geleden hebben’ (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A2r).

amongst you as it doth amongst us', or 'it goeth alwayes so amongst us also'.[4] In England, according to the two characters in Voetius' dialogue, the Dutch could see themselves, their own past and their own future. This shared identity is Voetius' main argument for the Dutch to answer their neighbours' call for support. In the words of Voetius' contemporary translator: 'Doe not these miseries touch us, which are executed on our body?'[5]

The translation of British polemic, as discussed in Chapter 1, forced the Dutch to think about their relationship to the dramatic conflicts across the Channel that were unfolding in vernacular print. In direct appeals to the Dutch people, King and Parliament presented their cause as crucial to the Dutch interests. Parliament argued that their battle, like the Dutch revolt against Spain, was about safeguarding the true, Protestant religion and opposing royal tyranny. Their basic argument was that the troubles in Britain were a manifestation of the universal battle of the reformation and for that reason at the heart of Dutch interests. The King also appealed to old Dutch loyalties, arguing that it had been the monarchy under Elizabeth and James - not Parliament - which had always supported the Dutch in their war against Spain. In royalist representations, the troubles were the result of an unlawful uprising against the single most important Protestant monarch in Christendom. In the late 1630s and the early 1640s, these appeals acted as catalysts to politico-religious conflicts within the Dutch state. Especially in 1639-1644, they ignited a fierce public debate, which put the States General's policy of neutrality under pressure. In these years, the British question dominated in Dutch vernacular pamphlets.

In recent decades, scholarship of the early modern period has emphasized the importance of constructions of otherness in literary texts.[6] This chapter, by contrast, will argue that the main reason for the vehemence with which Dutch authors responded to the British appeals in the early 1640s was the sense of sameness

[4] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), B3r; E2r; G3v. Orig. 'het gaet so mede onder ons toe'; 'het onder u luyden heeft toegegaen, gelijck het onder ons doet'; 'het gaet altijdts so onder ons toe' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A1v; B3r; C4r).

[5] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A3v. Orig. 'Het selffte humeur is onder ons: sal dan de selffte sieckte daer niet op volgen?' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A2r). In *Brittannischen Donderslach* ('*British Thunderclap*'), the sequel to the *Blixem*, Voetius again emphasized in appropriately thundering words that Dutch action was required: 'Does it not concern us that such sad rebellions, wars and bloodsheds have arisen amongst the people of God, our neighbours? If the Lord begins to punish his House, shall we not take note? If the Lion roars, shall we not fear?' Kn. 4971. Voetius, *Brittannische Donderslag* (1643), 74. Orig. 'Gaet het ons niet aen, datter sulcke droevige beroerten, oorlogen ende bloetstortingen, onder het volck Godts, onse nabueren zijn ontstaen? Sal Godt de Heere beginnen sijn huys te plagen, ende sullen wy niet opmercken? Sal de leeu brullen ende sullen wy niet vreesen?'

[6] See for example: Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*, passim; Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners*, passim; Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness', passim; Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, passim; Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, passim.

expressed by Voetius.[7] As we shall see, Voetius, who called for a Dutch intervention on behalf of Parliament, fully identified with the English Presbyterians and the Scottish Covenanters. Indeed, I will argue that the Dutch contraremonstrant followers of the Further Reformation, of whom Voetius was one of the main spokesmen, formed one discursive community with their British brothers in the faith, and operated within one bilingual, Puritan public sphere. This discursive community shared not only a common (pietist) faith and common religious anxieties and enemies, but also a common gallery of martyrs, a common rhetoric, and a common history. Whereas that Anglo-Scoto-Dutch identity had manifested itself mainly in the religious sphere in the 1620s and 1630s, it rapidly politicized under the pressure of the British troubles. Relying on each other's spiritual, financial, and political support, Presbyterians, Covenanters and Contra-Remonstrants alike believed that the future of Protestantism depended upon the victory of Parliament in the First Civil War, and they did all they could to convince the Dutch people and the Dutch Reformed church of the validity of that belief.

The sense of identity between (in the phrase propagated by Patrick Collinson) 'the hotter sort Protestants' in England, Scotland and the Dutch Republic has been called 'the Piety of the North Sea'.[8] In the remainder of this chapter, I will use the term Puritanism and its adjective 'Puritan' to denote that Protestant identity. Although I am aware of the debate on the uses of this originally pejorative term, it is necessary to choose from the wide range of terms developed by historians of international Protestantism.[9] Depending on circumstances, national schools, and the expertise of the individual historian, overlapping sets of beliefs may at times be called Calvinism, Puritanism, Contra-Remonstrantism, Further Reformation, Second Reformation, Pietism or even Presbyterianism (which denotes a position on church government rather than theological doctrine).[10] By using the single term Puritanism I follow John Coffey in highlighting 'the common features of zealous Reformed religion (…): sabbatarianism, covenanting, fasting, family exercises, sermon gadding, and intense preoccupation with personal salvation'.[11] This characterization fits the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch proponents of a second reformation based on practical piety.

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[7] Cf. Rubrigh, *Double Dutch*, passim.
[8] Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade', passim. Collinson gave his definition of a Puritan in: Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 27.
[9] On Puritanism as an invective, see: Collinson, 'A Comment Concerning the Name Puritan', passim.
[10] The terminological problems are summarized in: Beeke, A*ssurance of Faith*, 129-130n; 383-387. On Puritanism and its use in New British History as a label for Scottish Presbyterians, see: Coffey, 'The Problem of Scottish Puritanism', passim.
[11] Coffey, 'The Problem of Scottish Puritanism', 73, See also: Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolution*, 17-20.

Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism: A Discursive Community

The idea that the rise of vernacular print led to the creation of virtual, supralocal communities has been widely recognized in early modern scholarship ever since Benedict Anderson argued that print capitalism, with its vernacular print languages, 'laid the basis for national consciousness'.[12] 'The convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language', Anderson averred, 'created the possibility of a new form of imagined communities, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation'.[13] Anderson's analysis has been echoed and nuanced by, among others, Peter Burke and Richard Helgerson.[14] More recently, Elizabeth Sauer has investigated the formation of various distinct textual communities within seventeenth-century England.[15] Despite its enrichment and problematization of Anderson's thesis, the research of the past decades has left little room for doubt that mass vernacular print culture was one of the conditions for the emergence of modern national consciousness.

Yet vernacular print culture was by no means conducive to the rise of national communities only.[16] Especially through translation, vernacular print cultures could also foster, create and activate inter-vernacular identities. Recent work in translation studies, especially in postcolonial studies, has emphasized the hybrid international identities which translation was capable of creating.[17] For Homi Bhabha, translation constitutes 'a "third space" emerging from (…) the dialectical tensions between alterity and assimilation'. This space, in Bhabha's conception, is an area within which difference is negotiated through the appropriation, translation and rehistoricization of cultural signs and their associated meanings.[18] Although postcolonial studies focus on the extent to which translation supports or challenges the asymmetrical power balance of imperialism, the basic mechanisms of domestication and foreignization are not fundamentally different in a context of equal powers such as early modern England and the Dutch Republic.[19] Both the

[12] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37-46.
[13] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 46.
[14] Burke, *Languages and Communities*, passim; Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, passim. See also: Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, passim.
[15] Sauer, *'Paper-Contestations' and Textual Communities*, passim.
[16] The fact that the concept of a 'textual community' was coined by the medievalist Brian Stock specifically to describe (international) religious communities is not irrelevant here. According to Stock, the rise of literacy led to the formation of communities of religious non-conformists united by their common reading of the same religious texts. See: Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, passim.
[17] Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, passim.
[18] Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, passim. See also: Flood, *Objects of Translation*, passim.
[19] Bermann and Wood, *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation*, passim. See also: Ellis and Oakley-Brown, *Translation and Nation*, passim.

'reformed public sphere' introduced by Reiner Wohlfeil and the 'Puritan public sphere' advocated by Peter Lake and Michael Questier (which are both concepts meant to define national discursive communities) were essentially 'third spaces' in which translation was a dominant force creating supranational, intervernacular identities and rhetorics.[20]

The Dutch contraremonstrant identification with the English and the Scottish Presbyterians was the result of decades of translating religious texts from the English into the Dutch. Indeed, the Dutch pietists who called for a 'Nadere Reformatie' ('Further Reformation') had translated the term from the English, which suggests the intensity of their identification with English and Scottish examples.[21] Translations of the works of English and Scottish divines, moreover, abounded in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.[22] According to Wim op 't Hof, the total of British books of practical piety translated into Dutch during the seventeenth century amounted to 728 different titles. Allowing for an average number of 1,000 to 1,500 copies printed per edition, and not counting the numerous reprints, he estimates that at least 728,000 Puritan books were distributed in the Dutch vernacular during this period.[23] The majority of the Dutch reformed clergy therefore owned substantial amounts of Puritan books.[24] Even those reformed readers who are not easily defined as Puritans were well acquainted with English and Scottish works of practical piety.

The presence of such a quantity of Puritan books in the Dutch vernacular created a strong identification with the British reformation.[25] Both Op't Hof and

[20] Wohlfeil, 'Reformatorische Öffentlichkeit', passim; Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere", passim. On the pivotal role of translation in both the Protestant and the Catholic cause during the Reformation, see: Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation*, 16-19.

[21] In 1603, Arthur Hildersham, Stephen Eagerton and Henry Jacob had petitioned to the King for a 'further reformation'. Willem Teellinck, who is often seen as the founder of the Dutch Further Reformation, was probably present at a day of prayer organized by Hildersham a year later in 1604, which may have been the occasion on which he first heard the term. See: Groenendijk, 'De oorsprong van de uitdrukking 'Nadere Reformatie", passim.

[22] For a bibliographical overview of such translations, see: Op 't Hof, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands*, *1598-1622*, passim; and idem, *Engelse piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1623-1632*, passim. See also: Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, passim.

[23] Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade', 257.

[24] The library of the contraremonstrant preacher Samuel Gruterus offers a staggering example of such a book collection. It included works of many English authors, including John Donne, William Perkins, Peter Heylyn, Francis Quarles, William Prynne, Christopher Love, Thomas Fuller and many others. See: Van der Aa, *Catalogus van de Bibliotheca Gruteriana* (1700), 917-1024; 1201-1372. On Gruterus: Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* VII, 521.

[25] For the relations between the Dutch and the English and Scottish churches, see for example: Van 't Spijker, *De synode van Westminster*, 13-62; and Milton, 'Puritanism and the Continental Reformed churches', passim. Keith Sprunger's studies of the English churches in the Dutch Republic and the Dutch puritan book trade offer an invaluable overview of the dealings of the English and Scottish migrants and puritan exiles in the Dutch Republic throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. These exiles printed their puritan books in English in order to export them to Britain and keep their British

Keith Sprunger have emphasized the extent to which the Dutch Republic, especially Zeeland and Utrecht, 'puritanized' in the first half of the seventeenth century.[26] An unreliable witness as he may be, the Dutch character in Voetius' dialogue *Den Britannischen Blixem* is therefore unlikely to be expressing a unique opinion when he exclaims:

> I have alwayes thought England to be the most reformed land in the world, because I have seen so many excellent bookes that were penned in England against all such popish institutions & for the doctrine of salvation and the purity of worship.[27]

Throughout the Dutch Republic, Scottish and especially English divines were held in great esteem, and considered guides towards the fulfilment of the promises of the reformation. So pervasive was their authority among the Dutch Reformed that it led the Leiden professor Abraham Heidanus desperately to appeal to his readers to think for themselves:

> [O]r do we think that the English, with the numerous books they have written about practical piety, and which they still publish daily without end, have lit such candles that we would sit in darkness without their light?[28]

Gisbertus Voetius would certainly have answered Heidanus' rhetorical question in the affirmative: in his estimation, English (and Scottish) Puritans were indeed the guides towards the fulfilment of the reformation.

Voetius, like Teellinck before him, was a pivotal figure in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan movement. His network included exiled English and Scottish Puritans such as Thomas Gataker, William Ames, Robert Baillie and Hugh Peter, and he was instrumental in spreading the works of practical piety, both within the United

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acquaintances informed about the developments in the Dutch church, but they also translated English puritan works into Dutch. See: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, passim; Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, passim.

[26] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, passim; Op 't Hof, 'De invloed van het puritanisme in de Nederlanden', passim; Van 't Spijker, *Synode van Westminster*, passim. Op 't Hof has shown that the influence was reciprocal (he is supported by: Van 't Spijker, *De Synode van Westminster*, 52). However, English books were translated into Dutch in far greater numbers than vice versa.

[27] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), D1r. Orig. 'Ick hebbe altijdts gedacht datter geen gereformeerder Landt inde werelt was als Engelandt, om dat ick so veel treffelijcke Boecken ghsien hebbe, die in Engelandt teghen alle sulcke Paepsche instellinghen, en om de Godtsalicheyde en den suyveren Godts-dienst te bevorderen, geschreven zijn' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A4v).

[28] Heidanus, *Consideratien* (1659), 139. Cited in: Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius* II, 216n. Orig. 'Of meynen wy dat ons de Engelsche, met die ontallicke boecken, die sy over de practycke der godtsaligheyt geschreven hebben, en noch dagelicks sonder eynde uyt-geven, sulcke keersse ontsteecken hebben, dat wy sonder dat licht hier souden in duysternisse gheseten hebben'.

Provinces and to the rest of the continent.[29] He had learned to read English in order to acquaint himself with the practical divinity of the English and Scottish Puritans, and he did so with great vigour: his library, auctioned after his death, included no less than 270 Puritan works in English. It was Voetius' own translation of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* which was the most successful of all these works: with at least 53 print runs, this translation was one of the Dutch best-sellers of the period, easily outvying every single work of vernacular literature.[30] As a professor of theology, Voetius made the former bishopric of Utrecht into a centre of Puritan exchange. All his non-British students were required to learn English, since under Voetius' guidance they read more in the English vernacular than in Latin.[31] In turn, Dutch reformed writers were often translated into English. Presbyterians such as Robert Baillie valued Voetius above all other Dutch reformed writers, and had his work translated.[32]

The Puritan network of translation in which Voetius was a central figure created an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch discursive community active within a Puritan public sphere. In times of peace, translations produced within this sphere were predominantly confined to religious issues. Political tracts were much rarer than pious works (although certain issues, such as Charles I's policy towards the Bohemian revolt, did inspire various Anglo-Dutch political publications). Yet the circulation of religious texts in this bilingual sphere held great political potential, as they were both carriers of a shared language and visible signs of the proclivity of English, Scottish and Dutch Puritans to look upon each other for inspiration,[33] and to identify the reforms in their own country with those abroad. Of course, as Anthony Milton emphasizes, Puritan identification with foreign reformed churches was not stable.[34] But confronted with opposition either in Britain or in the Dutch Republic, the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community did have a joined religio-political

[29] Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius* III, 345.
[30] Milton, 'Puritanism and the Continental Reformed churches', 117-118; Op 't Hof ('Piety in the Wake of Trade', 255-256) gives fifty editions. A recent inquiry has revealed that at least 53 editions of the Bayly translation appeared: Huisman and Seijlhouwer, *Titelbladen nr. 1*, passim.
[31] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 361-362; Op 't Hof, 'Geïmporteerde vroomheid', 87-88.
[32] Baillie, *Letters and Journals* II, 146; 157; 168; 177; 179; 181; 183-184; 191-192; 197.
[33] Gataker claimed that Teellinck's writing motivated him to publish his own *Sparke Towards the Kindling of Sorrow for Sion*, which was in turn quickly translated into Dutch and printed abroad.
[34] Milton ('Puritanism and the Continental Reformed Churches', 109-111) rightly stresses that 'the Puritans' relationship with the continental Reformed churches was a complex and changing one, and was characterised as much by tension and ambiguity as by instinctive fraternalism'. Yet he also observes that political opportunism and sincere feelings of brotherhood often went hand in hand: 'from the 1560s to the 1660s, the continental churches and their divines were (…) a constant resource that Puritan writers would exploit when arguing for a Presbyterian form of church government, consistorial discipline, a reformed liturgy and ceremonies, and for the more severe forms of doctrinal predestinarianism'. Yet often the relationship 'reflected a more intimate sense of shared identity'.

mission: to (re-)gain political power for the true believers and establish religious uniformity. During the Bishops' Wars and the First Civil War, religious identification with English and Scottish divines therefore rapidly politicized.

Dutch Contra-Remonstrants supporting their brothers in the faith in England, Scotland and Ireland insisted that such support was *not* political. Voetius' repeatedly argued that his argument in favour of Parliament was purely religious, and he treats political subjects, such as the role of the Stadtholder in the support given to Henrietta Maria in 1642-1643, with utmost prudence. His explicit plea, moreover was only for prayer. A *Remonstrance* issued by the four classes of Zeeland, which adopted a perfectly Voetian perspective, similarly requested the States only 'to appoint a publique day of fasting and prayer' for the welfare of the Protestant religion in England. This day of prayer was 'to be kept and held weekly or monethly (…) until that the heavie troubles in England be ceased and stilled'.[35] The Zeelanders who brought this appeal before the synod of Southern Holland emphasized that they sought only religious support, since 'things ecclesiastical and things political can and should always be separated'.[36] Of course, they knew full well that this was a fiction, as the recent history in England, Scotland, and Ireland had shown.

The religiously inspired support for the Presbyterians inevitably shaded into political claims. After asserting that their arguments were limited to the religious sphere, the Zeeland *Remonstrance* argued that 'the security of the Civill State, and the life of the Soveraigne power' were at stake,[37] because Catholicism makes it

> unpossible to governe the Civill State in Peace and Tranquility under the natural and lawful Governeurs thereof (…) To keep the Kingdom of England from such a subjection under the Romish Sea; wee thinke it to bee a worke becomming the care of all Reformed Potentates, and chiefly the care of our State.[38]

Obviously, such statements are at odds with the strict separation between politics and religion posited at the beginning of the document.

Throughout the early 1640s, the printed contraremonstrant support for the appeals of Parliament constituted a political claim to be reckoned with. In the first place, they embarrassed both the States General and the Stadtholder. Voetius' argument that the British troubles were at the heart of the Dutch religious interest reflected directly on the States' policy of neutrality, which was justified by the

[35] Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A Remonstrance* (1643), 4.
[36] Acta II, 400.
[37] Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A Remonstrance* (1643), 5.
[38] Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A Remonstrance* (1643), 5.

argument that they were a domestic affair. States party pamphleteers therefore vehemently denied Voetius' claim of identity between the English and the Dutch situation. As one response to *Den Brittanischen Blixem* put it:

> Our system of government is not at all comparable [to that in Britain]. We have no bishops or church courts with the power forcibly to bring changes in religion, new ceremonies, ornaments or usages into the churches (…). So this matter does not concern us in the least.[39]

From this institutional, and essentially secular perspective, the First Civil War was an insular affair requiring neither political nor religious action from the Dutch.

At the other side end of the political spectrum, contraremonstrant support for Parliament also had severe implications, since it greatly limited the options of the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, to support his son's father-in-law, Charles I. Engaged in a power struggle with the States of Holland, Orange could ill afford to sever his ties with the Contra-Remonstrants. And although the Voetius circle never attacked the Prince of Orange directly, their criticism was obvious, and the Prince's anxiety not to lose their support entirely does much to explain the 'reticence' which Simon Groenveld has observed in the Prince's behaviour towards the Stuarts in the early 1640s.[40]

The Dutch 'religious' support also benefited Parliament directly. Parliament frequently used Dutch assertions of religious brotherhood as political propaganda. *Den Brittanischen Blixem* is a case in point, as it was translated into English in 1643.[41] The Zeeland *Remonstrance*, too, was published as political propaganda in London. Sent over by Walter Strickland, another correspondent of Voetius', it was translated and printed on the orders of a parliamentarian commission consisting of Francis Rouse, Robert Reynolds, and John Pym.[42] Parliament even benefited financially from the Dutch religious support. Ole Grell has rightly argued that the collections for the Irish Protestants in 1643 (see below) were never as apolitical as both collectors and

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[39] Kn. 4969. *Zee-Brant Ontstaen uyt den Brittannischen Blixem* (January or February 1643), A2v. Cited in: Haan, *The Treatment of England*, 55 (Haan's translation). Orig. ''t en staet hier in dese Landen met de Regeeringhe so niette als het voor desen in Engelandt gestaen heeft, hier en heeftmen geen Bisschoppen noch gheestelijcke hoven die macht en authoriteyt hebben om veranderinghen in Religie, nieuwe ceremonien, vercierselen, ende gebruycken inde Kercken met gewelt in te voeren (…) sulcx dat die sake ons int minste niet aen en gaet'.

[40] Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, 108-109; 236-237.

[41] See note 1 above.

[42] The English edition of the *Remonstrance* stated that 'the declaration of the states of Zealand, concerning the affaires of England, this day [8 June 1643] be presented to the House, be referred to the perusall and consideration of Mr. Rous Mr Reynolds and Mr. Pym, who have power to give order for the printing of it, if they shall hold it fitting'. Evidently, they did. See: Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A Remonstrance* (1643), titlepage. Strickland is mentioned as the intermediary on page 1.

donators pretended. Although the leader of the main collection initiated by Parliament in Holland and Zeeland, Maurice Thomson, assumed a religious guise and asserted that the revenues would not be used to buy weapons, Grell notes that the foodstuffs eventually bought with Dutch money ended up in the stomachs of the parliamentary soldiers in Ireland.[43]

Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant Unity and Uniformity in the Face of the Counter-reformation: Shared Puritan Rhetoric

If the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan movement had a shared identity, which was partly created and maintained by translation, it also had a shared purpose: to combat the return of popery. The lack of unity in the Protestant world was a great cause of concern for many leading reformers. Joris van Eijnatten has recently argued that the lack of concord in the Protestant countries was still 'an embarrassing fact' for Protestants of various denominations and nationalities in the mid-seventeenth-century.[44] For the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritans in the 1640s, 'life-threatening' was arguably a more appropriate adjective. Jonathan Scott has noted that 'the geographical reach of Protestantism shrank from one-half to one-fifth of the land area of the continent' between 1590 and 1690.[45] In the mid-seventeenth century, the Protestant countries around the North Sea, especially the Puritan community, felt genuinely beleaguered by Counter-reformation forces. The Dutch were still at war with Catholic Spain in 1639-1643, and Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism looked upon itself as the bastion against the forces of the Antichrist.[46] Observers in England and the United Provinces were therefore convinced that in the face of the Catholic opposition 'English and Dutch security were intertwined'.[47]

According to the dominant reformed opinion during the mid-seventeenth-century, the entire Reformation hinged upon Anglo-Scoto-Dutch developments. As a result, friendship between the three states was a main theme in contemporary pamphlets.[48] Moreover, unity and uniformity within the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere

[43] Grell, 'Charity or Political Aid?', passim.
[44] Van Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord*, 4. See also: Turchetti, 'Religious Concord and Political Tolerance', passim.
[45] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 29-30.
[46] Cf. Breslow, *A Mirror of England*, 74-99.
[47] Scott, *English Troubles*, 57. One contemporary pamphlet, for example, noted that 'the affairs and fortunes of both these our nations are thus folded and sealed together' ('De ghelegentheden en fortuyne van beyde dese Staten zijnde soo aen malkanderen ghevouwen en ghehecht'). Kn. 4973, *Engelandts Klachte* (1643), B3v.
[48] See for instance: Kn. 4980. *Het inghewant* (1643) which cites both Cicero's *De officii*: 'Amicitia quae desinere nunquam fuit vera' and Plautus, *Epidicus* 'is est amicus, qui in re dubia re iuuat, ubi est opus'.

were presented as essential for the survival of the Protestant cause by both English, Scottish and Dutch authors and (church) leaders. Especially in Presbyterian exchanges of the early 1640s, unity was deemed essential to safeguard the entire Reformation. In a 1644 letter to their 'dearest brothers' - the word 'brother' and its associate 'fraternal' occur numerous times in the document - in the Dutch Republic, the Scottish General Assembly expressed the wish that 'the Reformed Churches may unite amongst themselves by a new bond and closer association, invigorating and strengthening each other against all the attempts and assaults of the enemy'. If the Protestants in Britain and the United Provinces could achieve such union, 'even the dislodged stones of the house of God throughout Germany [might] be lifted from the debris and ruins and be replaced into the building'.[49] For the Reformed, questions of state government were in these years subordinate to questions pertaining to the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant cause.

The rise of the Presbyterians in Britain during the British wars of 1639-1643 promised to be a major step towards achieving the ideal of a 'Holy Uniformity' between all Protestant churches.[50] Dutch orthodox leadership believed that the Westminster Assembly would be instrumental in achieving that purpose.[51] The synod of Southern Holland was beside itself with joy when it was reported that the Assembly had proposed reforms in church government to the Parliament. The Dutch were confident that 'as our churches have been unified in matters of doctrine, uniformity shall now, with God's grace, also be achieved in the matter of church government'.[52] In a 1644 letter to the 'synod in London', the Southern Hollanders expressed their hearty support for the reforms.[53]

Within the interpretative framework of the continental wars of religion, the Bishops' War and the First Civil War were therefore of the highest importance to the Dutch Reformed Church. If the Presbyterians and the Covenanters were defeated by the King, Contra-Remonstrants believed, the Protestant cause as a whole would be doomed. The deputies of Zeeland (Gideon van Deynse, Godfried Udemans, Nicolaes van d'Heyst en Joannes Boscardus) who appeared before the synod of Southern Holland in Briel (1643) to discuss 'the great need' ('den grooten noot') of the churches in England and Ireland explicitly made that point. To forestall the criticism

[49] 'The Assembly's letter to the kirks in the Netherlands' (4 June 1644). Translated from the Latin by Stephen Westcott. http://www.swrb.ab.ca/newslett/actualNLs/scotgadu.htm. Last accessed 26 July 2009.
[50] Cf. Kaplan, 'Dutch Particularism and the Quest for Holy Uniformity', passim.
[51] Van 't Spijker, *De Synode van Westminster*, passim.
[52] Acta II, 503. Orig. ''t Welck bij dese E. Synodum met blijtschap is aangehoort in vertrouwen, dat gelijck int stuck der leere tusschen hare en onse kercken eenicheyd is geweest, alsoo oock int stuck van de regieringe der kercken door Godts genade gelijcformicheyd sal getroffen worden'.
[53] Acta II, 476.

that they considered the English and Irish Protestant churches to be more important than the other Protestant churches in Europe, they declared that:

> The churches of Germany, Bohemia, etc. are indeed persecuted in body, but the religion there is not disputed, nor secretly undermined as it is the case in [England and Ireland], which can be proven as clearly as the sun.[54]

In the words of the *Remonstrance*: 'we esteem the destruction and weakening of the Reformed Churches in England, to be the beginning of the ruine of all the Reformed Churches in whole Europe'.[55]

The Puritan public sphere was an international sphere, produced and defined by the history of the Reformation. Advocates of close politico-religious bonds between Britain and the United Provinces therefore often employed identical rhetorical forms. One of the commonplaces circulating in this sphere was an emblem of two floating pitchers, which was invented by the Dutch when they feared that England would abandon their cause against Spain, in 1587. In the mid-seventeenth century, this emblem resurfaced in Britain. Preaching in the York Cathedral, the Kingston-upon-Hull Puritan, John Shawe, in March 1651 reminded his audience that:

> Cambden [sic] observes that the low Countries suspecting the friendship of the English (anno 1587) stamped money with two Earthen Pitchers swimming on the Sea, with this Motto, si collidimur, frangimur; if we dash one against another, we are broken. I wish that England and Holland, England and Scotland, England and England, would timely consider this, whom to cement and glue firmly, was worth the study and labour of another Constantine the great, nay, of an English Parliament.[56]

In Shawe's hands, the quote from Camden's *Annales* leads to a remarkable, but hardly unique example of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch triangulation, in which Parliament had the epic task of uniting the true believers in the three North Sea nations in order to secure the Presbyterian cause.[57]

Puritan peace-wishers also applied the image of the floating jars strictly to Anglo-Dutch relationships. In May 1652, the pietist poet and statesman Jacob Cats,

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[54] Acta II, 399-400. Orig. 'de kercken van Duytslandt, Bohemen, etc., wel worden vervolcht nae den lichaeme, maer de religie daer niet in dispuyt getrocken wort, noch heymelijck ondermijnt als in dese Coninckrijcken, hetwelcke soo claer als de sonne can bewesen worden'.
[55] Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A Remonstrance* (1643), 5.
[56] Wing S3028. Shawe, *Eikon Basilike* (1651), 13.
[57] Young ('The Scottish Parliament', passim) discusses the Scottish ambition to organize a Protestant defence league.

in his capacity as ambassador for the States General, cited exactly the same passage from Camden in a supreme effort to rescue the ill-fated peace negotiations between the 'friends' and 'near neighbours'.[58] Similarly, in 1664, George Wither's *Tuba Pacifica* again used the emblem, now also with an appropriate woodcut, to warn against the impending second Anglo-Dutch war (see illustration 1).[59] The fact that such an emblem was used by peace doves of both countries does not only show that the belief in mutual dependence was reciprocal, it also suggests a partnership of those peace parties - at least at a rhetorical level, they were eating from the same trough.

The sense of Britain and the United Provinces being beleaguered by counter-reformation forces also catalyzed apocalyptic rhetoric. Christine Kooi has shown that in the face of the success of the Catholic Mission in Holland, an apocalyptic, anti-Catholic rhetoric developed in the United Provinces in the first half of the seventeenth century.[60] It is no coincidence that Peter Lake has identified the emergence of a highly similar rhetorical culture in England in the same period.[61] Puritans within the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere described contemporary conflicts such as the Bohemian revolt as manifestations of the universal battle between the forces of the reformation and the pope, between the forces of good and evil. On the outbreak of the British troubles, this apocalypticism gained momentum. It was aimed against (and found confirmation in) both the Irish and the (perceived) Arminian Revolution.

Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Apocalypticism and the Irish Revolution

In *Den Brittanischen Blixem*, Voetius argued that 'the revolt of Cathalonia, the falling-off of Portugale, the stirres in Scotland; the rebellion of the Ireish, those civill (uncivill) warres, great alterations, unexpected tumults in England', were all part of a universal pattern, of which 'the earthquake felt in 1640' had been a sign.[62] Ultimately the convulsion experienced by Voetius was caused by the conspiracies of the Pope and the Jesuits. Among these conspirators the English bishops and the evil Catholic advisers of the king played a central role, because under the guise of

[58] Kn. 7141. Cats, *Oratie van sijn excellentie den ambassadeur Iacob Catz* (May 1652), A2v. Orig. 'Wel te recht (onses oordeels) heeft seecker geen gheringste van Uwe Schrijvers onse beyde Volckeren vergheleken by twee Aerde-kruycken op de Zee drijvende, met dese Spreucke daer by gevoegt: si collidimur, frangimur: stooten wy samen, soo breken wy malckanderen'.
[59] Wing W3204A. Wither, *Tuba Pacifica* (1664), A2r.
[60] Kooi, 'A Serpent in the Bosom of Our Dear Fatherland', passim.
[61] Lake, 'Anti-Popery', 72-77.
[62] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A3r. Orig. 'De aerdtbevinge onlangs (…) de revolte van Cattalonien: den afval van Portugael, de beroerten in Schotlandt: de rebellye van de Yeren: de Inlandtsche Oorloghe in Enghelandt' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A1r).

Protestantism, they sought to deliver England to the pope, who was the Antichrist. The Englishman in Voetius' dialogue stresses the danger that might befall the Dutch if England should fall prey to Catholicism:

> [A]lthough you have no Bishops (…) hold this for certain, that the whole heap of papists, if they can master us, and it hit right, shall quickly tiptoe against you: for I have latelie seen a letter out of the Netherlands, to one of our papists, which earnestlie stirrest ours up, to use all meanes possible, to become masters both of land and Religion.[63]

The popish conspiracy against Britain and the United Provinces observed by Voetius was not his own invention. *Den Brittannischen Blixem* closely echoes English anti-Laudian propaganda of men such as William Prynne, whose apocalyptic attack on the 'popish' Laudian bishops, *Newes from Ipswich*, had been translated into Dutch as early as 1637.[64] Voetius' image of the counter-reformation machinations as a universal earthquake was specifically pre-echoed in the sermon of an English preacher, who, shortly after the eruption the First Civil War, had argued that '[t]hese are the days of shaking, and this shaking is universal'.[65] In Parliament, too, apocalyptic readings of their conflict with the King's 'Catholic' advisers were rife. This interpretation of the British troubles was encouraged and legitimized by the horrors caused by the revolution in Ireland.

In November 1641, encouraged by the success of the Scots in the Bishops' Wars, Irish Catholics revolted against the protestant colonizers from England and Scotland. With the Earl of Strafford removed (he having been executed a few months earlier) and the English government in Ireland greatly weakened, the uprising became a full-scale rebellion within six months. Perceived by many in Parliament as 'part of a much grander Counter-Reformation design against the Godly',[66] a 'popish inspired design to massacre all the Protestants in Ireland', the Irish rebellion played a crucial part in the escalation of the conflict between Parliament and King.[67] In a speech delivered to Parliament on 18 November, Parliament's unofficial leader John

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[63] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), E3r. Orig. 'al hebt ghy geen Bisschoppen (…) hout het voorseker, dat alle den Paepschen hoop, soose by ons konnen Meester worden, en dat het haer geluckt, sy sullen haest by u lieden oock op de been zijn, want ick hebbe onlangs een Bief uyt Neerlant aen een van onse Papisten gesien, die de onse seer opwecken, om al by te setten dat sy konden, om Meester te worden, en het Pausdom te doen boven liggen' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), B3v).

[64] Kn. 4473. Prynne, *Hier, wat nieuvvs* (1637). Although this pamphlet was signed 'Matthew White', Prynne is the likely author (see: Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 190).

[65] Cited in: Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 121.

[66] Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', 745.

[67] Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 193.

Pym fully embraced this interpretation, implicating Charles I in the process.[68] Like many other Dutch pamphlets of the early 1640s, *Den Brittannischen Blixem* repeats Pym's argument that the Catholic uprising in Ireland was inspired by the court. According to Voetius' text none of the present wars was 'more fearfulle and dangerous to us, than the rebellion of Ireland, which had its originall and rize in England, from the great ones, from the Papists, from the enemies of our religion and state, seconded by our deadly enemie the King of Spaine, plotted by the Jesuits, executed by the barbarious Ireish, who are already growne such profitiens [proficient] in the schole of those murdering Iesuits'.[69] Conforming to the logic of Reformation apocalypticism, the reports of the Catholic massacres in Ireland were instrumental in the Dutch adoption of the parliamentary perspective on the First Civil War.

Elaborate descriptions of Catholic atrocities in Ireland appeared in Dutch, some of them lavishly illustrated. Expertly dramatized, they purposefully aimed to arouse the emotions of their Dutch audiences. One especially horrifying plano showed the most extreme cruelties in 24 annotated engravings. Scenes such as the burning of an unborn child that had been cut out of its raped mother and the castration of a preacher (whose 'limb' was afterwards put in his mouth) were shown and discussed in great detail.[70] One story recounted the rape of the young daughter of one Arthur Robinson, whose tongue was cut off because the Catholics feared that she would reveal their names. Undaunted by the mutilation, she later exposed them in writing. Obviously, the pamphleteer who wrote this report had either remembered the story of Philomela in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, or seen a performance of *Titus Andronicus*.[71] Half news, half horror stories, such pamphlets made a lasting impression on Dutch Protestants. The victims of the rebellion in Ireland were still remembered as martyrs of the international Protestant cause in the 1657 Dutch translation-cum-adaptation of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* ('*Historie der martelaren*'), which simply copied the text of a parliamentary pamphlet of the early 1640s.[72] Even in

[68] Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 199. See also: Conrad, 'Pym, John', ODNB.
[69] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A3r. Orig. 'gheen ghevaerlicker en perikeleuser is, dan de rebellye van Yerlandt, die haer oorspronck en voedtsel uyt Engelandt heeft, van de Groote, van de Papisten, vande vyanden van onse Religie en staet, die gesecondeert wort van onsen erff en doot vyandt, den Koningh van Spaengien, beleyt wordt van de Iesuijten, uytgghevoert door de barbarische Yeren, die in de schoole van de moordadige Iesuijten so verde alreede geadvanceert zijn' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A1r-A1v).
[70] Muller 1856. 'Catholic Atrocities in Ireland' [orig. untitled] (1641-1643).
[71] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book VI, ll. 422-674.
[72] Van Heemstede and Braat, *Historie der Martelaren* (1657), 517r-518r. This book, its first part being a translation of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, embodied the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant identity. As the

1672, the 'year of disaster' for the Dutch Republic, a poem lamenting the murder of the brothers De Witt compared it to that earlier great tragedy, 'Ireland's bloody stage'.[73]

The Dutch Reformed church provided fertile soil for such Protestant martyrdom, but it was largely due to parliamentary propaganda that feelings of solidarity were aroused and canalized. The pamphlet entitled *Yrlands bloedende request* ('*Ireland's Bleeding Plea*') (1643), for example (the source of the *Historie der martelaren*'s account of the massacres) was published by Parliament's envoys.[74] Appearing in numerous editions in 1643 and 1644, it contributed to the one-sided and wildly exaggerated image of the situation in Ireland.[75] Parliament profited greatly from the carefully aroused sentiments. In 1643, it initiated a collection for the Irish Protestants which foregrounded both the existence and intensity of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestantism as well as its increasing entanglement with international politics. In fact there were two simultaneous official collections: one 'religious' mission led by Maurice Thomson, and the individual, political mission of Hugh Peter.[76] Both were hugely successful. The combined efforts of Peter and Thomson yielded a total revenue of £31,218 (the equivalent of about 300,000 guilders) for Parliament and the Protestants in Ireland,[77] which was more than English collections for the Protestant cause had achieved in a decade.[78] As we have seen, the political implications of that support were significant.

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translators indicated on 518r, the account of the Irish Protestant martyrs was excerpted from *Yrlands bloedige request*, the pamphlet that was presumably spread by Hugh Peter in 1643.

[73] *'t Swart Toneel-Gordijn* (1677). Cited in: Gerdes, 'Van een aardige vondst', 132. Orig. 'Yrlands bloet-toneel'.

[74] Kn. 4993. *Yrlands bloedende request* (1643). The pamphlet included several texts: a description of the horrors (1-9) a 'missive the synod of English theologians now in London assembled to all the synods and churches of the United Provinces of the Netherlands' (9-11) a letter of delegates for Irish matters in Parliament to the synods of the United Provinces (among whom George Thomason), and the request proper (16), which was signed by 'the commissioner of the Parliament of England, on behalf of the sad Protestants in Ireland' ('de gecommitteerde des Parlements van Engelant, wegen de bedroefde Protestanten in Yerlant').

[75] The STCN lists nine editions, which were printed in various places in the Dutch Republic in 1643-1644: Kn. 4993 (Dordrecht, 1643); Kn. 4993a (s.l., 1643); Kn. 4994 (s.l., 1643); Kn. 4995 (s.l., 1643); Kn. 5043 (s.l., 1644); Kn. 5044 (Franeker, 1644); and four other editions: VUL XW.00339:13 (s.l., 1643); BL 8145.aa.26:1 (s.l., 1643); UBL Pamflet 1644:2 (Leeuwarden, 1644).

[76] At the same time, various unoffical collections were organized. Thus the synod of Guelders closely monitored the activities of the English preacher Alexander Junius, who was leading collections for the protestants in England and Ireland 'without proper credentials of King and Parliament'. See: Acta II, 508.

[77] Historians have frequently misunderstood the sources regarding the Dutch missions of 1643-1644. Pestana, 'Peter, Hugh', ODNB, for instance, follows Edmund Ludlow's assertion that Peter alone collected 30,000 pounds. In reality, the sum mentioned by Ludlow and in other sources combined the results of Thomson and Peter. See: Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan*, 221.

[78] Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', 752.

The apocalyptic beliefs and the Protestant solidarity inspired by the reports of the Irish rebellion intensified attempts to constitute Presbyterian unity between England, Scotland and the United Provinces. After Edmund Waller's failed plot to seize London for the King, in the Spring of 1643, Parliament published *A Sacred Vow and Covenant Taken by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament*, which was extended to the entire kingdom 'to distinguish the good and well-affected Party from the bad; and to unite the good Party faster among themselves'.[79] It is telling that the *Sacred Vow*, which was the work of John Pym,[80] was immediately translated into Dutch. The good and the bad parties in Britain now extended into the Dutch Republic.[81] To enhance its eschatological character and underline its importance for Dutch Reformed readers, a new title was devised for the Dutch translation: *Sion's Unity Against Babel's Machinations*, 'Sion' here signifying the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch nation of the Reformed.[82] The world evoked by this translation was a world where the 'good and well-affected' on both sides of the Channel united against popish schemers who sought to overthrow the reformed religion, first in Britain and subsequently in the United Provinces. In the minds of the Puritan community, Arminians were prominent among these schemers.

Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Apocalypticism and the 'Arminian Revolution'

Rome's Antichrist could only be fought if the Protestant countries were able to achieve unity within. The belief that British and Dutch security were interdependent did therefore not only apply to steadfast friendship in the international political arena, but also to domestic security. A Dutch letter published in England specifically emphasized the importance of internal peace: 'since some part of England's strength must needs live and dye with Hollands happinesse, let your prayers beseech heaven for peace in both countries, to prevent our warre, and set a period to yours'.[83] To adapt this idea to the image of floating pitchers would result in the clumsy statement that if one were to break, the other would automatically burst as well. A more

[79] Wing E2284. *A sacred vow and covenant* (1643). The quote is from the *Commons Journals* iii, 117-118 (cited in: Valence, *Revolutionary England*, 56).
[80] Conrad Russell rightly asserts that 'Pym was, from the beginning of his Parliamentary career, one of those who believed that the world was a perpetual struggle between the forces of good and evil, of Christ and Anti-Christ, in which there was no resolution short of final victory'. See: Russell, *Unrevolutionary England*, 211.
[81] On the attempts to extend the Solemn League and Covenant, see: Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and European Diplomacy, 1641-1647', passim.
[82] This, at least, was implied by the translator's assertion that the *Vow* had been translated and published 'for the education of the good Dutch patriots'. Kn. 4930. *Zyons eendracht tegen Babels complotterye* (1643).
[83] Wing N1036. *Nevves Ovt of the Lovv-Covntries* (January 1643), A4r.

suitable metaphor for the danger of discord abroad was provided by the image of mutual contamination. Throughout the seventeenth-century, British and Dutch politicians believed that their countries would be inevitably infected with each others' diseases. This idea was prominent in literary representations and diplomatic action in the seventeenth century (see also Chapter 5).[84]

The major 'illness' threatening Anglo-Scoto-Dutch security from the Puritan point of view was Arminianism. In the Puritan estimation, Arminianism had been on the ascendance in the Anglo-Dutch sphere of the 1630s. In the Dutch Republic, the followers of Arminius, the Remonstrants, who had been defeated in 1618-1619, regained much of their former freedom and influence under the rule of Frederick Henry, who succeeded his brother Maurice in 1625. Balancing the power of Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, Frederick Henry sought to provide the Dutch Republic with the direly needed religious stability after a turbulent decade of civil strife. Yet by creating a balance, for instance by allowing the return of prominent Arminian exiles such as Johannes Uyttenbogaert and Cornelis van der Mijle, Frederick Henry effectively sided with the 'political Arminians' from the contraremonstrant perspective.[85]

Puritan conspiracy theories were fuelled by the fact that the rise of 'Arminianism' in England ran remarkably parallel to Dutch developments. When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, incidentally (but, in the Puritan mind, significantly) almost simultaneously with Frederick Henry's rise to power, James I's balanced religious policies came to an end. In contrast to his father, Charles I was not inclined to oblige the Calvinists. He was patron of the Arminian-leaning Durham House group, and as his reign progressed, 'Arminians' increasingly occupied key positions in the state and in the English Church. For discontented Puritans such as William Prynne, William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, soon became the figurehead of Carolean 'Arminianism'.

The 'Arminianism' of Charles and Laud has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Nicholas Tyacke's thesis of 'an Arminian revolution' during Charles' reign has rightly been challenged by later historians questioning whether the Carolean reforms were truly Arminian in nature.[86] However, the question of

[84] This was literally the justification James I gave of his intervention in the Conrad Vorstius affair in 1610. In his *Declaration* (1612), James wrote that 'Were Leiden to be contaminated with [the heresies of Vorstius],' he wrote, 'then England would soon be infected too'. Cited in: Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 405.

[85] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 487-496.

[86] For the traditional view, see: Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, passim; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 49-50. The idea of an Arminian revolution is challenged in: Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 275-402; and especially in: White, 'Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', passim; White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, passim. For

whether or not Charles, his court and the archbishop were Arminian in doctrine is not at issue here. The fact is that they were *said* to be Arminians and that they opposed the Puritan reformation.[87] The new court's religious leanings, like Frederick Henry's, may not be easily defined today, but they were crystal-clear to seventeenth-century Puritan observers in England, Scotland and the Dutch Republic. The true and pure religion, they felt, was not only under international attack, but also assaulted from within the heart of Protestant Europe itself. When men like William Sedgwick wrote about the Laudians as 'idolatrous, superstitious Arminians',[88] Arminius' doctrines had clearly faded into the background. As Anthony Milton asserts, various English Puritans raging against Arminianism had only vague ideas of what those doctrines entailed.[89] An 'Arminian' in Sedgwick's sense is in the first place a betrayer of the Reformation. Like Puritanism, Arminianism had become, in Peter White's words, 'a polemical counter in the conflict between different schools of Protestantism'.[90]

The fact that the term was used pejoratively rather than to denote a well-described set of doctrines does not mean that it should be ignored, however. As Lake reminds us, 'polemic and the polarities it reproduces did, in part at least, structure people's lives, their images of themselves and of others. Accordingly, we ignore it at our peril'.[91] Nor does the pejorative use of the word 'Arminianism' render it interchangeable with that other pejorative invented by the reformation, Papism. For unlike Papism, the word Arminianism created an Anglo-Dutch identity. The term may have wandered, but it still specifically referred to the days of the synod of Dordt and to the Anglo-Dutch Puritan alliance that had brought it to a 'good' conclusion.

The Dutch Truce Conflicts of the 1610s, which had culminated in the Synod of Dordt in 1618-1619, therefore played a prominent role in the Puritan discourse of the First Civil War. During these politico-religious conflicts, the term Arminianism had been coined, and the battle between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants had

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Tyacke's response to these and such criticisms, see: Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, esp. 160-175. For another response to White's position, see: Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church', passim.

[87] As Tyacke (*Aspects of English Protestantism*, 159) writes of English 'Arminianism': 'With reference to England, Anti-Calvinism is, strictly speaking, a more accurate description than Arminianism'. Tyacke explicitly agrees with White on the un-Arminianism of English Arminianism when he states that 'it was never my view that Arminianism in England owed much, apart from its name, to its Dutch counterpart' (Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 11). My point here is that the name was of the essence in contemporary debate.

[88] Cited in: Sampson, 'Sedgwick, William', ODNB.

[89] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 437-439.

[90] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, xi.

[91] Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge*, 8.

expanded into (near) civil war. The battle fought simultaneously at the Synod of Dordt and in The Hague was won by the Contra-Remonstrants, who had been supported by the Prince of Orange, Maurice, as well as the King of England, James I. Indeed, the intervention of James I on behalf of the Contra-Remonstrants remained a pivotal element in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan identity.

In the early 1640s, Parliament frequently appealed to the Dutch trauma of the 1610s. The Parliamentary pamphlet, *Engels in-ge-vvant* (‘*England’s Bowels*’) (1643), for example, directly addressed it in a rhetorical question to its Dutch readers:

> Have we ever shut you out, forgotten you, not helped you, withheld assistance, when you were in the fire of civil war, against yourself, for religion? Did not we send our ambassadors to stiffen the good, our theologians, to maintain the purity of the truth amongst you?[92]

‘We’ denotes the Calvinist wing of the English Church, which here addresses only the ‘good’, contraremonstrant share of the Dutch Reformed church.

If the controversy between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants had ever been contained in the past decades, the translation of civil war polemic reactivated it. In Voetius’ mind, the Truce Conflicts were an essential frame of reference. As soon as the Dutchman in *Den Brittannischen Blixem*’s dialogue hears of the English Civil Wars, he evokes the memory of 1618:

> Are you come into our place where we were once? (…) when here in our land the one city stood up against the other, the one province against the other, each using soldiers and guards against the other: so that our land, our church, our liberty hung on a silken thred; yea, we should have consumed one another, had not Gods blessing and the wise and courageous counsel of *Prince Maurice* prevented it.[93]

The claims uttered by the Dutchman allude to the widely shared anxiety under the stadtholderate of Frederic Henry that the Remonstrants had regained the power they had lost under Maurice in 1618-1619. In Zeeland, too, Contra-Remonstrants replied

[92] Kn. 4983. *Engels in-ge-vvant* (1643), A2v. Orig. ‘Hebben wy u oyt te buyten gedaen, vergeten, niet geholpen, geen bystant bewesen, als ghy waert in’t vyer van Inlantsche oorloghe, tegen u selven, omde Religie? Hebben wy niet onse Ambassadeurs tot stijvinghe vande goede, onse Theologanten, omde suyverheyt der waerheydt onder u te mainteneren, af-gesonden?’

[93] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), B2v-B3r. Orig. ‘zijt ghy in onse spoore gekomen daer wy eens in geweest zijn; wanneer hier te Lande de een Stadt op stont tegen de andere, de een Provincie teghen de ander, elck Soldaten en Waeckgelders, ghebruyckende tegen malkanderen. So dat ons lant, de kercke, onse vryheyt, hinck aen eenen draet; Jae wy souden malkanderen verteert hebben, ten ware door Godts segen en het wijs kloeckmoedich beleydt van de Prince Maurits sulcken voorkomen ware geweest’ (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A1r-A1v).

favourably to Parliament's comparison. In March 1643, the four classes of the Church of Zeeland decided to present a remonstrance to the States of Zeeland in which they considered the 'dire need of God's Church'.[94] The recollection of the Truce Conflicts plays a central part in their argumentation:

> As also the Churches of England have taken greatly to heart the welfare of our Churches in the first times of the first Reformation, and also the establishing of the Church of God in these Lands, in the time of heavie contentions against the Faction of the Remonstrants in the 1618. And moreover, there have been, and yet are, many exceeding godly Lights in England, which by their godly Labours and Writings have greatly edified other Reformed Churches in Doctrine, and especially in the practice of pietie.[95]

Whereas the Dutch 'time of troubles' occurred during the 'first Reformation', the 'heavie troubles in England' were a war fought for the success or failure of the Second Reformation. This was the Further Reformation masterminded by the 'godly Lights in England' who had been translated by the hundreds in the previous decades. Like the First Reformation, the Second Reformation produced a time of troubles. The difference between the two was an accidental difference of locality; in all other aspects they were considered to be equal. Whereas the first had been secured by the support of James I during the synod of Dordt, the second, *mutatis mutandi*, should be secured at the Westminster Assembly with the support of the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants. For both Voetius and the Zeeland classes, then, the Presbyterian fight in England was a continuation of their own fight thirty years earlier.

Similar ideas were current among British Puritans in the late 1630s. The anti-Arminian propaganda of British Puritans such as the English lawyer William Prynne and the Scottish Presbyterian theorist Samuel Rutherford typically conflated Dutch and English 'Arminianism'. It is no coincidence that Prynne started his complaint against Charles' religious policies, the *Anti-Arminianism* (1630), by saying that the Dutch Arminians had been dealt with too leniently in 1618.[96] In Prynne's view, and this is an important pre-echo of Voetius, the fact that the Arminian devil had been allowed to revive in the Dutch Republic was the ultimate cause of his resurgence in England. Rutherford, too, loathed the Dutch Arminians' 'challenge of strict

[94] Extracts from the Acta of the Classis of Walcheren, cited in: Nauta, *De Nederlandsche Gereformeerden*, 40.
[95] Apollonius, Rogiers and Lansbergius, *A remonstrance* (1643), 2.
[96] White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 2-3.

Calvinism' and their advocacy of 'licentious toleration' as much as the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants, and the 'Belgick Arminians' therefore 'cropped up throughout Rutherford's writings'.[97] 'Even when [Rutherford] attacked the 'pelagian' theology of the Spanish Jesuits', John Coffey asserts, 'his real targets were the Dutch Remonstrants'.[98] As a result of his active anti-Arminianism, Rutherford was offered professorships of divinity at the Calvinist universities of Harderwijk and Utrecht in 1649 and 1651.[99]

The battle against 'Arminianism' continued to inspire Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan cooperation also because of the affinities between Dutch Remonstrants and the Laudian Church. For erasmian irenicists such as Vossius and Grotius, Anglicanism seemed an ideal compromise, a *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism, which promised to pacify Christendom (see Chapter 3).[100] Such reconciliation, of course, was exactly what English Puritans, Scottish Presbyterians and Dutch Contra-Remonstrants feared. More than one Puritan pamphlet cautioning their readers of Laudianism focused on the dangers of the middle road. Thus the parliamentary pamphlet *The English Pope* (1643), which was translated into Dutch in the same year, warned that 'the people bee made to believe not that Popery is to be induced, but that a faire reconciliation between both churches is to be procured: and not that Protestantism is to be at all in any considerable matter changed, but that Puritanisme be exterminated'. However, the text continued, 'by insensible degree' such reconciliation would lead to the reintroduction of Popery.[101] The English anti-Arminian and Parliamentarian, Francis Rous, averred that 'there is not a policy more advantagious to the Spaniard, than to bring division into a Land, by bringing in Arminianism'.[102] Voetius' polemical texts of the early 1640s echo these examples. In his sequel to *Den Brittannischen Blixem*, entitled *Den Brittannischen donderslach* ('*The British Thunderclap*') (1643) he argued that the 'Laudian road to Popery' was made 'smoother' by the 'creatures of the Archbishop', who were insolently denying that the pope was the Antichrist. According to Philaletes, the character speaking these judgements, Laud and his 'remonstrant spawn' were followers of the 'great head of

[97] Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolution*, 76n.
[98] Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolution*, 75-76.
[99] Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolution*, 114n. Rutherford used the phrase 'Belgick Arminians' in his *Free Disputation* (1649).
[100] See: Roldanus, 'Nederlandsch-Engelsche betrekkingen', passim. Cf. also: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 364.
[101] Wing E3109. *The English Pope* (July 1643), 34. Translated into Dutch as: Kn. 4999. *Den Engelschen paus* (November 1643).
[102] Rous, *Treatises and Meditations* (1657), 105f. Cited by: Van den Berg, *Religious Currents*, 28.

Remonstrants', Hugo Grotius.[103] Laudians and Arminians were one and the same, Grotian party. According to Puritan polemicists of the 1640s, it was that (perceived) Anglo-Dutch party which frustrated the pious reforms they deemed necessary for the survival of the Reformation.

Shared Reforms, Shared Martyrs: Puritan Suffering and the Politicization of Religious Support

The politics of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community cannot be understood if we do not appreciate the fact that it was ultimately driven by a sincere belief in the necessity of pious reforms. At the heart of its interpretation of the First Civil War was the conviction that Britain was punished for its sins. Voetius' assertion that the Dutch should pay heed to the 'lightning' that had hit Britain appeals to the fear that such punishment would also be inflicted upon the United Provinces: 'we are equal in sin, shall we not be equal in punishment?'[104] Practical piety and the moral reforms it should inspire were central to the Puritan community's interpretation of reformation politics.

According to the *Den Britannischen Blixem*, the primal cause of the eruption of Civil War in England was the profanation of the Sabbath, which had provoked God's punishment. Explaining the state of English Protestantism in Laudian England, Voetius' English character recounts how the papists 'brought into contempt the sanctifying of the sabbath' by stirring up the king 'to give out a Proclamation in the year 1633'.[105] The surprised response of the *Blixem's* Dutchman to the news of the 'athiestical liberty' (sic) promoted by the infernal alliance between

[103] Kn. 4971. *Den Brittannischen donderslach* (1643), 12. The full quote is: 'Om den wegh tot het Pausdom te gladder ende effender te maecken, soo hebben terstond alle de Creaturen van den Aertsbisschop, dit geheel Remonstrants ghebroetsel (hierin naervolgende dat groote Hooft van de Remonstranten onder ons, Hugo de Groote) uyt eenen mondt beginnen te spreecken ende te schrijven, dat den Paus den Antichrist niet en was' ('In order to make the road to Popery smoother and more even, all the Creatures of the Archbishop, the entire remonstrant spawn (following the great head of remonstrants among us, Hugo Grotius) have immediately started to speak and write from one mouth, that the Pope was not the Antichrist'). The pious and authoritative character Timotheus, further notes that: 'Het is nu voor al de wereld bekent, wat dat haren grooten voorvechter, Hugo de Groote, in Vranckrijck (…) niet anders voor en heeft, dan de Gereformeerde Kercken so met de Afgodische Kercke van Roomen te reconcilieeren, dat sy noechsaem, hare schult soude moeten bekennen ende beclagen, dat sy haer oyt van den Roomschen stoel hebben afgeschonet' (5) ('All the world nowadays knows that their great proponent Hugo de Groote in France intends nothing else than to reconciliate the Reformed churches with the idolatrous church of Rome, so that they should be satisfied to confess their guilt, and bemoan the fact that they have ever cleared themselves of the See of Rome').

[104] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A2r. Orig. 'Wy zijn haer ghelijck in sonde, sullen wy haer dan niet ghelijck worden in straffe?' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A4r).

[105] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), D4r-D4v. Orig. 'sy dan onder de voeten gebracht hebben, de heylighinghe van den Sabbath'; 'een placcaet uyt te gheven in 't jaer van 1633' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), B2r-B2v).

the English bishops and the Jesuits shows that his knowledge of England is based primarily on works of English practical piety: 'I have alwayes heard, that the English make great conscience of the Sabbath,' he says, only a few lines later to continue 'so that all understanding men did judge, that the sanctifying of the Sabbath was the principall reason of Gods blessing and mercie over England'.[106] Voetius' overarching argument, then, is deeply influenced by the religious doctrine of English divines whose works he translated.

The 'Proclamation' which, according to Voetius' Englishman, caused all troubles in Britain to begin is the *Book of Sports*, a declaration issued by James I which had allowed many of the 'sinful' entertainments opposed by Puritan divines. After a furious Puritan protest, James recanted the *Book of Sports*, but it was reissued under Charles I in 1633. Again, the sabbatarian controversy exploded.[107] In the years prior to the Bishops' War, that controversy spilled over to the Dutch Republic. When Queen Henrietta Maria visited the Dutch Republic in 1642, English sabbatarianism was prominent in Dutch pamphlet debate.

Central to the translation of the sabbatarian controversy in England was William Prynne, the standard bearer of Puritan resistence against the *Book of Sports*. Prynne's exhaustive anti-theatrical tract *Histriomastix* (1633), an encyclopedic compilation of authoritative anti-theatrical arguments, was a major attack on Charles I's entertainment policy. By denouncing female authors at a time when Henrietta Maria was playing in court masques, Prynne seemed to target the queen personally, and indirectly *Histriomastix* therefore also criticized the court itself.[108] Mainly for that reason, he was tried for sedition that very year, and sentenced to life imprisonment and bodily punishment. Neither in England nor in the Dutch Republic did this trial cause much of a stir. Prynne continued to write and publish pamphlets during his imprisonment, however, and in 1637, he was tried a second time. Again he was found guilty of sedition, and sentenced to banishment and further maltreatment: 'his ears, lightly cropped in 1633, now received the full treatment, his nose was slit, and

[106] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), D4v. Orig. 'Atheistich, Libertijns Werelts-wesen'; 'ick hebbe altijts gehoort, dat de Engelsche groote conscientie maken van den Sabbath te vieren (…) so dat alle verstandige oordeelden, dat de heylighinge van den Sabbath de principale reden van Godts ghenade en segen over Enghelandt was' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), B2r-B2v).
[107] Much has been written about Charles' reissuing of the *Book of Sports*. For an apt overview of the background and the varying interpretations of it, see: Semenza, *Sports, Politics, and Literature*, 118-123. See also: Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 351-358.
[108] I disagree with Lamont's statement that the *Histriomastix* was a 'crime against literature, not against the state' (Lamont, 'Prynne, William', ODNB). This denies that Prynne's texts was written with the serious religious conviction that to allow the theatre was pernicious for the state as a whole. The crime for which he was convicted was sedition, factious contest (OED), and that is an apt description of the business in which he was engaged: his argument implied that the government was ungodly.

the initials 'S. L.' burnt into his cheeks, an abbreviation of 'Seditious Libeller". As William Lamont has noted, 'the events of 1637 made an impact upon public opinion that those of 1633 had failed to do: Prynne's exile to the Channel Islands became a triumphant progress, as no less was the return journey in 1640 when the Long Parliament was called'.[109]

Importantly, the second trial made Prynne and his fellow convicts, Henry Burton and John Bastwick, into martyrs for Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism (see illustration 2). In pamphlets published in English and Dutch between 1637 and 1641, Prynne and his fellows were represented as suffering for the international reformed cause.[110] The most influential of these pamphlets, *Een cort ende bondich verhael* ('*A Brief Relation*') of 1638, was part of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterian campaign described in Chapter 1. The printer, Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe of Leiden, closely cooperated with the Puritan migrant Thomas Craffort in order to flood the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch market with 10,000 copies in English and 3,000 in Dutch.[111] In the Dutch version, Prynne's witticism that the letters S.L. burnt into his cheeks actually meant *Stigmata Laudis*, was accompanied by a few lines of original Dutch verse.[112]

It was in the wake of these reports that Prynne's own work also started to be translated into Dutch. Prynne's mocking description of Laud's character and his behaviour during his trial and his account of the execution of the Earl of Strafford in 1641 were translated and published within weeks.[113] His full-fledged attack on the 'popish bishops', *Newes from Ipswich*, was translated into Dutch in the year of the trial.[114] Like his later arguments for a 'root and branch' destruction of episcopacy, printed in *The Antipathie* of 1641, this text is almost certainly one of the sources of Voetius' anti-Laudian argument in *Den Britannischen Blixem*.[115]

Prynne's new status among Dutch Contra-Remonstrants was confirmed by the (abbreviated) translation of his *Histriomastix* by a certain 'I.H'. Like the *Relation* of

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[109] My description of Prynne's trials is based on: Lamont, 'Prynne, William', ODNB. The quotes in this paragraph are also from Lamont.

[110] Pamphlet translations relating to the trial of Prynne were: 1) Kn. 4559. *Een cort ende bondich verhael* (Leiden: Van der Boxe, 1638). Orig. STC 1570. *A briefe relation* (1638); 2) Kn. 4726. Prynne, *De oodtmoedighe reqvesten van Willem Prynne* (Leiden: Van der Boxe, 1641). Orig. Wing S2765. *The severall humble petitions of D. Bastwicke* (London: s.n., 1641).

[111] Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, 153.

