

John Milton, Andrew Marvell and Anglo-Dutch Relations

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~ Abstract ~

This study argues for a more widely-conceived cultural sphere that allows the complex and multifarious interactions of both English and Dutch cultures in the early modern period to be explored more fully. My lenses are the works of John Milton and Andrew Marvell, and the relations that they and their work had with the United Provinces and its people.

The thesis has a two-part structure. The first half introduces Dutch contexts, being a brief introduction to major areas of early modern Dutch culture, while the second shows how these contexts were influential on, and reflected by, Milton and Marvell. The first four chapters therefore consider areas that had an impact on England and its political and literary writers. These include, in Chapter I, stereotypes and first impressions of the Dutch Republic in English travelogues; representations of the Dutch in these works often surfaced in satirical work on the Dutch during the Anglo-Dutch Wars. Another concern is the literary milieu of the United Provinces, including print culture, literary circles, and ideas of educational reform. Other chapters in Part I discuss two highly influential aspects of Dutch religious life, Arminianism and toleration - both of which had repercussions for Protestantism in England - politics and trade, in particular works on Dutch republicanism and trade, in which England became the United Provinces' greatest rival. Part II then explores Dutch culture, nation and stereotyping in Milton and Marvell. It demonstrates the far-reaching involvement of Dutch printing culture, especially visible in the publication history of Milton's *Defenses*. It also interrogates literary similarities in the works of two Dutch authors, Constantijn Huygens and Joost van den Vondel, with Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*, respectively. The last two chapters identify traces of Dutch Arminianism and toleration in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, Marvell's *Remarks*, and *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, part I and II; and compare versions of republicanism in *Samson Agonistes* and Vondel's *Samson, of Heilige Wraak*, as well as discussing Anglo-Dutch rivalry in their works.

This thesis demonstrates the deep and abiding importance of Anglo-Dutch relations to the works of two canonical English authors. Literary, intellectual and politico-religious exchange between England and the United Provinces was more entrenched than it has previously been portrayed.

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This thesis is dedicated to my brother Daniel, in loving memory. Although unable to see the outcome, never far from our thoughts.

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~ Abbreviations ~

<i>CPW</i>	<i>Complete Prose Works of John Milton</i> , gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).
<i>CPW</i> (OUP) (date)	<i>Complete Works of John Milton</i> , gen. ed. Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, date).
<i>Institutes</i>	Jean Calvin, <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> , transl. and ed. by Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845).
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008).
P&L	<i>The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell</i> , ed. by H.M. Margoliouth (revised by Pierre Legouis) 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
<i>PWAM</i>	<i>Prose Works of Andrew Marvell</i> , ed. by Annabel Patterson and Martin Dzelzainis, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
WA	Jacobus Arminius, <i>The Works of James Arminius</i> , ed. and transl. by James Nicols, 3 vols. (London: Longman et al, 1825).
Hartlib Papers	All references to Samuel Hartlib's papers are taken from the online database created by the University of Sheffield (https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib/).

~ Poetry Editions ~

All poetry of John Milton is from the following editions:

Paradise Lost, ed. by Alastair Fowler (London: Longman Pearson, 2007).

The Complete Shorter Poems, ed. by John Carey (London: Longman Pearson, 2007).

All poetry of Andrew Marvell is from the following edition:

The Poems of Andrew Marvell, ed. by Nigel Smith (London: Longman Pearson, 2007).

All poetry of Joost van den Vondel is from the following edition:

Vondel: Volledige Dichtwerken en oorspronkelijke Proza, ed. by Albert Verwey
(Amsterdam: H.J.W Becht, 1986).

All poetry and plays of John Dryden is from the following editions:

The Works of John Dryden, ed. by Edward Niles Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, 20 vols.
(Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974).

Preliminary Remarks

There are four things that need to be mentioned here: issues of dating, spelling of early modern English, referencing, and, lastly, as it is a multilingual work, the problems of translation. As this thesis looks at Anglo-Dutch relations from an English perspective, all dating is according to the Julian calendar. This means that important dates as discussed in Dutch sources are now converted to the English dating. This is with one exception: the dating of the letters of Vossius and Heinsius in Chapter VI, writing from various countries following the Gregorian calendar, are kept in the original dating for clarity's sake.

I have used modern editions for quotations from English primary sources when available. When unavailable, I have retained the original spellings, except that for ease of reading, I have modernised *f* and *v* to *s* and *u* respectively. In quotations from original Dutch I have changed *w* to *u* and *j* to *i*.

Then the issue of referencing: the first time a secondary source is mentioned in a chapter, I have given the full reference in a footnote, and for the rest of the chapter, the author's name and page reference. If I have used more than one work by the same author, I have also included a short title in the footnotes.

All Dutch quotations used in the thesis are translated by myself, unless otherwise stated in the footnotes. I am grateful for Mike Rose-Steel's help with editing the poems. I have decided to include all Dutch sources within the text itself, rather than presenting them in the footnotes, as having the translations side by side, in particular with poetry, is another illustration of the close links between the United Provinces and England, as well as enabling the reader to make comparisons. I felt it was important to preserve the poetic form and the robust enjoyment of full rhyme that almost all of Dutch poetry shares (in itself already an interesting contrast with Milton's free verse). Modern English syntax is much less forgiving than early modern Dutch (and modern Dutch for that matter), but in compensation, where necessary, I have allowed myself to exploit the modern English reader's habituation to less-than-royal rhyme. Similarly, I have tended to swap pentameters for the alexandrines of the originals, to suit English's natural flow. Hopefully, the original sense and rhyme-scheme can still be followed.

~ Introduction ~

Trompetter van Neptuin, heb ick op u een beê?
Rond met de wangen, en te wercke legt de longen;
Op dat te stijver aem ten hooren utgewrongen
Doe luistren weêr en windt: en kundightover zee,
Ut uwes Coninx naem, soo trouwe vaste vreê,
Als wordt geviert, wanneer d' ijsvoghel is in 't jongen.
Sijn volck, Oost wtgesejdt, houde' Æol al bedwongen,
Soo lang tot Huighens heb beseilt gewenschte reê.
Oft draelt ghij, en wilt eerst uw' meester oorlof vraeghen?
Geen noodt oock! Schipbreck kan Arjonnet vertzaeghen,
Dien de Dolfijn, als 't nauwt, moet dienen tot een schuit.
Sijn sang sal baeren bats en luitruftige buien
Licht tegens eighen aerdt van toghten woest opruien,
En maecken zeedigh zee en stormen met sijn luit.

Trumpeter of Neptune, will you hear my plea?
Round out your cheeks, deplete your lungs with force
Propel a more resounding breath thus forth:
Listen weather and wind, announce across the sea
In your king's name, enduring tranquility
As during the kingfisher's breeding comes,
His people, bar you easterlies, Aeolus already calms,
Until Huygens moors at his anticipated quay.
Or do you linger, for your master's license pause?
No need! No wreck can fright Arion from his course,
Who can in peril take the Dolphin as his craft.
His song shall incite waves and rolling squalls
To tame their own wild, passionate souls,
His lute becalms both sea and thunder with its art.

This poem by P.C. Hooft, ‘Behouden Reis Aen Heer Constantijn Huighens Naer Engelandt’ (Safe Journey for Constantijn Huygens to England) was first published in Huygens’ *Otia* (1625) as a commemoration of his journey to England in 1622. It is a typical Dutch sonnet, with full rhymes, in alexandrines, and heavily classically influenced. The crossing in the poem between the United Provinces and England illustrates the inspiration for this thesis, which charts the evolution of intellectual and cultural proximity of the United Provinces and England. Huygens is a prime example of a Dutch intellectual with strong English connections: he translated Donne’s poetry, was knighted by James I, and corresponded with several English scholars.¹ Hooft’s poem thus becomes more than merely the wish for a safe journey across the channel, but a metaphor for the influence of Dutch authors and intellectuals in England, and the exchange – always lively, at times stormy – that took place between the nations.

The Dutch in English Literature

Hooft’s depiction of a Dutch person travelling to England did not mark an isolated event. Great numbers of Dutch people emigrated to England throughout the sixteenth century, becoming London’s greatest alien population by the seventeenth.² Their presence left deep imprints in English culture; the first Anglo-Dutch dictionary was, for example, published as early as 1647, with an English as well as a Dutch introduction.³ Many examples of the close relations between the nations can be found in English poetry, drama and prose, revealing the impact of the Dutch as a people on England.

¹ There are four studies that have looked at Huygens and England: Rosalie L. Colie, *Some Thankfulness to Constantine: A Study of English Influence upon the Early Works of Constantijn Huygens* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956); A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596-1687* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Thea van Kempen-Stijgers and Peter Rietbergen, ‘Constantijn Huygens en Engeland’, in *Constantijn Huygens en zijn Plaats in Geleerd Europa* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1973): 77-141; Lisa Jardine, *De Reputatie van Constantijn Huygens: Netwerker of Virtuoos* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2008).

² Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 2.

³ Henry Hexham, *A Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionary* (Rotterdam: 1647).

Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (London: 1612, 1622), a quintessential national poem, even comments on the assimilation of Dutch settlers to an Anglo-Welsh existence.

But Time, as guilty since to mans insatiate theft,
Transfer'd the English names of Townes and households hither,
With the industrious Dutch since sojourning together.
When wrathfull heaven the clouds so liberally bestow'd,
The Seas (then wanting roomth to lay their boystrous loade)
Upon the Belgian marsh their pampred stomackes cast,
That peopled Cities sanke into the mighty wast.
The Flemings were inforc't to take them to their Ores,
To trie the Setting Maine to find out firmer shores;
When as this spacious Ile them entrance did allow,
To plant the Belgian stocke upon this goodly brow:
These nations, that their tongues did naturally affect,
Both generallie forsook the British Dialect:
[...]
A divination strange the Dutch made-English have,
Appropriate to that place (as though some Power it gave).⁴

For English playwrights, too, the Dutch provided some great material for jokes, as puns as well as stock characters. One only has to look at Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* to see the satirical value of the name and geography of the Low Countries:

Antipholus of Syracuse: And where stood Belgia, the Netherlands?
Dromio of Syracuse: Oh, sir, I did not look so low.⁵

(III.ii.142-143)

Thomas Middleton's and Thomas Dekker's comedy *The Roaring Girl* (London: 1611) contains several puns on the Low Countries, such as Mistress Openwork's reference to

⁴ Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion: A Chorographical Description of All the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britain* (London, 1622), Song 5 (South-Wales), pp. 80-81.

⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). All further quotations from Shakespeare are from this edition.

the Low Countries as the lower parts of the body: 'I send you for Hollands, and you're I'th'low countries with a mischief' (II. i. 120). This was based on another pun in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part II, made by Prince Harry to Poins: 'Because the rest of thy low/ countries have made a shift to eat up thy holland' (II. ii. 21-22). Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (London: 1600), furthermore, uses the conventions of a Dutch stock character by masking the main character as a Dutch shoemaker called Hans to comic effect. In prose, several short tracts satirise the Dutch nation, of which Owen Felltham's *A Brief Character of the Low Countries* (London: 1652) is perhaps best known. The Dutch can be found in English ballads at the time, historical overviews of the Low Countries by the English and polemical work on the Dutch.⁶ The examples are endless, as studies such as those by Marjorie Rubright and Lloyd Edward Kermode have shown.⁷ Although these representations of Dutchness are interesting and often amusing, Anglo-Dutch relations are more extensive and complex than the mere satirizing of a neighbouring country. This thesis therefore provides an overview of the mosaic of relations between the countries, and the deeper effects of this on English literature, in particular.

Studies on Anglo-Dutch Relations

In recent years, Anglo-Dutch relations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have received renewed critical attention, both in History and English.⁸ Several studies have been published lately, or soon will be published, that discuss the history and examine the literature of the Dutch Golden Age and its impact in Europe, and on Britain in

⁶ Anonymous, *A Broadside of the Dutch, with a Bounce, a Bounce, a Bounce* (London: 1672); William Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, laws forces, riches, manners, customs, revenue, and territory of the Dutch in three books* (London: 1669); Anonymus, *The Dutch Boar dissected, or a description of Hogg-land* (London: 1665).

⁷ Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas*, passim; Lloyd Edward Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), passim.

⁸ Even in English fiction the 'miracle' of the rise of the Dutch Republic and its culture has become a popular topic. To mention a few examples: Kim Devereux, *Rembrandt's Mirror* (London: Atlantic Books, 2015); Tracy Chevalier, *The Girl with the Pearl Earring* (London: The Borough Press, 2014); Jessie Burton, *The Miniaturist* (London: Picador, 2014); V.A. Richardson, *The House of Windjammer* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007).

particular.⁹ In their monographs, Helmer Helmers and Freya Sierhuis, for example, perform ground-breaking research that argues that the single nation narrative that has dominated early modern scholarship for so long fails to provide a complete picture of the period.¹⁰ Instead, these studies emphasise continuous exchange in religion, politics, learning and literature, meaning that it is inaccurate to think in terms of a closed national entity.¹¹ This is an approach I also take, by using Marvell's polemical remark that 'Holland is but the off-scouring of the English sand' as having the potential to illustrate that the borders between England and the Dutch Republic were actually as fluid as the channel separating them suggests.

Many studies of English literature now recognise the influence of Dutch intellectual thinking, scholarship and literature. Several mention the great Dutch humanist scholars or prominent poets and playwrights; the exact details of this exchange are, however, rarely explained. Philip Connell's recent *Secular Chains: Poetry & Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope*, recognises the importance of Dutch Humanism, especially Hugo Grotius for the works of John Selden and James Harrington, but does not give textual evidence of this influence or elaborate on how Grotius' thought was used by these English authors; nor is the Glorious Revolution (including the impact of the Dutch on the religious and political environment afterwards) mentioned in his study that covers ground from the English Revolution to the Enlightenment.¹² In a similar way, there are several studies that discuss Milton's and

⁹ *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic*, ed. by Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*; Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Forthcoming work by Andrew Fleck and Russ Leo, too, will focus on Anglo-Dutch relations.

¹⁰ Freya Sierhuis, *Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic: The Literature of the Arminian Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹¹ Paul Sellin is a passionate promotor of this approach to literary studies, see his article 'Royalist Propaganda and the Dutch Poets on the Execution of Charles I', *Dutch Crossing*, 24.2 (2000): 241-264.

¹² Philip Connell, *Secular Chains: Poetry & Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 39.

Marvell's religious convictions, but fail to mention the influence of Dutch theologians.¹³ This thesis, by contrast, endeavours to investigate the details as well as the impact of Anglo-Dutch relations in multiple aspects. As ever, there are a few exceptions that do venture into Dutch territory and make connections between European intellectuals with textual exemplification, such as Christopher Warren's *Literature and the Law of Nations*, which argues that the study of the law of nations only works on an international scene, reading literary texts in this paradigm as international works, a multi-cultured literature.¹⁴ Richard Tuck, too, covers this ground, by charting the international nature of political thinking.¹⁵ Nigel Smith's recent work examines the impact of a European scholarly milieu on English writers, such as Dutch tolerationist thinking in Milton's works, the impact of the English Revolution in Europe and beyond, and Marvell's European connections.¹⁶ This study will direct attention to the content and significance of Anglo-Dutch relations, rather than only acknowledging their existence, following in the footsteps of Smith, Tuck, Warren and Helmers by adopting a multi-national approach; it will argue that studies of nationhood in isolation are restrictive rather than descriptive.

One of the main aims of this project is to draw attention to Dutch literature and its relation to English writers, which is still surprisingly underexplored. David Loewenstein in *Milton and the Drama of History* mentions Joost van den Vondel's tragedy *Samson, of Heilige Wraak* in relation to Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, but the

¹³ Michael Lieb, *Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006); John Witte, *The Reformation of Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Christopher N. Warren, *Literature & The Law of Nations, 1580-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹⁵ Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Nigel Smith, 'Milton and the European Contexts of Toleration', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 23-44; Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); 'England, Europe, and the English Revolution', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. by Laura Lunga Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 30-40.

discussion does not go beyond a brief mention of the play.¹⁷ Vondel's work meets a similar fate in Christopher Kendrick's recent 'Typological Impulses in *Samson Agonistes*', which sets out to compare Vondel's play with Milton's, but Vondel disappears from view after the first third of the article.¹⁸ This wide-spread undervaluation is partly the result of the position that Dutch literature has been given in historical accounts of the Dutch Golden Age. In Russell Shorto's recently published book, *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City*, an account of the rise of a literary tradition in Amsterdam or the entire United Provinces is remarkably absent. When two of the most prominent Dutch poets are finally mentioned, P.C. Hooft and Vondel, it is because of their names rather than their poetical oeuvre:

In Dutch history [Cornelis Hooft] is best known as the father of one of the great poets in the language, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (who isn't read much these days and is probably familiar to most Amsterdammers only by virtue of the fact that the city's toniest shopping street is named after him) [...] Hooft was a stern-looking, deeply religious man who became so famous for his sense of fairness that the greatest of Dutch dramatists, Joost van den Vondel (also little read today but namesake of a large park in Amsterdam) characterized his role in the city's history in verse.¹⁹

Shorto is only one recent example of how the literary development of the United Provinces and its flourishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is often overlooked. Other prominent historians and literary critics, such as Lisa Jardine and Maarten Prak, do not include the Dutch literary milieu in their otherwise comprehensive overviews of the Golden Age, either.²⁰

¹⁷ David Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 140.

¹⁸ Christopher Kendrick, 'Typological Impulses in *Samson Agonistes*', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 84.2 (2015): 1-30

¹⁹ Russel Shorto, *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City* (London: Abacus, 2014), p. 135.

²⁰ Lisa Jardine, *Gedeelde Weelde*, transl. by Henk Schreuder (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij de Arbeiderspres, 2008); Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, transl. by Diane Webb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Perhaps we should blame Immanuel Kant for this trend of thought, who dismissed the Dutch and their literature in his *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime) (1764) in the follow snippet:

The Dutchman is of an orderly and industrious cast of mind, and since he looks only to what is useful, he has little feeling for what in a finer understanding is beautiful or sublime. For him a great man means the same as a rich man, by a friend he understands his business correspondents, and a visit that brings him no profit is very boring for him. He makes a contrast to both the Frenchman and the Englishman and is to a certain extent a very phlegmatic German.²¹

This view was repeated by his pupil Johann Gottfried Herder, who wrote that the Dutch were a ‘decadent trading nation with no feeling for poetry’.²² J. Huizinga writes of coming to accept that Dutch literature was largely ignored, and says about the case of Vondel that ‘[w]e, Dutchmen, know for sure that Vondel is part of the elite group of greatest writers of all times; we know too, and we accept this, that the world does not know him, nor ever will’, which could be applied to the other prominent poets and playwrights mentioned as well.²³ Rather than give in to Huizinga’s counsel of resignation, this study pursues a new approach, concentrating on a shared Anglo-Dutch literary sphere. Some previous studies have discussed Dutch authors and England; I will here uncover the significance, both explicit and implicit, of Anglo-Dutch relations for the works of English authors.²⁴ A new approach to Dutch literature and its influence on English literature lies at the heart of this study. This means not a charting of the

²¹ Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, ed. and transl. by Patrick Frierson and Paul Guyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 55.

²² Johann Gottfried Herder, qtd. in Dorothee Sturkenboom, ‘Staging the Merchant: Commercial Vices and the Politics of Stereotyping in Early Modern Dutch Theatre’, *Dutch Crossing*, 30.2 (2006): 211-228 (p. 212).

²³ J. Huizinga, *Nederland’s Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1926), p. 95.

²⁴ See footnote 1 for studies on Huygens and England. Another example would be George Edmundson’s, *Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature* (Toronto: Trubner & Co, 1885).

influence of England on Dutch authors, but rather Anglo-Dutch relations within the works of English authors.

As part of this new approach, I have looked at Dutch texts previously untranslated, or sometimes practically forgotten even in modern-day Netherlands, but which were well distributed in Europe. An example of this would be the Calvinist Johan de Brune (1588-1658), a contemporary of Jacob Cats, who now is rarely critically discussed and has never been fully translated. Appendix 4 of this thesis contains verse translations of five Dutch poets - Jacob Cats, P.C. Hooft, Joost van den Vondel, Constantijn Huygens, and Anna Maria van Schurman. All were well-known and part of the Republic of Letters, yet their poetry is rarely, if ever, translated into English.²⁵ The poems were chosen from among the much greater writings available because of their Anglo-Dutch links or Anglo-literary resonance. By making these texts more accessible to non-Dutch speakers, I hope to encourage recognition of Europe's much more complex cultural history than a narrative of single-state or single-language culture would allow.

Thesis Structure

This thesis analyses the role of Anglo-Dutch relations in John Milton's and Andrew Marvell's careers and works. These two canonical writers are case studies for the impact of the United Provinces on English authors who were active on the literary scene, but also the political. I will focus on four main areas of exchange: English travellers and the establishment of a Dutch stereotype, literature, religion, and politics, including trade.

²⁵ There are a few publications that have translated a number of poems (I have so far been unable to find any translations of the poems in this thesis). Some poems of Huygens have been translated in the following book: Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel, *A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596 – 1687)* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1996). Pieta van Beek has also translated several of Anna Maria van Schurman's poems in her work in English, foremost *The First Female University Student: Anna Maria van Schurman (1636)* (Utrecht: Igitur, 2010).

The thesis will argue that the broad exchange between the United Provinces and England was much more lively and significant than critics of seventeenth-century English literature have generally argued. The studies of Helmers and Sierhuis have already forged a path of direct and indirect intertextuality, by engaging with both English and Dutch sources, as well as critics. However, rather than following a narrowly-conceived political or religious development via a great density of related sources – in Helmers’ case the regicide in Dutch (and some English) sources, or in Sierhuis’ the impact of the Arminian controversy on polemical (mostly Dutch) religious texts and literature – I interrogate the works of two English authors, and how Anglo-Dutch relations in all their complex manifestations were present in the lives of two prominent English writers.

This thesis is divided into two parts: the first will lay-out a brief but detailed overview of the United Provinces in terms of religion, literature and politics. There are some excellent, all-compassing studies that discuss the rise and fall of the Dutch Republic in great depth, of which the studies by Jonathan Israel and Maarten Prak are perhaps foremost.²⁶ Others, such as those by Simon Schama and Lisa Jardine, have looked at specific characteristics of the Dutch Republic in its Golden Age.²⁷ In this thesis, specific aspects of Dutch culture will be explored in detail, such as its literary circles, the Arminian controversy, the rise of Dutch Republicanism, and Dutch ideas of religious toleration. Despite considerable scholarship on these areas of Dutch culture, it is still a challenge to find comprehensive studies on, for example, the content of the Arminian controversy. Several have discussed the great impact on all layers of society, yet the subtle and momentous issues at play within the concept of predestination are still

²⁶ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*.

²⁷ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987); Jardine, *Gedeelde Weelde*.

under-explored.²⁸ It is for this reason that the first four chapters are dedicated to an understanding of the Dutch Republic, with an emphasis on aspects of particular import for Milton's and Marvell's works. Given the output of these two authors, it makes natural sense to focus on poetry and prose, and, although I do discuss some plays and playwrights, dramatic material has generally been excluded. There is of course considerable scope for future research in this area (in particular, in John Dryden's works).

The approach I will take is that of a *renewed* Historicist approach that has been dominant in recent political and historical readings of literatures. Rather than reading literature as a distinct expression of a historical moment or period, or within a confined discussion of literary criticism, it is here seen as one of the aspects of a cultural response. Helmers' approach in his book, *The Royalist Republic*, has been a major inspiration for the examination of the texts in this thesis; his conclusion that this new version of New Historicism is more interested in a textualising of history, rather than a contextualising of literature is one I, too, adopt in my discussion of Anglo-Dutch relations in Milton and Marvell.²⁹ This allows a comparative discussion through different genres, images, languages, people and their geographies. It does not only make it important to understand that an exchange has taken place, but that questions about the manner, content and causes are just as crucial to an understanding of the multi-national cultural sphere. It leads to the conviction that literature, culture and history are part of the same network, enabling a more complete assessment of the period in which the texts were written.

²⁸ An example would be Sierhuis' study *Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic*, in which she does not elaborate on Perkins' and Beza's contribution to the predestination debate, nor elaborate on terms such as peculiar grace

²⁹ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 16.

Before such an introduction can begin, it is important to establish that I am portraying Dutch culture not from a Dutch perspective, but an English one. This does not necessarily mean that the presence of the English in the United Provinces is entirely overlooked, as several valuable studies have proven the importance of such an acknowledgement, but these are only discussed insofar as they are important for a complete discussion of Anglo-Dutch relations in England.³⁰ Chapter I, therefore, looks at the Dutch Republic through the eyes of English travellers. Only a couple of studies have recognised the importance of these travelogues to the Dutch Republic, and the wealth of information they can give us about the establishment of stereotypes, as well as the construction of the Dutch as ‘other’.³¹ These stereotypes proliferated during the Anglo-Dutch Wars, not least in Marvell’s poetry. The travelogues were distributed (more often in manuscript than print) throughout England, thereby introducing readers who themselves might not have travelled through the Low Countries to this nation across the channel.

A second form of interaction between England and the Dutch Republic was through the pan-European environment of scholarship. The Dutch universities of Leyden and Utrecht attracted great numbers of international students, of which some are introduced in Chapter II. The Dutch Republic, moreover, became the intellectual entrépot of Europe through its tolerant printing culture, influx of intellectual refugees, and expanding book trade. This chapter also discusses other forms of intellectual society. An example would be Dutch literary circles, who exchanged poetry and

³⁰ To mention a couple of examples: Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1982); C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); Alistair Duke, ‘The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618’, in *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 109-135.

³¹ Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland*; John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London: Yale University Press, 1989).

discussed ideas for reforming scholarship and education. There were similar circles in England, such as the Hartlib circle, and a comparative analysis between the two (which has not been done before) has revealed some insights into the intellectual milieu of Europe, of which both Milton and Marvell were part.

The third chapter will examine the religious milieu in the Netherlands, with an emphasis on the Arminian controversy and debates on religious toleration. These religious developments in the Netherlands had a massive effect on Protestant Europe, sparking serious changes to the religious culture of these countries. The chapter outlines the content of the predestination debate, because although many existing studies discuss the implications and effects of the debate in detail, the specific issue of predestination is often overlooked. The tolerationist discourse that was dominant in the Dutch Republic was echoed or answered in similar debates in England, in which Milton and Marvell participated.

The emergence of the Dutch political institution, a newly established republic, was closely observed by other countries in Europe, as Chapter IV illustrates. Justifications of the Dutch revolt featured prominently in Dutch intellectual thought at the time, in a similar way to how the Civil War and the Regicide were ruminated over in England. The similarities in anti-tyrannical rhetoric have not yet been fully explored by scholars of the English Commonwealth and Restoration. This chapter also presents another side of Anglo-Dutch relations: trading disagreements and diplomatic hostilities. Milton's and Marvell's political careers led to their involvement with the first two Anglo-Dutch Wars and several negotiations. The Dutch Republic's rise to world trading supremacy led to moments of great tension with England; examples are the Massacre of Amboyna, debates on the fight for dominance of the herring trade, and diplomatic relations with the native inhabitants of the East Indies.

These four chapters constituting Part I of the thesis all have their counterparts in Part II. Here, the ideas and historic developments introduced in the first chapters are related to Milton and Marvell in the second part. The travelogues and their representation of the Dutch found their way into satirical poetry about the Dutch, a movement to which Marvell contributed. These stereotypes are compared to the first acquaintances that the two writers had with the Dutch themselves, such as with Hugo Grotius and his works. Chapter VI will explore intellectual exchange with the Netherlands via indirect intertextuality between Dutch authors and Marvell's *Upon Appleton's House* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, as well as examining the reception of Milton's *Defences*, which explains a great deal about the relationship England had with the Dutch printing culture. Traces of Arminianism and Dutch toleration form the centre of Chapter VII through an investigation of Marvell's poetry and his prose works, *Remarks upon a Late Disingenuous Discourse* and *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, I and II, as well as Milton's *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Lost*. The last chapter of the thesis examines Dutch politics and trade through a political reading of *Samson Agonistes*. The Anglo-Dutch Wars, partly the result of trading disagreements, are discussed in relation to Marvell's *Painter Poems*, and Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the spice trade in *Paradise Lost*.

This will lead to new readings of two canonical authors with important but as yet not fully understood connections to the United Provinces. Their oeuvre is complex, their affiliations in terms of politics and religion, in Marvell's case, often difficult to define. Milton and Marvell scholarship has yet to arrive at a coherent consensus about the dating of their poems, their political and religious sympathies, publication history, and external influences on their works. This study will provide alternative analyses of some of their major poems by treating them not as quintessentially English poets, but as authors working in a European environment, with an active interest in foreign politics,

religion and literature. It will shed light on some of the ambiguities in their works, and the complex national and international contexts in which they were writing.

During the writing of this thesis, relations between England and European countries have become increasingly and dramatically topical. Even Hooft's poem to Huygens quoted above has been opened to new interpretations. The British media were filled with slogans promoting island politics and the reinforcing of national boundaries, with the climax (or perhaps, better, calamity) coming as Britain voted to leave the European Union. The journey of Huygens across the channel no longer pictures a battle with a tumultuous sea, but with a wall of aggressive rhetoric and the re-establishment of stereotypes. With this study, I hope that the nationalistic and xenophobic trend in political thinking will be challenged through scholarship and that more research will be dedicated to an exploration of exchange in Europe and beyond; there is much work to be done.

PART I

Dutch Contexts

Chapter 1

English Travellers in the Dutch Republic

During the Seventeenth Century

Having lately seen the State of the *United Provinces*, after a prodigious growth in Riches, Beauty, extent of Commerce, and number of Inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their Navies, their fortified Towns and standing-Forces, with a constant Revenue proportion'd to the support of all this Greatness), As made them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.

William Temple, 'Preface', *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1673), A3.

