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978-1-107-08761-3 - The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660

Helmer J. Helmers

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The Royalist Republic

In 1649, Charles I was executed before Whitehall Palace in London. This event had a major impact not only in the British Isles, but also on the continent, where British exiles, diplomats, and agents waged propaganda battles to conquer the minds of foreign audiences. In the Dutch Republic above all their efforts had a significant impact on public opinion, and succeeded in triggering violent debate. This is the first book-length study devoted to the continental backlash of the English Civil Wars. Interdisciplinary in scope and drawing on a wide range of sources, from pamphlets to paintings, Helmer Helmers shows how the royalist cause managed to triumph in one of the most unlikely places in early modern Europe. In doing so, Helmers transforms our understanding of both British and Dutch political culture, and provides new contexts for major literary works by Milton, Marvell, Huygens, and many others.

HELMER J. HELMERS is NWO Veni-fellow and lecturer in early modern Dutch literature and culture at the University of Amsterdam.

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For my mother

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Note on conventions

This book intends to bridge not only the disciplinary divides that still separate political and literary history, but also those between British and Dutch traditions of enquiry. As a result, I have been confronted with various conflicting conventions, a situation which could 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 in this book 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 continental bias in dating, 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 language, however, in order to prevent confusion with similar titles 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 is modernized throughout.

Historical terminology, too, varies among, and sometimes even within, disciplines. 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 that 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, and 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 shortcomings. I have chosen to profit from the possibilities offered by

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such a distinctive range of options rather than to immerse myself in a fruitless 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.

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Acta	Knuttel, Willem P.C. <i>Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland, 1621–1700</i> , 6 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908).
Aitzema	Aitzema, Lieuwe van. <i>Saken van Staet en Oorlogh</i> . 6 vols. (1669–1672). www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/aitzema/
AvS	Rijn, Gerrit van, and C. van Ommeren (eds.) <i>Atlas van Stolk: Katalogus der historie-, spot- en zinneprenten betreffend de geschiedenis van Nederland</i> , 10 vols. (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1895–1933).
BLNP	<i>Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme</i> . www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/blnp/
BM	British Museum, London.
CPW	Milton, John. <i>Complete Prose Works</i> , ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).
<i>First Defence</i>	Milton, John. ‘A Defence of the People of England (February 24, 1651)’, in: CPW IV, i, 285–537.
KB	Royal Library, The Hague.
Kn.	Knuttel, Willem P.C. <i>Catalogus van de pamflettenverzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek</i> (Utrecht: HES, 1978).
Muller	Muller, Frederik. <i>De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten</i> , 4 vols. (Amsterdam: Muller, 1863–1870).
Nicholas	Warner, George (ed.) <i>The Nicholas Papers. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State</i> , 3 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1886–1897).
O’D	O’Donoghue, Freeman and Henry M. Hake (eds.) <i>Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols. (London: British Museum, 1908–1925).

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- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008).
- STC Pollard, A. W. and G. R. Redgrave (eds.) *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edition, 3 vols. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991).
- 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).
- Thys. Petit, Louis David. *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1882–1934).
- 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.
- Wing Wing, D. (ed.) *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641–1700*, 2nd edition, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982–1998).
- WNT *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. <http://gtb.inl.nl>.