

THE ENGLISH REPUBLICAN EXILES IN EUROPE DURING THE RESTORATION

The Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 changed the lives of English republicans for good. Despite the Declaration of Breda, where Charles II promised to forgive those who had acted against his father and the monarchy during the Civil War and Interregnum, opponents of the Stuart regime felt unsafe, and many were actively persecuted. Nevertheless, their ideas lived on in the political underground of England and in the exile networks they created abroad. While much of the historiography of English republicanism has focused on the British Isles and the legacy of the English Revolution in the American colonies, this study traces the lives, ideas and networks of three seventeenth-century English republicans who left England for the European Continent after the Restoration. On the basis of sources from a range of English and continental European archives, Gaby Mahlberg explores the lived experiences of these three exiles - Edmund Ludlow in Switzerland, Henry Neville in Italy and Algernon Sidney - for a truly transnational perspective on early modern English republicanism.

GABY MAHLBERG is Honorary Associate Professor at the University of Warwick and the author of *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (2009). With Dirk Wiemann, she is co-editor of *European Contexts for English Republicanism* (2013) and *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism* (2014).



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GABY MAHLBERG

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For exiles, expats, émigrés and refugees escaping and missing their home



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Acknowledgements

This is my very own Brexit book, which in many ways reflects on the relationship of early modern England with the European Continent. The bulk of it was written following my move to Berlin in 2015 after having lived in the United Kingdom on and off for the best part of fifteen years and just as the government was gearing up to the fateful referendum. As I am writing these lines, the UK is about to break with the European Union. Yet the idea for this book goes back a lot further. It was first conceived in the early 2000s when I was doing my PhD at the University of East Anglia. While undertaking research on the English republican Henry Neville, I noticed how little secondary literature there was on his Italian exile, and I soon came to realise that there was a similar dearth of material on other republican thinkers of the period who had spent time abroad. There simply had not been much interest in the continental European connections of seventeenth-century English republicans. Two decades later this has changed somewhat, but there is still a lot of scope to explore the multiple ways in which the British Isles and Europe were entangled with each other through geography, culture, politics, faith and, most of all, personal connections, especially now that the UK is redefining its relationship with Europe and the European Union.

The initial research for this book was made possible by a Small Grant of the British Academy which I received shortly after starting a new post at Northumbria University in Newcastle upon Tyne in 2011. This grant allowed me to travel and follow my three English republican exiles across Europe, while a period of research leave also helped with the writing. I also benefited from two short-term fellowships at the Research Center for Social and Cultural Studies in Gotha, and at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Alas, I soon felt compelled to leave my friends and colleagues in Newcastle behind, disappointed by the way the academic world was changing and shocked by the destructive effects the marketisation of higher education was leaving on staff and students alike.



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I returned to Germany and to journalism, and it was here among my colleagues at the German Press Agency dpa that I recovered my energy and my love of writing. While I had initially only planned to stay for a sixmonth work secondment, my work on the news front seemed ever more relevant to my academic research. I was writing a book on exile and migration just as hundreds of thousands of refugees were making their way across the Mediterranean to Europe from Syria and a range of northern African countries in the late summer of 2015. So I decided to stay for the time being and see where this new journey would take me.

Now that the book is done I have incurred many debts, and I would like to thank all the people who contributed with their ideas, advice and enthusiasm to bringing this project to fruition. Some of them helped with practical and linguistic queries, others with research questions, yet others through interesting conversations or simply their friendship and support. Foremost among them are Tom Ashby Luc Borot, John Brewer, Peter Burschel, the late Justin Champion, Cesare Cuttica, J. C. Davis, Delphine Doucet, Myriam-Isabelle Ducrocq, Markus Egg, Anja-Silvia Göing, Christophe Guillotel-Nothmann, Rachel Hammersley, André Holenstein, Thérèse-Maria Jallais, Mark Knights, Vivienne Larminie, Juan Andrés León, Andrew McKenzie-McHarg, Thomas Munck, Neil Murphy, Andreas Pečar, Markku Peltonen, Sabrina Pietrobono, Alasdair Raffe, Jonathan Scott, Mark Somos, Liam Temple and Howard Wickes.

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Berlin, July 2020



Note on the Text

Chapters 1 and 5 use parts of my article 'Les juges jugez, se justifiants (1663) and Edmund Ludlow's Protestant Network in Seventeenth-Century Switzerland', Historical Journal, 57 (2014), 369–96. © The Historical Journal. Reprinted with permission.



Abbreviations and Conventions

ACV Archives Cantonales et Vaudoises, Lausanne AD Archives Départementales ΑE Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris **AEG** Archives d'État, Geneva Archives Nationales, Paris AN **ASFi** Archivio di Stato, Florence **BNF** Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Berkshire Record Office BRO **CSPD** Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series DRIDizionario biografico degli Italiani, www.treccani.it/biografico/ index.html HLS Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/ NA National Archives, London Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, www.oxforddnb.com ODNBSP State Papers, available at www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/ state-papers-online **STAB** Staarsarchiv, Bern

The spelling of original early modern quotations has been normalised with 'u' turning into 'v' and 'i' into 'j' for ease of reading, while other linguistic quirks have been retained as far as possible to reflect the fact that contemporary spelling and grammar had not been standardised.

For practical purposes, the numerous foreign-language quotations included in this book have been translated into English by the author, unless otherwise stated. The footnotes guide the reader to the original version.

All dates are given either in Old Style or Old Style and New Style, depending on the context. The year is presumed to begin on 1 January.