[112] 'I return triumphantly / And my face clearly shows / LAUD'S sorely burned SIGNS / And God's true thank-offering'. Orig. 'Met triumph ick weder keere, / En mijn Aengesicht verthoont clear / LAVDS ghesengde TEECKENS teere / En Godes danck-offer voorwaer'.

[113] Kn. 4742. Prynne [?] *Ruymbaen voor Canterberg* (1641). Orig. Wing R1895. Prynne [?], *Rome for Canterbury* (1641).

[114] Kn. 4473. Prynne *Hier, wat nieuvvs* (1637). On Prynne's authorship, see n. 64 above.

[115] Wing P3891A. Prynne, *The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie* (1641).

his trial, it was published by Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe in 1639.[116] This anonymous translation, occasioned by the opening of the Amsterdam Theatre in 1638, became the central text in Dutch anti-theatrical thought. Its authority was acknowledged by Dutch anti-theatricals throughout the seventeenth century. The Amsterdam divine, Petrus Wittewrongel, for example, made ample use of *Histriomastix* in his influential *Oeconomia Christiana ofte Christelicke huys-houdinghe* (1661). Both the prologue and the general outline of Wittewrongel's work were heavily indebted to Prynne.[117] Voetius, too, knew the *Histriomastix* well. In the Dutch translation of his *Disputatio de Comoediis*,[118] Voetius quoted Prynne extensively, borrowing numerous references and repeating many of his arguments.[119]

The *Blixem*'s focus on Sunday entertainments, then, was directly inspired by Voetius' Puritan contacts and in particular by Prynne, whose public torture Voetius referred to in his introduction.[120] Moreover, Voetius followed Prynne in choosing the Queen as his main target. This is clear from the Dutchman's concluding moralizing remarks:

> God shall see and search it, that we are now so carelesse, knowing nothing but of divellish masking [=masqueing] ungodly and wanton ballades, and daunces superfluous meals, wherewith we dayly pamper our selvs as on a feast day; and the queene of England with our great ones can make themselves merry with these, in this time of sorrow, as if this misery concerned them not, how can it goe well with them and us? Is it now your turne, it can quickly be ours (…).[121]

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[116] Prynne, *Histrio-mastix ofte Schouw-spels trevr-spel* (1639).

[117] Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 'Toneelbestrijding door kerk en staat', 11-16. See also: Wille, 'William Prynne', passim; Wille, 'De Gereformeerden en het tooneel', passim; and Groenendijk, 'De Nadere reformatie en het toneel', 148. Groenendijk also names the Dutch anti-theatrical Belcampius as one of Prynne's followers (150).

[118] Voetius, *Disputatio de Comoediis* (1650). Despite the Latin title, the book was in Dutch, translated and published in 1650, but originally part of a series of lectures given in 1643-1644.

[119] Groenendijk, 'De Nadere Reformatie en het toneel', 144-145. Voetius also leaned heavily on other English divines. He referred, among others, to William Ames and William Perkins, who had both written on the subject (and had both been translated into Dutch). Prynne's text, however, was Voetius' main source.

[120] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), A3r. Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), A2r.

[121] Kn. 4967/Wing V5. Voetius, *Brittish Lightning* (1643), I4r. Orig. 'Godt sal het sien en soecken, dat wy nu noch soo sorgeloos zijn, niet en weten dan van Duyvelsche Masquaraden, daer mede dat wy ons daghelicks voeden, als in den Feest-dach; ende daer mede kan sich de Koninginne van Engelandt met onse Groote in dese tijden van droefheyft noch vermaken, als of dese smerte haer niet aen en ginck. Hoe sal het haer en ons konnen wel gaen. Is het nu u beurte, het kan haest de onse worden' (Kn. 4869. Voetius, *Den Britannischen Blixem* (1642), D4v).

Here we can glean the direct political implication of Voetius' religious argument. The alliance of the English court and the Dutch 'great ones', exemplified by the regents' lavish public reception of Henrietta Maria in 1642, 'infected' the Dutch Republic with the sins of the English court - any political alliance or support would therefore surely provoke God's punishment.

In 1643, contraremonstrant attacks upon Henrietta Maria became ever more brutal and open. The poem *Nederlandtse droom* ('*Netherlandish Dream*'), which was printed in plano, is a case in point. This poem describes a vision of a courageous, war-like Lion who, battle-weary, lays himself to rest in a heathy country that is 'lovely like a royal garden', and licks the dew from the exquisite plants growing there. Lurking in the overgrowth, however, is an adder which the Lion accidentally swallows. Of course, the vision turns out to be a thinly veiled allegory of recent Anglo-Dutch developments: the Lion is the Dutch Republic, and England is the royal garden in which he rested. The beautiful plants are likely to be English divines, the dew signifying their works of practical piety. The final lines of the poem, which explain the significance of the serpent, do not only reveal the poor quality of the verse, but also make one understand why Charles I's ambassador Boswell complained about this particular pamphlet before the States General:

> The adder that finally came into the Lion,
> Who makes the entiry play erupt in uproar,
> Is a rare dame sprung from Abbadon,[122]
> Who has covered the whole of England in blood
> A wonderfully rare spectre, a dame of a foreign nature,
> Spreading grief and catastrophe where she goes (…)
> What seeks this horrible spectre in our Fatherland?
> She and her train are evil as death and fire.[123]

The adder wreaking havoc in the Dutch Republic's bowels, that 'rare spectre', represents nobody else than the queen of England, who is represented as an intruding, foreign element. With the Queen, according to this Dutch poet, Uproar and Sin have entered the body of the Dutch Republic. When a translated English

[122] Abaddon, often taken as a synonym of the devil or demon, is 'the angel of the bottomless pit' mentioned in Revelation 9:11.

[123] Kn. 5029. Van Baert, *Nederlandtse droom* (before February 1643). Orig. 'Den Adder die op't lest is in den Leeuvv geraeckt / En die het gantsche stuck met oproer besich maeck: / Dat is een seltsaem vvijf uyt Abbadon gesproten, / Die 't gantsche Engelandt met bloet heeft overgoten. / Een vvonder seltsaem spoock, een vvijf van vreemden aert, / Die hier en vvaer sy komt verdriet en onheyl haert (…) / VVat doet dit seltsaem spoock hier in ons Vaderlandt? / Sy is met haer gevolgh soo quaet als moort en brandt'. On Boswell's complaint see: Chapter 1, n. 38.

pamphlet warned against 'the Popish Serpent in your bosom' that same year, it was referring to the Queen in similar terms.[124] That this 'Serpent' was also the mother-in-law of the Dutch Stadtholder was not mentioned in the poem, but it was evident to all readers that the House of Stuart did not only infect the 'great ones', but also the glorious House of Orange.

Conclusion

Jonathan Scott has recently stated that 'The last act of the Thirty Years' War, was not the Peace of Westphalia (…) but the execution of Charles I'.[125] This chapter has shown that at least for the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community, the First Civil War was an integral part of the continental wars of religion. For this community, piety and political activism in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere went hand in hand. At the heart of its reading of the events in Britain was the idea that religious uniformity - based on Presbyterian church government and the doctrines of practical piety - in Britain and the United Provinces was necessary to successfully defend their reformation against the dangers of Catholicism and Arminianism that were threatening it both from within and without.

Ultimately, these Anglo-Scoto-Dutch constructions of an enemy, and the Puritan uses of the terms Papism and Arminianism, were performative: they were conducive to creating the reality they were supposed to describe. In that discursive reality a Remonstrant-Anglican 'Arminianism' stood pitched against the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch 'Puritanism'. This binary opposition would continue to infuse Anglo-Dutch politico-religious debate in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1652-1654, for example, several English commentators saw the war against the Dutch as a war against the apostate, 'Laudian' Protestants who led the country.[126] By eschatologically conflating royalism, Catholicism and Arminianism, the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritans drove the Dutch Remonstrants into the king's arms.

[124] Kn. 4973. *Engelandts klachte, ende gheschrey* (1643), B4v.
[125] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 28-29.
[126] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 153-154; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 445.

Chapter 3

'The Puritan Altar': Anti-Puritanism and the Re-enactment of History in the Anglo-Dutch Sphere

As a result of the activism of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterian community on behalf of Parliament in the early 1640s, Dutch royalism started as an essentially anti-Puritan cause. Dutch Remonstrant and Catholic authors were well aware of Contra-Remonstrant 'wheeling and dealing with the English Presbyters'.[1] Jan de Witt, cousin and namesake of the Grand Pensionary, would even call the Dutch Further Reformers a 'Scottish consistory' that laboured against both Charles I and the Dutch republican government.[2] Fearing the triumph of this Presbyterian Puritan consistory in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere, Dutch anti-Puritans rallied behind the King's cause in the 1640s.

This chapter traces the development of an anti-Puritan, royalist rhetoric, from its earliest beginnings in the 1640s to the Restoration of 1660. During the First Civil War, Dutch royalist discourse was primarily reactive, and basically reversed the Puritan argument for Parliament. If Parliament were to triumph, Remonstrant authors such as De Witt claimed, they would help their 'brothers' in the Dutch Republic to revolt against the States, gain political power for their church, repress other beliefs, and enforce their sabbatarian reforms upon the people. Indeed, Dutch royalists in the 1640s fully accepted the Reformation logic underlying the polemic of their Parliamentary foes.

[1] Kn. 7311. *Eutrapelus, ofte Middelburgs praetje* (1652), A2r. Orig. 'den Vroomen, die met d'Engelsche presbyters stijf ende sterck in dien tijdt hebben gekoockt ende gesmoockt'.
[2] Kn. 7301. De Witt, *Den Engelschen duyvel* (1652), A3v. Orig. 'Schotsche consistorij'. Besides Voetius, De Witt rated Further Reformers such as Stermont, Goethals, Trigland, Wittewrongel, Teelinck and Apollonius among this consistory.

Importantly, anti-Puritans also accepted the Puritan conception of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Reformation. Memories of Anglo-Dutch interactions during the Dutch revolt and the Truce Conflicts were as prominent in anti-Puritan discourse as they were in Puritan discourse. Yet there is one crucial difference. Whereas Puritan pamphlets of the early 1640s, as we have seen in Chapter 2, read the First Civil War from a progressive, eschatological perspective, anti-Puritan, royalist texts embraced a repetitive conception of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch history. In anti-Puritan discourse, both the Civil Wars, the execution of Charles I, and the First Anglo-Dutch War were re-enactments of a series of Puritan uprisings in Britain and the Low Countries.

Anglo-Dutch 'Arminianism' and the Royalist Cause

In part a polemical invention of Puritan pamphleteers, the Anglo-Dutch 'Arminian conspiracy' was not entirely delusional. To be sure, Anglo-Dutch 'Arminians' were not involved in a printed dialogue to the same extent as their Puritan opponents, and the partnership between Laudians and Dutch Remonstrants was never as close as that between their Anglo-Scoto-Dutch rivals.[3] Yet during the Civil War period there were important cross-currents between the Dutch Remonstrants and the 'Arminians' in the Church of England.[4] Arminian books, like Puritan books, were frequently translated on both sides of the Channel, although the emphasis was more on scholarly works than on popular print.[5] Prominent Dutch Remonstrants, moreover, entertained close contacts with 'Arminians' in the English Church. Hugo Grotius and Gerard Vossius, for example, identified with Anglicanism as much as the Contra-Remonstrants identified with Puritanism.[6] Grotius considered Anglicanism to be akin to Remonstrantism, and corresponded with several high-ranking Anglicans such as Andrewes and Laud.[7] 'The English Liturgy, which has always been entertained by all learned men, is the best', he still judged shortly before

[3] Milton (*Catholic and Reformed*, 435-439) has argued that Remonstrants were not seen as the Laudians' partners.
[4] Roldanus, 'Nederlandsch-Engelsche betrekkingen', passim; and Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 363-365.
[5] Cf. Roldanus, 'Nederlandsch-Engelsche betrekkingen', passim. See also: White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, 210ff.
[6] I am aware that Anglicanism is an anachronism. Like other scholars of the period, I use the term to designate the doctrine and church government of the English Church. Cf. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 1-2.
[7] On the relationship between Grotius and Laud, see: Nellen, *Hugo de Groot*, 451-453; Trevor-Roper, 'Hugo Grotius and England', passim; Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, 225-227. For letters to and from Andrewes and Laud, see: Grotius, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius* (for example, nrs. 595, 1005, 2011). During Laud's trial, on 8 October 1644, Grotius wrote to Nicolaes van Reigersberch that he prayed for the Archbishop (*Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, nr. 7081).

his death in 1645.[8] Vossius (canon in absentio in the Church of England) also kept a substantial English network, which included Beale, Wren, Laud and many others.[9] He particularly admired Laud for his reforms, which he considered to be in line with his own universal, 'old-Christian ideals'.[10]

Although there was no Arminian equivalent to the vernacular propaganda campaigns organized by the Puritan community, the correspondence between leading Remonstrants and Anglicans does reveal the tendency of non-Puritans in England and Holland to profit from each other's influence. Thus, when Laud sought to bring the English Churches in the Dutch Republic back under the control of the Church of England, he naturally made use of his Remonstrant contacts to combat English Puritans in Holland.[11] Laud's Remonstrant contacts, moreover, were instrumental in propagating the royalist cause in the Dutch Republic. It was at Laud's instigation that Vossius dedicated some of his works to the Prince of Wales during the troubles in England – an unmistakable act of propaganda –, and it was Laud's information that shaped Vossius' view of the English Civil War as a battle between Carolean authority and malignant libellers.[12] With such diligence did Vossius acquit himself of the tasks he was charged with that Stephen Goffe even considered him 'a zealous excellent instrument for our Church'.[13] When Laud wrote to Vossius about the state of 'our cause', then, he was referring to an Anglo-Dutch, anti-Puritan cause.[14]

William Boswell, the king's ambassador in the Dutch Republic, also appealed to the Dutch Remonstrants' identification with the Church of England, and their anxieties over its position during the First Civil War. Whereas Parliament's envoy Walter Strickland had appealed to the memory of the 'Dutch civil war' of 1618-1619 to stir up the Contra-Remonstrants, Boswell invoked it to convince the States

[8] Grotius to Willem Grotius, 8 April 1645. *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, nr. 7407. Orig. 'Liturgia Anglicana ab eruditis omnibus habita semper est optima'.
[9] Roldanus, 'Nederlandsch-Engelsche betrekkingen', 9.
[10] Rademaker, *Leven en werk*, 221.
[11] On Laud's campaign against the separatist Puritans in the Netherlands, see: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 144-152; 244-251.
[12] Rademaker, *Leven en werk*, 218-221.
[13] Cited in: Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 364.
[14] Throughout the mid-seventeenth-century, 'Arminians' sought each other's support against the 'Puritan' foe. In 1664, when the Dutch Remonstrant cause was in decline and the English Church was the strong partner, the great Hoorn Remonstrant, Arnold van Poelenburgh, sought to move the English theologians to proffer a decree stating the Dutch Remonstrants to be their Brothers in Christ - a project that was eventually cut short by the Second Anglo-Dutch war and Poelenburgh's untimely death in 1666. Linked fates, moreover, led to mutual veneration. In the poetry of the great remonstrant biographer and propagandist Geeraerd Brant, Anglican theologians such as Andrewes and Ussher joined ranks with St Augustine and that other Remonstrant saint, Erasmus. See: Roldanus, 'Nederlandsch-Engelsche betrekkingen', 20.

General that severe action was required against the imputation of popery made against the king in Parliamentary propaganda. He reminded the High and Mighty that when Oldenbarnevelt had been 'falsely accused of being a papist and of attending mass, the calumniator was publicly flogged on the scaffold'.[15] Of course, Boswell recounted the incident as a precedent of law to argue that Strickland deserved a similar fate. At the same time, however, he appealed specifically to Remonstrant sensibilities.

The Remonstrant press actively supported the royalist cause during the First Civil War. A pivotal figure throughout this period was Johannes Naeranus. A scion of an influential Remonstrant family, Naeranus ran an important Remonstrant bookshop in Rotterdam between 1634 and 1670, which became a centre of royalist activity in the 1640s and 1650s. During the First Civil War, he published various royalist texts in translation, among which were various defences and orations by the king and Laud's scaffold speech (1645).[16] Arguably his most important contribution to the royalist cause during the First Civil War was to publish the Dutch translation of the book that started the troubles in Britain, the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Naeranus' translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was published as *Engelsche liturgie* in Rotterdam in 1645.[17] Scholars of the translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* assume that it was meant for use in Dutch congregations in England, which Laud had sought - but failed - to incorporate in the Church of England since the 1630s.[18] Yet in 1645, the end of the First Civil War was dawning, London was under Parliamentary control and Laud had been executed. In the context of the collapse of the Laudian cause, there seems to have been little practical use for a liturgy of the English Church in the Dutch language: the Dutch churches in England had always resisted it, and an Anglican mission in the Netherlands would not begin until 1700, when the first Dutch Anglican Church was founded in Rotterdam.[19] Although the translation could indeed have been intended for practical purposes originally, its main function at the date of publication would appear to be apologetic rather than practical. Naeranus published the English liturgy as part of the Arminian

[15] Aitzema V, 481.
[16] See for example: Kn. 4843. *Syne majesteyts declaratie* (1642); Kn. 4846. *Ootmoedige requeste* (1642); Kn. 4864. *Verdediging des konings* (1642); Kn. 5156. Laud, *Des aerts-bisschops van Cantelbergs Oratie* (1645).
[17] *De Engelsche Liturgie* (1645). Reprinted in 1651, 1657, 1661. See: Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer,* 31:1.
[18] Muss-Arnold, 'Archbishop William Laud and the Dutch Translations', passim; Griffiths, 'The Early Translations of the *Book of Common Prayer*', 12.
[19] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 427.

counter-discourse inspired by Puritan activism, and this was exactly why Hugo Grotius welcomed its publication.[20]

During the First Civil War, Naeranus' royalist publications consisted mainly of translations of English defences of the king's cause.[21] He did not print any original Dutch contributions to the royalist discourse of the First Civil War. It was only after 1646 that Naeranus would start publishing Remonstrant texts supporting the English monarchy, such as the royalist plays of Joachim Oudaen and his own polemical poetry.[22] In the early 1640s, the most prolific royalist author of the Republic was not a Remonstrant, but a Catholic: Joost van den Vondel. Since both Vondel's absolutist, anti-Puritan language and his conception of the history of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch reformation would greatly affect the royalist rhetoric of various Remonstrant, Catholic, and heterodox authors after 1646, it is appropriate to start our investigation of the emerging Dutch royalism with his work.

Vondel's Anti-Puritan Royalism

Joost van den Vondel was the most famous Dutch poet of his age, and one of the most active political commentators of the seventeenth century. In the 1610s and the 1620s, Vondel had devoted his literary powers to the Remonstrant cause, vehemently attacking the Contra-Remonstrants in poems and plays. After converting to Catholicism in 1641, he threw his weight behind the royalist cause. During the First Civil War, Vondel both defended the divine right of Charles I and attacked the Scottish and English 'rebels' in poem after poem.[23] His anti-Puritan rhetoric is mainly reactive, and frequently responds directly to the rhetoric of a Second Reformation and Protestant brotherhood of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community.

Whereas Voetius' central argument for Parliament was of a sabbatarian nature, Vondel attacked Parliament with anti-sabbatarian rhetoric. In the *Klaghte*, which was published in 1643 shortly after the appearance of Voetius' *Blixem*, Vondel called the 'rebels' in England 'half-Jews' and 'Sabbatists', who were 'raving' about a 'new reformation'.[24] In *Morgenwecker der Sabbatisten* ('*Alarm of the Sabbatarians*') of 1644, he followed the same strategy, which served to decrease the appeal of

[20] *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, nr. 7388. According to Sprunger (*Dutch Puritanism*, 353), the translation of the Book of Common Prayer was initiated by the court of Elizabeth Stuart.
[21] Cf. STCN.
[22] See for example: Oudaen, *Johanna Grey* (1648); Oudaen, *Koningh Konradyn* (1649).
[23] Cf. Van den Eerenbeemt, 'Vondel en Engeland', passim.
[24] Vondel, 'Klaghte' (1643), 571, ll. 14; 17-18. Orig. 'Weerspannelingen' (title); 'Ghy halve Ioôn, verstockte Sabbatisten / (…) / Wat raeskalt ghy, eilaci! / (…) om noch een reformaci?'.

Parliament.[25] Following Calvin (who did not defend sabbatarianism in the *Institutes*), Gomarus, the founding father of Contra-Remonstrantism, flatly opposed the sabbatarian doctrine embraced by Voetius.[26] By foregrounding sabbatarianism, Vondel deliberately seized upon a site of conflict between the English and the Dutch brothers in the faith, in order to drive a wedge between them.

In Vondel's hands, the unity called for by his opponents to salvage the reformation became a threat. In his 'Radt van Avondturen' ('Wheel of Adventures'), he warned that the 'Scottish Israel' had invaded the 'grazy meadows of mild Londoners'. He thus alluded to the Sacred Vow and Covenant (which, as we have seen, had been translated into Dutch and extended to the Dutch Protestants), and suggested that the formerly mild Protestants in London had now been seized by a Scottish spirit.[27] Vondel would never forget that it had been the Scots who had started the British troubles, and throughout his career, he attacked them relentlessly as avaricious fanatics who were stirring up their religious kin abroad. Satirizing their Puritan language of brotherhood, Vondel called them 'Scottish brothers'.[28] The leader of Parliament, John Pym, was endowed with the same epithet: 'brother Pym'.[29] The brotherhood to which Vondel referred was an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch brotherhood, and Vondel deliberately attacked North Sea Pietism as a whole.

Vondel was answered in various poems defending the Parliament in 1643-1645, published alongside Vondel's pro-Stuart poems in a pamphlet entitled *Der poeten vegtschool* ('*Fighting School of Poets*').[30] The reactions to Vondel evince the Contra-Remonstrant identification with Parliament's religious battle in this period. One of the poems, 'Sions klaghte over Groot Britanje', counters Vondel's accusations by painting the picture of religious men lying on the 'popish altar', an evident allusion to the fates of the Protestant martyrs in Ireland and William Prynne, who, as we have seen in Chapter 2, was one of the Presbyterian heroes of Dutch Contra-Remonstrants during the First Civil War.[31] The same poem, echoing Voetius, emphasizes that wars in Britain were caused by the sins of the Jesuitical and Arminian factions at court:

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[25] Kn. 5066. Vondel, *Morgenwecker der Sabbatisten* (1644).
[26] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 411.
[27] Vondel, 'Het Radt van Avonturen' (1644), 577, ll. 7-9. Orig. 'Hoe valt nu (…) / Schots Isrel in die vette wey / Der milde Londenaren'.
[28] Vondel, 'Het Radt van Avonturen' (1644), 578, l. 44. Orig. 'Schotbroer'.
[29] Vondel, 'Het Radt van Avonturen' (1644), 577, l. 6. Orig. 'Pymbroer'.
[30] Kn. 5241. *Der poeten vegtschool* (1645).
[31] 'Sions klachte over Groot Britangie', in: *Der poeten vegtschool* (1645), A2r. Orig. '[Religie] leyt in banden / Op 't Rooms antaar, en't lijf voor Godt laet branden'. 'Religion lies tied / On the Popish altar, and suffers its body to burn for God'. This poem had been previously published as a pamphlet: Kn. 5067. *Sions klachte over Groot Britangie* (1643).

When piety was all in mire,
Peace fled from the British Empire
Thus [the true British Protestants - HH] suffer for the land
For freedom, and the purity of religion.[32]

The poem closes by emphasizing Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant identity, asking the British to suffer their current predicament 'for Sion's sake'.[33] With the end of the First Civil War approaching, the debate had come full circle.

Dutch Remonstrants owed much to Vondel's anti-Puritan royalism: Vondel was a mighty polemicist, and Remonstrant polemicists, as we shall see, frequently echoed his satiric language and powerful imagery. Yet Vondel was also a liability. As a Catholic, Vondel tended to highlight the Catholicism of Stuart family members such as Henrietta Maria and Edward of Bohemia (the converted son of the exiled sister of Charles I, Elizabeth Stuart). Such adhesions to the royalist cause only exacerbated existing doubts about the Protestantism of the English monarchy and the Church of England among the Dutch reformed. Especially Vondel's martyr play *Maria Stuart* (1646), which emphasized the correspondence between Charles I and his Catholic grandmother, initially seemed to do the royalist cause in the Dutch Republic more harm than good. In the long run, however, *Maria Stuart* would become the prime example for royalist poets and pamphleteers both within and without the Dutch Republic.[34] The play owed this change in status mainly to its foreboding of the execution of 1649.

The 'Puritan Altar': Maria Stuart *and Vondel's Repetitive History*

Vondel's martyr play *Maria Stuart* was published in the winter of 1646.[35] Against the background of Parliament's religious war against their King, Vondel's representation of the execution of Mary Stuart 'on the Puritan altar'[36] of her cousin Elizabeth I was extremely topical.[37] After Charles I's disastrous defeat at the battle of Naseby in June 1645, and his subsequent surrender to the Scots in May 1646, he was

[32] Kn. 5241. *Der poeten vegtschool* (1645), A2r. Orig. 'Ziels yver lagh in slijck / Doe nam de vreed in't Britten-rijk de wijck / Zoo lijdtmen om het landt / Zijn vrijheyt, en des Godsdienst suyvre standt'.
[33] Kn. 5241. *Der poeten vegtschool* (1645), A2r. Orig. 'Om Sions wil'.
[34] For *Maria Stuart*'s influence on the German playwright Andreas Gryphius, see: Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, 200ff.
[35] For the dating of the first edition, see: Vondel, *De werken van Vondel* V, 934.
[36] Vondel, *Maria Stuart* (1646), l. 1636.
[37] On the topicality of *Maria Stuart*, see for example: Smit, *Van Pascha tot Noah* I, 412-417; Noak, *Politische Auffassungen*, 147-149; Franssen, 'Gloriana's Allies', 131-133.

little more than their prisoner, as Vondel well knew.[38] Nor was this topicality much disguised. The paratexts emphasized that the play should be read as a historical allegory, and throughout the play proper, sustained references to the English Civil War made a topical reading almost inevitable. As Paul Franssen notes, 'the many references to Mary as simply "Stuart", even in her condemnation by Parliament (l. 994), become double entendres, which are equally applicable to her grandson Charles I and his troubles with Puritan rebels and intractable Parliaments'.[39]

Although various modern critics have emphasized the topicality of *Maria Stuart*,[40] they have generally failed to address the question of how the play intervened in the debate on the First Civil War. Some even read *Maria Stuart* as if it had been published as an anti-Cromwellian play in the 1650s.[41] In such schematic readings of the play, it necessarily becomes a one-dimensional manifest for Catholicism and Divine Right.[42] If we seek to understand *Maria Stuart*'s impact in 1646, it should be recognized that the play continued the animadversion of 1643-1645 and that it was an intervention in the debate on the *First* Civil War only. In that debate, its emphasis on Catholicism and Divine Right were relevant, but the negative, anti-Puritan argument advanced by the play was at least as important as its positive arguments. Indeed, *Maria Stuart*'s representation of Puritanism is closely linked to its Divine Right defence of the Stuart monarchy. When Mary's councillor Melvin argues that a 'Lord, deprived of supreme authority' is nothing but a 'slave of Puritans', Vondel does not only allude to Charles' Scottish captivity; he also presents Divine Right monarchy and Presbyterianism as mutually exclusive alternatives.[43] When Mary is executed on the 'Puritan altar', this represents the triumph of 'the Presbyterian power in the street'.[44]

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[38] As we have seen, Dutch newspapers and pamphlets reported extensively on the vicissitudes of the king. On the particular case of the king's Scottish captivity, see for instance: Kn. 5170a. *Copye van een missive uyt Londen* (1645). Vondel again alluded to Charles' Scottish captivity in: Vondel, 'Op den vader-moort in Groot Britanie' (1649).

[39] Franssen, 'Gloriana's Allies', 132.

[40] See note 37 above.

[41] Smit, for instance (*Pascha tot Noah* I, 416-417) asserts that the Dutch in this period 'in general (…) supported Charles I', which may be a fair statement about the 1650s, but which was evidently untrue in the 1640s. Similarly confusing the 1640s with the 1650s, Smits-Veldt (*Het Nederlandse Renaissancetoneel*, 115) remarks that Vondel attacked Cromwell in *Maria Stuart* (the same statement is repeated in: Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 385). In 1646, however, Cromwell had not yet achieved the eminence of later years, and was little known in the Dutch Republic. If we should look for individual targets at all, famous Parliamentarians such as Prynne, Peter and Pym are much likelier candidates.

[42] See for instance: Noak, *Politische Auffassungen*, 159-173.

[43] Vondel, *Maria Stuart* (1646), ll. 1135-1136.

[44] Vondel, *Maria Stuart* (1646), ll. 1636 and 1151. Orig. 'Puriteinsch altaer' and 'ouderlings gezagh (…) op de straet'

The reformed outrage at the publication of *Maria Stuart* was complete. Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants alike condemned the play and its reading of English history. The play was soon forbidden, and Vondel was fined 180 guilders. What caused the furious debate? Critics of the play have emphasized the offensiveness of Vondel's glorification of a Catholic Queen and his implicit criticism of Elizabeth I, who had been the ally of the Dutch in their war against Spain. In my view, these assessments have tended to underestimate two crucial aspects of the play's rhetorical impact: its prefigurative use of history, and its implied attack on Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism.

The offence given by *Maria Stuart* is perhaps best understood if we seek to appreciate the full implications of Vondel's allegorization of English history. One essential part of his claim is that Mary's captivity and the captivity of her grandson Charles are interchangeable, that reading the history of Mary *is* reading the history of Charles. By allegorically juxtaposing the troubles of the 1580s with those of the 1640s, Vondel foregrounds a historical pattern. This identification of two episodes of the Reformation pertains not only to Mary and Charles, but also to those responsible for their demise. Vondel, in other words, argues that the Puritan force that had manifested itself in 1587 was essentially the same as the one in 1646. Moreover, if we fully accept Vondel's allegorical claim (and, as we shall see, various of Vondel's readers evidently did) the play becomes not only historical, but also prophetic.

The allusions to the First Civil War in *Maria Stuart* culminate in a prophecy of the Scottish Queen's physician:

> I now see Britain in the utmost danger;
> The Scot's steel fist entangled in English hair![45]
> The executioner's axe whetted for the necks
> Of the King's Stadtholder[46] and Laud; the rabble in the streets
> Will raise the power of the Presbyterians on their shoulders,
> And London, headless, will tear its garments.[47]

[45] The possible pun on the double meaning of the word 'Engels' (English/angelic) would, as we shall see in Chapter 7, become commonplace in Dutch topical literature of the 1650s.
[46] The term 'stadtholder' here primarily refers to the Earl of Strafford. See: Vondel, 'Grafnaelt van 's Konings stadthouder in Yrlandt' (1641), 215, a translation of: Huygens, 'Pyramis Proregis Hyberniae' (1641), 162.
[47] Vondel, *Maria Stuart* (1646), 215, ll. 1147-1152. Also cited in: Franssen, 'Gloriana's Allies', 132. I have used Franssen's translation of the original Dutch: 'Ik zie Brittanje noch in 't uiterste gevaer; / De stale vuist des Schots verwart in 't Engels hair! / De rechtbijl scherp gewet op 's Konings Steedehouders, / En 's Kantelberger's hals; het graeuw op zijne schouders / Des ouderlings gezagh verheffen op de straet; / En Londen hoofdeloos verscheuren zijn gewaet'.

In this prophecy, the Puritan murderousness of 1587 prefigures their actions in the early 1640s, known to Vondel and his audience to have already happened. Yet there is another claim: Vondel presents Mary's fate as a warning of what might happen to the King ('Britain') when left to his infernal Puritan foes.

Like many early modern plays staging foreign history, *Maria Stuart* creates a theatrical space that is nationally ambiguous: its audience or readers can apply Vondel's allegorization of Elizabethan history both to the foreign nation that is represented and to their own situation.[48] Because of its displacement, Vondel's Britain could both be a foreign scene causing horror of foreign actions, or a mirror in which the Dutch might see themselves. Vondel underlined this potential by rendering Mary's history in a hybrid political language, which is arguably most poignant in his use of the word 'Stadtholder' for the Earl of Strafford (who was in fact a viceroy, as Huygens did not fail to note).[49] Since the Orange-Stuart marriage was concluded on the very day of Strafford's execution (12 May 1641), this choice of words can hardly be a coincidence. The play's two frames of reference, foreign and local, operate simultaneously and create a third space, in which Anglo-Dutch historical common grounds are foregrounded. The threat to the English monarch may therefore also be read as a threat to the Dutch Stadtholder Frederick Henry, the father of his son-in-law.

It is evident from the responses to the play that contemporary readers interpreted *Maria Stuart* not only as a play on the history of England, but also on the history of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Reformation. Dutch Contra-Remonstrants resented Vondel's suggestion of a regicidal Puritan spirit. One of Vondel's detractors, Goudina van Weert, specifically emphasized that Vondel's fanatic Puritans were not regicides, but rather 'the shepherds of God's people, in divinity'.[50] Jan Vos, who responded to defend Vondel against the Contra-Remonstrant attacks in 1647, foregrounded both the prophetic quality of the play and the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch identity of the Puritans when he wrote that 'Malignity threatens him [Vondel] like the axe / Threatens Charles' neck'.[51] For Vos, the Puritan evil that threatened both Mary and Charles I resembled the one threatening Vondel.

Read as a play on the history of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism, Vondel's representation of Elizabethan history became infused with memories of the Dutch

[48] On theatrical space and the opening of history in Vondel's drama, see: Korsten, *Sovereignty as Inviolability*, 31-38.
[49] Vondel translated Huygens' 'proregis' as 'Stadtholder'. On the Vondel-Huygens controversy, see: Damsteegt, 'Huygens *over* Strafford *en* Vondel ', passim; Van der Blom, "Mortes Parallelae", passim.
[50] Van Weert, 'Vagevier voor Joost van Vondelen' (1647), 199.
[51] Vos, 'Aan de algemeene rymers' (1647), ll. 12-13. Orig. 'De Boosheidt dreigt hem als de byl / De hals van Karel'.

revolt, particularly of the Leicester episode. When Mary Stuart was executed, in February 1587, Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, was engaged in a political struggle with the States of Holland. Although Leicester does not feature in Vondel's play, his reputation was firmly associated with Elizabeth's rule. Leicester had arrived in the Low Countries in order to lead the Dutch revolt as Governor General of the northern provinces. His intervention was far from successful: Leicester's limited knowledge of Dutch situation and sensibilities made his rule untenable, and shortly after Mary's execution he was forced to resign and return to England.[52] A major objection to Leicester was his presumed involvement in the uprisings of radical Calvinists factions in Utrecht and Friesland. Considering Elizabeth's personal beliefs and the religious settlement she procured in England, Vondel's represention of her court as bloodthirsty and Puritan seems to be, in the words of Paul Franssen, 'crude'.[53] From the perspective of Leicester's involvement in the Dutch Revolt, however, depicting the Elizabethan court as intensely Puritan made sense. For Remonstrants and Catholics of the mid-seventeenth century, Leicester had become the embodiment of the Anglo-Dutch revolutionary Puritanism threatening the Revolt, which had left a stain on Elizabeth's intervention.

If Vondel's historical allegory included an accusation of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism, it also invoked the memory of the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. After all, for Vondel and the Remonstrants, Oldenbarnevelt's execution had been the main manifestation of Puritan murderousness in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere. Goudina van Weert, for one, felt the implication, as she hastened to emphasize the guilt of 'Palamedes' [=Oldenbarnevelt] in her attack on *Maria Stuart*.[54] In a response to this poem, a Remonstrant author, one G. Koning, acknowledged Van Weert's attack on Mary, but rose to the defence of Charles and Oldenbarnevelt.[55]

The subtext of Oldenbarnevelt's execution in the debate on *Maria Stuart*, shows that there were two Protestant lines of criticism of the play. Contra-Remonstrants rejected Vondel's play entirely, and sought to subvert it. Lambert van den Bosch, for example, wrote a counter-history in which he portrayed Mary as a devious rebel scheming with the Pope.[56] Read allegorically, such a defence of Elizabeth was also an attack on Charles I. Remonstrants, on the other hand,

[52] Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, 75–76. See also: Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands*, 76-79.
[53] Franssen, 'Gloriana's Allies', 132.
[54] Van Weert, 'Vagevier voor Joost van Vondelen' (1647), 200.
[55] Koning, 'Aan Mejuffr. G.v.W.' (1647), passim.
[56] Van den Bosch, *Leeven van Maria Stuart* (1647).

acknowledged Vondel's basic argument, and only criticized its Catholicism. In contrast to Van den Bosch, the Remonstrant playwright Joachim Oudaen responded to Vondel with a tragedy, *Johanna Grey*, that was a close imitation of *Maria Stuart*. Instead of fully subverting Vondel's representation, Oudaen appropriated it by substituting Mary for a Protestant Queen, Jane Grey, whom he considered to be a more acceptable image of both Charles I and Oldenbarnevelt. Oudaen, then, agreed with Vondel's analysis of Charles' opponents, but resented his Catholicization of the Stuarts.

As the debate on the Presbyterian threat to Charles I progressed, and gained Dutch associations, a significant change occurred in England. The First Civil War had ended in a triumph for Parliament, yet in the following negotiations, Parliament and King were unable to reach an agreement. Moreover, the rise of the Independents split Parliament into two factions. In 1648, the Second Civil War between Parliament and the King broke out. In the course of that war, many Presbyterians who had been the object of anti-Puritan attacks during the early 1640s began to opt for the King's cause.

Towards the Execution: The Presbyterian Turn

After the First Civil War, Contra-Remonstrant support for Parliament diminished significantly. Grosheide has argued this was due to the horror evoked by the execution of the King.[57] Hans Blom credibly situates the break in December 1648, when the Independents purged Parliament of its Presbyterian members.[58] The events were obviously linked, and as the trial of the King followed so rapidly after Pride's Purge, it is difficult to pinpoint which caused more horror among the Dutch Calvinists. It is certain, however, that Protestant brotherhood was already under pressure after 1645, when the Presbyterians lost control over Parliament and the Synod of Westminster, Robert Baillie and William Spange launched an anti-independent propaganda campaign in the Dutch Republic.[59] During the Second Civil War of 1648-1649, the anti-parliamentary polemic of prominent English and Scottish Presbyterians led to the widening of the gap between the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants and the Parliament.

The authority of William Prynne did much to affect this separation. Prynne's disillusionment with the Parliamentary cause was widely known in the Dutch Republic, as his attacks on the Independent-dominated Parliament were translated

[57] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 9-10.
[58] Blom, 'Les réactions hollandaises', 197.
[59] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 364-367.

in several editions. His letter to Fairfax, written in prison, was printed in a Dutch translation soon after its publication in English.[60] The Latin translation of his *A Breife Memento to the Present Imparliamentary Iunto* (1648) was added to a royalist collection printed at the Elzevier press in 1649.[61] Condemning the pending execution of the king, the emphasis of the text was on branding the Independents as un-protestant, un-Christian heretics. The appearance of two separate Dutch translations of Prynne's *Breife Memento* early in 1649, attests to the efforts made shortly after the regicide to get this message across to Dutch Calvinists in particular.[62] Whereas before he had descried a Jesuitical influence in the Laudian Church of England, Prynne now argued that the Jesuits were in control of the army.[63] As in 1637, Prynne's texts showed him suffering for his Protestant right-mindedness - only this time it was for supporting the cause of the king.

Presbyterian opposition to the king's execution, headed by Prynne, was instrumental in changing Contra-Remonstrant opinion. On 28 January 1649, the Presbyterian ministers of London, headed by Thomas Gataker, presented a letter to General Fairfax, in which they pleaded for the king's life. Within a year, the letter was translated into Dutch three times, which indicates the importance of the Presbyterian perspective for the Dutch reformed.[64] Among the signers were some familiar figures to Dutch Protestants: men whose pious works had been frequently translated for the education of the reformed, such as Gataker himself, but also the influential Sabbatarian George Walker, now openly opposed Parliament. In the letter, these ministers pleaded with Fairfax to change his mind, arguing that 'God's word commandeth and enforceth obedience and submission to magistrates', and

[60] Kn. 6263. Prynne, *Brief van m^r. Willem Prynne* (1649).

[61] *Sylloge variorvm tractatvvm* (1649). This collection, which included various royalist pamphlets as well as Clement Walker's *Historia Independentiae,* was specifically tailored to appeal to British Presbyterians and their continental allies.

[62] Kn. 6359; Kn. 6360. Prynne, *Een memento ofte vermaninge* (1649); Thys. 5310. Prynne, *Een corte waerschouwinghe* (1649). Both editions of *Een memento ofte vermaninge* were printed by Samuel Browne. Remarkably, the title of these editions is less explicit in its rejection of the Rump Parliament than the anonymously printed translation *Een corte waerschouwinghe*.

[63] Kn. 6360. Prynne, *Een memento ofte vermaninge* (1649), B2v. The fragment referred to reads: 'het deposseren ofte doden van den Coninck, het onterven ofte bannen vande Prince, het afstelten [sic] van het tegenwoordigh Parlement, ofte een nieuwe forme van Staets Regieringhe alleen om de Officiers ende de Armee te behagen, *ofte veel liever die Iesuyten ende paepsche priesteren die haer soo uyt-ghestreken*, ende haer met ghewelt op gherockent hebben, om dese haere veraderlijcke desseignen te vervolghen'. Emphasis added.

[64] The three different translations were published in three different cities, Dordrecht, The Hague, and Amsterdam. Kn. 6267, *Ernstige en getrouwe Verthooninge* (Dordrecht: Abraham Andriessz. 1649); Kn. 6268. *Een oprechte ende ghetrouwe Vertooninge* (The Hague: Anthony van Tongerloo, 1649); and Kn. 6269. *Een ernstighe ende Ghetrouwe voor-stellinghe* (Amsterdam: Anth. Tielemans, 1649). The The Hague edition of the same pamphlet was printed by Samuel Browne (UBU: 138 G 34:9). Orig. *A Serious and faithfull representation* (1649).

recalling God's punishments on the likes of Absolom and Achitophel for the sin of rebellion.[65]

In the The Hague translation of the *Serious and faithfull representation*, that religious argument against rebellion was reinforced by an original poem in Dutch, printed underneath the list of authoritative ministers. This anonymous poem, 'Op de koning-dooders' ('On the Regicides'), which soon became popular in reprints, was an example of a Contra-Remonstrant echo of the Presbyterian opposition to the trial of the King.[66] The poem also added the key to how the Presbyterian document should be read by its Dutch readers: as a full-blown attack on Independency. 'Is this the religion, which the King seemed to oppose?' the anonymous poet asks, 'Is this purity? Is this Independency?' It continues by comparing the execution of the king to Christ-killing Jews, Anabaptists, and Protestant-killing popes, and (ironically correctly) predicts the readmission of the Jews into England:

> You cut off heads as only Popes have done.
> You've crossed a Rubicon uncrossed by anyone
> Red with Holy Blood spilled from the KING's veins
> Freely readmit the Jews; you overknave their ancestors
> To be Independent, is to be Anabaptist
> Wilier than Jewry, eviller than popery.[67]

The focus on the evil of Independency here functions to make a distinction with Presbyterianism, and to reinforce the Presbyterian case represented by the London ministers. In doing so, 'Op de koning-dooders' echoes the association between Popery and Independency made by William Prynne.

Two years later, another co-signer of the *Faithful Representation*, Christopher Love, became the first royalist Presbyterian martyr in Holland. Love and six other Presbyterian ministers were arrested for their involvement in a plot together with the Scottish covenanters to restore Charles II to the throne of England.[68] The Dutch response to Love's execution suggests that the Anglo-Dutch Presbyterian alliance

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[65] *A Serious and faithfull representation* (1649), 11. Also cited in: Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 237.

[66] See: 'Op de koning-dooders' (1649), in: Kn. 6268. *Een oprechte ende ghetrouwe Vertooninge* (1649), C2r. The poem was reprinted in: Kn. 6333. Vondel, *Henriette de Bourbons* (1649), A3r. Another reprint appeared in 1659, in the poetry collection *Bloemkrans van verscheiden gedichten* (1659) when the poem had attained a prophetic quality. Blom reprints the poem in: Blom, 'Les réactions hollandaises', 211.

[67] 'Op de koning-dooders' (1649). Orig. 'Gij kapt de halzen af, bij Pauzen maar betrapt, / Dit is een Rubikon, bij niemand overstapt. / Rood van het Heilig Bloed, gestort uit 's KONINGS Aders. / Haalt vrij de Ioden in, gij overboeft hun Vaders. / Independents te zijn, dat is Anabaptists; / 't Welk loozer is als Ioods, en boozer als Papists'.

[68] See: Vernon, 'Love, Christopher', ODNB.

was unbroken. Immediately after his execution in September 1651, Love's scaffold speech was twice translated into Dutch.[69] The translation of Love's pious works into Dutch followed after his martyrization, when two members of Voetius' circle, Hendrick Versteegh and Jacobus Koelman, produced four translations of titles published earlier in England.[70] Since one of the translations advertised itself as 'reviving Love' through his 'last sermons', the interest in Love's work was obviously related to his fame as sufferer for both the king and the Presbyterian religion. This was also the message of a broadsheet containing Love's engraved portrait (see illustration 3).[71] A poem by Petrus de Lange subscribed: 'Behold discerning Love, who penance and comfort preached / He told and wrote the Truth in a State so much depraved'.[72] By 1652, Love's portrait had become an Anglo-Dutch icon of persecuted, Presbyterian piety.[73]

The British Presbyterians caused many of those Dutch Contra-Remonstrants who had been attacked by Vondel and the other anti-Puritans in the early 1640s to desert the Parliamentary cause and to support the King instead of a Parliament dominated by Independents. Men such as Prynne and Love were appalled by the regicide, as were their supporters in the Dutch Republic. The parallel with the Truce Conflicts, then, had lost its appeal for the Presbyterian community: instead of the 'Arminian' King, they now considered the Independents to be the main enemies of their Further Reformation. For their anti-Puritan opponents, however, the historical parallel with the Truce Conflicts had only gained in truthfulness. For them, Vondel's prophecy of 1646 had come true.

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[69] Kn. 6949. Love, *De leste redenen* (1651). Another version of the oration, Love, *Korte ofte laetste reden* (1651), contained an engraved portrait of Love by the young Anglo-Dutch painter Cornelis Janson van Ceulen Jr., who was born in London of Dutch parents and lived in England until 1643, when the family moved to Utrecht to escape the dangers of civil war. See: Willigen and Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish still-life painters*, 117. As late as 1844, the scaffold speech was reprinted in Zierikzee (KB 3170 F 6).

[70] Love's translated works are: Love, *Love Redivivus* (1654 and 1655). Orig. *Grace* (1652); Love, *Den yverigen christen* (1655; 1656). Orig. *The Zealous Christian* (1653); Love, *Den strijdt tusschen Vleesch en Geest* (1656; 1657; 1658). Orig. *The Combat between the Flesh and the Spirit* (1654); *Het mergh van de vverkige godt-geleerdtheidt* (1657). Orig. *The sum or substance of prelatical divinity* (1652). The first two titles were translated by Versteegh, the latter two by Jacobus Koelman (not in: Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*). On the relationship between Koelman, Versteegh and Voetius, see: Van Lieburg, 'Jacobus Koelman', passim.

[71] Conradus [engr.] *Mr Christopher Love* (c. 1651). Significantly, the portrait was made after the design by the young Cornelis Janson van Ceulen Jr., an Anglo-Dutch painter who had been born in London of Dutch parents and had lived in England throughout his youth. In 1643 the family moved to Utrecht to escape the dangers of civil war (Willigen and Meijer, *A dictionary of Dutch and Flemish still-life painters*, 117). Apparently, the Van Ceulens had either retained contacts with Presbyterians in London, or had carried a portrait Love with them.

[72] De Lange, 'Mr Christopher Love' (1651). Orig. 'Siet hier de schrand're Lov', die Troost en Boetepreker, / Die Waarheit sprak en schreef in een verdorven Staat'.

[73] The same portrait that was used in the Presbyterian propaganda campaign in the Dutch Republic was the source of the effigies of Love that were printed in England after 1651.

A New Palamedes: Regicide and the Re-Enactment of 1619

Despite the Presbyterian turn in the second half of the 1640s, Remonstrant polemicists such as Naeranus viewed the regicide as a confirmation of their assessment of the First Civil War, and continued their anti-Puritan rhetoric in much the same vein as they had before. For Remonstrant beholders the Second Civil War only reinforced the memory of 1619. When Charles I was executed exactly thirty years after Oldenbarnevelt, history repeated itself. In the Remonstrant political discourse of 1649-1663, this idea was fundamental. In a variety of polemical publications, Remonstrants emphasized that the regicide in England was essentially a re-enactment of the execution of the Grand Pensionary. Moreover, both were considered to have been the result of Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterian activism.

Naeranus' Dutch edition of the *Eikon Basilike,* the book representing the King's sufferings and reflections during his captivity, offers a good insight into the Remonstrant interpretation of the regicide.[74] It is hardly surprising that the *Eikon* appealed to Dutch Remonstrants. Although Charles - the *Eikon*'s persona - adopts a remarkably unconfessional Christian pose (see Chapter 4), there are specific moments in the *Eikon* where he is explicit in his anti-Presbyterianism. He writes, for instance, that 'Wise and learned men think, that nothing has more marks of Schism, and Sectarism, than this Presbyterian way'.[75] Such statements could not but appeal to the rabid anti-Presbyterian Naeranus, who appropriated the book for his crusade against Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterianism.

Naeranus' translation was clearly inspired by royalist zeal. As he himself declared in his Preface, his translation was written out of a desire to correct the 'lamentable' opinion that 'the King has been justly killed for his crimes', and 'to make them see how godly and pious this Prince has been'.[76] More importantly, Naeranus' translation of the *Eikon* explicitly showed the contrast between Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism and Anglo-Dutch anti-Puritanism highlighted by the First Civil War. In a remarkable passage of his preface to the *Eikon*, Naeranus states that the execution of Charles I could not have been carried out in the name of Protestantism:

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[74] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckklijck Voorbeeldt* (1649). Cf. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 58-59, nr. 50. There are but a few surviving copies of this edition. One is in the University of Glasgow Library (Sp Coll BG49-l.12), and Madan mentions another copy in Cardiff. I have used the copy of the VU University's library, VUL XL.05679, not in Madan.

[75] Gauden [attr.] *Eikon Basilike* (1649), 72.

[76] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckklijck Voorbeeldt* (1649), *4r. Orig. 'te beklagen'; 'dat den Koning om sijn misdaden rechtvaerdiglijck gedoodt is'; 'om haer te doen sien, wat voor een Godsalig en vroom Prins desen Koning geweest is'.

> With good reason, the Jesuits and the other Roman Catholics have always been despised for their belief that they could lawfully kill a king, if he were a heretic or a tyrant. What will we answer to them now, when they reproach us that we do not only incite the same crime, but also commit it?[77]

The use of 'we' and 'us' is instructive: like Voetius, Naeranus is viewing the Civil Wars in the terms of the Reformation, of a battle between Protestantism and Catholicism. If Charles had been killed for the sake of the Protestant cause, the Dutch Protestants would be equally responsible for the regicide. Voetius may have agreed with him there. On other matters, however, their ways part again. For Naeranus continues to deny that the Independents were the only religious group responsible for the King's death:

> It was not the Independents, who wanted to abolish episcopacy and to establish Presbytery in England; it was not the Independents either, who sold, bought, and delivered their king for money (…), who held him in captivity and who forced upon him a Covenant no Christian, let alone a king, can sign.[78]

Holding the Presbyterians fully responsible for the regicide, Naeranus followed Anglicans such as Henry Leslie.[79] In his mind, the Presbyterians had originally violated the 'supreme power' of the lawful government in England and Scotland and caused the monarchy to collapse. In doing so, they had abandoned the course of the true reformation and had come to be like their own enemies, the Catholics, in all ways. The actions of these 'purest reformers', had but one purpose: to establish 'their Israel' in Britain and the Netherlands.[80] Naeranus' attack of the English and Scottish Presbyterians, then, implicated the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants.

Remontrant pamphlets of the 1650s frequently held the entire Anglo-Scoto-Dutch community responsible in the same manner. One pamphlet argued that 'the first and moving cause of the murder of the King of England are the Presbyterian

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[77] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckklijck Voorbeeldt* (1649), *2v. Orig. 'Men heeft altoos de Jesuiten en andere Roomsgesinde veracht, en met groote reden, op dat sy dreven en verstonden dat men een Koning, als hy een Ketter of Tyran was, mocht om hals helpen: wat sal men die luyden nu antwoorden, als sy ons verwijten dat wy het selve niet alleen drijven, maer oock in 't werck stellen?'

[78] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckklijck Voorbeeldt* (1649), *2v-*3r. Orig. 'het geen Independenten waren, die in Engelandt de Bisschoppelijcke regeeringe af, en de Presbijteriale ingestelt wilden hebben; 't en waren oock geen Independenten, die den Koning (…) voor een somme gelts verkochten, kochten, leverden, en daer na gevangen hielden, hem oock een Convenant voor leyden, dat geen Christen mensch, ick laet staen een koning, mach teykenen'.

[79] Wing L1164. Leslie, *The martyrdome of King Charles* (1649). Also cited in: Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, 294.

[80] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckklijck Voorbeeldt* (1649), *3r. Orig. 'de suyverste gereformeerde (…) haer Israel'.

preachers of England, Scotland, Zeeland and Utrecht. They have been the incendiary causes of the entire betrayal and all the horrible knaveries which have been committed against that Holy Majesty'.[81] The 1652 prose pamphlet *Eutrapelus*, named after Erasmus' eponymous character, similarly recalls 'the things the Zeeland preachers with their Scottish and English brothers did to bring about the downfall of the king',[82] and the disastrous consequences of their actions: 'who is responsible for the present dire situation but they, the ministers who formerly, with the Presbyterians, helped to stoke the fire against the King, whereby the weak kingdom was changed in such a formidable Republic?'[83] In the mind of this pamphleteer, the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterian alliance was even responsible for the First Anglo-Dutch War.

The Presbyterian support for the King during the Second Civil War notwithstanding, Remonstrants maintained that their warnings against Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Presbyterianism of the 1640s had been correct. In retrospect, therefore, the Remonstrant appreciation of *Maria Stuart* changed after 9 February 1649. Although Vondel had erred by glorifying a Catholic Queen, he had been fully correct, Remonstrants argued, in his emphasis on the martyrdom of a sacred monarch and the rebellious spirit of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community. Thus Joachim Oudaen, in a poem added to his own Remonstrant allegory of the regicide, *Koningh Konradyn* (*'King Conradin'*) (1649), celebrated the prophetic powers of Dutch poetry:

> How did Dutch poetry in recent years
> Guess at the approaching, horrible stains!
> Or did she thus blind prophecy provide,
> A prologue, a prequel, a divination
> Of the desecrating play that's now re-staged?
> And did she thus, as by a spirit's aid
> Bring forth the memories of bloodshed old

[81] Kn. 8432. H.V. [Naeranus] *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* (1660), 35. Orig. 'De eerste en bewegende oorspronck van de moord van den Koning van Engeland zijn de Engelse, Schotse, Seeusche en Stichtse Presbijteriaanse Predikanten, die zijn opstokende oorzaken van het gantse verraad en alle die grouwelijke schelmstukken die tegen die geheiligde Majesteit zijn gepleegt'. Cf. Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 10.

[82] Kn. 7311. *Eutrapelus, ofte Middelburgs praetje* (1652), A2r. Orig. 'Wat (…) Zeeuwsche Predicanten met haer Schotsche en Engelsche broeders hebben aengherecht tot onderganck van den Koningh aldaer, daer van sullende Royalisten genoegh segghen konnen'.

[83] Kn. 7311. *Eutrapelus, ofte Middelburgs praetje* (1652), A3r. Orig. 'wie is [van de 'teghenwoordigen bekommerlijcken toestant van saken'] oorsaeck van als zy, Predicanten? Die eerst het vier in Engelandt hebben helpen stoocken met de Presbyters tegen den Koningh, waer deur het slappe Koninckrijck is verandert in soo formidabele Republijcke?'

Like the ghost of blood to be shed again?[84]

The execution of Charles legitimized *Maria Stuart*'s pathetic defence of a Catholic queen as a prophecy of the martyred King. It was as a prophecy that the play became a model for continental dramatizations of the regicide such as those by Johan Dullaert and Andreas Gryphius.[85] Mary's execution, Remonstrant authors now knew, had indeed been a prefiguration of her grandson's fate.

Bolstered by this confirmation of their reading of the First Civil War, Remonstrants also saw the correspondence between Charles I and Oldenbarnevelt confirmed. Some remonstrant polemicists conflated the executions of the Advocate of the States of Holland and the English King by re-applying Remonstrant polemic of the 1610s to the English situation of 1649. Thus one 1657 pamphlet cited both Coster's *Iphigenia* (1617) and Vondel's translation of Seneca's *Troades*, his *Amsteldamsche Hecvba* ('*Amsterdam's Hecuba*', 1626) in order to align the 'parricidal' Cromwell with the Contra-Remonstrants against whom these tragedies had originally been written.[86] Another pamphlet simply used a 1619 engraving of Oldenbarnevelt's execution to illustrate the execution of Charles I without further comment.[87]

It was due to this perceived correspondence that Vondel's allegory of the Truce Conflicts, his *Palamedes*, became part of a royalist discourse of the 1650s. When first published in 1625, shortly after the death of Prince Maurice of Orange, Vondel's tragedy had been widely recognized as a political allegory, in which Vondel depicted Palamedes-Johan van Oldenbarnevelt as the innocent victim of the cruel ambition of Ulysses-François van Aerssen, Agamemnon-Maurice of Orange and the judges who convicted him.[88] In the two following decades the play (unlike *Maria Stuart*) acquired a prominent status in Remonstrant literature, which it would retain throughout the seventeenth-century. In the 1650s, Remonstrant royalists mostly evoked *Palamedes* by intertextual means. The prefatory sonnet of Johan Dullaert's martyr play *Karel Stuart* (w. 1649), for instance, is a direct quote of Vondel's

[84] Oudaen, 'Op de gruwel van Brittanje' (1649), I2r. Orig. 'Hoe heeft althans, de Duytsche Poësij / Gehengeld, om d'aanstaande gruwel vlecken! / Of heeft-se dus, een blinde profecij, / Een voor-spel, en voor-spellingh mogen strecken? / Van 't schendig stuck dat we'er in arbeyd gingh; / En heeft-se dus, als door een geest geholpen, / Der ouden scholpen bloeds erinneringh / Gebaart, als't Spoock, van't bloed dat weer sou scholpen?'.

[85] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart* (1649); Gryphius, *Carolus Stuardus* (1657).

[86] Kn. 7822. Schultz, *Vergelijckinge* (1657), D1r-D1v.

[87] Tiele 3392. *Vonnisse, ofte Sententie* (1649).

[88] The allegory was instantly decoded by Vondel's contemporaries and brought Vondel into conflict with the authorities. In the 1707 'Amersfoort' edition of *Palamedes*, the allegory is explained in the notes. See: Vondel, *Palamedes* (1707), passim.

prefatory sonnet to *Palamedes*.[89] In royalist poetry, allusions to *Palamedes* were also common. Cromwell, for example, was commonly associated with Ulysses, the man who feigned religious scruples to hide his burning ambition. Ulysses also happened to be Palamedes' opponent in Vondel's play.[90] The words used by Vondel to condemn Palamedes' judges, such as 'vadermoorders' ('parricides') and 'wolven' ('wolves'), were the same biblical terms Vondel and many other Dutch poets now used to denounce the regicide in England.

In the light of the Remonstrant identification with the royalist cause and the various echoes of *Palamedes* in the contemporary debate on English politics, reprints of the play after 1649 no longer referred to Oldenbarnevelt alone. When no less than four new editions of *Palamedes* were printed by Abraham de Wees directly after the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch War in 1652, the play simultaneously activated two contexts: the Dutch Truce Conflicts and the English Puritan revolution and regicide. It is important to note that this process of re-allegorization was accumulative rather than substitutive. Charles' execution did not erase the Oldenbarnevelt reading of the play, or render it obsolete. Instead, the incessant debate on the regicide created a third layer (Palamedes=Charles) equivalent to the second layer (Palamedes=Oldenbarnevelt) of the text. The 1652 version of *Palamedes*, then, was a palimpsest. Pointing to both martyrs at the same time, it suggested an equivalence, or even indicated a causal relationship between the Remonstrant martyr Oldenbarnevelt and the Anglican martyr Charles. The analogy between the Dutch Pensionary and the Stuart King was not achieved by an act of writing, but by an act of publishing in a specific discursive context that favoured the alignment of two distinct allegorical readings.[91]

The implication of these allusions was evident to Remonstrant readers: the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Reformation had witnessed the re-enactment of a series of tragedies caused by Presbyterian fanatics. 'The Tragedy of Palamedes, King Stuart,

[89] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (1652), I1r. See my discussion of this poem in Chapter 6 below.
[90] Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, passim.
[91] About politically motivated republications and the process of 'editorializing', see also: Randall, *Winter Fruit*, 242-243. Randall mentions, among others, Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634, 1651), and cites Derek Hirst, who calls the re-publication of Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* (1631, 1653) 'patently topical'. Other examples in England are *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1608, 1655) and Henry Killigrew's *Pallantus and Eudora* (1653), which was a new title for his older *The Conspiracy* (1635). I agree with Randall that the topical meaning of a play is not its only meaning, and arguably not its most important one (whether or not it was intended by the dramatist), but it remains part of the living response to a text in the real world, and willfully to ignore it diminishes the vitality of that text (see: Randall, *Winter Fruit*, 4n).

the Lords of Loevestein: they are all one and the same', Jan de Witt noted in 1663.[92] According to De Witt, all were victims of the same denomination, which he calls the 'Scottish deformation'.[93] This 'deformation' was of course Presbyterianism, which according to De Witt is nothing but 'a mad religion, a Religion of hysterics'.[94] Significantly, De Witt continues to trace the history of the 'Scottish deformation' in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere, and situates its birth in the context of the Dutch Revolt. He describes how 'Scottish' Presbyterians - here best understood as radical Calvinists - betrayed William of Orange in the early 1580s, and how they sought to gain political power in the United Provinces under the 'direction' of the Earl of Leicester, in 1586-1587. He then argues that they 'wonderfully re-enacted their play' in 1619, under the guidance of Maurice of Orange, who 'outplayed' his masters, the States of Holland, and cut off Oldenbarnevelt's head. 'From this play', De Witt argues, 'grew the cruel tragedy in England, Scotland and Ireland'.[95]

De Witt's representation of the execution of Charles I as a re-enactment of the execution of Oldenbarnevelt, like Vondel's *Maria Stuart*, functioned as a warning, since he saw Voetius and his British accomplices attempting to restage the old drama: 'The Scottish devil is already busy with the prologue'.[96] *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* ('Amsterdam Neighbour-talk') (1660), a pamphlet dialogue which holds the Presbyterians responsible for the deaths of Strafford, Laud and Charles I, warns of another re-enactment in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere. One of the neighbours, Cornelis, asserts that 'Voet is still keeping up a lively correspondence with the Presbyterians in England and Scotland (…) [and] will do all he can to play the King of England false; for he will not suffer any reformed church to adopt episcopacy, and is prepared to throw an entire country into disorder and destruction only for that

[92] Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 49. Orig. 'De tragedie van Palamedes, Coningh Stuart, de Louvestainse Heeren, is eene en de selve, en simile gaudet simili, gelijcke monnicken, gelijcke kappen'.
[93] Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 25. Orig. 'de Schotsche Deformatie'.
[94] Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 10; 23. Orig. 'De schotse Religie, is dullemans Religie, de Religie der uytsinnigen'.
[95] Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 25. Orig. 'Uyt dit spel sproot het vrede treurspel in Engelandt, Schotlandt, Yerlandt'.
[96] Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 25. Orig. 'Den schotschen duyvel is al doende met het voorspel'.

matter, albeit founded by the Apostles'.[97] The Dutch, it is agreed, should soon need to establish a proper church order, 'for they seek to do the same here'.[98]

Its prophetic claims confirmed by the execution of Charles I, the Remonstrant representation of Reformation history as a drama enacted within the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere had a powerful appeal. It was therefore significant that Jan Six van Chandelier wrote a poem in which he condemned not only the regicide but also attacked the idea of history as a series of re-enactments of the same tragedy. In this poem, Six praised an engraving of the London scaffold by crediting it with the qualities of a mirror:

> Behold, merciful Amsterdammer
> As in a mirror, plain and clear,
> The black violent stage of London.
> (…)
> It shows not the exit of Biron,
> Nor that of the Pensioner of The Hague [Oldenbarnevelt -HH] (…)
> Strafford, or Canterbury.[99]

While supporting the royalist cause in the early 1650s, Six just as emphatically rejected the Remonstrant appropriation of Charles' execution by stressing that it was unlike anything that happened before. In his understanding, the image of the mirror applies only to mimetic art, and he dismisses any parallel between the execution of Charles I and those of earlier politicians 'sentenced by the state', such Strafford, Laud, Biron and Oldenbarnevelt.