Travellers from Britain to the United Provinces played an immensely important role in diplomatic relations between the countries and therefore this first chapter of the thesis is dedicated to the experiences of British travellers in the United Provinces and, in particular, Holland. The images of the Netherlands that they portrayed in their works became part of the English imagination. Although Milton and Marvell had their own personal experiences with the Dutch nation, they will have been familiar with some of the stereotypes that lie at the heart of these travelogues, and their representation are echoed in Milton's and Marvell's works. Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century are rather contrasting in the first and second halves. The early seventeenth century is marked by the alliance between the two nations, in which they together fought against Spanish Catholic dominance in the southern provinces of the Low Countries, whereas the later part is overshadowed by hostility as a result of strong competition in commerce, leading to three Anglo-Dutch wars. The binding factor of a shared enemy was lost when the Treaty of Munster was signed in 1648 and trading

disagreements, furthermore, led to mutual aggravations, resulting in estrangement between the nations. Of course, this division of the century into two neat periods creates a highly artificial separation, but for the purpose of this thesis it is a helpful distinction. Travel journals, personal diaries or memoirs, correspondence, and other accounts of British travellers in the United Provinces offer a telling reflection on these cultural changes, nationalism, experiences and attitudes, and can therefore be used as personal responses to events past and present, as is shown in the above quotation of William Temple.³²

Although travel to the Continent generally had two purposes – firstly, education, in terms of the perfection of foreign languages and the acquisition of political and valuable acquaintances and, secondly, a way to gain military experience – travel diaries to the Low Countries are difficult to place in only one of these categories.³³ It is true that most of the educational travellers would take a route south on the Continent and visit the countries of the liberal arts: Italy and Greece for the classics and France for the language, and that for military purposes there were many voluntary British soldiers in the Low Countries in the early half of the seventeenth century. John Pory (1572? – 1633), writer and colonial administrator,³⁴ aptly described the United Provinces as a ‘University of Warre’.³⁵ The Republic of the Seven United Provinces, however, had its educational attractions, too, with its progressive literary environment, political structure

³² It is difficult to determine to what extent this response to the discourse of history is based on fact or fiction. Gabbard formulated the question that is central to the genre of travel literature: ‘if travelogues were to be placed somewhere on a spectrum in which “historical evidence” marks one end of that spectrum and imaginative literature the other, where on this range should we locate such writing?’ (p. 84). In this chapter I will follow Gabbard’s suggestion that travel diaries should not be observed as a historical reflection of a certain point and place in time, but as individual responses to historical events, places, cultures, etc.: D. Christopher Gabbard, ‘Gender Stereotyping in Early Modern Travel Writing on Holland’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 43.1 (2003): 83-100.

³³ Gerrit Verhoeven has greatly complicated this image of multiple purposes of travelling whilst looking at Dutch travelogues of the early seventeenth century and divided it into five different categories: Diplomacy, Culture, Education, Military, and Business. It, however, seems that culture, education and diplomacy, for example, are difficult to separate, see Gerrit Verhoeven, *Anders Reizen: Evolutes in Vroegmoderne Reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse Elites, 1600-1750* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2009), p. 78.

³⁴ Charlotte Fell-Smith, ‘Pory, John (bap. 1572, d. 1633)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁵ John Pory, ‘John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton, 1619’, in *John Pory: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts*, ed. by William Stevens Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pp. 166-167.

and prominent scholars, which will be discussed in later chapters. In this chapter, I will highlight a few specific characteristics of the United Provinces that feature heavily in travelogues of the Dutch Republic and that were later used in English satires of the Dutch, such as for example in Marvell's 'Character of Holland', to be discussed in Chapter V.

John Evelyn (1620-1706), who travelled through Europe, including the Low Countries, in the 1640s, writes in his *State of France* (1652) that the Dutch Republic was an essential part of the continental journey of the gentleman traveller. Evelyn suggests the best route for the young traveller is to go first to the Netherlands, then Germany, Italy, Spain and finally to Paris.³⁶ 'Thus I propose France in the last place, [...], after which with a competent tincture of their best conversation (for the over reservedness of the Italian, and the severity of the Spanyard, as well as the blunt garb of the Dutch, would in an Englishman be a little palliated; (for fear it become affected), he may return home and be justly reputed a most accomplished cavalier', which can serve as an informative illustration of the general characterisation of the different nations in Europe.³⁷ The Dutch 'blunt garb' is a clear reference to their conversational skills and their language, something that other travellers also noted, which will be elaborated upon below. His use of the word 'cavalier' is particularly interesting here, since the outcome of the educational journey, the establishment of the sophisticated gentleman, is united with that of fighting for 'the good cause', a gentleman of arms. Both the experiences of learning and military practise will then lead to a self-conscious man, from whom it is expected

[t]hat he know men, customs, courts and other disciplines, and whatsoever superior excellencies the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble

³⁶ George B. Parks, 'John Evelyn and the Art of Travel', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10.3 (1947): 251-276 (p. 254).

³⁷ John Evelyn, *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Upcott (London: Henry Culborn, 1825), p. 51.

impressions. This is, Sir, the fruit of travel; [...] When a gallant man shall return with religion and courage, knowledge and modesty, without pedantry, without affection, material and serious, to the contentment of this relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his family.³⁸

A journey through the five countries would serve as a preparation for public service, and knowledge of foreign cultures could be used to prosper international trade.³⁹ This involved learning the languages of the countries; the traveller should have ‘mastered the tongue, frequented the Courts, looked into their customs, been present at their pleading, observed their military discipline, contracted acquaintance with their learned men, studied their arts, and become familiar with their dispositions’.⁴⁰ Perhaps all valuable advice from Evelyn, if somewhat opportunistic, as almost all the social contacts that Evelyn made in the Low Countries were English – the Queen of Bohemia, English Jesuits, English regiments and English ministers.⁴¹

The acquisition of foreign languages as recommended by Evelyn was a relatively new development, since the Elizabethan attitude to travel was more hesitant and even somewhat suspicious. Guidebooks and manuals for the Elizabethan traveller in particular emphasised the hazardous circumstances of travel and these new experiences; Sir Robert Darlington’s *A Method for Travell Shewed by Taking the View of France, As it Stood in the Yeare of Our Lord 1598*, for example, argues that the experience of seeing new cultures and governments could be beneficial for one’s country, but that the traveller should be warned ‘that innovation could be dangerous’ and ‘that they should steer clear of undesirables, such as Jesuits; and that they should also be suspicious of excessive luggage, misleading guidebooks, clothes, and foreign wines, meat and games

³⁸ John Evelyn, ‘Letter to Edward Hurland, 8 November 1658’, in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. by John Forster, 4 vols. (London: Colburn & Co. Publishers, 1857), vol. 1, pp. 585-586.

³⁹ Douglas Bush, *English Literature of the Early Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 171

⁴⁰ Evelyn, *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 46.

⁴¹ Parks, pp. 256-257.

such as tennis'.⁴² Fynes Moryson (1565? – 1630), traveller and writer, who traversed the continent in an elaborate tour during the end of the sixteenth century, warily and almost indignantly describes the dangers of learning these languages:⁴³

Children like Parrots, soone learne forraigne languages, and sooner forget the same, yea, and their mothers tongue also. A familiar friend of mine lately sent his sonne to Paris, who after two yeeres returning home, refused to aske his father's blessing after the manner of England, saying, Ce n'est pas le mode de France, It is not the French fashion. Thus whilest (like Apes) they imitate strange fashions, they forget their owne, which is iust as if a man should seeke his perdition, to gaine a cloake for ornament.⁴⁴

The Elizabethan mode, as we see in this quotation, was more of a (sometimes blunt) British nationalism that was nonetheless vulnerable to being affected or rather infected by too many cultural experiences. On the other hand, the attitude that Evelyn recommends in his guide for the traveller is that of a chameleon, in which the traveller would fully adapt to the different national cultures and use this knowledge to serve their country upon their return in, for example, the civil service or the foreign office, something that both Milton and Marvell did. Marvell's poem, 'To his Worthy Friend Doctor Witty' (1650) presents Englishness as an incorruptible force, but one that can use knowledge of other countries to their advantage: 'Her native beauty's not Italianated, /Nor her chaste mind into the French translated:/ Her thoughts are English, though her sparkling wit/ With other language doth them fitly fit' (ll. 23-26).

In the 1650s, Milton, too, writes in a letter to Henry de Brass that knowledge, including languages, should be sought out and accumulated: 'I perceive, Sir, that you very wisely and properly follow the example of the ancient philosophers in the conduct

⁴² Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 39.

⁴³ Edward H. Thompson, 'Moryson, Fynes (1565/6–1630)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Fynes Moryson (1592), *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tong [...]* (London: 1617), Part III, Book I, pp. 2-3.

of your travel, and aim not merely at the satisfaction of youthful curiosity, but at the acquisition of wider knowledge from every possible source'.⁴⁵ Milton, however, uses the ancient philosophers as an example and therefore followed the traditional route south on the Continent to Italy and France, and recommends de Brass to do the same. He continues by writing that only a few of the travellers nowadays travel according to this principle, which illustrates that the emphasis was no longer on chasing the ancient cultures of the Romans and the Greeks, but as other countries with more progressive and modern civilisations, such as France and the Dutch Republic became more popular travel destinations. Of course, Italy was still attractive because of the antiquities and ancient history, but in Douglas Bush's words 'the sun of Italian Humanism had set'.⁴⁶ There were even writers such as Sir Thomas Palmer, who writes in *An Essay of the Meanes How to Make Our Travailles, Into Forraine Countries, More Profitable and Honourable* (1606), that many countries in Western Europe were worth visiting, except Italy, as the universities there 'are little beneficiall for a Generalist' and the ancient monuments and treasure 'are a fantastick attracter, and a glutton-feeder of the appetite, rather than of necessarie knowledge'.⁴⁷ France as a centre of learning, language and sophistication, and the Dutch Republic as a result of religious similarities, military cooperation and commercial competition, became part of the Grand Tour.⁴⁸ Some travellers, such as Marmaduke Rawdon and Sir William Brereton, visited the Low Countries only and not as part of a greater scheme. According to their diaries the United Provinces was culturally and scientifically sufficient.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ John Milton, *Private Correspondences and Academic Exercises*, transl. and ed. by Phyllis B. Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 41.

⁴⁶ Bush, p. 171.

⁴⁷ Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes How to Make Our Travailles More Profitable and Honourable* (London, 1606), pp. 42-43.

⁴⁸ The term Grand Tour was already in use during the late seventeenth century, see Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: John Lane, 1914), pp. 141-171.

⁴⁹ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 181.

Although the number of travellers in the Netherlands increased throughout the seventeenth century, the number of travel diaries of the Low Countries was still relatively small. There were many reasons for English and Scots to go to the Dutch Republic, ranging from diplomatic visits to trading, to attending the renowned universities and medical school. Christopher Gabbard argues that the lack of travel accounts is the result of war danger, trading hostility and the Low Countries not being part of the Grand Tour itinerary: 'In sum, tourists either avoided Holland out of fear or ignored it on account of its lack of a classical past'.⁵⁰ John Stoye argues that the lack of travel accounts is because 'there were no great monuments or ancient treasure, universally famed, which every educated man was required to inspect for himself, and the local language and literature was not worth studying'.⁵¹ The assumption that Gabbard and Stoye make here, namely that the paucity of travel diaries reflects a scarcity of travellers, is inaccurate. From the registers of passport officials, it can be observed that there was a busy passage across the North Sea by English travellers from all classes. For example, between September 1637 and September 1638, the records show that 339 English passengers, varying from tailors to soldiers and a gentleman, made the journey across the channel to the Netherlands.⁵² Perhaps the travellers to the Netherlands were not the people who would keep a travel diary, as this was normally an activity for members of the English gentry. It is true that there is a neglect of the United Provinces in travel diaries when looking at the body of travel diaries as whole. However, when taking the individual travel accounts that do exist of the Dutch Republic into consideration, such as Brereton's, Moryson's, Evelyn's and many others, there is a great deal more to say about the Low Countries as part of the Grand Tour and the

⁵⁰ Gabbard, p. 85.

⁵¹ Stoye, pp. 173-174.

⁵² Stoye, p. 173.

culture it offered to the traveller, as well as being a destination with important religious and political connections for the Englishman.

There were several routes that the English traveller could take into the Low Countries. A direct passage from Gravesend to Flushing or Hellevoetsluits appears to have been the most usual route; it was, nonetheless, a dangerous one, as there were pirates from Dunkirk, treacherous sandbanks all along the coast, altering tides and heavy storms.⁵³ The experienced traveller Peter Mundy writes about the crossing in his diary: 'I have undergone in these fifteen days five times more hazards of losing life and all in coming but about 45 leagues, than I have done these 25 years in sailing above 25,000 leagues to and fro'.⁵⁴ A somewhat less experienced traveller, George Gascoigne found the passage so dangerous and adventurous that it was a worthy topic for his long poem 'Gascoigne's Voyage into Hollande, an. 1571'.

When from Gravesend in boate I gan to jette
To boorde our shippe in Quinborough that lay.
From whence the very twentieth day we set
Our sayles abrode to slice the salt sea fome,
And ancors weyde gan trust the trustlesse floud:
That day and night amid the waves we rome
To seeke the coast of Holland where it stoode,
And on the next when we were farre from home,
And neare the haven whereto we sought to sayle,
A fearly chaunce: (whereon alone to think
My hande now quakes, and all my senses fayle)
[...]
Mee thinkes I heare the fearefull whispring noyse,
Of sach as sayde full softely (me beside),

⁵³ C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁴ Peter Mundy (1639), *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, 5 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), vol. IV, p. 61

God graunte this journey cause us to rejoyce.⁵⁵

Although this could be a somewhat dramatised account of the travel, it nevertheless illustrates some of the dangers that the passengers faced in a relatively short distance over the sea.⁵⁶ The journey over water could be shortened by taking the passage from Dover to Calais and thereafter travelling overland north through the Spanish Netherlands. This was not an appealing option, however, since travellers were often held up by Spanish soldiers, roads were in bad condition and it was not possible to travel north in trekschuiten or sailing boats, which would lengthen the journey considerably and lead to greater expenses. A route from Hull to Rotterdam was also possible and would only take up to two days with good weather, but with bad weather four or even more.⁵⁷ The hazardous weather conditions that Mundy describes could lead to greater problems on this route, as it was considerably longer. It was, nonetheless, particularly convenient for merchants from eastern England (especially East-Anglia and Yorkshire) who would travel back and forth several times a year.⁵⁸

Whereas the route from Calais would bring travellers to the Low Countries via Antwerp to Bergen op Zoom and from there into the province of Holland, the Gravesend route would take them to Flushing/Hellevoetsluis, from where they would most likely travel over the islands of Zeeland to Brielle or Brill. In both cases they would have entered the Low Countries from the south and would from there travel upwards to the rich and important province of Holland. When looking at travel diaries from the period between 1592 and 1678, it can be concluded that most travellers

⁵⁵ George Gascoigne, 'Gascoigne's Voyage into Hollande, an. 1751', in *Gascoigne's Complete Works*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), vol. I, pp. 354-363 (pp. 355-356).

⁵⁶ Seventeenth-century Dutch travelogues that describe the journey from the Netherlands to England also mention the dangerous passage, see for example, Balthasar Bekker travelling to England in 1683, C.C. Neander in 1680-1683, Gerard Horenken in 1667-1668 and Hendrik Jordens in 1684-1685.

⁵⁷ Stoye, p. 68.

⁵⁸ Stoye, pp. 173-174.

primarily only travelled through the provinces of Holland.⁵⁹ There are a few exceptions – such as Robert Bargrave – who first visited Germany and then via the provinces of Gelderland and Utrecht travelled westward to Holland, and military volunteers – such as John Evelyn – who travelled eastward, following the boundaries with the Spanish Netherlands, where all the fighting actions and sieges took place. The most visited cities and towns in Holland were Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden, Haarlem, Alkmaar, The Hague and Dordt. Utrecht and Brill in the provinces of Utrecht and Zeeland were also frequently visited; both were close to Holland and conveniently placed for journeys to the Spanish Netherlands.⁶⁰

When travelling through all provinces of the Republic in the early half of the seventeenth century, it was near impossible to miss some of the military action close to the border with the Spanish Netherlands. Alison Games makes the valuable point that besides Ireland, the Low Countries was the only place where English soldiers could get large-scale combat experience.⁶¹ Occasionally these sieges became popular tourist attractions. Brereton, Coryat, Moryson and Resesby all describe large numbers of British tourists that came to see the action.⁶² If war experiences were recorded in the travel journals or personal diaries, they are only of a very brief nature and the war's influence on Dutch culture is often not even mentioned, despite the fact that some of the travellers came specifically to study the fortifications and to gain military experience, such as Ralph Thoresby in 1678.⁶³ A rare exception to this is the diary of Thomas Denne, who travelled through Holland in 1646-1648; a few years before this journey, he travelled through the north of France, where the destruction of the Eighty Years' War

⁵⁹ See for full details Appendix 1.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 1.

⁶¹ Alison Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Connections and Overseas Enterprises: A Global Perspective on Lion Gardiner's World', *Early American Studies*, 9.2 (2011): 435-461 (p. 439).

⁶² C.D. van Strien, p. 11.

⁶³ C.D. van Strien, p. 4.

was much more visible than in the rich United Provinces. He made valuable comparisons between the situations of both nations after the war had finished; the diary of his second journey consequently emphasises the fortresses and Dutch/English troops in the United Provinces, in particular in the beginning of the diary when travelling north and passing the border with the Spanish Netherlands.⁶⁴

George Gascoigne also travelled to the Low Countries as a voluntary soldier and combined these experiences in his 207-stanza poem 'Dulce Bellum Inexpertis'. In the introduction to the poem, dedicated to Lord Grey of Wylton, Gascoigne writes that 'the verse is rough. And good reason, sithence it treateth of rough matters, but if the scene be good than have I hyt the mark which I shote at'.⁶⁵ Military experience as a literary subject is thus possible, but it would not be considered refined or sophisticated, in particular when comparing it to travel diaries of the seventeenth century that were mainly occupied with the civilised subjects of society and culture. Gascoigne explicitly mentions in the poem itself that he will not endeavour to present the wonders of the world, as travellers do in their travel diaries:

Then what is warre? Define it right at last,
And let us set all olde sayde, sawes aside,
Let poets lie, let painters faigne as fast,
Astronomers' let marke how stares do glide,
And let these Travellers tell wonders of the world wide:
But let us tell by trustie prouue of truth,
What thing is warre which raiseth all this ruth.⁶⁶

(ll. 81-88)

⁶⁴ D. Gardiner, 'Some Travel Notes During the Thirty Years' War', *History* 25.97 (1940): 13-14.

⁶⁵ George Gascoigne, 'To the Right honourable and mine especiall good Lorde, The Lorde Greye of Wylton', in *Gascoigne's Complete Works*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), vol. I, p. 140.

⁶⁶ George Gascoigne, 'Dulce Bellum Inexpertis', in *Gascoigne's Complete Works*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), vol. I, p. 143.

For Moryson, however, the war with Spain became part of his overview of the Low Countries and part of the culture he encountered; he unites what Gascoigne tries to separate. He first toured around Germany before entering the Low Countries from the east in the late sixteenth century and witnessed the Dutch army in their battle for Getrudenberg and at Bergen op Zoom; he stayed with the English troops, with the enemy only three miles away. His diary, nonetheless, is predominantly occupied with the several tourist sights, people and Dutch culture, and the war is only mentioned on a few occasions.⁶⁷

Another military volunteer, Evelyn, as aforementioned, travelled to the Low Countries with the intention of joining the English forces. He took a passage from Gravesend to Flushing and when he passed the Island of de Vere, from which the famous Earls of Oxford derive their name, he mused upon the honour of the family ‘who have spent so much blood in assisting the state during their wars’.⁶⁸ He joined the forces in 1641, 21 years old at the time. He reached the camps in July near Genep – just missing out on the siege in the city a fortnight before – and after ten days he left the camps, as circumstances, with the sun burning on the canvas of his tent and at night the camp being ‘infested with fogs and mists’, were altogether insufferable.⁶⁹ Although he did not participate in any of the great sieges, he was still required to stand guard and perform other daily military duties; he thus received a sense of the impact of the Eighty Years’ War in the Dutch Republic. The diary that resulted from his short tour through the Low Countries nevertheless only very briefly mentions his time in the army, but

⁶⁷ This I can only argue based on the published sections of Moryson’s diary, as I have not taken the unpublished manuscript version into account: Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, MS. no. xciv.

⁶⁸ John Evelyn (1641), *The Travel Diary of John Evelyn*, ed by William Bray (London: Walter Dunne, 1901), pp. 16-17.

⁶⁹ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 19.

mainly considers his cultural visits afterwards. It is possible that Brereton, a parliamentary general, who travelled in Holland in 1634, also fought in the Netherlands, though there is no evidence of such an enterprise in his travel journal.⁷⁰ This does not argue that the war itself and its traces in Dutch society were not dominantly present and visible for the travellers, as it was after all an ‘international war, a civil war, a religious war, a class war, all rolled into one’, shaping the Dutch Republic as the travellers saw it.⁷¹ It, however, illustrates the problem of the nature of the travel diary; military volunteers, even if they were gentlemen, would not keep a diary of the events occurring and when they toured around Holland after their military enterprise; the war was barely mentioned as it did not fit the fashionable requirements and purpose of the seventeenth-century travel journal, which was after all mainly meant to take the fireside reader on a journey to new places, cultures and experiences.⁷²

The English attitude towards the voluntary service in the Netherlands was varied and the alliance between the two nations was a complex one.⁷³ The image of rebellion that the seven northern provinces showed could mean a risk to the established order in Britain. At the same time, however, there was a group of English and Scottish Protestants who believed that a nation under the suppression of Catholic Spain should be assisted in their struggle.⁷⁴ Others felt that the efforts of the British would come to better use in Britain itself, and that the Dutch were ungrateful for their support. Naturally British travellers were aware of these attitudes when visiting the Dutch Republic and seeing the cities and town that were most affected by the Eighty Years’ War. Marmaduke Rawdon wrote in the 1660s when seeing the islands of Zeeland that

⁷⁰ Stoye, p. 174.

⁷¹ Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1970), p. 3.

⁷² Hadfield, pp. 32-33.

⁷³ John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 281-289.

⁷⁴ Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. XIV.

the towne of Flushing, beinge one of the keyes of Holland, and one of the townes which was pownd unto Queene Elizabeth, of which for the said Queene the famous Sir Philip Sidney was once governour, and was afterwards, with the Sluce, Ramekins, and the Brill, delivered up by Kinge James to the Hollanders, which if they had nott bene, we should have kept those rebell Hollanders in more subjection.⁷⁵

Some of Zeeland's 'cautionary' towns that Rawdon mentions here were felt by many Britons to be part of their empire and very valuable when it came to the defence of England against the Spanish.⁷⁶ When Sydney arrived in Flushing to take up a high position in the army, he wrote to Leicester about the value of these towns for Queen Elizabeth: 'I find the people very glad of me [...] how great a jewel this is to the crown of England and the Queen's safety I need not write it to you Lordship, who knows it so well'.⁷⁷ Well-known aristocrats such as Sidney, Sir Francis de Vere, Earl of Oxford and several others, were killed whilst protecting the Protestant nation of the Dutch Republic, resulting in a general feeling of pride amongst the British travellers in their contribution. Many of them, by extension, felt that the Dutch were in Britain's debt and should therefore be more accommodating towards Britain's growing trade empire, such as Moryson, who also wrote: 'if the Dutch with their powerful fleet decided to forget their 'old league with England [...] then such bloody fights at sea [were] like to happen as former ages never knew', an interesting premonition of what was still to come.⁷⁸

Instead of describing a nation at war, the travelogues focus on the culture in the United Provinces after the fashion of the ambassador's journal, which was mainly occupied with references to local customs, important people, cultural sights,

⁷⁵ Marmaduke Rawdon, *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York*, ed. R. Davies (London: Camden Society, 1863), p. 109

⁷⁶ Guy, pp. 285-287.

⁷⁷ Sir Philip Sidney, qtd. in Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney, Courtier Poet* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 281.

⁷⁸ Fynes Moryson, qtd. in van Strien, p. 10.

government and religion.⁷⁹ Although some diarists or travel writers intended to provide knowledge of strange cultures to the readers at home, combined with exotic descriptions and entertainment, the majority of the travel accounts about the Netherlands were not published or even intended for publication, but were circulated in manuscript form and sometimes posthumously published.⁸⁰ As Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh argue, ‘travel was indeed frequently a mode of knowledge-gathering based on the promise of an access to an understanding of new land, people, and cultures’.⁸¹ Both Moryson’s and Coryat’s diaries were written in Latin and afterwards translated into English for a broader audience, which does support the argument that a number of travel journals were used as a way of conveying knowledge and indeed intended to be published, despite the fact that the majority of the travel diaries circulated in small circles and were not published until centuries afterwards.

Whether written for publication or friends, for merchants and proto-colonists or home entertainment, many diaries describe the same cultural sights, local myths and influential people. These observations were, however, from a distance, as most of the travellers would stay at English inns and visit English churches, whilst meeting English acquaintances or English diplomats.⁸² Moryson, for example, received most of his information on the Low Countries by talking to ‘the many English who have lived long in that country’.⁸³ When the travellers did converse with the Dutch, it was often in French, as William Mountague observes: ‘it was our fortune to converse but seldom

⁷⁹ William H. Sherman, ‘Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 17-36 (p. 27).

⁸⁰ James Buzard, ‘The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 37-52 (p. 38).

⁸¹ Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh, ‘Introduction’, to *Travel Knowledge: European “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001): 1-16 (p. 5).

⁸² Van Strien, p. 97.

⁸³ Fynes Moryson, qtd. in Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 2.

with the Dutch, tho' many of them speak prompt French'.⁸⁴ The majority of the travellers did not go to the effort of learning the Dutch language, as conversations with gentlemen would be in either French or Latin. It was not considered a necessary language for a gentleman, especially since it was not spoken but 'sputtered' according to Mountague.⁸⁵ Travellers that only toured for a few weeks or even months through Holland, such as Evelyn and Brereton, could easily manage without the native language, as English guides, aristocrats, and bankers were available, and additionally, a considerable number of Dutch people had sufficient knowledge of English.⁸⁶ When the traveller could not find a French or English speaker, it was often taken light-heartedly and solved with universal hand gestures: 'Five miles from Dort: where is a small Blockhouse & a Custome house: and here by Signes and broken language, I procurd better entertainment then my frends could propound or I expect'.⁸⁷

There are several characteristics that almost all travelogues display, whether in the confirmation of a certain stereotype or an explanation of the behaviour of the Dutch. I have decided to elaborate on only a few of these observations – cleanliness, the draining of the land and the humoural disposition of the Dutch– since these are particularly interesting when it comes to discussing satirical representations of the Dutch and the established stereotype in Chapter V. One of the first things many travelogues describe is the cleanliness displayed in the cities in Holland.⁸⁸ The cities in the east and north, perhaps excluding Friesland, are generally described as comparable with English cities and towns, but the cities of Holland often surprised the traveller with

⁸⁴ William Mountague, *The delights of Holland: or, A three months travel about that and the other provinces With observations and reflections on their trade, wealth, strength, beauty, policy, &c. together with a catalogue of the rarities in the anatomical school at Leyden. By William Mountague, Esq.* (London: 1669), pp. 53-54.

⁸⁵ Mountague, p. 4.

⁸⁶ C.D. van Strien, p. 99.

⁸⁷ Robert Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, 1647-1656*, ed. by Michael G. Brennan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999), p. 169.

⁸⁸ Boy Wander, 'Zindelijke Nederland: Opmerkingen over de Hygienische Toestanden in ons Land gevonden in Reisjournalen van Vreemdelingen (1517-1810), *Volkskunde*, LXXV (1974): 169-201, provides a full schematic overview of the mentioning of cleanliness in travel diaries from several European countries, pp. 192-197.

their ‘exceedingly cleane’ and ‘superstitiously neat, as is fitter for sight then use’ streets and houses.⁸⁹ Temple describes a scene in which the mayor was carried out of the house by a maid because his shoes were dirty, and Felltham humorously remarks that if you were to fall out of the high Dutch beds and break your neck, your relatives would at least have the comfort of knowing ‘that you did it in clean linnen’.⁹⁰ Some travellers speculate on the origin of this obsessive cleanliness and link it to the humidity of the Dutch climate, as ‘their Country is a Bog, a Marsh, full of Vapours and Fogs, which are Earthy, and Sulphureous, and send forth unpleasant and unwholsom Scents’.⁹¹ They argue that the cleaning would prevent wood and metals from rotting and rusting away;⁹² ‘every door seems studded with Diamonds. These nails and hinges hold a constant brightness, as if rust there were not a quality incident to Iron’.⁹³

The first observations of the cleanliness of the Dutch emerged decades before the Golden Age, and thus before Dutch republican patriotism, Spanish rule or even before the Reformation, if one takes Erasmus’ works into account, who already noted Dutch cleanliness.⁹⁴ Bas van Bavel and Oscar Gelderblom argue instead that the Dutch stereotype of obsessive brushing, scrubbing, dusting and sweeping, as observed by British travellers, was linked to the massive quantities of butter and cheese that the Dutch produced. Bacteria had not yet been discovered, but dairy farmers already made the connection between sterility and the time the dairy product could last; the quality was better and could therefore be transported to markets further away, leading to greater profit. When people migrated from the countryside to the wealthy cities of Holland,

⁸⁹ Bargrave, pp. 164, 167.

⁹⁰ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), p. 377; Owen Felltham, *Three Weeks of Observations of the Low Country, Especially Holland* (London: 1672) p. 16.

⁹¹ Mountague, p. 39.

⁹² Bas van Bavel and Oscar Gelderblom, ‘The Economic Origins of Cleanliness in the Dutch Golden Age’, *Past & Present*, 205.1 (2009): 41-69 (p. 42)

⁹³ Felltham (1672), p. 17.

⁹⁴ Van Bavel and Gelderblom, p. 44.

they took their clean customs with them and spread standards of hygiene throughout the United Provinces.⁹⁵ It is plausible that the stereotype originated with the commercialisation of the dairy business but it developed into a certain attitude characteristic of Hollanders. An additional factor was that the cities in Holland and the province as a whole were densely populated and hygiene was necessary in order to prevent outbursts of plague and other diseases. In 1673, Temple writes in his *Observations Upon the United Provinces* that ‘the extream moisture of the Air, I take to be the occasion of the great neatness in their Houses, and cleanliness in their Towns. For without the help of those Customs, their Countrey would not be habitable by such Crowds of people, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the inhabitants to general and infectious Diseases’, again connecting the cleanliness to the climate in the Republic.⁹⁶

Although the observation of cleanliness and neatness was often made in urban environments, in particular the cities of Holland, travellers sometimes noted the same of rural villages. When Bargrave travelled up north to Amsterdam he remarked that the land ‘round about us is every where bespotted with pretty Villaes and Guardens, so neatly contriv’d, & handsomely adornd, that together with the view of the City, of the Seae, & the little Woods of Shipps neer it, they make up a most noble Prospect’ and even the sceptical Felltham notes that the ‘Land that they have they keep as neatly as a Courtier does his Beard’.⁹⁷ When travelling through the polders of Holland, travellers observed that the Dutch created this flat land themselves and that it was neatly structured with carefully dug canals and symmetrically placed trees: ‘the ways [through the land are] distinguished with ranges of Trees, which makes it the pleasantest

⁹⁵ Van Bavel and Gelderblom, pp. 41-69.

