Introduction

> Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience.
> Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile*[1]

The English Republican Exiles in Europe

This book traces the lives, ideas and political activism of three English republican exiles, who were forced by circumstance to spend time abroad after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660: Edmund Ludlow in Switzerland, Henry Neville in Italy and Algernon Sidney, who travelled widely on the Continent before eventually settling in the south of France. However, this study aims to be more than a work of comparative biography and political thought. Its purpose is to gain a better understanding of the transnational networks that enabled the exiles to escape from England and survive in relative security on the European continent for lengthy periods of time – more than thirty years in the case of Ludlow – and the role these networks played in the development and dissemination of English republican thought. More often than not, these support networks were of a religious nature, with Reformed Protestants playing a significant role in assisting English republicans on their migrant journey. By exploring the exiles' political thought alongside their lived experience this book thus provides a fresh approach to the history of early modern republicanism. Besides these three key figures, whose political lives and published writings created a reputation for them beyond the confines of the British Isles and who therefore will form the basis of three entwining case studies, the present volume will also touch on the lives of a number of other, often lesser-known republican exiles who belonged to the same networks as Ludlow, Neville and Sidney, but neither were

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[1] Edward W. Said, 'Reflections on Exile', in *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta, 2012), pp. 173–86, at p. 185.

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necessarily authors and politicians of the same stature nor would attract a similar European audience.

The experiences of the exiles suggest that they must have been able to tap into pre-existing communities as well as developing their own networks based on personal, political and religious connections.[2] This book will argue that in order to understand the survival and relatively wide dissemination of republican ideas from the English Civil War and Interregnum period into the Restoration and beyond, we need to look, among others, at the English republican exiles, their networks and their intellectual environment in their new chosen context. I hope to show that English republicanism in the seventeenth century was transnational or (if we want to avoid the anachronism for a period before the nation state) transterritorial or transcultural in nature and was shaped to a significant extent by personal, political and religious networks, even though the nature and confessional make-up of these religious networks might at times be unexpected, with Catholic contacts frequently featuring alongside fellow Protestant dissenters. This cosmopolitan and multi-confessional context of English republicanism also goes some way to explain the international outlook of early modern political thinkers, who, far from being patriots in a narrow parochial sense, always considered themselves part of a bigger transterritorial project either as Protestants belonging to God's invisible church around the world or, increasingly, as citizens of the world, who not only strove to transform government in England, but ultimately sought to apply their principles of religious and political liberty to countries around the globe.[3]

Like English royalism in the 1640s and 1650s, English republicanism after 1660 became an exile movement depending on continental support.[4] As republicans had lost their power base in England with the return of the Stuart dynasty, they had to rely on help from abroad for their survival and

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[2] Jason Peacey hints at the existence of such networks in '"The good old cause for which I suffer": The Life of a Regicide in Exile', in Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath 1640–1690* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 167–80, at p. 168.

[3] On the Puritan view of the 'true Church' of Christ as international, see Anthony Milton, 'Puritanism and the Continental Reformed Churches', in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 109–26, at p. 111. See also Steven Pincus's observation that 'Though there can be no doubt that Englishmen and women from the accession of Elizabeth were certain they were part of *an* elected nation, that elect nation was only a part of the wider elect nation of European Protestant believers', in his *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 450.

[4] Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 9.

protection. This help would come not just from their allies in the American colonies, but also from countries and regions on the Continent that shared their Protestant faith and their broader political outlook, although strategic interests also played a role and diplomatic pressures meant that even those perceived as natural allies sometimes found it hard to offer the support the republicans hoped for. Where prominent English royalists had sought help at courts in The Hague, Brussels and Paris (Fontainebleau) and in Cologne, English republicans turned to members of the continental Reformed churches and to Dutch and Swiss republicans as well as former French Frondeurs.[5] English Puritans felt a close affinity to the Reformed churches, even though they might not agree on all particulars.[6] Most importantly, however, continental Reformed Protestants shared the experience of being a persecuted minority, which helped to forge closer links between groups and communities across borders that sought to provide mutual support.[7] Therefore, the history of the English republican exiles also connects to the history of religious migration in the post-Reformation period.[8]

For the major part, the exiles' destinations were located within the Protestant regions of Europe, where they had existing contacts and could expect to live in relative safety. This included the Protestant cantons of the Old Swiss Confederacy as well as the city of Geneva, which at the time still was 'an allied neighbor rather than a canton'.[9] The majority of cantons, with the exception of the principality of Neuchâtel, were also governed as republics, although de facto rule in individual places was increasingly confined to a select number of wealthy families.[10] Geneva, where Jean Calvin had started his reformation experiment, became Ludlow's first target destination. From there he moved on to Lausanne and Vevey in

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[5] Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 6–7.