Conclusion

During the First Civil War, the Dutch debate on the British troubles developed along confessional lines, and printed support for Parliament was largely of a contraremonstrant nature, while support for the king came from Catholics and Remonstrants such as Vondel and Naeranus. Both religious groups perceived the

[97] Kn. 8432. H.V. [Naeranus] *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* (1660), 38. Orig. 'Voet noch (…) groote correspondentie met Presbiterianen in Engeland en Schotland houd (…) dat desen gast zijn best doet om den Koning van Engeland, weder een groot spel te maken: want hij en zal niet toestaan dat in eenige Gereformeerde Kerken, de Bisschoppelijke Regeringe zal ingevoerd werden, al zoude om die eenige zaak, en die nochtans een instelling der Apostelen is, een geheel Land het onderste boven geraken en verwoest werden'.

[98] Kn. 8432. H.V. [Naeranus] *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* (1660), 35. Orig. 'Want hier zoektmen 't zelve'.

[99] Six van Chandelier, 'Kooninghlyk schavot te Londen' (1649), ll. 1-3; 7-11. Orig. 'Aanschouw, barmhertige Amstelaar, / Als, in een spiegel, naakt, en klaar, / Het Londensch swart geweld schavot (…) Men toont geen uitgangh van Biron, (…) Noch van den Haaghschen advokaat, (…) Van Straffort, noch van Kantelbergh'.

First Civil War as a reformation conflict in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Sphere, and both were deeply influenced by the experience of the Truce Conflicts. In many ways, therefore, the Remonstrant arguments in favour of the king mirrored their opponents' arguments for Parliament: they feared the rise of their confessional enemies in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere and appealed to this fear. Yet although both parties applied basically the same interpretative framework to contemporary political events in Britain, and responded with similar strategies, this chapter has also shown that they differed fundamentally in their conception of history: whereas the Contra-Remonstrants saw Anglo-Scoto-Dutch history as a progressive process, the Remonstrants adopted a repetitive view in which various distinct conflicts in the past eighty years appeared as re-enactments of a single tragedy staged by the same fanatic spirit. Their conception of Charles I as a second Oldenbarnevelt ensured their steadfast support to the royalist cause.

Confessional discourse remained an important aspect of Dutch royalism throughout the 1650s. Yet as the contraremonstrant support for Parliament waned due to the public defection of various prominent English Presbyterians, the two confessional spheres also started to overlap. While royalist rhetoric was still infused with confessional zeal, and the Stuart cause continued to profit from anti-Puritan support for the English monarchy and the Church of England, it now also acquired political, moral and religious dimensions that had been hitherto absent. Unquestionably, the most important dimension was the martyrdom of Charles I. After his execution, a cult of the Martyr King emerged in the United Provinces that both Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants could believe in.

Maps of meaning

Chapter 4

Eikon Basilike: The Cult of the Martyr King in the Dutch Republic

Only a few days after the execution of Charles I, the London printer Richard Royston published the first edition of *Eikon Basilike* ('*The Portrait of the King*').[1] Advertised as written by the king himself, the 'King's Book' (as the *Eikon* was soon known) presented a 'portraiture of the king in his solitudes and sufferings' in the form of private recollections, confessions and lamentations of the executed King. Charles was portrayed not as a faultless man, but as a pious, God-fearing king, steadfast and faithful in the face of his impending death. The impact of this image on English public opinion can hardly be overrated. Writing after the Restoration, John Gauden made the following assessment:

> Good God! What shame, rage and despite filled his murderers! What comfort his friends! How many enemies did it convert! How many hearts did it mollify and melt...! What preparations did it make in all men's minds for this happy Restoration (…). In a word, it was an army and did vanquish more than any sword could (…).[2]

Appearing in no less than twenty English editions in the next few months, the *Eikon* gained the status of an appendix to the Bible, and became the central text in what has become known as the Cult of Charles the Martyr: the religious veneration of the sacralized king in Britain.

[1] Gauden [attr.] *Eikon Basilike* (1649).
[2] Cited in: Helgerson, 'Milton Reads the King's Book', 1.

The *Eikon* also had an international impact.[3] Not long after the news of the king's death had reached the shores of Holland, the first copies of the *Eikon Basilike* became available in Dutch. Book historian Johan Gerritsen dates the first Dutch edition of the *Eikon* late February, or early March.[4] This was just a month after Royston's first English edition came off the press in London, and only two weeks after the arrival of the news of the king's death in Holland. Given a new title in Dutch, *Koninclick memoriael* ('*Royal Memorial*'), the *Eikon Basilike* went through eight editions in 1649 alone, and would profoundly affect Dutch literature and art of the 1650s. Indeed, as this chapter will argue, the book succeeded in establishing the cult of the Martyr King in the United Provinces. As a text with a profound religious appeal, the *Eikon* became one of the most important 'maps of meaning' for the Dutch to interpret politics in the Anglo-Dutch sphere.[5]

The Cult of Charles the Martyr

In the past decade, the English cult of Charles the Martyr and the religious, political and literary power of that cult in English culture have been the object of much scholarly attention.[6] In a meticulous account of this cult, Andrew Lacey has recently inventorized the various shapes it took, from the birth of the religious veneration of the King in the early 1640s to its proliferation after the Restoration, when the king was sanctified and annually remembered in sermons and printed books and images on the day of his execution.[7] Recent scholarship on the cult has emphasized that one of its primary features was the ambiguity and inscrutability of its object of veneration. The image and memory of the king acquired a wide variety of meanings.[8] In his seminal study of the cult of Elizabeth I, Roy Strong came to the similar conclusion that the image of the Queen was one of 'calculated ambiguity', 'full of paradoxes and contradictions'.[9] The ability to negotiate ideological conflicts by such ambiguities seems to have been an important aspect of early modern royal cults.[10]

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[3] For the various editions in French, German, Dutch and Latin, see: Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 1-95.
[4] Gerritsen, 'The Eikon in Holland', 147.
[5] On literary texts as 'maps of meaning', see my Introduction above.
[6] See, for instance: Corns, *The Royal Image*, passim; Sharpe, 'So Hard a Text?', passim.
[7] Lacey, *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*, passim. See also: Lacey, 'Charles the First and Christ the Second', passim.
[8] Pierce, 'Artful Ambivalence?', passim; Lacey, 'Texts to be Read', passim, esp. 13.
[9] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 116.
[10] Hackett, 'Dreams or Designs, Cults or Constructions?', passim.

The fact that the imagery of monarchs functioned in an international context may help to explain their multivalence: at least part of it would have had to appeal to foreign audiences of various backgrounds. Continental audiences were especially relevant in the case of the cult of Charles I, since it was a cult in exile, primarily based on the continent. After the royalist defeat in the First Civil War, English royalist communities were located mainly in cities on the continent such as Paris, Brussels, The Hague, and Amsterdam. Still, foreign perspectives have been largely ignored in the current scholarship, which has resulted in an unduly Anglocentric approach of the cult.[11] The image of Charles the Martyr, however, was at least in part the result of interactions between English royalist communities in exile with foreign authors, artists and audiences.

Throughout the 1650s (and for a long period thereafter) Charles I was represented in numerous Dutch poems, prose pamphlets, engravings, songs and plays as both a political and a religious martyr. This constituted a fundamental change in the debate on British politics. Before the execution, Charles had been the object of confessional-cum-political debate. After the execution, Charles' person, his character and his image came to dominate royalist discourse. There was a shift, in other words, from debate to representation, from argument to image. This new mode could appeal to a much wider audience than the Remonstrant and Orangist discourses in which he had been supported before. Charles' image - as propagated in the *Eikon* - was now capable of transcending confessional and political faultlines by means of its polyvalent symbolism.

Translations and propaganda produced by English royalists were partly responsible for the success of the cult in the Dutch Republic. Several translations of the *Eikon*, too, were the result of the royalist propaganda campaign on the continent.[12] Yet it is impossible to consider the many appropriations of the *Eikon* in poetry and the visual arts as part of court-coordinated propaganda. Kevin Sharpe's observation that 'the Virgin Queen and the cult of Charles the Martyr were popular in a way that cannot simply be explained by elaborate propaganda machines (which anyway did not exist) or officially prescribed scripts' is valid for the early modern Dutch Republic as much as it is for England.[13] Evidently, the image of the king as circulated by royalist propaganda appealed to both Dutch authors and artists, who

[11] Even the wonderful interdisciplinary account of the cultural life of the Cavendishes in exile, *Royalist Refugees*, devotes only cursory attention to the exchanges between royalist exiles and their country of residence. See: Van Beneden and De Poorter, *Royalist Refugees*, passim.

[12] Samuel Browne's Latin translation was printed as propaganda for royalist exiles. Moreover, the dissipation of the image of the king that was used as the Eikon's frontispiece seems to have been coordinated by the court in exile. See also n. 32 below.

[13] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 417-418.

represented the sacred King by the hundreds, and their audiences. The question is what that attraction was, and how it related to Dutch political and religious discourse. This chapter therefore investigates how the image of the 'Martyr King' was translated and appropriated in Dutch texts of 1649 and the 1650s. That approach is also of interest to English scholars of the cult.

As Paul Franssen has stated, '[o]nce we start looking at such national British icons from a foreign perspective, they are less encumbered with traditional associations' which enables fresh and stimulating interpretations.[14] In the case of Charles the Martyr, a study of the Dutch cult may even be directly relevant, due to the intimate interconnections with its English counterpart. Partly, the Dutch cult derived from the English cult familiar to scholars of English political history. But it developed simultaneously and in dialogue with the English cult. Dutch texts and contexts inevitably informed English texts for two reasons. In the first place, because English royalists took account of their Dutch audiences and antagonists, and sought rhetorical forms that would appeal to potential Dutch allies. Secondly, the emerging English cult was shaped by the Dutch cult developing in its proximity. This is especially true for visual sources, which profited from the unique Dutch art culture of the mid-seventeenth century. As we shall see, the most original Dutch contributions to the cult of Charles the Martyr were the visualizations of the King's martyrdom produced by Dutch artists for both English and Dutch audiences.

Eikon Basilike *Translated*

The first translation of the *Eikon Basilike* was brought out by the Amsterdam printer Joost Hartgers.[15] Hartgers' involvement is an indication of the changed status of the King after his execution since Hartgers - unlike Naeranus - seems to have had no ideological stake in the English Civil Wars. Indeed, before the execution, Hartgers had not published any book or pamphlet on the subject.[16] He started to reprint earlier pamphlets on the Earl of Strafford's death early in 1649, however, and became the first to lay his hands on the *Eikon*. Hartgers had a keen eye for profit, and rushed through the production stage to make sure that the book appeared while the news of the execution was still fresh. His translator had obviously been under some strain considering the frequent inadequacies in the translation.

Nevertheless, the translation was an immediate success. Hartgers quickly ran out of copies, selling five editions in quarto and duodecimo before the year was

[14] For the cult of Elizabeth in the Low Countries, see: Franssen, 'Gloriana's Allies', passim.
[15] Kn. 6350-6352. Gauden [attr.] *Koninckliick memoriael* (1649).
[16] See: STCN.

over. At least two other editions were published: Jan Jansz. pirated the Hartgers edition soon after its first appearance,[17] and Johannes Naeranus published his improved translation in Rotterdam because he lamented the fact that the king's word had been mutilated by Hartgers' hasty translation.[18] Moreover, sections of the *Eikon* circulated in pamphlet form. The final prayer in the *Eikon Basilike*, Charles' famous 'Meditations upon death', went through several Dutch pamphlet editions in 1649.[19] Charles' interview with his children, which was appended to the later 1649 editions of the *Eikon*, could also be bought separately.[20]

The translations of the *Eikon* were not carbon copies of the original. The Hartgers translation in particular was inaccurate, at times obscure, and 'disfigured by numerous anglicisms'.[21] Yet the inevitable loss in translation was of minor importance to the image of the king. By contrast, it was the material added to the Dutch editions which had a great impact on their reception.

The most important distinction between the English *Eikon* and its Dutch translation is the fact that the latter was meant to be published with a companion piece, *Engelandts memoriael*.[22] As the bibliographical accounts of Madan and Gerritsen testify, many continental copies of the *Eikon* surviving today are still bound with this text. This diptych-like form had major implications for the readers' appreciation of the 'King's Book'.

The *Eikon* presented a private image of the king. As such it was, as Richard Helgerson has phrased it, an 'unbookish' book. Quite literally, Helgerson remarks, the king in the *Eikon* was indeed a 'verbal icon', an emblematic representation with a theatrical impact.[23] The fact that the *Eikon* has also been called a tragedy of sorts[24] is not only due to its obvious tragic ending, but also to how Charles is portrayed. Instead of a diegetic argument, the *Eikon* offers a mimetic account of the king's papers and prayers; it shows rather than tells. The reader sees the king through his private writings, which bestows on his performance the veracity of a soliloquy: we can 'observe' him in his captivity as he was unto himself; his piety, it is implied, is unfeigned. This, as Elizabeth Sauer has noted, was an important factor in the book's

[17] Gerritsen, 'The Eikon in Holland', 141.
[18] See: Gauden [attr.] *Koninckl*ijck *Voorbeeldt* (1649), *4v.
[19] See for instance: Kn. 6294. Charles I, *Koninckl*ick *gebedt* (1649). For other editions, see: Kn. 6320-Kn. 6324. Translated from the original 'Meditations upon death', in the *Eikon Basilike*. Cf. Gauden [attr.] *Eikon Basilike* (1649), 180-182.
[20] Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 96-102.
[21] Gerritsen, 'The Eikon in Holland', 139.
[22] For a bibliography of *Engelandts memoriael* see: Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 102-106; and the corrections and additions in: Gerritsen, 'The Eikon in Holland', 129-136.
[23] Helgerson, 'Milton Reads the King's Book', 9; 21.
[24] Zwicker, *Lines of Authority,* 53.

political impact: 'In *Eikon Basilike*, Charles transposed the relationship between the king's two bodies by presenting his meditations as an index for reading his public self'.[25]

That public self was registered in *Engelandts memoriael*. First published by Hartgers and later disseminated across Europe in translations in German, Latin, and Danish,[26] this prequel or sequel to the *Eikon* was a collection of translated documents pertaining to the English Civil Wars, covering the period from the execution of the Earl of Strafford to the execution of Charles I. They culminated in the faithful translation of Gilbert Mabbot's official Parliamentary account of Charles' trial.[27] Andrew Lacey is undoubtedly right to call Parliament's publication of Mabbot's trial report to be 'mistaken'. According to Lacey, the various accounts served only 'to disseminate still further the fact that Charles had run rings around his judges and succeeded in embarrassing them thoroughly over questions of legitimacy and arbitrary power'.[28] Certainly Charles, as other martyrs before him, had managed to subvert both the ceremony and the text of the execution.[29] From a Parliamentary point of view, the publication of *Engelandts memoriael* as a companion piece to the *Eikon* had catastrophic effects; the parliamentary report of the public trial was read almost inevitably in the light of Charles' private sufferings. That being so, it functioned primarily as a royalist text.

Another major distinction between the English *Eikon* and the Dutch translations are the visual images associated with it. One of the most significant changes in the Hartgers editions was the frontispiece. The texts of most English editions of the *Eikon* had the famous frontispiece by William Marshall, which showed the king in all his regal splendour - ermine, crown and all - 'ejaculating his prayers to God', as one hostile pamphlet has it - and grasping a crown of thorns (see illustration 4).[30] In England, Kevin Sharpe has argued (with Milton's *Eikonoklastes* as his witness) the power of the emblematic frontispiece was the feature that 'most dismayed the critics of *Eikon Basilike*'.[31] Remarkably, Marshall's powerful emblem of royal, Christic martyrdom is absent in the Dutch editions of the *Eikon*. Instead, they

[25] Sauer, 'The "Stage-Work" of Charles I', 130.
[26] See: Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 102-105. The Latin edition was entitled: *Tragicum Theatrum Actorum* (1649).
[27] Mabbot's *Perfect Narrative* (1649) was translated as: *Een Volkomen Verhael* (1649). It was published both as an independent pamphlet (see for example: Kn. 6315) and as part of Kn. 6322. *Engelandts memoriael* (1649), 33-79.
[28] Lacey, *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*, 51.
[29] Cf. Freeman, 'Imitatio Christi With a Vengeance', 55.
[30] Cited in: Sharpe, 'So Hard a Text?', 393.
[31] Sharpe, 'An Image Doting Rabble', 33.

open with a much more modest depiction of Charles: Salomon Savery's copy of Wenceslaus Hollar's portrait after Van Dyck (see illustration 5).[32]

Hollar and Savery portrayed Charles in a distinguished but not too regal fashion - dressed in black, without any notable regalia except for the Order of the Garter on his right shoulder. London, the stage of his execution, is in the background. This engraving became the central image of the king in the Dutch Republic. It was adopted in the translation of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia*, appeared in numerous pamphlets and, as we shall see, in various paintings. Hollar/Savery's pious, pensive and markedly modest king suited an audience that may not have appreciated Marshall's conspicuous royalty, and drew attention to the king's private thoughts and sufferings. Theirs was in every way the inscrutable, 'blank' king that could appeal to many audiences.

Images that would later contribute significantly to the cult were also added to *Engelandts memoriael*, the Dutch companion piece to the *Eikon*. Portraits of main actors in the Civil Wars, Strafford, Laud, Cromwell and Fairfax, preceded the accounts of their actions in the text.[33] Even more importantly, *Engelandts memoriael* was the first book to print the famous engraving of the execution (see illustration 6), which is one of the very few surviving images of the event.[34] This print contained a very inaccurate rendering of Inigo Jones' Banqueting House (see illustration 7): depicting only one of the two stories, eight instead of seven windows, and many other deviations, it was evidently the product of a continental artist, and meant for a continental audience.[35] The poet Jan Six van Chandelier credibly names Crispin van der Passe as the artist, an engraver who had worked in London years before.[36] In the

[32] Pennington assumes that Hollar's portrait of the king is the original which Savery copied. This hypothesis puts the production under severe time-pressure: Hollar, adapting a Van Dyck portrait of Charles I, made his engraving in Antwerp in 1649, presumably in response to the execution. Savery's 'exceptionally well-made copy' (Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 248) was already in print in late February or early in March. In my view, the swift travel of the portrait after it was first designed strongly suggests that the dissipation of the king's portrait on the continent was organized by royalist exiles. From this perspective, Savery's plate being sent to Denmark (see: Gerritsen, 'The Eikon in Holland', 143) even before Hartgers had printed all the copies he needed, supports this suggestion. Because the plate was sent to Denmark, the fourth of the seven Dutch editions used another effigy of the King, which showed him deeply involved in writing the *Eikon* during his imprisonment. See: Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike*, 55.

[33] In all editions of *Engelandts memoriael* the portrait of Strafford can be found opposite p. 3, Laud opposite p. 17, Charles I opposite p. 33, Fairfax opposite p. 51, and Cromwell opposite p. 53. For Hollar's originals, see: Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, nrs. P1319 (Strafford); P1304 (Laud); P1402 (Fairfax); P1432 (Charles I). All portraits, except Cromwell's, are based on Wenceslaus Hollar's engravings.

[34] Kn. 6322. *Engelandts memoriael* (1649) prints the execution scene on the title page. In another edition it appeared on p. 76, see: Kn. 6321. *Vermeerdert Engelandts memoriael* (1649).

[35] See: Dzelzainis, '1649', forthcoming. I am most grateful to Martin Dzelzainis for sending me the draft version of his article.

[36] Cf. Six van Chandelier, 'Kooninghlyk schavot te Londen' (1649).

following years, Van der Passe's rendition of the scaffold scene attained the status of an icon itself. It was mainly due to this print that the Banqueting House scaffold became a symbol not only of the trial and execution of Charles I, but of a multitude of victims of the English Parliament and Protectorate.

The verbal and pictorial images of the King and his execution that circulated through the *Eikon* and *Engelandts memoriael* became the building blocks of the Dutch cult in the 1650s. As we shall see, they were echoed abundantly in Dutch sources. Sharpe has observed that the 'visual power of the *Eikon*, ignored by logocentric historians, was clearly obvious to contemporaries, whether they were enemies or allies'.[37] In the remainder of this chapter, I want to devote attention to the *Eikon*'s visual power. As we shall see, both the inscrutable Hollar-Savery portrait and Van der Passe's image of the London scaffold were imbued with the meanings of the texts they framed - they became the icons of the *Eikon*, and emblems of Charles' *imitatio christi*.

Charles I as the Mirror of Christ

The representation of the Martyr King in the *Eikon* makes an emphatic case for the sanctity of royal rule. In various places, the King's alter ego refers directly to his biblical examples in the Old and New Testament. Echoes of the passion of Christ, especially as in the Gospel of Matthew, are manifold. The book is filled with references and allusions to Old Testament judges and rulers enjoying divine support, such as Samson, Solomon, and David. Especially the Davidic parallels are powerful, since the form of the book as a whole evokes the memory of David.[38] The prayers with which the chapters are concluded constitute, in Thomas Corns' words, a 'web of allusion to Davidic lamentation'.[39] This would not have been lost on contemporary readers. They were pertinent at least to Vondel, whose tragedies of 1660 were echoing the *Eikon*'s allusions to the Old Testament heroes.[40] Here I will consider only the most troubling biblical parallel, that with Christ. To people like John Milton and (as we shall see) Jan Six van Chandelier, this parallelization was

[37] Sharpe, 'An Image Doting Rabble', 34-35. Elsewhere, Sharpe has argued that 'the court culture of Charles I [should be studied] as the most powerful and perhaps last manifestation of the Renaissance belief in the didactic power of images'. See: Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, 223.
[38] See for example: Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History*, 53-56; Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, 40-41; Potter, *Secret Rites*, 160-162.
[39] Corns, 'Imagery in Civil War Polemic', 2. See also: Lacey, 'Texts to Be Read', 6.
[40] I am referring to Vondel's *Koning David in Ballingschap* (1660), *Koning David Hersteld* (1660) and *Samson* (1660). On the topicality of the first two plays, see: Helmers, 'Dees verwarde tijden', passim.

either pure blasphemy or overblown rhetoric.[41] For others, it offered prime evidence of the King's goodness.

It would have been unnecessary to remind seventeenth-century readers that Christ's anointment was literally inscribed in his name (*Christos* = anointed). The Old Testament implies that the unction reserved exclusively for holy men, priests and kings makes them participate in God's divinity.[42] The royalist biblical motto, 'Touch not the Lord's anointed', then, carried within it the assumption of Charles' conformity with Christ.

English royalists further developed this parallel suggested by the *Eikon*. Famously, in an epitaph on Charles, Owen Fellltham even proclaimed: 'Here Charles the First and Christ the Second lies'.[43] The English courts in The Hague did much to propagate this idea among Dutch audiences. In June 1649, the elderly Church of Ireland Bishop, Henry Leslie (1580-1661), preached a sermon for the court of Charles II in The Hague that was translated into Dutch and published by Samuel Browne as *De martelisatie van koninck Karel, ofte siin over-een-kominge met Christo in siin lyden* ('*The martyrisation of King Charles or his conformity with Christ in his suffering*').[44] Leslie's sermon was more radical than most analogies. It argued not only that Charles was 'the lively Image of our Saviour',[45] but also that the regicides in England were 'farre worse than Pilate'.[46] The publication of that argument in Dutch shows the religious culture of the English court in exile seeping through into the continental mind.

A variety of Dutch commentators on the execution echoed the English royalist interpretation. Considering the notoriety and ready availability of the *Eikon*, it is hardly imaginable that they were doing so unwittingly.[47] The poems of Catholic and Remonstrant authors such as Vondel, Anslo, and Brandt frequently alluded to Charles's *imitatio Christi*. Joan Dullaert's martyr play *Karel Stuart* may even be called a dramatic adaptation of the *Eikon*.[48] Frequently echoing both the *Eikon* and

[41] For Milton's accusations of blasphemy, see: Milton, *Second Defence*, 600. For Jan Six van Chandelier, see below.
[42] In the words of Exodus 30:32: 'it is holy, and it shall be holy unto you'.
[43] Felltham, 'An Epitaph to the Eternal Memory of Charles the First' (1649), 66.
[44] Kn. 6362. Leslie, *De martelisatie van koninck Karel* (1649). Orig. Wing L1164/5. Leslie, *The martyrdome of King Charles* (1649). I cite the latter, English edition. A similar sermon of the Church of England clergyman, Richard Watson, was also printed by Samuel Browne. See: Watson, *Regicidivm jvdaicvm* (1649).
[45] Wing L1164. Leslie, *The Martyrdome of King Charles* (1649), C2r.
[46] Wing L1164. Leslie, *The Martyrdome of King Charles* (1649), B2r-B2v. Leslie would later be echoed by Vondel (see below) and Du Moulin.
[47] Kn. 6341. Anslo, *Karel Stuart, koningh van Groot Brittanje* (1649); Brandt, 'Op de print van de Koningh van Engelandt' (1649); Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649).
[48] Henk Duits has shown that Dullaert portrays Charles as a 'miles christianus', a christic figure fighting the hellish forces of Cromwell and Fairfax (see: Duits, 'Karel Stuart. Martelaar en Miles Christianus', passim).

Engelandts memoriael, Dullaert's play brought the Christic king to the Amsterdam stage in 1652, and to the German stage after his dramatization had been translated in 1653.[49] Contemporary prints evoked the Christic parallel either by adopting pictorial conventions of Christ's passion, or by adding textual allusions. Thus, the fainting woman in the centre of *Engelandts memoriael*'s scaffold scene echoes *lo spasimo* scenes of the Virgin in Renaissance paintings of the crucifixion such as Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* (c. 1435) (see illustration 8). On one notable pamphlet engraving, *Engelandts bedroeft schoutoneel* ('*The Sad Stage of England*'), the portrait of the king after Hollar-Savery is surrounded by a series of scenes showing the king's passion: in the upper left corner Charles is being deprived of his dignities before the Royal exchange, in the lower right his body is displayed for money (see illustration 9). The portrait is circumscribed by the text 'he has accepted the martyr crown'.[50] In all these Dutch representations, Charles was endowed with a sacred aura.

The sacredness of royalty did not belong to a specific confession since it was rooted in the Bible. Although Remonstrant authors were most susceptible to the Christic parallel, it could also be embraced by Calvinist preachers. On 25 February 1649, even before Leslie preached his sermon, the Contra-Remonstrant preacher Eleasar Lotius presented the condolences of the Dutch reformed church to the Prince of Wales and told him that his 'illustrious' father had shown himself to be a martyr 'after the example of his Saviour and the martyr Stephanus'.[51] A few years later, Lieuwe van Aitzema ironically remarked that '[i]f not wholeheartedly, then at least out of compassion, [the preachers] showed themselves to be good royalists'.[52] His

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Duits does not mention the *Eikon* as Dullaert's source, yet various scenes are obvious adaptations. Charles' interview with his children in the fourth act is based on the corresponding chapter in the *Eikon*. The prayers which are so characteristic for the *Eikon* are also adapted for the stage by Dullaert (see: Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of rampzalige majesteit* (1652), H4v-I1r; I4r-I4v).

[49] In a report on the Anglo-Dutch War published in the Summer of 1653, a German bookseller advertised a drama called *Die Tragödie vom Enthäupten König Carl oder die Vnglückselige Majestät*, specifically mentioning that the playbook contained 'viel Gedichte in unterschiedlichen Sprachen auff diesen Todt gesetzet alle hochteutsch gegeben' (Berghaus, *Die Aufnahme der englischen Revolution in Deutschland*, 230-232, nr. 254). Regrettably, the German text is lost. Yet considering the prominence of Dutch news in the book which advertised it, and the international poetry that accompanied this publication, it is likely that it was a translation of Johan Dullaert's eponymous play (*Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit: Treurspel*). This lost translation may have been one of the sources of Andreas Gryphius' better known German tragedy, *Carolus Stuardus* (especially in Gryphius' first, 1657 version), but to establish the exact relationship between both plays requires further research. Currently, only Gryphius' debt to Vondel has been recognized, see: Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, 200-211.

[50] Muller 1970 / Kn. 6329. *Enghelandts bedroeft schov-toneel* (1649).

[51] Kn. 6396. Lotius, *Vertroosting gedaen aenden (…) Coninck Carel de Twede* (1649), A3v. Orig. 'naer het exempel van sijnen salichmaeker, ende den eersten Martelaer Stephanus'.

[52] Aitzema III, 323. Orig. '[de predicanten] hebben, soo niet van herten, ten minsten uyt compassie, haer getoont goet Coninghs'.

scepticism about the delegates' sincerity is unwarranted, however.[53] It is unlikely that these divines would have used the parallel with Christ lightly.

The parallel was so powerful that it affected everything it touched. The image dictated the logic. If Charles was Christ, then his enemies - described as Jews, Jesuits, Turks and the like - necessarily belonged to the devil. Perhaps following Leslie, one Dutch poet accused the English regicides in 1649 of having 'over-knaved' the Jews.[54] The history of the Civil Wars was rewritten when seen through the lens of the *Eikon*'s Christic parallel.

In the first place, as suggested above, the very account of Charles' execution was read to conform to the passion of Christ. Lambert van den Bosch's 1655 history of eminent men offers a good example of this procedure. Citing *Engelandts memoriael*, Van den Bosch recounts how the people in the 'so-called courtroom' began to shout: 'Justice, Justice, and punishment'.[55] 'It is a miracle', he observes, 'that they did not add "his blood be on us, and our children" [Matthew 27:25], to become like the Jews, when they killed their anointed, in all parts'.[56] Van den Bosch continued to accuse the guards of mocking the king and spitting upon him, superfluously pointing out the parallel with Mark 14:65 in the margins. The spitting incident was a tenacious myth,[57] which in the nineteenth century still affected Paul Delaroche when he painted the scene.[58] The myth was a direct result of the transformative power which the *Eikon*'s Christology exerted upon early modern historical understanding. Van den Bosch's account exemplifies the facility with which even the Parliamentary descriptions of the trial were incorporated as evidence into the story of Charles' *imitatio Christi*.

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[53] Cf. Haan, *Treatment of England*, 101-103; Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 8n; Uit den Boogaard (*De gereformeerden en Oranje*, 64-67) disagrees, arguing that 'it is to be doubted whether the distinction [between independents and Presbyterians - HH] was understood [in the Dutch Republic]' (67). As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, that distinction was understood perfectly by the Dutch participants in the debate, and acknowledged by both Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants.

[54] 'Op de koning-dooders van Engeland' (1649).

[55] Van den Bosch, *Het treur-toonneel* (1655), 774. Orig. 'den Rechtbanck (soo se de selve noemden) (…) 'Recht, Recht, en Straffe'. Cf. Kn. 6322. *Engelandts memoriael* (1649), 59: 'Soo hij op de trappen was in't afgaan riep het volck; ettelijcke Godt beware den Koninck; maer meest riepen 'justitie, justitie".

[56] Van den Bosch, *Het treur-toonneel* (1655), 774. Orig. ''t Is wonder dat s'er niet bij voeghden: sijn bloedt zij op ons en onse kinderen, om de Joden, in't verdoemen van hunnen Christus, hier oock in 't dooden van hunne gesalfden, in allen deelen gelijck te zijn'.

[57] See: Wedgwood, *A Coffin for King Charles*, 242; 256; 294. See also: Robertson, *The Tyrannicide Brief*, 397n. The spitting incident is recorded, and perhaps invented, by Leslie. See: Wing L1164. Leslie, *The Martyrdome of King Charles* (1649), C1r.

[58] Delaroche's painting *Charles Insulted* (1832) was recently rediscovered in the National Gallery. See: http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/delaroche-charles-insulted. Last accessed 23 December 2010.

Another example of how the passion of Christ was read into Charles' biography is the emphasis on the delivery of Charles to Parliament in 1647 by the Scots. Vondel repeatedly suggested that Charles had been sold for silver pieces by the ungodly Scots, and executed by similarly ungodly and greedy men.[59] In an epigram accompanying Charles' portrait, Geeraerd Brandt picked up the same strain:

> Here shines the essence of sold majesty
> which shames England, and still makes Ireland weep,
> Those hellish murderers sold and profited
> When gold weighed heavier than thirty silver pieces.[60]

The engraved pamphlet *Engelandts bedroeft schoutoneel*, as we have seen, also suggested that Charles had been sold just as his Saviour.[61] Unlike the examples mentioned above, this was a topos with pronounced Remonstrant overtones, because it implied that the Scottish Presbyterians were accomplices in the regicide (see Chapter 3).[62]

The transformative power of the image of the martyr king was also apparent in the Dutch reassessment of the trials of Strafford and Laud. Although immediately condemned by some Remonstrant and Orangist authors, the executions of Strafford and Laud had been received without much criticism in 1641 and 1645. Indeed, various Contra-Remonstrants had defended the actions of Parliament.[63] In 1649, however, the executions were reinterpreted in the light of the king's martyrdom. This was mainly due to *Engelandts memoriael*. In Hartgers' companion piece to the *Eikon*, the account of Charles' trial was preceded by republications of the accounts of the trials of Strafford and Laud.[64] In later editions it was followed by similar accounts of the execution of Hamilton, Holland, and Capel, which had taken place shortly after the king's, on 9 March 1649. Thus it imposed upon the reader the sense that these trials were interconnected, and encouraged a prophetic reading of the 'stage of England' in which the executions of Strafford and Laud were prefigurations

[59] See for example: Vondel, 'Op den vadermoord in Groot-Britannie' (1649), l. 4; Vondel, 'Graf-naeldt van Montrosse' (1650), ll. 25-32.
[60] Brandt, *Op de print van Karel I* (1649). Orig. 'Hier blinckt het wesen der verkochte Majesteyt, / Die Engelandt beschaemt; daer Yrlandt noch om schreyt; / Die helsche Moordenaers ontfingen; neen, maer vingen, / Toen't gout veel swaerder woegh als dertigh silverlingen'.
[61] See also: Muller 1968. *Decapitation of Charles I* (1649) where the same scenes are arranged around a copy of Van der Passe's execution scene.
[62] This opinion also prevailed among the bishops of the English Church. See, for example: Wing L1164. Leslie, *The Martyrdome of King Charles* (1649), C3r.
[63] See for example: Kn. 5241. *Der poeten vegtschool* (1645).
[64] Kn. 6322. *Engelandts memoriael* (1649), 3-16 and 17-32 respectively.

of the king's decapitation. As such, it led those who had supported the executions of Strafford and Laud to reassess the past. Lambert van den Bosch, who had defended Parliament against both Vondel's *Klaghte* and his *Maria Stuart* in 1647, borrowed Vondel's lines on Strafford's execution to condemn it after 1649.[65]

Countering the *Eikon*'s powerful effect on the perception of the trial and execution of Charles I was a strong point of concern for Parliament. It is for this reason that Milton's *First Defence*, published in a Dutch translation in 1651, explicitly rejected the parallel with Christ as blasphemy.[66] In his *Second Defence*, Milton attacked Du Moulin for using the commonplace parallel as an argument for bringing vengeance on the ungodly regicides.[67] Milton's arguments, however, seem to have made little impression in the Dutch Republic. Indeed, rather than reconsidering the terms of the debate, radical royalists inscribed anyone questioning the parallel into the existing, dichotomized interpretation of events implied by the narrative of Charles' passion. *Vergelijckinge tusschen Claudius Tiberius, Kayser van Romen, en Oliver Cromwel, Protector* ('*Comparison between Claudius Tiberius, Emperor of Rome, and Oliver Cromwell, Protector*') is a case in point.[68] Following Plutarch, and consciously situating itself within an international discourse, the *Vergelijckinge* explicitly sets out to defend Du Moulin, 'a man of unforgettable virtue, erudition and great name', against Milton's accusation of blasphemy.[69] Recurrently referring to the English regicides as 'Milton's people', this tract is aimed at the defenders of the execution, rather than the regicides themselves. Like Leslie it asserts that the English were even worse than their biblical precursors:

> I perceive Pontius Pilate to have been a man of much greater honesty than the English Pilatians, and I descry within *Milton's people* the same rashness and spite found in the Jews. The Jews have committed their and all mankind's eternal judge to a mortal judge, who howbeit was their lawful magistrate (…).

[65] Van den Bosch, *Het treur-toonneel* (1655), 694. Van den Bosch wrote: 'Hier leydt gesneuvelt door de bijl / De graef van Straffort, Yerlants Stijl' ('Here lies, fallen through the axe, /The Earl of Strafford, Ireland's pillar'), a clear echo of Vondel, 'Op den Graef van Straffort' (1641): 'Straffort, Yerlants stijl, / Om veer gehackt met u verwoede bijl' ('Strafford, the pillar of Ireland, / Cut down with your fanatic axe').
[66] Milton, *First Defence*, 404-405: 'you hold the name of Christ so cheap that you do not shrink from applying that holy name even to a devil-driven tyrant'.
[67] Milton, *Second Defence*, 600.
[68] Kn. 7822. Schultz, *Vergelijckinge* (1657).
[69] Kn. 7822. Schultz, *Vergelijckinge* (1657). B4r.

> Charles has been judged by his subjects and several depraved commanders, above whom God had placed him as King and judge.[70]

It seems that by 1657, Charles' imitation of Christ was accepted as a given in Dutch royalist circles. Still, it is evident that his sacralization had implications that were problematic in the Dutch Republic. In the first place, both the *Eikon* and various renderings of Charles' *imitatio christi* propagated the idea of holy kingship and therefore idealized monarchical government in a state governed by provincial states struggling with their newly-gained independence. Secondly, the cult of the martyr king appealed to the magical aura of kings that went against the religious sensibilities of the official, Calvinist church. Below, I will address both these corollaries of the cult-in-translation, before turning to the more generally acceptable, casuist interpretation of the king's martyrdom in vanitas painting.

Translating Charles' Divine Right in the Dutch Republic

In the context of William II's bid for sovereignty over the Republic in 1649-1650, the veneration of the Stuart King and royalist clamouring about his sanctity and his god-given rule had direct implications for the domestic political debate.[71] Indeed, Orangist texts frequently transposed the Stuart claim to divine right evident in the *Eikon Basilike*[72] onto the princes of Orange. Daniel Jonktijs, for instance, ended his poetic plea for the restoration of Charles II with the exclamation: 'and let his cousin (…) be our prince!'[73] Undoubtedly, William II's dynastic aspirations did not suffer from the monarchical sentiments unleashed by Charles' execution.

It is important to note, however, that Dutch defences of sacred monarchy in England did not necessarily translate into pleas for monarchism in the Dutch Republic. In the first place, it was possible in theory to detach Charles' martyrdom from divine right altogether. This was the approach favoured by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, whose short political tract *Bedenckingen op de Successie* ('*Considerations upon*

[70] Kn. 7822. Schultz, *Vergelijckinge* (1657), B4r. Emphasis added. Orig. 'Ick sie dat Pontius Pilatus veel eerlicker man geweest is als d'Engelschen Pilaetsen, en ick bespeure aen het Volck van Milton de selfste lichtvaerdigheyt en moetwil, als by de Joden te vinden zijn. De Joden hebben Christus overgelevert aen Pilatus, haren en aller menschen eeuwigen, aen eenen sterffelijcken Richter, die nochtans wettig over de Joden was (…) Carel is gevoert van sijne Onderdanen en eenighe verdorvene Bevelhebbers tot Richters, daer over hy als Koningh en Richter van Godt gestelt was'.

[71] Cf. Blom, 'Les réactions hollandaises', passim.

[72] Gauden [attr.] *Eikon Basilike* (1649), 157; 176. On Charles' claim to divine right and a personal divinity, see: McKnight, 'Crucifixion or Apocalypse?', passim.

[73] Jonktijs, 'Lijk-zucht' (1653), l. 24. Orig. 'Zijn neef (…) Tot onzen vorst'.

the Succession') caused a notorious debate in 1649.[74] Although Boxhorn dedicated his work to Charles II, and despite his praying to God and all his armies of angels to protect the 'glorious king Charles', his argument to support the Stuarts was built on natural law, not on divine right. Citing the Spanish jurist Ferdinand Vásquez de Menchaca, whose work had also been employed by defenders of the Dutch Revolt,[75] he even explicitly argued in favour of the sovereignty of the people and their right to shake off royal rule. In his *Controversiae Illustres* (c. 1564), Vásquez had stated that God does not forbid the revolt against a prince, because 'there is no reason why we should say that the subjection and obedience [of the people] are more to God's liking than the return from subjection to freedom'.[76] Yet both Vásquez and Boxhorn made an exception for 'the realms and princedoms in which succession, and not election, has been the practice for a very long time, maybe even more than a thousand years'. In those realms, such as England or Spain, the right of succession had been 'confirmed by time', and kingly rule could not be deposed.[77] To do so would be no violation of an innate right of kings, however, but of a 'natural right' instituted by God. For Boxhorn, then, the king could remain a sacred martyr, without allowing monarchy in general to be endowed with a divine aura.

Boxhorn had avoided the issue of divine right monarchy by emphasizing primogeniture and natural law, but his argument aroused comment he may not have anticipated. In a response to Boxhorn, a certain I.B. pointed out that his arguments implied that the Dutch revolt against Spain had been unjustified - once deposed, Philip II should have been succeeded by his son.[78] In the following polemic, Boxhorn eventually felt compelled to counter I.B.'s allegations in a lengthy study called *De Majestate*.[79] Here Boxhorn argued that Philip II had violated the privileges of the States. The Dutch Revolt had only been justified only because Philip had broken the

[74] Kn. 6378. Boxhorn, *Bedenckingen aengaende de svccessie* (1649). On this debate, see: Blom, 'Les réactions hollandaises', 203-205; Kossmann, *Political Thought,* 41-43; Wansink, *Politieke wetenschappen*, 242-245; Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 22-23.

[75] On the Dutch reception of Vasquez, see: Van Nifterink, 'Fernando Vasquez, Spaignaert, en de Nederlandse opstand', passim.

[76] Cited in: Kn. 6378. Boxhorn, *Bedenckingen aengaende de svccessie* (1649), 18. Orig. 'Ende daer is geen reden waerom wy souden seggen, dat de subiectie ende onderdanicheyt, meer by Godts believen soude toe gekomen sijn, als het wederkeeren van de subjectie tot de vryheyt'.

[77] Kn. 6378. Boxhorn, *Bedenckingen aengaende de svccessie* (1649), 18-19. Orig. 'in de rijcken ende vorstendommen in dewelcke men nu al over langh, ende misschien over duysent en meer jaren door successie ende niet door verkiesinge gekomen is'.

[78] Kn. 6379. I.B., *Responsio ad dissertationem* (1649), translated as: Kn. 6380. I.B., *Wederlegging van de bedenckingen over de successie* (1649).

[79] The subject was further pursued in: Kn. 6381. Boxhorn, '*t Secreet van de Engelsche mis* (1649) and Kn. 6382. I.B., *Mis-verstant, vanden heer professor Boxhorn* (1649) and finally in: Kn. 6383. Boxhorn, *De majestate* (1649). Nieuwstraten (private correspondence) rejects Boxhorn's authorship of *'t Secreet van de Engelsche mis*. I thank Jan Nieuwstraten for sharing his notes with me.

law. Because Charles I had not violated historical rights (since he had the right to call Parliament at will), the same could, according to Boxhorn, not be said about the English Revolution. The tension in Boxhorn's position was never really resolved, however, as Boxhorn kept stressing the absolutist dogma that a people should obey their king. No matter what rights he violated, it is difficult to see how Philip II could be exempted from such a universal dictum.

In *Defensio Regia*, Salmasius had evidently learned from the polemic between Boxhorn and I.B. and went at lengths to separate the English Revolution from the Dutch revolt. 'What they [the English] did and what the Hollanders [did],' Salmasius asserted, 'differs as ink differs from milk'.[80] Like Boxhorn, Salmasius argues that while the Hollanders had always been a free people, the English had always been subjected to kings. Whereas English counts stood in a feudal relationship to their monarch, Salmasius avers, the Dutch counts were appointed by the States. The Dutch, he concludes, did not depose a King, but a count of their own election, who happened to be sovereign of another country. 'The Hollanders never sought to lessen the right of Spain; by contrast: Spain, from the emperor Charles' days, tried to demolish the laws and freedoms of the [Dutch] people (…). The English (…) were in arms to take away the King's lawful power'.[81]

It may seem striking that no more was made of the conflict in the arguments of States Party supporters who were celebrating the King's holy right while at the same time supporting the republican government in the Dutch Republic. Yet in the political context of the 1640s and 1650s, the conflict may not have apparent at all. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, by comparing Charles to Oldenbarnevelt, Remonstrant authors simply ignored Charles' royal descent and implied that King and Grand Pensionary had essentially the same right to rule. Political theorists such as Dirck Graswinckel, too, had no difficulties applying divine right 'without escape clauses' to both kings and regents.[82] This train of thought, biblically justified with Romans 12-13, was popular among those regents in the Dutch Republic who understood divine right theory to include not only monarchs, but also themselves. A similar 'republican' interpretation of absolutism among the Dutch regent class allowed for the well-known popularity of Thomas Hobbes' political theory in the

[80] Salmasius, *Defensio Regia*, 520. Orig. 'het gene sy gedaan hebben, en de Bataviers, dat inkt niet verscheidender kan zijn van melk'.
[81] Salmasius, *Defensio Regia*, 521. Orig. 'De Hollanders hebben noyt het recht van Spanjen soeken te verminderen. Daarentegen den Spanjaard trachte de wetten en vryheden, nu al van Keyser Karels tijden af, om verre te stooten (…) De Engelschen (…) voerden de wapenen, om den Koning sijn wettelijke macht te benemen'.
[82] The phrase is cited from: Kossmann, *Political Thought in the Dutch Republic*, 41.

Dutch Republic.[83] Supporters of the States of Holland oligarchy could interpret the appeal to holy kingship as an appeal to holy government in general, which posed no danger to their form of government. Only when the De la Court brothers developed their anti-monarchical republican ideology in the 1660s did it become necessary to emphasize that Charles I had been a 'political martyr', as opposed to a religious one.[84]

A wholly different matter, of course, were the magical, thaumaturgic powers ascribed to the King. A central aspect of the cult of Charles the Martyr, these were at considerable odds with the interpretation of Charles as a martyr for lawful government in general, since they were evidently confined to the person of the monarch. Moreover, the emphasis on the king's magical powers collided with reformed religious sensibilities.

'Magicall Spells of Monarchy': The Fetish of the King's Blood

Echoing the emphasis on the blood of Christ in the passion,[85] the blood of the King became one of the central themes in Dutch poetry on the execution. This theme draws on a variety of cultural and religious beliefs. Intertwined with both the sacredness of his royal body and his martyrdom, the King's 'holy blood' was a potent image.[86] Its prominence in Dutch royalist discourse suggests that what Marc Bloch has called 'the marvellous element in the monarchical idea' had not lost its appeal to opinion makers in the Dutch Republic.[87] Indeed, when an English pamphleteer complained in 1652 that the Hollanders 'are foolishly charm'd with the Magicall Spells of Monarchy, to subvert their owne fundamentall Principles', his surprise was not entirely unwarranted.[88]

One of those magical spells was the supernatural quality ascribed to the King's royal blood. Expressions like 'blue blood' and 'the blood royal' root in the idea the royalty was a bodily quality, inscribed in the blood of kings. It was the belief, in Keith Thomas' words, 'that royal blood had its unique characteristics, and a special genealogy extending back to Noah'.[89] Already mocked by satirists like Trajano Boccalini in the early seventeenth century, this belief was increasingly under

[83] Cf. Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 328-332.
[84] De la Court, *The true interest* (1702), 407.
[85] See, for example: Matthew 27:4; 6; 8; 24; 25; John 6:53-56.
[86] The phrase 'holy blood' is used in: 'Op de koning-dooders van Engeland' (1649), l. 5.
[87] Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, 3. For an account of the continuing belief in mystical monarchy in the Dutch Republic, see: Deploige and Deneckere, *Mystifying the Monarch*, 117-138.
[88] J.W., *Brandy-wine in the Hollanders ingratitude* (1652), 1.
[89] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 244.

pressure as the seventeenth century progressed.[90] Yet in the cult of Charles the Martyr, the special qualities of his blood played an important role well into the 1680s. After his death miraculous healings were reported to be effected 'by his sacred and precious blood'.[91] A 1649 pamphlet, *A Miracle of Miracles, Wrought by the Blood of King Charles the First* reported on a 'Mayd at Detford' who had been blinded by scrofula, 'the King's evil', 'but by making use of a piece of Handkircher dipped in the Kings blood is recovered of her sight'.[92] Similar reports were current in England after the restoration.[93] A Dutch painting now in the National Portrait Gallery in Scotland famously shows several women trying to catch some of the King's blood with such a handkerchief, suggesting that these reports were widespread (see illustration 10). That the Dutch were no less susceptible to the magic of kingship than the English became apparent in 1660, when Charles II touched 'people sick of the evil' in public ceremonies in Breda and The Hague 'which drew (…) a great number of diseased, even from the most remote provinces'.[94]

The emphasis on the King's royal as well as innocent, martyr blood should also be understood as implying the bloodguilt of his enemies. Patricia Crawford has shown how Old Testament ideas of blood-guilt gained a hold among many Army officers during the later 1640s, leading them to brand Charles Stuart as a 'man of blood' whose destruction was a necessary expiation to prevent further bloodshed.[95] This idea, she argued, was vital in legitimating the trial and execution of the King. Royalist poets in the Dutch republic of the 1650s were producing a counter-discourse directly aimed at this legitimation of regicide. Several poems prophesied that the blood-thirsty English army officers would persevere in their murderousness. Reyer Anslo, for example, deplored how the King's blood was 'poured, like water, over streets' and, like Jan Six van Chandelier, wondered how the stream could be

[90] In *Ragguagli di Parnasso* (1612), Boccalini records the story of a nobleman on trial, who insists upon his noble blood being physically distinct from normal blood. I cite the 1706 English translation (*Advices from Parnassus*, 201): 'as to Nobility of Blood, which the Prince, who was descended from the honorable Family of the Sanseverini, insisted on as the main of his Pretensions, they declar'd, they did not in the least regard it; for several skilful Anatomists produc'd by the contrary Party had given in upon Oath, and made appear, that the Bones, Nerves, Flesh and Bowels of all men were made in the same manner; a most convincing Proof, that true Nobility is situated in the Mind, and not in the Blood'. I thank Inge Broekman for sharing this reference with me.

[91] Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia* (1684), 152-153. Also cited in: Lacey, *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*, 40. See also: Raymond, 'Popular Representations of Charles I', passim.

[92] Wing M2207. *A miracle of miracles* (1649). Thomason dated his copy 5 July, adding the remark: 'This is verry true' (Thomason E.563[2], A1r). See also: Sharpe, 'So Hard a Text?', 393.

[93] Cf. Lacey, *The Cult of Charles the Martyr*, 61-66.

[94] Wicquefort, *Verhael in forme van Journael* (1660). Cited from Lower's English translation: Wing R 781. Lower, *A Relation in the form of Journal* (1660), 74-78.

[95] Crawford, 'Charles Stuart, That Man of Blood', passim.

stopped.[96] The King's blood would stick to his enemies forever, and London would never be able to wash away the sinful stains it made: 'Whitehal, the place of the cross, / Should for this purple fall / From now be called Red Hall'.[97] In a poem Constantijn Huygens wrote in 1650, the King's blood had even stained the English language.[98] The focus on Charles' royal blood cannot be separated from the belief in its miraculous qualities.

Jan Six van Chandelier's 'Rariteiten te koop' ('Rarities for sale') (1649) satirized the belief in the magical spells of royalty, which had apparently become something of a craze in Amsterdam. Printed in red ink, Six' poem visually evoked the sensation of the royal blood which had flowed in London:

> Look how beautiful these letters shine,
> that have drunk of Charles
> on this white writing paper.[99]

The speaker of the poem is an itinerant quack who is praising a new ware he has laid his hand on, 'unheard of, and unseen'.[100] It comes from 'the empire of Brits', 'where one may obtain it for nought / despite its value'.[101] Of course, this invaluable stuff is the blood of the King with which the poem was written,

> It looks like a ruby pearl,
> Glowing ink, and purper paint
> Stone and wood, and red roses
> Redder than the remorseful blushing
> For the king's demise (…).[102]

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[96] Kn. 6341. Anslo, *Karel Stuart, koningh van Groot Brittanje* (1649).
[97] Six van Chandelier, 'Kooninghlyk schavot te Londen' (1649), ll. 28-30. Orig. 'Dat Withal heet, de plaats van 't kruis, / Bequaamer, voor een rooden hal, / gescholden, voor die purperval'.
[98] Huygens, 'Aenden leser' (1650), v. 41-44. Cited in: Helmers, 'Prins van loos bedrog', 309.
[99] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), ll. 133-135. Orig. 'Sie hoe fraai de letters blinken, / Die alree van Karel drinken / Op dit witte schryfpapier'. Jacobs (in: Six van Chandelier, *Gedichten* II, 285) adds: 'het is waarschijnlijk dat er een pamfletversie van is verschenen, eveneens in de kleur inkt die bij de inhoud van het gedicht aansluit'. I am indebted to Ronny Spaans for sharing his thoughts and his unpublished paper on the alchemical subtext of Six's poem with me. A comparable use of red ink can be found in Clement Walker's *Anarchia Anglicana* (1649), which printed the list of the King's judges in the colour of blood.
[100] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), l. 9. Orig. 'Ongehoort, en ongesien'.
[101] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), ll. 19-22. Orig. ''t ryk der Britten (...) Daar men die, om niet, kan haalen'.
[102] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), ll. 26-30. Orig. 'Schynende een robyne paarel, / Gloênden ink, en purpre verf, / Steen, en hout, en roode roosen, / Rooder dan het wroegend bloosen, / Om het kooninghlyk verderf'.

In praising his wares, Six' speaker explicitly alludes to the stories of miraculous qualities of the martyr blood:

> One drop, like the blood of Saints
> Sucked up with a handkerchief
> Serves a beautiful purpose, when it dissolves.[103]

Evidently, Six van Chandelier had heard or read reports about the healing handkerchiefs, and would have none of it. In having his quack compare Charles' blood to that of saints, Six van Chandelier was mocking the way in which his fellow poets were propagating the royal martyrdom, selling *their* royalist wares based on the king's blood. Ending with the seller being unable to find customers for his royal blood, the poem downplays the high-spun, quack-like claims by poets like Anslo, Brandt and Vondel:

> I just wish to receive
> Thirty Stivers, without haggling,
> Rather less, than the silver pieces,
> For which Judas hanged himself.[104]

Six's poem expresses his rejection of the 'magical aura' surrounding Charles' kingship in the Dutch Republic. The satire performed in 'Rariteiten te koop', however, is not a satire of royalism tout court. Six wrote various poems in which he expressed his sincere support of the Stuarts. Indeed, the execution of the King made such an impression on him that he even referred to it in a nuptial poem wholly unrelated to the London scaffold.[105]

Six van Chandelier was probably not the only one to dismiss the more magical aspects of the Dutch Stuart cult. A 1649 defence of the *Eikon Basilike* written for the Rotterdam chamber of rhetoric specifically addresses 'the bumptuous people' who were denying Charles' martyrdom, which suggests that such people did indeed exist.[106] Occasionally, royalist pamphlets complained about preachers still preaching for the Parliament after the execution of his sacred majesty.[107] The rhetoric of sacred and mystical kingship unleashed by the execution of the King met with scepticism.

[103] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), ll. 64-66. Orig. 'Eene drup, als bloed van Santen, / Opgesopt, met neusdoek kanten, / Strekt veel schooner, als se smelt'.
[104] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop' (1649), ll. 159-162. Orig. ''k Wensche, dat ik maar ontfongh / Dertigh stuivers, sonder singen, / Vry wat min, dan silverlingen, / Waar sich Judas om verhongh'.
[105] Six van Chandelier, 'Bruiloftsangh aan Joannes Abeels' (c. 1650), ll. 25-27.
[106] Thys. 5376. *Blaev Acoley-Krans* (1649), 3. Orig. ''t neuswijse volck'.
[107] Examples are: Kn. 7233. *Het Hollants Wijve-praetjen* (1652) and Kn. 7234. *Visschers-praetjen* (1652). Cf. Uit den Boogaard, *De gereformeerden en Oranje*, 66-67.

Yet in the printed media, the cult of Charles reigned almost unassailed. Indeed, Six was one of the very few Dutch authors who expressed his scepticism in print.

There were other responses to the magical kingship highlighted by the Stuart cult. Some, such as Abraham de Wicquefort, allowed themselves to be persuaded, albeit not wholeheartedly. After recounting the healing ceremony performed by Charles II for more than three pages in his book on the new king's travel through the Dutch Republic in 1660, Wicquefort remarked that '[w]e [would] have been loath to have touched on this particular, if many grave persons, whom one cannot suspect of superstition or deceit, spake not thereof, as of a most constant thing, and of which is no doubt'.[108]

Another way to answer the magical appeal of the martyr king was to emphasize the less controversial aspects of his royal persona. Registering the proliferation of the cult in print in the 1650s, Dutch artists added paintings to the printed image of the king which endowed it with a spiritual instead of a magical meaning.

Charles as a Moral Mirror: Eikon Basilike *and Dutch Vanitas Painting*

While emphasizing the holiness of Charles' royal office, the text of the *Eikon Basilike* also offered an image of Charles as a man of virtue, penitent, steadfast and faithful in his final hours of need, ready to exchange his earthly crown for a heavenly one. It was perfectly possible to read Charles' imitation of Christ not from the perspective of the holiness of his office, but as a 'sacred, exemplary performance' suitable for Christian meditation.[109] In a recent article on the English reception of the *Eikon*, Andrew Lacey has shown that English authors reflecting on the King's book often read it from a casuist perspective, and emphasized the King's 'holy living and holy dying'.[110] Remaining politically and religiously inscrutable or ambivalent, the Charles of the *Eikon* had a powerful claim to universal religious and moral truths - both in Britain and on the continent. Indeed, it was the King's moral exemplariness as a Christian stoically accepting divine providence which made him into the desirable object for ideological appropriation. The main reason for this emphasis, Lacey argues, is 'the *Eikon*'s relationship with established genres'.[111] Drawing on the Reformation tradition of the autobiography of the soul, a central genre in both reformed and counterreformed spirituality, the *Eikon* could appeal to the faithful on

[108] I have used the contemporary translation of Wicquefort's *Verhael in forme van journael*: Lower, *A Relation in Form of Journal* (1660), 78.
[109] Sauer, 'The "Stage-Work" of Charles I', 131.
[110] Lacey, 'Texts to Be Read', 7.
[111] Lacey, 'Texts to Be Read', 7.

both sides of the religious divide. Even more importantly, Lacey argues, the *Eikon* appropriated the style of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. 'In a brilliant propaganda coup,' he writes, 'Charles was able to turn a text that had come to be associated almost exclusively with radical Protestantism against his Puritan opponents'.[112] In the final section of this chapter, I will argue that Charles' claim to spiritual exemplariness also allowed his inclusion in the genre of moral edification *par excellence*, Dutch vanitas painting.

Somewhere between 1649 and 1660, a fascinating anamorphic portrait of Charles I was made by an anonymous Dutch artist, showing the King's image as if in a cyclone, recognisable only by those intimately familiar with his picture (see illustration 11).[113] Only when a cylindrical mirror is placed on the small skull in the centre of the painting does it reveal its true content. It is tempting to interpret this anamorphosis as a code, a cipher used by an exiled and repressed royalist culture.[114] The implication of such an interpretation is that this portrait was commissioned by an English royalist. Recent criticism of the painting, however, stresses the allegorical qualities of the anamorphic mode.

The key to that allegorical reading is the skull. To Hanneke Grootenboer, the skull suggests that the painting is 'an allegory of the nostalgia of an era that ended abruptly with the death of the king'.[115] According to Grootenboer 'the shift in perspective articulates the irreversibility of the King's beheading'. On this reading, anamorphosis signifies decay and nostalgia - the king's death has radically separated him from his 'still-devoted subjects', who have forever lost him. Laura Knoppers, by contrast, reads the anamorphosis as 'a revelatory mode', in which the proper perspective provided by the mirror reveals higher realities.[116] Knoppers discusses the painting in relation to the use of the language of perspective in *Eikon Basilike* and Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. Citing, for instance, Charles' prayer upon Henrietta Maria's flight to France in 1644, which was printed in the *Eikon* ('That in the glass of Thy truth she may see Thee in those mercies which thou hast offered to us in Thy Son Jesus Christ'), Knoppers argues that what is at stake in these anamorphic portraits are the distortions caused by political strife and the slander

[112] See: Lacey, 'Texts to Be Read', 7-8.
[113] The painting is at display in Gripsholm Castle in Stockholm, Sweden. It is catalogued as Dutch for stylistic reasons in: Johnsson, *Masterpieces from Gripsholm Castle*, 42, nr. 16. For the first discussion of these paintings, see: Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphoses ou magie artificielle*, 91-116.
[114] Potter (*Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, passim) emphasizes the encrypted nature of royalist poetry and print.
[115] Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective*, 135.
[116] Knoppers, 'Imagining the Death of the King', 153.

and misrepresentation of political enemies.[117] In this line of interpretation, anamorphosis signifies that Charles' death and martyrdom provided a mirror - death's lens - revealing God's truth. Read correctly, Charles' death meant that he could be appreciated for the good King he was.