⁹⁶ Sir William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, ed. by Sir George Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 80.

⁹⁷ Bargrave, p. 164; Felltham, p. 11.

Summer-Landschip of any Countrey I have seen of that sort'.⁹⁸ Temple writes that it looked as if the Dutch made an agreement with the sea and that 'the soil of the whole Province of Holland is generally flat like the Sea in a calm, and looks as if after a long contention between Land and Water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them'.⁹⁹ He refers to some of the floods that occurred in the winter and Brereton also mentions a terrible flood in 1634.¹⁰⁰ This fact was also often used to satirise the Dutch ability to change mud into a land of gold, although sometimes unsuccessfully, which Felltham's metaphors rather amusingly describe: 'they are an universal quag-mire epitomiz'd. A green cheese in pickle. There is in them an Equilibrium, of mud and Water. A strong Earthquake would shake them to a Chaos, from which the successive force of the Suu, rather than Creation, hath a little emended them. They are the ingredients of a black pudding, and want only stirring together'.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the sight of the staggering numbers of windmills that dominated the Dutch landscape, in particular that of Holland, was admired by several travellers. During the travel from Haarlem to Amsterdam, Brereton went on an excursion in order to understand the workings of the 'excellent windmills': 'by help also of two over-cross ditches, which receive all the water, and convey it unto these windmills, which are spacious and neat dwelling houses; only their roof is to turn with the wind, the lower part immovable', another reference to the apparent hosophobia of the Dutch.¹⁰²

When looking at maps and city plans from the period, a general impression can be given of the windmills – postmills, towermills and smockmills – as a feature of the Dutch landscape and how this must have influenced the traveller's perception of the

⁹⁸ Temple, p. 79.

⁹⁹ Temple, p. 77.

¹⁰⁰ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland (1634-1635)*, ed. by Edward Hawkins (Manchester: Chatham Society, 1844), p. 15.

¹⁰¹ Felltham (1672), p. 3.

¹⁰² Brereton, p. 62.

countryside and the Dutch as a people.¹⁰³ During the Dutch revolt and afterwards, windmills became symbols of endurance and self-recognition, crucial to the establishment of a national identity, something that the newly founded Republic was in desperate need of. As Schama argues, the struggle against water or ‘the drowning cell’ ‘equated [Dutchness with its transformation of water into land], under divine guidance, of catastrophe into good fortune, infirmity into strength, water into dry land’.¹⁰⁴ The laborious creation of new land became part of the Republic’s independence from Spain and the Dutch established themselves as rulers on their own newly dried land – an interesting example of how some of the observations by the travellers, such as the amount of windmills, resonate in a much wider political context. Brereton experienced religious feelings when observing the flat lands, and writes that ‘herein to be admired the wonderful providence of God, inasmuch as the sea doth not overflow the land, lying so much below it’.¹⁰⁵ It is for this reason that windmills are often associated with Christ’s crucifixion, visible, for example, in the paintings by the Catholic Hieronymus Bosch.¹⁰⁶ The windmill became the purifier of the land, to the same extent that Christ purified humankind. Whether the British travellers were aware of this pious image of the windmill or not, it nevertheless symbolised the Dutch struggle for independence from both the sea and the Spanish.

The previously mentioned references to the moist air and climate in the northern Provinces are also often used to describe the Dutch balance of humours, or more accurately according to the travellers, the imbalance. Mountague even uses it as an apology for the apparently excessive drinking habits of the Dutch and writes that:

¹⁰³ See Appendix 2

¹⁰⁴ Schama, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Brereton, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Schama, p. 489.

These are the Wine-Bibbers, for the common *Dutch* are satisfied with a sopie of Brandy-Wine, a Dram of that Liquor does their Business better, it keeps out the Cold and the Fogs, quickens them, and makes them fitter for Action; and, indeed, they seem to have some occasion for it, for they are naturally slow and heavy, but then very diligent and constant, else 'twould have been impossible to have finish'd such great Works as they to their Honour, and the Safety of their Country have happily atchiev'd. And indeed strong and spirituous Liquors seem to me to be more necessary for, as well as natural to this Nation, conducing mightily to the conservation of their Health, which must needs be fluctuating, where the Air is so foul: Their Country is a Bog, a Marsh, full of Vapours and Fogs, which are Earthy, and Sulphureous, and send forth unpleasant and unwholsom Scents; and therefore their frequent Tippling ought not to be charg'd on them as a Crime, especially by a Neighbour-Nation (the *English*) who have a better Country, and a better Air, and are in their own Natures more lively, brisk, and pert, having more Heat, more Fire within, are as Cholerick as the t'other Flegmatick, drudge not like them, therefore want not the like Supports, being lazy and idle People, chusing rather (some of 'em) to starve than work.¹⁰⁷

Mountague explains the use of liquor as necessary for preserving the balance of humours, similar to their staple diet. Temple also elaborates on the diet of the Dutch and says that 'they feed most upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means I suppose neither their strength nor Vigour seems answerable to the Size or Bulk of their Bodies'.¹⁰⁸ Mountague, writing several decades after Temple, responds to this and argues that 'they who have not travell'd, upbraid the Dutch with living upon Onions, Roots, Herb, Milk and pickled Herrings, and say they have no flesh, and rarely eat any'.¹⁰⁹ The Dutch, according to him, eat 'soupes and sops', as it suits their humoral disposition better and the absence of 'hot and gross' humours would be beneficial for their health.¹¹⁰ The seamen and people living close to the sea were most affected by the wet climate and excess of watery humours, with 'most of them looking like a full grown

¹⁰⁷ Mountague, pp. 38-40.

¹⁰⁸ Temple, p. 82.

¹⁰⁹ Mountague, p. 23.

¹¹⁰ Mountague, p. 17.

Oyster boilld’ and their ‘Slime, humid air, water, and wet diet, have so bag’d their cheeks, that some would take their paunches to be gotten above their chin’.¹¹¹

The climate, resulting in excessive drinking and a diet that lacked meats, was observed by the travellers as the reason behind the coarse appearance of both men and women. The scarred faces that several travellers noted they explained was the result of drunken rows: ‘quarrels and brawlings are frequent, and often breake out into man-slaughters, wherin those who will revenge themselves by force, first agree between themselves whether they will strike or stab; and then drawing out long knives, which they ordinarily weare, they wound each other by course, according to their agreement, either by stashes or stabs’.¹¹² When it comes to the drinking pattern of women, there is no mention of drunken women in the travel diaries and although they were considered beautiful when young, they became ‘fat, dull and ill- proportioned’ after marriage, again the result of an imbalance in humours, ‘which gave rise to the saying “that Holland yield pretty pigs but ugly sows”’.¹¹³ All in all, several of the (negative) characteristics of the Dutch that the travellers mention in their diaries – their rudeness in both appearance and character, their love of pickled herring and their addiction to strong brandy-wine – were all associated with the poor weather and climate conditions of the Low Countries.

The discussed travel diaries and the genre of travel writing in general were mainly occupied with emphasising differences, of which the Hollanders’ obsessive cleanliness, freedom of religion and strange staple diet are only a few examples. However, accounts of the United Provinces are simultaneously ‘a series of reflections on one’s own identity and culture’ and to what extent they differ from the Dutch.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Felltham (1672), p. 26.

¹¹² Moryson, III. 287

¹¹³ Qtd. in C.D. van Strien, p. 215.

¹¹⁴ Hadfield, p. 1

These differences would in times of animosity be ridiculed and emphasised. As Andrew Hadfield writes, a seventeenth-century travelogue ‘will inevitably transform the writer concerned – and quite possibly the reader; it will call into question received assumptions, inducing a sense of wonder at the magnificence of the other or reaffirming deeply felt differences with a vengeance’; the latter is especially visible in travel accounts to the Netherlands of the later seventeenth century.¹¹⁵ This trend is also noticeable in the (critical) reading and commentary on travel diaries, in particular when discussing diaries that consider the Dutch Republic; it is somewhat tempting to present the United Provinces as a wonder state compared to other nations at the time, an alien state or new Utopia, or to follow Felltham’s example to present some of the Dutch customs or characteristics as being from a different universe. Wander begins his survey of the Dutch in travelogues with ‘the idea that the travellers set out on their travel with the thought they would find in the United Provinces another world or a nearby China’, which he argues had been part of the travellers’ expectations of the Dutch Republic since the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁶ Fruin, a historian of the Golden Age of the United Provinces, writes in his chapter on English observations of the Dutch that ‘the wonder that the traveller describes in the diary illustrates the glittering example that the Dutch Republic embodied in the dark background of early modern Europe’.¹¹⁷ The act of alienating the reader from a strange environment is after all part of its entertainment.¹¹⁸ Whether the contrasts or otherness of the Dutch were fact, fiction or somewhere in between, the similarities between Britain and the United Provinces were just as important as their differences; the sister nations with their Protestant foundations, anti-Spanish policy in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, close trading

¹¹⁵ Hadfield, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Wander, p. 169

¹¹⁷ R. Fruin, ‘De Nederlanders der Zeventiende Eeuw door Engelschen Geschetst’, in *De Tijd van De Witt en Willem III* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1929): 1-19 (p. 9-10).

¹¹⁸ Jonathan P.A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 3.

competition and many other shared characteristics made the exchange of religious, political, literary and cultural ideas possible, despite the fact that these similarities were not as interesting and entertaining to mention in travelogues of the period. As we will see in following chapters, Milton and Marvell use some of the well-known stereotypes established in the travelogues, yet also make literary capital from the similarities between the English and the Dutch.

Chapter II

The Literary and Intellectual Milieu of the United Provinces

There is a country almost within sight of the shores of our island, whose literature is less known to us than that of Persia or Hindostan; a country, too, distinguished for its civilisation, and its important contributions to the mass of human knowledge.¹¹⁹

This introduction to an early nineteenth-century anthology of seventeenth-century Dutch poetry is an interesting confirmation that Dutch literature of the Golden Age has gone almost unnoticed (both within the Netherlands and abroad) beyond its period of flourishing in the seventeenth century. John Bowring and Harry van Dyk continue with a specification of the impact of Dutch literature in England and poetically claim that ‘it would be as soon expected to hear the birds of the East filling our woods and valleys with their songs, [as] to find the Batavian minstrels in our libraries and drawing-rooms’.¹²⁰ Although this may, indeed, have been the case for the centuries following the seventeenth, the literary and scholarly environment of the Dutch United Provinces was a vibrant and internationally recognised contributor to the intellectual and literary milieu of early modern Europe, influencing writers, such as Milton and Marvell, beyond the borders of the Dutch Republic.¹²¹

G.C. Gibbs gives the position of the Dutch Republic and its establishment as the intellectual entrepôt in Europe as one explanation of the rich literary culture at the

¹¹⁹ John Bowring and Harry S. van Dyk, *Batavian Anthology, or Speciman of the Dutch Poets, with Remarks on the Poetical Literature and Language of the Netherlands to the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Groningen: Printed for W. van Boekeren, 1825), p. 1.

¹²⁰ Bowring and Van Dyk, p. 2.

¹²¹ Several recent studies have begun to illuminate this, such as Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and Freya Sierhuis, *Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic: The Literature of the Arminian Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

time.¹²² The Dutch Republic obtained a monopoly on the book trade through cheap manufacturing of paper and ink, its central geographical location – with the three great rivers, sea and land access leading to a good transport system, and lastly through the import of skilled Flemish (and later French Huguenot) printers and booksellers, such as for example the arrival of the illustrious Elzeviers from Antwerp.¹²³ Naturally, with a large market for printing and selling, there is a great demand for authors, and in the explosive European environment of the seventeenth century the relatively tolerant society of the Republic offered a safe haven for ‘controversialists of all religious and political persuasions’.¹²⁴ Gibbs claims that this was the case in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but I would like to argue that the liberal Dutch culture and its importance to European scholarship and literature had its beginnings in the earlier seventeenth century, with figures such as Hugo Grotius and Constantijn Huygens. For practical reasons, I will restrict the literature in this research to works in Dutch and Latin, although there was also a rich literary French culture in the United Provinces at the time.¹²⁵ Three general and related developments must first be discussed in order to understand how Dutch scholarship and literature penetrated England and its writers: the rise of universities, the standardisation of the Dutch language, and lastly the explosion of the Dutch print culture.

¹²² G.C. Gibbs, ‘The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 86 (1971): 323-349.

¹²³ As J. Kingma so accurately writes, ‘no doubt, it is tempting to write or speak about *the* ‘Elzeviers’; it is true, one is quickly lost in the maze of fathers, sons, uncles and cousins’, who all worked in the printing and bookselling industry. Lodewijk Elzevier (1546-1617) was the first to sell books in Leiden. He had seven sons, of which five worked in the business (Matthijs, Lodewijk II, Gilles, Joost and Bonaventure). Bonaventure and Abraham (son of Matthijs) took over the business in Leiden, whereas Daniel (son of Bonaventure) and Lodewijk (son of Lodewijk II) were responsible for the business in Amsterdam: J. Kingma, ‘Uitgaven met Verstrekkende Gevolgen. De Elzeviers als Verspreiders van Nieuwe Denkbeelden’, in *Boekverkopers van Europa: Het 17de- Eeuwse Nederlandse Uitgeverhuis Elzevier*, ed. by B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000): 107-114 (p. 107) and Gibbs, pp. 323-326.

¹²⁴ Gibbs, p. 329.

¹²⁵ See for a discussion of poetry and drama in the southern Netherlands, *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625*, ed. by Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006); Karel Porteman and Mieke Smits-Veldt, *Een Nieuw Vaderland voor de Muzen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur, 1560-1700* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2009).

Social Structure and the Rise of the Universities

The social hierarchy in the United Provinces was revolutionary in early modern Europe. The medieval structure of a ruling class of hereditary aristocrats, was largely replaced in the sixteenth century by a bourgeois system, centuries before a similar process took place in France during the revolution.¹²⁶ This movement was the result of the scarce number of aristocrats remaining (in the sixteenth century there were only twelve aristocratic families left) and the fact that the newly created provinces began to administer themselves, instead of monasteries and the remaining aristocrats (excluding the powerful position of the princes van Oranje¹²⁷ as stadhouders).¹²⁸ This led to a society that was ruled by ‘the social dictatorship of the upper middle-class’, based on personal success and mercantile achievements, and centred on an urban environment.¹²⁹ This does not necessarily mean that there was no equivalent of an upper class in the Republic at the time, as the lack of aristocrats was compensated for by an elite group of regents and other high republican and provincial positions, adding up to around 2000 people.¹³⁰ There was, however, an open social structure – no class was isolated from the rest of society – and social migration was mostly dependent on one’s climbing of the

¹²⁶ Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 43.

¹²⁷ See for a more elaborate discussion on rise of the Family van Oranje-Nassau, Jonathan Israel, ‘The United Provinces of the Netherlands: The Courts of the House of Orange, 1580-1795’, in *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500-1750*, ed. by John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999): 119-140.

¹²⁸ Although nobility was represented in the States-General, with one vote compared to eighteen votes by towns, they had neither effective political power nor any significant influence economically, culturally or socially in Holland. J.L. Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century* (London: C. Tinling & Co., 1974), pp. 58-67.

¹²⁹ Charles Wilson, *The Dutch Republic and the Civilisation of the Seventeenth Century* (London: BAS Printer Limited, 1968), p. 47. For an elaborate discussion of the class system in the United Provinces, see G.J. Renier, *De Noord-Nederlandse Natie* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1948), pp. 115-118; D.J. Roorda, *Partij en Factie: De oproer van 1672 in de Steden van Holland en Zeeland, Een Krachtmeting tussen Partijen en Facties* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1961), pp. 39-58; G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten: De Sociale Positie van de Gereformeerde Predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor 1700* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977), p. 66.

¹³⁰ North, pp. 48-49.

monetary ladder, which could be achieved in a relatively short period of time in the rapidly growing cities of the Republic.¹³¹

The universities provided another route for upward social mobility. The first university and also by far the most significant was the University of Leiden, situated in the south of Holland, near The Hague, founded in 1575.¹³² Leiden quickly established a reputation as one of the most prominent universities in Protestant Europe after the 1590s, partly because of its medical school, anatomic theatre, physic garden and university press. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it expanded so quickly that it became the largest university in Europe, leaving Cambridge and Oxford behind. The reason for this growth was the university's international character. Whereas students at Oxford and Cambridge were predominantly English, over half the students at Leiden came from abroad, ranging from Germany, Britain and Scandinavia to East European countries.¹³³ Israel estimates the number of English students during the period 1626-1650 to be 672 which, other than students from the German-speaking countries, constituted the largest group of international students in Leiden at the time.¹³⁴ The university became such an international institution because it aimed to accommodate students from all different backgrounds and social classes (though the lowest classes remained excluded). Francis Bacon had already commented in the 1640s that the institution of universities would be more advanced 'if the universities in general, dispersed through all Europe, were united in a nearer conjunction and correspondence by mutuall intelligence', something that could be established through international

¹³¹ North, pp. 49-56.

¹³² Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, transl. by Diane Webb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 228.

¹³³ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 572.

¹³⁴ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 572.

students.¹³⁵ Some of the professors were scholars renowned in all of Europe, such as the controversial Salmasius or Claude Saumaise, Joseph Justus Scaliger and Daniel Heinsius.¹³⁶ The anonymous English pamphlet *The Dutch Drawn to the Life*, published 1664, notes that: ‘for learning, Erasmus and Lipsius, the two great Scalligers, Agncola, Lemnius, the Douzas, Ortelius, Mereator, Gaffander, Harmin, Vossius, Grotius; natives of this country, have been the great restorers of it to the world; and their four universities, Groyning, Harderwicke, Francker, and Leyden profess it’.¹³⁷ John Hall’s little tract, *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of learning, and reformation of the universities* (1649) reflects similarly on the reputation of the Dutch Universities and their learning:

What more shining in all the Annalls of *Rome*, then the portentuous bravery of sending Forces into *Spaine*, when *Hanniball* was at the Gates, and selling that field whereon he en camped at so deare a rate, as it would have passed at, had he been prisoner within the walls, and his Army dispersed? yea (and to shew that these later times want not parallels of the Ancient Grandeurs) what will be more illustrious in the History of *Holland*, then their high and visible cares, and almost prodigall magnificence for learning, while as they yet struggled with a sad war, and had not yet released their necks, from the sway of a peridious and horrid Tyrant?¹³⁸

Moreover, as a result of the independent nature of the universities, there was no religious consensus between the students and the staff at the university, although the vast majority were Protestant and the theology taught was based on reformed principles. Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), who will be further introduced later on in this

¹³⁵ Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficiency of Learning; or, the Partitions of Sciences* (Oxford: 1640), p. 74.

¹³⁶ J.F. Bense, *Anglo-Dutch Relations from the Earliest Times to the Death of William the Third* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925), pp. 201-202.

¹³⁷ Anonymous, *The Dutch Drawn to the Life* (London: 1664), p. 10.

¹³⁸ John Hall, *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of learning, and reformation of the universities* (London: 1649), pp. 23-24.

chapter, uses some of these sentiments in his *Stedestemmen* (1624), in which one of the stanzas is dedicated to the city of Leiden and its university:

*'t En ware 't nijdigh Duyn, of 't Rijnsch verdwaelde sogh
Ick waer, spijt andere, Grotiusste Rhijnstadt noch;
Om nevens Katwijk uyt mijn' wraecke te gaen haelen
Van 't Arragonsch geweld. Hoe souden sy 't betaelen
Die, op mijn' aller weeckst, voor 'r stuyvende gerucht
Van een verotten muer verstoven in de vluch!
Nu doen ick 's meer van verr, nu doen ick oock te Roomen
Mijn' ware wetenschap, mijn' wijse Waerheit schroomen;
Kraby, kloeckste Phariseen, de snoodste van alle die ick ken,
't Zijn scherpe nagelen die 't meer zijn dan mijn' Pen.¹³⁹*

Were it not for the hostile Dune, or the Rijn's lost silt,
I would still be, despite all, the greatest Rijn city ever built;
And on behalf of Katwijk, my revenge attain
For Spanish violence. How they would pay with pain
Who, when at my weakest, at the falling sound,
Of a rotting wall fled from our ground!
I will now do more from afar, and so every Roman
Will tremble at my true science and wisdom;
Screech, black Pharisees, only the cruellest of my ken
Could with his sharp nails sting harder than my pen.

Although the university might have been united against Catholic institutions, there was a great diversity of religious convictions, sometimes leading to great debates; the strife between Arminius and Gomarus, both professors of theology at the time, is the most striking example, which will be discussed in detail in Chapters III and VII.

¹³⁹ Constantijn Huygens, *Stedestemmen en Dorpen* (Den Haag: 1624).

Although Leiden was the most prestigious university in the United Provinces, almost every province had either a university or an illustrious school – the latter not offering doctoral degrees.¹⁴⁰ Franeker, in the north of Friesland, was the second university to be founded, in 1585, but Groningen (1614), Amsterdam (1632), Utrecht (1634) and Harderwijk (1646) followed quickly. Utrecht, especially, was liberal in its teachings; it was the first university in Europe at which the ideas of René Descartes were discussed (though also the first to ban them). As a result of the efforts of Gisbertius Voetius, influential theologian and professor at Utrecht, it was also the first university to admit a woman, Anna Maria van Schurman.¹⁴¹ That said, she did have to sit behind a perforated wall in the lecture theatre, so that her male fellow students could still concentrate on the class.¹⁴²

Marvell had seen the Dutch educational system first hand when he travelled through the Netherlands as tutor to several noblemen.¹⁴³ When he visited the Netherlands, the universities of Leiden, Franiker, Groningen and Utrecht were already established. Leiden was the only university in the Netherlands that kept records day-by-day of who registered to study (even if only for a day). These records are still carefully preserved. If Marvell had attended a lecture at the University as one of the many international students or enrolled himself with his tutees at the University for a semester, it would have been recorded, provided he registered under his own name. The accuracy of these records is supported by the visit of John Evelyn, who we know briefly attended the university, and reported that a professor: ‘first in Latin demanded of me where my lodgings in the town was, my name, age, birth and to what faculty I addicted myself; then recording my answers in a book, he administered an oath to me that I

¹⁴⁰ Prak, p. 228.

¹⁴¹ Anna Maria van Schurman and her reputation will be discussed at a later point in this chapter.

¹⁴² Pieta van Beek, *Klein werk: De Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, Prosaica et Metrica* (PhD Thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 2004), p. 34.

¹⁴³ Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 88.

should observe the status and order of the university while I stayed and then delivered me a ticket, by virtue whereof I was made exercise free, for all which worthy privileges and the pain of writing he accepted a rich dollar' (28 Augustus 1641). The following entry can be found in the record books: 'Rector: professor Otto Heurnius, date 6 August 1641: 'Johannes Evelyn, Anglus generosus, 20 [age], Mat. et Histor. [faculty]'.¹⁴⁴ I have searched through the years 1641-1646 methodically, but there is no mention of Andrew Marvell to be found. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that his pupils attended the university at some point, only that he was not registered himself. Perhaps the situation is comparable to the journey Marvell made with Dutton to the French Huguenot academy in Saumur, founded in 1591; Dutton would go to the lessons at the academy, whereas Marvell would continue to tutor privately, not attending the academy himself.¹⁴⁵

Rise of the Dutch Language

The international character of the universities, as well as the many different cultures within the republic, made the standardization of a national language complex, in which the creation of a national literature played an important role. Latin was of course still the language of the scholarly European community, but within the United Provinces a sense of nationalism was introduced into the literature. The Renaissance ideal of creating a vernacular poetic language was very much present in the Dutch Republic. Perhaps this

¹⁴⁴ *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV : accedunt nomina curatorum et professorum per eadem secula* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff: 1875), p. 326. I also found the registration of other people who may be of interest: Thomas Overbury: 'Rector: professor Bernardo Schotano, date 18 May 1644: 'Thomas Overburius, Anglus, 20 [age], J'', p. 350; Thomas Browne: Rector: professor Bernardo Schotano, date 22 August 1644: 'Thomas Browne, Anglus, 20 [age], P', p. 351, and Samuel Nicolson: 'Rector: professor Ewaldo Screvelio, date 22 May 1646: 'Samuel Nichols, Anglus, 22 [age], Matt', p. 370. Cornelis Schoneveld has fully examined Thomas Browne's time at the University of Leiden, see *Sea Changes: Studies in Three Centuries of Anglo-Dutch Cultural Transmission* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *Chameleon*, p. 128.

ambition was particularly important in a recently founded republic; one that was still in the process of establishing its own identity.¹⁴⁶ This quest had already started in the late sixteenth century, and is rather proudly reflected in the Preface to Gerbrand Andriaenszoon Bredero's play *Spaansche Brabander Jerolimo* (1617):¹⁴⁷

*Hier hebdiĳ maar een slecht gherijm
Dat niet en rieckt naar Grieksche Tĳm,
Noch Roomsche ghewas, maar na 't ghebloemt
Van Hollandt, kleyn, doch wijt beroemt;
Al heeftet gheen uytheemsche geur,
't is Amsterdams.*¹⁴⁸

Here you have but a bad rhyme
Which does not reek of Greek thyme
Nor of Roman herb, but of flowers
Of Holland, small, yet widely famous;
While it does not have an exotic fragrance,
It is from Amsterdam.

These lines are typical for Bredero (1585-1618), who lived all of his short life in Amsterdam as the son of a middle-class merchant and was best known for his collection of songs and plays. His plays are all in Dutch and praise the versatile culture of Amsterdam.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ There is a chicken-and-egg question here that is acknowledged but will not be resolved in this thesis: did nationalism lead to the ambition to standardise the language (Hans Kohn, 'Nationalism in the Low Countries', *The Review of Politics*, 19.2 (1957): 155-185 and G.J. Renier, *De Noord-Nederlandse Natie* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1948)), or did the establishment of one language encourage the formation of a nationalist outlook (Peter Geyl, *Grotius Nederlandse Gedachte: Historische en Politieke Beschouwingen* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1925)).

¹⁴⁷ There are various known spellings of Bredero (i.e. Breero, Breedero etc.). For simplicity, throughout this thesis I have chosen to use the modern spelling.

¹⁴⁸ Gerbrand Andriaenszoon Bredero, 'Voorwerk: Tot den Leser', *Spaansche Brabander Jerolimo* (Amsterdam: 1617).

¹⁴⁹ G.A. van Es and G.S. Overdiep, *Geschiedenis van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden, Deel 4: Renaissance en Barok* ('s Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1948), pp. 267-268.

There were, however, some problems to overcome before Dutch could attain the status of an elevated poetic language. England went through a similar process with English, but one significant difference was that English poets in the seventeenth century – for instance Milton, who had similar ambitions to use English as a poetic language – had the authority of successful canonical attempts in previous centuries, such as Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* (1387-1400), Edmund Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* (1590-1596) and a considerable number of poets and playwrights. In the United Provinces, there were some important writers at the end of the sixteenth century, such as Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590), Hendrik Laurenszoon Spieghel (1549-1612) and Roemer Pieterszoon Visscher (1547-1620), but poets were far from numerous. The rise of the *Rederijkerskamers* (Chambers of Rhetoric) in the early sixteenth century was an important development for the establishment of a national literature. These were amateur literary guilds or societies in every medium-sized town, who wrote and performed dramas and masques, composed poetry, and played an important role in town festivities.¹⁵⁰ These rhetoricians, both male and female, discussed political and religious issues as well as cultural subjects; with their freedom of speech, they were able to attack Catholics after the Reformation, ‘but fiercely condemned the prosecution of heretics’, hence mingling in with local and regional politics at the time.¹⁵¹ The highlights of their literary activities were the regional prize giving-competitions called *Landjuwelen* (Land-jewels), in which different chambers would invite each other to compete.¹⁵² One of the most illustrious chambers was *De Eglentier* in Amsterdam, which was particularly occupied with the promotion of the

¹⁵⁰ George Edmundson, *The History of Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 190.

¹⁵¹ Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn, ‘Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries’, in *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*, ed. by Bloemendal, Van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 1-35 (p. 1). Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn make here an interesting point that there were already communities criticizing the authorities in public in the early sixteenth century, something that the (local) governments had to take into account, which contradicts Habermas’ statement that public opinion in the modern public sphere did not exist until its development in the seventeenth century (pp. 2-3).

¹⁵² Strietman and Happé, pp. 345-346, 388.

Dutch language, a movement led by Spieghel; this resulted in the publication of *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst* (Dialogue of Netherlandish Literature) (1584), a guide to Dutch grammar.¹⁵³ Although the majority of poetry composed and plays performed by the *rederijkerkamer* were of debatable quality, it was an important step in the popularisation of a literary culture, one that would dominate the United Provinces in the seventeenth century.

Dutch literature was on the rise; there was not yet a national standardised language, however, but a variety of dialects in the area that would later become the United Provinces. This slowly changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Naturally there were, and still are today, regional varieties within Dutch, but the differences between ‘beschaafd’ (civilised) and ‘boeren-Hollands’ (rural-Dutch) at the time were still relatively small.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the term Dutch for the language is itself problematic in its ambiguity; as Campbell and Corns note, the English term Dutch could refer in the seventeenth century to High Dutch, which we now call German, or to Low Dutch, the variant that would later become modern Dutch.¹⁵⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary*’s first entry for the term Dutch relates to the people of Germany, a definition used as early as 1480, whereas the definition that refers to people of the Netherlands and their language was not introduced until the first decade of the seventeenth century. It is, however, an international confusion, rather than an internal one; Dutch was ‘not *universally* regarded as a separate language’ in the middle of the seventeenth century, but this split between the Dutch and German began as early as the sixth century AD and

¹⁵³ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, p. 138.

¹⁵⁴ B. van den Berg, ‘Boers en Beschaafd in het Begin der 17^e Eeuw’, *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 37 (1943): 242-246. I also have to add that spelling was still anything but standardised. There were considerable differences in spelling between the different provinces and even cities. Some writers chose to follow the *rederijkers*’ southern and somewhat archaic language, whereas a group of prominent writers, of which Hooft and Huygens are only a few examples, tried to modernise the language, by using the dialect spoken in Holland, which afterwards would form the basis for modern Dutch (A. Weijnen, *Zeventiende-Eeuwse Taal* (Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1955)).