[6] Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 68; Milton, 'Puritanism and the Continental Reformed Churches'.

[7] Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[8] See in particular Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015); and Yosef Kaplan (ed.), *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

[9] Richard Whatmore, *Against War and Empire: Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. xiii. The Old Swiss Confederacy had gained legal independence from the Holy Roman Empire only in 1648.

[10] This restriction of power to a small aristocracy or oligarchy in the republican cantons would become even more pronounced over the course of the eighteenth century. Neuchâtel was governed as a principality until 1848.

the Pays de Vaud, which had been annexed by the Protestant canton of Bern during the Reformation and would become the home of many displaced Huguenots during the Refuge following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.[11] As we will see below, Ludlow was attracted to the country by the Swiss love of freedom and the prospect of living there in peace, able to worship according to his own faith until the Lord would set him on a new path.

Sidney travelled around the Holy Roman Empire, which he would praise in his *Discourses* as a loose association of independent territories held together by an elective ruler limited by the law, even though he did not take to its unrefined inhabitants.[12] The places where he made longer stays included key Protestant locations such as Hanau, Frankfurt and Augsburg, where other refugees from England had settled, while he also spent significant time in the United Provinces, primarily at Rotterdam, which had large English and Scottish merchant communities and through its close links to England and Scotland would become a centre for republican and dissenting conspirators in 1665–6.[13] In between, Sidney settled in the Huguenot south and south-west of France associated with the Fronde, where he benefited from long-standing friendships with former Frondeurs.[14] Exceptions to the pattern of Protestant countries as places of refuge for the English republican exiles were Rome and Florence. Catholic Italy, however, became a destination for more strategic political reasons, and both Sidney and Neville kept a close eye on the connections between a Catholic interest among Charles II's subjects and the papacy in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration. Rome was also 'one of the main nodes of the network through which political information spread

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[11] Marie-Jeanne Ducommin and Dominique Quadroni, *Le refuge protestant dans le pays de Vaud (fin XVIIe – début XVIIIe s.): aspects d'une migration* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

[12] Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, ed. Thomas G. West (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1996), pp. 166–7, 504, 508; I will be quoting from this modern edition of Sidney's 1698 text throughout. See also Algernon Sidney, Frankfurt am Main, to Robert, Earl of Leicester, 8 September 1660, in Arthur Collins (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of State in the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation*, 2 vols (London: Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn, 1746), ii, pp. 695–8, at p. 698.

[13] See Chapters 2 and 4; and Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–1663* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 91–5, 203–4; Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 25; and Douglas Catterall, 'Fortress Rotterdam? Rotterdam's Scots Community and the Covenanter Cause, 1638–1688', in David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 87–105.

[14] Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 181–5, 222–49.

throughout the other European countries'. Thus it was invaluable to have good contacts there.[15] The fact that Neville could spent considerable time in Florence in relative safety was certainly due to the fact that Tuscany was ruled by the anglophile Medici dukes and had strong commercial ties to England. There was a large English merchant community in Livorno under the protection of Ferdinando II that might have been exposed to persecution officially, but was tacitly left undisturbed as long as the 'heretical' guests behaved appropriately in public. Problems arose only occasionally when Protestants openly flouted the rules.[16]

Since strategic concerns played a major role in the choice of exile, other Catholic countries, such as Spain, had little to offer to a Protestant republican on the run. While Spain might have recognised the Commonwealth early on, Philip IV had offered sanctuary to Charles II during the 1650s as well as a formal treaty, and the murder of the Commonwealth diplomat Anthony Ascham by royalist assassins on Habsburg territory was still within recent memory.[17] Besides, Spain's location on the periphery of Europe meant it would have been harder for exiles to keep their hand in any political business.

Yet even within the territories and communities that welcomed the English republican refugees, diplomatic considerations might limit the extent of support they would receive. Two factors played a major role in limiting this support: the republicans' Independent leanings and their association with the regicide. The Protestant Reformed churches on the Continent tended to have a synodal government, following the structure first established by Calvin in opposition to a Catholic Church led by an apostolic succession of bishops, deacons and priests. The English republican exiles meanwhile were Independents, opposed as much to synodal or Presbyterian forms as to Catholic ones. While they shared with their continental allies the belief in predestination and election, their insistence on independent congregations and an informal way of worship would

[15] Stefano Villani, 'Britain and the Papacy: Diplomacy and Conflict in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', in Maria Antonietta Visceglia (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2013), pp. 301–22, at p. 306; see also Chapters 1 and 2 below.