In my view, Knoppers' interpretation is the more pertinent one. Anamorphosis did to a portrait what political strife did to divine truth: it distorted it, blurred the true image of the King as it is known to God. Only the cataclysm of a King's death and execution, symbolized by the skull, allows one to see clearly through the mists of human strife. If 'the creature', as Walter Benjamin writes 'is the mirror within whose frame alone the moral world was revealed to the baroque',[118] and if the *Eikon*, as Elizabeth Sauer has argued, 'exploited the belief that access to the private sphere and the theatre of inwardness leads to the truth',[119] the Gripsholm portrait was not unconventional in allowing its viewers to decode the distorted public image to gain access to a private, singular, and true one. Moreover, by allowing the viewer to restore the King's image to its proper shape, the anamorphosis played with the possibility of a Stuart Restoration.

Two conclusions may be drawn from this analysis. First, if the anamorphosis of the Gripsholm painting is an allegory rather than a cipher, it was not necessarily made for a market of English royalist exiles. As a mirror of virtue, a spiritual image, Charles could appeal to a much wider audience. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the anamorphosis, like the painting after Van der Passe's execution scene, was made for a Dutch audience. As we shall see, various royalist paintings allegorically akin to the anamorphosis contained textual elements in Dutch, which clearly shows that they were intended for the Dutch market.

The martyrdom of Charles I is a theme in Dutch and Flemish vanitas paintings of the mid-seventeenth century which has not yet been recognized as such.[120] Charles' anamorphosis fits this genre. Showing a distorted reality, anamorphosis is comparable to the reflections shown in convex mirrors that abound in Dutch genre painting as reminders of other realities, arguably most famously in Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*. As Anthony Janson writes, 'the convex mirror came to be used almost exclusively as a vanitas symbol because of its extreme distortions, which create a visionary reality'. According to Janson and Janson, such reflections

[117] Knoppers, 'Imagining the Death of the King', passim. Cf. Gauden [attr.] *Eikon Basilike* (1649), 160.
[118] Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 91.
[119] Sauer, 'The "Stage-Work" of Charles I', 131. For the *Eikon*'s combining the private and public image of Charles, see also: Lacey, 'Texts to Be Read', passim.
[120] Only recently, Nadia Baadj has interpreted a still life of Hendrick Andriessen as an allegory of the death of Charles I. See: Baadj, 'Hendrick Andriessen's 'portrait', passim.

were a source of revelation, and the artist Baldung Grien stressed the 'prophetic and demonic powers of the convex mirror'.[121]

Remarkably, there is at least one other vanitas painting in which Charles and the distortion of reality are associated. In Vincent van der Vinne's *Still-life with Books and a Glass Globe*, the engraved portrait of Charles I by Hollar-Savery is shown hanging down from a table filled with vanitas objects in the lower right corner (see illustration 12). A glass paperweight keeps the leaflet from falling down on the ground. The globe on top of this paperweight shows a reflection of the artist behind his easel, but his image is distorted by the convex surface.[122] Juxtaposing the distorted image of the living artist with the undistorted image of the martyred king, this vanitas painting presents an allegory that is similar to the anamorphic image of the king. The artist is reminded by his own reflection of the illusoriness of reality; the convex mirror tells him that he should not be deceived by the world of appearances - the only thing that matters is the end and his image before God. Charles' undistorted image is his moral mirror, the example that should be followed on the road to heaven.

Charles evidently fascinated the Haarlem painter-rhetorician Vincent van der Vinne.[123] In the mid-1650s, Van der Vinne - a pupil of Frans Hals - produced at least seven vanitas still-lives in which the engraved portrait of Charles I is shown alongside a wide variety of vanitas symbols. Significantly, in contrast to other vanitas painters alluding to Charles martyrdom, such as Andriessen or Luyckx, Van der Vinne depicted the printed portrait of Charles I as it had been put in circulation by the *Eikon* translation.[124] The status of that image as the frontispiece of the Dutch *Eikon* cannot be ignored: by painting that image, Van der Vinne also referred to the

[121] Janson and Janson, *History of Art*, 601. On convex mirrors in vanitas paintings, see: Janson, 'The Convex Mirror as Vanitas Symbol', passim. On the revelatory aspects of distorted and undistorted images, see also: Bialostocki, *Man and Mirror in Painting*, passim. On a general cultural history of the mirror: Anderson, *The Book of the Mirror*, passim.

[122] For a similar reflection of the artist in a glass globe, see: Simon Luttichuys's *Vanitas Still-life with Books and Prints by Rembrandt and Lievens* (1625-1661). RKD 0000006090.

[123] General information on Van der Vinne can be found in: Sliggers, 'Inleiding', passim. On the Van der Vinne family, see: Sliggers and Goudriaan, 'De Haarlemse kunstenaarsfamilie Van der Vinne, 159-167. On Van der Vinne as a still-life painter, see: Willigen and Meijer, *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-Life Painters*, 208.

[124] Arguably the best example from the artistic point of view is (1) Van der Vinne, *Vanitas still-life with crown, globe and portrait of Charles I* (1650-1660), now in the Louvre Museum. See also (2) Van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-life with Engraving of Charles I after Van Dyck* (1655-1665), present whereabouts unknown. (3) Van der Vinne, *Still-life With Books, a Globe and a Print of Charles I* (s.d.). (4) Van der Vinne, *Still-life with regalia, skull and a print of Charles I* (s.d.). Also: (5) Van der Vinne, *Vanitas still-life with Books, a Globe, a Skull and Musical Instruments* (1655-1665). Another exemplar (6) has been at display in Bergamo in 1981: *Vanitas with Prints with the Portraits of Charles I and an Unidentified Man*. See: Veca, *Vanitas*, 199, 304. The museum Maret in Riom holds a vanitas with Charles I (7) similar to the one reported in Veca. See Appendix 3.

text of the *Eikon*. In my reading of his paintings, I will focus primarily on the relationship between Van der Vinne's extremely complicated iconographies and the King's book.

The most famous and arguably the best of Van der Vinne's paintings is his *Vanitas still-life with crown, globe and portrait of Charles I* (c. 1650-1655) which is on display in the Louvre (see illustration 13).[125] Charles' portrait is here accompanied by various stock objects of the vanitas genre: the skull, the burnt-out candle, and the hourglass. In Van der Vinne's composition these symbols of earthly transcience are associated with symbols of human power: the crown in the foreground is an obvious example, the plumed helmet and the rifle just above it, referring to military prowess, have similar connotations. Considering the juxtaposition of symbols of transcience and power, it is tempting to read the painting, as Ingvar Bergström does, as a rather cynical commentary on the illusiveness and vanity of human prosperity and authority.[126] This reading seems to be confirmed by the warning on the piece of paper which, like a banderole, is hanging just before the skull's mouth: 'Denckt op t'ent' ('mind the end'). Like comparable texts on other paintings of Van der Vinne featuring Charles' portrait (such as 'the farmer and the king are alike in death') this text indeed seems to be a gloating gloss on the king's demise. I will argue, by contrast, that the painting and its warnings are perfectly serious, and that they glorify Charles rather than mock him.

In the first place, contextual evidence suggests that the incorporation of Charles' portrait into vanitas painting was an act of hero worship. In 1655, the vanitas specialist Pieter Steenwijck also depicted an engraved portrait in a vanitas setting. Instead of Charles I, Steenwijck chose the portrait of another victim of the English Republic, the admiral and national hero Marten Tromp, who had died during the Battle of Portland in the First Anglo-Dutch War.[127] Other comparable paintings also showed unmistakably heroic figures on the vanitas engravings. Ironic readings of such paintings are not impossible, but it cannot be doubted that they were intended to glorify the deceased and inspire spiritual readings. Remarkably, in one of his other vanitas still-lives, Van der Vinne depicted the portrait of Charles with a Dutch flag in the background, which suggests that he even considered Charles to be a national Dutch hero (see illustration 13).

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[125] Cf. Tapié, *Mort, Que me Veux-Tu?*, 38-39. See also: Eco, *Infinity of Lists*, 44. Pieter Fischer (*Music in Paintings of the Low Countries*, 89) suggests that the painting was made in 1650-1652.
[126] Bergström, *Dutch Still-life Painting*, 180.
[127] Pieter Steenwijck, *Allegory on the Death of Marten Harpertsz Tromp* (c. 1655). Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal. Reproduced in: Tapié, *Mort, Que me Veux-Tu?*, 41.

Internal, iconographical evidence also speaks against Bergström's interpretation, and suggests that the painting's symbolism is in fact very close to the *Eikon*'s representation of the king. A striking aspect of Van der Vinne's painting is its triangular composition; from any object on the table, the eye is led towards the upper right corner.[128] The vanishing point of the canvas, then, is the little vase with flowers. This is suggestive of the painting's treatment of the vanitas genre. Of course, flowers are symbols of decay, but the two white madonna lilies specifically signify purity, and hope.[129] Both the upward movement and the lilies strike an optimistic note that is essential to the painting's iconography and the significance of Charles I's portrait in it. They allude to the faith in salvation and, indeed, in heavenly restoration.

The hope suggested by the lilies is amplified by the various other objects that Van der Vinne associates with the Hollar-Savery portrait of Charles I. The bottle gourd at the centre of the painting, for instance, is a pilgrim's attribute (often shown in depictions of St. Jacob), signifying the spiritual travel towards God. The staff in the background is a pastoral object, a shepherd's crook of the kind often depicted by Dutch artists.[130] A Christian symbol of the benign rule of Christ, it could also be directly associated with the rule of Charles I in the 'land of sheep', as Vondel was wont to call England.[131] If these objects contain a hint of heavenly restoration, Van der Vinne develops that theme by depicting the base of a column in the background. In itself, this column evokes the qualities of the (Christian) strength and steadfastness Charles had shown during his trial and execution. In juxtaposition with the crown in the foreground, the column also alludes to Revelation 3:11-12: 'hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God'.[132] Charles, then, is not only associated with transitory power, but also with the upward movement of the good shepherd and the faithful traveller towards God.

Such a reading of the Louvre painting is of course reminiscent of the *Eikon Basilike*, the Dutch editions of which contained the very portrait depicted by Van der Vinne as their frontispiece. Charles is shown as the paradigm of how to 'mind death' and a reminder to remain as steadfast and faithful as he had remained even in the

[128] Cf. the upward movement in the Marshall frontispiece of the Eikon, which culminates in the heavenly crown. Gauden's 'Explanation of the Emblem' reads 'I slight vain things and do embrace / Glorie, the Just reward of Grace'.
[129] Ripa, *Iconologia* (1644), 205 ('Speranza'); 265 ('Pudicitia'); and 488-499 ('Purita & Sincerita d'Animo'). See also: Ward, *A Contemplation upon Flowers*, 243-244.
[130] See for instance: Willem van Mieris' *Shepherd and Shepherdess*.
[131] Vondel, 'Raadzel' (1650), l. 1.
[132] Mirimonde, *Le langage secret*, 95.

direst of circumstances. By following his example, the painting suggests, the viewer may faithfully expect his own heavenly restoration.

In view of the emphasis on the king's moral exemplariness, one might argue that Van der Vinne's representations of Charles as a moral emblem are depoliticized. Yet, as Charles himself had emphasized on the scaffold when he said that he had 'a good cause and a gracious God', the person and the cause of the King could not be separated. By incorporating the King's engraved portrait into the spiritual iconography of the vanitas genre, Van der Vinne's paintings, like the Gripsholm painting, make Charles transcend the turmoil of political debate and emphasize both his own truthfulness and the rightness of his cause. Indeed, when Van der Vinne alludes to Charles' heavenly Restoration, he also hints at a revival of the English monarchy.

Behind the lilies in the Louvre still-life, Van der Vinne painted a budding red rose in the vase in the upper right corner. On Van der Vinne's *Still-life with regalia, skull and a print of Charles I* we even find two red roses in the background. Arguably the most commonplace of all vanitas images, these flowers would not easily lend themselves to a political reading in any other vanitas painting. Yet in the presence of the printed image of the Stuart King the red rose is surely not only a symbol of decay: it is also the rose of the English monarchy. The association between Charles I and a rose proliferated after 1649. Thus Jan Six van Chandelier's quack asserted that 'Stuart is a reborn rose, / Beloved by Jesus on high'.[133] In Jacob van Oort's history of the restoration of Charles II, *Ontlokene roose, bloeyende distelbloem en hersnaerde harp* ('*The Budding Rose, Flowering Thistle and Restrung Harp*') (1661), the red rose also contains the promise of restoration.[134] Indeed, Van der Vinne's roses might even symbolize the hopes of the English monarchy, Charles II and James II. The martyrdom of their father illustrated by the print depicted in the foreground justifies their restoration to glory. Such a reading of the King's image is consistent with the main text of the *Eikon*, which emphasizes the cause of the King's children in the final chapters. It is also closely pre-echoed in the Johannes Naeranus edition. We may remember that the title of the Naeranus was *Koninckl*ijck *Voorbeeldt* ('*Royal Example*'). Rather than calling his text *Koninckl*ick *memoriael* ('*Royal Memorial*') or literally translating *Eikon Basilike* ('*Image of the King*'), Naeranus chose to emphasize the emblematic, moral qualities of the text. In his preface he explains why:

[133] Six van Chandelier, 'Rariteiten te koop', l. 119-120. Orig. 'Stuart is een roos herbooren, / En van Jesus hoogh bemint'.
[134] Van Oort, *Ontlokene roose, bloeyende distelbloem en hersnaerde harp* (1661).

> It would be dear to me, to see the King's mind ['gemoed'] impressed into all men's hearts, so that all kings, princes and magistrates may mirror themselves to the piety of this king, [and see] how just his cause was, and how just the cause of his children is. So that they, driven by a just feeling of this terrible and unjust lèse majesté, or violation of the highest power, may be moved to pity the sad state of England, which *flowered* before, and his just heirs, and (…) lend a helping hand to both (...).[135]

Rather than de-politicizing Charles, then, turning him into an exemplary emblem was meant to emphasize the religious and moral pertinence of the Stuart cause inherited by his children, and to make it 'flower' again.

A second reason for reading Van der Vinne's paintings politically is that they show Charles' portrait as it had appeared in ephemeral print. Rather than representing Charles directly, or in a book, they are foregrounding the prime medium of political debate, pamphlets. This process of sublimation, of turning political propaganda into a moral emblem, was an obvious political statement: very much like the Gripsholm anamorphosis, Van der Vinne's vanitas still-lives elevate Charles' image from the confusion of political news. His unquestioned piety validated his political actions in life, when they had been misrepresented and misunderstood. As a moral example, Charles I became a 'glass of truth', with which political debate could be (re)assessed.

Conclusion

This chapter has studied the reception and the development of the visual and textual images of Charles I as presented by the *Eikon Basilike* and *Engelandts Memoriael*. These suggest that a Cult of the Martyr King developed in the Dutch Republic which is similar to that as it is known to scholars of English royalism. Foregrounding Charles' holy kingship and his thaumaturgic powers, this cult sat uneasily in the Dutch Republic of the 1650s. That criticism of the cult, such as expressed by Jan Six van Chandelier, was nevertheless scarce was due to two factors. In the first place, holy kingship did not necessarily conflict with Dutch republicanism, since the Dutch

[135] Gauden [attr.] *Koninckl*ijck *Voorbeeldt* (1649), *4v. Emphasis added. Orig. 'Het soude mijn van herten lief zijn, het gemoedt des Konings ingedruckt te sien, in de herten van alle menschen: op dat alle Koningen, Princen, en Magistraten daer een spiegel aen mochten nemen, hoe Godsalig 't gemoed deses Konings is geweest, en hoe rechtveerdig sijn sake was, en sijner Kinderen is; op dat sy gedreven zijnde door een rechtveerdig gevoelen van dese gruwelijke en onrechtveerdige Majesteyts, of hoogste-machts-schenderije, mochten bewogen werden, tot medelijden over den bedroefden stant van dat, voor desen soo bloeyende Engelant, ende (…) de rechte Na-saten des vermoorden konings, d'een en d'ander mochten de behulpsame hand bieden'.

regents of the 1640s and 1650s were not necessarily averse to absolutism. Although radical republicans such as De la Court would later reject all 'single-headed' government, mainstream political thinkers such as Boxhorn and Graswinckel perceived no contradiction between condemning the execution of Charles I and sanctioning the Dutch revolt at the same time. In the second place, the cult was validated by Charles' Christic performance on the scaffold. This met with wide admiration among Dutch audiences, and Charles became a moral example suitable for private meditation. The vanitas paintings studied in the final part of this chapter exemplify that Charles moral elevation did not render his image apolitical. Indeed, as we shall see in chapters 5 and 6, it was the moral appeal and spiritual exemplariness of Charles' image that allowed it to gain great political power.

Chapter 5

'When in My Neighbourhood the Cannons Raged': War and Regicide in Estate Poetry

Shortly after the execution of Charles I, the States General prescribed a national day of fasting and prayer so that the Dutch could 'mirror themselves to their neighbours in England'.[1] In the same period, Aitzema reports, the States prohibited preachers to deliver sermons on the subject of English politics, lest they might cause unrest among their audiences.[2] The national day of prayer and soul-searching, then, did not primarily serve as a political gesture to cast a judgment on the regicide, but rather to imprint within the States' subjects the idea that it might happen in their country too. Indeed, the governing thought of the day of prayer was similar to Voetius' assurance in *Den Brittanischen Blixem*: 'we might be infected by their plagues' (see Chapter 2). Almost seven years after the appearance of Voetius' text, the British troubles were still a terrifying example, yet in 1649 the English regicide had replaced the Irish massacres as the main image for the threat it offered to the Dutch.

The fear of being infected with the English 'plagues' was exacerbated by the fact that the Dutch Republic, like the English Commonwealth, was extremely fragile in 1648-1651. Since the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, the Dutch Republic was officially an independent state. Peace and independence had been widely celebrated, but the celebrations had not been entirely free of anxiety. The experience of the Truce Conflicts had taught the Dutch that peace did not necessarily bring stability, and in 1648 history seemed about to repeat itself. Stadtholder William II strongly opposed the peace and strove to re-engage in war with Spain. An intense debate on

[1] Aitzema III, 366. Orig. 'dat dese landen haer mochten spiegelen (…) aen de nabuyrighe in Engelandt'.
[2] Aitzema III, 329.

the peace therefore dominated political discourse in this period.[3] Conflicts focused on the issue of army expenditure. Whereas the States of Holland wanted to reduce army expenses, the Stadtholder, in his capacity of lieutenant-general, opposed any infringement upon his power base. In the summer of 1650, the Prince apprehended several leaders of the States Party, including John de Witt's father, and attacked the city of Amsterdam. This Orangist action brought the country to the verge of civil war. Had William's coup not misfired by ill chance (his troups famously got lost on the heaths of Hilversum and were spotted by the morning postman), and had William not died soon afterwards, the conflict may well have expanded beyond control. Until well into the First Anglo-Dutch War, the union remained under severe pressure.

In texts dealing with the threat of the union disintegrating, English civil war and regicide played a crucial role. Indeed, 'the English question' in Geyl's words, 'was indissolubly bound up with all the others'.[4] From the Orangist point of view, the survival of the union was threatened mainly by the fact that the States Party in Holland had found an alternative, republican partner in the new English Commonwealth. From 1642 onwards, Parliament had courted the States, and even before the execution of Charles I, its envoy Isaac Dorislaus had been proposing a republican 'marriage' between England and the United Provinces.[5] Orangist propaganda fuelled the fear that Holland might opt out of the Union and enter into an alliance with the English. When the States of Holland decided to send Geeraerd Schaep to England as an ambassador of the province (instead of waiting for the States General to initiate an embassy) this was perceived as a violation of the Union of Utrecht, and fierce pamphlets were published in which Holland's unilateral decision to treat with the regicides was condemned.[6]

A forged agreement between the city of Amsterdam and the English government published by William II when he attacked Amsterdam played out these fears.[7] The document announced that the English would send 10,000 soldiers to aid

[3] See: Poelhekke, *Geen blijder maer in tachtig jaer*, 35-62 and passim; Frijhoff and Spies, *Bevochten eendracht*, 42-46. For the most recent summarization of the peace conflicts, see: Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic*, 84-93. See also: Groenveld, 'Unie, religie en militie', passim.
[4] Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 60.
[5] Groenveld, 'Als by het huwelyck van man ende wyff', passim. On Dorislaus' proposal of August 1648, see: 151-152.
[6] Groenveld, 'Een Schaep in 't Schapelandt', passim.
[7] Kn. 6713. *Articulen* (1650). On the discovery of Breeckevelt's responsibility for the pamphlet and his confession of the court's involvement in its publication, see: Groenveld, 'Een enckel valsch ende lasterlijck verdichtsel', passim; Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad*, 129-133; Harms, 'Thievery of Literature', forthcoming. The contents of the pamphlet and the rhetorical significance of the references to England have not previously been discussed.

Amsterdam against the other provinces. Significantly, one article stressed that these forces were to be led by a duumvirate consisting of an English general named Thomas Cromwell, and the Amsterdam burgomaster Bikker.[8] Since no Thomas Cromwell actually served in the New Model Army,[9] the allusion to Oliver Cromwell's name is likely to have been intended to instill in the pamphlet's readers a fear of the Dutch Republic being invaded by a regicide spirit through the dealings of the renegade regents of Amsterdam. Considering these sentiments, it is hardly surprising that the issues that dominated the Great Assembly of the States General in 1651 were the stadtholderate, the union, and English relations: the three subjects were considered to be deeply intertwined.

This chapter argues that the anxiety about being 'infected' with the English troubles was a central concern in the Dutch estate poetry (*hofdichten*, lit. 'garden poems') of the early 1650s. This genre thematizes not only the contrast between the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*, between *otium* and *negotium*, but also between the peace and tranquility of the gentleman's home - which it eulogizes, but also problematizes - and the turmoil of the outside world - which it endeavours, but is eventually unable to shut out. Estate poetry is a pastoral mode, which expresses the desire of an innocent life in the country undisturbed by the frays of human society.[10] Yet from the very beginnings of pastoral poetry, the arcadian or edenic world in which it delighted had tensions built into it, most prominently so in Virgil. Annabel Patterson has observed that early critics of the genre recognized that 'Virgilian pastoral referred to something other than itself, and specifically to the historical circumstances in which it was produced'.[11] Significantly, the shepherds' peaceful existence in Virgil's *Eclogues* was set in 'a country side disrupted by the aftermath of civil war'.[12] The bucolic scenery of the *Eclogues* therefore emphasized the fragility of peace, and the experience of martial horrors loomed over the Virgilian *otium*. 'At the heart of Virgil's pastoral theory', Patterson points out, 'are doubts'.[13]

[8] The statement is in the fourth article.
[9] In fact, the only Thomas Cromwell I have been able to trace was a staunch royalist who did not serve in Parliament's army, but retired to his estate after he had been fined for his services to the king. Grummitt, 'Cromwell, Thomas', ODNB.
[10] Dutch estate poetry is discussed as a pastoral genre in: Van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buytenlevens,* passim. On Virgil in particular: 140-160.
[11] Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, 3. On the tensions between pastoral poetry and historical context, see also: Gifford, *Pastoral*, 45-80. Gifford's general observation 'that [pastoral poetry] is able to explore the present, or imagine an alternative future, is only possible because the reader accepts that pastoral works as discourse' (46) is especially relevant in the early 1650s.
[12] Alpers, *What is Pastoral*, 161.
[13] Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, 5.

Doubts of this kind may also be distinguished at the heart of Constantijn Huygens' *Hofwyck* (w. 1651, p. 1653), the major Dutch estate poem of the early 1650s.[14] This poem mentions the execution of Charles I several times. The scholarship on Dutch estate poetry, which has long been resistant to historicizing tendencies, has downplayed the importance of these explicit references to contemporary politics.[15] Willemien de Vries even argues that Huygens' references to the execution of Charles I had no real political significance, since people of his acquaintance would have agreed with his judgement.[16] In this assessment, the recurrent allusions to the English civil wars and the execution of Charles I in *Hofwyck* are interpreted as mere commonplaces.

This chapter, by contrast, will argue that the memory of civil war and regicide in *Hofwyck* fulfils a role similar to the Roman civil war in Virgil's *Eclogues*. Huygens' handling of the pastoral mode was informed not only by his pride in a newly built estate, but also by a deeply felt anxiety over the political situation in Holland and England, which permeated the private sphere and cast a shadow over the arcadian enjoyments of peace and retirement. The English 'disease' threatened not only the landlord's tranquil state of mind, but, by extension, also the vulnerable, infant Dutch Republic, whose first years of peace after eighty years of war were conflict-ridden, and were in danger of exploding into an English-like civil war.

Reading *Hofwyck* against two other major estate poems of the early 1650s, Jacob Westerbaen's *Ockenburgh* (1654) and Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* (1651), throws this idea into relief. Both *Ockenburgh* and *Upon Appleton House* closely echo *Hofwyck*. Although these poems too seem to celebrate homeliness and retreat, one of their attractions is the tension between that literary ideal and the threat of (civil) war in the Anglo-Dutch sphere of the 1650s. Estate poetry, I hope to illustrate, offered Huygens, Marvell and Westerbaen the means to express and investigate the implications of that threat.

[14] I use Ton van Strien's 2008 edition: Huygens, *Hofwyck*, 3 parts. The main text, given in part I, will be referred to hereafter as: *Hofwyck*. The apparatus and commentary will be referred to as: Van Strien II (apparatus) and III (commentary).
[15] Van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buytenlevens*, passim; Gelderblom, *Mannen en maagden*, 121-129; De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 134-174. The annotation of Ton van Strien's edition leaves more room for a political reading, as he stresses the seriousness of the references. See: Van Strien III, 163-164.
[16] De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 161: 'Huygens vertolkt hier eerder een voor hem en zijn omgeving vanzelfsprekende waarheid dan dat hij een opinie probeert te beïnvloeden'.

Hofwyck's Peace and the Memory of Regicide

In Huygens' monumental *Hofwyck*, an anonymous speaker, evidently a self-portrait of the poet, takes the reader on a guided tour of his new estate.[17] Huygens presents the estate as the place where he can enjoy the distance from the busy world of politics in The Hague: 'At Hofwyck I sleep and sleep and dream of all things / But court and politics, those I manage to keep out'.[18] Hofwyck is a place where Huygens can enjoy the ideal classical otium and live the life of leisure in the company of good friends and neighbours. The speaker complacently describes the various pastimes and enjoyments of Huygens and his company.[19] He asserts that life at Hofwyck is all about relaxation and amiable conversation untainted by worldly cares. Indeed, the suffering outside the domain even intensifies this sense of contentment.[20] Looking out from his watchtower, 'Huygens' declares to be untouched by the worries and debates of the States, and oversees Holland with perfect ease of mind: 'I see it [Holland] carefree and Hofwyck-like / And allow God's winds to blow over God's fields'.[21] The worries of the world are stoically 'kept out' of Hofwyck. Visitors are therefore explicitly forbidden to talk about political and religious issues, lest they might disturb the landlord's peace.[22]

It is tempting for the reader to accept the tranquil image of Hofwyck as presented by its squire. However, the speaker does not manage to keep the real world at a distance. In fact, in several unsettling lines, he admits that the fate of his estate is closely intertwined with the fate of Holland: 'if the whole of Holland should fall, / it would not be reasonable if Hofwyck should still be standing'.[23] The speaker's contentment with his retreat, and his repeated assertions of safety,

[17] Although the supposition of an overlap between the speaker and the poet is essential to the reader's response to the poem, it is important not to conflate them. To maintain the distinction, I designate the speaker of Huygens' poem alternately as speaker or as 'Huygens' (between inverted commas). On the poet and the pastoral speaker, see Alpers, *What Is Pastoral?*, 65; 223-245.

[18] Huygens, 'Rust op Hofwyck' (1656). Cited in: Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 572. Orig. 'Op Hofwijck slaap ik maar en droom van alle dingen / Op Hoofs' en Haeghse na, die weet ik te verdringen'.

[19] De Vries (*Een hoveling en zijn tuin*, passim) reads Hofwyck as 'a guide for leisure' (Orig. 'een programma voor vrijetijdsbesteding').

[20] *Hofwyck*, ll. 274-320; 2101-2104. Line 2101 explicitly states: 'Here do I feel the entertainment of next-door suffering' (Orig. 'Hier voel ick het vermaeck van naestgelegen lijden'). On these passages, see: De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 155; Van Strien, *Constantijn Huygens, mengelingh*, 230. De Vries, who cites these lines, notes that this is one of the commonplaces in English Estate Poetry. In the margins, Huygens noted that the source of this idea is Lucretius' *De natura rerum*.

[21] *Hofwyck*, ll. 827-828. Orig. 'Ick sien het sorgeloos en op sijn Hofwijcks aen, / En laet Gods weer en wind Gods acker over gaen'. Also cited in: De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 155.

[22] In an impassioned passage (*Hofwyck*, ll. 1497-1524), Huygens bans all talk of politics and religion from his estate.

[23] *Hofwyck*, ll. 196-197: Orig. '(...) als heel Holland lagh, / En waer 't niet redelick dat Hofwijck over end stond'.

represent a pose rather than a solid conviction. Perfect as the façade of Hofwyck the house may be, there are cracks in the façade of *Hofwyck* the poem.

In the first place, the distance Huygens creates between the court and his estate is complicated by the fact that the estate is also an image of the court. Erik Jorink has recently reminded us of the centrality of 'the symbolics of macrocosm and microcosm' in *Hofwyck*.[24] One well-known example of this symbolism is the fact that Huygens' country house, like Andrew Marvell's Nun Appleton, represents a human head. His garden, by extension, is an image of the human body. Jorink has stressed that these examples are just one aspect of *Hofwyck*'s intense investigation of the relation between God, nature, and culture: '*Hofwyck* is an ode to the miracles of nature in the most inclusive sense of the word'.[25] Not without a degree of self-congratulation, Huygens has the speaker compare his country house to God's 'six-days'-works', and his garden is of course a reference to Paradise. Walking in it, 'Huygens' and his visitors read from God's book of nature and marvel at the wonders it has on offer. Jorink, as he must, reads Huygens' emphasis on the readability of nature in the light of the natural sciences and the Cartesian revolution (of which Huygens was well aware). As much as the microcosm of the human body and the macrocosm of Creation, however, Huygens' garden reflects the world of state from which it is supposed to offer refuge.[26]

Hofwyck is a synecdoche for the Province of Holland. It was customary in seventeenth-century Holland to represent both the province and the United Provinces as a whole as a garden (see illustration 14).[27] Huygens inverts this commonplace by representing his own garden as a reflection or a microcosm of Holland and the court. In various ways, the similarities between Huygens' garden and the state are foregrounded in the poem. Hofwyck's square, for example, is directly associated with the 'Binnenhof' in The Hague, the Dutch Republic's centre of government.[28] Moreover, when 'Huygens' overlooks Holland from his watchtower, as we have seen, it appears to him 'op sijn Hof-wijcks' ('Hofwyck-like'). Hofwyck, then, is an ambivalent place: it is a retreat from the world, but also a reflection of both the cosmos and the republican nation which it inhabits. Seeking

[24] Jorink, *'Boeck der Natuere'*, 1-23. See also: Van Pelt, 'Man and cosmos in Huygens' *Hofwyck*', passim. For a more general account see: Van Veen, *De soeticheyt des buyten-levens*, 211-215. For related observations on the referentiality of *hofdichten*, see also: Gelderblom, *Mannen en maagden*, 121-136.
[25] Jorink, *'Boeck der Natuere'*, 21.
[26] Scholars of English country house poetry have frequently observed that the estate is a microcosm for the state. See, for instance: Nevo, *The Dial of Virtue*, 11; 20-21; Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths*, passim.
[27] Gelderblom, Mannen en Maagden, Van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', passim. Already in 1572, a print speaks of the 'garden of Holland' being freed of 'Spanish boars'. See: Kempers, 'Assemblage', 79.
[28] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1241ff.

distance from the world, Huygens recreates it. The name Hofwyck, which can mean 'garden of refuge' and 'escape from [the] court' as well as '[the] court's neighbourhood', neatly bears out this ambivalence.[29] This ambiguity is well known, yet critics have failed to appreciate its full implications. In my view, the ambiguity is part of Huygens' consistent effort in *Hofwyck* to problematize the categories 'of private and public, of family and state',[30] and to interrogate the ideology of retreat.

Just as Hofwyck mirrors Holland, the peace in Huygens' recently built estate mirrors the peace in the recently recognized United Provinces. It is therefore highly significant that the desirability of the peace with Spain had been discussed in similar terms: the 'closing of the garden of the United Provinces' had been the main symbol for the Peace of Westphalia during the debates of 1648-1650.[31] Huygens stresses the parallel between Hofwyck's peace and the peace of the Republic in the description of his shooting range.[32] Coming to his range, the speaker thinks of English arrows, 'with which sons [now] shoot at fathers, and fathers at their sons'.[33] Although not unconventional, it is significant that this direct reference to civil war in England is made in terms of the private: emphasizing that civil war disrupts not only the state, but also the family, Huygens once again conflates 'family and state'. More importantly, civil war is here mentioned in the context of a short excursion on neighbourliness. Huygens's good 'neighbours in the Southwest', 'heirs of (...) mighty fathers', are implored to bring their bows, but only if they will use it for peaceful purposes: 'Huygens' refuses to shoot at human beings and thus create martyrs like 'St Sebastian'.[34] The literal meaning of Huygens' verse is that he invites his neighbour to join him in a friendly shooting game; the oblique way in which he phrases this everyday message, however, results in ominous associations pertaining

[29] The first line of *Hofwyck* foregrounds the double meaning of 'hof': 'De groote webb is af; en 'tHof genoegh beschreven' ('The big web is finished, and the court sufficiently described'). An earlier version of this line puts even more emphasis on the various meanings of 'Hofwyck': 'Wijck Hof 'tis Hofwijcks beurt' ('Move court, 't is Hofwyck's turn'). Cf. *Hofwyck*, l. 1n. The meanings of the name are discussed in: Van Strien and Van der Leer, *Hofwijck*, 82.

[30] *Hofwyck*, l. 64. Orig. 'Van eigen en gemeen, van Huijsgesinn en staet'.

[31] The garden figures prominently, for example, in: Kn. 6842. *Het rechte derde deel van 't Hollands Praatje* (1650). Frijhoff and Spies cite Willem Teellinck's *Grondigh Bewijs*, which argued that in order to 'close the garden of the Republic' [i.e. to secure a good peace], Antwerp needed to be conquered. See: Frijhoff and Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, 45. The States of Holland printed an image of the Lion in the Garden of Holland above a text defending the peace policy during the First Anglo-Dutch War. See: Kn. 7243. *Declaratie ende verbodt* (1652). For (other) uses of the image of the Republic after the peace as a closed garden ('hof'), see: Noordegraaf et al, *1648*, 24; 349. See also: Kernkamp, 'Kanttekeningen', 47; Van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht*, 162.

[32] *Hofwyck*, ll. 491-511.

[33] *Hofwyck*, l. 500. Orig. 'Dat Vader met naer Soon en Soon naer Vader schiet'.

[34] *Hofwyck*. Orig. 'Huijsgesinn en staet' (l. 64); 'geburen in't Zuijd-west' (l. 493); 'Leen-volger van (...) Vaders machtigh' (l. 494-496); 'Heilig Bastiaen' (l. 503). The comparison between Charles and St Sebastian, as we have seen, was a commonplace. Cf. Chapter 4.

to civil war and regicide. The south-westerly neighbour suggests England; England in turn suggests unnatural enmity, bloodshed and martyrdom. 'Huygens' - the speaker - depends on his neighbours for the enjoyment of leisure at Hofwyck. By extension, the Dutch people depend on their neighbours for the enjoyment of their independence - most of all, of course, on their neighbour England (whose 'mighty father' Charles I had recently become a 'martyr like St Sebastian').

The references to England and the execution cannot be discarded as political trivialities, since they both create and reinforce the metonymic relationship between Hofwyck and the state that is an essential element of *Hofwyck*'s representation of the speaker's microcosmic world. Once we accept this function, it becomes possible to grasp the profound moral dilemma foregrounded by the poem's celebration of retreat: should or could either a private or a public garden be closed from foreign suffering? To what price should the newly found peace in both the private and the public sphere be maintained? Anglo-Dutch relations and the memory of recent events in England play a major role in *Hofwyck*'s treatment of these questions.

The speaker's enjoyment of peace in *Hofwyck* is greatly affected by Civil War and regicide. Walking past his ash trees, 'Huygens' reflects on the use of ash wood in bow production. He expresses the wish that the ending of the Republic's Eighty Years' War with Spain will lead to more peaceful applications: 'Two times fourty years of madness has been long enough / For once to spare the ash tree's branch for axe and plough'.[35] The tree consequently inspires 'Huygens' to a passionate appeal to God to preserve the peace in the Dutch Republic:

> Let never the sun rise, God Father and God Son,
> God Spirit, Threefold God, to see us raise
> Old tones, un-tones, false sounds of drums and pipes
> Once again, either within or without this land.
> Let your provoked revenge be satisfied
> In the ruin of our neighbour people
> Who have smothered and drowned your holy church
> In their own blood, their royal blood, beyond all help and hope,
> Loyalty and comfort forever seem undone
> Unless You at last inflict punishment upon Evil.[36]

[35] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1229-1230. Orig. 'T is lang genoegh gedolt in tweemael veertigh jaren / Om eens den Eschen tack tot *Bijl* en *Ploegh* te sparen'.
[36] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1231-1240. Orig. 'Laet noijt de Sonn op gaen, God Vader, en God Zoon, / God Gheest, drij-eenigh God, die ons den ouden toon, / Den on-toon, valsch geluijd van Trommelen en Fluijten, / Van

'Huygens' imagines banning armed conflict from of the United Provinces as from his own domain, but the experiences of civil war and regicide of its 'neighbour people' fill him with dread and cast their dark shadow over the new-won peace.[37] He recoils from the memory of his own visit to England, and disgustedly he bends his thoughts:

> [I]n horror do I turn
> From [the place] where one Lord was split in many Lords
> From where a Crown, a Crown and yet another Crown
> Surprised, arrived at heads that suit it less.[38]

As we have seen, De Vries interprets these allusions to civil war as politically innocent, even apolitical.[39] However, the fact that conversations on political and religious conflicts were prohibited at Hofwyck would be a compelling reason to attach much value to the political and religious conflicts that keep coming up in the poem's 'web of words'.[40] Apparently, the subject of civil war and regicide was so pressing that it could not be suppressed even at Hofwyck. That the speaker's passionate outburst over the regicide was anything but politically harmless is further suggested by the fact that in a later revision of the manuscript, he replaced it by a more obscure allusion to civil war (the original text was printed both in 1653 and 1658).[41] This replacement is also of interest because it provides insight into Huygens' topically inspired use of imagery. In the revised version, the line 'Let your provoked revenge be satisfied in the ruin' is continued:

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niews opheffen sie van binnen of van buijten, / Laet dijn geterghde wraeck versaedt zijn in't verderf / Van ons gebuerigh volck, daer nu dijn heiligh erf, / Dijn' Kercke, light gesmoort en in haer bloed versopen, / Haer Coninckklicke bloed, en buijten hulp en hopen, / En buijten trouw en troost voor eewigh schijnt ontdaen, / 'T en zij ghij met de boos' eens in't gericht wilt gaen'.

[37] In his reading of Vondel's *Leeuwendaalers* (1647), a pastoral celebration of the Peace of Westphalia, Stefan van der Lecq descries a similar interrogation of the idea of peace. Although Van der Lecq's reading serves a theoretical rather than a historical purpose (and therefore ignores the fact that an interrogation of peace is an aspect the genre itself), the parallel between *Leeuwendaalers* and *Hofwyck* is certainly significant from a historical point of view. See: Van der Lecq, 'Decontruction - Unsettling Peace', passim. I thank Stefan for allowing me to read a draft version of the article.

[38] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1241-1244. Orig. '(…) afgrijsen doet mij keeren / Van daer een eenigh Heer gesplist is in veel' Heeren, / Van daer een' Croon, een' Croon, en noch een' Croon verrast / Op hoofden is geraeckt daer op sij niet en past'.

[39] De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 161.

[40] Huygens presents *Hofwyck* as a 'web' at the beginning and the end of the poem.

[41] The revision did not end up in the printed versions of the poem because the printers worked not from Huygens' own manuscript version, but from a copy. For the history of the text of *Hofwyck*, see: Van Strien II, 17-32.

Of wolves who desire the doom of your estate ('erf')
Your holy inheritance: who seek to turn Sion under,
To do penance for the unsatiability of gold and blood,
And put fire to Jerusalem once more,
And mow down the garden which you have planted.[42]

Even with the explicit reference removed, readers were still invited to apply the image of the garden invaded by wolves to England. Playing on the ambiguity of the word 'erf', which can mean both 'estate' or 'garden' and 'inheritance', the speaker here suggests that God's estate, the church, is also the 'holy inheritance' of Charles I. The biblical image of wolves destroying God's holy people (echoing Matthew 7:15) is a political sting to the Independent regime threatening protestant unity in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere. In view of the fact that Cromwell was often depicted as a wolf in sheep's clothing in anti-Cromwellian propaganda of the 1650s, the allusion was evident to pamphlet readers. In this final version, Huygens evoked parallels not only between London and Jerusalem, but also between Sion - the elect nation of the Reformed - the garden of England, and the garden of Holland. That wolves are mowing down the garden planted by God, moreover, reflects directly upon the speaker's own garden: that too, the image suggests, is vulnerable to intrusion and can be mowed down as long as there are wolves in Sion.

Disturbing as these images might be in the context of the speaker's celebration of the peace, he, Hofwyck-wise, immediately chooses to ignore the troubles of his neighbours. Proceeding unto the open 'square' in the centre of the garden, he is glad to be rid of the 'stenches' of the trees and the memory of civil war. Indeed, just as he pretended to be cheered by the suffering of the people outside Hofwyck earlier, he now thanks God 'For the soft mirroring to a people whose evil / Well nigh surpasses ours, not nigh, but by a long way'.[43] Should peaceful Holland rejoice in the troubles of its neighbours, as the speaker suggests? The poem's answer is again ambivalent, as the open lane calls to mind the triumphs of the House of Orange. The open view at Hofwyck should be compared, the speaker asserts, to the Great Hall in The Hague, with its 'proud vault of Holland's former Lords', 'the Spanish banners' conquered by William the Silent, Maurice, Frederick Henry, and

[42] *Hofwyck*, 181, ll. 1236β-1244β. Orig. 'Der woluen dien het lust het onheil van Dijn erf, / Dijn heiligh erf te sien: die Sion t'onder wroeten, / Om d'onversadlickheit van goud en bloed te boeten, / En steken andermael Jerusalem in brand, / En scherend'er den Tuijn die ghij d'er hebt geplantt'.
[43] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1246-1247. Orig. 'Voor 'tsachte spiegelen aen volckren, diens quaed / Het onse schier, niet schier, maer verr' te boven gaet'. The expression 'soft mirroring' was proverbial, and meant as much as 'to learn from the bad experiences of others'. See: Van Strien III, 163.

the second William.[44] Conspicuously, then, the glories of the House of Orange are contrasted to the fate of Charles I.

Though dwelling on the certain glories of the past, the poem's future is uncertain. 'Huygens' is reminded of the fact that the Great Hall was also the place where only a short time ago the union and the peace had been in the balance. Although the Union of the Provinces was eventually renewed 'in brotherly alliance', he can only pray that the triumphs of the Orange Princes will be continued by 'the last branch of the trunk,' William III, in order to preserve the unity.[45] The reference here is to the Great Assembly of 1651, which was concluded one week after Huygens recommenced writing on *Hofwyck* and which must therefore have been foremost in his mind.[46] Occasioned by the death of William II, the Great Assembly resulted in the first stadtholderless era, since Holland chose not to elect the infant William III as the new Stadtholder. Notwithstanding heated debate on various issues, the union had indeed been preserved, but only at the cost of the House of Orange, which procured continuing tensions. Huygens, then, undermines the speaker's earlier assertion that the English evil was but a 'soft mirror' by juxtaposing the situation in England with that in the Dutch Republic. Foregrounding the parallel between England and the Dutch Republic, he shows that like the English Parliament, the State party in Holland was now freed from the country's leading dynasty. Importantly, this development was closely related both to the execution of Charles I and Anglo-Dutch relations.

Hofwyck and the Milton-Salmasius Controversy during the Great Assembly

Regicide and civil war fulfill a pivotal role in *Hofwyck*'s play with microcosm and macrocosm, and in undermining the speaker's fantasy of carefree retreat. But how do the references in *Hofwyck* relate to Stuart and Orange propaganda? The speaker's final recollection of the execution of Charles I suggests at least an intertextual relationship. When he describes a bowling game at Hofwyck, the image of the scaffold in London forces itself upon 'Huygens' for the last time in the poem:

> And, if the bowl should fall that is the king of all,
> A dream or two may fly through playing thoughts

[44] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1261-1266. Orig. 'het trots gewelf van Hollands oude Heeren' (l. 1261); 'Spaensche Vendelen' (l. 1264).
[45] *Hofwyck*, ll. 1266-1272. Orig. 'in broederlick verbond' (l. 1272); 'de leste van dien Stamm' (l. 1267).
[46] Although the Great Assembly of 1651 was extremely important for the course and survival of the Union, surprisingly little has been written about it. See: Groenveld, 'Unie, Religie, Militie', 79-82; Poelhekke, 'Nijmegen, Gelderland en de Grote Vergadering van 1651', passim.

Of kings undone amidst assembled crowds -
Their people, standing tall, while the blackest clouds
Obscure the sun, clouds beyond imagining
Strike down three crowns at once with unheard claps
Make bowling grave, and bowls a Parliament (...).[47]

The game metaphor, vividly evoking the sounds of falling bowling pins, is again illustrative of the trauma which the regicide had left in Huygens (who even twenty years later, in 1671, painfully recalled 9 February 1649 as 'the most cursed day of days').[48] The metaphor is also an allusion to the greatest royalist propagandist on the continent, the Leyden professor Claudius Salmasius, who had used the bowling game as an image of England's treatment of its kings in his *Defensio Regia* (1649). By alluding to Salmasius, Huygens interfered in the great polemic between the Leyden scholar and John Milton that was waged at the very moment of his composing *Hofwyck*.

That Huygens, who owned copies of both the Latin and the Dutch edition of the *Defensio Regia*,[49] would echo Salmasius in the autumn of 1651 is no coincidence. Dutch editions of the text had appeared as early as 1650, and the *Defensio Regia* still played a key role during the Great Assembly of 1651. As we have seen, the Great Assembly had been called to settle the pressing issues faced by the Union after the death of the Prince of Orange. The English question was high on the agenda. With the Prince of Orange out of play, the States lost no time in recognizing the Commonwealth. Ten days after Jacob Cats' opening speech, formal recognition of the new Republic was agreed upon.[50] Edward Hyde would later recall the recognition as an 'infamous alliance and conjunction' between the two Republics.[51] This may be an exaggeration, but it is indicative of the political impact of the act. In response to the new situation, Parliament sent the most impressive embassy in its history. Led by Oliver St John and Walter Strickland, this embassy - with an entourage of 246 people - arrived in The Hague in March, with the commission to

[47] *Hofwyck*, ll. 2149-2155. Orig. 'En, soo de Kegel valt die Coningh is van achten, / Soo vlieght'er wel een droom door spelende gedachten / Van Coninghen ontdaen in 't midden van haer volck, / Dat over einde staet, terwijl de swartste wolck / Die oijt de Sonn besloegh, wolck boven alle wonder, / Drij Croonen zeffens velt met ongehoorden donder. / En soo wordt Bollen ernst, en Kegels Parlament'.
[48] Huygens, '9e Febr. 1671' (1671). Orig. 'vervloeckste dagh der dagen'.
[49] In the auction catalogue of Huygens' books the Latin edition is listed under 'Libri Miscellanei in Folio' (p. 26, nr. 395). The Dutch edition appears in the list 'Libri Miscellanei in Duodecimo' (p. 56, nr. 168). See: *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium* (1688). On the library of Huygens, see: Leerintveld, 'Magnificent Paper', passim. Leerintveld ('Ex libris: 'Constanter", passim) has traced 145 of the copies from the Huygens library. A Huygens copy of *Defensio Regia* has not yet been discovered.
[50] Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 100.
[51] Hyde, *History of the Rebellion* V, 158-159.

entice the Republic to a protestant, republican 'marriage'.[52] It was in this context, a pivotal moment in Anglo-Dutch relations, that Milton's refutation of the *Defensio Regia* appeared.

The publication of the *Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano* (hereafter: *First Defence*) on 7 March 1651 practically coincided with the arrival of Oliver St John and Strickland in The Hague. It is not unlikely that the work on the *First Defence* was speeded up by the Rump's commissioning the 'extraordinary embassy' on 2 February 1651. In any case, as Blair Worden has recently observed, 'the First Defence was written with a Dutch audience prominently in mind'.[53] Indeed, the States General may well be considered Milton's most important target audience. He even directly addresses the States to point out the resemblances between Charles' warring against his own people and William II's tyrannical assault of Amsterdam:

> Consider with yourselves, ye most illustrious states of the United Netherlands, who it was that put this asserter of kingly power [Salmasius] upon setting pen to paper? who it was, that but lately began to play Rex in your country? what counsels were taken, what endeavours used, and what disturbances ensued thereupon in Holland? and to what pass things might have been brought by this time? How slavery and a new master were ready prepared for you; and how near expiring that liberty of yours, asserted and vindicated by so many years war and toil, would have been ere now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain rash young gentleman.[54]

The Prince of Orange, as the patron of the *Defensio Regia* and the attacker of Dutch freedom, shared both in Milton's vilification of Salmasius and in his attack on monarchy. The Dutch union, Milton argues, had been endangered by the aspirations of a rash youth who had almost plunged the country into civil war.

The *First Defence* reached Dutch audiences while the Great Assembly was in progress. In March, Geeraerd Schaep, the States of Holland's envoy in London in 1650-1651, bought 25 copies for distribution among State members.[55] Shortly afterwards, still during the Assembly, an anonymous Dutch translation appeared,

[52] On the embassy, see: Groenveld, 'Als by het huwelyck van man ende wyff', passim; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 21-35.
[53] Worden, *Literature and Politics*, 129.
[54] Milton, *First Defence*, ix.
[55] For Schaep's purchase, see: Miller, 'Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*', passim.

the coat of arms of the English Republic ostentatiously printed on the title page.[56] The Dutch translation is an indication of the importance Parliament attached to Dutch vernacular audiences, especially considering the fact that the first English edition did not appear until after the Glorious Revolution.[57] The timing of the publication suggests a carefully planned propaganda campaign (of which the double portrait of St John and Strickland painted by Pieter Nason in The Hague in 1651 may also be a remnant). In any case, Milton's book evidently functioned to propagate the embassy and the Anglo-Dutch union it sought to procure at the Great Assembly.[58]

The reception of the *First Defence* in the United Provinces was mixed. Scholars - especially those embroiled with Salmasius - admired the book. Even the Stuart-minded scholar Isaac Vossius was impressed by it. 'Men come under the executioner's hands for the most part for their crimes and depravity, but books for their worth and excellence', Vossius wrote after the *First Defence* had been burned in Paris, implicitly expressing his regard for Milton and (despite himself) suggesting a pun on the execution of Charles I.[59] In a letter to Joannes Gronovius, Daniel Heinsius was more moderate in his view, famously writing that whereas Milton had defended an evil cause well, 'Scribonius [Salmasius] has pleaded most abominably the cause of the unfortunate king'.[60] Among State Party members - Milton's intended audience - the *First Defence* was received well. This, at least, is suggested by Milton himself, who in his *Second Defence* claims to have had frequent 'assurances' of Grand Pensionary Pauw's 'extraordinary predilection and regard', and his appreciation of the *First Defence*.[61] Milton's text seems to have bolstered the regents of Holland's resolve to govern without a stadtholder. In this context, it is no trivial fact that the great republican theorist Pieter de la Court owned a copy of the Dutch translation.[62] De Witt's own *Deduction*, written to defend the seclusion of the House of Orange in 1654, shares several arguments with Milton.[63]

The *First Defence* made Milton's international reputation among a scholarly audience and some State Party members, but it was an outright failure as popular

[56] Milton, *Verdedigingh des gemeene volcks* (1651).
[57] For the bibliography of both Milton's *First Defence* and Salmasius' *Defensio Regia*, see: Madan, 'A Revised Bibliography', passim.
[58] For these propagandistic paintings, see: Appendix 3.
[59] Cited in: Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, 10.
[60] Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, 13.
[61] Milton, *Second Defence* (1654), 655
[62] I thank Arthur Weststeijn for sharing his knowledge of De la Court's library with me.
[63] Arguing against an 'eminent head' in matters of State, so likely to degrade in tyranny, the Dutch Grand Pensionary extensively discusses 'the Republic of Israel', as he calls it. This is exactly what Milton does in the *First Defence*. Like Milton, moreover, De Witt focuses on the example of Gideon, who refused the hereditary title offered to him by the Israelites. See: Kn. 7543. *Deductie* (1654), 40.

propaganda.[64] The Dutch edition was marketed with reticence. Possibly anticipating popular hostility, Janssonius printed the Dutch edition anonymously, and no efforts were made to introduce and support the main text with prefatory material.[65] Some Dutch issues (not all) were even bound up with John Rowland's refutation of Milton's main work, in which the royalist exile explained to the reader that 'the rascally Milton' was only spreading 'venom' to 'poison ignorant people'.[66] In fact, scholars and republican regents set aside, I have not found a favourable response to the book in public. The references to Milton in Dutch print were markedly hostile.[67]

Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* was a different matter. Within two weeks after the first appearance of the Latin edition in November 1649, the Elzevier press sold 2,400 copies in folio and duodecimo. Although banned by the States of Holland in January 1650, the book went through four editions in Dutch, with elaborate illustrations and prefatory poems by the greatest poets of the country, including Vondel, Vos, and De Decker.[68] Milton had relentlessly attacked Salmasius for his 'childish arguments', but the vernacular poems published in pamphlets and poetry books echoed the same 'childish' arguments over and over again. Salmasius' characterization of the regicide as a parricide, for instance, ridiculed by Milton at the very beginning of the *First Defence* ('Our fathers begot us, but our kings did not'), was also used by Vondel in his extremely popular and often reprinted epigram 'Op den vader-moort in Groot Britanie' ('On the parricide in Britain') (1649).[69] Connecting the regicide to literary examples such as Oedipus, but also to historical executions that had been labelled parricides, the term was a potent one, and others soon followed Vondel's example.[70]

The Dutch political and literary responses to the Milton-Salmasius polemic bear directly on Hofwyck's echo of the *Defensio regia*'s comparison between regicide and bowling. Indeed, the bowling image was Milton's prime example of Salmasius' 'childish argument' in the *First Defence*:

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[64] Milton admitted as much in the *Second Defence* (1654), 602-603.
[65] Milton, *Verdedigingh des gemeene volcks* (1651).
[66] Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, 20-21. Re-translated from the Dutch.
[67] Cf. for instance: Kn. 7251. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* (1652).
[68] Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', passim; Madan, 'A Revised Bibliography', 117.
[69] Vondel, 'Op den vader-moort in Groot Britanie' (1649), was printed in two Dutch editions of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (1650) and various other books (see Appendix I). Originally, the title of the poem had been 'Op de koning-dooders' ('On the King-killers [in England]'), but Vondel changed the title for the Salmasius volume.
[70] There are too many examples to list here. Some random occurrences are: De Decker, *Eer-spore* (1653); Van Zjermez, *Eduard* (1660); *Letter-keering. Karolus Stuartus. Astus cultro ruas* [Anagram. Carolus Stuartus, slain by the blade of wickedness] (1653); Kn. 7432. *Rotterdams zee-praatjen* (1653), 30. Despite his low regard of Salmasius, Heinsius, too, uses the term parricide in one of his letters to Gronovius. See: Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, 13. Vondel was not averse to repeating himself, for instance in: Vondel, 'Afbeeldinge van Christine der Zweden Gotten en Wenden Koninginne' (1653), l. 61.

> So little do we fear any war or danger from foreign princes through your silly rhetoric, who accusest us to them, just as if you were at play, 'that we toss kings' heads like balls; play at bowls with crowns; and regard sceptres no more than if they were fools' staves with heads on: but you in the mean time, you silly loggerhead, deserve to have your bones well thrashed with a fool's staff, for thinking to stir up kings and princes to war by such childish arguments.[71]

Hofwyck does not only echo Salmasius' 'silly rhetoric' of kings as bowls; Huygens' description of the bowling game also reads as a rebuttal of Milton. His 'playing thoughts' both confirm Milton's 'as if you were at play' and disarm it at the same time. The fact that the regicide casts its shadow over a game that Huygens wishes to be 'without an aftertaste' (l. 2143) serves to underline the significance of the image: *even* when he is at play, Huygens answers Milton, the fate of Charles I occupies his mind.

Hofwyck's echo of Salmasius shows the intimate connection between royalist propaganda and Dutch poets in the early 1650s. In the context of two English parties battling for Dutch support, this alliance was hardly innocent: it was deeply problematic and, as we shall see in Chapter 6, at times also subversive. Especially in view of Schaep's efforts to propagate Milton's defence of the king's execution in Holland, *Hofwyck*'s echo reads as a validation of Salmasius aimed directly against the States Party. The fact that *Hofwyck* was published during the First Anglo-Dutch War, when the Dutch relation to the Stuarts was also heavily debated, only added to the poignancy of Huygens' political quote.

When *Hofwyck* was printed in 1653, the poem's idealization of the Dutch peace contrasted even more sharply with the immediate political context. The peace had been shattered and a naval war with the English Republic paralyzed the country. In this context, the passage in which the speaker congratulates himself on his safety against robbers, becomes deeply ironic:

> Here I sit within my moat,
> Of sixty feet all round, mocking human might
> Muskets I command, I sleep on both my ears
> Who dares disturb me needs heavy artillery.[72]

[71] Milton, *First Defence*, 323.
[72] *Hofwyck*, ll. 2567-2570. Orig. 'Daer sitt ick in mijn' gracht / Van zestich voet rondom, en spott met menschen macht: / Musketten ben ick baes; en slaep op beij mijn' ooren; / Laet grove stucken sien die mij bestaet te stooren'.

Holland's moat was the North Sea. Throughout 1653, this sea was commanded by English 'sea-robbers' who were in possession of exactly the kind of heavy artillery to disturb both Huygens and the Dutch navy. Indeed, so heavy was the English artillery, that shots fired in some of the naval battles of the First Anglo-Dutch War could be heard throughout The Hague. Such was the testimony of Huygens' neighbour, Jacob Westerbaen.

Westerbaen and the First Anglo-Dutch War

Jacob Westerbaen was a great admirer of Huygens. In the 1650s, Westerbaen was a loafer, living off the fortune inherited from his wife, which had enabled him to build his country house Ockenburgh.[73] Unlike Huygens, who as a diplomat and secretary to the princes of Orange had to guard his political reputation, Westerbaen was relatively free to speak his mind on political issues. Much to Huygens' vexation, he did so without the tactfulness that was Huygens' second nature. Indeed, the only explicitly anti-Cromwellian poem by Huygens published under his name during the 1650s, the 'Fuga Classis Anglicanae',[74] was translated and printed in broadside form by Westerbaen without Huygens' knowledge. In three letters Huygens sharply reprimanded his neighbour for his inconsideration.[75] The reprimand, however, only concerned the use of Huygens's name. When Westerbaen later published another Huygens poem, 'Λυκορραιστης' ('Lukorraistes'), anonymously, Huygens did not object.[76] Indeed, it is not unlikely that Huygens saw the advantages of using his neighbour as a mouthpiece who could publicize his opinion without political consequences. It would be unfair, however, to consider Westerbaen only as Huygens' puppet on a string. He was a man of considerable standing and poetic repute, whose topical poetry was frequently imitated. His fame even reached outside the Dutch Republic. Westerbaen's war pamphlet '*Hollands vloeck aen het parlementsche Engeland*' ('*Holland's Curse to the Parliamentary English*') (1653) is mentioned specifically as his work in an English newspaper of that year.[77]

[73] For Westerbaen's biography and his relation with Huygens, see: Worp, 'Jacob Westerbaen', passim. See also: Koppenol, 'Nawoord', passim.
[74] Huygens, 'Fuga Classis Anglicanae' (1652).
[75] On the incident, see: Worp, 'Jacob Westerbaen', 194-195. The letters are in: Huygens, *De Briefwisseling* V, 172-173.
[76] Huygens, 'Lukorraistes' (1653).
[77] Thyspfl. 6168. Westerbaen, *Hollands vloeck aen het parlementsche Engeland* (1653). Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 108.

Like many of Westerbaen's poems, his estate poem *Ockenburgh* was inspired by Huygens' example.[78] It is not surprising, therefore, that in *Ockenburgh*, as in *Hofwyck*, the House of Stuart features prominently. Already at the beginning of the poem, the speaker contrasts his own situation with the vicissitudes of princes, who are always in danger of being deposed or killed.[79] When he has invited his visitors (and readers) to his study, that general observation is applied to the Stuarts. This application is directly instigated by the landlord's praise for the virtues of one of his paintings, a portrait of Elizabeth Stuart by Michiel van Miereveld:

> This is the Lady Elizabeth, who after one high tide,
> Saw fortune eb again, and prosperity turn into disaster
> Saw Charles, her son, restored as Elector
> Saw Charles, her brother, deposed from his throne,
> (…) his head and crown topped by his murderers' axe
> Saw Charles, her nephew, called to Scotland
> And recently barely escape his England,
> His defeat, his Realm, his inheritance, his lot, his All.[80]

As in *Hofwyck*, recent English history (culminating in the battle of Worcester, from which Charles II had indeed 'barely' escaped) infringes upon the privacy of Westerbaen's estate by association. Material objects in his study suggest the upheavals in Britain because they are foremost in the mind of the speaker, who may be able to retreat from the public world of politics, but not from his own political nightmares. Nevertheless, *Ockenburgh*'s first allusion to the English Civil War is less disturbing than *Hofwyck*'s. Instead of God's book of nature, it is a portrait of an important political figure that reminds the speaker of the Stuarts' fate, which is a more direct and logical train of thought. If this suggests that the experience has been

[78] On *Ockenburgh*, see: De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 175-205; Van Es, 'Vreugden van het buitenleven', passim; Koppenol, *De schepping anno 1654*, 17-21. I have used the 1672 edition of the poem, in: Westerbaen, *Het eerste deel der gedichten van Jacob Westerbaen* (1672), Aaa1r-Nnn4r. Hereafter: *Ockenburgh*. Excerpts of the poem and a short introduction are offered by Johan Koppenol in: Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 101-107.