¹⁵⁵ Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns, *John Milton: Life, Works and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 247; J. Huizinga, ‘Engelschen en Nederlanders in Shakespeare’s Tijd’, in *Verspreide Opstellen over de Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1982), p. 124.

the two became more estranged with every century.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps it would be more accurate not to think of it as Dutch, closely resembling the word Deutsch for German, but Hollands (or Hollandsch). From there it spread to the east and north of the United Provinces. In the later seventeenth century, an awareness of the difference between German and Dutch became more common, but was combined with a rather fantastical explanation of the elevated origin of the language:

The language though it differ from the higher Germany, yet hath it the same ground, and is as old as Babel & although harsh yet of so lofty signification & so full a tongue, as made Goropius Becanus maintain it for the speech of Adam in Paradise. Steven of Bruges reckoneth up 2170 monosyllables, which being expounded, richly grace that tongue: a tongue as large as Europe: spoken in Germany, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and England; (for most of our old words are Dutch,) and so little altered that it is in a manner the same it was 2000 years ago, without the too much mingled borrowings of their neighbour nations.¹⁵⁷

Although it is rather tempting to adopt the idea that Adam in Paradise spoke Dutch, it is safe to say that the Dutch language went through major alterations during the last 2000 years or so, like all languages. Of course, it is difficult to date exactly when a dialect becomes a language, but the process of the standardisation of Dutch was already underway in the sixteenth century, when dictionaries, grammar and spelling books of the language were published.¹⁵⁸ Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647) writes in his *Nederlandsche Historiën* (Dutch Histories) (1642) that by 1560 the north of the Low Countries had an active and organised vernacular literary environment.¹⁵⁹ In 1582, the States-General decided to use Dutch as the official language in all correspondence, instead of French.¹⁶⁰ In the seventeenth century, Dutch was made the language of literature and the Protestant Church; the first vernacular Bible was published in 1637 in

¹⁵⁶ My italics, Campbell and Corns, p. 247.

¹⁵⁷ Anon., *The Dutch*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ J.M. van der Horst, 'A Brief History of the Dutch Language', in *The Low Countries*, 4 (1997): 163-172 (p. 167).

¹⁵⁹ Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, p. 135.

‘goet Nederlandsch’.¹⁶¹ Even renowned scientists, such as Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, Jan Swammerdam and Simon Stevin, thought Dutch ‘worthy of being the official language of all scientific discourse’.¹⁶²

Almost all Dutch writers and intellectuals participated in this process of standardisation and creating a poetical language in some way.¹⁶³ Hooft and Huygens, for example, both highly acquainted with the classical languages, tried to inveigle certain classical words into the Dutch vernacular by following the latter’s linguistic patterns, previously explored by Spiegel and Coornhert. Other writers, who were perhaps not as well educated, such as Joost van den Vondel, Jan Vos and Bredero, incorporated well-known Dutch proverbs in their works.¹⁶⁴ At the end of the seventeenth century, Andries Pels, a wealthy banker and writer, recognised the efforts of the previously mentioned authors and wrote in his *Ars Poetica* (1677) that ‘anyone who has read any decent writer in Dutch has to acknowledge that Spiegel, Koornhart, Visscher, Hooft and Vondel were the improvers of our language, as Ennius, Caecilius, Plautus, Cato and Virgilius were that for their language’.¹⁶⁵

One of the best illustrative examples of the ambition to standardise the Dutch language was the foundation of the *Eerste Nederduytsche Academie* (First Academy of the Netherlands) (1617) by the physician Samuel Coster (1579-1665).¹⁶⁶ Together with Bredero and Hooft, Coster left the *Rederijkerkamer Englentier* in order to dedicate his

¹⁶¹ C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn Voorgangers* (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1993), p. 241.

¹⁶² Prak, p. 224.

¹⁶³ An exception would be Nicolaas Heinsius, who thought Dutch unworthy for any written work, unlike his famous father Daniel Heinsius, who published poems in Dutch (Herman Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland: A Study in the Literary Relations of England and Holland before 1730*, Ph.D. University of Utrecht (Amsterdam: Folcroft Library Editions, 1978), p. 12); Weijnen, p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, pp. 137-139; Edmundson, *History of Holland*, p. 93.

¹⁶⁵ ‘By ieder één bekénd; én die maar eenige goede schryvers in het Néderduitsch geleezen heeft, érként zo wél Spiegel, Koornhart, Visscher, Hoofd, Vondel, énz. voor verbéteraars van onze taal, als Ennius, Caecilius, Plautus, Cato, Virgilius, énz. voor de Opbouwers van de hunne gehouden worden’, Andries Pels, *Ars Poetica*, ed. by M.A. Schenkeveld (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp, 1973), pp. 50-51.

¹⁶⁶ For an in-depth discussion of the merits of Coster’s poetry and the reasons why he is now the ‘forgotten’ poet, see Lieven Rens, ‘Samuel Coster als Dramatisch Experimentator’, in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandsche Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 26 (1972): 335-351.

time to the school.¹⁶⁷ The foundation of the academy was influenced by the *Rederijkerkamer*, resulting in an emphasis on plays, which were performed in the school. All lectures and plays were in the vernacular, in order to make them more accessible to the burghers of Amsterdam.¹⁶⁸ The notion that knowledge itself should be publicly available was not unique in the Netherlands, as reformers of education in other countries, such as Samuel Hartlib and John Hall in England for example, believed that ‘all human knowledge was a public endowment from God to be used in the service of all humankind’, although this was a few decades after Coster’s academy.¹⁶⁹ The difference with Coster’s academy was that it was modelled on Plato’s *Academeia*, which meant that there was an emphasis on classical texts rather than on contemporary religious sources.¹⁷⁰ This was a rather unusual direction for an academy in early modern Europe to take, as universal knowledge was often indissolubly connected with an understanding of the Truths of religion, visible in Hartlib’s ideas on the reformation of learning in Britain.¹⁷¹ Hartlib’s ideas on education were, however, associated or rather accompanied by a reformation of the church, whereas Coster intended it to be separated from the church.¹⁷²

The students in Coster’s academy were educated in the usual subjects of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and history, but also in etiquette (including dance lessons) and the art of composing poetry.¹⁷³ This curriculum resembles that of the

¹⁶⁷ Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, ‘De ‘Nederduytse Academie’ van Samuel Coster: De Eerste Nederlandse Volksuniversiteit’, *Literatuur*, 1 (1984): 58-64 (p. 59).

¹⁶⁸ Freya Sierhuis’ chapter, ‘Poets on the Offensive’, highlights the controversial character of Coster’s Academy, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 99-144.

¹⁶⁹ Qtd. in Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 55. John Hall and Milton were, however, also elitist in their approach, as both proposed that only ‘our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time’ in the academy and Hall even specified the number of aristocrats allowed to be sixty (CPW: II. 406; McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, p. 61).

¹⁷⁰ Van Es and Overdiep, p. 256.

¹⁷¹ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, p. 53.

¹⁷² Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1975), p. 32.

¹⁷³ Smits-Veldt, p. 59.

French academies at the time, in which studies and exercises were united, later echoed in Milton's vision of the academy in *Of Education* (1644), dedicated to Hartlib.¹⁷⁴ Theology was not part of Coster's intended education and it is safe to say that humanism was more prominently represented than the sciences.¹⁷⁵ This approach to education was built upon a tradition of humanist learning, started by Erasmus a century earlier. Coster presented this curriculum in a way that embodied the way he envisaged the academy, through a relatively short play, *Apollo Over de Inwijdinghe vande Neerlandtsche Academia de Byenkorf* (Apollo on the Inauguration of the Netherlands' Academy the Beehive) (1617), in which Apollo and nine muses introduce themselves as the different subjects and offer their services to the academy and the city of Amsterdam.¹⁷⁶

As a result of the emphasis on classics rather than theology, there was no religious consensus among the professors at the academy; some, such as Jan Thomis Sibrant and Hanssen Cardinael, were Mennonites, whereas Coster was Dutch Reformed.¹⁷⁷ In defence of this particular aspect of the academy, Coster writes in his play *Ghezelschap der Goden vergaert op de Ghwenste bryloft van Apollo* (Company of the Gods Gathers on Apollo's Desired Wedding) (1618), celebrating the first anniversary of the academy:

¹⁷⁴ Timothy Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib Circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy', in *The Oxford Handbook to Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 382-406 (pp. 383-384).

¹⁷⁵ Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp, 1971), pp. 109-110; Dirk van Mier, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 36-37.

¹⁷⁶ Apollo gave the academy a coat of arms, emblazoned with a beehive. Beneath was written, 'Fervet opus, refolentque thymo fragrantia mella', inspired by Virgil, but with the word thyme also echoing Bredero's *Spaansche Brabander*. The beehive as a symbol for the academy is an interesting choice, as for Hartlib (*The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees*, 1655) and his associates the beehive was a model for the industrious commonwealth, see Timothy Raylor, 'Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees', in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992): 91-129.

¹⁷⁷ Van Es and Overdiep, p. 256.



Figure 1. Logo of the Netherlands' Academy the Beehive (1617).

*Neerlantsche Volck, begeert ghy Wijsheyt, niet in schijn
 Of valsche vvaen, maer inder vvaerheyt, komt by mijn,
 Warachte Wijsheyt breng ick uyt des Hemels zalen,
 Vol van volmaectheyt (waer van dat ick af kom dalen
 Met deze schare der onsterffelijcker Goon)
 U lieden meed', en denck hier zo lang metter woon
 Te blyven by u, als daer ziin wijsgier'ghe menschen,
 Die daer zo dickwils om de ware Wijsheyt wenschen.*

(ll. 298-313).

Netherlandish people, if thou desire wisdom, not in glee,
 Of false delusion, but in truth, come with me,
 With truthful wisdom, I will, from the heavens above,
 Full of honest perfection (from thereof
 With a multitude of gods I descend).

With you all, my time here I spend,
As long as philosophers desire,
The truest wisdom to acquire.¹⁷⁸

Although this ambition and confidence has to be admired, it was a dangerous attitude for Coster's academy to take in the tense climate of the 1610s and 20s. Shortly after the opening of the school, reformed clergymen and in particular orthodox Calvinists filed a complaint with the local authorities about the supposedly Arminian tendencies in the academy and the vulgar nature of the vernacular plays, demanding the academy to be shut, which led to a ban on teaching in 1619.¹⁷⁹ In the next performance, Coster decided to respond to this censorship by staging the muses with a giant lock in front of their mouths to illustrate their enforced silence. Although the origin of the academy was to be found in the classics, it was for religious reasons that it eventually was shut (much like its model in ancient Athens). In 1622, Coster sold the building of the academy to an orphanage, which brought the notion of the ideal academy to an anti-climactic ending.¹⁸⁰ Eight years later, Vondel protested by writing the poem 'D'Amsterdamsche Academi Aen Alle Poeten en Dichters Der Vereenigde Nederlanden, Liefhebbers van de Goude Vrijhey't' (The Academy of Amsterdam to all Poets of the United Netherlands, Lovers of the Golden Freedom) (1630), in which he attacked the Calvinists responsible for the closure, and appealed to all poets to respond to his poem in the manner of a *rederijker* poetry contest. Hooft, as a leading cultural figure, however, condemned the poem and wrote in a letter that Vondel's call was similar to a grenade, pregnant with death and decay, not destined to bring life to the world, but to take it away instead.¹⁸¹ Vondel received several responding poems, but it stirred up emotions to such an extent

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Coster, *Ghezelschap der Goden vergaert op de Ghwenste bryloft van Apollo* (Amsterdam: 1618).

¹⁷⁹ Smits-Veldt, p. 61

¹⁸⁰ Smits-Veldt, p. 64.

¹⁸¹ 'Het vraegedicht der academie dunkt my een van die krijgsgrenaten, die, zwanger met doodt en bederf, niet en baren om ter wereld te brengen, maer om daar uit te helpen'. P.C. Hooft, 27 April 1631, in *'t Hoge Huis te Muiden: Teksten uit de Muiderkring*, ed. by M.C.A. van der Heijden, vol. 8 (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1973), p. 59.

that publication of the poems was forbidden by the council of Amsterdam in the same year.

Social Migration, Patronage and the Dutch Print Culture

Despite the fact that literature thrived, it was not a lucrative business for the writers, whether these were plays, poems, or prose works, and the majority of writers had another full time profession. As a result, writing was not associated with a specific class, but with all levels of the upper class to the lower middle class – ranging from the regent Casper Barlaeus to Jan Vos, a modest glassmaker. Class divides did not interfere with literary standing, as Barlaeus' (1584-1648) poem about Vos as playwright testifies:

*Ik stae gelijk bedwelmt en overstolpt van geest.
De Schouburg wort verzet, en schoeyt op hooger leest.
Rijst Sophocoles weer op? Stampt Aeschylus weer hier?
Of maekt Euripides dit ongewoon getier?
Neen, 't is een Ambachtsman, een ongelettert gast,
Die nu de ganssch rey van Helicon verrast.*¹⁸²

I stand astonished and overwhelmed in spirit.
The theatre shakes and is dedicated to higher wit,
Has Sophocles risen? Does Aeschylus stamp here?
Or is it Euripides we overhear?
No, it is a tradesman, a man unlearned,
Who now all of Helicon's expectations has turned.

As already discussed, the nobility in the United Provinces were virtually powerless in the mighty province of Holland and could thus not establish an effective system of

¹⁸² Casper Barlaeus, 'To Jan Vos', qtd. in Porteman and Smits-Veldt, p. 388.

patronage, as was the case in Britain at the time.¹⁸³ Although the aristocrats had more power in the rural provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel, they were so impoverished by the long Spanish War that any stimulation or patronage of the arts did not occur on a great scale; ‘social stagnation and cultural sterility were the result of the land provinces trying to emulate Holland’s economic growth’.¹⁸⁴ The Catholic Church and the Reformed Church both lacked the financial resources to become patrons of writers in Holland. They did not have enough money to support charitable organisations, let alone the arts.¹⁸⁵

Writers were thus not associated with the highest level of aristocratic society through patronage, but there was still prestige in writing; social mobility could also be determined by one’s status as writer or painter. Literacy among the population was the highest in Europe at the time, creating a great demand for (vernacular) literature, which was sometimes produced in large quantities – such as Jacob Cats’ *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* (1627), a collection of moral proverbs, of which 50,000 copies were produced throughout the seventeenth century; it could make a writer well-known to the public.¹⁸⁶ There were over two hundred printing presses in the province of Holland, to match the growing demand. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, there were 273 printers and publishers in Amsterdam alone.¹⁸⁷ Printers and sellers specialised in the small format book.¹⁸⁸ There were more than 100,000 titles printed and published in

¹⁸³ Some princes of Nassau and Oranje established a kind of patronage, but the number of poets and artists supported through this system was very meagre, see Geert H. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederik of Nassau (1613-1664)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

¹⁸⁴ Price, *Culture and Society*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁵ The Catholic Church had most power in the rural parts of the United Provinces, but was too poor to stimulate the arts. In the province of Holland in which the Calvinists were a majority, the performance of plays was discouraged, leading to a ban on plays in the latter half of the sixteenth century, but this was ignored by many of the city councils (Porteman and Smits-Veldt, pp. 111-112).

¹⁸⁶ K.H.D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 115; North, p.1. There have even been suggestions that the United Provinces printed and published more works in the late seventeenth century than the rest of Europe taken together (Haley, p. 123). For statistical information see S. Hart, ‘Enige Statistische Gegevens inzake Analfabetisme te Amsterdam in de 17de en 18de Eeuw’, in *Amstelodamum*, 55 (1968): 3-6 and for a comparison of literacy in the Low Countries and the rest of Europe, Carlo M. Cipolla, *Literacy and Development in the West* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969).

¹⁸⁷ Haley, p. 123.

¹⁸⁸ Gibbs, pp. 323-326.

the United Provinces in the seventeenth century as a whole.¹⁸⁹ When William Nicholson visited Amsterdam in the later seventeenth century, he wrote that ‘it comes to pass that you may buy books cheaper at Amsterdam, in all languages, than at the places where they are printed: for here the copy costs them nothing’.¹⁹⁰

Alongside popular titles, such as Cats’ proverbs, printing houses published works of controversy, often in small format, such as the works of Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza and other new philosophers. The famous house of Elzevier in Amsterdam, more controversial than the branch in Leiden, published the majority of all their publications in small formats, 65 percent in duodecimo or smaller, making them more affordable.¹⁹¹ Publishers would actively travel Europe to find (controversial) manuscripts. An example of this is Galileo Galilei’s *Discorsi* (published in Leiden in 1638) (the year before Milton met Galileo), for which Louis Elzevier travelled to Italy, wanting to be the first to receive the manuscript.¹⁹² The Elzeviers also published the works of Anna Maria van Schurman and thus welcomed the contribution of women in print.¹⁹³

Additionally, publishing houses in Holland – especially Elzevier, Blaeu and Janszons – were often commissioned by book sellers in other countries to print certain books, either as the price was significantly lower, or to avoid censorship. In 1632, William Laud grumpily complained that the Geneva bibles that were sold in Britain at the time, printed by the Dutch on better quality paper and more legible, were cheaper

¹⁸⁹ Prak, p. 226.

¹⁹⁰ William Nicolson, qtd in John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 185-186.

¹⁹¹ Kingma, p. 108; Cornelis Schoneveld, *Sea-Changes: Studies in Three Centuries of Anglo-Dutch Cultural Transmission* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 31.

¹⁹² Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 283.

¹⁹³ David Norbrook, ‘Women, the Republic of Letters, and the Public Sphere in the Mid Seventeenth Century’, *Criticism*, 46.2 (2004): 223-240 (p. 227).

than the British version by eighteen pence.¹⁹⁴ This enabled the Elzeviers and by extension the province of Holland to establish their position as the intellectual entrepôt of Europe, since books printed and written by the Dutch found their way into the scholarly community; Walter Raleigh, Thomas Browne, John Milton, and John Dryden all possessed Elzevier publications, which illustrates the reach of the Dutch on the book market.¹⁹⁵

Another factor that fueled the Dutch monopoly on the book trade was the relative lack of censorship. There was great freedom in the publication of texts, hence the previously mentioned search for controversial texts, although this by no means meant absolute freedom. A few bans on books indeed occurred, such as on Spinoza's texts.¹⁹⁶ Jan Rieuwertszoon, who published the works of Spinoza and also a number of other controversial texts, remained, however, the official printer of the city of Amsterdam.¹⁹⁷ If there was a ban on a certain text, it would be put into place after publication and was often only restricted to one city (similar to Milton's argument in *Areopagitica*, which will be discussed in Chapter VI); competition between cities enabled a greater freedom in print, as sometimes 'civic authorities simply refused to exercise censorship'.¹⁹⁸ The acquisition of wealth was most likely as important if not more important than the progression of a scholarly community or the public good, as generally it seems that the Dutch had no problem printing works no matter how controversial, as long as there was a market for it and profit to be gained.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ F. Korsten, 'De Elzerviers en Engeland', in *Boekverkopers van Europa: Het Zeventiende Eeuwse Nederlandse Uitgevershuis Elzevier*, ed. by Dongelmans, Hoftijzer and Lankhorst (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2000): 195-210 (p. 196); Haley, p. 123.

¹⁹⁵ Korsten, p. 204.

¹⁹⁶ Haley, p. 124.

¹⁹⁷ Prak, p. 227.

¹⁹⁸ See for an detailed investigation into the rivalry between the different cities of Holland, J.L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 172-182; Prak, p. 227.

¹⁹⁹ David. W. Davies, 'The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library Quarterly*, 22.3 (1952): 200-207.

Literary Circles

The relatively free literary environment in the United Provinces in both writing and print in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is best illustrated by the literary circles in the cities of Holland and Utrecht. These circles had their origin in the previously mentioned *Rederijkerkamers* of the sixteenth century. Roemer Visscher, a successful merchant and member of the *Rederijkerkamer Eglantier*, invited people into his house for intellectual conversations.²⁰⁰ Vondel wrote a few lines dedicated to Roemer in his poem ‘Het Lof der Zee-vaert’ (Praise of Navigation) (1623):

*Hier open ick mijn reys in 't Saligh Roemers Huys.
Wiens vloer betreden word, wiens dorpel is gesleten,
Van Schilders, Kunstenaars, van Sangers, en Poeten.*

(ll. 476-478)

Here I begin my journey in Roemer's divine House.
Whose floor is walked upon, whose doorstep is worn out,
With Painters, Artists, with Singers, and Poets.

For Vondel these meetings were the beginning of his poetical career and of importance for his development as a poet.²⁰¹

The most famous literary circle was the *Muiderkring* (circle of Muiden), a group of writers and other influential people with P.C. Hooft as its founder.²⁰² He was the son of a rich merchant – part of the *nouveau riche* – with a classical humanist education and

²⁰⁰ P.J. Andriessen, *De Muiderkring of Vijftien Jaar uit den Bloeitijd onzer Letterkunde, 1623-1637* (Leiden: A.W. Slijthoff, 1891), footnote 62.

²⁰¹ Joost van den Vondel, ‘Het Lof der Zeevaart’, in *Zeespiegel, Inhoudende Een korte Onderwysinghe inde konst der zeevaart, En Beschryvinghe der See'n en kusten van de Oostersche/Noordsche/ en Westersche Schipvaart. Wt ondervindinghen van veel ervaren Zeevaarders vergadert/ en t'samen ghestelt Door VVillem Iansz Blaeuw. Tot Amsterdam, Ghedruckt by Willem Iansz Blaeuw, inde vergulde Sonnewyser* (1623).

²⁰² Edmundson, *History of Holland*, p. 196.

was a leading political figure as bailiff of Gooiland and *Drost* of Muiden.²⁰³ The meetings took place at Hooft's castle in Muiden, near Amsterdam.²⁰⁴ The members were all from an urban environment and upper or middle class; the level of education was therefore various. Constantijn Huygens, Hugo Grotius, Casper van Baerle, Jacob Cats and Hooft himself all went to the recently founded university of Leiden to read law, but several other members of the circle did not even go to a Latin school (although some were self-taught in the classical languages, such as Vondel). The group predominantly consisted of literary figures, but other politically influential people sometimes joined the discussion as well, such as one of the mayors of Amsterdam and general in the West-Indian Company, Albert Coenraadszoon Burgh, and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, a famous composer.²⁰⁵ Women were also included in the circle, leading to a close friendship between Hooft and Maria Tesselschade Visscher and her sister Anna Roemersdochter Visscher, two of the three daughters of Roemer Visscher. In the letters and poems by Hooft, Vondel, Bredero, Huygens and Barlaeus, it appears that the beautiful 'Tesseltje' was the vibrant centre of the circle, talented at singing, composing poetry, translating from Greek, Italian and Latin, and glass engraving.²⁰⁶ One short example among many others is the letter that Hooft wrote after Tesselschade visited Muiden:

*U E heeft hier haere muilen gelaeten. Dit 's een' leelijke vergeteleheit. Want het waer beter, dat 'er U E de voeten vergeten had, en 't geen daer aen vast is. De vloer (acht ik) heeft U E willen houden, ende ghy zijt haer ontslipt [...] En zeker, steenen en planken leggen en treuren, om dat ze niet langer van die zoete treedtjes gestrookt worden.*²⁰⁷

²⁰³ S. Groeneveld, 'Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft en de Geschiedenis van Zijn Eigen Tijd', in *Hooft als Historienschrijver* (Weesp: Heureka, 1981): 7-41 (p. 19).

²⁰⁴ The Muiderkring is named after Hooft's castle. This name was not given to the circle until the nineteenth century, when writers looked back to the intellectual companionship between authors with nostalgia.

²⁰⁵ W.J.A. Jonckbloet, 'Hooft en de Muiderkring', in *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, deel 3: De Zeventiende Eeuw* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1889): 313-359 (pp. 315-316).

²⁰⁶ Jonckbloet, p. 332.

²⁰⁷ P.C. Hooft, 'Letter to Tessel (1 Aug. 1633)', in *'t Hoge Huis te Muiden: Teksten uit de Muiderkring*, vol. 8, ed by M.C.A. van der Heijden (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1973), pp. 158-159.

You have forgotten your slippers; this is a poor mistake. Since, it would have been better, if you had forgotten your feet, and that which is attached to it. The floor (I think) wanted to keep you, but you escaped [...]. And the tiles and boards are now weeping as they are no longer fondled by your sweet steps.

It was by no means a regimented company, but one that would meet irregularly – often in the summer.²⁰⁸

There was no religious consensus between members of the circle: Vondel, Tesselschade Roemer and Anna Roemer were all Catholic, whereas Huygens, Grotius and Cats were Protestant – nor did Hooft strive to create uniformity, in contrast to Hartlib's attempt to construct a pan-European Protestant unity in his intellectual network.²⁰⁹ Hooft purposely decided against favouritism towards any Christian faith.²¹⁰ In his play *Baeto*, written in 1617 when the United Provinces was on the brink of civil war (as will be discussed in the next chapter), he argues that civil strife is the worst fate for a society and state.²¹¹ Interestingly, he did not publish the play until 1626, when the political situation in the Dutch Republic had calmed down.²¹² The play ends with the appointment of Baeto as leader of Batavia to end all strife and his final words demonstrate that the play calls for the unification of the population by accepting the 'holy and the unholy':

Vórsten hóógh, die wilt bekleden

Met glori eerlyck uw' hailighe thrónen

Weten moet ghy, dat reden

Zinnelyck heeft, met uw' glansrycke krónen

²⁰⁸ A proverb invented by the Muiderkring that still exists nowadays is 'tot in the pruimentijd' (until plum's time), as the members would supposedly say goodbye until the next year when the plums had ripened again: E.K. Grootes, *Het Literaire Leven in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1988), p. 17.

²⁰⁹ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, p. 53.

²¹⁰ M.C.A. van der Heijden, 'Inleiding', in *'t Hoge Huis te Muiden: Teksten uit de Muiderkring*, vol. 8 (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1973), p. 10.

²¹¹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 579.

²¹² Freya Sierhuis, *Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic: The Literature of the Arminian Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 194.

*Naegekuist des zons sieraden;
Om u haar' zeden
Nae te doen yvren, en tónen
Uw' genaden
Aan goên en quaden.*²¹³

(V. 1515-1523)

High kings, desiring to imbue
Your holy thrones with just renown,
Know that with sage reason true
Allegory has, in your splendid crowns
Imitated the sun's bright jewellery
Her nature for you –
Who thus by her example show,
An equal mercy
To holy and unholy.

The tolerance that Hooft showed was not characteristic of all members of the circle, as Huygens and Cats repeatedly tried to convert the two sisters and Vondel, but with no success.

The liberal nature of Hooft's circle is also demonstrated in their association with Coster's school, as discussed above. They were at a later date also involved with the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, established in 1632. Hooft himself, Huygens, Vossius, Barlaeus and Vondel all participated in various ways in the establishment of the Athenaeum and its curriculum. Vondel's approval for the institution is particularly illustrated in this short extract from his poem 'Inwydinghe van het Stadhuis t'Amsterdam' (Inauguration of the Town Hall in Amsterdam) (1655):

Sint Agnes school betaemt

²¹³ P.C. Hooft, *Baeto* (Amsterdam: Willem Janszoon Blauw, 1624).

*Door Baerle en Vossius de Koopstadt te stoffeeren
Met wijsheit, die de jeught t'Athene plagh te leeren.*²¹⁴

(ll. 792-794)

Saint Agnes' school aims

To provide the city of commerce, through Baerle and Vossius
With the wisdom taught to Athen's youth.

In 1632, Casper van Baerle and Gerardus Vossius, associated with Hooft and his circle, and the first two professors of the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, opened the university with two inaugural speeches, Vossius's 'The Usefulness of History' and Barlaeus' 'The Wise Merchant'.²¹⁵ Thereafter they held chairs in history and philosophy, respectively.²¹⁶ Although the Athenaeum never taught subjects on commerce as Coster's academy had done previously, the topics of both these orations reveal that the university was an initiative of the merchants, rather than of political institutions, distinguishing it from the classical academic institutions of Leiden and Utrecht. However, the greatest difference was that the Athenaeum would not receive full university status until 1877, meaning that no official academic degrees could be awarded; the institution from the outset had a propaedeutic function.²¹⁷ Some of the educational practices in this academy are interesting in the context of educational reform visible in 1630-1659 in England. The curriculum, the target students, and the finances of the academies were novel, and the stress laid on liberty of conscience was notable.

²¹⁴ Joost van den Vondel, 'Inwydinghe van het Stadhuis t'Amsterdam', (1655), ll. 792-794. .

²¹⁵ Vossius' chair was taken by Alexander More in 1655 (David Blondel occupied the chair between Vossius and More), illustrating the liberal nature of the academy as well as the narrowness of the scholarly community in the Dutch Republic at the time, see Van Mier, pp. 79-84.

²¹⁶ Van Mier, p. 3.

²¹⁷ Van Mier, p. 5.

Intellectual Circles and Educational Reform

Intellectual circles, it appears, are often at the heart of reform, and when it comes to the reform of education, England is no exception. In the 1640s, a circle of reformers – prominent members were Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, Theodore Haak and John Hall – discussed scientific progress, the new natural philosophers, radical religion and politics. Their main concern was universal reformation, to establish a unified Protestant church for which education was crucial, which is in sharp contrast with Hooft's Muiderkring.²¹⁸ Milton associated himself with this circle and his tract *Of Education* (1644) was dedicated to Hartlib.²¹⁹ The Hartlib circle was interested in the reform of education (in parallel with the creation of a pansophic language) and responded to the topic internationally – Milton refers to ‘the learned correspondence which you [Hartlib] hold in forreigne parts’²²⁰ – with people such as Comenius, Descartes and Joachim Jungus (illustrating there were direct ties with educational reform in the United Provinces).²²¹ I will focus here on the group of people with whom Milton also associated himself, who were interested in Bacon's philosophy of educational reform.²²² Marvell, too, had at a

²¹⁸ I will not go here into their eirenicist intentions, and only focus on their ideas of educational reform, see for protestant reform and unification: Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588-1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication*, ed. by Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Timothy Raylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2007).

²¹⁹ It is difficult to determine when exactly Milton's acquaintance with Hartlib began. The first mention of Milton in Hartlib's papers is in *Ephemerides*, 1643, reference [30/4/89A]; Nigel Smith, ‘*Areopagitica*: Voicing Contexts, 1643-1645’, in *Politics, Poetics and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose*, ed. by David Loewenstein & James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 103-122 (p. 105).