[16] Gigliola Pagano de Divitiis, *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, trans. Stephen Parkin (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), on Leghorn or Livorno in particular, pp. 114 ff.; and Stefano Villani, 'Protestanti a Livorno nella prima età moderna', in Uwe Israel and Michael Matheus (eds), *Protestanten zwischen Venedig und Rom in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), pp. 129–42, at p. 130.

[17] Marco Barducci, *Anthony Asham ed il pensiero politico inglese (1648–1650)* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2008), p. 47; and Jason Peacey, 'Order and Disorder in Europe: Parliamentary Agents and Royalist Thugs 1649–1650', *Historical Journal*, 40:4 (1997), 953–76.

alienate stricter types of Protestants. Likewise, while the English refugees might find republican allies on the Continent and share civic values with communities in Switzerland and the United Provinces, many moderate republicans as well as royalists had been shocked and alienated by the unprecedented regicide at the hands of the Rump Parliament that tainted not just Charles I's judges themselves but the entire regime associated with this act.[18] Thus the English republican exiles might sometimes misjudge the degree of support they could expect and miscalculate their chances of regaining power in England accordingly.

Some of the locations inhabited by the republican exiles would also become associated with works they produced or published. Ludlow's first exile publication and the only one issued during his lifetime, compiled in Geneva and printed in Yverdon, was a French translation of the trial narratives of some of his fellow regicides intended to rally a wider European Protestant public behind the republican cause.[19] His memoirs, largely written in Vevey, would carry a fake imprint of the town when first published in England, which would make them look more authentic and appeal to a European audience.[20] Almost a century later, Thomas Hollis would donate an annotated presentation copy of the *Memoirs* along with many other English republican works to the authorities of Bern who had once offered protection to the exiles.[21] Sidney probably wrote his *Court Maxims* in Rotterdam, but never followed up on his plans for their publication, while many of the ideas first presented in his *Maxims* would later be incorporated into his more famous *Discourses* (1698). Neville published his playful utopian travel narrative *The Isle of Pines* (1668) shortly after returning from Rome to London, no doubt inspired by his experience of exile. The close relationship he forged to the Medici during his exile meanwhile was reflected most strongly in two of his mature works, the fictitious *Nicholas Machiavel's Letter* (1675) and *Plato redivivus* (1681). The *Letter* first appeared as part of the 1675 translation of Machiavelli's

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[18] Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, pp. 101–12.

[19] *Les juges jugez, se justifiants. Ou recit de ce qui s'est passé en la condamnation & execution de quelques uns des juges du dernier defunct Roy d'Angleterre, & autres seigneurs du parti du Parlement* (n.p., 1663); see Chapter 5.

[20] *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Esq*, 3 vols (Vivay [sic], 1698–9).

[21] *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq* (London: printed for A. Millar; D. Browne, both in the Strand; and J. Ward, in Cornhill, 1751), now kept at the Bern University Library. See Hans Utz, *Die Hollis Sammlung in Bern: Ein Beitrag zu den englisch-schweizerischen Beziehungen in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Bern: Lang & Cie, 1959); and Urs Leu, 'The Hollis-Collection in Switzerland: An Attempt to Disseminate Political and Religious Freedom through Books in the 18th Century', *Zwingliana*, 38 (2011), 153–73.

Works into English published by the Whig bookseller John Starkey, who also published *Plato redivivus*. Hence, Neville is frequently credited with the translation in standard works on early modern English republican thought.[22] However, I have demonstrated elsewhere why Neville is an unlikely candidate. The Stationers' Register attributes the translation to 'J.B.', and Mark Knights suggests convincingly that this may refer to John Bulteel, who had done several other translations from Italian and French for Starkey. Moreover, Neville never mentions any translation work in his correspondence, nor do Starkey or Cosimo III.[23] His engagement with Machiavelli was of a more theoretical nature. Before we turn to the exiles' literary legacy, however, this book will focus on their more immediate aims and ideas before a wider European background.