[79] *Ockenburgh*, Fff5v-Fff6r.

[80] *Ockenburgh*, Ggg1v-Ggg2r. Orig. 'Dits Vrouw Elizabet, die nae een hooge vloed, / 't Geluck weer ebben sagh, en voor en tegen spoed; / Sagh Carel, haeren Soon, weer tot een Keur-Vorst maeken, / Sagh Karel, haeren Broer, van zijnen Throon geraeken (…) En met des moorders byl van kop en kroon geknot; / Sagh Karel, haeren Neef, in Schotland weer geroopen [sic] / En korts in Engeland ter nauwer nood ontloopen, / Syn nederlaegh, syn Rijck, syn erf, syn deel, sijn Al'. Westerbaen specifically mentions Mierevelt as the painter of this portrait, which was possibly a copy of Mierevelt's famous portrait of Elizabeth now in the National Portrait Galery (NPG 71).

less traumatic for Westerbaen than for Huygens, that seems to be confirmed by the passage which concludes the *ut pictura poesis* cited above:

> Oh disastrous House of Stuart, dogged by misfortune!
> How much safer is the man in the country
> Who can measure his humble fortune precisely
> And can sit in Ockenburgh as a forgotten man.[81]

Whereas 'Huygens' was horrified and disconcerted by the 'stenches' of regicide, which even made his 'bowling grave', the misfortune of the English royal family fills 'Westerbaen' with contentment. Like *Hofwyck*, however, *Ockenburgh* exposes the speaker's confidence to be a fantasy.

The feelings of safety aroused by the Stuarts' misfortune are exposed as misguided when 'Westerbaen' sings the praise of his orchard. An experienced gardener, the speaker enjoys the 'humble' yet 'kingly' art of grafting.[82] Working on his fruit trees, he observes with wonder how 'I cut their heads (…) take their crowns, / And make them wear another' only by making a little graft.[83] The metaphor naturally leads his thoughts to the execution of Charles I:

> Oh! If only such a cure applied to severed necks
> Who would not wish Charles back on his throne of old?
> Who would not wish the wound healed that cost his head and crown?
> Then surely we would not see former allies before our doors
> Murder each other with thousands of shots.[84]

In contrast to Huygens, Westerbaen wrote his celebration of the peace of his country house not against the background of an English embassy and a past but still threatening civil war, but in the immediate context of the First Anglo-Dutch War.

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[81] *Ockenburgh*, Ggg2r. Orig. 'Rampsaeligh Stuarts huys hoe volght u't Ongeval! / Wat heeft hy 't veyliger die op het land geseeten / Syn kruypende geluck te degen af kan meeten, / Die op zyn Ockenburgh is een vergeeten man'.

[82] Marvelling at the art of grafting - a god-like art – had been a trope in country house poetry since Pliny. In one of his essays, 'The Garden', Abraham Cowley puts it like this: 'We no where art do so triumphant see, / As when it Grafts or Buds the Tree'. See: Van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buytenlevens*, 201. The association with regicide, however, seems to have been Westerbaen's invention.

[83] *Ockenburgh*, Hhh7v. Orig. 'So kap ick koppen af (…) Ick neeme kroonen wegh / En doe weer andre draegen'.

[84] *Ockenburgh*, Iii1r. Orig. 'Och, vielder so een cuyr op afgehouwe keelen, / Wie wenschte Karel niet weer op syn oude Throon? / Wie niet de wond geheelt die koste kop en kroon? / Men sagh hier voor de deur geen eertyds bond-genooten / Sich moorden wederzyds met duysenden van schooten'.

Whereas Huygens' careless pastoral world is in danger of being infected by civil war and regicide, Westerbaen's is directly affected by war. Indeed, even in the seclusion of his house Westerbaen's speaker could hear the shots fired by the naval battle raging on the North Sea on August 10, 1653. In *Ockenburgh*, he recalls the dread he felt that day:

> I am terrified by that day, which will never age,
> When in my neighbourhood the cannons raged
> Disturbing my rest with howls and the trembling
> Of my windows and the glasses in my cupboard (…).[85]

Evidently, what was rattling to the sounds of the naval battle was not just Westerbaen's glass. War also violently interrupted the speaker's fantasy of perfect isolation. Ironically, he has to admit that the very regicide which led him to rejoice in his safety at the beginning of the poem has caused the disturbance of his peace towards the end. If Huygens thought about the significance of regicide from the perspective of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations of 1651, *Ockenburgh* reinterprets it in the context of Anglo-Dutch war, and shows the fallacy of those - including Westerbaen himself - who, in the name of peace, had looked away from the London scaffold some years before.

Another irony of the grafting passage is that the speaker, while lamenting the fact that the art of grafting is no remedy for truncated human bodies, actually suggests a cure for the truncated English body politic. The frontispiece of Anthony Sadler's *The Loyall Mourner* (1649 and 1660) shows a truncated tree with the crown and sceptre of the realm in front of it (see illustration 15).[86] The subscription quotes Job 14:7-9: 'There is hope of a tree if it be cut downe that it wil sproute again'. From the trunk of the tree grow three sprouts, watered by a divine gardener, representing the king's three sons: Charles, James, and Henry. Westerbaen seems to allude to such a sprouting when he mentions a 'little piece of wood from the body cut'.[87] This suggests that the young Charles II, who had been living close to Westerbaen's home for several years, could still be grafted unto the 'wild' English trunk. As we shall see in Chapter 6, that idea firmly took root in the Dutch Republic during the early 1650s.

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[85] *Ockenburgh*, Hhh8v. Orig. 'My grouwelt van den dagh, die niet en sal verouwen. / Doe't huylen in mijn buyrt der brullende kortouwen / Quam stooren mijne rust door't brullen en't gedruys / Van mijne vensteren en glaesen in mijn kluys'.
[86] Wing S266. Sadler, *The loyall mourner* (1660), A1r.
[87] *Ockenburgh*, Iii1r. Orig. 'Een stuckjen houts van 't lichaem afgesneen'.

Estate Poetry in the Anglo-Dutch Discursive Sphere: Upon Appleton House

In several respects, Huygens' *Hofwyck* is tantalizingly close to Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* (1651).[88] Both estate poems were written in the summer of 1651, and correspondences between them abound. Like Hofwyck, Nun Appleton is compared to a human head, and like Huygens, Fairfax has 'retired here to peace'. We have seen above that the gardens at Hofwyck are fashioned after The Hague, its landlord's prime place of activity. Similarly, the gardens at Appleton are laid 'in the just Figure of a Fort', suiting General Fairfax' occupation. Where the garden of Hofwyck is an image of Eden and Holland, Marvell likewise compares the grounds of Nun Appleton to Eden, and calls England 'the Garden of the World'. When Marvell thinks of the great Parliamentary general Fairfax walking in the garden, this evokes the image of Fairfax as England's gardener, who could have made it 'spring' and flourish.[89] In the words of Hugh Jenkins, *Upon Appleton House* 'questions the whole idea of the estate', since 'its larger referent [is] the state itself'.[90] This phrase, as we have seen, is equally applicable to *Hofwyck*.

Like Huygens, Marvell reads the horrors of civil war in nature, most famously in the stanzas describing the mowing of the meadow. Echoing Huygens' biblical image of the wolves mowing God's garden, Marvell sees 'unhappy birds' meet their 'untimely funeral' (which may may either represent the fate of the Stuarts or the Church of England). The cutting of the grass then conjures up images of battle and the bodies of falling soldiers:

> The mower now commands the Field;
> In whose new traverse seemeth wrought
> A Camp Battail newly fought
> Where as the Meads with Hay, the Plain
> Lyes quilted ore with Bodies slain (…).[91]

As in *Hofwyck*, these images are ambivalent. While emphasizing the pastoral usage of the field - a parallel to the peaceful applications of ash wood in *Hofwyck* - they *Eclogue*-like reinscribe civil war into the landscape of peace. Civil war and regicide had exposed the fragility of a social order traditionally celebrated and idealized in

[88] I use Nigel Smith's edition, in: Marvell, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, 210-241. Hereafter: *Upon Appleton House*.
[89] *Upon Appleton House*, 224, xxvi.
[90] Jenkings, *Feigned Commonwealths*, 128.
[91] *Upon Appleton House*, 228, lii-liii.

country house poems such as Ben Jonson's *To Penshurst*, and the memory violently invaded both the Huygens and Fairfax estate.

Evidently, Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel's assertion that there is 'an elusive, but undeniable, sense of dialogue and connection between Hofwyck and Appleton House' is fully justified.[92] Yet whereas the correspondences between *Hofwyck* and *Ockenburgh* are easily accounted for by the correspondence between their befriended authors, the similarities between *Hofwyck* and *Upon Appleton House* are not so easily explained. Davidson and Van der Weel suggest that Marvell met Huygens in the 1640s, and that both authors remembered their conversation in 1651.[93] This suggestion, as Henry Woudhuysen has pointed out, is not very convincing since there is no evidence that the two ever met. The significant time gap between the surmised meeting and the writing of both poems puts even more strain on this theory.[94] More recently, Nigel Smith has therefore suggested that *Hofwyck* was one of Marvell's sources.[95] However, Marvell cannot have known Huygens' text when he wrote *Upon Appleton House* in August 1651. Even when we consider the possibility that Huygens' text circulated in manuscript before it was printed in 1653, and allow Marvell somehow to acquire a copy, the insurmountable fact is that Huygens' manuscript is dated, and reveals that on 14 August 1651 Huygens had barely finished 250 of the final 2,800 verses.[96] The marginal notes show that he seriously recommenced the work at that date, but the first manuscript version was not finished before 8 December, when Huygens proudly signed it 'Constanter'.

In order to understand the corresponding features of *Hofwyck* and *Upon Appleton House* that go beyond generic tropes, we must not think in terms of literary influence, but in terms of Anglo-Dutch political discourse. The texts are connected not directly, but by the debate over the new political configuration in the Anglo-Dutch sphere after the execution of Charles I and the death of the Stadtholder. In the spring and summer of 1651, the Anglo-Dutch negotiations in The Hague catalysed that debate, posing pressing questions of peace and war to both Marvell and Huygens.

Marvell's country house poem was written for Lord Fairfax in the summer of 1651. As Stephen Zwicker and Derek Hirst have argued, the poem was deeply concerned with the political dilemma in which Marvell's patron found himself in at

[92] Davidson and Van der Weel, *A Selection*, 208.
[93] Davidson and Van der Weel, *A Selection*, 208-214.
[94] Woudhuysen's argument can be found in his 'Review of Davidson and Van der Weel', passim. De Vries rejects the argument in a footnote as 'interesting but speculative', in: De Vries, *Wandeling en verhandeling*, 132n.
[95] Smith, 'Introduction to *Upon Appleton House*', 212-213.
[96] Van Strien II, 17.

that moment of intense 'historical complexity'. Fairfax, the Presbyterian general who had been appalled by the execution of Charles I, retired from public life shortly after the landing of Charles II in Scotland in July 1650 in order to evade a loyalty conflict. In the summer of 1651, Fairfax' retreat into northern Yorkshire became increasingly uncomfortable. Leveller risings occurred only miles from Nun Appleton, and Charles was about to invade the north of England with his Scottish army. Pressure mounted on Fairfax to come into action, so he faced a dilemma. The English government urged him to resume command, while his Presbyterian friends - not least his wife - pleaded to have him support the Stuart cause. Although Marvell makes no explicit reference to these events, nor to Fairfax' moral dilemma, the uncertainty over the Commonwealth's survival, and Fairfax' role in it, towers over the poem. As Hirst and Zwicker conclude, 'topicality is the main spring on which this text moves'.[97]

That summer's atmosphere of crisis was not only related to developments in Scotland. The breaking down of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations in The Hague, meant to help secure the new regime, greatly added to the uncertainty over the future of the Commonwealth, which now remained isolated internationally. An alliance with the Dutch Republic would also have alleviated the religious dilemma that Presbyterians such as Fairfax faced. At his resignation, Fairfax had explained his decision by pointing out his religious scruples against fighting the Scots: 'Human probabilities are not sufficient grounds to make war upon a neighbour nation, especially our brethren in Scotland, to whom we are engaged in a Solemn League and Covenant'.[98] With Dutch support, English Presbyterians could reasonably argue that the Presbyterian neighbour nations were divided among themselves. Even if Fairfax did not pay heed to the Dutch vicissitudes of his nephew - who was a member of St John's embassy - the negotiations were of great interest to him.

Behind Huygens' and Marvell's parallel estate poems, then, are two major political figures (both knighted by the King of England) whose situation of relative exile from political power was deeply affected by the moral appeal of regicide. In mirroring states, these inactive giants found themselves questioning whether their allegiance to their country and to peace should outweigh their Christian duties of conscientious neighbourliness, and the loyalty they owed to the Orange-Stuart dynasty. Was it allowed for either a private person or a state to recoil from the momentous upheavals surrounding their fenced garden? Was retreat in the name of peace eventually in the interest of peace, or was it dangerous or even immoral to

[97] Hirst and Zwicker, 'High Summer at Nun Appleton', passim.
[98] Cited in: Hirst and Zwicker, 'High Summer at Nun Appleton', 250n.

ignore the suffering and warring on the other side of the fence? The conventions of estate poetry were especially suited to express the dilemmas faced by these oppositional politicians (or, in the case of Fairfax, potential opposition leaders) without necessarily resolving them. In *Hofwyck*, the reader is invited to revolt against the pastoral idyl and to condemn the speaker's (and by extension, the country's) self-congratulation and passivity. As modern readings of the poem exemplify, however, such a response is by no means forced: it depends on the reader's recognition of a friction between the historical circumstances and the poem's explicit ideology of retreat. *Upon Appleton House* - which was not written by, but addressed to the landlord - is arguably less provocative than *Hofwyck*, but nevertheless foregrounded similar moral questions.

In the circumstances of 1651, the questions inherent in the pastoral mode developed by Virgil were pressing in the Anglo-Dutch sphere, in which friendly neighbours, allies of the past, might suddenly turn hostile, and fraternal, neighbourly strife - 'within or without' - was always around the corner. Indeed, the threat that inspired both *Hofwyck* and *Upon Appleton House* became a reality soon after the poems were finished. In Marvell's case, the battle of Worcester of September (in which Charles II was decisively defeated) resolved Fairfax's dilemma. Huygens' poem was published during the First Anglo-Dutch War, which made *Hofwyck*'s celebration of peace contrast even more sharply with the situation of the Dutch Republic. The roaring of the cannons in *Ockenburgh* vividly expresses the porosity between the private world of retirement and the Anglo-Dutch embroilments without. *Ockenburgh* in fact offers an answer to questions that Huygens and Marvell leave hanging in the air by suggesting that the consequences of closing a garden in the name of peace and security might ultimately be worse than active intervention. Westerbaen's suggestion that rather than enjoying passive retreat, the Dutch should actively graft Charles II unto the truncated English state was an outright claim of the major Orange-Stuart propaganda campaign in the Dutch Republic during the early 1650s. It is to the royalist rhetoric of revenge aimed to overcome the pastoral passivity of Dutch observers of the regicide that we will now turn.

Chapter 6

The Cry of the Royal Blood: Revenge Tragedy and the Stuart Cause in the Dutch Republic

A remarkable engraving was printed for the Amsterdam bookseller François van Beusecom in 1649 (see illustration 16).[1] The lower half of the print shows the scaffold before Banqueting House, in the familiar continental version by Van der Passe, flanked by the final scenes of the life of Charles I we have already encountered in several prints discussed in Chapter 4. The upper half, by contrast, is original, and adds an element absent in other representations of the king's execution. It depicts Charles I lying on an elaborately decorated bed of state in a neoclassical fashion. Above the open curtains is a cartouche showing his portrait after Van Dyck, which is flanked by statues personifying Religion and Justice. Threatening, on both sides, stand - with drawn swords, escutcheons at their feet - the monarchs and rulers of Europe. Closest to the king's body are the Prince of Wales, who is accompanied by Scotland and Ireland, and the ruling royals of Spain, France, Denmark, Sweden and Poland. Next come, among others, the princes of Orange, Brandenburg and Bavaria, and the Bishop of Cologne. Furthest from the King, but closest to the viewer, stand the only civilians in this illustrious company, the representatives of the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland. Regicide and royal martyrdom in England are in this print subordinated to a continental display of loyalty towards the dead king and his family. The causal relationship implied by the juxtaposition of Charles' enshrinement and the martial will of his peers is obvious: the powers of Europe will not let the execution go unpunished.

[1] Muller 1968. *Decapitation of Charles I* (1649).

This retributive claim was at considerable odds with political reality: the monarchs of Europe, including Charles' relatives, were in fact either unwilling or unable to intervene. With France occupied by the domestic turmoil of the Fronde and the Franco-Spanish War (1635-1659) and Cardinal Mazarin being deaf to royalist pleas, the most realistic scenario for a successful royalist invasion involved the mobilization of the resources of the United Provinces. It may be for this reason that the Beusecom print depicts the Holland and Zeeland regents in the foreground: the Dutch had to be convinced that they should assist the exiled son to vindicate his father, and the provinces of Holland and Zeeland were the key.[2]

Officially, the Dutch had maintained a policy of neutrality in the English conflict between King and Parliament ever since it erupted in 1642. Yet behind the neutral façade, as we have seen, the political elite of the Republic had been utterly divided about the British troubles. Whereas the States of Holland and Zeeland had repeatedly shown their willingness to accommodate Parliament, the King could count on the warm-hearted support of the House of Orange, especially after William II succeeded his father Frederick Henry as Stadtholder.[3] William made restoring his brother-in-law Charles II to the throne of England one of the central aims of his foreign policy.[4] If Orange could overcome Holland's resistance and gain power over the United Provinces, so both Commonwealth leaders in England and the royalist exiles on the continent believed, war against the English Republic would be a matter of time.

The representation of Charles I as a political and religious martyr in *Eikon Basilike*, which we have examined in Chapter 4, was therefore only one part of the royalist propaganda effort. Another part was to translate Charles' martyrdom into action. One of the major works designed to achieve this was Claudius Salmasius's *Defensio Regia* ('*Defence of Kingship*') (November 1649).[5] Allegedly paid '100 jacobuses' by Charles II,[6] the Huguenot Salmasius became the front man of the

[2] As argued by: Sellin, 'Royalist Propaganda', passim.
[3] Cf. Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, passim. Geyl's provocative argument that the Princes of Orange put their own dynastic interest in the Stuart cause before the national interest endorsed by De Witt has been thoroughly revised by Simon Groenveld, who has convincingly argued that Frederick Henry was not the uncritical Stuart supporter Geyl portrayed him to be. See: Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij*, passim. During the few years William II was in office, however, the Stuart interest was prominent on the agenda.
[4] Kernkamp, *Prins Willem II*, 68-78. In an interview the Scottish migrant William Spang had with the Prince of Orange, he condoled him with his 'father', Charles I, after which William II told him, 'that now, if ever, the reformed religion was in danger; that there were no probable means to prevent the utter extirpation of it, but by espousing the young King's quarrel'. Spang to Baillie (19 March 1649). In: Aiken, 318.
[5] The fourteen editions of the *Defensio* are listed in: Madan, 'A Revised Bibliography', 103-110.
[6] At least this is Milton's claim in the *Defensio pro populo anglicano* (1651), which was translated into Dutch as: Milton, *Verdedigingh des gemeene volcks* (1651) and which in Milton studies is commonly

continental royalist propaganda campaign on the continent. In his book, translated into Dutch in 1650, Salmasius added an element of retaliation to his condemnation of the regicide: he argued in favour of the right of the Prince of Wales to succeed his father as king of England, Scotland and Ireland and called upon the European kings and princes to unite against the English 'parricides' in order to secure Charles II's rightful inheritance. Beusecom's print is only one of the sources showing that his call was heard in the Dutch Republic.

This chapter explores the rhetoric of revenge that was employed by Dutch poets, playwrights and engravers in response to the execution of Charles I. In order to propagate the revenge of Charles II, these poets drew on the language and conventions of Senecan revenge tragedy. This genre was specifically suited to discuss the political questions posed by the English Civil Wars and regicide, because it had always investigated the themes of tyranny, rebellion and (divine) justice, and had often pointed out the interrelationship between revenge and civil war.[7] To royalists, I seek to argue, the language of revenge tragedy held a special appeal, because it was so easily integrated with the existing royalist iconography of the pitiful Martyr King.

'Patient Fortitude': The Paradigm of Royalist Passivity

Scholars of royalism have emphasized the passivity of the royalist culture of the 1650s. Raymond Anselment has argued that royalists found strength in stoicism and developed an attitude of 'patient fortitude',[8] while Robert Wilcher has outlined the related 'Christian poetics' of retreat and defeat of the royalist poet Henry Vaughan.[9] Significantly, even James Loxley's study of English royalist poetry, although subtitled 'The Drawn Sword', finds - as Michael Mendle notices - but little sanguinity in royalist texts after the First Civil War.[10] Despite Loxley's attempt to interrogate the reigning orthodoxy, his study does little to dispel the idea that the dominant royalist language after the Battle of Naseby was one of passive withdrawal and *Hofwyck*-like otium.

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referred to as his *First Defence*. Although Salmasius later denied the allegation (he wrote that the line 'sumptibus regiis' had only been added to the title page to add authority to his text and to prevent problems with the censor) there are no good reasons to disbelieve Milton and the claim on the title page.

[7] Cf. Kerrigan, 'Revenge Tragedy Revisited', passim.

[8] Anselment, *Loyalist Resolve*, passim.

[9] Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, 308-348.

[10] Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, passim. Michael Mendle rightly observes that 'there is a promise in the title that is not kept: "the drawn sword"'. Mendle, 'An Enduring Discourse Community?', 235.

The Cult of the Martyr King, too, has been read within this paradigm.[11] The idea that the Cult was largely passive perhaps finds its most ardent defender in the great historian of Charles' trial, Victoria Wedgwood, who wrote:

> Admiring the constancy of the late King, hailing him as a martyr, treasuring pictures and relics of him, propagating tales of his sufferings and of the miracles wrought by his blood, these were not the prelude to action; they were a substitute for it. In spite of the indignation and the widespread sense of outrage, the King's death had exactly the effect that Cromwell and his more perceptive associates had hoped. It destroyed the active centre of royalism in England.[12]

Royalist poetry and art, on these accounts, breathe the atmosphere of defeat, and the king's image was combined melancholy and nostalgia.

This emphasis on the passive aspects of royalist culture is difficult to reconcile with the fact that revenge was a main theme in royalist political discourse. According to Edward Hyde, in a paper sent to Nicholas in October 1649, 'revenging the murther of his father (…) is the Kings present entire quarrel'.[13] Charles II himself asserted, early in 1649:

> We are firmly resolved by the assistance of almighty God, to be severe avengers of the innocent blood of our dear father, and by all ways possible to pursue and bring to their due punishment those bloody rebells who were either actors or contrivers of that barbarous and inhumane murder (…) to chase, pursue, kill, and destroy as traytors and rebells, and chiefly those bloody traitors who had any hand in our deare father's murther.[14]

The fact that scholars of royalism have found so few echoes of this kind of language in printed texts of the 1650s is closely related to their focus on English sources. Since it was mainly on the continent where feelings of pity for the Martyr King had to be converted into action, a martial royalist rhetoric might have been more prominent in other languages.

Another reason for the limited attention for the martial, inflammatory aspects of royalist print of the 1650s is the underestimation of the provocative effect

[11] One exception is: Kerrigan, 'Revenge Tragedy Revisited', passim. See also: Woodbridge, *English Revenge Drama*, 189-222. Unfortunately, I have been unable to make use of Linda Woodbridge's chapter 'Revenge and Regicide. The Civil War Era', because her book on revenge tragedy appeared after the completion of the manuscript of this disseration.
[12] Wedgwood, *The Trial of Charles I*, 212.
[13] Hyde, 'Advises to be considered of upon all Occasions of Treaties and Ouvertures', Nicholas I, 143.
[14] Cited in: Peacey, 'Order and Disorder in Europe', 953.

of commiserating with Charles I. Discussing the role of compassion in the early modern public sphere, John Staines has recently argued that John Milton read the *Eikon Basilike* and the Cult of the Martyr King in the light of early modern ideas of emotions. According to Staines, Milton recognized that the reader of Charles' 'Solitudes and Sufferings' is '*stirred up* to compassion or sympathy for him, and thereby is moved to sympathize with his political position: the reader is thus stirred up by these passions to an action, to political allegiance with the dead king and his party'.[15] As we have already seen in Chapter 4, this was also the way in which Johannes Naeranus read the *Eikon*:

> It would be dear to me, to see the King's character [gemoed] impressed into all men's hearts, so that all kings, princes and magistrates (…) may be moved to pity the sad state of England, which flowered before, and his just heirs, and (…) lend a helping hand to both.[16]

Both the English anti-royalist Milton and the Dutch royalist Naeranus recognized the *Eikon*'s ability to stir people into active support of the royalist cause despite its language of stoic resignation. In their view, the image of the passive martyr had the potential to arouse the passions of the viewer or reader, of 'imprinting' a physical effect in them, which easily translated into political action. Indeed, for royalists such as the Earl of Montrose, active, military revenge was a natural consequence of sorrow.[17] In the Dutch literature of the 1650s, too, the language of martyrdom became firmly associated with military action.

Compassion for Charles I, then, foregrounded the question of whether retributive action was justified. As Staines notes, 'how to judge the balance between compassion and justice was the unresolved issue of 1649'.[18] In the Dutch Republic of the early 1650s, confronted with Salmasius' royalist appeal for support, this issue was especially pressing. Like English royalists, Huygens and Westerbaen initially translated their compassion for the Martyr King into passive retreat. Yet as we shall see, the events in the Anglo-Dutch sphere would eventually lead them to change their positions.

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[15] Staines, 'Compassion in the Public Sphere of Milton and Charles', 106.
[16] Gauden [attr.] *Koninclijck Voorbeeldt* (1649), *4v. Orig. 'Het soude mijn van herten lief zijn, het gemoedt des Konings ingedruckt te sien, in de herten van alle menschen: op dat alle Koningen, Princen, en Magistraten (…) mochten bewogen werden, tot medelijden over den bedroefden stant van dat, voor desen soo bloeyende Engelant, ende (…) de rechte Na-saten des vermoorden konings, d'een en d'ander mochten de behulpsame hand bieden'.
[17] Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose* II, 692-693.
[18] Staines, 'Compassion in the Public Sphere of Milton and Charles', 104.

The major political argument in favour of Dutch action was provided by Salmasius. According to the *Defensio*, it was in the interest of European kings, princes and magistrates to unite against the English 'parricides' in order to secure Charles II's rightful inheritance, because rather than an attack on one dynasty, the execution of the king had been an assault upon the institution of monarchy, rightful government and indeed upon God himself. If no retaliation were to follow, continental governments would run the risk of incurring the same fate as the English king.

Richard Bonney has recently argued that arguments such as these failed to impress European governments, who adopted 'a position of wait and see' and were in general guided by reason of state.[19] In view of the fact that no foreign campaign ever materialized, there may seem to be little reason to question this conclusion. Yet Bonney's focus on the actions and motivations of those in power tends to conceal the widespread, sympathetic response to the royalist cry for retributive action among those *out of power*. Especially in the Dutch Republic, as I shall argue, the royalists language of martyrdom and revenge struck the right chord. Since only little was needed to tilt the delicate balance of power between the States Party and the Orange Party in favour of the Stuarts, it was here that the royalist rhetoric of revenge had the greatest chances of success. In the end, the call for action failed to achieve its main purpose, but, as we shall see, it did not fail to produce the right climate required for success. Especially in 1650 and 1653, royalists came close to reaching their objectives. The logic of revenge tragedy played an important part in their polemic.

The Ghost of Charles I: Martyrdom, Senecan Horror and the Stuart Cause

Joan Dullaert's dramatization of the *Eikon Basilike* exemplifies the fine line between the martyrdom of Charles I and vindictive rhetoric. Like the *Eikon*, Dullaert's play *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteyt* ('*Charles Stuart or Disastrous Majesty*') (w. 1649), represents the King's trial and execution as an *imitatio Christi*, tracking his development from initial despair in the first act to triumphant piety and resignation in the last.[20] But although vengefulness is far from Charles's mind in the action of the play - as in the *Eikon* he even forgives his executioners and prays

[19] Bonney, 'The European Reaction to the Trial and Execution of Charles I', 270.
[20] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (w. 1649) was printed in 1652 and performed in 1653. The main sources of the play are: *Eikon Basilike* [Dutch titles: *Koninckklick Memoriael* (Hartgers, 1649) and *Koninclijck voorbeeldt* (Naeranus, 1650)]; Kn. 6322. *Engelandts memoriael* (1649); and Vondel, *Maria Stuart* (1644).

for their salvation[21] - it is definitely not absent from the play. Converting her grief into anger (as revenge tragedy requires) the princess Elizabeth cries in the final act: 'The blood flowing from his cut throat / cries woe and vengeance for the supreme God / and makes the Heavens thunder'.[22] In Elizabeth's moving complaint, avenging her martyred father is a religious act, done in the service of God, which is provoked by the king's martyr blood. Even though Dullaert's play shows Charles' conformity with Christ, it thus ends on a note of retaliation.

Vengeance was also prominent in the prefatory poem that Dullaert added to the first publication (1652) of his martyr play. The poem in question is a rather quaint sonnet which negates the image of the meek monarch and focuses on his ire. Heavily drawing on Senecan imagery, it describes how, ten days after the trial, the ghost of the decapitated King appears before the judges who convicted him. With a withered appearance, fiery eyes and blood dripping from his hair, the ghost terrifies John Bradshaw and his Council. When they attempt to flee,

> [a]t once his head he from his severed neck did raise
> Which, with an open mouth, and very crampèd face
> Thrice for vengeance cried: the murderers' hair stood on end.
>
> Blood spilled freely from his corpse; and with a sad lament
> And mournful wail, he quickly vanished from their sight
> But in his place did leave, soul-sickening woe, and fright.[23]

This, clearly, is the language of revenge tragedy. In his article on this poem, Henk Duits has proposed that the ghosts of Shakespeare's Old Hamlet and the Geeraert's brother in P.C. Hooft's tragedy *Geeraerdt van Velsen* were the sources for Dullaert's horrific ghost.[24] Thyestes' ghost in Seneca's *Agamemnon*, being the common ancestor of both these vengeful spirits, would be another candidate. The direct

[21] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (1652), I1r. Orig. 'Ach Vader, wil u doch ontfarmen, / Met dees verweze Majesteit. / Vergeef het hen die my mishandlen, / En leer 'er 't padt des deuchds bewandlen'.
[22] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (1652), K2v. Orig. 'Het bloed uit zijn doorkurve strot / Roept: wee en wraak voor d'Oppergod, / En doet den gantschen Hemel dav'ren'. In poems by Westerbaen and several anonymous poets, the cry for vengeance is also articulated by the King's grieving relatives. See, for example: Kn. 6336. Westerbaen, *Klachte van Henriette de Bourbon* (1649); Thys. 5370. [Van Beveren] *Klachte Elizabets* (1649); and Kn. 6333. *Henriette de Bourbons ontstelde-Groot-moedigheid* (1649).
[23] Dullaert, *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (1652), A1v. Orig. 'Met beurde hy zijn hooft van d'afgehouwe nek, / Dat met een open mondt, en heel benaauwd een trek, / Tot driemaal riep om wraak: des de moorders hairen rezen. // Het bloedt sprongk uit de romp, en met een droef gesteen, / En jammerlijke galm, hy flux van hen verdween, / Doch liet er, in zijn plaats, zielknagend' wee, en vrezen'.
[24] Duits, 'Horror als voorafje', 116.

literary model for Dullaert's sonnet, however, is neither Shakespeare nor Seneca, but Vondel.

In the preliminary pages of *Palamedes* (1625), Vondel too had conjured up the horrifying ghost of an executed protagonist who visits his judges. The similarities between Vondel's prefatory poem and Dullaert's are unmistakable. Besides the sonnet form, the content of Vondel's poem is strikingly akin to Dullaert's. Like the ghost of Charles I, Vondel's *Palamedes* is covered with blood, he is abused, 'black and blue', and when his waking judges see him, their reaction closely resembles that of Bradshaw and his fellows:

> They trembled with fear, fled not, rather flew
> Hither and thither, for his burning eyes.
> He followed them, and left a bloodstain wherever he went.[25]

At the end of Vondel's poem, as in Dullaert's, Palamedes' ghost has left the 'parricides' to their own fears, to 'gnaw' at their own hearts. As we have seen in Chapter 3, Dullaert's use of Vondel's example reveals that the Dutch response to the regicide at times echoed Remonstrant poetry pertinent to the religious strife within the Netherlands. Yet Dullaert's ghost also had distinct political connotations, which emerge from topical pamphlets on the regicide.

The vengeful, Senecan ghost of the decapitated King made its appearance in various pamphlets and poems published after the execution. In the pamphlet *Wonderlijcke Geest des Conincx* […] *wraeck begerende over eenen Jan Coke* ('*Miraculous Ghost of the King* […] *Desiring Vengeance over one John Cooke*') (1649), for example, the ghost of Charles I appears to John Cooke, the solicitor-general for the Commonwealth who acted as the King's prosecutor during the trial in January 1649.[26] Pamphlets like these provide an illuminating context for Dullaert's sonnet, as they suggest that the vengeful ghost of the King had a distinct persuasive, inflammatory function.

This is best illustrated by a similar pamphlet with the telling title *De geest van Karolus Stuart verscheenen aan de Nederlanden* ('*The Ghost of Charles Stuart Appearing to the Netherlands*') (1649), which depicts Charles very much like Dullaert's ghost: as a bloody corpse carrying its own head.[27] Here, however, the decapitated king does not terrify his judges, but rather his Dutch audience, as he

[25] Vondel, 'Klinkdicht' (1652), B1r. Orig. 'Zy sidderden van schrick: zy vloden niet, maer vloogen, / Dan ginder heen, dan hier, voor't branden van zijne oogen. / Hy staptze na, en liet een bloetvleck waer hy tradt'.
[26] Kn. 6328. *Wonderlijcke Geest des Conincx* (1649).
[27] Kn. 6363. *De geest van Karolus Stuart verscheenen aan de Nederlanden* (1649).

complains about William II's sluggishness in coming to avenge him, and implores his son-in-law to make haste. Was this a royalist critique of the Stadtholder? Or was it rather an encouragement, and an attempt to prepare the minds of its Dutch audience for war? Possibly it was both. In any case, the poem employs a generic, literary image in order to argue for Dutch intervention in England. Whereas the image of the passive Martyr King provided Charles with a divine aura, and was tailored to arouse pity, representations of the King's vengeful ghost were specifically suited to be a call for action aimed directly at a Dutch audience.

De geest van Karolus Stuart's explicit appeal to William II of Orange is implicit in many Dutch visions of a Stuart revenge in 1649-1650. Before he died suddenly of smallpox in November 1650, all royalist hopes centred on the young Stadtholder William II, brother-in-law to Charles II. As indicated in Chapter 5, William held on to two firm principles in his foreign policy: to renew the war with Spain (which had ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648) and to support the Stuart cause. Eager to advance his own dynastic interests, William plunged himself and his House into debts on behalf of his royal friends. However, his own fortune (or rather credit) did not suffice to decide the struggle, and he was therefore continuously striving to gain domestic support for a war with the Rump and a renewed war with Spain. War, however, required the backing of the States General, and although William controlled most of the voting provinces, he was frustrated by the States of Holland, who had the power to block any decision of the general assembly. Holland and, initially, Zeeland treasured the English market and feared the effects of Parliament's strong navy on their trade in case of war.[28] The States of both provinces had been determined to remain neutral in the English conflict during the 1640s, and continued this policy after the regicide. If the United Provinces were to put their weight behind the royalist cause, the States of Holland would somehow have to be forced to comply. William's raid on Amsterdam in the summer of 1650, an audacious attempt to subdue the States of Holland and to gain complete control over the Republic, was instrumental in achieving this goal.[29] Stirring up royalist sentiments among the populace was another, slightly subtler, means to the same end. In 1649-1650, royalist visions of revenge were of special significance in the Dutch political context as they were aimed against, and were designed to overcome, Holland's resistance to the Stadtholder's preferred foreign policy.

[28] Kernkamp, *Prins Willem II*, 69-72.
[29] See for instance: Groenveld, *De Prins voor Amsterdam*, 13-22; Kernkamp, *Prins Willem II*, 78ff.

The obvious problem with the Senecan rhetoric of vengeance as adopted by Dullaert and many pamphleteers, was the doubtful moral nature of revenge. Dutch revenge tragedies tended to emphasize the biblical maxim that revenge belonged to God. Jan Vos, the Dutch master of revenge tragedy who had introduced Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* to the Amsterdam stage,[30] recognized this problem. In the 20 sestets comprising 'Brittanje aan Euroope' ('Britain to Europe'), Vos introduced Britain as a Senecan character rousing Europe to avenge Charles I.[31] Dressed in black (like Princess Elizabeth in Dullaert's play) Britain told the continent to mourn no more, but to rise to action and punish the regicides (ll. 1–6). Blood is already dripping in the first few lines, but Vos further enhances the horror of his poem in the fifth sestet, where he has Britain describe the continental army she envisages:

> You shall stretch Lord Strafford's skin[32]
> About his skull with tendons, to the cruel tyrants' horror,
> And use his shins to strike the fearful drum;
> You'll blow the hollow bones as you march on,
> For such a martial noise will take Fairfax by surprise
> And make his army flee.[33]

Political retaliation is here couched in the language of revenge tragedy, the genre that earned Vos his reputation. It is difficult to read this passage and its imaginative use of Strafford's body parts, without being reminded of Titus's revenge in Shakespeare's play ('Hark, villains, I will grind your bones to dust, / And with your blood I'll make a paste / And of the paste a coffin I will rear').[34] Through this kind of verse, English revenge tragedy was recycled on the political

[30] The precise nature of the relationship between Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, a 1620 German edition, and a lost Dutch version is much debated, but scholars agree that Shakespeare's text was Vos' ultimate source. See: Braekman, *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus*, passim; Helmers, 'Unknown Shrews', 126-127; Hoenselaars, 'Translation Futures', 273-282.

[31] Vos, 'Brittanje aan Euroope' (1650).

[32] The execution of the Earl of Strafford, Charles I's viceroy of Ireland, at the behest of Parliament in 1641, had been a traumatic affair for the king, who had been forced to sign the death warrant of one of his most loyal friends. After 1649, Strafford's death was usually seen as a pre-figuration of the King's, and the fact that Vos commemorates him in this context shows that he too absolved the king from any responsibility. By contrast, the campaign he envisages enables the royalists to avenge Strafford as much as the King.

[33] Vos, 'Brittanje aan Euroope' (1650), ll. 31–36. Orig. 'Gy zult mijn Strafforts huit, tot schrik der wreê tirannen, / Op Strafforts bekkeneel met taie peezen spannen, / En slaan met zijn gebeent op zulk een trom voor't volk; / In't trekken zult gy op zijn holle schonken blaazen; / Want zulk een krijgsgerucht zal Fairfax zelf verbaazen; / En 't leeger wegh doen vliên'.

[34] Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1594), V.ii.186-188. In his rendering of this passage in *Aran en Titus*, Jan Vos even enhanced the horrific elements. See: Vos, *Aran en Titus* (1641), 199, ll. 1887-1892.

stage, and applied to the English context. Interestingly, Vos explicitly states that moral reservations about revenge should now be temporarily put aside:

> Vindictiveness, which long was libelled devilish
> Shall now be divine; for they who corrupt the law
> And shed the royal blood, deserve the heaviest punishment.[35]

If Dutch audiences were to be convinced that they should ally themselves with Charles II, vengefulness, according to Vos, had to be re-evaluated. Hence, the image of the ghost of Charles I was complemented with images of his son as a just avenger.

Vos's 'Brittanje aan Euroope' was first published as a prefatory poem in the Dutch edition of Salmasius's *Defensio Regia* and as such it both illustrates and reinforces one of the central arguments in that key text for royalist propagandists. The problem with which both Salmasius and Vos were struggling was essentially biblical in nature. The idea that God would be avenged on the regicides because they had violated the Divine Right of Kings was founded on several favourite biblical places of royalist Divine Right advocates, such as 1 Peter 2:17: 'Fear God, honour the King'. However, anti-revolutionary as such royalist slogans may have been, they did not necessarily imply that Charles II was a just avenger. In his *Defensio Regia*, Salmasius cited Romans 12:19-13:1 to make that point:

> Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. (…) if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.[36]

This biblical dictum, so crucial for royalists, shows that thinking about tyranny, obedience and revolution was very much intertwined with thinking about revenge, as the divine ruling against revolution was immediately followed by the warning that the rightful ruler was God's avenger.[37] In Salmasius's reading, there was no distinction between Divine vindication and the revenge of Charles II, because Charles was the minister of God's revenge. Obviously, Vos's argument - albeit implicitly - relied on the same biblical context.

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[35] Vos, 'Brittanje aan Euroope' (1650), ll. 103-105. Orig. 'De Wraakzucht die altijdt voor duivelsch is gelastert, / Die zal nu godtlijk zijn; want die de wet verbastert, / En 's Koninx bloedt vergiet, verdient de zwaarste straf'.
[36] Salmasius, *Koninklijkke verdediging* (1650), 92.
[37] Kerrigan, 'Revenge Tragedy Revisited', passim.

Yet both Salmasius and Vos glossed over one essential crux. In the case of civil war, when two or more authorities contest the sovereignty or rightfulness of the other(s), Romans 12-13 became utterly ambiguous, since the question of who actually were 'the powers that be' was exactly what was at stake. If ultimate authority was to be found in Parliament, it was Parliament that would wield the sword of wrath, not the king in exile. Indeed, in the *First Defence*, Milton characteristically reversed Salmasius' argument by claiming that 'in the commonwealth, *all the magistracy* are by [God] entrusted with the preservation and execution of the laws, with the power of punishing and revenging; he has put the sword into their hands'. In Milton's reading, Paul's sword of wrath was the blade that had severed the king's head from his neck.[38] Even before Milton's reply, Salmasius knew that such a 'mad' interpretation of Paul's letter to the Romans was current among 'the prophets of England'.[39] Yet he could never accept the authority of Parliament and therefore had to replace 'magistracy' with 'people' before he could rhetorically ask: 'who are the people they adorn with the name of power? Is it the entire people or a part of it? If entire, who are then to obey them? If a part, which part?'[40]

While reflecting on Salmasius's concern with revenge, Vos confronted the ambiguities of Paul's letter to the Romans in another way. By inscribing Charles I and Charles II into the genre of revenge tragedy, he could rely on the emotive power and the authority of the form. Revenge tragedy traditionally distinguished between bad avengers such as Aran and Tamora - who are driven by devilish ambition and deplorable vindictiveness - and good avengers, such as Lucius Andronicus, who are basically restorers of (divine) order.

Stuart political discourse and the dramatic genre of revenge tragedy confronted a similar moral ambiguity rooted in the Bible. Representing Charles as a generic, indeed iconic avenger was a means of effacing that ambiguity. In the elaborate allegorical engraving on the broadsheet pamphlet called *Het Toneel der*

[38] Milton, *First Defence*, Chap. 3. Emphasis added. The entire passage shows that, for Milton, the magistrates act as defenders of the ultimate authority, religion. The church and the faithful need them as sword-bearers: 'God has not so modelled the government of the world as to make it the duty of any civil community to submit to the cruelties of tyrants, and yet to leave the church at liberty to free themselves from slavery and tyranny; nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no arms into the church's hand but those of patience and innocence, prayer and ecclesiastical discipline; but in the commonwealth, all the magistracy are by him entrusted with the preservation and execution of the laws, with the power of punishing and revenging; he has put the sword into their hands'.

[39] Salmasius, *Koninklijkke verdediging* (1650), 100. Orig. 'raazende'; 'waarseggers van Engeland'.

[40] Salmasius, *Koninklijkke verdediging* (1650), 100-101. Orig. 'wat is dat voor Volk dat sy met de naam van macht willen verstaan hebben? het geheele volk of een deel des selfs? Indien het geheele, wie sullen die sijn die het volk sullen moeten gehoorzamen (…)? Indien een deel, van wat deel sullen sy dat uytleggen?'

Engelsche Elende (‘*The Stage of English Miseries*’) (see illustration 17) the idea that Charles II was part of a divine revenge plot is pointedly illustrated.[41] Charles is here shown as a personification of St George who fights the seven-headed dragon of revolution with a sword labelled ‘Crown Right’. Ireland and Scotland kneel before him, and while Ireland appears to strap on his armour, Scotland hands him a gun that has two barely legible words written on it: ‘provoked revenge’ (‘geterghde wraeck’).[42] Charles’s revenge is justified by the depiction of the execution of his father in the background. Dark clouds hang over the scaffold, yet it is lit up by four beams that testify to God’s anger, his grief, and his pending revenge. Two read: ‘Ire of God’ (‘Gramschap Gods’), the other two ‘Woe, Woe’ (‘Wee-wee’), and: ‘Revenge, Revenge’ (‘Wraak-wraak’). Above the armies fighting in heaven (a reference to the reported sightings in England of battles in heaven during the Civil War), small but central, is God’s shining sword of wrath. Charles II has here become the chosen scourge of God.

Such divine support for royal revenge may also be found in one of the most outspoken political appropriations of Senecan revenge tragedy in seventeenth century Dutch drama, Jan Bara’s *Herstelde Vorst, ofte Geluckigh Ongeluck* (‘*Restored Prince, or Fortunate Misfortune*’) (1650).[43] Bara presents us with a British prince in mythical times called Rasimo, who is, early on in the play, visited by the ghost of his murdered father who rouses him to avenge his death: ‘Satisfy my plea, rise! Revenge! Revenge! O, melancholy son!’[44] Rasimo, however, is hesitant to perform the revenge requested by his father. As a result of his hesitance, disaster strikes. In the end of the play, Ferrugo, a devilish captain in the English army, is able to cause a ‘terrible pestilence’ to settle ‘in the country’s marrow’. Eventually Rasimo is happily restored to the throne. Yet all is not well, as becomes clear when another ghost arrives to bring an ominous prophecy to the decimated British court:

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[41] Muller 2054a. Zoet, *Het Tooneel der Engelsche elende* (s.d.). See also: *Atlas van Stolk*, nr. 2157. Van Kuyk mentions the pamphlet in his *Oude politieke spotprenten*, 17; 152. See also: Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, 265-267; and *The Abraham Cowley Text and Image Archive*. http://etext.virginia.edu/kinney/small/turningworm.htm. Last accessed 31 March 2008.

[42] The presence of Ireland in a role facilitating revenge suggests that the engraving was made before October 1649, by which time Cromwell had subdued Ireland. More likely, however, the pamphlet dates from early in 1650, when Charles agreed to the Scottish Covenanters’ demands and became King of Scotland, which finally enabled him to come to action after having been stuck in Jersey for months. Because a second state of the plate shows Charles’ coronation as King of Scotland, on 1 January 1651, *Het Tooneel* must have been in existence before that date. Of course, this does not rule out later reprints. Van Kuyk (*Oude politieke spotprenten*, 152) erroneously dates the broadside 1652; the *Atlas van Stolk* has 1651.

[43] Bara, *Herstelde Vorst, ofte Geluckigh Ongeluck* (1650). I used the copy KB, sig. 760 E 69.

[44] Bara, *Herstelde Vorst, ofte Geluckigh Ongeluck* (1650), A2v. Orig. ‘Voldoe mijn beê, op! wraeck! wraeck! ô bedruckte Soon!’.

Here shall the axe be crimsoned by the Vice-Roy's blood
The Archbishop's head, and the King's, shall be severed
On this scaffold. Cold steel will run through their necks
Cause grief and mourning in Holland's garden, and France's court;
Live long in peace, but mind the godforsaken heirs
Of this captain.[45]

Bara's play abounds with topical allusions to the recent horrors of Civil War in England and its allegorical quality would not have been lost on contemporary readers and audiences. Captain Ferrugo, the devilish intriguer, is clearly a pre-figuration of Parliament's martial heroes, Cromwell and Fairfax. Rasimo, on the other hand, is of course a type of Charles II, or, as the *De geest van Karolus Stuart* suggests, William II. When the main issue addressed by *Herstelde Vorst*, the question of whether the protagonist has the right to avenge his murdered father is answered unambiguously by a Voice from Heaven (which encourages Rasimo to pursue his just cause) this is not only a justification of Rasimo's subsequent acts of revenge, but also of a royalist invasion of Parliamentary England.

With the exception of the more or less happy ending, the plot summary of *Herstelde Vorst* is, of course, vaguely familiar. And indeed, echoes of *Hamlet* can be heard throughout the play. As in the case of Dullaert's sonnet, the similarity is probably coincidental. Seneca's *Agamemnon*, in which the ghost of Thyestes pressures his son Aegisthus to revenge, is again the more likely source for the ghost. Bara's hesitant son may even have been inspired by Geeraerd Brandt's popular *Veinzende Torquatus* ('*Feigning Torquate*') (1644). The latter play also closely resembled *Hamlet*, yet is widely believed to be a dramatization of one of Bandello's *Tragic Histories*. Nevertheless, Bara's echoing Shakespeare is important in the sense that it shows how the royalist appropriation of revenge tragedy interacted with existing discourses of revenge. For those who had read or seen topical plays like *Herstelde Vorst* or even pamphlets like *De geest van Karolus Stuart*, *Hamlet* or indeed any other Senecan revenge tragedy would have acquired poignant topical overtones.[46]

[45] Bara, *Herstelde Vorst, ofte Geluckigh Ongeluck* (1650), I3r. Orig. 'hier de Vice-Roy [Strafford] de bijle sal bebloeden, / Daer 't hooft van Cantelbergh [Laud], en 's Konings [Charles I] sijn geknot / Het stael door strot en neck gedreven op't schavot, / Ten rou in Hollands-tuyn, en druck in't Hof der Vrancken; / Leef lang in vreê, maer straft de god-vergete rancken / Van dese Capiteyn'.

[46] Maguire (*Regicide and Restoration*, 121) writes that 'one might even speculate that the ghost of Charles Hamlet's father resonated with the 'ghost' of Charles I' in performances after the Restoration. Dutch texts show that comparable revenge plots were indeed read in such a manner.

Very similar to Bara's *Herstelde Vorst* is Lodewijk Meyer's *Verloofde Koningksbruidt* ('*Royal Bride*') (w. 1652), which also tells the story of a mythical regicide in Britain, followed by a complex revenge plot. *Verloofde Koningksbruidt* is vintage Senecan revenge tragedy in overdrive. Besides a *Hamlet*-like plot in which the ghost of the father is actually a disguised cousin of the avenger, it contains a cannibalistic scene in which the tyrant of Britain unwittingly drinks the blood of his murdered sons for wine - an obvious borrowing from Jan Vos's *Aran en Titus*.[47] Despite the onslaught at the British court, however, all ends well. Consider how one of the remaining noblemen introduces the rightful king, Atelstan, as a *deus ex machina* at the end of *Verloofde Koningksbruidt*:

> My Lords, do not doubt that this is the Royal son
> Our firstborn Prince, and the lawful heir to the throne.
> Having fled the Tyrant's sword, he kept himself
> With this dear Queen concealed in Caledonia
> All the while he patiently plotted with me
> To force, with violence or craft, this raging tyrant
> From his throne, and avenge his noble family.[48]

In 1652, when Meyer wrote his play, there was only one king of Britain who had recently found shelter in Caledonia. And if Atelstan is, like Rasimo, a type of Charles II, it is understandable that Meyer foregrounded the Queen of Caledonia as the 'royal bride' of the play's title: by emphasizing the unwavering love and loyalty of the only Scottish character in the play to the lawful heir to the throne, Meyer celebrated the 'marriage' between Charles II and Presbyterian Scotland.

In the Dutch context, that 'marriage' was of particular importance. William II had engineered Charles II's agreement with the Scottish Covenanters in order to sway Calvinist opinion on his support of the Stuart cause. A war on behalf of a Presbyterian king would be easier to sell than a war on behalf of an Episcopal one. Dutch pamphlets frequently celebrated Charles' acceptance of the Scottish crown as a harbinger of his revenge on the regicides. The fact that his revenge would now also be a solidly Scoto-Dutch Presbyterian revenge was emphasized in the second

[47] Meyer's editors offer evidence of several traces of *Aran en Titus* in Meyer's play and prefer it to *Thyestes* as the source for the cannibalistic scene. Meyer, *Verloofde Koninksbruidt* (1652), 42-47.
[48] Meyer, *Verloofde Koninksbruidt* (1652), 153-154, ll. 1817-1823. Orig. 'Ghy Heeren, twijffelt niet; deeze is de Koningszoon, / Onze erffelijke Vorst, en wettigh oir der kroon, / Die, 't zwaerdt van den Tiran ontvlucht, zich by Mêvrouwe, / In Kaledonien, bedekt'lijk heeft ghehouwen, / En onderwijl met my staâgh onderling verstandt / Om met gheweldt, óft list, den woeden Dwingelandt / Te bonzen van den troon, en zijn gheslacht te wreeken'.

state of *Het Toneel der Engelsche Elende*, which accompanied a description of the coronation (see illustration 18).[49] In this version, Charles is still prominently depicted as a generic avenger, but instead of the execution of his father, the background shows his coronation by the Marquess of Argyle. Moreover, he is now accompanied by the Church of Scotland minister Robert Douglas, who is reading a text captioned 'Proverbs 1:12': 'Let us swallow them alive'. Douglas's sober, Presbyterian attire serves to show that the aggression of his new son-king originates in a justified Protestant desire to punish the sinners to which Salomon's text refers. The Scottish alliance, then, offered hope for a happy ending in more than one way. But the religious sensitivities surrounding an allied Orange-Stuart revenge, which were highlighted by it, were sensibly glossed over by Meyer and his fellow playwrights in the early 1650s. *Verloofde Koningksbruidt* opposes Scotland's loyalty to the usurpation in England; the Scots' religious identity remains mythically irrelevant to the poetic scheme of things.

The Stuart Revenge and the Anglo-Dutch War

The Stadtholderless Period which began after William II's death on 6 November 1650, meant that Dutch assistance in a Stuart campaign was further away than ever. Edward Nicholas made this clear when he wrote to Edward Hyde that 'there is now no possibility to make any of the King's party to rise in England until they shall see a Body of Foreigners landed to secure their gathering together, which, now the Prince of Orange is dead, will not be suddenly gotten'.[50] 'Nobody,' Hyde wrote about the death of William II later, 'received so insupportable prejudice and damage by this fatal blow, as the King of Great Britain'.[51] With the Prince of Orange removed, the States Party in Holland was able to uphold its policy of neutrality in the English conflict without meeting with coordinated political resistance. The Stuart rhetoric of revenge had remained without tangible results. When Charles II and his Scottish army suffered a disastrous defeat in the Battle of Worcester in 1651, Stuart revenge had become a distant dream.

The outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War in May 1652 opened new perspectives. Initially, little changed: the leading regents of Holland still did not want to commit themselves to the Stuart cause. An alliance with the scattered royalist forces, they believed, would add little to their strength, intensify the unwanted conflict with Parliament and, in addition, strengthen the Orangist party.

[49] *Atlas van Stolk*, 2158. Muller 2045b. *Kunstig vertoog en bondig verhaal van de krooning* (1651).
[50] Nicholas to Hyde (7 December 1650). Nicholas I, 205.
[51] Hyde, *History of the Rebellion* V, 158.

Well-informed royalists knew that as long as the Anglo-Dutch conflict basically remained a war of trade, it offered little hope for a Stuart Restoration. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, for instance, claimed to be 'not wise enough to judge which would be best for us, that the Dutch should beat the English or the English the Dutch'.[52] As it was, a Dutch triumph would only strengthen the position of the royalists' opponents in the Dutch Republic, while an English victory would strengthen their enemies at home. Only a formal agreement between Charles II and the States General would solve Hyde's political conundrum.

Throughout the war, royalist agents were active in the Dutch Republic in order to obtain military assistance. In the summer of 1652, Charles II sent both John Colepeper and John Middleton, who was coordinating royalist uprisings in Scotland, to the Dutch Republic to pursue Dutch support,[53] while Marmaduke Langdale was busy procuring ships for Prince Rupert in Zeeland and Holland.[54] The Amsterdam merchant John Webster in the mean time endeavoured 'to possess the magistrates and states of his acquaintance' of the inadvisability of a peace with the English Republic.[55] The main mission, however, was carried out by Edward Nicholas. Nicholas stayed in The Hague throughout 1653 and the first months of 1654 to persuade the States General that they should espouse the cause of his patron. After the States had ignored him for three months, he offered them Guernsey in exchange, but without the desired result.[56]

When the course of the war proved disastrous for the Dutch, however, Holland's war policy came to be under severe pressure, and the pro-Stuart opposition in Holland quickly gained in strength. In a letter to the English royalist exile Lady Morgan, Constantijn Huygens already hinted at a possible crisis that would stir up the populace against the States of Holland in the summer of 1652.[57] In the tumultuous first half of 1653, that crisis in fact culminated.[58] In February, Grand Pensionary Pauw had sent a letter to Parliament in which he expressed Holland's desire for peace. Unfortunately for Holland, Tromp was routed in the Battle of Portland soon afterwards (28 February - 2 March 1653 NS),[59] and an

[52] Cited from: Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 91.
[53] Smith, 'Colepeper, John', ODNB. Furgol, 'Middleton, John', ODNB.
[54] Nicholas II, 22. According to Hopper, 'Langdale offered to seize Newcastle and Tynemouth with the aid of the Dutch, but he was not encouraged' due to his Catholicism. Hopper, 'Langdale, Marmaduke', ODNB.
[55] Thurloe State Papers IV, 422.
[56] Hutton, *Charles II*, 79.
[57] Rowen, *John de Witt,* 68. The letter to Lady Morgan is published in: Huygens, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* V, 147.
[58] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 713-726.
[59] Dutch: 'Driedaagse Zeeslag'.

outright English victory rather than a diplomatic peace was at hand. Meanwhile, Pauw had died, and Johan de Witt had been appointed as Grand Pensionary. One of his first deeds was a beginner's mistake: he sent a new letter to Parliament, which was triumphantly published in England as the *Humble Prayer of the States of Holland for Peace* on 18 March.[60] De Witt had humiliated himself without any result. Holland panicked, and royalist writers attempted to capitalize on popular hostility towards the States Party.

The Orangist upsurge of 1652-1653, which culminated in riots in many towns in Holland and Zeeland (including Dordrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam and Middelburg), and which even led to a (temporarily) successful rebellion against the magistrate in Enkhuizen, revived Orangist plans for a Dutch-Stuart alliance. Alexander van der Capellen, Lord of Aartsbergen, and Guelders's delegate to the States General, outlined the Orangists' strategy as he pondered the 'difficult' and 'precarious' Anglo-Dutch war in his diary in the summer of 1653:

> A good opportunity has presented itself, and is still not altogether lost, to stir up dissension, old hatred and fire of internecine war [in England]. The King of Scotland, now fugitive, has had proposed and requested small assistance, to be allowed to show his interest to be asserted and defended with the occupation of one or another harbour. The Highlanders in Scotland have offered their harbours and people, and in turn request the supply of weapons, and munitions of war. The Irish have made, and still are making, like offers. Most of our provinces are inclined to accept these offers (…) [y]et several regents in Holland are not to be moved to adopt this course, fearing that when the King will be restored in England, the young Prince of Orange, through his mother born from the same blood, having grown, shall undertake something to their disadvantage; and because of this, they have supported the cause of Parliament in the war, and have worked against those of the king. Ships, loaded with munitions of war, and people engaged to the king's service, and to be sent over, were arrested, and have been made to unload and disperse. And they are rather persisting to the same maxims.[61]

[60] Published in Dutch as: Kn. 7389-7390. *Copie van een brief* (1653).

[61] Van der Capellen, *Gedenkschriften*, 395. Orig. 'D'Occasie is scoon geweest, ende noch niet al verdwenen, om dissentie, oude haet, ende vuyr van inwendighen oorlogh te verwecken. De Koninck van Scotland, nu fugitif wesende, heeft doen voorslaen ende versoeken kleyne assistentie, om syne interesse te mogen doen gelden, ende patrocineeren met occupatie van d'een ofte d'ander haven. De Hoochlanders in Scotland hebben gedaen aenbiedinghe van haere Havens ende volck, met versoeck van

A former confidant of Frederick Henry of Orange, Van der Capellen, was a prominent Orangist who also belonged to Huygens's circle.[62] In collaboration with Huygens, who as secretary to the former princes of Orange was in close contact with the courts of the Princess Royal and the Dowager Princess Amalia, he laboured to persuade the Hollanders that an alliance with the House of Stuart was the only way to win the war.[63]

As in 1650, propaganda was part of this campaign. In prose pamphlets, Van der Capellen's argument that such an alliance would cause dissension in the English navy and army, was repeated and developed.[64] The fact that *Het Toneel der Engelsche Elende* is an accurate rendering of the Orangist argument, and actually depicts the offers made by Scotland and Ireland (albeit three years earlier, in 1650), strongly suggests that the court was involved in visual propaganda as well - it is not unlikely that the engraving was reprinted during the war.

In view of his prophetic words to Lady Morgan, Huygens may well have been one of the masterminds of the campaign. Indeed, Huygens had headed a committee which had investigated a Dutch intervention in England in 1649 and had produced a positive advice.[65] Moreover, he corresponded with various royalists involved in securing a Dutch alliance for Charles II (including Colepeper, Hyde and Nicholas). Although no correspondence of the interregnum survives, it is not unlikely that Huygens was involved in mobilizing the people for Charles II. In any case, his ideas about an Anglo-Dutch peace were significantly less ambivalent than when he wrote *Hofwyck* in 1651. Such may be gleaned from his poem *Lukorraistes* ('*The Wolf Warriors*'), which was translated into Dutch and published by Westerbaen in the summer of 1653, when peace negotiations were still going on in London. In it, Huygens' cried along with the vengeful Orangist pack, stirring up the Dutch against the English Republic: 'On, on, my fellow countrymen, on:

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assistentie in toevoer van wapenen, ende munitie van Oorloghe. D'Iren hebben gedaen, ende doen noch, gelycke presentatien. Onse meeste Provintien syn daer toe genegen (…) [e]doch eenighe Regenten in Hollant syn niet te bewegen, om dien wegh te willen ingaen, uyt vreese, dat de Coninck herstelt wordende in Engelant, ende den Jongen Prince van Oragnen, uyt 't selfde bloet door syn Moeder gebooren synde, groot geworden synde, iets tot haer naedeel gedaen ende ondernomen sal worden; ende hebben daeromme de saken van het Parlement in Engelandt voor d'Oorloghe gefavoriseert, die van den Coninck tegengegaen, scepen ende volcke, die tot desselfs dienst aengenomen waeren, met munitie van Oorlogh geladen, ende overgesonden souden worden, aengehouden, ende doen ontladen ende verstroeyen, ende continueeren noch al in deselve maximen'.