²²⁰ *CPW*: II. 363.

²²¹ Charles Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 14. See Paul Sellin, ‘The Last Renaissance Monsters: The Poetical Institutions of Garadus Vossius and Some Observations on English Criticism’, *Anglo-Dutch Cross-Currents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Paul Selling and Stephen Bartow Baxton (Los Angeles: University of California, 1976): 1-39, for some arguments on the influence of Vossius and Heinsius on Milton's ideas on education and his system of logic or rhetoric.

²²² M.M. Slaughter, *Universal Language and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 105-106.

later date some associations with the aforementioned people, although the extent of these relations is now difficult to determine.²²³

The influence of the Hartlib circle on Milton's ideas of education has often been under scrutiny, as Milton's academy rejected many of the circle's ideas.²²⁴ However, comparing the Comenians with the Muiderkring and the Athenaeum can be illuminating in this regard. As previously mentioned, the Muiderkring demanded no consensus, religiously and politically speaking, amongst its members. Hartlib, too, was tolerant of differences about education and for whom education was suitable.²²⁵ In his

Ephemerides is written:

It is not good to enslave ones-selfe to any kind of Method or Meditations but to observe a certaine generosity and liberty in all our Studys. This will bee found to bee far more profitable. As the overflowings of rivers doe bring in a world of things with them, which they never would have done, if they had always runne in their wonted channels. Yet some Mens wittes have bounded themselves within certaine limits, that they can doe nothing, if they bee brought without them, which yet is better then if they observed none at all.²²⁶

This is a very similar to the standpoint taken by Hooft in his play *Baeto*, as quoted above. The tolerant ethos of these intellectual circles provided the fertile ground in which ideas for reform could develop, whether these concerned education, religion or poetry.

²²³ Marvell is mentioned once in a letter from Hartlib to Boyle (27 April 1658): 'But Mr. Marvel did send again another express unto [Mr Kratshmer, who gave medicines to Hartlib], that his business was laid seriously to heart'. The same letter mentions Dury, Benjamin Worsley and Sir Walter Strickland, each to some extent involved with Hartlib's circle - whether through educational proposals, or through support of Hartlib's ideas for reform in parliament - which argues for some shared acquaintances between Marvell and members of Hartlib's circle (Hartlib Papers).

²²⁴ See for example Masson's and Lewalski's biographies.

²²⁵ Stephen Clucas, 'In Search of 'The True Logick': Methodological Electicism among the Baconian Reformers', in *Samuel Hartlib & Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 51-74 (p. 52); Webster, *Advancement of Learning*, p. 42.

²²⁶ Hartlib Papers [30/4/21A].

Milton's ideas on the curriculum separated him from other writers in the Hartlib circle, most clearly with the prominence given to the arts in his tract. Most of the members who wrote proposals, such as John Hall, William Petty, and Hartlib, composed them during the years 1648-1650, when reform seemed most plausible in the recently established republic. This places England in a similar position to the recently established Dutch Republic. The Hartlib circle centred on the practical subjects – geography, anatomy and mathematics; John Dury's *The Reformed School* (1650), heavily influenced by Milton, is a good example.²²⁷ The classical poets (Homer, Virgil, Ovid and others) are replaced by 'the Latine Authors of Agriculture: Cato, Varro and Columella', the natural history of Pliny, and the 'Greek Authors of Morall Philosophie'.²²⁸ A distinction is made between subjects with a Baconian emphasis on empiricism (sometimes called the experimental sciences) and those associated with literature (rhetoric, poetry, logic, eloquence), replacing the traditional division of *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Perhaps this partly reflected the influence of thinkers such as Galileo and Descartes, with their respective emphases on applied mathematics and rational explanations.²²⁹ The reformers wanted to open up the isolated microcosms of Oxford and Cambridge, turning instead classical scholars into useful employees of the commonwealth, a sentiment already expressed in the late sixteenth century by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his proposal for 'Queene Elizabethes Achademy' (1572?), in which he writes: 'whereas in the vniuersities men study onely schole learnings, in this achademy they shall study matters of accion meet for present practise, both of peace and warre'.²³⁰ This new approach to learning is at the heart of Protestant humanism and its

²²⁷ Webster, *Advancement of Learning*, pp. 51, 54.

²²⁸ John Dury, *The Reformed School* (London: 1649), p. 56.

²²⁹ See Galileo, *Concerning the New Star* (Venezia: 1606), Descartes, *Discourse on Method* (Leiden: 1637) and *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Thomas Munck, 'Science and the Commonwealth of Learning', in *Seventeenth Century Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1990): 294-299 (p. 294).

²³⁰ Qtd. in Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib Circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy', p. 394; Webster, *The Great Instauration*, p. 178.

ideas of educational reform, also clearly visible in the Academy of Coster and the Athenaeum in Amsterdam.

Milton chose a middle ground in his proposal between Italian humanism and Protestantism. In line with almost all educational proposals, Milton's academy begins with the teaching of good grammar and pronunciation, making all students literate.²³¹ Milton also introduces first the empirical and practical sciences – arithmetic, geography, agriculture among others – but then soon brings in 'those Poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius*, and in Latin *Lucretius, Manilius*, and the rural part of *Virgil*'.²³² After the study of ethics and economics, the students will be taught the tragedies – Euripides, Sophocles – ending the curriculum with the 'organic arts' – rhetoric and logic, with poetry the climax of rhetoric. Literature and poetry are woven throughout the curriculum, with the figure of Cicero made central. Milton deemed this essential for further virtuous services to the states: 'whether they be to speak in Parliament or Counsel, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips'.²³³ Milton argued that poetry can induce morality and virtue in its listeners, as long as the student has had time to gain knowledge of the world, hence placing it at the culmination of his encyclopaedic curriculum.²³⁴

Although the division between exercises and scholarship is adopted from the French noble academies, Milton's 'courses are to be taught by a humanist', similar to the Athenaeum's curriculum.²³⁵ The variety of subjects in Milton's tract is also much more extensive than one would expect to find in the French Academies (see for example

²³¹ McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 100. See also Milton's *Accidence Commenc't Grammar* (1640s?).

²³² CPW: II. 394-396.

²³³ CPW: II. 406.

²³⁴ Richard J. DuRocher, *Milton and Ovid* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 45-46.

²³⁵ Raylor, 'Milton, the Hartlib Circle, and the Education of the Aristocracy', p. 402.

the academy at Mantua, run by Vittorino da Feltre²³⁶), and all of the subjects are rooted in classical literature. As Charles Webster writes in *The Great Instauration*, ‘no other writer associated with Harlib was able to maintain this strong humanistic bias against the growing tide of new ideas’.²³⁷ We should therefore not associate his curriculum with the French noble academies alone, but look at the innovative humanist nature of academies in the Netherlands and Germany, with their extensive classical humanist curricula. Hartlib, Comenius and Dury (with his extensive continental journeys) belonged to this northern European tradition, as did Milton.²³⁸

Milton’s academy shows other similarities with the Amsterdam Athenaeum where it deviates from Comenian ideas. For Hartlib’s circle, educational reform became increasingly topical during the late 1630s, 40s and early 50s in England, because the unstable political situation created new possibilities for change within all institutions, including the academies. Moreover, with ecclesiastical reform being the prime concern of the new puritan government, education was automatically included because of the close ties between the Church, universities and schools, leading to an explosion of educational reform proposals between 1648 and 1650.²³⁹ From the outset, parliament was ‘the hope of Hartlib’s circle’, and responsible for financing the proposals.²⁴⁰ These were often directly implementable, with a focus on practicality, rather than the Utopian proposals of Bacon and More, and therefore addressed directly to parliament, such as Hartlib’s *Macaria* of 1641.²⁴¹ Within the different tracts, learning was always connected to piety and Christian virtue, seeking the regeneration of intellect, and knowledge of

²³⁶ Oliver Morley Ainsworth, *Milton on Education* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), pp. 8-10.

²³⁷ Webster, *Great Instauration*, p. 190.

²³⁸ Howard Hotson, ‘Philosophical Pedagogy in Reformed Central Europe between Ramus and Comenius: A Survey of the Continental Background of the Three Foreigners’, in *Samuel Hartlib & Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 29-50 (p. 31).

²³⁹ Webster, *Advancement of Learning*, p. 27.

²⁴⁰ Kevin Dunn, ‘Milton among the Monopolists: *Areopagitica*, Intellectual Property and the Hartlib Circle’, in *Samuel Hartlib & Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 177-192 (p. 188).

²⁴¹ Webster, *Advancement of Learning*, p. 34.

God before the Fall. Education would bring each generation closer to the lost Kingdom of God.²⁴² Milton's first and utmost ambition, too, was to 'repair the ruines of our first Parents by regaining to know God aright': education aimed at a reclaiming of paradise.²⁴³

Milton does not mention anything about how he intended to fund his 'spacious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons'.²⁴⁴ He does, though, mention in his pamphlet *Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings* (1659) that he hoped to fund schools and libraries through civil revenues: '[b]ut be the expense less or more, if it be found burdensome to the churches, they have in this land an easy remedy in their recourse to the civil magistrate; who hath in his hands the disposal of no small revenue, left perhaps anciently to superstitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and best uses'.²⁴⁵ In the United Provinces, the Athenaeum did indeed rely on civil funding, as Milton had proposed. As with almost all academic schools in the United Provinces, it was an initiative of the city council, consisting of regents and citizens (among which C. P. Hooft and P. C. Hooft), in this case by the city of Amsterdam. It was thus independently financed by local authorities, and not by the States-General, the national authority, or other provincial bodies, nor was it supported by any religious institution.²⁴⁶

These points of comparison between Milton's academy and the Dutch Athenaeum illustrate that these dialogues of educational reform exceeded the bounds of a solely English context. Questions of reform, especially in unstable or changing states, and after the Renaissance, would naturally occur; after all, 'Europe of the Renaissance

²⁴² Webster, *Great Instauration*, pp. 100-101.

²⁴³ *CPW*: II. 366-367.

²⁴⁴ *CPW*: II. 379-380.

²⁴⁵ *CPW*: VII. 306.

²⁴⁶ Van Mier, p. 23.

and Reformation developed a new genre of pedagogical texts and images, inspired by classical and Christian examples'.²⁴⁷ This comparison has demonstrated that Milton was interested in intellectual progress within his own country (hence the patriotic choice to add wrestling to an otherwise European humanist curriculum in order to train soldiers). He was quite willing, though, to use foreign methods, which explains his association with the internationally orientated Hartlib circle, who had vigorous correspondence with scholars interested in educational reform all over Europe. In England and the United Provinces, groups of intellectuals cooperated for educational reform, highlighting the importance of literary and intellectual circles for the development of education in both these two countries.

Constantijn Huygens and Hugo Grotius

Two writers already mentioned, Hugo Grotius (or Hugo de Groot in Dutch) and Constantijn Huygens, deserve a little more attention than they have received so far, since both were key figures in diplomatic relations between the Dutch Republic and the rest of Europe, and of significance when discussing Dutch influences in Milton and Marvell. Huygens was appointed secretary to stadtholder Frederik Hendrik in 1625 and Willem II in 1647.²⁴⁸ Besides being a gifted composer and playing several musical instruments, he created an extensive literary oeuvre – over two thousand Latin verses as well as poems in French, English, Spanish and German. But it is for his Dutch poems that he is considered one of the most versatile and cosmopolitan poets that the province of Holland has known.²⁴⁹ Huygens established a broad intellectual network, partly as a

²⁴⁷ Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History: Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 26.

²⁴⁸ Lisa Jardine, *Gedeelde Weelde*, transl. by Henk Schreuder (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij de Arbeiderspres, 2008), pp. 113-114.

²⁴⁹ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, p. 331.

result of his diplomatic travels and participation in the Republic of Letters.²⁵⁰ However, four centuries later, he is curiously unknown to English readers and students. In 1956, Rosalie Colie wrote about his reputation that ‘if he is known at all, it is in the peculiarly frustrating and gratifying fashion, as the father of a famous son, Christiaan Huygens, the physicist. During his own life time, however, few Hollanders were better known outside their country than Constantijn Huygens’.²⁵¹ During his travels in England – three times during 1618-1623 and twice in the 1660s and 70s – he became acquainted with Ben Jonson, John Donne, Francis Bacon and Cornelis Drebbel among others, and was knighted in 1622 by James I.²⁵² The influence of these acquaintances, especially with Donne, is clearly visible in the metaphysical character of his poem ‘Sterre’ (in Appendix 4) and his Dutch translation of some of Donne’s sonnets. Vondel wrote a poem to Huygens that playfully mocks Huygens’ admiration for Donne:

*De Britse DONN’
Die duistre zon,
Schijnt niet voor ieders oogen,
Seit Huigens, ongelooen.*²⁵³

(ll. 1-4)

The British Donn’
That dark sun,
Shines not for every eye,
Says Huygens, without a lie.

²⁵⁰ See for an extensive discussion of Huygens’ relations with England, Thea van Kempen-Stijgers and Peter Rietbergen, ‘Constantijn Huygens en Engeland’, in *Constantijn Huygens en zijn Plaats in Geleerd Europa* (Amsterdam: University Press of Amsterdam, 1973): 77-141.

²⁵¹ Rosalie L. Colie, *Some Thankfulness to Constantine: A Study of English Influence upon the Early Works of Constantijn Huygens* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), p.1.

²⁵² Lisa Jardine, *De Reputatie van Constantijn Huygens: Netwerker of Virtuoso* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2008), p. 12.

²⁵³ Joost van den Vondel, ‘Op de Diepzinnige Puntgedichten van den Engelschen Poet John Donne, Vertaelt door C. Huygens’, in *’t Hoge Huis te Muiden: Teksten uit de Muiderkring*, vol. 8, ed by M. C. A. van der Heijden (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1973), pp. 175-176.

When Huygens travelled to England one last time in 1671, as part of a retinue accompanying Willem III van Oranje, he met John Evelyn, who referred to Huygens in his diary with the following words: ‘Constantine Huygens, Signor of Zuylichem, that excellent learned man, poet, and musician, now near eighty years of age, a vigorous, brisk man, came to take leave of me before his return into Holland with the Prince, whose Secretary he was’.²⁵⁴ Huygens was close friends with Grotius, both part of the Muiderkring and deeply involved with Dutch politics.

Similarly to Huygens, Grotius is as poet hardly read by English audiences, but mostly known for his works on international law (*Mare Liberum*, 1609), theology (*De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, 1627), and politics (*De Jure Belli Ac Pacis*, 1625). Marvell’s poem ‘The Character of Holland’ mentions *Mare Liberum* and *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis* (further discussed in Chapter V), which demonstrates the reach of Grotius’ work in Europe. The majority of his oeuvre is in Latin, about 80 percent, following the humanist tradition, but his most personal and arguably his best poetry is in Dutch, composed during his imprisonment in his castle Loevenstein in 1618-1621 (the specifics and causes of Grotius’ imprisonment are discussed in Chapter III).²⁵⁵ Together with Heinsius, Grotius aimed to revitalise the classical Senecan tragedy in order to praise the new Dutch Republic, which led to the composition of three tragedies in Latin, *Adamus Exul* (1601), *Christus Patiens* (1608) and *Sophompaneus* (1635), which have received the most scholarly attention and were adapted by Vondel into Dutch plays.²⁵⁶ His versatile career – legal advisor to the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United East-Indian Trading Company), official lawyer of the States-General, ambassador of the United Provinces in England (1613) and leading advisory for the city of Rotterdam –

²⁵⁴ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (London: Walter Dunne, 1901), Vol. II, 24 June 1671; Bense, p. 200.

²⁵⁵ Arthur Eyffinger, ‘Grotius’ Plaats als Dichter’, in *Het Delfts Orakel Hugo Grotius, 1583-1645* (Delft: Stedelijk Museum Het Binnenhof, 1983): 129-140 (pp. 129-131).

²⁵⁶ Porteman and Smits-Veldt, pp. 172-173.

established a broad political, scholarly and diplomatic network within the United Provinces.²⁵⁷ In 1621, he escaped from his castle and fled to Paris where he would remain for the next ten years.²⁵⁸ In 1635, he accepted the position of ambassador for Queen Christina of Sweden, in which he was mainly occupied with the encouragement of peace in Europe and uniting the different churches; as a result of his writings on these matters and his diplomatic visits as ambassador, he became the most influential Hollander, although in exile. The introduction given here to Huygens and Grotius is only of a very brief nature, but provides at least a suggestion of the role they played in the relations between the Dutch republic and England, and the rest of Europe. Both Milton and Marvell respond directly to Grotius' works, as we will see in Chapter V, and there are interesting connections between Marvell and Huygens, which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

There were other intellectual circles in the United Provinces, although perhaps less well-known than the Muiderkring and its famous members. In Utrecht, after the establishment of the University, an intellectual environment was created by figures such as Anna Maria van Schurman – the daughter of a rich exile and noble from Antwerp.²⁵⁹ Van Schurman was an exceptional scholar, fluent in fourteen languages, but also skilled in philosophy, mathematics and theology.²⁶⁰ One of the members of the Muiderkring, Jacob Cats, was a great admirer and named the character of the wise virgin 'Anna' in his poem *Houwelick* (1652) after Van Schurman.²⁶¹ Through the connection with Cats she became acquainted with Huygens, Heinsius, Revius and Barlaeus, leading to a thread of correspondence.²⁶² Her international reputation was established through her

²⁵⁷ G. J. van de Bork and P.J. Verkruijse, 'Hugo de Groot', in *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse Auteurs van Middeleeuwen tot Heden met Inbegrip van de Friese Auteurs* (Weesp: De Haan, 1985), pp. 233-236 (pp. 234-235).

²⁵⁸ See Appendix 4 for Vondel's poem celebrating Grotius' escape from Loevenstein.

²⁵⁹ Van Beek, *Klein Werk*, p. 28.

²⁶⁰ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (London: Harper Imperial, 2004), pp. 410-411.

²⁶¹ See Appendix 4 for a poem of Van Schurman to Cats; Schama, p. 411.

²⁶² Van Beek, *Klein Werk*, p. 32.

publication of *Nobilis: Virginis Annae Mariae A Schurman Dissertatio, de Ingenii Muliebris ad Doctrinam & meliores Litteras aptitudine*, 1641 (translated into English as *The Learned Maid, or Whether a Maid May Also Be a Scholar*, 1659). Through an Erasmian style of logic, she argues that women have the same divine right as Adam to exercise their intellect.²⁶³

Schama argues that this little tract marked the first ‘stirrings of an authentically independent female spirit in Dutch culture’, but Van Schurman was merely continuing on a path paved by other intellectual women before her, such as Tesselschade and her sister Anna; the latter composed a poem in 1620 (quoted below), in which she praises the wit and intelligence of Van Schurman.²⁶⁴ According to David Norbrook, there is a distinction between the participation of women in the salon style, of which Tesselschade and Anna are clear examples, and that of the academies, in which women would very rarely participate.²⁶⁵ Van Schurman, however, attended the university and was repeatedly invited by the university to present poems on official occasions – for example to compose an inaugural poem for the University of Utrecht (in Appendix 4), hence, establishing a position in both the public and private sphere for the female intellectual.²⁶⁶ Although she did not interfere or comment on any political issues, similarly to Anna and Tesselschade Roemer, Van Schurman did write theological treatises, such as *De Vitae Termino (Pael-steen van den tijd onses levens/ foundation of our times)* (1639) and *Eukleria Seu Meliores Partis Electio (Eukleria of Uitkiezing van het Beste Deel/ Eukleria or Election of the best part)* (1673). The biographical *Eukleria*

²⁶³ A short example that also illustrates the outspoken nature of the tract:
*Cui natura inest scientiarum artiumque desiderium, ei conveniunt scientiae et artes:
Atqui Foeminae natura inest scientiarum artiumque desiderium. Ergo.*
Everyone who desires art and science by nature is thereby suitable:
Women possess that desire. Therefore.

²⁶⁴ Schama, p. 412.

²⁶⁵ Norbrook, ‘Women, the Republic of Letters’, p. 226.

²⁶⁶ Van Beek, *Klein Werk*, pp. 32-34.

defends her choice to convert to Labadism and her reasons for following Jean de Labadie in exile.²⁶⁷

Before her chosen isolation from society, as a result of her religious choices, Van Schurman was an accepted contributor to the Republic of Letters, corresponding with many prominent scholars, of whom several were women, such as Marie Jars de Gournay (France), Birgitta Thott (Denmark) and Queen Christina of Sweden.²⁶⁸ There was no contact between Anna Maria van Schurman and Margaret Cavendish (nor between Cavendish and any other of the women mentioned), despite the fact that Cavendish moved to Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands, and that they had a shared acquaintance in the networker Constantijn Huygens, who mentions them both in the same letter.²⁶⁹ Perhaps Cavendish's lack of French and Latin limited her participation in the Republic of Letters though Van Schurman's linguistic talents might have compensated for that. It can also be argued that Van Schurman was helped by the relatively liberal attitude in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century when it came to female scholars – shown in the poem by Anna Roemer 'Aan Juffrouwe Anna Maria Schuerman' (To Miss Anna Maria van Schurman) (1620):

*[...] met Rêen en grond
Mannen Hoogmoede doet verdwijnen
Als gij Grieken en Latijnen
Dat geleerd' uijtheemsche volk
Toe kunt spreken, zonder tolk.*²⁷⁰

(ll. 14-18)

²⁶⁷ A. Sneller, 'Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678) als Literair Persoon en Geleerde Vrouw', *Literatuur*, 10 (1993): 321-328 (p. 325). Labadism is named after its founder Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), a French Jesuit who became a reformed theologian. He came to the Dutch Republic in the 1660s. Here he started sectarian communities, in which extreme Calvinist principles were preached. He attacked the Dutch Reformed Church for its corruption, and it was not long after that he was expelled.

²⁶⁸ Van Beek, *Klein Werk*, p. 35.

²⁶⁹ Jardine, *Gedeelde Weelde*, p. 171. For a more detailed discussion of the network that Constantijn Huygens established, among whose members many were women, see Jardine, *De Reputatie van Constantijn Huygens: Netwerker of Virtuoso?*

²⁷⁰ Anna Roemer, 'Aan Juffrouwe Anna Maria Schuerman' (Amsterdam: 1620).

[...] with reason and argument
Men's vanity is made to disappear,
When thou, Grecians and Latinists,
Those learned and outlandish people,
Without interpreter, will address.

The university town Leiden also had its share of literary and intellectual circles. The most influential was the society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* (NVA), founded in 1669, whose ambition it was to improve the quality of theatre in Amsterdam by promoting a French-Classical influence.²⁷¹ One of the founders, Lodewijk Meijer, was appointed *schouwburgregent* (regent of the theatre) in Amsterdam for a brief period (1667-1668), but was shortly afterwards dismissed, leading to the establishment of the society.²⁷² The society held meetings every week, at which a member held a lecture, followed by discussion.²⁷³ Records of the meetings were kept, of which 500 still exist today; they show that if members regularly missed meetings there was a system of fines, making sure all would attend and satisfy their obligations.²⁷⁴ This professionalization of the intellectual circle, rather unlike the unplanned and voluntary social gatherings of the Muiderkring, resembles John Hall's outline for an academy in England in his tract *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of learning, and reformation of the universities* (1649), at which members would also deliver discourses and would compose verses and poems, afterwards published under the name of the academy.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Grootes, pp. 17-18, Strietman and Happé, p. 340.

²⁷² Jan te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, Deel 4: Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde van de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1924), pp. 419-421.

²⁷³ Ton Harmsen, 'Gebruik en Misbruik van de Rhetorica door Nil Volentibus Arduum', *Zeventiende Eeuw*, 4 (1988): 55-68 (p. 55).

²⁷⁴ Harmsen, p. 56.

²⁷⁵ McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, pp. 61-62.

The NVA had a variety of members: several doctors, among whom Johannes Bouwmeester was the most prominent member, the poet Andries Pels, the playwright David Lingelbach and the printer Willem Willemszoon Blaeu.²⁷⁶ The main literary achievement of the circle was to ‘frenchify’ plays that were performed in the theatre in Amsterdam in the period 1669-1671 – such as *Agrippa, Koning van Alba* (Agrippa, King of Alba) (1669), *De Gelyke Tweelingen* (Equal Twins) (1670) and *Het Spookend Weeuwte* (The Ghostly Widow) (1670) – and to produce translations of French plays, predominantly by Corneille, Moliere, Racine and Plautus. One of the members, Andries Pels, translated Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, into Dutch (1677) and also wrote another handbook for the Dutch theatre, *Gebruik en Misbruik des Toneels* (Use and Misuse of the Theatre) (1681). Although its concept of an intellectual group to discuss philosophical and literary matters was based on that of the Muiderkring, NVA was mainly founded as a response to the estrangement between the theatres in The Hague and Amsterdam. Texts by members of the NVA were frequently reprinted over the following centuries and made an immensely valuable contribution to literary theory of the period.

In the second part of the thesis I will demonstrate the extent to which England and the United Provinces show parallel literary developments, through an analysis of the works of Huygens, Vondel, Bredero, Hooft and others, alongside the works of Marvell and Milton, as well as other English writers. This will chart the exchange, interrogation and deployment of political and religious ideas through literature. Important literary figures such as Huygens and Grotius played an essential role in the exchange of literary texts and traditions. This enabled literary exchanges throughout Europe assisted by the Dutch

²⁷⁶ Te Winkel, pp. 412-423.

printing culture. The freedom of press, the rise of the universities, and the monopoly on the book market placed the United Provinces at the heart of Europe's scholarly and intellectual world.

Chapter III

The Religious Tradition of the United Provinces

En so veel tpoinct vande religie angaet fulle hem die van Hollant en Zeelant dragen nae haerluyder goetduncke en dandere provintie van deser Unie sullen hem moge reguliere nae inhout vande religious vrede by de Hertz-hertoge Mathias Gouverneur en Capitein general van dese landen mit die van zijne gade by advijs vande generale state alrede geconcipieert ofte daer inne generalijck ofte particulierlijck alsulcke ordre stele als sy tot rust en welvaert vande provincie lede en particulier lede van dien en conferuatie van een yegelijke Geeflelick en Weerlick zijn goet en gerechticheyt dienelick vijnden sulle sonder dat hem hier inne by enige andere provincie enich hijnder ofte belet gedae sal moege worden mits dat een yder particulier in zijn helige vrij sal moge blijve en dat men niemand ter cause vande religie sal moge achterhale ofte ondersoecken volgende de pacificatie tot Gendt Gemaect.

As for the matter of religion, the provinces of Holland and Zeeland shall treat this issue according to their own discretion, and the other provinces of this union shall regulate themselves according to the content of the religious peace by Archduke Matthias, Governor and Captain-General of these countries, advised by the States-General, or can decide upon general or particular rules themselves when benefitting the peace and welfare of the province or individual members thereof, and the protection of his property and rights; no other province should obstruct or prevent him so that each person is free in his religion, and cannot be prosecuted or investigated, according to the pacification of Gendt.

Act XIII, *Verhandelinghe vande Unie eeuwich verbont ende eendracht, 1579*

(Treatise of the Union of the eternal covenant and unification)

This long sentence comprising the entire thirteenth act of the Union of Utrecht (1579) is the religious foundation of the Dutch Republic in its earliest stages. It propounds full liberty of conscience in the United Provinces in a deceptively tolerant manner; religious diversity was tolerated for the establishment of religious peace.²⁷⁷ However, as the

²⁷⁷ Joke Spaans, 'Religious Policies in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 72-86 (p. 77).

orthodox Henricus Arnoldi would argue later in his *Vande conscientie-dwangh* (1629), this act in the constitution could also be interpreted as granting liberty of conscience to the individual, albeit without the liberty of practice and the right to publish one's religious convictions.²⁷⁸ It is a good example of how the ambiguity of (state) religious identity within the Dutch Republic led to debates deep into the seventeenth century; the establishment of the religious milieu in the Low Countries, even before the foundation of the Republic, was markedly convoluted. It is often wrongly assumed that the Dutch Republic's reformation was a relatively straightforward process, during which a uniformly Calvinist nation was created, making conversations about toleration redundant. As J. Huizinga phrases it: '[t]he stranger, who wants to learn our history, always starts their research with the opinion that the Republic was undoubtedly a Calvinist state and a Calvinist nation'.²⁷⁹ In this chapter, I will give a relatively concise overview of the very complicated and sometimes violent processes that shaped the United Provinces as a multi-religious nation, and explore to what extent these struggles influenced the religious culture of Britain. This will allow a discussion of Dutch theology and its religious environment in the works of Milton and Marvell in Chapter VII.

During the 1520s, the Reformation arrived in the Low Countries. Emperor Charles V banned all Luther's writing from the Low Countries and officially established the inquisition to minimise its 'heretical infection'.²⁸⁰ The first Protestant heretics (Anabaptists) were burned in the capital of the Low Countries, Brussels, in 1523.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Henricus Arnoldi, *Vande Conscientie-dwangh, dat is: Klaer ende Grondich Vertoogh, dat de [...] Staten Generael in haer Placcaet den 3 Julij 1619 tegen de Conyenticulen der Remonstranten ghe-emanert, gheen Conscientie-dwangh invoeren: Maerallen Ingesetenen der Geunieerde Provincien, van hoedanigen ghelove sy zijn, de behoorlicke ende volcomene vryheydt der Conscientie toe-staen ende vergunnen [...]*(Amsterdam: 1629), pp. 2-4.

²⁷⁹ J. Huizinga, *Nederlandse Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw: Een Schets van Hugo Grotius en zijn Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984).

²⁸⁰ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 79.

²⁸¹ Gerrit Jan Hoenderdaal, 'The Life and Struggle of Arminius in the Dutch Republic', in *Man's Faith and Freedom: The Theological Influence of Jacobus Arminius* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962): 11-26 (p. 11).