The English Republican Exiles in Europe: Transnationalism and Religious Identity

Republicanism in seventeenth-century England was a political philosophy as well as a movement connected to the events surrounding the Civil War. Its proponents engaged with the breakdown of the Stuart monarchy and possible (non-monarchical) alternatives that might be put in its place. While republicanism could be seen as a reaction to short-term political circumstances, contemporary thinkers such as James Harrington suggest that it was rather a response to long-term historical change, challenges to the economic and social structure of the country and the further disintegration of religious unity in the post-Reformation period. While the responses to these issues may have been specific to the particular situation of England at a given moment in time, the challenges themselves were not

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[22] e.g. Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500–1700* (London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), Appendix B, p. 272; Caroline Robbins's introduction to Caroline Robbins (ed.), *Two English Republican Tracts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 14–15; Blair Worden, 'Republicanism and Restoration, 1660–1683', in David Wootton (ed.), *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649–1776* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 139–93, at p. 144; and Vickie B. Sullivan, *Machiavelli, Hobbes, and the Foundations of a Liberal Republicanism in England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 19, 175, 187.

[23] See G. E. B. Eyre and C. R. Rivington (eds), *Transcripts of the Stationers Registers 1640–1708* (repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), 3 vols, ii, p. 495, quoted in Mark Knights, 'John Starkey and Ideological Networks in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *Media History*, 11 (2005), 127–45, at pp. 131–2; Gaby Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Dreaming of Another Game* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 210–11; and Gaby Mahlberg, 'Machiavelli, Neville and the Seventeenth-Century Discourse on Priestcraft', *Intellectual History Review*, 28:1 (2018), 79–99.

uniquely English, but part of a broader pattern of social change in Europe in a period of state formation.[24] Hence we should expect affinities with similar ideas and movements elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the historiography of seventeenth-century English republicanism to date has been predominantly anglocentric and national as well as secular in nature.[25] On both counts, this is surprising.[26] Early modern classical republicanism drew extensively on continental European sources from ancient Greece and Rome as well as Renaissance Italy; and interest in these sources was shared by thinkers across Europe, thus providing natural affinities between men and (less frequently) women of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.[27] Confining any study of early modern republicanism to England or the British Isles is consequently arbitrary. It may reflect the ways in which modern historians work in their own narrow national contexts, but contributes little to our understanding of the way in which intellectual life in early modern Europe operated in practice.[28]

Even more at odds with the historical evidence is the secular focus of much modern scholarship on early modern republicanism, given the extent to which seventeenth-century thinkers drew on religious sources, including the Bible and the Talmud as well as other works of the Christian and Jewish traditions,[29] while the English Civil Wars themselves can be

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[24] This interpretation was made popular by Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century', *Past and Present*, 16:1 (1959), 31–64.

[25] For a similar criticism of the national character of much seventeenth-century historiography, see Jonathan Scott, '"Good Night Amsterdam": Sir George Downing and Anglo-Dutch Statebuilding', *English Historical Review*, 118:476 (2003), 334–56, at p. 334. Scott also bemoans the restraints of periodisation but, in this instance, does not address the religious question.

[26] Scholarship is changing only slowly. While the religious aspect has been coming into focus more recently, there are as yet few truly transnational studies.

[27] J. G. A. Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[28] However, historians of different fields are slowly coming to adopt a more European perspective. A recent example is Sarah Mortimer's *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 4.

[29] Luc Borot, 'Religion in Harrington's Political System: The Central Concepts and Methods of Harrington's Religious Solutions', in Dirk Wiemann and Gaby Mahlberg (eds), *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 149–64; Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Lea Campos Boralevi, 'Classical Foundational Myths of European Republicanism: The Jewish Commonwealth', in Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen (eds), *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, 2 vols (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), i, pp. 247–61. See also Gordon Schochet, Fania Oz-Salzberger and Meirav Jones (eds), *Political Hebraism: Judaic Sources in Early Modern Political Thought* (Jerusalem: Shalem Press, 2008).

seen as a direct result of the European Reformations and have been aptly described as part of the 'European Wars of Religion'.[30] My aim therefore is to write a history of seventeenth-century English republicanism that is both transnational and religious, though I hasten to add that 'religious' does not mean narrowly doctrinal. Republicans were at the same time religious and heterodox, searching for truth, not religious dogma. Therefore they were naturally drawn to various dissenting movements that challenged the boundaries of the established Church. At the same time, while fiercely Protestant, they were not necessarily hostile towards the Catholic faith, but primarily against Catholic structures of church government and prescriptive rules.[31] Hence most republicans would condemn the episcopal structures of the Church of England and the formalism imposed by Presbyterian synods in the same way in which they rejected the 'popery' of the Catholic Church.[32] Yet the republicans' critical and sceptical attitudes towards organised religion were not necessarily indicative of a modernising secularisation process. The nature of religion and popular spirituality changed, but religion had by no means lost its significance. Republicans rather aimed to do away with religious or Church control over secular matters, the involvement of the clergy in worldly government and the tyranny of narrow doctrine over 'spirit and truth'.[33]