[62] Huygens, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* III, 105.

[63] Huygens, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* V, 185-186.

[64] Kn. 7425-7426. Jane, *Hoe veel den Vereenigde Provintien behoort gelegen te zijn* (1653).

[65] Aitzema III, 365.

revenge must be!'.[66] This extremely bellicose poem argues that since the English regicides were intoxicated by the king's blood, their crimes could only be stopped by ousting them from government. Immortal fame would be the Dutch Republic's due if they were to end the mad English leadership:

> Honour upon us, when the raging murderers
> Are by us calmed and returned to their senses
> And hands, stained by the king's blood
> Have unlearned such horrible deeds.
> (…)
> Honour upon us, honour truly worthy
> Of writing in golden characters
> That the general peace in England is obtained
> Even by the shedded blood of many a Bataver (…).[67]

Huygens may not have been aware of Westerbaen's dealings with his poem, yet it is unlikely that he rejected the publication. In contrast to an earlier poem published by Westerbaen, Huygens did not object to the publication of the vernacular translation.

The Stuart court duly collaborated with the Orangists. On 21 March 1653 (NS), Edward Hyde, one of Charles II's chief advisers, wrote to John Kent, the royalist resident in Venice, that 'the Dutch are instructed how necessary it is for them to join with the King, that they may carry on the war against the rebels prosperously'.[68] That the English court in exile was not averse to adding fuel to the flames in these tense months is confirmed by a curious public ceremony that took place in The Hague on 4 May 1653. On that day, Rowen writes, 'the Prince of Orange, aged two and one-half years, was inducted into the Order of the Garter by a herald-at-arms of Charles II'.[69] The public ceremony, a ritual confirmation of the Orange-Stuart alliance, was evidently timed to have a profound polemical impact as it tapped into the sentiment that the Orange-Stuart alliance could still win the war for the Dutch. It did not fail to deliver, as it indeed signalled popular riots in

[66] Westerbaen, 'De Wolven-jaeger' (1653), 335. Orig. 'Sa, sa, mijn lands-luy, sa, de wraecke dient genomen'.
[67] Westerbaen, 'De Wolven-jaeger' (1653), 337. Orig. 'Eer sal het voor ons syn, de dulle moordenaern, / Door ons te sien bedaert en tot verstant gekeert, / En handen, vuyl ghemaeckt in't bloed uyt 's Koninghs aeren, / So groote grouwelen te hebben afgeleert. / (…) / Eer sal het wesen, eer, wel dubbel waerd ter degen / Met gouden letteren te schrijven op 't papier, / Dat de gemeyne rust in England is verkregen / Self door 't gestorte bloed van menigh Batavier'.
[68] Hyde to Joseph Kent (11/21 March 1653). Cited in: Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 108-109.
[69] Rowen, *John de Witt*, 88.

The Hague. The Stuart court knew well how to activate Dutch Orangist audiences. Once again, the Orange and the Stuart interest overlapped, and again, they attempted to persuade the populace and the regents of Holland to join them. Yet now they aimed to change the character of the war from a trade conflict into a religious war waged to avenge the Martyr King.[70]

In line with the date of Hyde's letter, the call for a Dutch-Stuart alliance peaked in March 1653. On hearing of the Dutch defeat, Charles wrote to the Dutch ambassador Boreel on 6 March that he was 'heartily sorry' for the Dutch losses and would gladly 'engage his own person' in the war if the States were willing to assign him some ships.[71] Significantly, the Dutch translation of a famous piece of Stuart propaganda was published simultaneously with Charles's magnanimous offer. Pierre du Moulin's *Wraak-geschrey van het Koning-lijke bloed, tot den Hemel, tegen de Engelsche vader-moorders* (Orig. '*Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum*') ('*Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven, Against the English Patricides*') (1652) was signed on 5 March 1653.[72] Printed by Johan van Dalen, who had previously published two Dutch versions of Salmasius's *Defensio Regia*, the book was dedicated to Charles II, of whom Van Dalen proclaimed himself to be the 'most humble and loyal servant'. In all probability, then, this translation was the result of the Orange-Stuart campaign in Holland.

The vengeful cry of the royal blood ('Wraak-geschrey') to which Du Moulin's title refers is taken from Psalm 94. According to Du Moulin, Charles I's blood still cried: 'O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself'. The book's main concern, like the Psalm's, is the old enigma, why do the wicked prosper? Or, in this case, why do the regicides prosper? Du Moulin, in Van Dalen's translation, addresses the entire Christian world to support the cry of the royal blood, until 'it will draw revenge from heaven',[73] and show those 'who now laugh in God's face' that wickedness will eventually be punished. In the Dutch Republic in 1653, there could be no mistake about the implications of this argument for the war of trade at hand.

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[70] Cf. Kn. 7426. Jane, *Hoe veel den Vereenigde Provintien behoort gelegen te zijn* (1653).
[71] Cited from: Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 720. See also: Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 99-100.
[72] Kn. 7361. *Wraak-geschrey van het Koning-lijke bloed* (1653). I have used UBL, Thys. 6141. The original, Du Moulin's *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum adversus paricidas Anglicanos* (1652) was published on the eve of the Anglo-Dutch war. Thomason 181:E.1396. Pierre or Peter du Moulin the Younger (1601-1684) was a Huguenot (like Salmasius) who shared his father's anglophilia, and had an ecclesiastical career in England from 1628 onwards. He also authored *Ecclesiae gemitus sub anabaptistica tyrannide* (1649).
[73] Kn. 7361. *Wraak-geschrey van het Koning-lijke bloed* (1653), 74. Orig. 'tot dat het de wraak uyt den Hemel trekt'.

Topical poetry embraced the sentiment that the war was about avenging the Martyr King as much as it was about trade. Time and time again Dutch poets expressed the royalist view that the war was a war against regicides rather than a war against economic competitors. Importantly, this was not only an Orangist discourse. Whereas Huygens's loyalty to the Houses of Orange and Stuart was well-known, others joining the royalist choir in March 1653 had rather different credentials. As in 1650, Jan Vos contributed to the Stuart cause by way of an elaborate poem of 876 lines with marked Senecan elements, the 'Zee-krygh' ('Naval War'), which was also published in the spring of 1653.[74] At the beginning of this poem, Vos states that although Parliament started the war because they envied the Republic's wealth, the ultimate cause of the war was the execution of the king. He describes how the execution of Charles I by 'the axe of raging Londoners' caused Pluto to convene the Hellish Hordes in the underworld. There it is decided that Revenge should visit Parliament to cause war with the Dutch Republic, because the hellish reign in England must be buttressed by Dutch wealth. The Republic on the other hand will help to restore the rightful dynasty of the murdered king. This is revealed to Charles II by the ghost of his father, which

> (…) came before the bedstead of his exiled son
> Rise, he spoke, the time has come to win and to revenge.
> Counter-revenge, for the loss of sceptre, throne and crown,
> Is divine, for God has created you as a Prince
> And the right of Kings is guarded by weaponry.
> The Lion of the free Country shall pave your way.[75]

Paving the way for Charles's revenge, the Dutch lion is here presented as the guardian of the divine right of kings; the Dutch Republic and Charles II share a similar cause. Like Du Moulin's *Wraak-geschrey*, then, Vos' 'Zee-krygh' propagates an alliance between the Dutch Republic and the exiled Charles II, echoing the language of both the vengeful ghosts in the pamphlet literature and his own 'Brittanje aan Euroope'.

[74] Kn. 7377. Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653). The poem was republished in the poetry collection *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* II (1653), 186-217 and in: Vos, *Alle de gedichten* I (1662), 299-332. I am citing from the latter edition.

[75] Vos, 'Zee-krygh'(1653), 329. Orig. 'quam voor't ledekant van zijn gevluchte Zoon: / Op, sprak hy, nu is't tijdt van winnen, en van wreeken. / De weêrwraak, om't verlies van zetel, staf en Kroon, / Is Goddelijk: want Godt heeft u tot Vorst geschaapen / Het recht der Koningen bewaart men door het waapen. / De Leeuw van't vrye Landt zal u het heirspoor baanen'.

Vos' 'Zee-krygh', which appeared in March 1653, was one of the longest topical poems on the war, which had an aura of authority. This was especially so because it bore the stamp of approval of one of the most powerful men in Amsterdam: the poem was preceded by a dedication to Vos' patron Joan Huydecoper, an immensely wealthy city magistrate. Considering the poem's advocacy of the Stuart cause, and its affinity to royalist propaganda, the fact that Huydecoper was prepared to have his name attached to it was an important political message. It publicized that within the ruling elite of Amsterdam there was a movement towards an alliance between the Dutch Republic and the exiled Charles II, an inclination towards a hardening of the war, and a move away from Holland's official policy.

The re-publication and performance of Dullaert's *Karel Stuart* can also be interpreted as a sign of Amsterdam's attitude towards the Stuart alliance during the First Anglo-Dutch War.[76] The martyr play written shortly after the execution of the king four years earlier went through no less than ten consecutive performances in the Amsterdam theatre, the theatrical heart of the Dutch Republic, in March 1653.[77] As in the case of Du Moulin's *Wraak-geschrey*, the political implication of such performances would not have escaped the audience: the Dutch were not fighting a war against economic competitors, but against godless regicides. Indeed, in a meeting of the States of Holland a few months later, in August 1653, Amsterdam, supported by Gouda, favoured recalling the ambassadors who were negotiating the peace in London.[78]

In 1653-1654, the rhetoric of revenge developed in the wake of the execution of Charles I had only gained in political urgency. With Amsterdam throwing its weight behind the royalist cause, and politicians in Zeeland wavering, the royalists had good chances of success. Paradoxically, the fact that it was eventually ineffective was partly due to its proliferation in Dutch popular print.

The changing mood in Holland did not go unnoticed in England, nor was the poetry which helped bringing it about. In March 1653, for instance, *Mercurius Politicus* reported on the publication of Jacob Westerbaen's *Hollands vloeck aen het parlementsche Engeland* ('*Holland's curse to the parliamentary English*'). In the early summer of 1653, State Secretary John Thurloe received a letter from The Hague saying that 'the Orange party would laugh at those of Holland, if the English

[76] De Jong ('Noit heeft de Zon gruwelijker daat beschouwt', 163) mentions the Three Days' Battle as a possible reason for the consecutive performances in March.
[77] See: Oey-de Vita and Geesink, *Academie en Schouwburg*, 121-122; 159.
[78] Rowen, *John de Witt*, 203.

would not have a peace'. To support his argument, Thurloe's agent enclosed an engraving showing Cromwell, 'set forth to crush the parliament'. Such reports were worrying the English government, which perceived Stuart support in print as an indication of Orangist strength. It was Cromwell's fear of an Orangist take-over, which would put an Orange-Stuart alliance in charge of the Dutch navy and army, which made him hasten the conclusion of the Peace of Westminster.[79] In the end he accepted mild terms for the Dutch on the secret provision that the House of Orange would be forever barred from the stadtholderate in Holland. This result was exactly the opposite of what pamphleteers and poets had sought to achieve, but their heated polemic contributed to the English assessment of the situation in Holland.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the martial, inflammatory implications of the martyrdom of Charles I. Dutch texts and images of the 1650s, I have shown, frequently incorporated the martyr king into a royalist rhetoric of revenge. Senecan revenge tragedy, with its horrific language, vindictive ghosts and mourning sons, was specifically suited to translate mourning and compassion into vindictive action. By adopting these generic elements, Orange and Stuart propagandists sought to stir up Dutch audiences into action. Yet besides a propagandistic tool, revenge tragedy was also an interpretative framework. It is often difficult to say whether the former or the latter function dominates in the texts discussed above, but political discourse was shaped to a considerable extent by pre-existing literary forms.

Plays like Jan Bara's *Herstelde Vorst* or Lodewijk Meyer's *Verloofde Koningksbruidt* openly participated in the political debate on the English revolution. Yet the topical significance of the generic elements such as the vengeful ghost or Senecan horror also affected the interpretation of other revenge tragedies that were not explicitly topical. *Hamlet*, for instance, or Jan Vos's Shakespeare adaptation *Aran en Titus* (1638) also tended to equate the revenge of the rightful heir to the throne with divine vengeance. And what are we to make of Lambert van den Bosch's translation of Seneca's *Agamemnon* (1661)? Published shortly after the Restoration, this play, written by the staunch royalist Van den Bosch, also features

[79] On Cromwell's desire for peace and his fear for an Orange take-over, see: Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 171-183, esp. 181-183.

the ghost of a father who urges his son to revenge, which surely evoked the tragedy of Charles I and the successful revenge of the modern Orestes, Charles II.

The frequent use of theatrical metaphors in literary texts about the regicide also suggests that the drama played a substantial part in shaping people's views of the regicide. Stimulated by the performative quality of Charles I's execution, the notion of the *theatrum mundi*, which assimilates history and theatre, seems to have contributed to the appeal of the Stuart cause. Many scholars writing on the subject cite Andrew Marvell's *Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland* (1650), in which Charles is styled 'the Royal Actor', who nobly underwent his fate: 'He nothing common did or mean / Upon that memorable scene'.[80] It is less well-known that the comparison between the execution and a tragedy was a commonplace that was also frequently employed by commentators in the Dutch Republic.[81] The Dordrecht poet Roemer van Wesel ('Romane'), for example, composed a poem with the telling title 'De lijdende christus, treur-spel, Vertoont tot Londen, den 9en Febr. 1649' ('The Suffering Christ, a Tragedy Performed in London, on 9 February 1649') (written 1649) in which Charles performs the main part in a Passion play.[82] We may consider the idea that the theatrical metaphor is not a metaphor at all, that Charles I was indeed perceived as an actor playing his role in a divine Passion play in a very real sense. His son, by extension, was in that case the protagonist in a divine revenge tragedy. The Dutch confidence in his revenge then boils down to Horatio's words in *Hamlet*: 'Heaven will direct it' (*Hamlet*, I.iv.68).

Eventually, heaven would. In a way, the (almost) bloodless restoration of Charles II, in 1660, confirmed the moral of revenge tragedy's happy ending. Indeed, Charles's procession through the Dutch Republic was in itself a dramatic event, as the re-established king played his triumphant part to the cheers of a Dutch audience that had been enthused about the English monarch by a decade of royalist literature. The Dutch Republic, which had both produced and consumed Senecan images of Charles II's retribution for such a long period, now became the real stage of his return to power and grace. This outcome, conforming as it did to a cherished aesthetic form, obviously confirmed the belief in a just God and the Divine Right of Kings. Less obviously, perhaps, it also encouraged the belief in the ultimate reality of theatre.

[80] Marvell, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, 276.
[81] Cf. also the title of the well-known description of the execution of Charles I: *Tragicum Theatrum actorum, & casuum tragicorum Londini publice celebratorum* (1649).
[82] Van Wesel, 'De lijdende christus, treur-spel' (1649).

Chapter 7

The English Devil: Stereotyping, Demonology, and the First Anglo-Dutch War

On the eve of the Restoration, early in April 1660, George Downing, Parliament's envoy in the Dutch Republic, wrote a report to John Thurloe. Downing explained that the Dutch were careful not to affront the present government in England, '[because] they say, that if the Devil rule in England, they must hold fair with him'.[1] Downing was citing an old Amsterdam proverb, which recognized the paralyzing effect of a war with England on Dutch trade. This wisdom, Downing averred, had served as the central dogma in the Dutch approach of English affairs of the previous decades. Downing failed to mention that ever since the peace negotiations during the First Anglo-Dutch war, the proverb had been the subject of heated debate. Warlike pamphleteers, rejecting the political dictum Downing would refer to eight years later, argued that with the devil truly reigning in England, the saying had lost its validity. Instead, they opined that 'peace with the Devil is nothing but treason'.[2]

The First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654 posed fundamental religious problems. Conditioned by weekly sermons, early modern Christians were disposed to read major wars as signs, and they devoted much spiritual and intellectual effort to interpreting the human conflicts of their age from a religious angle. Historical cataclysms, like natural disasters, were often read as signs of God, which had to make sense from both a confessional and an eschatological perspective. The First Anglo-Dutch War presented a problem for such a mode of interpretation. This was a new kind of war: a war of trade between two Protestant republics, waged

[1] Thurloe VII, 876. Cited by: Rowen, *John de Witt,* 269.
[2] Kn. 7219. *Extract uyt seeckere brief* (1652), 1.

exclusively at sea on an unprecedented scale. It did not fit easily within established conceptions of what a war was, or should be. In contrast to the Dutch revolt against Spain, it did not conform to the established binary division of Protestantism versus Catholicism. Nor could it be unproblematically understood as a war between a monarchical tyrant and a free state. Since mundane trade interests did not offer a satisfactory explanation for such a catastrophic event to the religious mind disposed to see the battle between God and the devil mirrored in every human conflict, the pressing question faced by both Dutch and English observers was: what enemy are we fighting?

This chapter investigates the demonization of the English enemy in Dutch print during the First Anglo-Dutch War and after. Whereas Dutch representations of Englishmen have been studied as war satire in the context of (emerging) national identities, this chapter will argue that such a secular approach is incomplete, because satire easily shaded into the kind of religiously inspired language of the pamphleteer quoted above. Indeed, the demonization of the English in war pamphlets should be taken as an earnest refusal to read the war in terms of national or economic strife. This had major implications for the status of Dutch royalism, because it valorized the royalist rhetoric developed in past decade.

The First Anglo-Dutch War: A Demonological Perspective

In recent years, scholars of British history have come to recognize that the three Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century are 'of crucial significance for any proper understanding of the political culture and ideological preoccupations of the age'.[3] Particularly the first Anglo-Dutch war has received new attention, and invited new interpretations. Whereas scholars of Dutch history such as Simon Groenveld and Jonathan Israel presented this war as a war of economic necessity,[4] James Jones and Stephen Pincus have challenged this interpretation and foregrounded the ideological motivations behind it - at least from the English perspective. Jones has argued that the security of the Commonwealth was foremost in the minds of the English government. The English, taken aback by the Dutch reluctance to engage in a political union, were not just fighting to gain dominance at sea, but also to rid the Dutch Republic of royalist elements within it: foremost the Orangist faction and the court of Charles II.[5] To this ideological reappraisal of the war Pincus added an

[3] Israel, 'England, the Dutch Republic, and Europe', 1119.
[4] Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, passim; Groenveld, 'The English Civil Wars as a Cause of the First Anglo-Dutch War', passim.
[5] Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth-Century*, passim.

emphasis on the religious motives of the English. Radical Protestants, such as millenarianist Fifth Monarchy Men, did not view the war as a war of trade but as a war against apostate Protestants. Within the English polity, Pincus suggested, there was a conflict between those privileging the patriotic perspective highlighted by Jones, and those adopting an uncompromizing religious point of view.[6]

There are serious problems with the reassessment of the First Anglo-Dutch War by Pincus and Jones. First of all, when they read printed sources as indications of the causes of the war, this does not do justice to the complexity of the debate that was being waged through these prints. Below, I will therefore read printed texts as interpretations of the war rather than indications of its causes, as interventions in a discourse that could change the nature of a conflict. Secondly, by relegating trade to the background, they lose sight of the Dutch perspective. Jonathan Israel rightly points out that the argument that the war was not about trade does not look very plausible from the Dutch perspective.[7] Especially Pincus tends to extrapolate his findings in English sources and to apply an English perspective to the Dutch context. If he refers to Dutch opinions at all, he derives them from English government sources and newsbooks, which were obviously prone to distort them in order to fit either English political schemes, English wishful thinking, or English frames of mind. Pincus' knowledge of English print is extraordinary, but his interpretation of the Anglo-Dutch wars is lopsided due to his neglect of Dutch sources. There can be no doubt that the actions of the leading regents in Holland, both prior to and during the war, were directed by trade concerns. Moreover, Pincus' use of printed material also leads him to ignore the larger economic picture in Britain.[8] Jonathan Scott has justly criticized Pincus' 'apparent assumption (…) that because the war had political causes it could not also have economic causes',[9] and has identified various examples that contradict Pincus' argument that economic considerations played no part on the English side.

Another objection to the reinterpretation of the First Anglo-Dutch War in the scholarship of the 1990s is that it creates the impression that Orangism was the main cause of the Dutch adopting a royalist perspective. Pincus even argues that the major reason for the Dutch belligerence was the Orangist predisposition to monarchy and absolutism.[10] This was, however, mainly how the English interpreted Dutch

[6] Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, passim.
[7] Israel, 'England, the Dutch Republic and Europe', 1118.
[8] Israel, 'England, the Dutch Republic and Europe', 1118.
[9] Scott, *Commonwealth* Principles, 103n. For Scott's assessment of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations of 1651 and the causes of the war: 102-106.
[10] Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 108.

royalism. As we have seen in Chapter 6, Orangism did contribute to the vengeful royalist sentiment during the war. But it was not the only constituent of Dutch royalist hostility: as Chapter 3 has shown, confessional sentiments also contributed to it. By analysing the Dutch representations of the English enemy, this chapter will add yet another background to the Dutch royalism that was giving so much worry to the leadership of the English Republic: demonology.

Looking at the war from the perspective of Dutch printed sources of the period will enable us both to nuance the current scholarly debate on the First Anglo-Dutch war and shed more light on the proliferation of Dutch royalism in the 1650s. I will argue that the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch conflict itself was a major stimulus for Dutch royalism, regardless of its causes or the Orange-Stuart relationship, because the war superimposed the opposition between the Dutch and the English Republic on the existing opposition between the King and his executioners.

A profound influence upon early modern perceptions of major conflicts was demonology. In *Thinking with Demons*, Stuart Clark has outlined the demonological logic which he considers to have been the dominant mode of thought in the early modern period.[11] Studying the intellectual and cultural backgrounds of witchcraft beliefs, Clark outlines a demonological epistemology that required all phenomena, all fields of human knowledge to correspond to each other – to be either analogous or oppositional. Thinking with demons was a way of understanding the world in binary oppositions, 'structured by opposition and inversion',[12] which pervaded the culture of the period.[13] It is apparent in genres as remote as popular comedy, with its carnivalesque games of inversion, metaphysics, astrology, and political theory.[14]

Ultimately, demonology provided the certainty that everything would eventually fall into either the category of divine goodness, or the category of satanic evil. Of course it allowed for shadings of good and bad; indeed, the human condition was such that for humans it was difficult in the confusion of the real world

[11] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, passim.
[12] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 80.
[13] For Foucault (*The Order of Things*, 19-50) this system of sympathy and antipathy, of resemblances, correspondences, analogies and inversions is the essence of the sixteenth-century 'episteme'. 'The universe', he memorably writes, 'was folded in upon itself' (19). Although Tillyard's concept of the 'Elizabethan World Picture' has been criticized for being static and monolithic, it is actually very similar to both Foucault and Clark (Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, passim). Demonological ideas and the related episteme came to be contested in the seventeenth century, yet they persisted well into the eighteenth century. When Balthasar Bekker challenged the belief in demons and the devil in Holland, in his *Betoverde wereld* in 1691, much of it had already broken down, but Bekker's book was still highly controversial.
[14] On inversion, see: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 69-79; on metaphysics and the study of nature, including astrology: 151-294; on politics, including the idea of a positive royal rule necessary to counter demonic forces: 547-668; on the political demonology of Bodin: 668-682.

to distinguish good from evil. As Giacomo d'Acuto had argued, all things after the fall, including human beings, 'have negative as well as positive qualities, whereas before there was only unalloyed goodness'.[15] Yet it was exactly this difficulty which necessitated the establishment of 'logical' binary oppositions, since they could help to see through ambiguities of the world. Once an opposition was established as being truthful, it became part of an all-encompassing, self-confirming binary structure in which everything is 'distributed between a column of positive (or superior) terms and categories, and a column of their negative (or inferior) opposites'.[16]

Clark's description of what was expected of demonological interpreters of the world around them is worth quoting in full:

> What was required was an act of recognition with three distinguishable elements: first a general awareness of a logical relation of opposition, without which inversion could not even be entertained; secondly, a familiarity with the particular symbolic systems that made it possible to interpret actions of demons and witches as inversions; and thirdly, the grasping of just what positive rule or order was implied by any individual inversion (…) committed.[17]

If we apply this set of rules to the international politics of the mid-seventeenth century, the challenge with which interpreters of the Anglo-Dutch War were faced becomes clear. Throughout the Reformation, the major 'logical' opposition governing political conflicts had been the opposition between Catholicism and Protestantism. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, this was also the way in which the First Civil War in England was interpreted in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere. After the First Civil War, however, that logical opposition had been broken down, because the Puritan revolution had become fragmented. When the naval war of 1652-1654 broke out, a new logical opposition was required which could be understood by the demonological mind and be interpreted as part of the eternal conflict between the forces of good and bad, of Christ and Antichrist. It was the religious search for binary clarity that guided contemporary readings of the war.

In demonological thought, an economic reading of the war did not preclude a religious reading, but rather necessitated it. If great conflicts were manifestations of an eternal conflict between the forces of God and the devil, a purely economic war

[15] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 70-71.
[16] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 38.
[17] Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 31.

was impossible, since the opposition had to be translatable into more fundamental moral oppositions. Two candidates for such an opposition presented themselves in 1652-1654. The first was the opposition between the English and the Dutch people, the second the opposition between the king and the English Republic. War satires negotiated between these two binary constructions.

Satire Between National and Ideological Stereotyping: The English Tail

A prominent feature of Dutch war satires of 1652-1654 was the old and widespread notion that Englishmen were 'tail-men'.[18] In various prints, the English are depicted with various kinds of tails, like fox's tails, devil's tails, and dragon's tails. In poetry, phallic interpretations, denoting the Englishmen's lasciviousness, were also current. Ubiquitous in the Dutch popular print of 1652-1654, the invective gained extremely wide currency. Dutch sailors were reported to shout 'tails' and 'king-killers' when passing by an enemy ship.[19] Even the admiral, Jacob van Wassenaer-Obdam, used the proverb 'Angli habent caudam' as a word of caution in a 1659 letter to De Witt.[20] The English tail also traveled abroad. Staffell reports that it was seen in Moscow, and John Kerrigan cites the *Aphorismical Discovery* (1652-1659), an Irish invective against the Scots and the English, which averred that 'the tail behinde made knowen the English race' and associated it with devilishness.[21]

In her imagological study of images of foreigners in the Dutch Republic, Marijke Meijer Drees has studied such Dutch representations of the English in the First Anglo-Dutch War as examples of national stereotyping.[22] Meijer Drees has shown that once war between states broke out, early modern pamphleteers were accustomed to recirculate such age-old images of the foreign enemy. As the 1653 newpaper, *Holland's Mercator*, drily noted: 'the Englishman is accustomed to reproach the Dutch of being drunkards, and the Dutchman answers to the Englishman that he is a tail-man and a robber'.[23] For this newspaper, circulating such national invectives was simply part of the business of war. As such, Meijer-Drees interprets them as part of a proto-nationalist discourse, albeit restricted to the

[18] On this fascinating label, see: Enklaar, 'De gestaarte Engelsman', passim; Staffell, 'The Horrible Tail-Man', passim; Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*, 134-137; Smith, 'De Gestaarte Engelsman', passim.
[19] I thank Steve Murdoch for sharing this information with me.
[20] Obdam to De Witt (2 July 1659), in: Fruin, *Brieven aan Johan de Witt*, 298.
[21] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic England*, 39.
[22] Meijer Drees, *Andere Landen, Andere Mensen*, passim.
[23] Cited in: WNT, 'staartman'. Orig. 'een Engelsman te doen verwijten aen een Duyts dat hy een dronckaert waer, ende weer den Duyts tot den Enghelsman dat hy een Staertman ende Roover was'.

province of Holland, in which 'Hollanders' and 'Englishmen' are monolithic categories, which unambiguously refer to a nation that is defined by the state.[24]

In many texts published during the First Anglo-Dutch War, however, the English tail acquired a more complex meaning. Rather than constructing a binary opposition between states, such prints and poems satirize only particular parties and groups, and distinguish between good and bad Englishmen.[25] Although national stereotyping in the nineteenth-century sense did play a role in some war satires, the complexity of the early modern conception of the nation is apparent in these images.[26] Moreover, pamphlets such as *Den Engelschen duyvel* ('*The English Devil*'), do not demonize the English people, but focus instead on a devilish spirit that has settled in England and seeks to take over the Dutch Republic as well: 'in order to expand his murderous empire, the Devil practices in the Netherlands, to establish the same here, which he has so successfully established in England'.[27] Instead of creating a national divide, then, images of tailed English devils had the potential to articulate Anglo-Dutch identities that spanned the Channel.

This is apparent in a particularly amusing pamphlet, *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* ('*Dutch Pincers*'), which is fully devoted to the notion of the English tail.[28] The pamphlet's opening lines evoke the various qualities the anonymous poet attributes to the British *homo caudate* and exemplify its lively, mock-heroic style:

> I must hold forth about the Brits
> Of their murder and foul thievery
> And of the robbers that do sit
> In the blood-stained council
> Of their force and troubles
> And of promises with tails (…)
> Of their false deceit I must tell

[24] Meijer Drees (*Andere landen, andere mensen*, 139) herself acknowledges that this is a simplification, and she explicitly commends future scholars to 'differentiate between (…) various religious confessions and political factions'.
[25] Cornelis Udemans' war play, *Nederlantsche tragi-comedie* ('Dutch tragi-comedy'), for instance, reserves the term 'malignant Englishmen' for Parliamentarians only. See: Udemans, *Nederlantsche tragi-comedie* (1652), Ir.
[26] On early modern Dutch conceptions of the nation, see: Groenveld, 'Natie en Patria bij zestiende eeuwse Nederlanders', passim.
[27] Kn. 7301. De Witt, *Den Engelschen duyvel* (1652), A1r. Orig. 'de duyvel, om sijn moordtrijck uyt te breyen. practiseert in Neerlandt, 't geen hem, om 't selve te stichten, so wel geluckt is in Engelandt'.
[28] Kn. 7251. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* (1652). Briefly discussed by: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 50. See also: Staffell, 'The Horrible Tail-Man', 170.

And of their descendency from Hell.[29]

The tail, these lines make clear, represents a catalogue of devilish traits, including murderousness, tyranny, deceitfulness, rapacity, and lasciviousness.

The stated purpose of the poem is to understand the meaning and origin of the English tail. Equipped with such an understanding, the author argues, the Dutch will be able to clip it (as Staffell notes, a contemporary print indeed shows a Dutchman clipping an Englishman's tail). Modern anthropology has advanced the idea that the tail originally mocked the Celtic style of hair. Some contemporary sources view it as a mark of Cain. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang*, however, comes up with a demonological explanation. According to *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang*, the English descended from the 33 daughters of the ancient Syrian king, Diocletian. One day, Diocletian married them all off to as many men. The daughters were 'of an intractable nature', however, and devised a way to get rid of the men. Having plied their husbands with drinks during the wedding feast, they simultaneously cut their throats in their sleep. In his outrage over the carnage, Diocletian put his murderous daughters on a raft and thrust them into the sea. Floating about for many weeks, the daughters finally washed ashore on a 'wild and deserted land'. But their ordeal was not yet over. In their first night on the island, they were assaulted 'by the subterranean monsters' and duly impregnated by their 'evil, devilish seed'. The result of the rape was a fertile generation of giants, which filled the land with a 'foul devilish breed'. Of course, the island turns out to be England, and the 'devilish breed' eventually fathered the English.[30]

By focusing its attentions on the origin of the English people, the *Nederlandtsche nyp-tangh*, seems to confirm the analysis of political satire as part of a dicourse of national antagonism. Printed in 1652, directly after the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch war, *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* is in the first place a war pamphlet. The invectives hurled against the English are variations on the set-pieces which the genre required. Indeed, its humorous quality and its purpose can be compared to

[29] Kn. 7251. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* (1652). Orig. ''K moet uytbarsten van de Britten, / Van haer moord en diefsche daad, / Van de schrobbers die daer sitten / In den bloed-beplengden Raad, / Van haer dwang en overlasten, / Van beloften met een staert (…) / Van meyn-eedigh valsch bedriegen / Van haer afkomst uyt de Hel'.

[30] Kn. 7251. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* (1652), 5. Orig. 'Duyvelsch vuyl gebroet'. The origin myth of the Pincers was a variant of the Albina myth, which was well-known throughout Europe in various versions. See: Ruch, 'Albina und ihre Schwestern', passim. English authors, of course, wholly rejected the myth. Spenser, for example, in *The Faerie Queene*, averred that the story '*Diocletians* fifty daughters' was 'a monstrous error' (Spenser, *Faerie Queene* I, 327 (II, x, 8)). Camden, in *Britannia*, was positively insulted: 'who can abide to heare it without indignation, as the most loud lie of some leaud lossell?' (Camden, 'The name of Britain', par 2).

Marvell's *Character of Holland* (1653). Like Marvell's poem, which might even be a response to it, *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* is a learned, highly inventive and original compendium of stereotypes, which besides being sharp-witted also strikes the modern reader as slightly ironic. Most readers would probably have appreciated it as an exponent of the literary game to be expected in times of national conflict. Yet the tailed English devil of the *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* is foremost a regicidal devil. Its use of mythology forged a connection between the old custom of calling the English tail-men and the recent regicide in England. Diocletian's daughters, after all, were all king-killers. According to *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang*, the English tail was the result of mass-regicide. In addition, the poem had a tail of its own. At the end of his account, the author reveals that he has written his poem so that

> the second Charles
> Through God's blessing and our State
> Will shine once more, like a pearl,
> And trample Cromwell's Council.[31]

The English devil represented by this poem, then, was an enemy of Dutch and English royalists alike, which complicates Meijer Drees' imagological interpretation. This equivalence between the Dutch and the royalist cause was a major feature in the political discourse of the war, which created an ideological Anglo-Dutch identity that is at odds with the language of national stereotyping.[32]

Almost without exception satires represented tailed, devilish Englishmen as both greedy robbers and king-killers. Willem van Heemskerck, for example, asserted that the Englishman had 'changed into a Devil's man', whose shedding and selling the innocent blood of 'his pious king' was essentially the same as his 'heated rapacity'.[33] The 1653 print *De Gehoonde Vryheyt* ('*Freedom Mocked*') does not only combine various of the devilish commonplaces developed in the poetry, but also the languages of regicide and economic war (see illustration 19).[34] On the right hand side it depicts 'the devilish Parliament in England'. Cromwell - a 'miserly money devil' behind his back - rejects the peace offered to him by Freedom (the personification of the Dutch Republic) while being crowned by a dragon carrying the King's

[31] Kn. 7251. *Nederlandtsche nyp-tang* (1652). Orig. 'den tweeden *Karel* / Door Gods zegen en ons Staet / Weer sou blincken als een parel, / En verpletten *Cromwels* raed'.
[32] It was this ideological identity which allowed the Scottish traveller James Fraser to consider the Dutch admiral Tromp not only 'a person of great affection to the family and person of our King', but also 'very much an Englishman, but his nativity'. Cited in: Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 176.
[33] Van Heemskerck, 'AEN IOACHIM OVDAEN' (1649). Orig. 'd'Engelschman, tot Duyvelschman herschapen, / Verhit op roof, met's Koningks bloet bemorst, / Verkoopt'et Bloed van zijn Vroom-aerdigh Vorst'.
[34] Muller 2017/Kn. 7448. *De gehoonde Vryheyt* (1653).

executioner with his tail. The executioner, in turn, holds Charles I's decapitated head in his left hand. Significantly, the image of the dragon with the executioner is balanced by the representation of a naval battle between De Ruyter and Ascue: regicide and naval war, the print implies, are manifestations of a single source of evil. An epigram in the upper left corner similarly notes that:

> The tail, possessed by envy and greed,
> Rejects the peace of the Dutch state.
> No regicide is weighing on his conscience.
> Thus evil knows no measure, rule, or right.[35]

Integrating and balancing the languages of Anglo-Dutch economic competition and civil war, such pamphlets do not only adopt demonic images, but also a demonological way of thinking by integrating the binary, Anglo-Dutch opposition of the war of 1652-1654 with the established binary opposition between King and Parliament of the English Civil Wars. The need for binary clarity guides their interpretation of current events.

By adopting such a demonological perspective, war pamphlets and poems frequently posit a causal relationship between civil war and naval war. One poem to do so very explicitly, as we have seen in Chapter 6, is Jan Vos's 'Zee-krygh' (1653).[36] Vos describes how Charles I's murder by 'the axe of raging Londoners' caused Pluto to convene the Hellish Hordes in the underworld. There it is decided that Revenge should visit Parliament to cause war with the Dutch Republic, because the hellish reign in England must be buttressed by Dutch wealth.[37] For Vos, then, the greedy English devil was summoned up by the regicide. In 'Nikkerspraetje' ('Devils' dialogue'), by Jan vander Veen, the ultimate cause of the Anglo-Dutch war is not the regicide, but the 'Irish business' of 1641-1643. In Vander Veen's poem, the fury Tisiphone recounts that she first went to England when the events in Ireland led Parliament 'to stir up the dog [the English people] against the throne': 'I thought it expedient', she says, 'to fish in troubled waters' - and thus she eventually procured both a regicide and a Protestant war.[38] Demonological language and logic led both

[35] Muller 2017/Kn. 7448. *De gehoonde Vryheyt* (1653). Orig. 'De staert, van nijt en giericheyt beseten, / Versmaet de vree der Nederlandtsche staet. / Geen koonings-moort en knaag noch sijn geweten. / Soo houdt de boosheyt regel, streeck, noch maet'.
[36] Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653).
[37] Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653), 303.
[38] Vander Veen, 'Nikkerspraetje' (1653), I5r. Orig. 'En datmen op de Kroon de *Dogh* begon te hitssen, / In onklaer water docht my was het goet te vissen'.

Vos and Vander Veen to frame the Anglo-Dutch War as a continuation of the civil wars, and as subject to the same binary division.

That this binary division was ultimately the result of the battle between God and the Devil is suggested by Vondel's tragedy *Lucifer*. *Lucifer* is a war play. In the first place, of course, because the play represents the first war in the Christian universe: the war in Heaven between the Luciferian angels led by the play's protagonist, and the angels loyal to God, led by Michael. In fact, by focusing its attention on the peripety of the protagonist, the play investigates the source of all armed conflict in history. For Vondel, Lucifer's rebellion is the beginning of history, which, as the angel Uriel suggests in the final act, consists of nothing but a series of reenactments of that first 'tragedy of tragedies'.[39] This has major consequences for the play's asssessment of human conflict. In the end, *Lucifer*'s profoundly religious view of war boils down to the belief that in all tragic, earthly conflicts, there is always one party representing God's cause.

Lucifer is also a war play because it was staged during the First Anglo-Dutch War. This context has too often been ignored by Vondel scholars, who frequently fail to mention the war at all or downplay its political significance. Ben Albach, for example, has argued that if Vondel had Cromwell in mind when he conceived *Lucifer*, the play 'came too late, because the peace negotiations were already on their way'.[40] Yet the peace negotiations had collapsed before, in 1653, and there was no reason why they would not do so again. In the context of this chapter it is evident that Vondel's representation of the war in heaven in February 1654 intervened in the debate on the ongoing naval war. That debate on Anglo-Dutch war and peace being dominated by a discussion on devilishness, Uriel's demonological vision that all human wars are reflections of the first conflict between absolute good and absolute evil was an emphatic argument against the Peace of Westminster.

The demonological perspective on the war, then, implied that peace was impossible without the expulsion of the regicide regime in England, because that represented the devil. In a series of sonnets published in 1653, Johannes Naeranus attacked a pamphleteer who had argued for peace in order to end the economic paralysis in which the Dutch Republic had ended up:

> Who trades with Hell, and feeds Satan bones?
> (…)
> With God resist, resist that devil, he will flee

[39] See: Van Dijkhuizen and Helmers, 'Religion and Politics', forthcoming.
[40] Albach, *Langs kermissen en hoven*, 71.

No Christian hero sways for angels with tails.[41]

The interaction of political satire with religious impulses and convictions resulted in serious politico-religious arguments. The line separating literary metaphor and satiric imagery from religiously inspired language is thin indeed.

War Satire and Religious Truth

'Woe on you!', the anonymous author of the pamphlet *'t Beseten Engelant* (*'England Possessed'*) exclaimed shortly after the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch war in 1652, 'with justice one may alter the inappropriate title of Angel-land [England] into devil-land'.[42] The age-old Latin pun on the similarity of 'angelorum' (angelic) and 'Anglorum' (English), which was already circulating in the days of Bede, also worked in Dutch, and it served Dutch authors of the 1650s well. The pamphlet literature and the poetry of the period offer numerous variations on the theme, which lent itself exceptionally well to all sorts of inversion. Pamphlets and poems variously described the English as a race of 'devils', 'fallen angels', or 'heavenly scoundrels' ('hemelguyten').[43] In a poem simply entitled 'Engelsche staatzucht' ('English /Angelic Ambition') (1649/1650), Jan Six van Chandelier described Lucifer's failed revolution in heaven in a chorus, comparing it to the successful English revolution on earth in a counter-chorus. 'Where recently an angel shone / Peacefully and clear', he concluded, 'now discord and the devil reign'.[44] The once peaceful, English/angelic kingdom, had been conquered by a devilish spirit which had changed it into a theatre of war. In 'Engelland' (*'England/Angel-land'*), Six described Charles I as a 'head of angels', which had been 'split by devils'. He lent extra weight to the commonplace word game by evoking Mark 3:24 on the realm of Satan.[45]

In line with the Dutch preoccupation with the significance of the word 'England' were the endlessly repeated puns on Oliver Cromwell's name in the 1650s. In Dutch, Cromwell's surname could be read as 'crooked is well' ('Krom-wel'), while his Dutchified Christian name was a contraction of the words 'oil' and 'fire' ('Oli-

[41] Naeranus, 'Sonnet V: Het heylig Hooft' (1653). Orig. 'Wie handelt met de Hel, end geeft den Satan bot? / (…) / Met Godt, weerstaet, weerstaet, dien Duyvel, hy sal vluchten / Geen kersten helt en swicht voor Englen met een staert'.
[42] Kn. 7218. D.V.J., *'t Beseten Engelant* (1652). Orig. 'wee u! o! besetene! met reght mag men den verkeerden Titel Engel-landt; nu wel Duyvel-landt noemen'.
[43] For the latter term, see for example: Kn. 7221. *Leydts Praetjen* (1652), B4r.
[44] Six van Chandelier, 'Engelsche staatzucht' (1649/1650). Orig. 'waar flus een Engel, als wat klaars, / En vreedsaams blonk, houdt Twist, de Duivel nu de kaars'.
[45] Six van Chandelier, 'Engelland' (before 1655). Orig. 'Engelsch hooft (...) van duivlen geklooft'.

vier'). Numerous poems and pamphlets played on these meanings, but the best-known version is an epigram that has been ascribed to Vondel (although without good reason): 'Where Oil is in the fire [Oliver] and the crooked is well [Cromwell] / Be sure to find a terrible Hell'.[46] In other Dutch poems, Cromwell crooked the law, put England on fire, or was able to crook wrong into right with his gift for words. Even the Latin inscription of a 1653 satiric print on Cromwell, *Sat Doctus Versare Dolos* (see illustration 20), played on these meanings: 'En Cromwell, curvum potuit qui dicere rectum' ('Behold Cromwell, who can talk straight what is crooked') - perhaps the author was so familiar with the pun that he had forgotten that it was only comprehensible to speakers of Dutch.[47]

Reiterated over and over again, wordplay such as 'Engeland = Engel-land', and 'Olivier = Olie in't vier' was powerful indeed. It stuck to the mind and forged popular associations which were hard to eradicate. But how serious were those associations? Evidently, some poets simply enjoyed inventing new variants on such commonplaces. Six van Chandelier, for example, intended his warlike verses on the devilish state of England merely as wordplay, since he was not averse to honouring Cromwell after the peace.[48] But the popularity of these puns may also indicate that they were considered to be rather more significant than simple punning or empty rhetoric, that the power of these etymologies and hidden meanings, but also of commonplace images, stereotypes and myths such as the tail-man was argumentative as much as rhetorical.

In seventeenth-century aestheticism, language and rhetoric, poetry itself, took part in the unravelling of God's design.[49] Understanding names and words through historical and etymological inquiry was part of that effort. As Judith Dundas writes, 'God Himself is a rhetorician and has chosen to reveal by means of the incarnate Word. Human words are also divinely ordained, at least according to the ancient faith in etymology, their true meaning being wrapped in their roots'.[50] In the Ur-language of Babel, George Steiner observes, 'words and objects dovetailed perfectly (…) The tongue of Eden was like a flawless glass; a light of total understanding

[46] Vondel, 'Op Olivier Cromwell' (c. 1653). Orig. 'Daer Olie in 't vier en 't Crom wel is, / Raed of 't daer niet een gruwelijke hel is'. For other instances of this epigram, see Appendix 1.
[47] O'D 95. 'Sat Doctus Versare Dolos'. Laura Knoppers is one of the readers who failed to appreciate the pun. Cf. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 85-86.
[48] For the debate on Six' positive representation of the peace and the Protector, see: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten,* 101-103.
[49] See for instance: Shepherd, 'Introduction', 53.
[50] Dundas, 'George Herbert', 81.

streamed through it'.[51] Exploring the depths, the history, and the structures of language, then, was a way of truth-finding. 'Language', Michel Foucault has stated, 'partakes in the world-wide dissemination of similitudes and signatures. It must therefore be studied as a thing of nature'.[52]

Although in many cases the commonplace invectives and puns used in anti-English war satire were probably just that, it should not be ruled out that poets such as Vondel, Vos and Naeranus attached a deeper, revelatory significance to the etymological pun and the related mythological image of the English tail. Indeed, their use of it is frequently in a grey area between religious sincerity and political satire. In a poem to 'a certain Englishman', for instance, Jan Vos wrote that: 'When the horde of angels fell, it fell unto your Island / Which thus received the angels' name, and Lucifer as Lord'. He continued to assert that the truth of this was '*testified* by your regicide and hellish robberies'.[53] From this perspective, exposing the etymology and the hidden meaning of a name as being consistent with observed political reality amounted to revelation. Such uses of etymology were not, it should be emphasized, the exclusive domain of poets. Salmasius, too, frequently uses etymology as an argument in the *Defensio Regia* (and was ridiculed for it by Milton).[54] The consistency between the mythological image of the English tail and the suggested etymological relationship between 'angelorum' and 'anglorum' only added to their epistemological value, as it could even be taken for an accumulation of evidence of the English devilishness: by analogy and inversion respectively, both pointed toward the devil.

The Great Parodist: Devilish Cromwell

Evidently, the effort to align the language of the English Civil War with that of the Anglo-Dutch War produced ideological frictions. Indeed, after eighty years of warring against Catholics, it required great flexibility of mind to exchange a Catholic devil image for a Protestant one so abruptly. It is not surprising, then, that a sense of Anglo-Dutch religious brotherhood persisted, especially during the first year of the war. According to various royalist pamphleteers, there were still preachers praying

[51] Steiner, *After Babel*, 61. Cf. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 94: 'The logical and rhetorical processes of language were central to what was represented as well as to ways of representing it'.
[52] Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 39.
[53] Vos, 'Zeker Engelsman' (c. 1650). Orig. 'Toen 't heir der Englen viel quam 't in uw eilandt neer / Zoo kreeg 't der Englen naam, en Lucifer tot heer. / Dat *tuygt* uw koningsmoordt en helsche rooveryen'. Emphasis added.
[54] Symmons, *Life of John Milton*, 355.

for the English Parliament in 1652.[55] Other prose pamphlets published in 1652 argued for a quick peace that would scare the enemies of the Protestant brother states.[56]

Yet paradoxically it was exactly the continuation of the First Anglo-Dutch War that intensified the notion that the world was ultimately governed by the opposing forces of Christ and Satan. For many early modern beholders, a war fought at an unprecedented scale, and at unprecedented costs in human lives and resources, had to have some kind of religious significance. That being so, the contradictions registered by various Protestant preachers could not remain hanging in the air. By both religious and political necessity, apocalyptic and demonological interpreters on both sides of the Channel needed to conclude that those aspects binding the two Republics together, Republicanism and Protestantism, were merely appearances, tricks of the devil who was a deceiver and a parodist of Christ. As Rowen observed, the pamphlet *Eutrapelus* 'called the war the devil's work because it set against each other two people of the same religion and the same form of government'.[57] In the pamphlet literature, Oliver Cromwell became the incarnation of that devil, the great betrayer of his King, the English people, the Dutch Republic, and the Protestant religion.

Cromwell was subjected to various strategies of opposition and carnivalesque inversion, which always evoked or implied his demonic parodying of the positive, divine order of the English monarchy.[58] In the first place, Dutch pamphlets of the 1650s (like English royalist polemic) emphasized this inversion by exaggerating his low birth. Cromwell was often portrayed as a brewer (he was rumoured to descend from a family of brewers), or indeed any artisan. A 1652 broadsheet represents Cromwell as a cooper, working on a barrel filled with dissension and conflict.[59] A year later, a Dutch war pamphlet called the Rump parliament an assembly of 'shoe-makers, cheap-tailors, kettle-menders, rag-peddlers, rat-catchers, dog-butchers, manure-sweepers, cutpurses, privy-sweepers, animal gelders'.[60] Johannes Stermont, a Calvinist minister from The Hague, also resented the fact that a bunch of 'former

[55] Kn. 7234. *Visschers-praetjen* (1652).
[56] Kn. 7226. *Protestatie vande Nederlanders* (1652).
[57] Rowen, *John de Witt,* 70.
[58] On the political resourcefulness of festive games of inversion, see: Jacobs, 'King for a Day', passim. See also: Le Bourg-Oulé, *Roi d'un jour*, passim.
[59] Kn. 7330. De Mol, *Engels-kviper* (1652). Laura Knoppers cites the *Mercurius Elenctitus* of 21-28 February (OS), which likewise represents parliament as an assembly of 'Brewers and Bakers, Coblers, Pedlers and Tinkers'. See: Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 27.
[60] Kn. 7434. *Een goede balsam op een quade wonde* (1653), 6. Orig. 'Schoepluggers, lap-schroors, ketel-boeters, deken-kramers, ratte-vangers, honde-slagers, dreck-vagers, buydel-schrobbers, privaet-schrobbers, beeste-lubbers'. Cited by: Haan, *The Treatment of England*, 194.

tailors, brewers, bankrupts, and innkeepers (…) drove over 200 of its rightful members from the Parliament by force'.[61] Although such representations of the leadership of the English Republic were usually accompanied by comparisons with the anabaptist risings in Amsterdam and Münster, or with the revolt in Naples, such analogies could potentially backfire. When Salomon Savery represented the English Parliament as an assembly of demonic beggars in 1652, he almost made them into sea-beggars, who had been the heroes of the Dutch revolt.[62]

After Cromwell dissolved Parliament in April 1653, the danger of condemning the Dutch Revolt by association lessened. The English Republic had been exposed as false, and satirists could now focus their attention exclusively on Cromwell himself. As Protector, Cromwell was often represented as a prince of misrule. Constantijn Huygens, for example, wrote a poem to his 'grande maistresse' Amelie van Brederode in which he called Cromwell 'that comic Protector', a 'hypocrite who mocks / all the British people'. Huygens points out that the Brits have been conquered for the second time, this time not by a French Prince with a powerful army, but by 'rude Fate that made / A man who used to be like me / To come and play the King'.[63] One particularly striking visual example of a carnivalesque rendering of Cromwell is Rombaut van der Hoeyen's 1653 engraving *King Cromwell* (1653) (see illustration 21). Van der Hoeyen depicts Cromwell attired as a king in front of Van der Passe's execution scene. He is accompanied by two devils holding up a shield showing an English dog representing the English people.[64] Cromwell here is the proverbial 'King in all but name', the man who has turned the world upside down. The right hand side of the print shows the positive order implied by the left hand side: the personification of Justice, whose scales point out that the severed head of Charles I will eventually weigh more than the orb of state. Two angels hover above and carrying a bible with the text 'fear God, honour the King'. Rather superfluously, the poem underneath predicts that Justice shall eventually triumph.[65] The rhetoric of such comic representations of Cromwell as the

[61] Kn. 7257. Stermont [attr.] *Eenvoudich Advys* (1652).
[62] Muller 2067. Savery, 'Appelton' (1652).
[63] Huygens, 'Estreine a sa gaijeté' (1654), ll. 80-88. Orig. 'ce drosle de Protecteur, / Qui faict le bigot et la nicque / A tout le peuple Britannique'; D'un homme jadis comme moij / Faict à venir jouër le Roij'.
[64] The bags of gold at the dog's feet and the bishop's mitre on its head evince both the English robbery at sea and English religious separatism.
[65] Other examples of texts representing Cromwell as a Prince of Misrule include Jan Vos' epigram 'Op drie Koningen avont' ('On Twelfth Night') (c. 1653) in which Vos explicitly compared the interregnum government in England with festive games of inversion. As I have argued elsewhere (Helmers, 'Unknown Shrews', passim), Melchior Fockens' 1657 *Klucht van Dronkken Hansje* ('Farce of Drunken Hans') brought this conceit to the Amsterdam stage by appropriating a version Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* carried to the Dutch Republic by English travelling players.

parodist of Charles I was utterly demonological: Dutch readers were presented with a choice between the right side of God and the King, and the left side of the devil and Cromwell. In order for that rhetoric to work, however, Cromwell's claim to Protestant virtue, which he expressed in numerous speeches, needed to be accounted for.

The Religious Hypocrite

In a whole range of pamphlets, Cromwell's play-acting in matters of state was supplemented with his perceived hypocrisy in matters of religion. Thus, in a 1653 engraving published by Clement de Jonghe, *Parlament haer Testament*, Cromwell's portrait was flanked by the personifications of both Ambition and Feigned Religion (see illustration 22). The piles of heads in both corners symbolized the murderousness resulting from these devilish traits. Cromwell's hypocrisy in matters of religion was represented as a direct threat to the Dutch Protestant Church. In 1653, an English migrant in Delft, T.G., 'an eye and ear witness' of Cromwell's 'hellish deeds', published his Dutch-language pamphlet attack on Cromwell, *Den volmaeckte hypocryt* ('*The Perfect Hypocrite*'), 'as a warning to all princes and potentates, and principally to the (…) Protestant reformed churches of the United Provinces of the Netherlands', because according to him the 'devilish designs' were aimed especially at the 'flowering churches' of the Dutch Republic.[66] Drawing on both the anti-Independent literature of the Presbyterian community as well as the anti-Puritan literature of Remonstrants and Anglicans, representations of Cromwell as a religious hypocrite were widespread in the Dutch printed media of the 1650s.

A remarkable feature of such representations is the fact that Cromwell is often associated with the papacy. Printed engravings of the 1650s frequently depict Cromwell wearing a papal tiara. A pamphlet commenting on his victory at Worcester, for example, shows the hypocrite Cromwell with a devilish serpent's tail, wearing the three-tiered crown of the popes while preaching to a congregation of anabaptists (see illustration 23).[67] In various anti-Cromwellian prints published during the Anglo-Dutch war, the tiara re-appeared.[68] In poetry, the association between Cromwell and the pope was forged in other ways. The Amsterdam

[66] Kn. 7376. T.G., *Den volmaeckte hypocryt* (1653), A4r-A4v. Orig. 'waerschuwinge aen alle Princen ende Potentaten, ende voornamentlijk aen de Staten dese Protestante Ghereformeerde Kercken vande vereenighde Provintien der Nederlanden'. See also: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 22.
[67] Kn. 6952/BM Satires 818. *Danck-Predikatien* (1651).
[68] See for instance: Kn. 7279. *'t Loos bedrog van Engelandt* (1652); Muller 2036 / Knuttel 7276. Crispin van der Passe, *Uytbeeldinge van de hoogmoedige Republijk van Engelandt* (1652).

bookseller Jan Jacobsz Schipper, for example, addressed a poem to Rome, averring that the papacy should be consoled by the fact that 'a new antichrist now has revealed itself'. In the same poem, Schipper - like an English royalist newspaper of 1649 - conflated Cromwell and the pope with the phrase 'a brewer in three crowns', a phrase borrowed from anti-papal polemic but specifically suited to refer to Cromwell, who reigned in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.[69] Adding another dimension to the analogy between Cromwell and the pope, Jan Vos - himself a Catholic - compared the English government to the papal inquisition when reports about Parliament's burning (royalist) books reached Amsterdam.[70]

This mode of satire may seem completely out of place when we consider Cromwell's solidly Protestant reputation in history, yet portraying Cromwell as a new pope and a Jesuit in disguise was in fact perfectly conventional anti-Puritan rhetoric in the Anglo-Dutch sphere. As early as 1605, Gabriel Powel had written in English against a 'puritan-papist'.[71] Indeed, the language of the Dutch prints and poems was conspicuously similar to earlier royalist attacks on the Parliament in England, as appears from the following excerpt of Abraham Cowley's 1643 Civil War satire, *The Puritan and the Papist*, in which he addresses a Puritan Parliamentarian:

> [Papists] depose the kings by force, by force you'de doe it,
> But first use faire meanes to perswade them to it.
> They dare kill kings, now 'twixt ye here's the strife,
> That you dare shoot at kings, to save their life
> And what's the difference, 'pray, whether he fall
> By the Popes Bull or your Oxe Generall?
> Three Kingdoms thus ye strive to make your own
> And, like the pope, usurpe a triple Crowne.[72]

For Dutch Remonstrants who accepted Charles I as a martyr and defender of the true Protestant faith, Cromwell's correspondence with the Pope followed logically. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, Naeranus echoed Cowley in the Preface to his

[69] Schipper, 'Troost voor Roomen' (c. 1649), 646. As Antonia Frasier (*Cromwell*, 14-15) shows, Cromwell's rumoured descent from a family of brewers figured frequently in anti-Cromwellian satire in England. The newspaper *Mercurius Elenticus*, for example, wrote in 1649 of 'that bloody brewer Cromwell'. Vondel ('Scheeps-kroon' (1653), 570, l. 40) offers another example of the commonplace. Writing of Cromwell's tyranny, he remarked that 'de brouwer brouwt te Lonnen' ('The brewer is brewing in London').
[70] Vos, 'Onder de regeering van Kromwel wierden eenige boeken verbrandt' (1652?). For book burnings in the 1640s and 1650s, see: Hessayon, 'Incendiary Texts', passim. In 1652 a book printed for the Amsterdam bookseller Broer Jansz. was burned in London, which may have caused Vos' indignition.
[71] Powel, *A refutation* (1605).
[72] Cowley, *The Puritan and the Papist* (1643), 6.

Dutch translation of *Eikon Basilike*, where he explicitly compared the King's opponents to Jesuits.[73] Another Remonstrant, Joachim Oudaen, presented his 'polished mirror of Charles I', Conradin, as the victim of the infernal alliance between his Fairfax-like political opponent and the Cromwell-like Pope.[74] For Remonstrants, the Cromwell's image signified the same relentless, cruel, and rebellious Puritan fanaticism which it had meant for Cowley. By conforming to the language of Cowley's satire, remonstrant attacks on Cromwell as the pope of England, were a way to express their royalist, Anglican identity. Their use of the image was also in line with their polemic against the Dutch Further Reformers: in fact Remonstrants used the same libel against Voetius, who was called 'Papa ultratrajectina' or 'pope of Utrecht'.[75]

Yet from the late 1640s onwards Contra-Remonstrants, too, applied the image of the papal Antichrist to Cromwell and Parliament. Whereas Remonstrants read it as a confirmation of the shared identity of English and Dutch Puritans, Contra-Remonstrants used the image to answer Parliament's appeals to Protestant brotherhood. The strongest possible denial of such claims was to expose the pretended Protestant hero as his counterpart. Instead of following royalists such as Cowley, however, they were following the lead of English Presbyterians in representing the Independents as betrayers of the Reformation. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, the Presbyterian William Prynne had identified the Independents in the army as Jesuits early in 1649.

Particularly those Independents who had been active in Holland were attacked by Dutch Calvinists. In various pamphlets and poems published between 1649 and 1661, the Anglo-Dutch enthusiast Hugh Peter was singled out for slander. Peter, who had had so much success in Holland in the early 1640s (see Chapter 2), was now portrayed as Cromwell's evil adviser and the embodiment of the Independents' hypocrisy and feigned religion.[76] A 1652 engraving made during the first stages of the First Anglo-Dutch War, represents him as the personification of Independent Sanctimony, who uses the bellows to blow ambition for the three crowns of Britain into Cromwell's ears (see illustration 24).[77] 'A steel tongue' is preaching in England, the accompanying poem asserted,

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[73] Naeranus, 'Den oversetter aen den Leser' (1649), *2v.
[74] Oudaen, *Koningh Konradyn* (1649).
[75] Van Asselt, *Voetius*, 39. According to Van Asselt, it was Pierre du Moulin's brother, Lewis du Moulin, who coined the nickname, Voetius being among the fiercest critics of Du Moulin's writings on church government (see: Larminie, 'Du Moulin, Lewis', ODNB).
[76] For instance: Kn. 7244. *Declaratie ende verbodt* (1652); Kn. 7283. *Engelse koortdanser* (1652); Kn. 7377. Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653); Kn. 7822. *Vergelijckinge* (1657); Kn. 8246. *Verhael* (1660).
[77] Kn. 7282. Zoet, *Kragteloose Staat-zucht* (1652).

London's pulpit, which spits but fire and flame,
Artfully knows to hide its schismatic heart
From the rabble's eyes, with the soft wool of the Lamb.[78]

Occasionally, Peter was even accused of having executed the King himself, and privately treasuring the axe with which he had fulfilled his bloody deed.[79]

Such anti-Independent images and arguments originated in English royalist and Presbyterian propaganda. The 1649 *Antvvoorde op de Declaratie van het Parlement* ('*Answer to the Declaration of Parliament*'), which is one of the first texts in the Dutch vernacular to target Peter, was printed by Samuel Browne and translated from the English.[80] The rumour that Peter had executed the King was already circulating in royalist newspapers soon after the execution of the King, when, punning on his name, they printed the epigram: 'the best man next to Jupiter [Charles I]/ Was put to death by Hugh Peter'.[81] Such a line must have been circulating in the Dutch Republic as well, for otherwise it would be difficult to explain how Jan Vos, in his 'Zee-krygh', could accuse Peter of being the 'King's hangman' and express his belief that Jupiter would have his revenge two lines later.[82] It was Peter's status as one of the frontmen of the Parliamentary effort to enlist Dutch support in the early 1640s that made him such an ideal target for Anglo-Dutch royalist polemicists. Targeting him was also a way of undermining the idea that the government in England represented a brother religion: (a part of) the English people may belong to the religious nation, but their leaders were acting only under the guise of religion, and were merely seeking to turn society upside down like anabaptists such as Knipperdollinck and John of Leiden.