Where the first Dutch Reformers originated from and how the Reformed Dutch Church, with its Dutch crypto-Protestantism, could be established in such a short period of time is difficult to explain, in particular, because the process of Reformation in the United Provinces was fragmented and the boundaries between different kinds of reformative religions – Zwinglian, Buceran, Lutheran – were fluid.²⁸² Calvinism itself was not widely accepted in the Netherlands until the later 1560s and 70s. Consequently, the foundation of the Dutch Reformed Church was not predominantly influenced by Calvin and Luther, but by Melancthon, Zwingli, Bucer and Bullinger.²⁸³

Another factor that played a role here and that distinguishes the Dutch early Reformation from that of other countries, including England, is that it took place from the bottom layers of society upwards, instead of the high governmental circles influencing the lower levels.²⁸⁴ The United Provinces never had an official state church, like the Church of England.²⁸⁵ This does not mean that there was no ruling church at the time, as the Dutch Reformed Church had many political privileges even though it never represented a majority of the population.²⁸⁶ Part of the reason why it was difficult to establish a state church or implement uniform policies on toleration was that the Dutch Republic had no central government and all civil and religious power was heavily regionalised.²⁸⁷ The rise of Calvinism progressed, nevertheless, synchronically with the rise of independence of the provinces; whether this is the result of determined Calvinist attacks on Catholic Spanish soldiers is difficult to prove, but it is safe to say that the

²⁸² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 85.

²⁸³ Hoenderdaal, p. 12; A. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: Hambledon and London, 1990), pp. 58-59. See for more information on the Anabaptists: A.F. Mellink, *De Wederdopers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1531-1544* (Groningen: Wolters, 1953) and see for brief introduction into the different main texts of the mentioned Protestants: G.R. Elton, *Renaissance and Reformation, 1300-1648* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1976).

²⁸⁴ Israel, *Dutch Republic* p. 74.

²⁸⁵ J.L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Peculiarism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 184.

²⁸⁶ Huizinga, *Nederlandse Beschaving*, p. 63; Maarten Prak, 'The Politics of Intolerance: Citizenship and Religion in the Dutch Republic (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 159-175 (p. 159).

²⁸⁷ Spaans, p. 85.

sturdy and stoic Calvinist attitude towards the war for independence contributed to the struggle for freedom.

The often cruel executions of Protestants by the Inquisition, led by Philip of Spain, meant that (Roman-) Catholicism became associated with the enemy, making the Protestant movement a symbol of liberation, although it would be wrong to suggest that the reformation was a simple binary opposition.²⁸⁸ Desiderius Erasmus' humanism and Catholic roots ran deep, and his influence on the culture of the United Provinces was and still is strong; he never publicly supported Luther, but he did not condemn his teachings either; he could even be seen as the first public promoter of Dutch religious toleration. Although Erasmus left the United Provinces in 1521, because the pressure on him to support Luther became too great (Ulrich van Hutten and Philip Melanchthon are only a few of those that appealed to him for support); his humanist influence and his disapproval of monasticism were already heavily integrated into Dutch society.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, even as late as the early seventeenth century, the majority of the Dutch population was still Roman-Catholic, especially in the Eastern and Southern provinces.²⁹⁰ In this humanist-Catholic soil, the seeds of the new Protestant religion were sown, meaning that the religious culture of the Republic never became dominantly Puritan (in the widest definition of the term) as could be observed in the English Republic, or among the Presbyterians in Scotland.²⁹¹ The publication of *De Belydenisse des Gheloofs* (Dutch Confession of Faith) by Guy de Brés in 1562, in Dutch as well as in French, being an outline of Calvinism, became the source that would organise and establish Calvinism widely in the United Provinces.²⁹² The recent executions of

²⁸⁸ Alistair Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618', in *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 109-135.

²⁸⁹ P.P.J.L. van Peteghem, 'Erasmus Last Will, The Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries', in *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The man and the Scholar*, ed. by Jan Weiland and Willem Frijhoff (Leiden: Brill, 1988): 88-100; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 49-51.

²⁹⁰ Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*, p. 267.

²⁹¹ Huizinga, *Nederlandse Beschaving*, p. 69.

²⁹² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 104.

Protestants all over the Low Countries and the Spanish displays of intolerance towards any religion but Roman-Catholicism, led to a counter-response of Protestant zealotry. Catholicism itself became a suppressed religion after the outbreak of the great revolt in 1572. Catholic pastors and clergy were expelled from the main cities, convents were destroyed, churches and cathedrals were stripped of their treasures. The years 1566-1567 were marked by violent outbursts, also called the *beeldenstorm* (storm of statues), despite Willem van Oranje's attempts to establish full toleration within Dutch Christianity (Catholic and Protestant) as a whole.²⁹³

What truly marked the beginning of the rise of the (Calvinist) Reformed Church were synods, regularly held in almost every province, of which the first national synod took place in Dordrecht (or Dordt) in 1578, and was scheduled to take place every three years thereafter.²⁹⁴ These synods were the key movement that made the Dutch Reformed Church so influential; through these meetings general agreements could be made, leading to consensus throughout the United Provinces, something that other Protestant faiths were unable to organise. The zealous Calvinists actively discouraged other Protestant schools, such as the Socinians, Mennonites and Anabaptists, though the majority of the Dutch Protestant population was only 'mildly' Protestant, hence supporting toleration to some extent. However, as the Calvinist preachers gathered more support and confessionalisation in general became more widely implemented in ordinary Dutch society, the idea of toleration began losing its support.²⁹⁵ A division was created in which difference of conscience was tolerated, but difference in practise was

²⁹³ H.F.K. van Nierop, *Beeldenstorm en Burgelijk Verzet in Amsterdam, 1566-1567* (Nijmegen: Socialistische Uitgeverij, 1987); Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 361-362.

²⁹⁴ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 367.

²⁹⁵ In her article, 'The Bond of Christian Piety', Judith Pollman argues that confessionalism only took place in one part of Dutch society, the public part, but that the majority of the Dutch population did not become full members of any congregation, and that these were the supporters of religious toleration: Judith Pollman, 'The Bond of Christian Piety', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 53-71.

not.²⁹⁶ People were allowed, for example, to have Catholic sympathies privately, but could not hold masses, Catholic processions or public sermons.²⁹⁷

It was during this period that doctrinal controversies, especially within the Calvinist Church itself, began to arise. The dispute between the two theologians Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) and Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641) had a profound influence on Dutch society and the rest of Europe, as has been briefly mentioned in the previous chapter. Although this strife is by no means illustrative of the religious environment as a whole in the United Provinces at the time, the debate itself, with its religio-political and religio-cultural implications, does bring to light some of the foundations of the Christian (Protestant) milieu. Arminius was born in 1559 in Oudewater. He registered at the University of Leiden on 23 October 1576.²⁹⁸ In 1581, he graduated from Leiden with a reputation for excellent scholarship, though, was still too young to become a minister. With a scholarship from the burgomasters of Amsterdam, he was able to continue his studies at the University of Geneva in 1582, under Theodore de Beza, or Beze. Here he became close friends with Joannes Wtenbogaert and Conrad Vorstius, who would all become great promoters of Remonstratism in the United Provinces. Wherever Arminius went to study, preach or lecture, conflicts and controversies about theology, logic and reason arose, and Geneva was no exception. His preference for Pierre de la Ramee, or Ramus' theories on logic offended the Aristotelians at the university, leading to Arminius' move to Basel in 1583, where he studied under Johannes Jacobus Grynaeus.²⁹⁹ In 1587, he returned to Amsterdam, where he was admitted to the Dutch Reformed Church. Arminius' key objective throughout his career as minister and

²⁹⁶ Judith Pollman, 'Vondel's Religion', in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 85-100 (p. 87); Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 373.

²⁹⁷ See for a more elaborate discussion on how Catholics worshipped in a mainly private sphere, Christine Kooi, 'Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 87-101.

²⁹⁸ Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 25, 47.

²⁹⁹ Bangs, p. 71.

professor was that all Christian faiths should be based solely on readings of the scripture, questioning widely accepted views that had no biblical basis.³⁰⁰ He believed that all Christian faiths and Judaism must agree on the essential doctrines, but that differences of interpretation were acceptable when these issues were incidental. Arminius' years as minister were far from quiet, but the most lasting controversy began at the University of Leiden, when he was appointed professor.³⁰¹

In 1602, Franciscus Junius, Professor of Theology at the University of Leiden, passed away, opening up a vacancy. Junius himself was a moderate Calvinist, condemning the superlapsarian position on predestination, and his statements on original sin (he believed in men's nature being *puris naturalibus*) were less outspoken than Arminius'. The University looked abroad to find a less controversial theologian to fill the post, but the group in favour of Arminius' appointment was growing, led by Arminius' close friend Johannes Wtenbogaert; other prominent names that supported Arminius' cause were Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (grand-pensionary of Holland) and Johannes Grotius (Lord of Noordwijk and Kattendijk, father of Hugo Grotius).³⁰² Opponents were led by Gomarus, supported by Plancius. Although Arminius' exegesis was 'admissible if not preferable' to the supralapsarians, the opponents of the appointment were won over, leading to his official appointment in 1603.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Hoenderdaal, p. 15.

³⁰¹ An example of one of Arminius' smaller controversies when a minister in Amsterdam concerned his reading of Romans 7, which was published in 1591. He argues in this text that this biblical passage is not about the consequences of the rebirth of a Christian, but considers Christians that are purified by the Holy Spirit and are in the process of rebirth. Petrus Plancius, a fellow minister in Amsterdam but originally Flemish, good friend of Gomarus and fervent follower of Beza, accused Arminius of Pelagianism. Arminius responded to this accusation with a more elaborate description in *De Vero et Genuino Sensu Cap. VII Epistolae ad Roman Dissertatio* (first published in 1612). He was, however, also called before the burgomasters (including C.P. Hooft (father of P.C. Hooft) and Laurens Reael), as they felt that any risk of public disputes in the current tense and unbalanced religious climate should be suppressed. Although unintentionally, his defence turned Plancius into a source of animosity for the rest of Arminius' career. For more information on Plancius see, J. Keuning, *Petrus Plancius: Theoloog en Geograaf, 1552-1622* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1946), pp. 40-41.

³⁰² Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H.M. Call, *Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 30.

³⁰³ Bangs, p. 238.

Historians are uncertain when precisely the two professors first publicly disagreed on matters of theology, but the first public sign that they did was the disputation on predestination that Gomarus organised in October 1604, as a response to a previous disputation on the same topic, chaired by Arminius earlier the same year.³⁰⁴ Arminius' first work that set out and introduced his theology, including his ideas about predestination, had already been published in 1602 (a year before his appointment as professor at the university), entitled *Examen Modestum Libelli, Quem D. Gulielmus Perkinsius Apprime Docturus Theologus Edidit Ante Aliquot Annos De Praedestinationis Modo Et Ordine, Itemque De Aplitudine Gratiae Divinae*.³⁰⁵

At this point, it will be helpful to outline the professors' doctrinal differences on matters of free will, grace and predestination, leading to the great controversy, as the theology of Arminius will be discussed in detail in Milton's and Marvell's works in Chapter VII. I am aware that the Arminian controversy was about more than predestination alone; it was, too, about republicanism, sovereignty, state and church, and toleration. Some of these aspects will be discussed further below.³⁰⁶ Predestination, however, provides the key focus in this thesis, as those traces can be found directly in Milton's and Marvell's works. Although there are some studies that explain Arminius' doctrine carefully and insightfully, a significant amount of recent scholarship has identified the differences between (High) Calvinism and Arminianism incorrectly.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Stanglin and Call, p. 31.

³⁰⁵ Den Boer, p. 6.

³⁰⁶ This is the aim of Freya Sierhuis important recent study into the controversy, highlighting all these aspects and their impact on Dutch literature and religious tracts: *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 2-17.

³⁰⁷ Carl Bangs, and Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H.M. Call studies as previously mentioned are very illuminating in their interpretation of Arminianism. To name just a few problematic descriptions of Arminianism and Calvinism: Brooke Conti, *Confessions of Faith in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2014), in particular her doctrinal distinction between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants on page 114; John Witte, *The Reformation of Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and his use of the term of Calvinism, especially in his application of that to Milton; Takashi Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and Politics in the Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), and his statement that for High Calvinists, Arminianism was indistinguishable from Popery, and that 'Arminians hate the doctrine of grace', pp. 199-200.

For these reasons, I will present a basic outline of the foundations of Arminianism and Gomarianism; a full understanding of the theological differences between the two would, as Beza wrote in a letter to Wtenbogaert, ‘require books big enough to fill a house’.³⁰⁸ Romans, in particular the verses 7:13-23, was the main source of contention between different Christian movements when discussing predestination. Unlike Augustine, who counselled that predestination is shaded in ambiguity and that it should remain that way, Gomar, Perkins, Beza, Calvin, Arminius and many other reformers tried to explain the inexhaustible complexities of the apostle Paul’s letter.³⁰⁹ There are, however, four main points – Grace, Free Will, Divine Foreknowledge and Election – on which they differ considerably, leading to great tension between the two professors.³¹⁰ Gomar’s ideas on predestination were based on Calvin’s explanation of Romans (7 and 9), but followed a more extreme version, similar to that of Beza and Perkins, namely the High Calvinist convention. For these reasons Arminianism is often interpreted as a response to Beza’s explanation of predestination in his *Tabula praedestinationis* of 1555.³¹¹ This meant that Beza and indirectly Gomar argued for supralapsarianism and creabiltarianism (predestination in the first degree, followed by creation, followed by a divine authorization of the Fall), whereas Calvin was of a more moderate lapsarian view, implying infralapsarianism (creation in the second degree, which means predestination after the Fall) in his works, although he never explicitly mentions the

³⁰⁸ Beza, ‘Letter to Wtenbogaert, 29 July 1593’, qtd. in Bangs, p. 194.

³⁰⁹ As Nicholas Tyacke also points out, Augustine changed his mind about predestination during his lifetime, which made it possible to use his own texts to contradict themselves, hence reinforcing the image of ambiguity: Nicholas Tyacke, ‘The Rise of Arminianism reconsidered’, *Past and Present*, 115 (1987): 201-216 (p. 204); Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 412.

³¹⁰ Instead of using the Calvinist five points of predestination, I have chosen to use the Arminian terminology, since it is Arminianism that I will be discussing in most depth in relation to Milton and Marvell. The five points are divided as following: original sin, unconditional election (now called free will), irresistible grace (now called grace), perseverance of saints (divine foreknowledge of future faith), and lastly limited atonement (election). Arminius agreed on the concept of original sin, but had alternative interpretations of the other four terms.

³¹¹ Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 13.

term.³¹² Arminius on the other hand discards and even condemns all forms of lapsarianism in his doctrine.

The text that forms the basis of Arminianism and which is also the most explicit in its theology is his response written to William Perkins' *De Praedestinationis Mode Et Ordine Et De Amplitudine Gratiae Divinae* (published in 1598).³¹³ Perkins was a renowned professor of theology at Cambridge University and followed the supralapsarian point of view in soteriology. Although Arminius' tract was a response, he was unable to send it to Perkins before the latter passed away. Arminius' animadversion is helpful, as both sides of the argument, including its supposed errors, are presented. In my explanation of the four points, I will follow the chronological and logical arguments as written in Arminius's response.

Grace

Gomarus divides the concept of grace into two categories, common grace and peculiar grace.³¹⁴ Common grace applies to all people, whether they are elect or non-elect, whereas the latter is only for those predestined to receive it. Salvation becomes a mathematical equation: common grace + peculiar grace = ultimate salvation. Following this logic, Christ did not die for all of mankind, but only for a pre-select few.³¹⁵ The execution of predestination will take place as the temporal life leads to the eternal life, although the outcome of the salvation process was already determined before the creation of human beings and the divine authorization of the Fall. Arminius, however, divides grace into salvation as sufficient and salvation as applied.³¹⁶ He argues that

³¹² As Peter White points out in his book, the prefixes to the term predestination infra-, sub-, and supra-, did not occur until after the synod, meaning that Arminius, Beza and Calvin could not possibly have used this terminology, but the concepts behind these were already very much present, p. 16.

³¹³ Arminius' later publications were more cautious in their arguments on predestination and for reasons of clear contrast, I have chosen to use the above work in order to discuss the doctrine of Arminianism.

³¹⁴ WA: III. 445-446.

³¹⁵ WA: III. 335.

³¹⁶ WA: III. 335-336.

salvation is a universal phenomenon allotted to every rational being. The salvation as applied is the blood of Christ, which is for those who choose to accept it: salvation as sufficient + faith = salvation as applied.³¹⁷ This is one of the points of Arminius' doctrine that led to accusations of Pelagianism (which condemns the doctrine of original sin, arguing that mankind can establish its own salvation by following the good example of Christ, and does not require divine aid).³¹⁸ Arminius defended himself by explaining that faith is only provided by divine grace and cannot be established by mankind itself, because of original sin. Faith thus includes the condition of election, but as a gift out of the love of God.³¹⁹ This argument is similar to Beza's claim that faith is a sign of election, but there is no pre-selection in Arminius theology, as it is up to man to accept.³²⁰ Following the same line of argument, Arminius accused Gomarus (and Beza) of making God the author of sin. If the Fall is not an act of human free will, its authorization cannot be anything but the will of God, hence creating sin.³²¹ Perkins and Gomarus both try to undermine this argument by dividing God's authority into his will and his permission, without offending God's omnipotence. He did not will the Fall but permitted it to take place.³²² Mediate power will illustrate his permission, whereas immediate power represents his will.³²³ This underpins the (High) Calvinist statement that God foresees all events, because he has decreed them in the past, whether through mediate or immediate power.

Free Will

³¹⁷ Sierhuis calls Salvation as Applied 'Grace Efficient', p. 48.

³¹⁸ Bangs, p. 215.

³¹⁹ White, p. 35.

³²⁰ Beza, *Tractationes*, I. 200; White, p. 20.

³²¹ WA: III. 288.

³²² White, p. 25.

³²³ WA: III. 390-399.

Perkins completely denied the existence of free will in his aforementioned tract. He argues that the idea of free will is universal and that grace as a result of free will is universal, which can only lead to Pelagianism. Arminius, however, attributes free will to every rational being, which is flexible to either side (*liberum arbitrium flexibile in utramque partem*), maintaining the potential for reprobation as well as salvation.³²⁴ He nevertheless retains the concept of original sin (which at the same time explains the universal presence of sin), meaning that man is ‘addicted’ to evil and cannot choose faith without divine grace, a belief shared by Calvin and his reading of Augustine.³²⁵ This grace is, however, resistible; it may be offered by God, but needs to be accepted by mankind individually, whereas Perkins and Beza argue that divine grace is irresistible. In Arminius’ doctrine, there is therefore a distinction between believing and the ability to believe.³²⁶ The latter is universal, whereas believing itself is a process of faith, grace and human acceptance. It is thus also possible to fall from grace, according to Arminius.³²⁷ He writes that the seeds that are planted in men’s heart are not immortal and that lost sheep can be seized by Satan; the perseverance in faith is thus an open question.³²⁸ This does not argue that God willingly permits sin, but allows mankind several genuine moments of choice.³²⁹ It is to God’s glory when man eventually chooses voluntarily, with the help of divine grace, leading to faith and becoming a regenerate man.³³⁰ Gomarus, Perkins and Calvin on the other hand follow the doctrine of eternal security: once saved, one is forever saved.³³¹ God’s omnipotence is thus proved. Arminius responds again to this by saying that God’s love is *Duplex Amor Dei*,

³²⁴ WA: III. 470-471.

³²⁵ Arminius based this idea mainly on Romans 5:12: ‘Wherefore, as one man’s sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned’, and Genesis 8:21, 1 Kings 8:46, Psalms 80:3, Job 25:4; WA: III. 469-471; E. J. Bicknell, *The Christian Idea of Sin and Original Sin, in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (London: Longmans, 1923), pp. 17, 27.

³²⁶ WA: III. 481-482.

³²⁷ WA: III. 456-458.

³²⁸ Cummings, p. 407.

³²⁹ WA: I. 674.

³³⁰ WA: III. 408.

³³¹ WA: III. 454.

two-fold: love for men as sinners and love for what is right and just. By following the doctrine of eternal security, mankind might be drawn into believing that their salvation is already secured and that their own participation in the salvation process would not alter the intended salvation.

Divine Foreknowledge of Future Faith

Almost all sub-Protestant movements in this period followed the assumption of divine foreknowledge of future faith.³³² Gomarus was particularly adamant that God knows the events of the future as he decreed them to occur before humankind or even before the universe had been created.³³³ Calvin, too, denies that God's power was divided into *potentia absoluta* and *potential ordinate*, as the church fathers had done before him.³³⁴ He argues that 'governing heaven and earth by his Providence, he so directs all things that nothing happens but by his determination'.³³⁵ In Arminius' case this is not as absolute and definite. He divides the concept of predestination into absolute predestination and individual predestination.³³⁶ The absolute refers to the process of saving the believers and damning the unbelievers, which is an absolute process with no qualification.³³⁷ When it comes to individual predestination, however, Arminius argues that it is not a law or inescapable verdict, but merely knowledge of what will come. This is similar to the Mennonites' conviction at the time, as shown in the confession of 1577 by Hans de Ries from Middelburg, in which is written: 'God has known from all eternity all things that happen, have happened and will happen both good and evil, this foreknowledge compels no one to sin'.³³⁸ This statement, however, led to the accusation

³³² Bangs, p. 219.

³³³ Franciscus Gomarus, *Accoort vande Recht-sinnige leere der Voorsienicheyt Gods* (Leiden: 1612).

³³⁴ T.H.L. Parker, *Calvin: An Introduction to his Thought* (London: Chapman, 1995), p. 44.

³³⁵ *Institutes*, 3.190. 23-24.

³³⁶ WA: III. 451-453.

³³⁷ Bangs, p. 219.

³³⁸ Qtd. in Bangs, pp. 167-170.

that Arminius was a follower of heretical Socinianism. Arminius replied that the acceptance of salvation as applied is still an act of free will, but one that is assisted by divine grace, stimulating faith; a joint process between God's offer and man's acceptance.³³⁹

The Extent of Election

The last main point of the theology of predestination is the problem of determining the extent of salvation applied to mankind. As already mentioned, Gomarus, Calvin and Perkins believed that predestination was only for a select few, for whom Christ had sacrificed himself.³⁴⁰ The exact number of elected people was unknown. Arminius is at this point closer to Calvin than one would expect. When reading his tract on the process of salvation, one could ask how it is that God determines to which people he gives divine grace, hence enabling faith, leading to salvation; the conclusion could be drawn that Arminius included a process of selection in his reading of Romans, which is exactly what he condemns in Gomarus and other lapsarians. This apparent contradiction will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter VII, and Milton's use of this particular aspect of Arminianism. Arminius, however, argues that men are not saved because they have a desire to be saved, but because God allows them to be saved. This does not mean universal salvation and universal reprobation: all of mankind receives the same chances, but salvation and reprobation occur for individuals.³⁴¹ Arminius tried to find a balance between extreme or high Calvinism's lapsarian positions, and Pelagian necessitarianism.³⁴²

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³³⁹ WA: III. 470-471.

³⁴⁰ *Institutes*, 3.23.6; Bangs, p. 213.

³⁴¹ WA: III. 441-449.

³⁴² Bangs, p. 212.

With these major differences at the base of both doctrines, it did not take long before Gomarus' and Arminius' disagreements escalated. Although Arminius explained from the beginning that he wanted to establish a 'free, tolerant, national church', the after-effects 'bear unmistakable elements of historical irony [as they led to] civil and ecclesiastical strife, resulting in the formation of a rigidly confessional church'.³⁴³ There was general unrest in the University between the students of Gomarus and Arminius; Arminius' students were for example not allowed to be appointed as ministers because their doctrines were deemed heretical.³⁴⁴ News of the controversy became a topic of discussion on the streets and the population felt increasingly uncomfortable with the dispute. Though it may be difficult nowadays to imagine how a concept so abstract and theological could occupy people from all layers of society, 'people discussed predestination everywhere; families were divided and friends parted. Discussions took place in the market square, in the inn, and on board ship'.³⁴⁵ At first the battle between Gomarus and Arminius only affected the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, but as a result of the synods in each province and the close links between Dutch Reformed ministers, the quarrel quickly spread to almost all parts of the United Provinces, excluding perhaps the province of Groningen.³⁴⁶ The main response of the people was a call for a national synod in which a definite decision could be made about the 'correct' explanation of predestination to still the general anxiety. In 1606, the authorities were

³⁴³ Lambertus Jacobus van Holk, 'From Arminius to Arminianism in Dutch Theology', in *Man's Faith and Freedom: The Theological Influence of Jacobus Arminius* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962): 27-45 (p. 27).

³⁴⁴ Plancius added oil to the fire by calling Arminius and his followers Coornhertians and Neo-Palagians in his sermons to the citizens of Amsterdam. Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590) was a major figure in the Dutch Reformation. Although he advocated remaining part of the Catholic Church, he was a strong promoter of religious toleration, including a rejection of original sin and predestination, based on Erasmian principles. See for more information on the influence of Coornhert in the Dutch reformation: H.A. Enno van Gelder, *The Two Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961).

³⁴⁵ Hoenderdaal, p. 20.

³⁴⁶ See for an elaborate discussion on the development of Remonstrants versus Contra-Remonstrants in the individual provinces, Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 426-428.

forced to grant approval for the synod to take place in order to stop the protests in the United Provinces.

Although the state appeared powerless in this matter, it is an illustration of how closely connected politics and religion were at the time.³⁴⁷ Both main leaders of Holland and, indirectly, all of the United Provinces, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and Maurits van Oranje (military commander of the United Provinces) interfered in the situation.³⁴⁸ Van Oldenbarnevelt supported Arminius from the beginning, but Maurits took an opposite position. Neither had outspoken views in the religious debate, but for political reasons they positioned themselves on either side of the struggle.³⁴⁹ Van Oldenbarnevelt found himself in a precarious position, wedged between the monarchical position Maurits aspired to, and the increasingly dissatisfied leaders of the Reformed Church who wanted a less liberal attitude from the States-General in church matters; both developments had a considerable following, making them dangerous forces.³⁵⁰ The debate between Arminians and Gomarists was ‘not only about the niceties of predestination and supra- or infra-lapsarianism’, but also about toleration versus orthodoxy, which had profound influences on the Dutch Republic as a state.³⁵¹ Van Oldenbarnevelt was mostly occupied with civil matters of state, as a convinced Erastian republican and supporter of religious toleration.³⁵² He considered a peace treaty with Spain after several decades of war in order to promote trade, leading to the Twelve Year Truce (1609-1621). Maurits on the other hand kept the royal title of prince and had ambitions to establish the Family of Oranje as the royal family of the United Provinces, which could only be achieved

³⁴⁷ Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 60.

³⁴⁸ I will refer to Prince Maurits van Oranje as Maurits and not by his surname, as this might lead to confusion between the other members of the same family, who all heavily participated in the establishment and independence of the United Provinces.

³⁴⁹ George Edmundson, *History of Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 128.

³⁵⁰ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 422.

³⁵¹ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (Bath: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. 215.

³⁵² Judith Pollman, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 107.

once Spain was defeated permanently, hence supporting a war strategy.³⁵³ The Dutch historian J.L. Price found a correlation, and proposes that when looking at ‘firm supporters of the Reformed orthodoxy, they were very likely to be Orangist, and equally those with liberal religious sympathies [Arminians] were likely to be republican in their political coloration’, which was certainly the case in the figures of Maurits and Van Oldenbarnevelt.³⁵⁴

The general synod was scheduled to take place in the early summer of 1608. The States-General sent its own delegates and all professors from the two universities (Leiden and Franeker) were invited. Naturally, Arminius and Gomarus were part of the delegation that would represent the province of Holland. However, it would take another ten years before all parties agreed on the format of the synod. During those years, Arminius tried to settle issues and published his *Libertas Prophetandi* which, although ineffective, shows his optimism and ‘his confidence in the appeal to reason and good-will’.³⁵⁵ In the end, however, it proved too late for Arminius to come to the synod and state his case, as he passed away in 1609.³⁵⁶

The years 1608 to 1610 were crucial in the development of a religious revolution in the United Provinces. Although the United Provinces and in particular Holland and Amsterdam were liberal in their acceptance of different religions, anti-Catholicism was at its height, for its association with the Spanish enemy.³⁵⁷ The religious situation became entangled with the political strategies of the United Provinces’ main leaders and there was much more at stake than merely doctrinal issues; it was convenient for the authorities to have one person to blame when things did not go according to plan.

³⁵³ Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch Gentry: 1500-1650* (London: Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 153.

³⁵⁴ Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, p. 80.

³⁵⁵ White, p. 24.

³⁵⁶ Bangs, pp. 273-274.

³⁵⁷ Marshall, p. 154.

Anyone supporting the Roman-Catholics and their Pope was seen as indirectly supporting Spain.³⁵⁸ The loss of several Dutch towns to the Spanish army was blamed on poor Dutch morale, in turn pinned on the lack of trust afforded the Arminians.³⁵⁹ Several pirated versions of heretical tracts were published under Arminius' name, which further blackened his reputation. As a result, he was accused of Arianism (which held that the Son (divine but not a deity) was created by God (both deity and divine) leading to a denial of the trinity), Socinianism and Unitarianism (similarly, a denial of the trinity, condemnation of eternal sin, and no damnation nor atonement), even though he had argued prominently in his writing that he fervently and passionately believed in the trinity.³⁶⁰ Arminius became a symbol of everything that was wrong in the Republic at the time and a scapegoat through whom the leaders of the provinces sought to calm the mass hysteria that was rising.³⁶¹

The Arminians, led by Arminius' close friend Wtenbogaert, submitted a text called the *Remonstrance*, signed by 44 preachers, to the States-General, received by Van Oldenbarnevelt.³⁶² The Gomarists responded to the *Remonstrance* with their tract called the *Counter-Remonstrance*. They made the equal but opposing claim to the Arminians, that the general confession of the Netherlands should be amended to reflect Gomarus' ideas about predestination. At the same time, there were debates about who had to fill the vacancy of Arminius' chair as Professor of Theology. Wtenbogaert and Van Oldenbarnevelt had the authority to appoint a successor and chose Arminius' close friend from their time together at the University of Geneva, Conradus Vorstius, a Remonstrant often accused by the Contra-Remonstrants of Socinianism.³⁶³ Hugo

³⁵⁸ Bangs, pp. 299-302.

³⁵⁹ Bangs, p. 303.

³⁶⁰ See for example in 'On the Person of Our Lord Jesus Christ' and 'God the Father & Christ's Will & Command', in WA: II.

³⁶¹ Bangs, p. 299.

³⁶² Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht 1578-1620* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 227.

³⁶³ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 428.