[30] John Morrill, 'The English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 34 (1984), 155–78; and John Morrill, 'England's Wars of Religion', in his *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 33–44; Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 29. Responses to the 'wars of religion' thesis can be found in Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). On the curious absence of religion in intellectual history, see John Coffey's 'Quentin Skinner and the Religious Dimension of Early Modern Political Thought', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey and Brad S. Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), pp. 46–74.

[31] Norah Carlin, 'Toleration for Catholics in the Puritan Revolution', in Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 216–30; and Gaby Mahlberg, 'Henry Neville and the Toleration of Catholics during the Exclusion Crisis', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 617–34.

[32] Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *The English Civil War* (London: Arnold, 1997), pp. 181–210; J. C. Davis, 'Against Formality: One Aspect of the English Revolution', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3 (1993), 265–88; and Gaby Mahlberg, 'Le républicanisme anglais et le mythe de l'anticatholicisme', in Nathalie Caron and Guillaume Marche (eds), *La politisation du religieux en modernité* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), pp. 17–29.

[33] Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture*, chapter 5; Blair Worden, 'The Question of Secularisation', in Alan Houston and Steve Pincus (eds), *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 20–40.

With a few later exceptions, seventeenth-century English republicans were Reformed Protestants, Independents or freethinkers, not atheists.[34]

Given the interest early modern English republicanism of the 1640s and 1650s has received over the past thirty to forty years, the literature on the survival of republican ideas into the Restoration period, or indeed on the English republican exiles who had been forced to leave the country after the return of the Stuarts in 1660, is rather modest.[35] The prevailing narrative on the subject assumes that English republicanism had its heyday in the late 1640s and 1650s during the English Revolution and after the regicide of Charles I, but that the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy was a watershed moment, which the republican cause did not survive – at least not beyond individual radicals inside the British Isles and small and insignificant groups abroad.[36] This view has recently been reinforced by the growing literature on republican exclusivism which sees republicanism proper as strictly non-monarchical.[37] Yet in the late 1670s and 1680s, during the Exclusion Crisis, republicanism raised its head again among

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[34] Michael Hunter, 'The Problem of "Atheism" in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 35 (1985), 135–57. On freethought, see J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[35] On Ludlow, the most influential scholarship is C. H. Firth's scholarly edition *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England 1625–1672*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894) and Worden's continuation of his work in Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch Tower: Part Five, 1660–1662*, ed. A. B. Worden, Camden Fourth Series (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987); on Sidney, the most detailed biographical treatment has come from Jonathan Scott's two volumes *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic* and *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677–1683* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991); on Neville, prior studies include Anna Maria Crinò, 'Lettere inedite italiane e inglesi di Sir (sic) Henry Neville', in Anna Maria Crinò (ed.), *Fatti e figure del Seicento anglo-toscano: documenti inediti sui rapporti letterari, diplomatici e culturali fra Toscana e Inghilterra* (Florence: Olschki, 1957), pp. 173–208; Robbins's introduction to *Two English Republican Tracts*; and the present author's own *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture*. In comparison to the extent of scholarship on English republicanism more widely, these contributions – some of them published a century apart – must seem like a first step only.

[36] e.g. Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London: Faber, 1984). The persistence of the Restoration as a watershed is reflected in the still common periodisation that lets monographs end or begin in 1660. Historians of the seventeenth century still often specialise in either the Civil Wars and Interregnum or the Restoration, but less commonly in both.

[37] See David Wootton, 'The True Origins of Republicanism: The Disciples of Baron and the Counter-Example of Venturi', in Manuela Albertone (ed.), *Il repubblicanesimo moderno: l'idea di repubblica nella riflessione storica di Franco Venturi* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2006), pp. 271–304; Eric Nelson, '"Talmudical Commonwealthsmen" and the Rise of Republican Exclusivism', *Historical Journal*, 50:4 (2007), 809–35; and James Hankins, 'Exclusivist Republicanism and the Non-monarchical Republic', *Political Theory*, 38 (2010), 452–82. See also Blair Worden, 'Republicanism, Regicide and Republic: The English Experience', in van Gelderen and Skinner (eds), *Republicanism*, i, pp. 307–27.