Although by 1653 various Dutch Catholics, Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants alike agreed that Cromwell and Parliament were religious hypocrites in league with the Antichrist of Rome, the subtexts of their anti-parliamentary publications was markedly different. Authors like Naeranus, Vondel and Oudaen

[78] Kn. 7282. Zoet, *Kragteloose Staat-zucht* (1652). Orig. 'Londze predikstoel spuvvt niets dan Vur [sic], en vlam; / Tvveet'er scheurziek hart, met zachte wol van't Lam / Voor d'oogen van't Graauw, heel konstig toe te dekken'.
[79] For example in: Kn. 8246. *Verhael* (1660), A3v; and Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653), 319-325. Significantly, such accusations rooted in rumours that Peter had played the part of executioner disguised with a false beard and wig, which were circulating in London after the execution. See: Lilly, *William Lilly's His Life and Times*, 202; Stearns, *Strenuous Puritan*, 335; Wedgwood, *Trial of Charles I*, 184.
[80] Kn. 6410. *Antvvoorde op de Declaratie* (1649). Translated from the English and the Latin by 'a lover of the prosperity of the English nation' ('Een lief-hebber van de welstant van de Engelsche natie'). This pamphlet reacted to: Kn. 6406. *Een declaratie van het Parlement van Engelandt* (1649).
[81] Cited in: Masson, *Life of John Milton* VI, 32.
[82] Vos, 'Zee-krygh' (1653), 314.

were still attacking the *same* Puritan zeal of Presbyterians and Independents they had been attacking in the 1640s. Contra-Remonstrants such as Stermont, by contrast, used the same image to put a distance between themselves and the English leadership, which had barred the Presbyterian project of uniformity in Anglo-Scoto-Dutch church government. For Stermont, representing the religious hypocrisy of the Independents functioned as an apology of the Contra-Remonstrant support to men like Peter in the early 1640s: his underlying argument was that his Dutch supporters had been deceived. Both Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, it is clear, were attempting to make sense of the new situation in England from a demonological perspective. Both groups were creating binary divisions that suited the new situation within the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Protestant community. Thus Cromwell had become a fanatic Puritan-Papist for Remonstrants, and a Sectarian-Papist for Contra-Remonstrants.

Millenarianism: The First Anglo-Dutch War and Antichrist

The religious meaning that was read into the First Anglo-Dutch War found its most absolute expression in the Anglo-Dutch millenarianism of the early 1650s. In its basic outlook, millenarianism did not differ much from demonology. Like demonology in general, eschatology 'taught men and women to recognize in the events of their own times a (…) kind of logic'. The worst calamities, the most unsettling upheavals were 'the climax of the universal dualisms of good and evil, true and false, Christ and Antichrist'.[83] The challenge posed to apocalyptic thinkers was to discern biblical prophecies and dualisms in contemporary events in order to be ready for the approaching end-time. The main difference between eschatology and other forms of demonology lay in the eschatologists' reading of events in the light of biblical prophecies, and the immediate political consequences they attached to them. Eschatology was inherently political because, in the words of John Coffey, 'Revelation taught its readers to think in political terms, to identify the Beast and the Whore of Babylon with worldly powers'. Moreover, in order to secure the imminent deliverance, radical millenarianism required immediate action.[84]

Under the pressure of the English Civil Wars and the First Anglo-Dutch War, the mid-seventeenth century saw an upsurge of end-time believers – chiliasts,

[83] About the Antichrist, the world upside-down, and the Antichrist's career parodying the life of Christ, see: Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 346-362, cit. 347.
[84] Coffey, 'The Martyrdom of Sir Henry Vane the Younger', 238. See also: Capp, 'The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought', passim.

millenarians, eschatologists – in England as well as in the Dutch Republic.[85] Christopher Hill's assessment that 'it is difficult to exaggerate the extent and strength of millenarian expectations among ordinary people [in England] in the 1640s and 1650s' can be extended to the Dutch Republic.[86] Well-known Dutch chiliasts of the mid-seventeenth century include Jan Zoet,[87] Petrus Serrarius,[88] and, in the latter's wake, Joachim Oudaen.[89] In England, millenarianism was even more prominent in the 1640s and 1650s, as it became a major factor in the politics of the Civil War period. Cromwell himself talked about his military exploits, whether in Ireland or in Schotland, as contributions to 'the destruction of Anti-christ'.[90] Moreover, the revolutionary period saw the emergence of the Fifth Monarchy Men. These 'saints' rose to prominence during the Anglo-Dutch War, when they came to dominate the Barebones Parliament, but were forced into the opposition when Cromwell dissolved Parliament in the summer of 1653.[91] Both Dutch and English millenarians saw the English Civil Wars and the First Anglo-Dutch War as consecutive steps towards the Apocalypse.

After 1649, millenarian expectations rose. As the change in England was perceived as a sign that the apocalypse was at hand, apocalyptic prophecies proliferated. The popularity of William Lilly's *Merlini Anglici ephemeris* and *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England*, which both circulated in English as well as in Dutch, attests to the rising chiliast expectations in the Anglo-Dutch sphere.[92] Lilly's astrologies, as Andrew Cunningham and Ole Grell have observed, interpreted English politics from an apocalytic perspective,[93] for instance by reporting apocalyptic visions in England, such as armies in the sky. In the Dutch engraving *Het tooneel der Engelsche Elende* (1650), such an army is shown in the dark sky

[85] Hill ('Till the Conversion of the Jews', 19) asserts that 'preachers and pamphleteers agreed on the years 1650-1656 as the crucial period [for the establishment of Antichrist]'.
[86] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 77. The literature on English millenarianism is daunting. A good overview of mid- and late-seventeenth-century millenarianism in England is offered by: Laursen and Popkin, *Millenarianism and Messianism*, passim. For a short overview of millanarianism in the Dutch Republic, see: Van der Wall, 'Mystical Millenarianism in the Early Modern Dutch Republic', passim. For an Anglo-German approach see: Mulsow, 'Who Was the Author of the Clavis Apocalyptica', passim.
[87] Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, 215-217; 325.
[88] Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, passim. See also: Van den Berg, 'Quaker and Chiliast', passim.
[89] Karsemeijer, 'Joachim Oudaen als Chiliast', passim; Fix, 'Dutch Millenarianism and the Role of Reason', passim.
[90] Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 97-98.
[91] On the Fifth Monarchy Men see: Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, passim; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, esp. 77-78; and Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 86-116.
[92] Kn. 7344. Lilly, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris*, *ofte Astrologische voorzegginghen* (1653); Kn. 7347. Lilly, *Monarchy ofte geen Monarchy in Engelant* (1653).
[93] Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, 78.

hanging over the scaffold scene in London (see illustration 17, discussed in Chapter 6).[94] Frequently, prophets such as Lilly predicted the restoration of Charles II. Arise Evans' *Request*, translated into Dutch in 1653, prophecied the Restoration of Charles II from Revelation and his 'bloody visions' during the First Anglo-Dutch war.[95] In a 1652 poem entitled ''t Beseten Engelandt' ('England Possessed'), I. van Deusburg reached the same conclusion along similar lines of expectation.[96] Such royalist apocalyptic prophecies and visions called out for a debate about the religious significance of current events.

Such a debate was especially urgent because the battles of the English Civil Wars and the First Anglo-Dutch War were fought out within the heart of Protestant Europe. As it did not fit within the established dualism of Catholic-versus-Reformed forces, the apocalyptic significance of these events was open to contestation. As a result, a variety of interpretations circulated. In contrast to the prophets cited above, Fifth Monarchists in England considered the war against the Dutch to be a war against apostate Protestants.[97] Moreover, the Dutch, who were known to sympathize with the Stuarts, were considered unfaithful to the Fifth Monarchists' republican ideology. Fifth Monarchists such as Sir Henry Vane, after all, believed that the establishment of a republican Commonwealth led by godly saints would spread over the world and usher in the second coming of Christ. Whereas the execution of Charles I had been the first step, the Anglo-Dutch war was the second on the march towards the Fifth Millennium. For the Fifth Monarchists, the war needed to be fought to the end in more than one sense.

The millenial arguments of the hawks in the Barebone's Parliament also circulated in the Dutch Republic. In some sources they are treated with downright scepticism. A character in one pamphlet dialogue, recounting what he thought to be Cromwell's ambition 'to re-establish [Jesus'] kingdom, or New Jerusalem on earth', is answered by his partner: 'I would rather put the bastard on the rack'.[98] Others, however, reverted to quintomonarchical arguments of their own. Perhaps

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[94] See: Muller 2045a. Zoet, *Het tooneel der Engelsche Ellende* (1650). On earlier apocalyptic visions of armies in the sky, see: Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, 80-84.
[95] Kn. 7375. Evans, *Request van Arise Evans* (1653).
[96] Kn. 7218. Deusburg, 'D.V. J.' *'t Beseten Engelant* (1652). In 1660, another millenarian, Nicholaes van Rensselaer, became famous for having predicted the date of Charles II's restoration correctly. See: Van der Wall, 'Prophecy and Profit', passim.
[97] Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 130-131. See also: Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 152-154. Capp does assert, however, that the Fifth Monarchy Men never thought of 'revenge against the Dutch as an end in itself' (152).
[98] Kn. 7442. *De doeck tegen de broeck* (1653). Orig. 'om zijn koninkrijk, ofte nieuw Jerusalem op aarden, weder op te rechten'; 'ik zag hem liever levendig op een rad zetten, wat guit is dat'. Cited in: Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 69.

unsurprisingly, Dutch millenarian saints took a wholly opposite, royalist view of the situation, and identified Cromwell as Antichrist. Laura Knoppers has discussed the case of the Catholic pamphlet *Kort Berecht*, which depicted Cromwell as the Whore of Babylon.[99] I will here shortly address the cases of two Protestant prophets, Johannes Rothé and Ludwig Gifftheil. Both Rothé and Gifftheil were actively countering the Fifth Monarchists' beliefs in the Anglo-Dutch sphere. This was particularly remarkable in Gifftheil's case, since he had been one of the great examples for the Fifth Monarchists.

Johannes Rothé was the scion of an Amsterdam patrician family. The future husband of Samuel Hartlib's daughter Anne, and on his way to be lorded by Charles II in 1660, Rothé was called to his divine labour when he experienced a revelation during a stroll in the forest in 1652. Twenty-four years old, this prominent member of the Amsterdam society, a mystic like Abraham Boreel (who had a similar background), became a travelling prophet, preaching his apocalyptic visions in Holland and England during the early 1650s. The First Anglo-Dutch War figured large in Rothé's thought. In 1654 he was apprehended in London, because his millennial sermons were interpreted as pleas for the restoration of Charles II by the English authorities. He was released, however, and eventually returned to Holland, where his chiliastic thought influenced several Amsterdam magistrates.[100] Rothé's case indicates the Anglo-Dutch focus of millenarians. Moreover, it exemplifies that we should beware of thinking of these mid-seventeenth century Dutch prophets as marginal figures, who could only appeal to the intellectually inept or politically impotent, as the marginalization of such people in Dutch historiography might lead one to believe.

Rothé himself was deeply influenced by Ludwig Gifftheil, who was arguably the most prolific and influential apocalyptic involved in interpreting the political upheavals of his time. Although George Thomason considered him to be a 'German prophett of the tribe of Juda', Gifftheil was in fact a mystic pietist separatist, critical of both the Catholic and the official Protestant churches.[101] His millennarian thought was deeply influenced by his experiences during the Thirty Years' war, which had compelled him to exchange his life as a barber for a life on the road as a prophet. Like many of his contemporaries, he considered the bloodshed in Germany to be one of the unmistakable signs of the impending apocalypse, and he interpreted the Holy

[99] See: Knoppers, 'The Antichrist, the Babilon, the Great Dragon', passim.
[100] Nauta, *Biografisch lexicon* I, 297-298.
[101] Gifftheil's life and writings are discussed in Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* III (1729). I have used the Dutch edition: Arnold, *Historie der Kerken en Ketteren*, 173-179. The only comprehensive modern study of Gifftheil is still: Eylenstein, 'Ludwig Gifftheil', passim.

Roman Empire to be the Fourth Monarchy.[102] The first politico-religious pamphlets he authored were appeals to German secular rulers, in Latin and the German vernacular.[103]

Already before the Peace of Westphalia (possibly attracted by reports on the Irish massacres) Giffttheil travelled to the Dutch Republic, where he applied his millenarian thought to the British and the Anglo-Dutch inter-Protestant conflicts. During the Civil Wars, his loyalty was firmly on the King's side. Having gained followers among Lutherans and pietists in Amsterdam and Zwolle,[104] Giffttheil sought to enlist the Dutch for the Stuart cause. Already in 1645, he published a prose tract in Dutch against Parliament, whom he considered to be disturbers of the peace.[105] In this text, as in his later Dutch publications, he appealed to the States General to assist God in bringing vengeance upon the English Parliament.

Achieving nothing in the United Provinces, however, Giffttheil, like Rothé after him, turned to Britain. In 1648, he published an apocalyptic tract in English, *Concerning this present Cain in his Generation*, warning the inhabitants of this 'blood-drunken Babel' against the fratricidal spirit reigning in England.[106] Giffttheil's apocalyptic language greatly inspired the Fifth Monarchy Men during this visit.[107] The political message of his English pamphlet, however, was highly ambivalent. Although he clearly read the Civil War in an apocalyptic light, he did not point out which party represented the Antichrist. The Dutch adaptations he published during the First Anglo-Dutch War, by contrast, left no room for doubt on the issue of who the 'present Cain' exactly was: it was the spirit of regicide and robbery in England, epitomized by the devilish Oliver Cromwell.

Hitherto catalogued as anonymous, the Dutch edition of *Concerning the Wicked Generation of Cain in England* was an expanded and adapted version of the 1648 English edition.[108] The work is undated, but the language of fratricide, apparent

[102] On German chiliastic thought during the Thirty Years' War, see for example: Mout, 'Chiliastic Prophecy and Revolt', passim.
[103] Arnold mentions various titles in Dutch, English and German which are now apparently lost. See: Arnold, *Historie der Kerken en Ketteren*, 176ff.
[104] See: Visser, 'Die Mystisch-Pietistische Ströhmung', 176.
[105] Giffttheil's *Het tegenwoordige Parlement, die onrustighe Oproerders in Engelandt* ('*The present Parliament, the disturbing rebels in England*') (1645) is described in: Arnold, *Historie der Kerken en Ketteren*, 176. The text mentioned by Arnold does not appear in the STCN, and may be lost.
[106] Wing G2201. *Concerning this present Cain in his Generation* (1648).
[107] Arnold, *Historie der Kerken en Ketteren*, 173; Eylenstein, 'Ludwig Giffttheil', 29; Gibson, 'Apocalyptic and Millenarian Prophecy', passim.
[108] Giffttheil, *Nopende het nydige Cains geslachte* (c. 1653). The text is not mentioned in Arnold (*Historie der Kerken en Ketteren*), but is an apparent adaptation of the English edition, to which it adds specific references to the English regicides. The anonymous text may of course have been produced by a follower of Giffttheil. I would like to thank Matthijs Wieldraaijer for sharing his thoughts on this text with me.

both in the title and in the main text, strongly suggests that it was published during the First Anglo-Dutch War. Published anonymously, it is a typical example of Gifftheil's prose, full of apocalyptic language and littered with biblical references. The language which Gifftheil had applied to the breach in England during the Second Civil War before, was now reapplied to the breach within the Anglo-Dutch 'Zion' of 1652-1654. The full blame of this breach is on 'the Evil in Zion', the regicides, who are characterized as 'Tyrants, Robbers, Thieves, and envious Murderers', and as 'false Teachers and Prophets (…) through whom the Devil has seduced the people to resent God'.[109] Suddenly switching to the second person singular, the text directly addresses one man, presumably the 'present Cain', the Antichristic Cromwell: 'Who are you, you Godless, evil, wrathful, merciless Thieve ['Schrobber'] proud Tyrant, to judge someone else? You, who cannot leave your Friend, Brother, and Neighbours in peace?'[110] That Gifftheil's tract is deeply influenced by biblical prophecies from the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse is evident from a quick glance at his marginal notes. These examples show that his inspired language is also closely reminiscent of the satires that were published in great numbers during the war.

Remarkably, the arguments used by the Fifth Monarchy Men in England to prolong the war against the Dutch were countered in the Dutch publications by the very man who had inspired them. This may seem strange, but in terms of religious sensibility, Gifftheil and the English saints were undoubtedly close. Although they differed in the political application of their millenarian convictions, Gifftheil and his English counterparts endorsed the same radical Protestant beliefs, and were equally disposed to find the binary opposition of the Apocalypse reflected in the politics of their days.

Millenarian prophets on both sides of the Channel also agreed that it was necessary to fight the Anglo-Dutch war until either side was vanquished. Dutch poets and pamphleteers whose demonological outlook resembled the millenarian one, were equally opposed to ending the war. To leave it unresolved, in their minds, would be an affront to God.

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[109] Gifftheil, *Nopende het nydige Cains geslachte* (c. 1653), A1r. Orig. 'de stoute tot Zion (…) Tyrannen (…) Roovers, Dieven, ende nydige Moordenaren'; 'De valsche Leeraren ende Propheten (…) Door dewelcke de Duyvel de luyden, omme aldus tegens GODT te wrevelen heeft verleydt'.

[110] Gifftheil, *Nopende het nydige Cains geslachte* (c. 1653), A2v. Orig. 'Wie zydy, ghy goddeloose, stoute toornige, onbarmhertige Schrobber (…) ende trotsige Tyran, dat ghy een ander oordeelt? Van uwen Vriendt, Broeder, ende Naesten niet af en laet'.

Peace, however, was an economic necessity. The war had been bordering on the disastrous from the Dutch perspective: trade in the North Sea had been paralysed and especially merchants were much relieved by the war's ending. But while the necessity of peace was clear to those in trade and government, it was never greeted with such jubilation as the peace with Spain had been when it was finally concluded. In fact, the peace was received rather unenthusiastically.[111] Anticipating riots and popular hostility, the States General decided to put off nationwide celebrations.[112] Local authorities did organise some festivities, but they did not inspire outbursts of popular joy such as those following the Restoration, six years later. 'At Amsterdam as in all other parts, it was observed, that not one citizen or particular person did make any bonfire or demonstration of joy', Aitzema wrote to Thurloe.[113] The major reason for the tame reactions was the established distrust of the regicide government of Republican England and the religious animosity created by the demonological discourse of 1652-1654. From the radical, demonological point of view, as we have seen above, peace with the devil was not an option.

The official approach to the peace was to emphasize the revival of the economy and Anglo-Dutch fraternal relations. A silver medal struck in 1654 showed a merchant ship subscribed with the language of Protestant brotherhood: 'why does this ship of peace sail on the silver sea? / Because the fratricidal war is changed into Peace'.[114] But the strong anti-Cromwellian sentiments aroused by the war were difficult to battle. Proponents of the peace were faced with a dilemma: representing Cromwell was almost impossible without invoking the memory of his devilish tail and character, since his person had almost exclusively been the subject of demonizing language. Not representing him was equally impossible, since he was one of the main architects of the peace. The crippling effects of this dilemma on positive representations of the peace are neatly illustrated by a pamphlet engraving entitled *Verkondinghe van de Vreede* ('*Declaration of the Peace*'). It was in fact a reworking of the earlier pamphlet (see illustration 19 discussed above) that had shown Cromwell renouncing the palm of peace, in which only two major adjustments had been made to the design of the first state: in the new picture, Cromwell accepted the palm, and all the devils and dragons had been blotted out

[111] Cf. Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 84-88.
[112] Rowen, *John de Witt*, 218ff.
[113] Thurloe II, 318.
[114] Franks, *Medallic Illustrations*, 413. Van Loon, *Beschrijving van Nederlandsche historie-penningen* II, 371. Orig. 'Waarom zeilt t'vredeschip op 't silver in de zee? / Om dat de broederkriig verandert is in vree'.

(see illustration 25). The effect of such a half-hearted measure was ambivalent. Erasing the devils while maintaining the overall design could not but remind those who had seen the earlier print of what had been removed.

A panegyric on the Protector appeared in the Dutch language just before or after the peace, which offered a counter-image to the devilish royalist picture.[115] Probably published by Strickland on behalf of the English government (its title-page bore the coat of arms of the Republic), this pamphlet was one of those attempts to portray Cromwell in a more sympathetic light. Other observers also regarded Cromwell as the beneficent architect of the peace. Descriptions of his installment as Lord Protector had (rightly) suggested that Cromwell had dissolved the Rump to make peace possible,[116] and people like the Dordrecht preacher Caspar Staphorst eulogized the Protector for it in a Latin epic. Similarly, Henricus Neuhusius wrote a celebratory Latin poem for a heroic Dutch print of the Protector on horseback (to the dismay of the royalist community, this print surfaced in Paris in 1655).[117] Positive renderings in Dutch were rarer. One epigram, which preceded the text of the concept of the peace treaty - leaked to the press - hailed Cromwell as a 'Prince of Peace'.[118]

Although the image of Cromwell came to be contested after the war, anti-Cromwellian rhetoric remained the dominant mode of discourse in the remainder of the 1650s.[119] Cromwell's tyranny, his devilishness, and consequently his unreliability were consistent themes in pamphlets published after the peace. The infamous poem 'Protecteur Weerwolf' ('*Protector werewolf*') still declared that 'when [Cromwell] starts to speak from his Bible / One hears the Passion preached by the devil'.[120] The poem was banned on the instigation of Strickland, but to little avail.

Even the language of the peace itself incorporated the rhetorical forms that had been used after the regicide and during the war. The official peace entertainments ('vertoningen') in Amsterdam exemplify the city's ambivalent attitude towards the peace. The city poet, Jan Vos, created ten allegorical tableaux,

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[115] Kn. 7504. *Lofftrompet, uyt-geblasen over den generael Olivier Cromwell* (1654). This translation of Kn. 7503. Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes. *Panegyrici Cromwello scripti* (1654) lingers on the virtues of Cromwell in more than 40 pages.

[116] Cf. for instance the neutral report in: Kn. 7492. *Wonderlycke verandering in Engelant* (January 1654).

[117] Thurloe III, 502.

[118] Kn. 7517. *Articvlen van den vrede* (April 1654). Cf. Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 87.

[119] Grosheide, *Cromwell, naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, passim.

[120] Vondel [attr.] 'Protecteur Weerwolf' (1654). Orig. 'Maer als hy uit Sijn Bybel begint te spreken, / Dan hoortmen den Duyvel de Passi Preken'.

the first of which immediately recalled the anti-Cromwellian war propaganda.[121] It showed Pluto, sitting on his iron throne in Hell, with the three hellish judges, the three furies, and Discord on his side: the emblem of the divided England of the past two years.[122] The second tableau added to the implicit, intertextual allusion to the demonic nature of Cromwell and Parliament. As Vos phrased it in his printed description of the event:

> Britain arms itself to assault the Netherlands.
> The bloody war, the lawless violence,
> And insatiable rapacity enter from beneath,
> And chase off Heaven's chorus.[123]

Vos' rhetoric has hardly been affeced by the peace: Britain is still shown to be a place of 'lawless violence' and 'insatiable rapacity'. Like the war pamphlets, moreover, the second tableau showed English navy officers pressing and dragging chained ('gekluisterde') sailors to the shore, followed by their sobbing wives and children.[124]

The demonic nature of the English leadership emphasized by Vos' first allegories is never resolved when peace enters the stage. In fact, the English simply disappear in the remainder of the show. The next eight wagons are devoted to the loyalty of the Danish king, the courage of the Dutch navy commanders, and, finally, to the return of Concord to the Dutch Republic in the tenth display. 'Worthy Concord, with the aid of ancient Loyalty / Binds the Seven [provinces] together', Vos boasts in his concluding poem - not a word about the restored harmony between the two warring countries.[125]

In the official celebrations of the peace in Amsterdam, the end of domestic conflict was celebrated, not the end of Anglo-Dutch rivalry. The *Beschryving der vertooningen* shows Vos and his patrons performing their public duty of defending the peace without recanting their repeatedly avowed aversion to the English Republic. Indeed, the final stanzas of the *Beschryving*'s poetry echo anti-Cromwellian war propaganda, asserting that 'evil should not be forgotten', and that vigilance was to be maintained; otherwise 'the perjurious seed' could once again 'take the sword

[121] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654). I am citing the 1654 pamphlet version, since the version printed in the 1662 anthology of Vos' poetry was altered. Cf. Vos, *Alle de gedichten* I, 601-611.
[122] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654), A3r.
[123] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654), A4r. Orig. 'Brittanje wapent zich om Neêrlandt te bespringen. / Het bloedig' Oorelogh, het wettelooz' Geweldt, / En d'onverzaadbre Roof die hier door 't aardtryk dringen, / Verjaagen 's Hemels rey'.
[124] See for example: Kn. 7432. *Rotterdams zee-praatjen* (1653); Kn. 7433. *Vervolg van het Rotterdams zee-praatje* (1653). Cf. Haan, *The Treatment of England*, 200-204.
[125] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654), B4v. Orig. 'De waardig' Eendracht, die de Tweedracht quam verjaggen, / Verbindt het Zevental'.

and push it in your loins. / They who commit one crime, will not be frightened to commit another'.[126] Sententious as Vos' language may be, it strongly alludes to Cromwell and the regicide. Instead of propagating a re-appraisal of Cromwell's government, the Amsterdam entertainments communicated that it was not a Dutch responsibility to remove it, at least not to the point of threatening the Dutch domestic harmony. Perhaps realizing the conflict with his own pro-Stuart verses, Vos sounds a dark note at the very end of his poem: 'he who gains through cunning and guile, keeps it by tyranny / For if he stops using force, the people shall overcome him'.[127] The Dutch, it is implied, should leave the business of exorcising the English devil to the English people and to God. Downing's proverb proved to be truer than many wished, but its religious substance had become even stronger by the inspired language of war.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the economic rivalry at the heart of the inter-Protestant Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654 was a source of religious anxiety for Dutch observers. In printed texts, the notion of a trade war was resisted, and the war was inscribed into demonological interpretations of history, in which one enemy was almost by definition a manifestation of The Enemy. The main opposition governing such interpretations of the First Anglo-Dutch war was not that between Dutchmen and Englishmen, but that between the martyred Charles I and the regicides. English naval bellicosity and piracy were represented as logical consequences of the regides' thirst for the King's blood. Ranging from war satire, which was never unambivalently sincere in depicting the English regicides as tailed devils, to dead-serious millenarianism equivalent to Fifth Monarchy discourse in England, Dutch printed texts of the First Anglo-Dutch War agreed that the war and the regicide were inseparable.

Although at least some of the demonizations should be considered as propaganda in which the appeal to religious beliefs was mainly rhetorical, and sometimes even in jest, many satiric texts were serious in their representation of the Anglo-Dutch war as a religious struggle, whether or not from an apocalyptic perspective. The demonization of the 'English', it has become clear, should therefore not automatically be read as an expression of national antagonism, but should also

[126] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654), B4v. Orig. 'geen vergetelheit aan 't quaat'; 'meineedigh zaadt'; 'Het zwaart opvatten en in uwe lenden duwen. / Die 't eerste schelmstuk doet zal niet voor 't twede gruwen'.

[127] Kn. 7530. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen* (1654), B4v. Orig. 'Wie iet door list verkrijgt, houd het door dwinglandy / Want zoo hy 't dwingen staakt, zal het volk hem zelf bedwingen'.

be seen in the light of Marvell's creed in *The Loyall Scot*: 'The World in all, doth but two Nations bear / The good, the bad, and those mixt every where'.[128]

Dutch royalism both contributed to and profited from the religiously inspired animosity towards the English Republic caused by the war. It contributed to it because it had, in the previous years, developed the anti-Parliamentary and anti-regicidal language and images on which war pamphleteers and prophets could build their demonological constructions. Yet Dutch royalism - and with it Dutch Orangism - also greatly gained in strength by the hostility towards the English Republic aroused by the war. From a religious, demonological perspective, the war implied that the Dutch Republic by necessity fought the fight of its enemy's enemy, the House of Stuart. After all, the logical opposition between the King and his executioners was no different from the opposition between the Protestant Republics as created by the war. Indeed, the memory of the Civil War in England and the opposition between King and regicides was instrumental in the transformation in Dutch political discourse of the war into a battle of great religious, indeed apocalyptic significance.

After the war, that religious significance did not diminish. Indeed, when Oliver Cromwell died, on 13 September 1658, and was succeeded by his son Richard Cromwell, the consequences of yet another sudden change in England were 'many and grave', as Herbert Rowen phrased it. Johan de Witt, who received the news of the Protector's death six days later, was worried that the change in England would cause Holland's enemies in the English government to gain new influence and negatively affect the fragile relationship between both countries, which was under severe pressure during the Baltic War.[129] Rather than silently fearing another potentially disastrous war with England, however, the people of Amsterdam went out on the streets to celebrate the news. Unaware of the political uncertainties registered by De Witt, the crowd perhaps celebrated an anticipated Stuart or Orange restoration. Above all, however, they were celebrating the defeat of Evil. According to several observers, they were emphatically shouting that 'The Devil [was] dead'.[130]

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[128] Cited in: Patterson, 'Crouching at Home, and Cruel when Abroad', 226.

[129] Rowen, *John de Witt,* 266. On Anglo-Dutch Relations during the Baltic War of 1655-1660, see: Noordam, *De Republiek en de Noordse Oorlog*, 110-111.

[130] Masson, *Life of Milton*, 229-230; Ashley, *The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell*, 324; Grosheide, *Cromwell naar het oordeel van zijn Nederlandse tijdgenoten*, 126. One source for the anecdote is a letter from Culpepper to Hyde of 20 September 1658.

Conclusion

The exiled prince who had begged for the life of his father before the High and Mighty Lords of the States General in the winter of 1649 was a king when he addressed the assembly again on the eve of the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The contrast between that cold January day in 1649, when Charles had been little more than a bashful boy, and his triumphant entry into The Hague - his former place of exile - in the spring of 1660 was complete. Charles was cheered and feted both by popular audiences and the elite, and it was obvious to all observers that 'the person of his Majesty was no less dear [in Holland] than in his own Kingdom'.[1]

The story of Charles II was an important reason for the explosion of royalism in 1660. His was a classic story, a Christian tale of fall and revival, a romance of a king turned beggar turned king again, which could not but appeal to the early modern poetic mind. The story of the House of Stuart was history as it should be according to the poetics of classical epic as well as early modern art, literature and the Gospel. Restoration was what many early moderns desperately wanted to believe in, and that belief had a power of its own. Charles' bloodless restoration was the stuff of miracles, and the Dutch relished in it as much as the King's new subjects in Britain. Yet this study has shown that the Dutch delight over the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy was considerably more complicated and resourceful than aesthetic pleasure alone can explain.

In fact, the Restoration symbolized many restorations at once. In the first place, Charles II's restoration was also the restoration of his father, whose fate had made such a profound impression in the Dutch Republic. In the 1650s, Charles I had been revered by Dutch authors of various persuasions. Some had seen in him a martyr of holy, thaumaturgic kingship, others of holy government in general, still

[1] Wicquefort, *Verhael in forme van Journael* (1660). Cited from Lower's English translation: Wing R 781. William Lower, *A Relation in the form of Journal* (1660), 63.

others of Protestantism in one form or the other. Above all, Charles I had been represented as an exemplary Christian, who could instil compassion in believers of many confessions. That his son was restored in 1660, was seen as an act of divine providence that had been prophesied in many engravings, revenge tragedies, vanitas paintings, and the veritable prophecies of the millenarians of the 1650s.[2]

Secondly, friend and foe in the Dutch Republic agreed that the restoration of the Stuarts in England would lead to the restoration of the House of Orange in the Dutch Republic. Indeed, shortly after his triumphant entry into The Hague, Charles urged both the States General and the States of Holland to look after the interests of his sister Mary and his nephew, the Prince of Orange.[3] As it turned out, Charles later refused to become William's sole guardian, and the young Prince's education and designation (as Stadtholder of Holland) were to be contested for years to come.[4] In 1660, however, a swift elevation to power was generally expected, as the fates of Orange and Stuart were seen as congruent.

The restoration of Charles II did not only appeal to Orangists, as the existing literature on Anglo-Dutch relations would lead one to expect. Indeed, Dutch observers also read another restoration in Charles II's return to grace: that of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. Identifying with the Church of England, Remonstrants had supported the royalist cause from the beginning of the English troubles, as we have seen in Chapter 3. The Restoration of Charles II, they believed, would bolster the Anglo-Dutch opposition to Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritanism, and contain the danger of their enemy's political activism. As the symbol of the demise of Arminianism in the 1610s, Oldenbarnevelt was revived along with the English monarchy.[5]

Lastly, the restoration of Charles II, as a sign of God, also symbolized a general restoration of order. Charles' ascendancy meant the defeat of his enemies: the Independents, the usurpers, and the sectarians who had been demonized during and after the First Anglo Dutch War. Vondel's *Samson* (1660) dramatized the Lord's revenge on what Vondel considered the hateful and hypocritical piety of the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan Community. With the demise of the English devil and the former harmony restored in Britain, all other concerns of the Dutch Republic would soon dissipate. Vondel expressed his firm belief that the Restoration would revive the old friendship between England and the Dutch Republic, and usher in a new era

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[2] On the Restoration as an act of divine providence, see for instance: Paffenrode, 'Op het wederom inhalen van Carel den Tweeden' (1660).
[3] Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 138-139; Lower, *Relation in Forme of Journal* (1660), 95.
[4] Troost, *William III*, 40-45; Geyl, *Orange and Stuart,* 139-145.
[5] Jan de Witt speaks of the restoration of Charles II as 'Oldenbarnevelt risen'. Kn. 8801. De Witt, *Den Schotschen Duyvel* (1663), 4. Orig. 'den verresenen Oldenbarnevelt'.

of cultural and economic prosperity.[6] Especially when Cardinal Mazarin and the Swedish King Karl Gustav, the two other great enemies of the Dutch in the later 1650s, died in short succession after Charles had departed from the shores of Scheveningen, it seemed as if God's grace had truly come down on the Dutch Republic once again.

This study began with a seemingly simple question: why was the Dutch Republic a royalist republic in the 1650s? The story of the Restoration and the discourses converging in that event provide one important part of the answer: in twenty years time the royalist cause had acquired a plethora of potentially conflicting meanings and associations, all of which were activated by the ubiquitous images of the Martyr King, his son, and their enemy.

This conclusion constitutes a significant break with the current literature on the Anglo-Dutch political relations of the period, which agrees with contemporary English observers in identifying royalism with Orangism only.[7] I have shown that religious, confessional, and literary discourses also provided a major stimulus to Dutch royalism. To be sure, the Stuart cause profited from popular Orangism as well as from concrete support of the Orange court, but the discursive analysis presented in this dissertation suggests that, vice versa, Orangism also drew strength from the powerful appeal of royalism. When the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch religious communities helped to sway Dutch opinion in favour of the King, their confessionally motivated rhetoric for the Stuarts suited the Orange cause particularly well. Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, the political actions of these communities were governed by their conception of an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch politico-religious sphere.

The Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Public Sphere and Discursive Communities

This study has argued that the politico-religious upheavals in mid-seventeenth-century Britain gave rise to a shared Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere that existed throughout the mid-seventeenth century. Within this sphere national politics were translated for foreign vernacular audiences with whom the warring parties identified. As we have seen throughout this dissertation, Dutch, English and Scottish politicians and pamphleteers frequently wrote about their political or religious sympathizers across the Channel as 'our party'.[8] Under the pressure of war, such identities were strengthened. The royalist British traveller James Fraser, for example,

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[6] Vondel, 'Opgang van Carel Stuart den Tweeden' (1660).
[7] Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, passim; Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, passim.
[8] Kn. 5297b. *Fransch Praetie* (1646), C4v.

considered the Dutch Admiral Tromp to be 'an Englishman in all but nativity' on account of his royalism.[9] Indeed, observers and politicians alike, as we have seen, often conceptualized politico-religious conflicts as taking place in an Anglo-Scoto-Dutch space, instead of a national one. The metaphor of infection has appeared regularly in the texts examined in this study. A disease in one country within that sphere, James I, Voetius and Constantijn Huygens agreed, would soon infect the others exactly because conflicts were bound to be exported in print. The Anglo-Scoto-Dutch public sphere and the politico-religious communities active within it help us to understand how the royalist cause was able to accumulate meaning in the 1640s and 1650s, and why the voice of Parliament gradually lost its appeal.

At the outbreak of the British troubles in 1637-1639, Scottish and English Presbyterians could successfully appeal to a Dutch vernacular audience, with whom they shared a common religious identity and a common politico-religious language shaped by decades of interaction and translation. The Presbyterian voice held great authority for their Contra-Remonstrant brothers in the faith, as British divines were considered guides for the Further Reformation. The Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Puritan community considered itself, indeed the entire Reformation, to be under attack from within by Anglo-Dutch Arminianism. The First Civil War, in their representations, would lead either to 'holy uniformity' between the Protestant churches in Britain and the United Provinces in doctrine and church government, or to the demise of the entire Reformation. Throughout the late 1630s and early 1640s, this Anglo-Scoto-Dutch discursive community was engaged in a concerted politico-religious propaganda campaign in which the battle fought in Britain was fully identified with the religious conflict between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants in the Dutch Republic. Paradoxically, the identity thus created would eventually contribute to the power of the royalist cause.

The Puritan activism in the Dutch Republic intensified Remonstrant identification with the Church of England. Remonstrant distrust towards Parliament was fuelled by the favourable response of Voetius and his circle and by the appeal of the Covenant during the First Civil War, which confirmed Remonstrant fears about a Puritan conspiracy in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere. Once that distrust had solidified into hostility at the outbreak of the Second Civil War, Dutch Remonstrant authors incessantly attacked the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. They perceived of their domestic religious opponents, especially the reformed pietists of the Further Reformation, as forming one Puritan party with the British Presbyterian

[9] Cited in: Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 176.

'regicides'. The fact that many Presbyterians had actually opposed the regicide did not alter this view, because the Dutch anti-Puritan interpretation of events in Britain remained deeply conditioned by their theatrical view of history and their identification of Charles I with the Dutch Arminian martyr, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt.

When the King was executed in 1649, Chapter 3 has argued, the exiled royalist community could count on the committed support of Dutch Remonstrant and heterodox opinion makers. Moreover, those Contra-Remonstrants persuaded by the anti-Independent polemic of William Prynne and others also came round to the royalist cause – especially after Charles II had pledged to the covenant and become King of Presbyterian Scotland. It was this large base of potential confessional support that the Orange-Stuart alliance could appeal to in propaganda. Since the House of Orange, like their Stuart family, had been forced into the opposition in the domestic sphere after 1648, exploiting popular support in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere played a prominent part in their strategy to regain control. In several royalist key works translated into Dutch, the *Eikon Basilike* (transl. 1649), Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (transl. 1650), and Du Moulin's *Cry of the Royal Blood* (transl. 1653), Stuart propagandists succeeded in shaping a markedly unconfessional, internally coherent, largely literary argument.

Dutch Literature in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch Public Sphere

This study has presented various arguments to break down national barriers in the study of early modern vernacular literature. In the first place, I have shown that early modern political discourse was deeply affected by international networks, international identities and internationally circulating texts and images. As we have seen, both apocalyptic and political languages as well as very specific literary metaphors, conceits, and images were shared by English, Scottish and Dutch authors in the Civil War period. Thus the Dutch royalism of the 1650s could incorporate numerous elements that derived from English royalist texts. Invectives such as Cowley's 'Puritan-Papists' or the term 'brewer' in anti-Cromwellian satire were adopted by Dutch royalists despite the fact that the English texts in which they had been invented - as far as we know - were never translated.

In this sphere, literary texts in the vernacular could participate in shared political discourses, respond to foreign texts, and interfere in foreign debates. The circulation and translation of political pamphlets raised international concerns that were discussed by authors writing in different languages, but with similar frames of

reference. As the case of Huygens and Marvell in Chapter 4 suggests, this may require us to reconsider intertextual relationships between literary texts. Whereas the resemblances between *Hofwyck* and *Upon Appleton House* have hitherto been discussed in terms of direct influence, I have suggested instead to approach the relationship from the perspective of a shared, Anglo-Dutch discourse on the moral appeal of regicide and the threat of civil war. Both Huygens and Marvell investigated the dilemma that confronted Presbyterians through the lens of estate poetry, the pastoral genre in which the classical otium was tainted by the threat of war and death. Shared politico-religious discourses in the Anglo-Scoto-Dutch sphere may also help to shed new light on other literary relationships that have hitherto been unsatisfactorily explained. Especially the connections between Vondel's *Lucifer* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, as well as their Samson tragedies of 1660, are worth reconsidering from this perspective.[10]

Following developments in the study of English and archipelagic political culture, this study has emphasized the importance of the historical moment in analyzing mid-seventeenth-century texts. From the perspective of contemporaries, current events occupied centre stage (to use the beloved theatrical metaphor of early modern pamphleteers), and the debates these inspired coloured their experience of many media and genres. The discursive approach adopted in this study can both help us to understand the resourcefulness of forgotten literary works such as Bara's *Herstelde Vorst*, and add new layers to well-known literary texts such as the plays of Vondel, and Huygens' *Hofwyck*. Literary genres such as estate poetry or Senecan revenge tragedy, art forms such as the vanitas still-life: all could suddenly gain in topical urgency and expressive power as the horrors of civil war and regicide in England posed pressing political and religious questions to Dutch observers. I have investigated these artistic forms as subject to 'Umbesetzung' by immediate politico-religious concerns. As such, they were also maps of meaning, which contemporaries used to make sense of the profusion of the news and the politico-religious developments described in it, and to help determine their allegiances and courses of action.

Dutch representations of the martyrdom of Charles I offer an example of how cultural forms interacted with political and religious dilemmas. Pitiable he was for certain, the King, but as Chapters 5 and 6 have shown, pity could be translated into both passive and active languages. The estate poetry of Huygens and Westerbaen

[10] Van Dijkhuizen and Helmers, 'Religion and Politics', passim.

expresses that ambivalence. These poets represented Charles's execution as a threat to both their private peace and the peace in Holland, yet both hovered between relishing in their own comfort and looking away from England, and criticizing such an attitude.

Meanwhile, the passive language of the *Eikon Basilike*, as we have seen in Chapter 6, was integrated into a vindictive rhetoric that was meant to stir up the Dutch Republic and inspire it to military and political action. Both as a vessel of royal blood, as a father to his son and his people, and as a victim of demonic betrayers of the Reformation, Charles and his image held a potential rallying power, and presented a powerful political argument for the Dutch to act upon his downfall. Royalist rhetoric in word and image averred that there was a religious need to exorcise the demonic spirit that had taken possession of England. This would also serve more mundane Dutch interests, because once that spirit – which after 1650 was often personified by Cromwell – were removed, trade relations between the two countries would also improve. The Dutch Republic was therefore frequently represented in royalist texts as an ideal aid to Charles II's just, retributive enterprise.

Such royalist rhetoric was frequently appropriated by politicians who mainly sought to further their domestic or local interests. Orangist interests overlapped with the Stuarts for dynastic reasons. But the Orangist's opponents, too, could opt for the King's cause out of self-interest. Amsterdam, for instance, the city opposing the Prince of Orange in 1650, adopted the Stuart cause during the First Anglo-Dutch War and afterwards. The damage done to Amsterdam's trade by Cromwell's navigation act, and the expectation that no better was to be expected from the Cromwellian government in England were instrumental in the city's decision. The Remonstrants, too, saw their interest served by the restoration of the monarchy, since they considered the English Church to be instrumental to their own domestic position. It is of course possible to reduce Stuart support to such pragmatic concerns. The argument of this book, however, has been that political interests and motivations at certain historical moments cannot be separated from the religious and literary languages in which they were expressed, motivated and justified. Amsterdam's expectation was both fed by and expressed in a royalist language, which stipulated that the blood sin of regicide was the ultimate cause of mercantile conflict.

The maps of meaning available for the expression and motivation of policies and political allegiances suggested specific courses of action. In 1653, the Pensionary of Zeeland evoked the miracle of the Royal Oak to convince Johan de Witt of the necessity of an alliance between the Dutch Republic and the exiled Charles II: 'In my

view, the Lord our God, having miraculously saved and delivered the King from such great perils and dangers after the battle of Worcester, still has something marvellous in store for him, more than we can see or understand'.[11] Here royalist rhetoric of pamphlets such as *Waerachtigh Relaes van des Coninck van Schotlants avontueren* ('*True Story of the King of Scotland's Adventures*') entered the discourse of political decision makers.[12]

Another important political effect of the power of the language of Charles' martyrdom in the Dutch Republic was to restrict the options of the royalists' opponents. It is evident that Cromwell's desire for peace in 1654 was motivated partly by his knowledge of Dutch royalist sentiments in popular print, and his fear of an Orangist revolution in Holland. (That many of the most rabid Dutch royalists were not necessarily Orangists he did not know, nor did it really matter from the English point of view.) Even after the First Anglo-Dutch war, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 6, the English policy towards the Dutch Republic was affected by the fear of a royalist take-over. As one of Thurloe's spies observed in 1655, Cromwell had to treat the Dutch mildly, or:

> presently the people will set open their throats, and this discourse will be fomented by the prince of Orange's party, and from their bawling they will fall to making of verses, and the printing of invectives (…) and thus in the end the Orange party, with the people, will oblige a second time the states of Holland to enter into an union against Cromwell.[13]

For English and Dutch politicians alike, the power of royalist discourse in the Dutch Republic was a force to reckon with.

Yet it owed its power to the cultural and political moment. After Dutch Stuart enthusiasm had reached its climax at the Restoration, circumstances changed rapidly. De Witt had been in a position to leave the cult surrounding Charles I unanswered as long as Charles II had been a powerless exile. When that Charles had become one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe and the possible protector of William III, the Stuart support became dangerous. Was De la Court's *True interest of*

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[11] De Huybert to De Witt, (6 april 1653), in: Fruin, *Brieven aan Johan de Witt* I, 52. Orig: 'Ick houde het darvoor, dat de Heere onse God, hebbende den hooghstgedachten Coninck soo miraculeuselijck uyt soo groote perickelen en gevaeren, naer de bataille van Worcester, bewaert en verlost, noch yets wonderlijx met hem voor heeft, meer als wy noch konnen sien ofte begrijpen'. In December, De Huybert repeated that 'God did not protect the young prince thus miraculously after the battle of Worcester without reason' (Orig. 'God heeft niet zonder reden den jongen vorst zoo wonderbaarlijk beschermd na den slag bij Worcester').

[12] Kn. 6954. *Waerachtigh Relaes van des Coninck van Schotlants avontueren* (1651).

[13] Thurloe IV, 202. 'Letter of intelligence from The Hague' (26 November 1655).

Holland an answer to the upsurge of monarchism and orangism produced by the Restoration? The fact that Pieter de la Court was called 'a new-born Dutch Cromwell' and a 'Leiden Quaker' in 1663, suggests that the history of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms continued to inform Dutch political discourse for quite some time. The zealous devotion to Charles II, however, dissipated soon. When English policies concerning the prince of Orange and the naval trade did not meet the Dutch expectations of 1660, people such as Vondel could still put the blame on Charles's advisers. But the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War was impossible to integrate into the Stuart story: the 'Dutch' king Charles had suddenly become a national enemy.

The definitive reassessment of the Dutch royalist past, however, came with the Glorious Revolution. Now a Stuart was not only the King of a country with which the Republic was at war, but an ideological enemy of Orange as well. In two double biographies of the Stuart kings written in the 1690s, *Het hoftooneel van Jakob en Karel de eerste* (*'The court's stage of James and Charles the First'*) and *Geheime historie der twee gebroeders Karel en Jakob de Tweede* (*'The Secret History of the Two Brothers Charles and James the Second'*), the prolific Pieter Rabus, an ardent Orangist, turned to Rump histories in order to create a new image of the Stuart kings.[14] The result was radically different from the hagiographies written by Orangists such as Van den Bosch or Van Oort in the 1650s. Charles I, the former martyr-hero of the Dutch republic has, in Rabus's account, become a simpleton: 'the people are foolish if they believe that the man has been in the possession of natural reason, since all his deeds prove the opposite.'[15] His ideological forefathers would not have recognised their martyred hero.

[14] Rabus, *Het hoftooneel van Jakob en Karel de eerste* (1696); idem, *Geheime historie der twee gebroeders Karel en Jakob de Tweede* (1695). As Rabus himself indicates (*2v-*3r), the first book is an adaptation of Anthony Weldon's *The Court and Character of King James* (1650) and Balthazar Gerbier's *The none-such Charles his Character* (1651).

[15] Rabus, *Het hoftooneel van Jakob en Karel de eerste* (1696), 299-300. Orig. 'De wereld wil nog zoo dwaas zijn, dat zy gelooven, dat 'er natuurlijk verstand in den man is geweest, daar alle zijn daden het tegendeel doen blijken'.

Illustrations

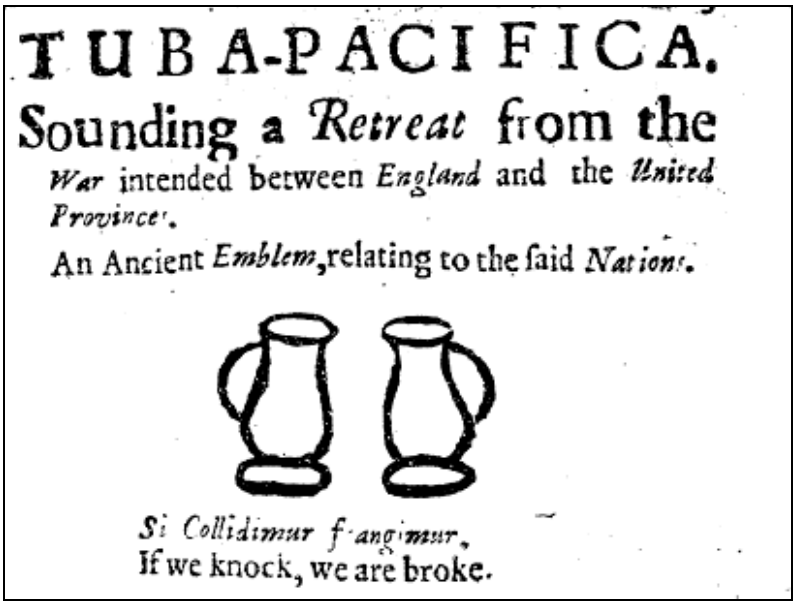

TUBA-PACIFICA.
Sounding a *Retreat* from the
War intended between *England* and the *United Provinces*.
An Ancient *Emblem*, relating to the ſaid *Nations*.
Si Collidimur frangimur,
If we knock, we are broke.

Illustration 1: Emblem of England and the United Provinces



Illustration 2: *Prynne martyrized*. Woodcut of the punishment of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick



Illustration 3: Engraved portrait of Christopher Love by the Amsterdam engraver Abraham Conradus with added poem by Petrus de Lange



Illustration 4: Crown of thorns. Frontispiece of the *Eikon Basilike* by William Marshall

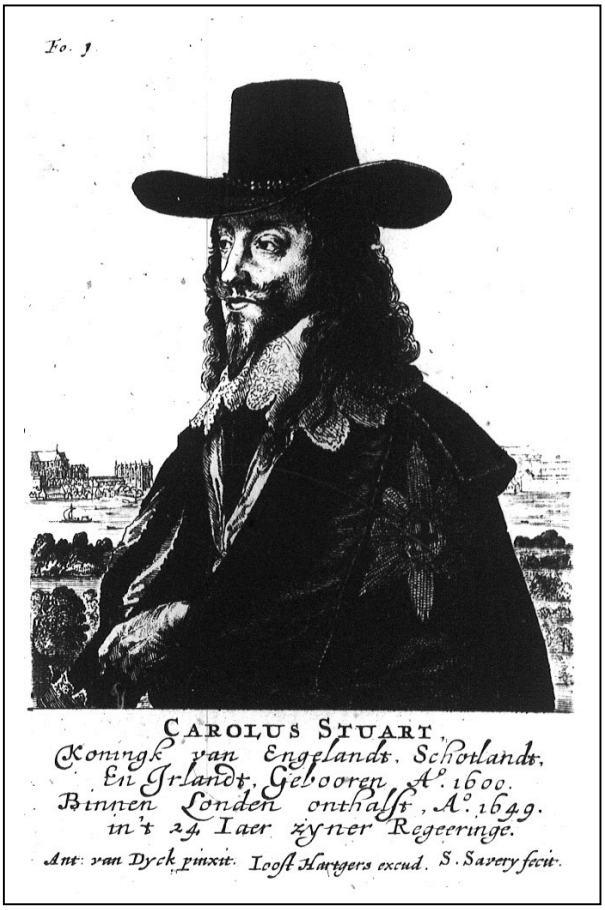


Illustration 5: Salomon Savery's copy of Wenceslaus Hollar's portrait of Charles I after Van Dyck

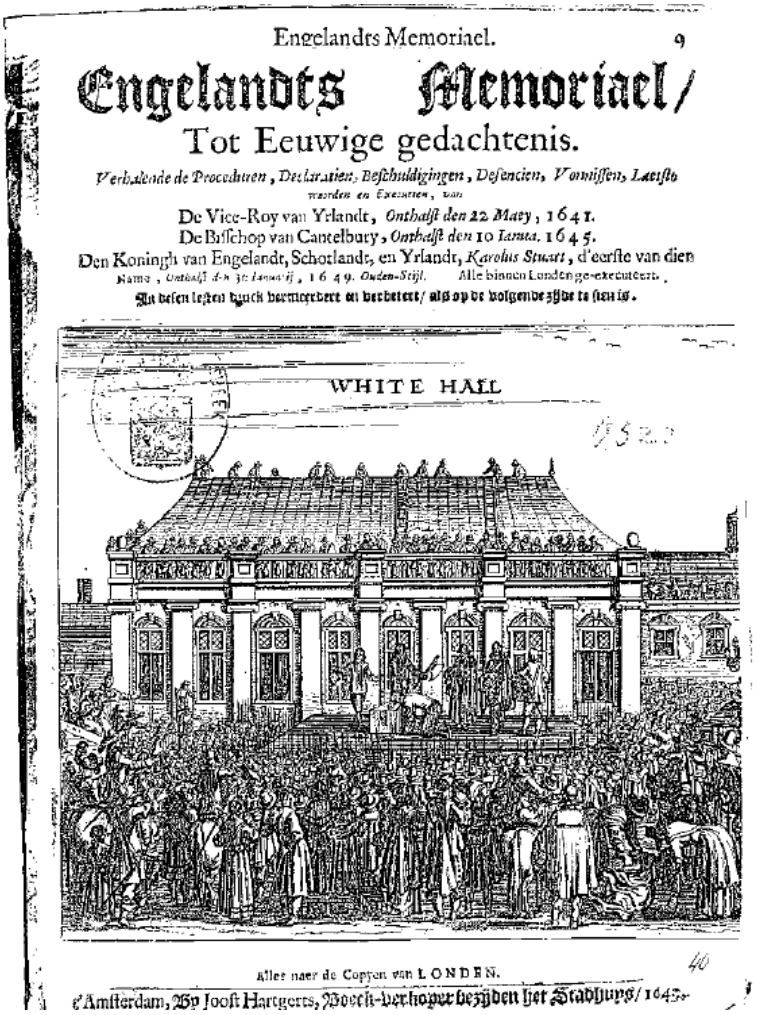


Illustration 6: Frontispiece of *Engelandts memoriael*, the first book to print the famous engraving of the execution of Charles I



Illustration 8: *Engelandts memoriael* (above) echoing *lo spasimo della Vergine* (below)

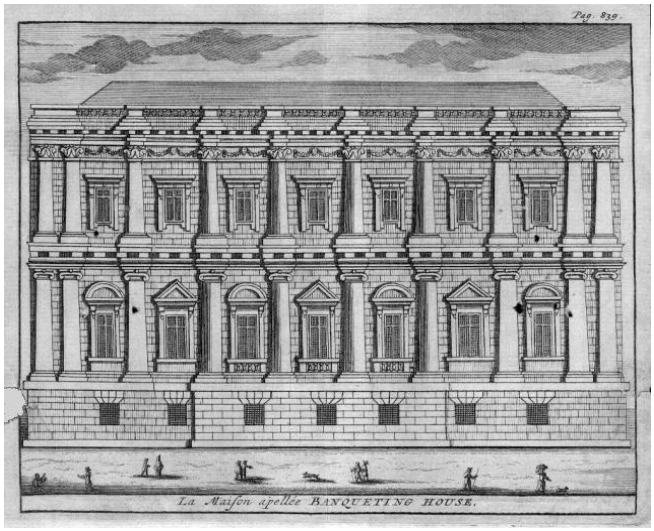


Illustration 7: Banqueting House

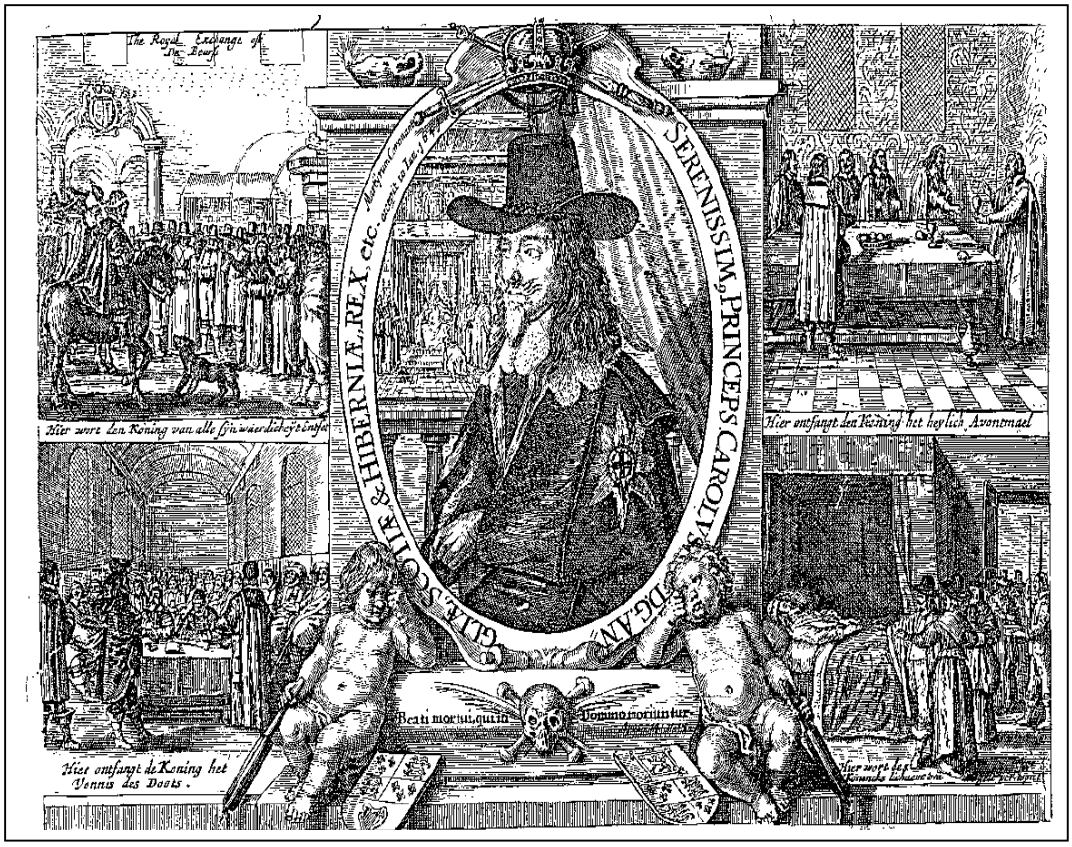


Illustration 9: ***Engelandts bedroeft schoutoneel*****. Pamphlet engraving (1649)**



Illustration 10: Anonymous, ***The Execution of Charles I*** **(c. 1649)**



Illustration 11: Anonymous, *Anamorphic portrait of Charles I* (c. 1649-1660)



Illustration 12: Van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-Life With Books, Glass Globe and a Print of Charles I* (c. 1649-1660)



Illustration 13: Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne, *Vanitas Still-Life with Crown, Globe and Portrait of Charles I* (c. 1650-1655)

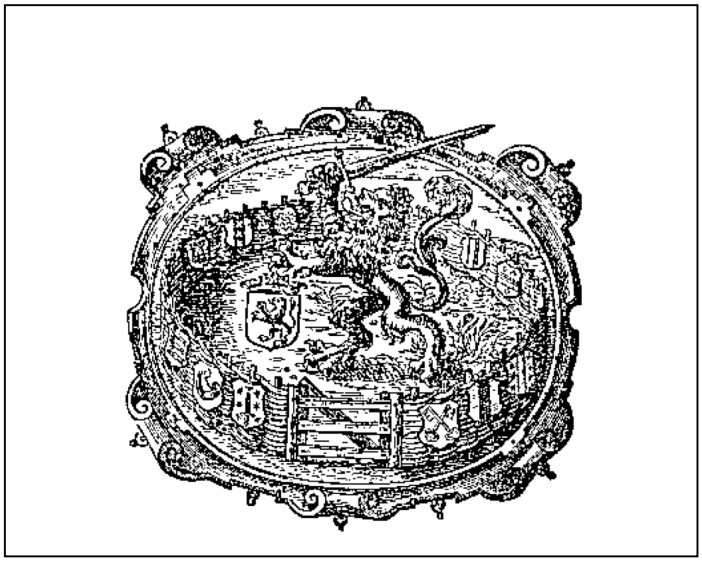


Illustration 14: Lion defending the garden of Holland



Illustration 15: Anthony Sadler, *The loyall mourner* (1649 and 1660)

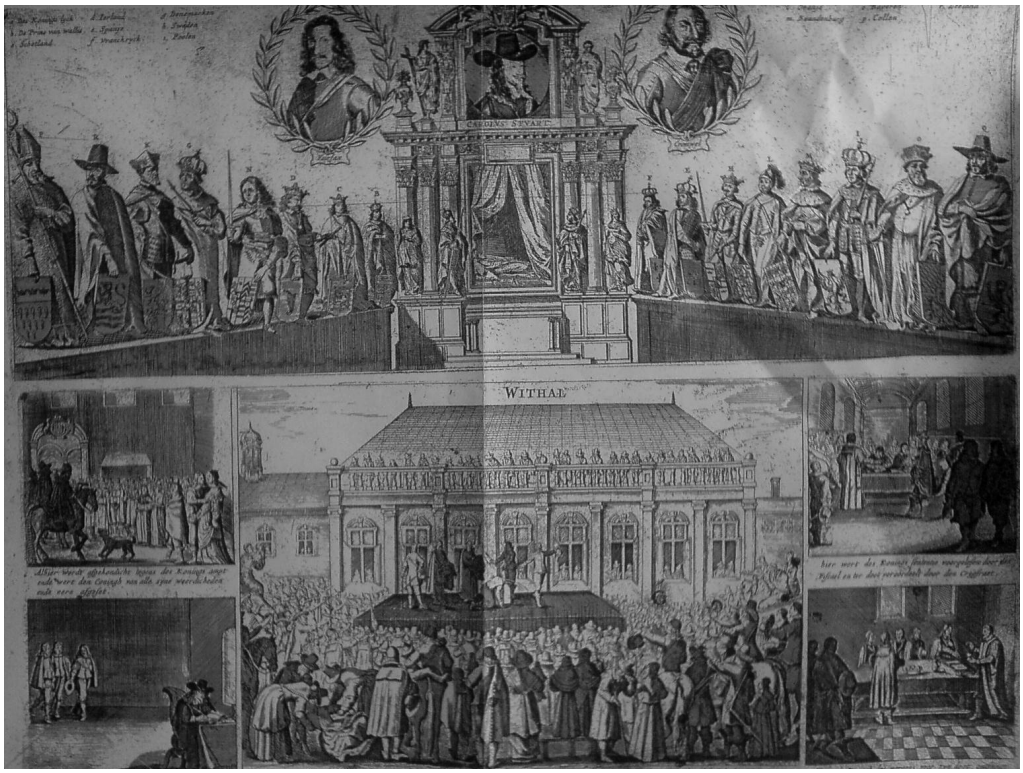


Illustration 16: ***Vorstelikke-Lijk-staasy*** **(*'Bed of State'*) (1649)**



Illustration 17: ***Het Toneel der Engelsche Elende*** **(*'The Stage of English Miseries'*) (1649)**



Huych Allaerdt Exc.