Grotius defended the States-General decision to appoint Vortius in his *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiae Ac Westfrisiae vindicate*.³⁶⁴ From this point onwards, the first international responses to the controversy and struggle can be found, or rather, as Cumming phrases it, ‘the Dutch remonstrance of 1610 threw Northern European Calvinism into a spasm’.³⁶⁵

In 1609, Grotius was sent to London to speak with James I and to convince people close to the king not to support the Contra-Remonstrants’ cause.³⁶⁶ Grotius focussed on the fact that the Contra-Remonstrants were hostile to the authority of Van Oldenbarnevelt, leading James to exclaim, ‘I could be in Edinburgh!’, comparing the Contra-Remonstrants to the Scottish Puritans.³⁶⁷ Grotius’ audience with Archbishop Abbot was, however, far from successful; the latter agreed that resistance to the authorities could not be permitted, but that the theology of the Contra-Remonstrants was far preferable and that full religious toleration should be avoided.³⁶⁸ It was because of the possibility that Vorstius would be appointed Arminius’ successor that English support for the Arminian cause was lost. James I very much disapproved of Vorstius’ appointment and called him a ‘wretched heretique or rather Atheist’ as a result of apparent Socinian sympathies and tried to remove him from his professorial chair.³⁶⁹ This was partly the result of Martin Bucanus’ widely circulated works, *Examen Plagae Regiae* (1610) and *Refutatio Apologiae* (1611), which presented James as reading Vorstius’ radical writings.³⁷⁰ James responded to this by ordering the burning of

³⁶⁴ G.H.M. Meyjes, ‘Grotius as Theoloog’, in *Hugo Grotius: Het Delfts Orakel, 1583-1645* (Delft: Stedelijk Museum, 1983): 111-120 (p. 114).

³⁶⁵ Cummings, p. 408.

³⁶⁶ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 429.

³⁶⁷ Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Life-Long Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 155.

³⁶⁸ Nellen, p. 156.

³⁶⁹ Qtd. in Cummings, p. 408. There might have been some truth in James’ outburst as Vorstius re-published F. Socinus’ *De Auctoritate Sanctae Scripturae* (1611), when in Heidelberg, and added a preface by himself.

³⁷⁰ Frederick Shriver, ‘Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair’, *English Historical Review*, 85.36 (1970): 449-474 (p. 454).

Vorstius' books in Oxford and Cambridge, and even more significantly wrote a declaration against Vorstius, entitled *His Maiesties Declaration concerning his Proceedings with the States generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countreys, In the cause of D. Conradus Vorstius* (1612). As Frederick Shriver notes, Arminianism was more than merely one scholar's thesis, but also accommodated the view of people such as Vorstius, Episcopius and Grotius, and because James did not want to be associated with these people, he rejected the Arminian cause, offering to present Maurits with the Garter.³⁷¹

Although Grotius had already been drawn into the debate through his father, who supported Arminius from the time when he was still a minister in Amsterdam, Grotius' first public action to support the Remonstrants was the publication of *Pietas Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae vindicate*, despite the fact that he tried for years to maintain a neutral position and had friends on both sides of the debate.³⁷² After his public support for the Remonstrants, he actively tried to minimise the influence of the Contra-Remonstrants on the public; he never, however, argued for complete religious toleration, but promoted 'liberty of conscience' under strict supervision of the state; an Erasmian policy.³⁷³ Maurits saw the current controversy as an opportunity to seize power from the previously dominant Van Oldenbarnevelt. He lobbied continuously in support of Contra-Remonstrant regents and burgomasters, encouraging them to call for a national synod in which the sympathies of the Remonstrants could be condemned. The rumour was spread that Maurits would soon form an army to defeat Van Oldenbarnevelt and with him the Arminians. One by one, Maurits replaced influential Arminians in city councils with Contra-Remonstrants, gaining power in even the most Arminian of cities,

³⁷¹ Shriver, pp. 471, 474.

³⁷² C. van der Woude, *Hugo Grotius en zijn Pietas Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae vindicate* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1961).

³⁷³ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 429-430.

such as Nijmegen.³⁷⁴ When Van Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius saw that the Arminian strongholds were faltering one by one, they decided that a national synod might be the only way to retain some influence over the provinces. This defeat was insufficient for Maurits, who aimed to silence Van Oldenbarnevelt permanently. He persuaded the States-General to pass a secret resolution that would authorize him to take any action necessary to ensure the security of the provinces, leading to the arrest of Van Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius the next day.³⁷⁵ The trial of the two took many months, leading to a death sentence for Van Oldenbarnevelt (executed next morning, in order to avoid an appeal from Van Oldenbarnevelt himself) and life imprisonment for Grotius in his castle Loevenstein.³⁷⁶ The Calvinist Revolution could now take place in all earnest, replacing all teachers, preachers, ministers, academics and bureaucrats who held Arminian principles.³⁷⁷

In November 1618, the Synod finally took place in Dordt. Although the Synod had as its main purpose the official rejection of Arminianism, it was also intended to provide a guideline for Calvinism in all of reformed Europe.³⁷⁸ Invitations were therefore sent out to different reformed countries, leading to ‘six official delegates from Britain, five from England and one from Scotland. There were ten German delegates in three delegations, from the Palatinate, Hesse, and Bremen’.³⁷⁹ Naturally, an Arminian representation was also present, led by Arminius’ brilliant student Simon Episcopius. Although the outcome of the Synod was already known, it took 137 sittings to prove that Arminians were heretics and their teaching of the utmost heresy.³⁸⁰ Arminianism and Remonstrantism could not be so easily silenced. During the two years of the Synod,

³⁷⁴ Edmundson, *History of Holland*, p. 133.

³⁷⁵ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 449.

³⁷⁶ Edmundson, *History of Holland*, p. 136.

³⁷⁷ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 453

³⁷⁸ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 460.

³⁷⁹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 461.

³⁸⁰ Foster, pp. 1-2.

several riots by Remonstrants occurred; secret Remonstrant synods were taking place. A good example of a personal response and rejection of the outcome of the Synod is Vondel's poem 'Opde Jonghste Hollandtsche Transformatie' (On the Youngest Dutch Transformation) (1618), with its accompanying caricature:



Gomarus and Arminius head to head
Haggled for the True Faith,
Each brought their defence
Now placed in the scales.
Doctor Gomarus, poor sod
Was first at a loss:
Against clever Arminius
Who stopped Beza and Calvin
With Oldenbarnvelt's stone,
Gained the council's nod.
Gomarus' brain, which never shone,
Vainly or without hale reason.
His letters insist upon
'The Holy Right of every city'.
Gomarus' smile beamed here,
For as long as my lord prince
Hung above Gomarus' side
The comfort of his steel blade
Heavy of sheer weight,
Making too light all the rest.
Then all worshipped Gomarus as an
idol
And Arminius received a kick.

Figure 2. 'Opde Jonghste Hollandtsche Transformatie' (1618).

In the print, Arminius and Gomarus are weighed; Arminius was weightier as learned teaching, holy right and justice (through Van Oldenbarnevelt) were on his side, but

when Maurits added his sword to the balance, Gomarus was found to carry more weight, leading to Arminius receiving ‘de Schop’ (a kick).

The suppression and purging of Arminianism was of course not without wider success, and in the following years the Dutch Reformed Church managed to establish a firm position as a strict Calvinistic institution.³⁸¹ Remonstrant preaching was forbidden and Contra-Remonstrants could use the military, albeit with permission of the stadholder, to suppress any Remonstrant gatherings (as well as those of Lutherans, Catholics and Jews). Vondel wrote another brief poem, ‘Op den Heer Hugo Grotius, in zijn Ballingschap’ (To the Lord Hugo Grotius, and his exile) (1619?), in which he reflects upon the position of the Arminians now Grotius had been exiled to France, and the general lack of tolerance created by the Contra-Remonstrants, the so-called ‘Great Light’:

*Hoe zouw de duysternis dit Hollantsch licht gedoogen,
Dat al te hemelsch scheen in aller blinden oogen?
Het ging een wijle schuil, om klaerderop te gaen.
Wy haten 't Groote licht; een ander bidt het aan.*

How could the darkness tolerate his Dutch light,
That shone too heavenly in their blind sight?
It hid for some time, to shine brighter elsewhere
We hate the Great Light, others offer prayer.

It was from within this relatively intolerant Dutch climate that intellectual debates on toleration really commenced.³⁸² It is important to remember that even the Calvinists

³⁸¹ Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, p. 197.

³⁸² It has to be noted that both Coornhert, as aforementioned in the footnotes, and Justus Lipsius had already published influential works on the topic of religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century.

could not ignore the fact that the new Dutch state was founded on principles of religious dissent, and consequently conversations about toleration were not completely silenced.³⁸³ Israel's ground-breaking article, which emphasises the importance of Dutch tolerationist writing on European thought, especially that of the English, distinguished two movements of the toleration tradition in the United Provinces: the Arminian and the Republican.³⁸⁴ These conversations on toleration took mainly place in the maritime regions of the Netherlands, as the Eastern provinces were more conservative.³⁸⁵ Willem Frijhoff's summary of what toleration meant in the Netherlands is an informative one. He writes that 'toleration of religious diversity was allowed to flourish as long as the necessary concord between believers did not endanger the unity of the body politic and the civic community'.³⁸⁶

The Arminian tradition was mostly the result of Simon Episcopus' constant efforts after Arminius' death, pleading not only for liberty of conscience in principle, but also of practise and expression. He emphasised the rights and duties of individual churches rather than one united supreme church, policing acceptable interpretations.³⁸⁷ Wtenbogaert even argued that the Dutch Revolt had been Remonstrant in character, since it was a fight for liberty of conscience.³⁸⁸ There was an explosion of Arminian tolerationist publications in the years following the Synod until Maurits' death in 1625. These included Episcopus' most important work on religious toleration *Vrye Godes-*

³⁸³ Willem Frijhoff, 'Religious Toleration in the United Provinces', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 27-52 (p. 30).

³⁸⁴ Jonathan Israel, 'Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought', in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship, and Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994): 13-41 (p. 16).

³⁸⁵ Peter van Rooden, 'Jews and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Republic', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 132-158 (p. 132).

³⁸⁶ Frijhoff, p. 32.

³⁸⁷ Douglas Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 252.

³⁸⁸ Joannes Wtenbogaert, *Kerkelijcke Historie, Vervattende verscheyden Gedenckwaerdige saeken, In de Christenheyd voorgevallen, van Het Jaer vier hondert af, tot in het Jaer sestien hondert ende negentien* (Rotterdam: 1647).

dienst, of t' Samen-spreekinghe tusschen Remonstrant en Contra-Remonstrant, over de vrye Godts-dienstighe Vergaderinghen der Remonstranten (1627) (Free religion, or the conversation between Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant, about the free religious meeting of the Remonstrants) and *Belijdenisse ofte verklaringhe van 't ghevoelen der leeraren, die in de gheunieerde Neder-landen Remonstranten worden ghe-naemt, over de voornaemste articuleren der christelijcke religie* (1621) (Confession or declaration of the faith of teachers, who are named Remonstrants in the United Provinces, about the most prominent articles of the Christian faith). The prolific Wtenbogaert wrote similar texts, such as *Contra-discours kerckelic ende politijck, dat is: Antwoordt op de glosen ende 't discours met consent van de heeren regierders der stadt Amsterdam aldaer uytghegheven op des hoogh-gheleerden M. Simonis Episcopij Brief* (1621) (Contra-discourse on church and politics, that is, an answer to the explanation and discourse with the consent of the rulers of the city of Amsterdam, who published the learned letter of Simonis Episcopus) and Passchier de Fijne's *Nieuwe-Jaer Geschenck, Ver-eert Aen alle Remonstrants-gesinde, zo wel aen Predikanten als Toehoorders, die nu dese 6 jaeren zeer swaerlick onder de Verdruckinghe ghezucht hebben, ende noch tot Godt haren hemelschen Vaeder zuchten* (1625) (New year gift to all Remonstrant sympathisers, both to preachers as well as listeners, who have for six years suffered oppression, and sigh to God, the heavenly father).³⁸⁹ It is worth noting that these works were published in Dutch (although some of these were also simultaneously published in Latin) and thus targeted at a general Dutch reading audience, interested in toleration. Wtenbogaert and Episcopus were exiled to France after the outcome of the Synod of

³⁸⁹ It has to be said that within the tradition of Arminian toleration, there were individual differences, of which the greatest is that Episcopus argued that all Christians agree on the essentials, and disagree on particularities; Wtenbogaert never went as far in his arguments. Both, however, agreed that these differences of conviction might lead to different churches and dominations, but will nevertheless lead to a peaceful state as people will be able to express their own conscience, something that was again supported by Wtenbogaert and de Fijne: Israel, 'Religious Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought', p. 20.

Dordt, which is reflected upon in a very short poem, 'To Johan Wtenbogaert', by Vondel, written shortly after Wtenbogaert left the Netherlands:

*Dit is de wyze mond, die menig met verwond'ren
Hoorde onder 't grof geschut van Nassouws leger dond'ren.
Een, die voor 't Vaderland te sterven was bereit,
Werd hatelyk vervolgt en 't vrye lant ontzeit.*

This is a wise mouth that so many shocked
Heard while crude cannons of Nassau's army rocked;
One prepared to die for the fatherland,
Maliciously indicted, denied the free land.

Maurits' death in 1625 was the beginning of a more tolerant period, when the more moderate Frederick Hendrik took over the stadholder position, allowing the return of Episcopius and Wtenbogaert, but not Hugo Grotius.³⁹⁰

This did not necessarily mean that there were no orthodox voices protesting this turn of events, such as Henricus Arnoldi. They argued that the practise of Catholicism had always been prohibited by the state, and this should naturally extend to Lutherans, Anabaptists, Mennonites and Jews. Many years after the Dutch revolt both the orthodox and the tolerationist movements still closely linked their convictions to the Spanish oppression, meaning that the first argued that all religious parties that moved away from the Genevan doctrines would lead to new versions of Spanish Catholic tyranny, whereas the tolerationists argued that any intolerance was automatically a re-imposition of the Spanish yoke. After all, the Dutch revolt was all about the re-gaining of liberty, but

³⁹⁰ Israel, 'Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought', pp. 18-19.

whether this quest for freedom necessarily included a religious dimension was not precisely clear.³⁹¹

The second tradition, that of Dutch republican tolerationism, was followed by prominent Dutch intellectuals, such as Baruch Spinoza and the extreme republican brothers Johan and Pieter de la Court. Although strictly speaking Grotius' ideas on toleration were part of the Arminian tradition, as is most clearly visible in his work *Bewijs van de Ware Godsdienst* (1622) (Proof of the True Religion) (later published in Latin as *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1627)), his vision was centred on a state church in which individual faiths could find liberty of conscience, but practise and expression would take place under a shared roof. Moreover, Grotius was at the same time known for his republican writings and his ideas of toleration would thus always be connected to republicanism. For this reason, I argue that Grotius' works on toleration form the beginning of the republican tolerationist tradition, making it a tradition that commenced before its English counterpart, albeit that it did not truly flourish until the 1660s, with Spinoza's and the De la Court brothers' writings.³⁹² The essential difference between the two is that the Arminian tradition has at its core a search for the divine and universal truth in every Christian and Judean religion, which could only occur when free discussion was allowed, whereas the republican tradition saw religious freedom as parallel to political freedom, both indissolubly connected. Spinoza's famous praise of Dutch toleration in *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) is a good illustration of this, when he writes: 'I think I am undertaking no ungrateful or unprofitable task in demonstrating that not only can this freedom [of judgment] be granted without endangering piety and the peace of the commonwealth, but also that the peace of the

³⁹¹ Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Dutch' Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 8-26 (pp. 12-13).

³⁹² Israel, 'Seventeenth-Century Toleration in Dutch and English Thought', p. 24.

commonwealth and piety depend on this freedom'.³⁹³ Spinoza's later tract, *Tractatus Politicus* (1677), deals more extensively with the concept of religious freedom, but in a way that endorses freedom of speech, thought, and practise; the authority of religious communities in matters outside their ecclesiastical structure was subjected to freedom of expression.³⁹⁴

Although the Arminian movement had already done some of the groundwork before the republican tradition took off, the latter's arguments were often accompanied by extremely radical exegeses and general philosophy, such as Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae Interpres* and Adriaen Koerbagh's *Bloemhof van allerley Lieflykheid sonder Verdriet* (Garden of Loveliness without Grief) (1668), in which the latter denies the trinity, the mortality of the soul, God and the divine authorship of the scripture.³⁹⁵ The public church had accepted that toleration could not be fully ignored and during the 1650s services of Remonstrants, Catholics, Jews and Lutherans were hesitantly allowed, but the above mentioned works were actively suppressed, condemned and sometimes the authors imprisoned.³⁹⁶ It is fair to say that the extension of toleration seen from the 1650s onwards was partly profit-driven; as Benjamin Kaplan phrases it, 'tolerance promotes commerce'.³⁹⁷ The States-General were very much aware of the fact that a stable society was crucial to an optimally functioning economy, and this was often used by republican tolerationists in their arguments.³⁹⁸

Travel journals of British visitors in the later seventeenth century are a good example of how far the Dutch Republic had come in terms of toleration. In some cases,

³⁹³ Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, transl. by S. Shirley (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 51.

³⁹⁴ Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 155.

³⁹⁵ Jonathan Israel, 'Religious Toleration and Radical Philosophy', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 148-158 (pp. 150-151).

³⁹⁶ Israel, 'Seventeenth-Century Toleration in Dutch and English Thought', p. 28.

³⁹⁷ Kaplan, 'Dutch Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision', p. 8.

³⁹⁸ The first text I could find that makes the link between Dutch toleration and their prosperity is Jean-Nicolas de Parival's *Les Délices de la Hollande* (1651).

they admired the religious freedom, such as Gilbert Burnet – bishop and biographer – who wrote that he ‘saw so many men of all persuasions that were, as far as I could perceive, so truly religious that I never think the worse of a man for his opinions’.³⁹⁹ John Reresby, who travelled through Amsterdam wrote that ‘the religions allowed and professed in the United Provinces are many, such as Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, and what not: for they admit persons of all countries and opinions amongst them, knowing well that this liberty draws people, numbers of people increase trade, and that trade brings money, but the prevailing and most publicly practised is Calvinism’, again emphasising the idea that Dutch toleration was money driven.⁴⁰⁰ A similar observation that the prospect of profit was a uniting force when it came to the different (Protestant) religions was made by James Howell in the 1620s, who writes that ‘the generality of Commerce, and the common interest which large numbers of men had in the Indian and other companies produces a strange kind of Equality’, in this case between religions and classes.⁴⁰¹ This was also noted by Marvell in his ‘Character of Holland’, in which he refers to the Universal Church of Money:

That Bank of Conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion but finds Credit, and Exchange.
In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear;
The Universal Church is only there.

(ll. 72-75)

Felltham, on the other hand, provides a more cynical (if amusing) explanation and argues that the geographical location of the Low Countries would naturally lead to religious freedom: ‘[s]ayes one, it affords the People one commodity beyond all other

³⁹⁹ Qtd. in C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), p. 203.

⁴⁰⁰ John Reresby, *Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby* (London: Kegan Paul, 1904), p. 135.

⁴⁰¹ Qtd in John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 181.

Regions; if they die in perdition, they are so low, that they have a shorter cut to Hell than the rest of their Neighbours. And for this cause, perhaps all strange Religions throng thither, as naturally inclining towards their Centre'.⁴⁰² He continues his polemic by writing that all religions within the Dutch Republic, although perhaps different in doctrine and name, share that 'their country is the God they worship. War is their Heaven, Peace is their Hell, and the Spaniard is the Devil, they hate'.⁴⁰³

The question remains here to what extent this debate influenced Dutch literary culture itself. Freya Sierhuis has recently shown that the Arminian controversy has left deep traces on Dutch literary culture and religious controversial literature.⁴⁰⁴ In Chapter VII, the influence of this debate in England and on English writers will be shown. As has been said of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, '[c]ivil war [is] a state of being which has invaded every level of things, from the cosmos, to the individual, to the poet and his language'.⁴⁰⁵ Although the Arminian controversy never developed into full civil war, the effects on society were great, and the poems mentioned above are a small sample of the reactions of poets to the outcome of the Synod. It is interesting to note, with Huizinga, that many of the great artistic minds of the United Provinces supported Arminius in the debate: '[a]mongst the greatest names who created both thought or form, none is a zealous Calvinist: Grotius was not, nor Vondel or Rembrandt'.⁴⁰⁶ This means that the majority of influential artists were politically Arminian, spreading Arminianism through Europe via other, non-theological, channels.

Vondel in particular was outspoken in his critique of the Contra-Remonstrants. He is one of the most flamboyant examples of the Arminian group of writers that

⁴⁰² Owen Felltham, *Three Weeks of Observations of the Low Country, Especially Holland* (1672), p. 6.

⁴⁰³ Felltham, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁴ Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), passim.

⁴⁰⁵ James Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 42; Nicholas McDowell, 'Towards a Poetics of Civil War', *Essays in Criticism*, 65.4 (October 2015): 341-367 (p. 342).

⁴⁰⁶ Huizinga, *Nederlandse Beschaving*, p. 81.

included authors such as P.C. Hooft, Hugo Grotius and Jan Vos. Even years after the Synod, Vondel continued composing poems that revolved around Arminius, the Synod itself and most of all, the execution of Van Oldenbarnevelt. An example would be his poem 'On Jacob Arminius', composed around 1647:

*Dit 's 't aanzicht van Armijn, die 't zij hij schreef of sprak,
Het heilloos noodlot van Calvijn gaf zulk een krak,
Dat Lucifer nog beeft voor 't dondren van zijn lessen,
En d' Afgrond zwoegt en zweet, om 't stoppen dezer bressem.
Still, kraamvrouw. Sprak hij, stil, scheid vrij gerust van hier:
God werpt geen zuigeling in 't eeuwig helse vier.*

This is the face of Armin. By words he wrote or uttered,
Calvin's ruthless destiny was shattered
Lucifer still trembles at his teaching,
The abyss yet toils and sweats to still his preaching:
Quiet, midwife, quiet; from here with joy retire:
God will throw no babe into the eternal fire.

Much earlier, Vondel had composed his *Hekeldichten*, which are satirical responses to the consequences of the Contra-Remonstrant victory for Dutch society, a separate section within his *Verscheidende Dichten* (Diverse Poems) of 1644. He was a fervent supporter of Van Oldenbarnevelt's regime and his views on toleration. Vondel was, after all, not part of the mainstream Dutch Reformed religion, as he initially was a Mennonite and later converted to Roman-Catholicism, and was thus in favour of religious toleration.⁴⁰⁷ Van Oldenbarnevelt's execution influenced the writer's complete oeuvre, from small poems, such as 'Het stockske van Joan van Oldenbarnevelt' (Johan

⁴⁰⁷ Dutch Mennonites are an interesting case of a tolerated minority that flourished, see Samme Zijlstra's article, 'Anabaptism and Tolerance: Possibilities and Limitations', in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by R. Po-Chia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 112-131.

van Oldenbarnevelt's Stick), to plays, for instance *Palamedes oft Vermoorde Onnooselheyd* (1625) (Palamedes, or Murdered Innocence), in which Van Oldenbarnevelt is represented as Palamedes and Maurits as Agamnon. The play directly comments upon and satirizes the Synod of Dort, the notion of predestination and the political agenda of the Contra-Remonstrants.⁴⁰⁸

At the other end of the spectrum, we find poets who embraced an orthodox Calvinist approach in their works, contemplating morality and the damning effects of (original) sin. The most famous of these is Jacob Cats (1577-1660), who became the most widely-published Dutch poet in the seventeenth century with his *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* (Images of Sins and Virtues) (1627). Cats, however, was one of the few Calvinist authors who managed to unite the humanist classical tradition with orthodox Calvinist discourse.⁴⁰⁹ A good example of Cats' unification of Contra-Remonstrant writing with a preservation of classically influenced scholarship is the following poem from *Sinne- en Minnebeelden*, 'XV Mijn last is aen my vast' (XV My burden adheres to me), using a tortoise as way of explaining and emphasising certain vices and virtues:⁴¹⁰

*Soect yemant lost te zijn van alle mine-banden,
So laet de vrijster daer, en trect in vreemde landen
Roept Naso tot de jeught; maer na dat ick het vind,
De raet die Naso gheeft, en is maer enckel wind:
Ick hebbe verr' gheseylt, ic hebbe veel ghereden,
En siet! Het oude pack dat cleft my aen de leden;
Dat draegh ic op den bergh, dat vind ic in het dal,
'Ach! Wat int here woont dat voert men over al'.*

⁴⁰⁸ See Freya Sierhuis' Chapter 5 'Victim, Tragedy and Vengeance', in *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy*, pp. 192-226, for a detailed analysis of Vondel's play, and the context in which he was writing.

⁴⁰⁹ David Kromhout, 'Latin and the Vernacular between Humanism and Calvinism', in *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular* (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 266-287 (p. 281).

⁴¹⁰ See the Appendix 4 for two other poems in translation by Cats.

*De Schilt-pad draught haer huys geduerich op de leden,
Sy gaet als sonder sorgh, en sachtjens henen treden,
Men vintse menichmael van alle not bevrijt,
Al gaet de vos sijn hol, de beer sijn leger quijt;
Wie in sijn boesem draegt, sijn gelt, en beste panden,
Sijn winkkel, sijn beslagh, sijn vette kooren-landen,
Die heeft een seker erf, en wandelt onbevreesst;
'Waer is doch yemant arm die rijck is inden geest?'*

Die sonde doet, is der sonden dienaer.

*Waer heen ellendich dier? Ey! Wilt u ganghen staken,
Het is om niet ghepoocht, door vluchten los te raken;
Gaet aen het open strant, of in het dichte wout,
Het cleeft u aen het lijf, dat u gevangen houdt,
Is yenant overstolpt met ongesonde lusten,
Die torst een staghe last, waer sal hy connen rusten?
Al rotst hy om het lant en hier, en weder daer,
'Sijn pack dat blijft me by, en weicht hem even swaer'.*

If someone seeks freedom from all human ties
Leave your love there, and roam far and wide.
Ovid called to the Youth, but I myself find
That Ovid's advice is nothing but wind:
I have ridden long, and sailed far on the sea
And see the old weight has cleaved to me;
I carry it up the mountains, I find it in the dells
'Oh, one bears all ways what in one's heart dwells'.

The tortoise bears her house on her limbs, abidingly,
She moves unworried, treading sedately,
One glimpses here sometimes freedom from all need,

Whilst fox must seek her den, the bear his dark retreat;
He who harbours money and his capital within,
His shop, his income, his harvest gathered-in,
Has a sure inheritance, can fearlessly stroll;
‘How can anyone be poor, if rich in soul?’

The sinner is sin's servant.

Where are you going, miserable beast? Hold tight!
It has been tried before, breaking free by flight;
Over open sands or through dense trees
It clings to your body, you are seized.
One whom improper lusts infest,
Hawls a heavy yoke; where shall he find rest?
Even if he roams the land time and again
His burden stays with him, weighing ever the same.

In this same group of writers we find Johan de Brune (1588-1658), a contemporary of Cats. Both spent the majority of their lives in Middelburg, but de Brune's works are now practically forgotten. In restrained prose, de Brune actively encourages his readers to find moral teachings even in Arminian and Catholic books, for example in *Banquet-Werck van goede gedachten* (Banquet of good thoughts) (vol. I. 1658, vol. II. 1660), a work with annotated proverbs:

‘CXVIII Waerheit’, Aer de waerheyd is, al waer 't oock in een Turk of Tarter, daer moet zy ghelieft, en op haer schonsten dagh gestelt werden. Veel teere zieltjes zijn schouw van een paeps of arminiaens boeck te handelen: maer in die leeme en verachte hutjens, wonen oock Goden: gelijk de Filosoof sprack. Dat onze passien niemand onbesuyst op 't lijf en loopen: maer laet ons de honigh-rate zoeken, tot binnen in de kele van de leeuw.

‘CXVIII Truth’, Where truth is, whether in a Turk or a Tartar, there she is loved and created as on her most beautiful day. Many delicate little souls are afraid to deal with a popish or Arminian book: but in these despised little mud-huts, Gods live too: so too the Philosopher spoke. Let passions not rule our body: *but let us find the honeycomb, even within the lion’s throat.*

The works of de Brune, especially *Nieuwe Wyn in oude Le’erzacken* (1636) (New wine into old wineskins)⁴¹¹ with over 7000 rhymed proverbs, are clear examples that in the Contra-Remonstrant mode of writing, moralisation and Calvinism nearly always went hand-in-hand, sometimes even at the cost of the entertainment and flow of the literature itself, whether this was intentional or not; De Brune for example often emphasises in his works that he is not a poet. The book is divided into long lists of proverbs, each assorted into general virtues, such as community and equality. This is an example from the section ‘Goed, Quaet, Beter, Ergher’ (Good, Evil, Better, Worse) that demonstrates how the moral lessons work:

*’t Is beter struycklen met de voet,
Als dat-men ’t met de tonghe doet.*⁴¹²

It is better to trip with one’s foot,
Than to do so with one’s tongue.

What I have tried to show in this chapter is the extent to which the religious development of the Low Countries shaped the Dutch Republic, not only through the deep traces that the Reformation and Counter-Reformation left, but also that the revolt itself was indissolubly connected to the United Provinces’ attitudes towards religious diversity. The fact that a controversy about predestination could have such a profound

⁴¹¹ This is a reference to the proverb in Matthew 9, Mark 2, and Luke 5.

⁴¹² Johan de Brune, *Nieuwe Wyn in oude Le’erzacken* (Middelburgh: 1636), p. 17.

and long-lasting influence on all facets of Dutch culture (and consequently Europe) says something about the space that society provided for these debates to take place, of which toleration is one half of that picture. The conclusion that in the United Provinces, too, politics and religion could hardly ever be separated in the early modern period, comprises the other half. The aforementioned writers are only some examples of people who were directly affected by the process of creating a coherent religious milieu after the establishment of the Dutch state. It is, however, these circumstances – the multiple tolerationist traditions, the Arminian-Gomarus controversy, and the radical philosophical religious conversations that took place in society – that made the Dutch Republic a unique nation, and later spread many of its traditions and ideas throughout Europe. William Temple's description from the 1670s is instructive:

It is hardly to be imagined how all the Violence and Sharpness, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countreys, seems to be appeased or softened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance; Nor how faction and Ambition are thereby disabled to colour their Interested and Seditious Designs, with the pretences of Religion, Which has cost the Christian World so much blood for these last Hundred and Fifty Years. No man can here complain of Pressure in his Conscience; Of being forced to any publick Profession of his private Faith; Of being restrained from his own manner of Worship in his own House, or obliged to any other abroad[.]⁴¹³

⁴¹³ William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (London: 1705), p. 205.