Konstig Vertoog, en bondig Verhaal, van al het geene zigh heeft toe-gedragen, in en omtrent de Krooninge van zijn Majesteit *KAROLVS de TVVEEDE*, Koningk van *Schotland*, *Yrland* en *Engeland*, &c.
Geschiedt binnen Scoone, op den eersten Dagh van 't Iaar onzes Heeren 1651, oude Styl.

DE rampen en bloedstormen, die leure krachten nu geer lang een pous op het Koningklikke-Huis van STUART, hebben bepreeft, zijn zoo ruchtbaar in d'ooren van alle volken, geworden, dat de redelikste Zielen, daar van walgende, niets dan vloekken, op d'eerste Aanleiders en Volvoerders dier gruwelen, uitspoogen, terwijl de doorluchtige Looten, van deeze geknotte Roozelaar-alsBallingen, zoo in de Nederlanden, Vrankrijk als elders, om, swervende, de zaak, aan het beleit van d'oppreste Wijsheit bevoolen leeten.

Deeze Omstenlikke heeft het endelik beleeft, dat zigh den Joogen Prins, KAREL de TWEEDE, wettig Erfgenaam van sijn Heer Vaders Kroonen en Koningkrijken op het aanraden zijner Verwanten, en de beloften der Schotten, na Schotlandt heeft begeeven, daar hy, met groot een vreugde, zoo wel van den Adel, als Lantzaat, wierd verwilkoomt en in-gehaald, den elk, met en vrolik gemoed, den Dagh zijner Krooninge begon te begroeten. Maar de zaak was zoo veel veranderingen onderworpen, en de tegen-spoeden, dier geener, die zijn Majesteits Zeegenen zochten te bevorderen, zoo groot, dat het meeste deel der menschen begonden te wanhoopen: beeldende zich in, veeleer des Koninghs Dood, dan het uur zijner Verheerlikkinge te beleeven: te minder, om dat zich Eedenborg zoo schielik onder de Macht van *Cromwel* moeit buigen: Doch het verlies van deeze Stadt, hielt, voor de Majesteit, meer voordeel dan schaden gedaan; Wijl de Schotze Rijxraden, het werk wat dunner beziende, bemerkten, dat sy, op die Sterkte, geen bequame Haven konden bezeilen, den sy, om hun Staat vast, en den Koningk op den Troon te zetten, andre middelen moesten beramen. Hier spierde de geveinsde Vriendschap, Schijnheiligheit en vermomde eigenbaat, heur rollen, met zulk een byzondre vlei en aartigheit, dat des Koninghs verderf, daar uit, by de verzienste lieden, volmondigh wierdt gesproken. Maar het begonne werk kreeg, door een verborge schikinge, zulk een goede uitlag, dat men, binnen weinig tijdts, door het gantsche Rijck, onder het volk, niets, dan van des Majesteits Krooninge hoorde mompelen. Echter wierde het by veel menschen, mits de voorgaande mis-slagen der Schotten, niet geloeft. In voegen, dat de jonge Vorst, bereikende in een Ouderdom van omtrent een-en-twintig Jaren, in deeze beroerelikke Zee, van Hoop en Vrees, nu aan deeze, en dan aan gheene wal wierde gheworpen, en zoo lang holde en zoldde, tot dat het Oude Jaar, al deonde stribbellingen met zich nam, en, voor het Nieuwe, dat, met nieuwe blijdschap, op daghde, plaats maakte.

Het Lantschap omtrent Scoone begon, van vrolikheid, te wagen, vermits men, binnen die plaats, de Koninglikke Zeetel, en al het geen dat tot de Kroningen der Majesteiten van oudts heer wierdt gebruikt, tegens den eersten Dag van't Jaar onzes Heeren 1651. oude Styl, begon vaardig te maakken. Zoo dat het lang-gewenschte werck eindelik, op de navolgende wijze, is vol-trokken.

Zijn Majesteit, verzelschapt met drie Standen van Schotlandt, zat in de Koninglikke Zeetel. Den Marquis van Argile dreef een gesprek, vertoonende, dat de Schotze Rijxraden, door zijn Perzoon, aan zijn Majesteit de Kroon en Rijxe-Staf quamen opdragen: Mits dat hy, voor het aanvaarden dier Waardigheidt, een Eede, volgens de Weten zijnes Voor-zaaten, zou doen. De Majesteit, bewilligende in dit verzoek, stelde zich op zijne voeten, en thee kende twee Vingeren op, zeyt: *Ik beloove en be-eedige, in de vergenwoordigheidt van den Eeuwigen en Almachtigen Gode, dat ik, de ware Kerkdy Gods, Religie, 't recht e Predik-ampt en de Bedieninge der Sacramenten, gelijk, de selve nu ontfangen, en Zuiverlik, in dit Koningkrijk, gebruikt worden, Zal handthaven, en alle valsche Religien en Sekten, daar tegens strijdig, te met doen en weer-staan: En dat het Volk, my bevolen, volgens Gods Wil, de oprechte Weten en Gebruikgen van dit Koningkrijk, Rechs en Gerechtigheidt, Zal regeeren.*

Dit was zo haast niet gedaan, of de Marquis van Argile, een Baron en een van d'aanzienlikste der Burgeren gaven de Kroon, die sy de Majesteit aanboden, aan de drie afgevaardigde van de Kerklikke Vergaderinge. Een van deeze vermaande de Majesteit zijn Eedt te betrachten. Des de Koningk met antwoord gaf: *Actum. mor Gode hulp, myn Lijf en Leeven, te zine beschermingen wagen. Wenschende niet anders, dan, dat ik dit Koningkrijk, in zelek magt zou konnen.* Meester Robert Douglas deê, terwijl men niet de Dienst der Kroninge voort voer, een Predicatie, over het 12 vers van 't eerste Cap. der *Spreuk-woorden Salomons*. Daar na vertoonde de Koningk van een verheeve plaets, zich vol vriendschap, aan al het Volk. De drie Kerklikke Gezanten brogten hem de Kroon, en een van hen sprak onder-wijsen deeze woorden: *Ik brenge aan u Koningk* KAREL de TWEEDE, *rechtwaardig Erfgenaam, de Kroon en Eervaardigheeden van dit Koningk-rijk.* Voort zich tot het Volk keerende riep: *Zyt gy met mulig, om hem tot onzen Koningk te begeeren?* Toen wierde de Kroon den Koningk voor-gehouden. Zo haast keerde de Majesteit zich niet na 't et Volk, of elk riep: *Gode bemaar den Koningk* KAREL de TWEEDE. Hier op wierde de Kroon, door de Marquis van Argile, op de Majesteits Hoofd gezet, en de Rijx-Staf in de Hand gegeven. Het Swaerdt behandighde hy, aan een van de Schotze Heeren, om voor den Koningk te draagen. Sinijdende met een Geldt zonder hee Volk te grabbel. Toen voeghde zich de Majesteit, in het Koninglikk Habijt, met de Kroon op het Hoofd, te Paardt, rijdende in het geleide der Rijxe-Raden, bekleedt met lange Tabbaarden, door het Schotze Leeger, van Scoone na Sint Johnston. Daar op wierden de Klokken geluit, Stukken en Musquetten gelost, en konstige Vuur-werkken aan-gestrekken; in voegen, dat dit heerlikke Werk met een zonderling genoegen en vreugdt der Ondersaaten; is ge-endigt. Godt geve, dat by lang leeve, en tot Gods Eer regeeren mag. AMEN.

Verklaringe der Getal-letteren.

1. CAROLUS de TWEEDE *van dien Naam, de hondert en tiende Koningk van Schotlandt, verzien met het Kroon-Recht.*
2. *Yrlandt waapent hem ten Oorlog.*
3. *Schotze Princen behandigen de getergde Waak.*
4. *M. R. Douglas, dienade een Predicatie.*
5. *De Marquis van Argile zettende de Kroon op des Koningks Hoofd.*
6. *Kijkers,*
7. *De Koningk en het Parlement rijdende te paard na Iohnston.*

t'AMSTERDAM,
By HUYGH ALLARDT, Kaert- en Konst-verkooper, in de Kalver-Straet, inde Weereldt-Kaert, by 't Stadt-Huys.

Illustration 18: ***Artful Relation and Short Story of the Coronation of his Majesty Charles II*** **(1651)**



Illustration 19: *De Gehoonde Vrijheit* ('Mocked Freedom') (1653)



Illustration 20: *Sat versare dolos*. Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. Engraving (c. 1653) BM.



Illustration 21. ***Koning Kromwel*** **(Amsterdam: Rombaut van der Hoeyen, 1653)**



Illustration 22: Clement de Ionghe, *Parlament haer Testement*. Allegorical engraving (1652/53)



Illustration 23: *Dank-predikatien* (1651)



KRACHTELOOSE STAAT-SUCHT:
Leevendig vertoont inde tegenwoordige regeringe van't verherde Engelland.

Illustration 24: Cromwell tyrannizing a Scotsman, an Irishman, a Frenchman and a Hollander



Illustration 25: ***Verkondiginghe van de Vreede*** **(1654)**

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* This bibliography contains the primary sources mentioned in the notes. Comprehensive lists of Dutch texts and images on the Civil War period, including those not referred to in the chapters above, can be found in the Appendices.

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De Engelsche Liturgie: Dat is: den gemeynen kerckendienst van Engelandt, ofte het boeck der gemeene gebeden, bedieninge der Sacramenten, ende Ceremonien, in de Engelsche Kercke gebruyckelijck. Getrouwelijck vertaalt, nae het Engelsch ende Latijns exemplaer, ten tijde des Koninginne Elizabeths, in den jare 1574 ende 1575 gedruckt, ende tegen de laetst-gedruckte exemplaren ten tijde des Konings Carels, over-sien (Rotterdam: Johannes Naeranus, 1645).

De gehoonde Vryheyt, door Cromwels af-keer vanden Nederlandsche vrede (s.l.: s.n., 1653). KN. 7448.

De redenen by sijne maiesteyt van Groot Bretagnien, gepresenteert aen het gepretendeerde Hof van Iustitie (…). Waer in de onwettelickheydt van het voorsz Hof (…) bewesen wordt (The Hague: Samuel Browne, 1649). KN. 6278.

De verclaringe van den Heere Marmaduke Langdale Ridder, generael vande noorde quartieren van Engelandt als mede vande Colonellen Edeluyden ende andere ghetrouwe onderdaenen : teghenwoordich in actuelen dienst zijnde van Syn Majesteyt van Groot Britannien &c.: ober-gheset uyt Engelsch naer het principael tot Lonnen gedruckt 1648 = The declaration of Sir Marmaduke Langdale Knight, general of the northern parts of England, as also of the colonels, gentlemen and other loyall subjects at present in actuall service for His Majestie of Great Brittayne, &c (London [?]: s.n., 1648). KN. 5641; WING L378.

Decker, Jeremias de. 'Eer-Spore of Moedigende Aansprake van 't Vrye Nederland aen zijne' Zeehelden (1653), in: *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* II, 182-185.

Declaratie ende verbodt (The Hague: s.n., 1652). KN. 7243.

Den (t'onrecht getituleerden) heer protecteurs Brouvaten met Cromwels meyneedicheyt (Amsterdam: s.n., 1654). KN. 7534.

Den aertz-bisschop van Cantelbergh voor de recht-banck in't Parlement (s.l.: s.n., 1644). KN. 5053.

Den Brittannischen donderslach, ofte Naerder ghespreck, over het teghenwoordighe Engelsche wesen, ende de droevige verwerringen, beroerten, ende oorloghen, daer ontrent ontstaen / By Een getrouw' liefhebber van sijn vaderlandt, ende Godts dier gekochte kercke (s.l.: s.n., 1643). KN. 4971.

Den Brittannischen morgen-wecker, ofte Getrouwe waerschouwinghe van Roomens argh-listigh dessein, om Engelandt paepsch te maken (s.l.: s.n., 1643). KN. 5000.

Den Enghelschen paus, ofte Een politijck discours: waer-in de heymelijcke onderhandelinge ende verborghen Verstandt, tusschen het Hoff van Enghelandt, ende 't Hoff van Roomen, ten deelen ontdeckt is. Oock mede een ghestelde Reeckeninghe, van de ware Gronden ende Fondamenten van desen onnatuyrlycken, jae, meer dan Inlandtschen Oorloogh. Eerst ghedruckt tot Londen, by Robert Bostock. Ende uyt het Engels exemplaer nu in 't Nederduyts vertaelt, ende Gedruckt den 20sten November 1643 (s.l.: s.n, 1643). KN. 4999.

Der poeten vegtschool bestaende in diversche paepsche rijmen en haer antwoorden soo van Engelandt, Schotlandt, het Croonen van den Paus, het onthalsen van den Bisschop van Cantelberch als oock van het afbranden der Nieuwe Kerck, en van het ghenaemde wonderwerck der Heylighe-Stede t'Amsterdam (s.l., s.n.: 1645). KN. 5241.

Dit huys is te huyr / This house is to lett. Waerachtighe Afbeeldinghe, hoe het moordadigh en geinmagineert Parlament (s.l.: s.n., 1653). MULLER 2069; BM SATIRES 858.

Dryden, John. *The Major Works*, ed. Keith Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Dullaert, Joan. *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteit* (Amsterdam: G. van Goedesberg, 1652).

Edward of Bohemia. *Brief van mijn heer den prince Eduward, aen sijne cheur-vorstelijcke hoogheydt van den Paltz, over sijne veranderinghe van religie* (s.l.: s.n., 1647). KN. 5609.

Een cort ende bondich verhael, van seeckere bysondere (…) propoosten ghehouden in den Hooghen Raedt, binnen Londen (…) den 14^{en}. iunij 1637. over de vonnissen van (…) d^{tor}.

Bastvvicke (…) m^r. Burton (…) ende m^r. Prynne (Edenburgh: Thomas Thomasz, 1638 [=Leiden: Willem Christiaensz, 1638]). KN. 4559.

Een cort verhael van de misdaden ende crimen die de Schotse bisschoppen te laste gheleyt vverden; om 'tvvelcke sy vervvorpen sijn uyt de Kercke van Schotland (Amsterdam: John Canne, 1639). KN. 4601.

Een ernstighe ende Ghetrouwe voor-stellinghe van't oordeel van de Dienaers des Goddelijcken Woordts in de Provintie van London, etc. (Amsterdam: Anth. Tielemans, 1649). KN. 6269.

Een goede balsam op een quade wonde, geleght op de melaetsheden van't tegenwoordigh Parlement van de republijcque van Engelandt (Leiden: s.n., 1653). KN. 7434.

Een klachte aen't Huys der Gemeente, ende resolutie vande vrye protestantsche onderdanen der steden London ende West-munster (…) Dienende tot antwoorde op den Britannische Blixem. Ghetrouwelijck uyt d'Engelsche in onse Nederlantsche spraecke overgheset. Nae de Oxfortse Copie (Amsterdam: J. Broersz, 1643). KN. 4968.

Een oprechte ende ghetrouwe Vertooninge der oordeelen vade bedienaers des H. Evangelij binnen de provintie van London. Aengaende de onwettelijcke Proceduren vande armee tegens de Persoon van Siin MAJESTEYT, ende hare Openbare verwerpinghe vande Recten ende Gestaltenisse des Rijcks. Begrepen in een BRIEF van Haer ghesonden aen den GENERAEL ende Sijnen KRIIGS-RAEDT. SIIN EXCELLENTIE behandicht door sommige vande Onder-Teeckenaers. Jan 28. 1649. Gedruckt tot Londen by M.B. voor Samuel Gellibrand ende Ralph Smith. 1649. Over-Gheset in't Nederduytsch, Ende Gedruckt in s'GRAVEN-HAGHE naer de ware Copie, By Anthony TONGERLOO Boeck-verkooper inde Veen-straet 1649 (The Hague: Anth. Tongerloo, 1649). KN. 6268.

Een verclaringe vande officieren ende compagnie van het zee-volck, oft matrosen op Sijne Majesteys schepen: ghenoemt de Stanfastige Reformatie, de Gordine, de Swaluwe, de Anteloop, de Satisfactie, 't Hert, de Roebuck, de Crossant oft Halve Maen, den Pellican, de Jouffrouw Morinne, voor deses bestelt tot Sijne Majesteys dienst. mereen aenlockinghe vande reste vande vloot, ende derselve broederen, aen lande zynde, om met hun te voegen in derselve gherechtich voornemen = A declaration of the officers and company of sea-men aboard His Majesties shippes, the Constant Reformation, the Convertine, the Swallow, the Antelope, the Satisfaction, the Hynd, the Roebuck, the Cresent, the Pellican, the Blackmore Lady lately rescued for His Majesties service: with an invitation to the rest of the fleet, and their brethren on land, to joyne with them in their just undertakings (The Netherlands [?]: s.n., 1648). WING V238A.

Een volkomen verhael, van de geheele procedure, van den Hoogen Raedt van Iusticie. In de examinatie van den koninck (London: John Playford, 1649). KN. 6315.

Een waerachtigh nieu liedt van d'wreede sententie in Enghelant (s.l.: s.n.: 1649). Thys. 5348.

Enchiridon, dat is: Handt-boecxken, daer in (…) ghestelt is, de teghenwoordige staet van Engeland (s.l.: s.n., 1642). KN. 4851.

Engelandts klachte, ende gheschrey, over Nederlandts gheveynsde, ondanckbare, ende onbarmhertighe procedueren teghen haer (s.l.: s.n., February 1643). KN. 4973.

Engelandts memoriael, tot eeuwige gedachtenis (Amsterdam: Joost Hartgers, 1649). KN. 6322.

Engels in-ge-vvant. Wt-ghestort in den schoot van de (…) Staten Generael en aen zijn hoogheydt den prince van Orangien (s.l.: s.n., 1643). KN. 4983.

Engelsch praetjen, tusschen een parlementarische, koningsche, Nederlandsch koopman, en een bootsgesel: vervatende kortelijck den gantschen handel der republijcken van Engeland, en 't vereenigde Nederland (Middelburg: s.n., 1652). KN. 7208.

Enghelandts bedroeft schov-toneel (s.l.: s.n., 1649). MULLER 1970 / KN. 6329.

Ernstige en getrouwe Verthooninge van't gevoelen en oordeel van de Bedienaren des Euangeliums, in de Provintie van London, over de handelingen van syn Excellentie FAIRFAX, overgelevert in een Brief aen syn Excellentie en syn kryghs-raedt, den 28. Januarij 1649 (Dordrecht: Abraham Andriessz., 1649). KN. 6267.

Eutrapelus, ofte Middelburgs praetje (Middelburg: Jan Woutersz, 1652). KN. 7311.

Evans, Arise. *Request van Arise Evans gepresenteert aen de Generael Cromwel. Waer in is verthoont dat hy 19. Jaren Gods secreten Raedt verklaert heeft, gelijck te sien is in sijne uyt-gegeven Boecken. Uyt het Engels overgeset* (s.l.: s.n., 1653). KN. 7375.

Extract uyt een brieff gheschreven uyt Aberdyn, in (…) Schotlandt, in dato den 18, Augustij 1650. Aen een Godt-vreesent Vriendt tot Camp-Veere in Zeelandt, ende wederom van daer aen een Persoon van groote qualiteyt gheschreven, residerende in 's Graven-Hage. Waer in verhaelt wert de (…) Victorie der Schotten, ende de nederlage van Cromwel, enz. (The Hague: s.n., 1650). KN. 6594.

Extract uyt seeckere brief van een liefhebber des vrye vaderlants (s.l.: s.n., 1652). KN. 7219.

Felltham, Owen. 'An Epitaph to the Eternal Memory of Charles the First', in: Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers (eds.) *The Poems of Owen Felltham, 1604?-1668* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 1973), 66.

Felltham, Owen. *A true and exact character of the Low-Countries; especially Holland* (London: William Ley, 1652). WING F569B.

Fockens, Melchior. *Klucht van Dronkken Hansje* (Amsterdam: D.C. Houthaak, 1657).

Fockens, Melchior. *Op de tvvist tusschen Engelandt en Hollandt* (Utrecht: s.n., 1652). KN. 7266.

Fransch Praetie. Sic vos non vobis (Munster: Niclaes Staets [false imprint], 1646). KN. 5299b.

Fuller, Thomas. *Andronicus of rampsalige arghlistigheyt vervattende de waerachtighe historie van de korte, doch wreede en tyrannige regeeringe, schielijcke ondergang en schrickelijcke doodt van Andronicus Comnenus, keyser van Constantinopolen, onlangs in 't Engels beschreven door Thomas Fuller en nu eerst in 't Nederlants vert. by Johannes Crosse* (Amsterdam: George Trigg, 1659).

Gauden, John [attr.] *Eikon Basilike: the Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, ed. Philip A. Knachel (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).

Gauden, John [attr.] *Koninclick memoriael. Waer in het innerlijck gemoet van sijne H. majesteyt, Carolus Stuart (…) afgebeeldt wordt* (Amsterdam: J. Hartgers, 1649). KN. 6350-6352.

Gauden, John [attr.] *Koninclijck Voorbeeldt, ofte uytdruckingen van't gemoedt van sijn H. Majesteyt Carolus Stuart, Koning van Engelandt, Schotland en Yrland. In sijne gevanckenisse by hem selver in't Engelsch beschreven; Ende nu in het Nederduytsch, na de oprechte Copije, vertaelt: Zijnde desen Druck van veel grove fouten in de oversettinge gesuyvert; en vermeerdert met een korte onderrechtinge van't recht des Konings, en des Parlements. 't Is Koninglijk, goet te doen, en't quade te lijden* (Rotterdam: Naeranus, 1649). VUL XL.05679.

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Giffttheil, Ludwig. *Nopende het nydige Cains geslachte in Engelandt* (s.l.: s.n., c. 1653). KB 445 B 307.

Godwin, Francis. *Rervm Anglicarvm Henrico VIII. Edwardo VI, et Maria regnantibus, annales* (The Hague: Samuel Browne, 1653).

Goede Apparentie tot Spoedige opkomst der Vry Nederlandens kragtige zee-vaart (…) verhandelt by middel van een eenvoudig gespreck, tusschen vier personen, Een Geldersman, Hollander, Zeeuw, en Engelsman (s.l.: s.n., 1653). KN. 7429.

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Heemskerck, Willem van. 'AEN IOACHIM OVDAEN, Voor zijn Koningklijck Treurspel', in: Oudaen, *Koningh Konradyn*, A4r-A4v.

Heemstede, Adriaen van, and Braat, Jacob. *Historie der Martelaren, die om het getuygenisse der Euangelischer waerheydt haer bloedt gestort hebben, van de tijden Christi onses Salighmaeckers af tot den jare sesthien hondert vijf-en-vijftigh toe. Ende dat niet alleen in*

dese Nederlanden, maer oock in Vranckrijck, Engelandt, Schotlandt, Spanjen, Italien, Duytschlandt, America en andere Landen, met vele van hare Brieven en Belijdenissen: als mede de Moort van Parijs, de Moort in Voltoline, d'ongehoorde wreedtheyt in Yerlandt: mitsgaders de schrickelicke Moort aen de Vaudoysen in Piemont, en andere vervolgingen der Geloovigen (Dordrecht: Jacob Braat, 1657).

Heidanus, Abraham. *Consideratien over de heyliging van den sabbat ende den dagh des Heeren tot vrede der kercken* (Leiden: J. Elsevier, 1659).

Henriette de Bourbons ontstelde-Groot-moedigheid (s.l.: s.n. 1649). KN. 6333.

Hervadte Beeste-spraeck, op-genomen tusschen een Rave ende Signor Vos, ontrent Het ontbijt van de beulingen, van die onlancx binnen Londen over 's Conincx moort, ende Lant-verraet, gejusticieert zijn (Uyttenhove: Anthonette Rams-ey, wid. Philips Rams-ey, 1660). KN. 8236.

Het Hollants wijve-praetjen, tusschen drie gebueren Trijntje, Grietje, en Neeltje, noopende den tegenwoordighen staet der vrye Vereenichde Nederlanden (Haarlem: P. Davidts, 1652). KN. 7233.

Het inghewant der bedruckte, lijdende, recht religieuse Engelsche. Wt-ghestort inden schoot van hare broeders ende bontghenooten, de trouw-hertige Nederlanders (s.l.: s.n., 1643). KN. 4980-4983.

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Hollandschen rvyker, geplukt, door Licht-hart en Swaar-hoofd (Amsterdam: J. de Hooft-breker, 1653). KN. 7439.

Hoogstraten, David van. 'Het leven van Joachim Oudaen', in: Oudaen, *Poëzy* III (1712), 3-72.

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H.V. [Johannes Naeranus] *Amsterdamsche buuren-kout over den handel der predikanten van Utrecht* (Haarlem: A. van Heusden, 1660). KN. 8432.

Hyde, Edward. *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1826).

I.B. *Mis-verstant, vanden heer professor Boxhorn die meenden gevonden te hebben het secreet vande Engelsche mis* (s.l.: s.n., 1649). KN. 6382.

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I.B. *Wederlegging van de bedenckingen over de Svccessie ende het recht der oudstgeborene, in het aenveerden van een erffrijck waer (…) in (…) de vrage, of een vorst veroordeelt ende gedoodt synde, wiens ryck een erfryck is, syn oudstgeboren soon met eenich recht mach belet worden het ryck aen te veerden* (s.l.: s.n., 1649). KN. 6380.

I.G. [=George Wishart] *De rebus auspiciis serenissimi, & potentissimi Caroli (…) Magnæ Britanniæ (…) regis, &c. sub imperio illustrissimi Jacobi Montis-rosarum marchionis (…) supremi Scotiæ gubernatoris anno 1644 (…) gestis, commentarius* (s.l.: s.n., 1647).

[Jane, Joseph] *Hoe veel den Vereenigde Provintien behoort gelegen te zijn, de her-stellinge van den coninck van Groot-Britangie* (The Hague: Samuel Browne, 1653). KN. 7426.

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J.W. *Brandy-wine, in the Hollanders ingratitude. Being a serious expostulation of an English souldier with the Dutch: wherein he debateth with them of former kindnesse received from England, and the cause of their base requitall now, being so effascinated with Machivels pollicies, that they are foolishly charm'd with the magicall spells of monarchy, to subvert their owne fundamentall principles, that engage in a warre against England, to the ruine of her owne liberties* (London: T.F., August 1652). WING W45.

James I. *His Majesties Declaration concerning his Proceedings with the States generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, in the matter of D. Conradus Vorstius* (London: Robert Barker, 1612). STC 9233.

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Op 9 februari 1649 werd Karel Stuart I geëxecuteerd in Londen. De executie van de koning van Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, en de daaropvolgende afschaffing van de monarchie in Engeland, veroorzaakte ook in het buitenland een grote schok. Nooit eerder was een vorst door zijn eigen volk berecht en onthoofd, en het nieuws en de commentaren daarop verspreidden zich snel in honderden publicaties. Vooral in de Nederlandse Republiek waren de reacties talrijk en uitgesproken veroordelend. Vrijwel zonder uitzondering kozen Nederlandse opiniemakers – waaronder pamfletschrijvers, predikanten, dichters en graveurs – de kant van de Britse royalisten in de stortvloed aan publicaties die direct nadat het nieuws bekend was geworden op gang kwam. Gedurende de daaropvolgende jaren bleef de 'koningsmoord' (zoals de executie van gewoonlijk werd genoemd) een belangrijke factor in het Nederlandse publieke debat: in honderden politieke pamfletten, gedichten, liedjes, toneelstukken en prenten werden de tegenstanders van de koning veroordeeld, en werd bovendien regelmatig gepleit voor de herstelling van de monarchie in Engeland. Afgaande op het opiniërende drukwerk dat in dit decennium verscheen, was de Nederlandse Republiek in de jaren 1650 een royalistische republiek.

Dit was niet vanzelfsprekend. Men zou verwachten dat de republikeinse zaak van het puriteinse Engelse Parlement in de Republiek, die zelf tussen 1568 en 1648 in een vergelijkbare strijd met de Spaanse kroon verwikkeld was geweest, tenminste bij Calvinistische Nederlanders op sympathie kon rekenen, hetgeen in de vroege jaren 1640 ook daadwerkelijk het geval was geweest. Bovendien is het verleidelijk om, zoals de historicus Steven Pincus doet, de steun voor de Stuarts te beschouwen als Orangistisch, aangezien de Oranjes door het huwelijk tussen Willem II en Maria Stuart in 1641 nauw aan de Stuarts waren gelieerd. De steun voor de Stuarts was echter niet voorbehouden aan bepaalde religieuze en politieke groeperingen. Ook onder Nederlandse Calvinisten en de Staatse tegenstanders van de Oranjes vinden we na 1649 warme pleitbezorgers voor de Engelse monarchie. Hun nationale religieuze en politieke loyaliteiten verhielden zich maar slecht tot hun steun voor de Stuarts. Maar als nationale loyaliteiten geen afdoende verklaring bieden voor het Nederlandse royalisme, wat maakte de zaak van de koning dan zo populair in de Republiek? Waren de Nederlanders betoverd door het magisch aura van koningschap, zoals een Engelse auteur betoogde? Of waren zij 'door compassie verrukt [meegesleept]', zoals Lieuwe van Aitzema suggereerde? Was de steun in gedrukte teksten eigenlijk wel een uitdrukking van de publieke opinie, of duidde die er juist op dat er nog veel mensen overtuigd moesten worden?

Dit proefschrift betoogt dat het Nederlandse enthousiasme voor de royalistische zaak inzichten kan bieden in de complexe verwevenheid van Nederlandse en Britse politieke en religieuze identiteiten in de zeventiende eeuw. Dat is ook de voornaamste reden om de Britse term royalisme in de Nederlandse context toe te passen: de Nederlandse steun voor het Engelse en Schotse koningshuis moet gezien worden als deel van een Engels-Schots-Nederlands royalistisch discours. De Britse politiek-

religieuze crisis in de periode 1639-1660, waarvoor de executie van Karel I zinnebeeldig werd, is in de historiografie met name bestudeerd vanuit een insulair perspectief. *The Royalist Republic* beargumenteert dat het in de periode zelf ervaren werd als onderdeel van een Brits-Nederlandse crisis, die bediscussieerd werd in een Engels-Schots-Nederlandse discursieve ruimte. In de jaren 1650 gingen zowel de Nederlanders als de Britten de herstelling van de Engelse monarchie als oplossing voor die crisis zien.

In het eerste deel van dit boek wordt het concept van de Engels-Nederlandse discursieve ruimte uitgewerkt. Hoofdstuk 1 betoogt dat de Britse politici de Nederlanders tijdens deze periode beschouwden als een integraal deel van hun publiek: zij publiceerden Nederlandstalige teksten, beantwoordden Nederlandstalige teksten zowel in het Engels als in het Nederlands, en volgden het Nederlandstalig debat via hun agenten in de Republiek op de voet om er snel op te kunnen reageren. Britse partijen en facties zorgden er niet alleen voor dat de Nederlanders via hun publicaties op de hoogte werden gehouden van de Britse politieke ontwikkelingen en de debatten die in Engelse teksten werden gevoerd. Zij maakten de Nederlanders tot toeschouwers van hun strijd.

Vertalingen speelden een cruciale rol in het totstandbrengen van Engels-Nederlands-Schotse discursieve ruimte. In de periode 1640-1660 nam het aantal pamfletvertaling uit het Engels spectaculair toe. Deze vertalingen waren het directe resultaat van de vertaalcampagnes van Britse diplomaten als Walter Strickland, William Boswell, Hugh Peter, William Spang en William MacDowell. Zij deden vrijwel continu een dringend beroep op de Nederlanders gedaan om partij te kiezen in de Britse strijd. De vertaling van Britse politieke en religieuze polemieken dwong de Nederlanders na te denken over de vraag hoe zij zich tot de Britse conflicten verhielden. Toen het appèl inzet werd van de binnenlandse partijstrijd in de Republiek, vervaagden de grenzen tussen het binnenlandse politiek-religieuze debat en het debat over de oorlogen in Groot-Brittannië.

Zo ontstond een Engels-Schots-Nederlandse discursieve ruimte waarin actuele teksten een in de volkstaal konden circuleren. In deze ruimte waren verschillende internationale discursieve gemeenschappen met elkaar in discussie. Zij trachtten actief de publieke opinie in deze ruimte te beïnvloeden. Struktureel voerde de partij die in Groot-Brittannië in de oppositie was de boventoon in het Nederlandse debat. Dat verreweg de meeste politieke vertalingen in de jaren 1640 de zaak van het Parlement, en in de jaren 1650 de zaak van de Stuarts hangt valt deels te verklaren door de belangrijke rol die Britse migranten speelden bij het vertalen van polemische literatuur. Politieke en religieuze ballingen, waaronder ook drukkers zoals John Crosse en Samuel Browne, waren uitgesproken actief als politieke bemiddelaars.

Hoofstuk 2 onderzoekt de Engels-Schots-Nederlandse gemeenschap die in de jaren 1639-1643 de boventoon voerde in de Nederlandse publieke ruimte: de puriteinen. De presbyterianen in Engeland, de covenanters in Schotland en de contraremonstranten in de Republiek voelden zich in deze jaren sterk met elkaar verbonden door hun gezamelijke geschiedenis tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand en hun gezamelijke strijd tegen wat zij zagen als de opmars van de contrareformatie in de Engels-Schots-Nederlandse ruimte.

Dat de contraremonstranten zich in hoge mate met hun Britse 'broeders' identificeerden, was mede het resultaat van een levendige religieuze vertaalcultuur. Gedurende de zeventiende eeuw werden meer dan 700 piëtistische boeken van het Engels naar het Nederlands vertaald. De Nederlanders zagen Engelse en Schotse auteurs dan ook als gidsen voor de Nadere Reformatie die zij voorstonden. Zelfs de term Nadere Reformatie was uit het Engels vertaald. De Utrechtse theoloog Gisbertus Voetius was een spilfiguur in dit puriteinse vertaalnetwerk. Toen de problemen in Engeland en Schotland zich in de late jaren dertig opstapelden, beschikten de Engels-Schots-Nederlandse puriteinse gemeenschap over een gemeenschappelijke geschiedopvatting, een serie gemeenschappelijke martelaars (waaronder William Prynne prominent was) en een gemeenschappelijke retorische cultuur.

Het drukkers- en vertalersnetwerk waarover de puriteinen in de Republiek beschikten werd vanaf 1638 ingezet voor de politieke parlementarische polemieken. Deze teksten betoogden zonder uitzondering dat de strijd die in Engeland en Schotland werd gevoerd gelijk was aan de binnenlandse strijd in de Republiek en van het grootste belang voor het voor de toekomst van de reformatie. In teksten als Voetius' *Den Britannische Blixem* steunden contraremonstranten deze argumentatie. Hoewel religieuze leiders als Voetius elke vorm van politieke activiteit ontkenden, en beweerden zich slechts over religieuze zaken uit te spreken, politiseerde deze discursieve gemeenschap dus in de aanloop naar de Engelse burgeroorlog. Puriteinen vielen veelvuldig de neutrale koers van de Staten Generaal aan, en richtten hun peilen evenzeer op de stadhouder die het Engelse koningshuis steunde.

De Engelsen en de Schotten zetten volgens Voetius de strijd die de contraremonstranten tijdens de bestandstwisten hadden gevoerd tegen het arminianisme voort. Vanaf de late jaren 1620 hadden de puriteinen het 'arminianisme' aan invloed zien terugwinnen in de Engels-Nederlands-Schotse ruimte. De hervormingen van Laud werden geïnterpreteerd als een arminiaanse poging om het katholicisme hier opnieuw te introduceren. Wanneer de royalisten in Groot-Brittannie zouden zegevieren, betoogden puriteinen aan beide kanten van de Noordzee, zouden de arminianen ook de Republiek terugleiden naar de moederkerk. Het is belangrijk om vast te stellen dat de contraremonstrantse argumentatie wortelde in de overtuiging dat de tweede of Nadere Reformatie noodzakelijk was om de Protestantse zaak veilig te stellen. Het waren de morele transgressies van de arminianen die Gods wraak over de reformatie had uitgeroepen.

Hoofdstuk 3 analyseert het Nederlandse anti-puritanisme. Het politieke activisme van het Engels-Schots-Nederlandse puritanisme in de jaren 1639-1643 leidde ertoe dat remonstranten zich in toenemende mate identificeerden met de Engelse kerk. Hoewel deze identificatie zich niet vertaalde in een grootschalige volkstalige propaganda-campagne, bestonden er belangrijke contacten tussen de Engelse kerk en de remonstranten. Remonstrantse leiders als Hugo de Groot en Gerard Vossius waren warme pleitbezorgers van de Engelse kerk. Middels zijn ambassadeur William Boswell liet Karel I niet na deze remonstrantse loyaliteit aan te spreken. De remonstrantse pers liet zich dan ook niet onbetuigd in het debat over de Engelse burgeroorlogen. Zo werd het Rotterdamse drukkershuis Naeranus tijdens de Eerste Engelse burgeroorlog een centrum van royalistische publicatieactiviteit. Naeranus drukte verschillende verdedigingen van de koning. Zijn vertaling van het *Book of Common Prayer*, het boek waar de religieuze strijd in Schotland om begonnen was, had bijvoorbeeld een duidelijke apologetische functie.

Het anti-puriteinse discours over de Engelse burgeroorlog was in vele opzichten spiegelbeeldig aan het contraremonstrantse discours: als het parlement in Engeland zou zegevieren, zo betoogden Nederlandse katholieken en remonstranten, zouden de contraremonstranten met hun Schotse en Engelse 'broeders' hun theocratie ook in de Republiek invoeren en hun tweede of nadere reformatie aan de bevolking opleggen. Net als hun opponenten beschouwden de anti-puriteinen de Engelse burgeroorlog dus vanuit het perspectief van de reformatie. Er was echter een belangrijk verschil: terwijl de contraremonstranten een progressief, apocalyptisch beeld hadden van de recente Engels-Schots-Nederlandse geschiedenis, beschouwden de anti-puriteinen de bisschopsoorlogen, de Engelse burgeroorlogen en de executie van Karel I als heropvoeringen van steeds hetzelfde drama.

Deze interpretatie vinden we voor het eerst in het werk van een van de meest actieve verdedigers van de koning, Joost van den Vondel. Vanaf de vroege jaren 1640 manifesteerde Vondel zich als de belangrijkste Nederlandse tegenstander van het Parlement. In vele hekeldichten richtte hij zich direct tegen de 'Schotse geest' die volgens hem in Engeland en de Republiek rondwaarde. Ook zijn toneelstuk *Maria Stuart* (1646) was direct tegen de Schotse en de Engelse puriteinen gericht, en daarmee indirect ook tegen hun contraremonstrantse 'broeders'. In *Maria Stuart* presenteerde Vondel de

executie van de grootmoeder van Karel I terwijl haar kleinzoon de gevangene was van het Parlement. De implicaties van Vondels historische allegorie waren voor zijn Nederlandse lezers duidelijk: het toneelstuk waarschuwde dat de geschiedenis zich zou herhalen en profeteerde dat Karel I hetzelfde lot zou ondergaan als Maria.

Vondels polemiek tegen het Parlement en zijn steun voor de koning deden de royalistische zaak in de vroege jaren 1640 meer kwaad dan goed. Vondels katholicisme bevestigde de aantijgingen van het Parlement, dat beweerde dat Engeland onder Laud en Karel I zou terugkeren tot de moederkerk. Dit veranderde toen Karel I werd geexecuteerd: Vondels profetie was bewaarheid, en remonstranten zoals Johan de Witt en Joachim Oudaen omarmden Vondels beeld van een zich steeds weer herhalende puriteinse revolutie in de Engels-Nederlandse ruimte. De calvinistische opstand in de Republiek tijdens het bewind van Leicester, de executie van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, en de executie van de koning waren volgens hen 'eene en de selve' tragedie. Karel I werd voor de remonstranten een tweede Oldenbarnevelt. Vondels *Palamedes*, een allegorie van de gebeurtenissen tijdens de bestandstwisten, werd opnieuw uitgebracht, ditmaal als een remonstrants-royalistische tekst.

Het confessionele debat over de burgeroorlogen bleef ook in de jaren 1650 een belangrijke rol spelen. Maar vanaf het moment dat de Schotse Covenanters en de Engelse Presbyterianen tijdens de Tweede Engelse Burgeroorlog de kant van de koning kozen, kreeg het Nederlandse royalisme nieuwe, niet-confessionele morele, politieke en religieuze dimensies. Het tweede deel biedt een cultuurhistorische analyse van dit royalisme van na 1649 op basis van de praktijk van The New Cultural History, een methode die in de afgelopen jaren door auteurs als Kevin Sharpe, Steve Zwicker en Peter Lake is ontwikkeld. Dit deel analyseert hoe Nederlandse auteurs stelling namen in een aantal belangrijke kwesties die op cruciale momenten aan de orde kwamen door de politieke ontwikkelingen in de Engels-Schots-Nederlandse ruimte. Welke teksten beïnvloedden hun lezing van de gebeurtenissen? En hoe beïnvloedden die gebeurtenissen op hun beurt de lezing van bepaalde teksten? Hoe, in andere woorden, kregen politieke gebeurtenissen betekenis? Ook hier blijkt betekenisgeving het resultaat van Engels-Nederlandse uitwisseling te zijn.

Hoofdstuk 4 analyseert de Nederlandse receptie van verreweg de invloedrijkste royalistische tekst, de *Eikon Basilike* ('Het Portret van de Koning'). Dit boek bevatte de overpeinzingen en de gebeden van Karel I tijdens zijn gevangenschap. De koning werd erin getoond als een vrome, plichtsgetrouwe en grootmoedige vorst, die zijn lot deemoedig aanvaardde en zijn tegenstanders vergaf. Mede omdat algemeen werd aangenomen dat de koning dit boek persoonlijk had geschreven in de periode voor zijn executie, werd de *Eikon* na zijn dood de spil in de martelaarscultus die rond de herinnering aan de koning in Engelse royalistische kringen ontstond. Uit de studie van de Nederlandse *Eikon*-vertalingen blijkt dat een vergelijkbare cultus ook in de Republiek gestalte kreeg. Het zou kunstmatig zijn om een scheiding tussen de Nederlandse cultus en de Engelse aan te brengen. Beide ontwikkelden zich gelijktijdig en stonden met elkaar in verbinding; er is sprake van een royalistisch discours. Royalistische beelden die in de Republiek werden worden tot op de dag van vandaag vaak gezien als Engels.

De cultus kende verschillende componenten. Ten eerste stoelde die op de overtuiging dat Karels dood van religieuze betekenis was. Karels voorbeeldige omarming van de dood in de *Eikon Basilike* werd door velen gezien als *imitatio christi*. De geschiedenis van de burgeroorlogen werd door Nederlandse auteurs herschreven aan de hand van deze analogie. Ook contraremonstranten die de executie van Strafford en Laud hadden verdedigd, zagen in die geschiedenissen nu de prefiguratie van de dood van Karel-Christus. De analogie verleende een heilig aura aan de koning – een effect dat in de *Eikon* nadrukkelijk wordt beoogd.

Voor sommige auteurs was het maar kleine stap van de verering van Karel als een navolger van Christus naar een verdediging van het heilig koningschap. Het royalistische discours in de republiek had duidelijke monarchistische implicaties, die in

de context van het streven naar soevereiniteit van Willem II uitgesproken problematisch waren. Toch vertaalde de Nederlandse verering van Karel als martelaar van de heilige, door God gesanctioneerde monarchie in Engeland zich niet noodzakelijkerwijs in een pleidooi voor de monarchale staatsvorm. Remonstranten die de koning als tweede Oldenbarnevelt vereerden, zagen hem als een martelaar van de heilige overheid in het algemeen – een opinie die ook door heersende regenten werd gehuldigd. Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn betoogde dat koningschap alleen in die staten heilig is waar de primogenituur door traditie is verworden tot een heilig recht. Toch bleef de veroordeling van de Engelse revolutie wringen in een Republiek die zelf het resultaat was van een opstand tegen de koning van Spanje. Nog problematischer waren de magische krachten die aan Karel werden toegedicht. Een Engelse schrijver die meende dat de Nederlands waren 'betoverd door het magisch koningschap' had wel een punt. Aan het thaumaturgisch koningschap en verhalen over het helende koninklijke bloed werd ook in de Republiek veel geloof gehecht. Jan Six van Chandelier stak er in een van zijn gedichten de draak mee.

Maar *Eikon Basilike* werd ook gelezen als een casuistische autobiografie, waarin de vrome christen kon lezen hoe hij zich diende te verhouden tot de dood. Deze wijze van verering, die zich een stuk beter tot het Protestantisme verhield dan het heilig thaumaturgisch koningschap, kreeg vooral in de schilderkunst gestalte. In een reeks vanitasschilderijen uit de jaren 1650 is het portret van Karel I opgenomen in een allegorische voorstellingen waarin de koning verwordt tot een moreel exempel. Uit een analyse van enkele werken van Vincent van der Vinne wordt duidelijk dat het beeld van de koning daarmee niet werd gedepolitiseerd, maar dat juist deze representaties een vorm van heldenverering waren waarvan een sterk moreel-politiek appèl uitging.

Dit appèl speelde een cruciale rol in de politieke debatten die in de vroege jaren 1650 in de Republiek werden gevoerd, zo blijkt uit hoofdstuk 5 en 6. Stadhouder Willem II was vastberaden om zijn schoonvader te wreken en zijn zwager Karel II op de troon te herstellen, maar de Staten van Holland blokkeerden deze plannen. Tegen deze achtergrond viel Willem II in 1650 Amsterdam aan. In pamfletten werd het conflict bediscussieerd alsof er twee Engels-Nederlandse partijen tegenover elkaar stonden en velen vreesden dat de Engelse burgeroorlogen zouden worden voortgezet in de Republiek. De onverwachte dood van Willem II maakte aan dit conflict een einde, maar het dilemma van de Engels-Nederlandse relaties bleef bestaan.

Hoe diende de Republiek zich te verhouden tot de tegenstanders van de voorbeeldige martelaar-koning? Noopte het medelijden met Karel I tot politieke actie en een nieuwe oorlog, zoals Willem II meende? Of diende men zich juist met de nieuwe Protestantse republiek te verhouden en passief de vrede te koesteren, zoals de Staten van Holland voorstonden? Hoofdstuk 5 constateert dat Constantijn Huygens, Jacob Westerbaen en Andrew Marvell dit morele dilemma onderzoeken door de lens van de pastorale conventies. Huygens' *Hofwijck*, dat lang beschouwd is als een a-politiek gedicht, blijkt in feite te interveniëren in het debat over de Engels-Nederlandse relaties dat in 1650-1651 in de Engels-Nederlandse ruimte werd gevoerd door onder andere John Milton en Claudius Salmasius. Maar hoewel Huygens rechtstreeks ingaat tegen de handelswijze van de Staten-Generaal, die de Engelse Republiek tijdens de Grote Vergadering van 1651 hadden erkend, het morele dilemma lost hij niet op. Hetzelfde geldt voor Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*. Beiden lijken het pastorale juist aan te grijpen om uitdrukking te geven het dilemma waar royalisten in Engeland en Nederland zich zagen geplaatst. Westerbaens *Ockenburg*, suggereert daarentegen dat de pastorale Nederlandse passiviteit na de executie van de Karel I misplaatst was.

Wetenschappers die de Engelse royalistische cultuur hebben bestudeerd, hebben vooral de passiviteit van die cultuur benadrukt. Zij benadrukken dat royalisten zich, net als Huygens, terugtrokken op hun landgoederen, en in hun gedichten stoicijns berustten in de nederlaag. Het Nederlands royalisme heeft echter ook een heel andere kant. Hoofdstuk 6 onderzoekt het royalistische wraakdiscours in Nederlandse teksten en afbeeldingen. De roep om Karel I te wreken en Karel II op de troon te herstellen klonk

zowel in 1649-1650 als in 1653-1654 zeer luid in de Republiek. Deze agressieve kant van het royalisme is tot op heden onderbelicht gebleven door de exclusieve aandacht voor Engelstalige teksten. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat dit discours op cruciale momenten gevoed werd door zowel orangisten als het Engelse hof in ballingschap. Zijn kracht ontleende het echter aan de moraal en conventies van de Senecaanse wraaktragedie. In dit genre wordt verdriet immers per definitie omgezet in politieke actie, en wordt de wraak van wettelijke vorsten vaak gelegitimeerd. Een keur aan Nederlandstalige teksten en afbeeldingen greep terug op Senecaanse taal en conventies om het Nederlandse publiek ervan te overtuigen dat het de heilige taak van de Republiek was om de orde in Engeland te herstellen door de 'koningsmoord' te wreken.

Het Nederlandse royalisme was niet alleen een reactie op de 'koningsmoord', maar ook het gevolg van een vroegmoderne religieuze cultuur waarin de interpretatie van politieke gebeurtenissen in belangrijke mate werd gedicteerd door demonologisch denken. Binnen de demonologische kenleer, die door de cultuurhistoricus Stuart Clark uitgebreid is bestudeerd, werd de wereld beschouwd vanuit de religieuze overtuiging dat die was onderworpen aan de binaire oppositie tussen goddelijke en duivelse krachten. Ook de politieke realiteit, en met name de catastrofale oorlogen die het zeventiende-eeuwse Europa teisterden, werd door velen vanuit dit binaire interpretatiekader geduid. De religieuze uitdaging waarvoor demonologische denkers zich zagen geplaatst was het ontwaren van een logische en overtuigende oppositie tussen een positieve en negatieve krachten in de verwarrende complexiteit van de politieke ontwikkelingen. Tijdens de Reformatie was een dergelijke oppositie snel gevonden in de strijd tussen katholieke en protestantse machten. Ook de Eerste Engelse Burgeroorlog van 1642-1646 was door velen beschouwd als een strijd tussen de 'paapse' raadgevers van de koning en de parlementarische verdedigers van de reformatie.

De Eerste Engelse Oorlog van 1652–1654 was echter een strijd tussen twee onverdacht protestantse republieken en moest door demonologische denkers dus vanuit een andere oppositie worden begrepen. Hoewel deze oorlog voor de Nederlandse regering hoofdzakelijk een economische oorlog was, stelde die veel contemporaine beschouwers voor de fundamentele religieuze vraag met welke morele oppositie zij te maken. Hoofdstuk 7 betoogt dat de demonologische behoefte aan binaire structuren een belangrijke impuls gaf aan het Nederlands royalisme.

Dit uit zich in ten eerste in de vele satirische gedichten en prenten die de Engelsen als duivels met staarten afgeschilderen. Dergelijke representaties zijn wel beschouwd als voorbeelden van nationale stereotyperingen die passen in een tijd van opkomend nationalisme. Voor sommige auteurs, zoals Jan Six van Chandelier, is dat waarschijnlijk terecht. In veel gevallen moet de religieuze (beeld)taal van satires echter volstrekt serieus worden genomen. Deze teksten representeren de Eerste Engelse Oorlog niet als een conflict tussen Engeland en de Republiek, maar als een strijd tussen Goed en Kwaad die in de Engels-Nederlandse ruimte tussen Engels-Nederlandse partijen wordt bevochten. De Engelse duivel is in deze representaties een reële kracht, die zowel van Engelsen als van Nederlanders bezit heeft genomen, en die verantwoordelijk was voor zowel de Engelse burgeroorlogen, de executie van de koning als de Eerste Engelse oorlog.

Zowel tijdens als na de oorlog werd de ostentatief protestantse leider van de Engelse Republiek, Oliver Cromwell, regelmatig als opperduivel afgeschilderd. Dit was in flagrante tegenspraak met het traditionele beeld van de Paus als antichrist. Deze tegenspraak werd enigszins gelegitimeerd door Cromwell als een religieuze hypocriet af te schilderen, en regelmatig zelfs als een paus in vermomming. Remonstrantse auteurs als Joachim Oudaen volgden het voorbeeld van de Engelse dichter Abraham Cowley en schilderen Cromwell af als de puriteinse 'paus van Engeland'. Maar ook contra-remonstranten zagen in Cromwell een antichrist. Voor hen representeerde hij een sektarische, independentse duivel. In beide gevallen was de implicatie dat zijn tegenstanders, de Nederlanders en de Engelse royalisten, het Goede vertegenwoordigden.

De meest radicale religieuze interpretatie van de oorlog was die van apocalyptici, die de Engels-Nederlandse strijd duidden als een aankondiging van de eindtijd. Hoewel hun interpretatie in essentie niet veel verschilde van andere vormen van demonologie – ook zij lazen de recente geschiedenis en politieke ontwikkelingen met een oog voor duale tegenstellingen – waren chiliasten veel eerder geneigd om tot radicale politieke actie over te gaan, om zo de op handen zijnde verlossing zeker te stellen. In het midden van de zeventiende eeuw vierde dit chiliasme als gevolg van de ongekende politieke conflicten hoogtij, zowel in Engeland als in Nederland. Maar waar de Engelse Fifth Monarchists de zaak van de Engelse Republiek omarmden, kozen de Nederlandse chiliasten de kant van de koning. In beide gevallen impliceerde de apocalyptische lezing van de politiek dat een Engels-Nederlandse letterlijk vrede uit den boze was. De Engelse duivel moest worden uitgedreven door de herstelling van de koning, om zo de goddelijke orde te herstellen.

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Een zekere hoogmoed is mij niet vreemd. Toen ik in september 2005 aan mijn dissertatieonderzoek begon, was ik er vast van overtuigd dat binnen drie jaar te gaan afronden, om zo nog twee jaar van mijn aanstelling te kunnen besteden aan het schrijven van aanvragen en het publiceren van mijn manuscript. De openingszin voor het dankwoord had ik ook al in gedachten. Dit boek dank ik voornamelijk aan mezelf, zou die licht onsympathiek maar misschien toch ook wel verfrissend eerlijk en in ieder geval onconventioneel moeten gaan luiden. Ruim vijf jaar later moet ik vaststellen dat promotieonderzoek geen varkentje is dat even gewassen kan worden, maar een monster met vele koppen, dat leeft zolang het leven heeft en alleen met vereende inspanning kan worden verslagen. Een heus dankwoord is dus op zijn plaats.

Mijn dank gaat in eerste instantie uit naar mijn promotor, Frans-Willem Korsten. Onze samenwerking kende een ongebruikelijke start, omdat Frans-Willem pas in een laat stadium mijn begeleider werd. Dat het voorliggende proefschrift niettemin veel aan hem te danken heeft, getuigt van zijn grote betrokkenheid. Frans-Willems scherpe en altijd inspirerende commentaar, zijn kameraadschappelijke wijze van werken en zijn vertrouwen hebben niet alleen mijn proefschrift, maar ook mijzelf goed gedaan in de afgelopen twee jaar. Het valt te betwijfelen of ik überhaupt aan dit proefschrift zou zijn begonnen zonder de hulp en stimulans van mijn co-promotor, Ton Hoenselaars. Als mijn afstudeerbegeleider aan de UU en klankbord bij het schrijven van een onderzoeksvoorstel heeft Ton veel bijgedragen aan mijn wording als academicus. Ook toen ik niet in Utrecht, maar in Leiden een aanstelling kreeg en mijn onderzoek een andere wending nam dan voorzien, bleef Ton mij gul voorzien van advies, kritiek – en minstens een meter nieuwe boeken in mijn boekenkast.

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De activiteiten van het Huizinga Instituut zijn in de eerste jaren van mijn promotietraject een bron van inspiratie en contacten geweest. De masterclass van Jonathan Israel heeft mij aangemoedigd om op de ingeslagen weg verder te gaan. Jürgen Pieters reisde van Gent naar het afgelegen Barchem om als mijn referent op te treden op de jaarlijkse promovendiconferentie. Hoewel ik zijn ideeën over 'gouvernementalité' een andere keer nog eens bij de horens moet vatten, heeft zijn commentaar zeker bijgedragen aan de wording van hoofdstuk 7. De Huizingabijeenkomst die op mij de meeste indruk heeft gemaakt was de Winterschool in Florence, in december 2007. In de feeërieke heuvels bij Fiesole organiseerden Martin van Gelderen en zijn team van het EUI een

onvergetelijk congres, dat niet alleen uitgesproken *piacevole* was, maar ook een belangrijke impuls heeft gegeven aan mijn denken over de vroegmoderne openbaarheid.

Veel collega's hebben in de afgelopen jaren met mij meegedacht, meegelezen en meegeleefd. Een aantal wil ik met name noemen. Gary Schwartz en Ad Leerintvelt waren zo vriendelijk om versies van respectievelijk hoofdstuk 4 en 5 van waardevol commentaar te voorzien. Judith Pollmann hielp me op verschillende belangrijke momenten. Ronny Spaans was genereus met zijn gedachten over Jan Six van Chandelier, Wiebe Bergsma evenzeer met zijn manuscript over Poppo van Burmania. Met Arjan van Dixhoorn deel ik niet alleen een fascinatie voor Vincent van der Vinne, maar ook voor historische publieke opinie – zijn enthousiasme werkte altijd aanstekelijk. Bart Ramakers en Sabrina Corbellini hebben me in Groningen met open armen – en heerlijke pasta – ontvangen en maakten de slapeloze nachten in het Guesthouse overdag weer goed.

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Het moge duidelijk zijn dat een promotietraject niet alleen een boek, maar ook vrienden oplevert. Daarbij denk ik aan de Leidse ridders van de ronde tafel, Nadine Akkerman, Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, Kristine Steenbergh en Lieke Stelling. Trouw hebben wij de afgelopen jaren elkaars teksten gelezen, gekraakt en geprezen in sessies waar ik veel van heb geleerd en genoten. Maar net zo lief herinner ik mij etentjes en lezingen, film-, congres- en kraambezoeken, de schrijfsessies met Jan Frans – en leverworst - in mijn schuurtje, de triomfantelijke promotie van Nadine, de aanstekelijk enthousiaste voordrachten van Kristine, en de gezamelijke strijd die Lieke en ik in kamer 201a voerden. Bij Momus, mijn neerlandistieke leesgroep, trof ik ondanks die naam - Momus is de Griekse god van de hoon en de onterechte kritiek - eenzelfde amicale sfeer. Inge Broekman, Judith Brouwer, Feike Dietz, Roeland Harms en Nina Geerdink onderhielden mij over Constantijn Huygens, VOC-brieven, religieuze emblemata, de zeventiende-eeuwse pamflethandel en Jan Vos. Maar ook wij vergezelden elkaar naar congressen, kookten, aten en schaakten samen, en wisten werk en plezier altijd te combineren. Dat we inmiddels ook concurrenten zijn in de slag om de schaarse academische banen, heeft aan dat kameraadschap gelukkig niets afgedaan.

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Wat kan ik schrijven om hen te danken? Roland Barthes heeft een essay geschreven met de prachtige titel 'On echoue toujours a parler de ce qu'on aime'. 'Verwoorden waar je van houdt', legt Jurgen Pieters uit, 'is tot mislukken gedoemd, omdat datgene wat je wilt verwoorden nooit kan samenvallen met datgene wat verwoord wordt'. Over dankbaarheid die met ontroering gepaard gaat, is het maar beter te zwijgen. De woorden glijden af van Inge, Geerten, Liselot en onze familie – en daarom eindigt dit boek hier.

Curriculum Vitae

Helmer J. Helmers werd in 1977 geboren in Amersfoort. Hij studeerde Taal- en Cultuurstudies aan de Universiteit Utrecht, waar hij in 2004 cum laude afstudeerde in de specialisatie Studies van de Renaissance en Barok. Voor zijn scriptie *Nae 's landts gheleghentheit* won hij in 2005 de scriptieprijs van Werkgroep De Zeventiende Eeuw. Vanaf september van dat jaar werkte hij als aio aan het Leids Universitair Instituut voor Culturele Disciplines (Pallas) aan zijn dissertatieonderzoek en doceerde hij Engelse en Nederlandse vroegmoderne letterkunde aan de universiteiten van Leiden, Groningen en Utrecht. Sinds 2010 is hij als docent Oudere Nederlandse letterkunde verbonden aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Helmers publiceerde diverse peer-reviewed artikelen over vroegmoderne literatuur, publieke opinie en Engels-Nederlandse uitwisseling in internationale boeken en tijdschriften.

Helmer J. Helmers was born in Amersfoort (The Netherlands) in 1977. In 2004 he graduated *cum laude* in Renaissance and Baroque Studies at Utrecht University. His thesis, *Nae 's landts gheleghentheit*, won the award of the Society for Seventeenth Century Studies in 2005. From September 2005 onwards, he worked on his dissertation as a research assistant at the Leiden University Institute for Cultural Disciplines (Pallas). He has lectured on early modern English and Dutch at the universities of Leiden, Groningen and Utrecht and is currently working as a lecturer in Medieval and Early Modern Dutch Literature at the University of Groningen. Helmers has published articles on early modern literature, public opinion, and Anglo-Dutch exchange in various international, peer-reviewed books and journals.