Chapter IV

Dutch Politics and Economics

The great abundance of all things necessary for them, is answerable to this their store of shipping: and that which is the greatest wonder is, that *Holland* which abounds most in all these things, doth not produce almost any of them from within her self: there doth not grow any corn of whatsoever sort in *Holland*; yet *Europe* hath not a more plentiful Granary: No flax growes in *Holland*, yet from thence doth issue an infinit deal of linnen cloth: no wool comes from *Holland*, yet is there great store of cloth made there: There are no woods in *Holland*, yet this Province builds more ships then almost all *Europe* besides: *Holland* abounds within it self with cattel, with fish, and all things made of milk; which being salted, and great provision made thereof, their ships are plentifully provided therewith: like provision is likewise made of all other sorts of Victuals necessary for life, of cloth for wearing, of sayl clothes for sayling, and of all things else which belong to Navigation; so as there is not only nothing wanting in the United Provinces of what is necessary for setting forth whatsoever number of ships, but a great super abundance thereof.

Guido Bentivoglio, *Historical Relation of the United Provinces and Flanders* (London, 1654), p. 13.

Bentivoglio's text, originally published in Italian as *Relatione delle Provincie Unite* (written 1611, published 1629 in Antwerp), was one of the most reprinted texts in early modern Europe on the state of the United Provinces, and published in multiple places: Cologne (1630), Genoa (1630), Paris (1631), Brussels (1632), Liege (1635), Venice (1633, 1636), Cologne (1640), and Rome (1647). It was translated into several languages: French (Paris 1642), Dutch (Rotterdam 1648) and English (London 1654).⁴¹⁴ It provides the reader with a full overview of the current condition of the United Provinces, and ranges from a description of the people (civilised, wealthy and

⁴¹⁴ Salvo Mastellone, 'Holland as a Political Model in Italy in the Seventeenth Century', *Low Countries Historical Review*, 98.4 (1983): 568-582 (p. 571).

industrious) to the government of individual cities. Many texts on the history and governance of the United Provinces were printed in this period, but Bentivoglio's text is particularly interesting. It is written by a Roman-Catholic who would be expected to condemn the revolt ideologically and support the Catholic king of Spain in his occupation of the Protestant United Provinces, a movement that is visible in the works of Cesare Campana's *Della Guerra di Fiandra fatta per difesa di religione da' Catholici re di Spagna Fillipo Secondo e Fillipo Terza* (1602) and Tommaso Campanella's *De Belgio sub Hispanicam postatem redigendo* (1602). Bentivoglio's text argues that this particular mixture of aristocratic, monarchical and democratic features created a new form of a free republic, to be preferred to the Republic of Venice.⁴¹⁵ Living in Brussels, he also read and spoke Dutch, meaning that he could observe the Dutch situation first-hand, use Dutch sources directly rather than relying solely on the sometimes prejudiced accounts of other contemporary (often Italian) writers.⁴¹⁶ That said, the above extract follows a trend in the works of seventeenth-century historians in voicing surprise that a country which was limited in size, with a small population, virtually no natural resources and with an unstable political constitution, was able to acquire such wealth in a few decades.⁴¹⁷ The loose political structure of the Netherlands assisted the sudden rise of the Dutch trading empire, the latter leading to a great degree of hostility in Europe. To elaborate on this claim, the Dutch republican institution and its position within other republics in Europe will be examined, and its trade and competition with England will be discussed.

The Dutch republican tradition influenced later republican narratives in early modern Europe, something that is noticeable in Milton's writings, which demonstrate

⁴¹⁵ Mastellone, p. 574.

⁴¹⁶ Mastellone, p. 574.

⁴¹⁷ Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-3.

interesting parallels with Dutch republican schools of thought, as will be discussed in Chapter VIII. The booming Dutch trade and expansion led to a great deal of animosity in Europe, in particular with England, and were one of the prime factors leading to three Anglo-Dutch Wars. Marvell, as MP and poet, dealt directly with the diplomatic issues surrounding these wars, which are addressed in Chapters V and VIII.

The Dutch Republic was officially founded with the signing of the Union of Utrecht (1579), in which the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, Groningen and the two rural provinces of Overijssel and Drenthe agreed to support each other in the war against Spain. The first article of the Union betrays the precarious balance between the need to become one nation in order to resist the power of Spain, and the desire to remain independent provinces:

Firstly, the aforesaid provinces will form an alliance, confederation, and union among themselves, as they do hereby form an alliance, confederation, and union, in order to remain joined together for all time, in every form and manner, as if they constituted only a single province, and they may not hereafter divide or permit their division or separation by testament, codicils, donations, cessions, exchanges, sales, treaties of peace or marriage, or for any other reason whatsoever. Nevertheless each province and the individual cities, members, and inhabitants thereof shall each retain undiminished its special and particular privileges, franchises, exemptions, rights, statutes, laudable and long practiced customs, usages and all its rights, and each shall not only do the others no damage, harm, or vexation but shall help to maintain, strengthen, confirm, and indeed protect the others in these by all proper and possible means, indeed if need be with life and goods, against any and all who seek to deprive them of these in any way, whatever it may be.⁴¹⁸

This state of dependency and independency, later to symbolise Dutch liberty, is remarked upon by Sir William Temple in the 1670s: '[i]t cannot properly be stiled a

⁴¹⁸ Translated by Herbert H. Rowen from 'Verhandelinge van de Unie, Eeuwig Verbondt ende Eendracht tusschen die Landen, Provintien, Steden en Leden van Hollant, Zeelant, Utrecht, & c. binnen de Stadt Utrecht gesloten den 23. January Anno 1579', in Herbert H. Rowen, *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times: A Documentary History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 69-74.

Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual defence, without any dependence one upon the other', which shows that almost a hundred years after its founding, there was still an emphasis on independence within its union.⁴¹⁹ From this point onwards, the Low Countries were divided into a free Protestant North, the United Provinces (now called the Netherlands) and an oppressed Roman-Catholic South, the Spanish Netherlands, now Belgium (Flanders) and parts of North France. Although not many people outside the Low Countries understood the politics of this division, it became evident in the 1580s that some sort of separation had taken place.⁴²⁰ Up until the Act of Abjuration in 1581, all official acts in both states were still issued under the name of Philip II, King of Spain, despite the ongoing revolt against his authority.⁴²¹ The Dutch national anthem, written in 1572, to this day still swears loyalty to the king of Spain. Nations such as France and England acknowledged the Dutch Republic as a separate nation in the years following the Union of Utrecht, but it would not be until the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain (1609-1621) that the latter partially acknowledged Dutch independence, followed by full recognition in the peace treaty of Münster (1648).⁴²²

In the few years following the Union of Utrecht, the North and the South rapidly estranged, as a result of their different parliamentary, military and constitutional foundations.⁴²³ The South still maintained a highly feudal system, in which the aristocracy remained the ruling class, whereas in the United Provinces the aristocratic class was severely diminished during the decades leading up to the revolt, replaced by a parliamentary regime, resembling a bourgeois system. The United Provinces had an

⁴¹⁹ Sir William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 52.

⁴²⁰ Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 36.

⁴²¹ J.L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 122.

⁴²² Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 596-597.

⁴²³ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 211.

extremely complex political structure. The States-General was the general body politic, but the provincial councils were the supreme powers in the nation.⁴²⁴ These councils consisted of the *vroedschappen* (town councils) and *ridderschap* (order of nobility), both elected for life, and who were again represented in the States-General.⁴²⁵ Eighteen towns each had one representative in the States-General, called *regenten* (regents), and one member of the *ridderschap* was elected, called the *Raadpensionaris* (council's advisor).⁴²⁶ Each town had one burgomaster (the large cities, such as Amsterdam, had several at once), the city council and the so-called *schepenen*, who were responsible for the court of law in every town, and villages that belonged to the nearest town.⁴²⁷ The local guilds were, however, not allowed to participate in the city's government.⁴²⁸ One of the problems with the system was that the eighteen representatives of the town in the States-General received influence according to their size, meaning that cities such as Amsterdam and Leiden would make decisions, whereas the smaller towns could only give their opinion when the large cities could not reach an agreement.⁴²⁹ This meant that the wealthy provinces of Holland and Zeeland were always dominant when making decisions that concerned the entirety of the United Provinces.

Broadly speaking, we could say that the South was ruled by the soldier, the North by the tradesman and merchant.⁴³⁰ This meant that there was no (monarchical) head of state, despite the fact that this role had been the aim of Willem van Oranje from the outset. It was generally accepted that greatest rivals and allies in Europe at the time were the old established monarchies – Britain, France and Spain – becoming a

⁴²⁴ Dunthorne, pp. 36-37.

⁴²⁵ Herbert H. Rowen, 'The Dutch Republic and the Idea of Freedom', in *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society (1649-1776)*: 310-340 (pp. 311-312).

⁴²⁶ J.L. Price, *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the Seventeenth Century* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974), p. 67.

⁴²⁷ Price, *Culture and Society*, p. 67.

⁴²⁸ Rowen, *Low Countries*, p. XXII.

⁴²⁹ Price, *Holland and the United Provinces*, p. 129.

⁴³⁰ Dunthorne, p. 38.

monarchy was therefore the logical model.⁴³¹ Nevertheless, as a true *politique*, he was willing to change the constitution of the United Provinces as long as it would free the Dutch from Spanish tyranny.⁴³² In a letter to the King of Spain, Van Oranje defends this position, writing:

The objection is raised that I am a foreigner in the Low Countries. As if the Prince of Parma, who was not born in this country, who owns not a shilling's worth of land here, and possesses not a single title here, but who commands some dunderheads with a rod of iron and makes those who obey him into slaves, were a great patriot. But what does the word 'foreigner' mean? It means someone who was not born in the country. Then the king is as much a foreigner as I, for he was born in Spain, a country which is the natural enemy of the Netherlands, and I was born in Germany a neighbouring country which is its natural friend. They will reply that he is a king, and I will reply that here I do not know this title of 'king'.⁴³³

In this letter, Van Oranje indirectly addresses one of the great difficulties for the Dutch Republic, namely that it did not have the authority of an established and cohesive history, a disadvantage that could be partly solved by making an old and powerful aristocratic family head of the nation. Willem van Oranje refers to the old history of his own family line, which is more elaborately explained later in the letter.⁴³⁴ The assassination of Van Oranje in July 1584 by the Catholic Baltazar Gerards brought an end to that dream, and the Dutch started to look abroad for potential monarchical candidates.⁴³⁵

⁴³¹ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 168.

⁴³² K.W. Swart, *William the Silent and the Dutch Revolt of the Netherlands* (London: The Historical Association, 1972), p. 38.

⁴³³ 'Apology de Guillaume IX, Prince d'Orange contre la Proscription de Philippe II, Roy d'Espagne', transl. by Herbert H. Rowen, in Herbert H. Rowen, *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times: A Documentary History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 81-91.

⁴³⁴ It is difficult to understand after reading his letters how Willem I van Oranje received the epithet the Silent.

⁴³⁵ Lisa Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent: The First Assassination of a Head of State with a Handgun* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p. 49.

Both Elizabeth of England and the Duke of Anjou from France were approached about becoming the sovereign head of the Northern Netherlands, but both declined, as the expense of warfare with Spain outweighed the advantages of greater power, and during the 1570s the battle seemed indeed a hopeless cause.⁴³⁶ Many tracts and letters were published in support of the leadership of Anjou over the United Provinces, such as a letter by the anonymous ‘German noble’, *Lettre contenant un avis de l’estate auquel sont les affaires des Pais-bas[...]* (1578), and another anonymous letter, *Lettre d’un gentilhomme de Haynault [...]* (1578), demonstrating that the succession was an international affair. Willem van Oranje himself gave a speech *Corte vermaeninghe aende naerdere ghevnierde Prouincien ende Steden der Nederlanden [...]* (1580) (Short admonition to the further United Provinces and towns of the Netherlands) promoting the adoption of Anjou, as he was close to the Southern Netherlands, which was convenient for future battles.⁴³⁷ With Anjou’s death in 1684, eyes turned to the King of France, as the United Provinces were in need of a ‘head’, demonstrating that a republic was still not considered a tenable long-term solution in this period, for example argued by Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert in his *Overweginghe van de teghenwoordighe gelegentheydt der Nederlantsche saken* (1584) (Considerations of the present situation of the Dutch affair), who promoted the leadership of the French. The Dutch thought to have found a solution in the figure of the Duke of Leicester. He was granted great influence not only on Dutch war policy, but also in politics in general.⁴³⁸ However, tense relations between the States-General and Leicester finally led to the accusation of the latter plotting a military coup, resulting in Leicester’s return to England in 1587.⁴³⁹ Perhaps Leicester’s greatest achievement was to make the Dutch warm to independence

⁴³⁶ Swart, p. 25.

⁴³⁷ Van Gelderen, *Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, pp. 168-170.

⁴³⁸ Van Gelderen, *Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, p. 199.

⁴³⁹ Simon Adams, ‘Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

without foreign sovereignty, and they turned down the road towards Dutch republicanism.⁴⁴⁰

After the establishment of the Dutch Republic, Dutch republicanism was deeply concerned with legitimising rebellion against the Spanish monarchy.⁴⁴¹ It is comparable to English Republicanism after the Civil Wars, in for example Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649) and his *First Defence* (1651), in which he defends the regicide in a similar way to the Dutch justification of the revolt, as will be examined in Chapter VIII.⁴⁴² The general argument in many of the mainstream Dutch works on republican thought, such as Johannes Althusius in his work *Politica Methodice Digesta, Atque Exemplis Sacris et Profanis Illustrata* (1602), emphasised the right of each individual to stand up against tyranny by all means necessary;⁴⁴³ power should reside in the people and not in the king.⁴⁴⁴ Just after the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, Hugo Grotius proposed a different line of argument in his book *Liber de Antiquitate Republicae Batavicae* (1610),⁴⁴⁵ namely that the Dutch state and its claim for independence was merely a continuation of the Batavian state centuries before, which had not been ruled by kings but by the best of Batavian citizens (also called the *primores*); the current revolt could therefore not be a rebellion against a legitimate authority.⁴⁴⁶ This meant that the Dutch state had not been newly founded but was one of the oldest in the world

⁴⁴⁰ Rowen, *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, p. XII.

⁴⁴¹ Eco Haitsma Mulier, 'The Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism in the United Provinces: Dutch or European', in *The Language of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. by Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987): 179-196 (p. 179)

⁴⁴² Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004), pp. 253-254.

⁴⁴³ Jonathan Israel's comprehensive book *Democratic Enlightenment* highlights that Dutch rhetoric (in particular, the justification of standing up against tyranny) used in the revolt was re-employed during later revolutions, such as the American, French and later Dutch revolution: Jonathan Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 741-753

⁴⁴⁴ E.H. Kossmann, 'The Development of Dutch Political Theory in the Seventeenth Century', in *Britain and the Netherlands: Papers delivered to the Oxford-Netherlands Historical Conference, 1959*, ed. by J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960): 91-110 (p. 93).

⁴⁴⁵ It was a hugely popular book; it was reprinted seven times in the seventeenth century, as well as being translated into Dutch, French and English.

⁴⁴⁶ C.G. Roelofsen, 'Grotius and International Politics of the Seventeenth Century', in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, ed. by Hedley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 96-132 (p. 104).

(almost 1700 years). The great Batavian hero Claudius Civilis and his rebellion against the Roman Empire, as mentioned in Tacitus' *Histories*, became the symbol for the Dutch protest when liberty was endangered.⁴⁴⁷ The importance of the myth of Batavia for the Dutch constitution (in particular for the province of Holland) would be difficult to overplay; as early as 1510, humanist writing was concerned with the Batavian inheritance of the Northern Provinces, and its continuing influence is seen in the creation of the Dutch Batavian Republic for eleven years in 1795-1806.⁴⁴⁸ The city council of Amsterdam's commissioning of Rembrandt's painting 'The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis' (1661-1662) almost one hundred years after the Dutch revolt, P. C. Hooft's play *Baeto* (1617) about the founder of the Batavian nation, and the renaming of Jakarta in Java to Batavia in 1619, are just some examples of its importance.

The justification and interpretation of the Dutch revolt was a delicate matter as it determined the new state's international position. It therefore occupied the majority of republican writings in the early days of the Dutch state.⁴⁴⁹ A suitable republican model for the United Provinces was still emerging, and although there was a focus on the aristocratic elements of a republic, promoted by Grotius in *De Republica emendanda* (manuscript 1601) and C. P. Hooft's *Memorien en Adviezen* (Memoirs and Advices) (1611-1618), the foundation of the Dutch Republic was thought unfeasible by both Dutch and foreign scholars, after losing the support of England and France in 1598 and now facing Spain alone.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁷ Tacitus, *The Histories of Tacitus* (Cambridge: Loeb Classics, 1931), vol. III, pp. 25-71. Tacitus is an important figure in the establishment of the Dutch state. He was one of the few writers of antiquity with a particular interest in the Low Countries and Germany, especially visible in his work *Germania*. As a result, his works, including his detailed account of the Batavian hero Claudius Civilis became staple reading during the Dutch revolt and thereafter.

⁴⁴⁸ I. Schöffer, 'The Batavian Myth during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Britain and the Netherlands: Some Political Mythologies, Papers Delivered to the Fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975): 78- 101 (p. 81).

⁴⁴⁹ Roelofsen, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁵⁰ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 214-215; Roelofsen, pp. 101-102.

From the beginning, republicanism in the United Provinces consisted of a mixture of democratic, aristocratic and monarchic elements. It felt, however, that a head was needed to unify the various decision-making bodies. Into this void was inserted the figure of the stadholder, forming a compromise between monarchical control and republican division of power.⁴⁵¹ Herbert Rowen famously described the stadholderate as ‘an improvisation’, since it was not a comfortable fit with the Republican institution.⁴⁵² Secretan argues that the stadholders cannot be compared with monarchy as the former never had the ambition to change their position from aristocracy to royalty, nor the Dutch institution from republic to monarchy.⁴⁵³ Willem van Oranje, the first stadholder of the United Provinces, however, showed some ambitions for the Dutch state to become a monarchy, and was put forward for its kingship, that is, a constitutional kingship, ruling with the States-General.⁴⁵⁴ Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, the two sons of Willem van Oranje, each in turn followed their father in the stadholderate. Each province had their own stadholder, but Holland was by far the most powerful of the provinces making their position effectively that of national royalty.⁴⁵⁵ All were chosen from two noble houses, Oranje and Nassau, which became united centuries later, in the current royal family of Oranje-Nassau, and as part of their high nobility they maintained courts.⁴⁵⁶ As a result, they were often referred to as the ‘uncrowned kings’ of the Provinces; the Orangist Joost van den Vondel wrote a poem, entitled ‘Prinselied’ (Song of Princes) to the tune of the national anthem, praising the new stadholder Frederik Hendrik and drawing on a monarchical vocabulary:

⁴⁵¹ Geert H. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau* (1613-1664) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 4.

⁴⁵² Herbert Rowen, *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 1.

⁴⁵³ Catherine Secretan, ‘‘True Freedom’ and the Dutch Tradition of Republicanism’, *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, 2.1 (2010): 82-92 (p. 84).

⁴⁵⁴ Jill Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in Word and Image, 1650-75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 10.

⁴⁵⁵ Rowen, *The Low Countries*, p. XXII.

⁴⁵⁶ Janssen, p. 5.

*Frederick van Nassouwe
Ben ick, vroom Hollandsch bloed,
Mijn vaderland getrouwe
Met Leven, lijf en goed;
Een Prince van Oranjen,
Door wapenen vermaert;
Voor Oostenrijck noch Spanjen
En ben ick niet vervaert.*

Frederick van Nassouwe,
I am of pious Holland-blood,
Faithful to the fatherland,
In life and body, gift and good –
A Prince van Oranje
My name forged by the sword;
By neither Austria nor Spain
Could I be overawed.

The main role of the stadholder was to balance the power struggle between the independent States-General and the Provincial Councils.⁴⁵⁷ Through their office they influenced the Republic as an institution, but as counts they also represented the aristocracy.⁴⁵⁸ However, ministerial powers were located with the office of the advocate or grand pensionary.⁴⁵⁹ The stadholder and the grand pensionary were thus in a constant wrangle for supremacy, which often led to the fall of the grand pensionary, not least with Maurits' execution of Johan van Oldenbarnveld (1619), as discussed in the

⁴⁵⁷ Their power was as follows: they had political command by representing both the States-General and the provincial states, military command as Captain-General, and naval command as Admiral-General. They were members of the States-General for the two most powerful provinces, Zeeland and Holland, and they short-listed the candidates in the election of councillors and burgomasters for the city councils. Hans Kohn, 'Nationalism in the Low Countries', *The Review of Politics*, 19.2 (1957): pp. 155-185 (p. 159).

⁴⁵⁸ Rowen, *The Low Countries*, p. 313.

⁴⁵⁹ Dunthorne, p. 37.

previous chapter, and the lynching of Johan de Witt by an organised group of Orangists (1672). However, it also resulted in a number of *stadhouderloze tijdperken* (stadholderless eras) (1650-1672 and 1702-1747), in which opponents of the stadholders argued that such a role had no place in a republic.⁴⁶⁰ The tense relationship between the advocate or *raadspensionaris* and the stadholder, indeed, does demonstrate that the overall power balance was unstable, even a ‘constitutional monstrosity’.⁴⁶¹ Perhaps this emphasis on local politics and provincial institutions rather than a centralised government was, however, the ‘Republic’s strength, as this created a broad base for political decision-making’, resulting in the dawn of the Republic’s Golden Age.⁴⁶²

Republicanism and royalism were two sides of the same coin in the Dutch state, but a coin that was frequently flipped, sometimes overnight. As Helmer Helmers’ book, *The Royalist Republic*, has demonstrated, the Dutch anti-monarchical republican state changed to a royalist republic within a year after the English regicide of 1649, which is merely one example of fluctuating political affiliations and loyalties.⁴⁶³ From the Union of Utrecht to the 1630s, the United Provinces and its republican institution were often viewed with scepticism, but towards the middle of the seventeenth century this vision changed quite dramatically. The first stadholderless era (1650-1672) announced over two decades of strong Republican sympathies, which would be dramatically overturned in 1672. This does not mean that there were no prominent voices for both parties at any particular time, nor that Orangists were monarchists per se or anti-republican,⁴⁶⁴ or that

⁴⁶⁰ Wyger R.E. Velema, ‘“That a Republic is better than a Monarchy”: Anti-Monarchism in Early Modern Dutch Republican Thought’, in *Republicanism*, 2 vols., ed. by Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. 2: 1-25 (p. 12).

⁴⁶¹ J. Huizinga, *Nederland’s Beschaving in de 17e Eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), p. 33.

⁴⁶² James Tracy, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572- 1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 314; Prak, p. 3.

⁴⁶³ Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁴⁶⁴ Secretan, p. 83.

anti-Orangists were republicans by definition, but merely that the power balance shifted between Orangists and Republicans throughout the seventeenth century.⁴⁶⁵

Compared to the English tradition, Dutch republicanism, especially during its anti-monarchical heyday between 1650-1672, was more radical, as its context, the Dutch state, was less hierarchical, with greater emphasis on equality and liberty.⁴⁶⁶ The anonymous English pamphlet *The Dutch Drawn to Life* (1664), published in the middle of the Republican period, describes the antipathy of the Dutch towards the institution of monarchy in hyperbolic terms:

The countries government is popular, and there had need many to rule that rabble: tell them of monarchy but in jest, and they will cut your throat in earnest: the very name they think beares tyranny in its forehead; and they hate it more than a Jew doeth images, a woman old age, or a non-conformist a surprize, not a man among them hath authority by inheritance, for that were the way in time to parcel out their country to families'.⁴⁶⁷

This polemic comments or responds to the anti-monarchical writings of the period 1650-1672, such as Johan de Witt's *Deductie* (1652) and Rabot Scheels' *Libertas Publica* (1662, most likely written during the first Anglo-Dutch war).⁴⁶⁸

There are three writers who deserve special attention for their writings on Republicanism in the 1660s: the brothers Pieter (1618 – 1685) and Johan de la Court (1622 – 1660) and later, Baruch Spinoza (1632 – 1677). J. G. A. Pocock's highly influential book, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (1975), does not include Dutch Republican thought within the Atlantic tradition but, as this Chapter and Chapter VIII will show, James

⁴⁶⁵ Stern, p. 203.

⁴⁶⁶ Jonathan Israel, *Monarchy, Orangism and Republicanism in Later Dutch Golden Age Thought* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2004), p. 6.

⁴⁶⁷ Anonymous, *The Dutch Drawn to Life* (London: 1664), p. 39.

⁴⁶⁸ Haitsma Mulier, 'Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism', p. 193.

Harrington cannot be fully understood without reference to the De la Courts, nor John Locke without Spinoza.⁴⁶⁹ The lack of attention paid to the Dutch tradition within scholarship on Republicanism has already been mentioned by Jonathan Israel.⁴⁷⁰ These three key writers have already been mentioned in the previous chapter because their republican works also played a role in conversations on toleration, these issues often seeming indissolubly connected.

Pieter and Johan de la Court wrote *Interest van Holland, ofte Gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662) (Interests of Holland, or the Grounds of Holland's Welfare),⁴⁷¹ an immensely popular book, re-printed eight times in 1662 alone, as well as the *Polityke Weegschaal* (1661) (Political Balance).⁴⁷² In the tracts, heavily influenced by Machiavelli and the myth of Venice, the brothers present humankind as constantly driven by self-interest, meaning that good government can only be achieved by aligning the common good and one's self interest.⁴⁷³ They argue that the classical ideal of a mixed state, as was the case in the Dutch Republic at the time, was not feasible in reality.⁴⁷⁴ This also meant that in the De la Courts' republic no individual had the capacity to rule, which included the stadholder and the advocate, but also the powerful guilds.⁴⁷⁵ By comparing monarchy to the Turkish Empire – at the time a synonym for tyranny – the monarchical constitution was condemned and presented as the enemy of *ware vryheit*, true liberty (including religious toleration), the trademark of Dutch republicanism.⁴⁷⁶ They directed the argument towards free trade, since their idea of a

⁴⁶⁹ J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

⁴⁷⁰ Israel, *Monarchy, Orangism and Republicanism in Later Dutch Golden Age Thought*, p. 5.

⁴⁷¹ It is not clear what Pieter's and Johan's individual contribution to the book is, as Johan died unexpectedly before the first publication. We do know that Johan wrote the majority of the first edition of *De Weeghschaal*, but further editions and comments are by Pieter. I will, therefore, refer to the authors as the De la Courts, or the brothers.

⁴⁷² Velema, p. 13.

⁴⁷³ Haitsma Mulier, 'Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism', pp. 188.

⁴⁷⁴ Arthur Weststeijn, *De Radicale Republiek: Johan en Pieter de la Court – Dwarse Denkers uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2013), p. 27.

⁴⁷⁵ Pieter and Johan de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662), pp. 41, 89-91.

⁴⁷⁶ Pieter and Johan de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662), pp. 36-38; Secretan, p. 87.

republic's essence was commerce, which they regarded as the direct enemy of a monarch.⁴⁷⁷ They implicitly make clear that the tyranny of successive monarchy applies in the same way to nations led by one supreme military leader, hinting at the case of Cromwell.⁴⁷⁸ Where then lies the power in the De la Courts' republic? While adopting a Machiavellian framework, their works separate the multitude or the crowd, *vulgus*, from the common citizenry, *populus*, those with the vote.⁴⁷⁹ This would at the same time limit the power of the regents, who climbed to great power in the Dutch Republic in the earlier seventeenth century, in practise establishing an oligarchy. Taking Athens as an example, the De la Courts presented a system in which the prominent (well-off) citizens ruled over their poorer fellow citizens. Too much wealth would lead to some of the prominent citizens establishing a ruling aristocracy, potentially leading to a monarchy, undoing the Dutch republican project.⁴⁸⁰ The foundation of the De la Courts' state was the popular republic, but with prominent citizens wielding the political force; there were aristocratic elements too, although this was not to be confused with nobility; prominence was a consequence of active participation, rather than an idea of inherited personal superiority.

Baruch Spinoza was heavily influenced by the De la Courts' republican views, visible in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1677) and in the unfinished *Tractatus Politicus* (1678), which are concerned with the pursuit of welfare by humankind, through true liberty within its political constitutions; both emphasise their view that psychology formed the base of all political theory.⁴⁸¹ Though there is no evidence of a

⁴⁷⁷ Pieter and Johan de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662), pp. 34-35; Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: the Political Thought of Johan & Pieter de la Court* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 279.

⁴⁷⁸ Pieter and Johan de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662), pp. 142-145; Velema, p. 19.

⁴⁷⁹ Eco O.G. Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980), pp. 141-142.

⁴⁸⁰ Pieter and Johan de la Court, *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren* (1662), pp. 36-38; Secretan, pp. 188-206.

⁴⁸¹ Kossmann, p. 103.

meeting between the writers, Spinoza owned a copy of *Interest van Holland* and *Polityke Weeghschaal*.⁴⁸² The De la Courts took the Italian city states as their example, whereas Spinoza focussed on the Jewish state. A sustainable political constitution in both cases could not be of a mixed kind, and would be most successful if supported by as many citizens as possible (though women, the disabled and servants were to be excluded from citizenship).⁴⁸³ Spinoza, however, does not make the same distinction as the De la Courts between the *populus* and the *multitudo*, arguing instead that a commonwealth would be strongest with participation of all its inhabitants.⁴⁸⁴ In Spinoza's state, apart from obeying the general laws of a country, each was free and independent, and could vote in the general council, leading to freedom of speech and thought, and the freedom to philosophise.⁴⁸⁵ Spinoza's religious toleration, as we have seen in Chapter III, was in essence a defence of freedom of expression, verbally or written, and not necessarily an encouragement for religious groups to extend their authority in all facets of society.⁴⁸⁶ This freedom, with all its complexities, as with most Dutch works on Republicanism, was made central; the distinction between rebellion for the sake of freedom and rebellion for the sake of power led Spinoza to the conclusion that the Dutch revolt could be legitimised, but the English revolution could not.⁴⁸⁷ Following the Mosaic Law of the Old Testament, democracy is presented as the oldest institution; through the self-promotion of individuals an aristocratic society can arise with the potential to degenerate into monarchy.⁴⁸⁸ The latter was, however, not

⁴⁸² Aaron L. Herold, 'Spinoza's Liberal Republicanism and the Challenge of Revealed Religion', *Political Research Quarterly*, 67.2 (2014): 239-252 (p. 239); Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, p. 356.

⁴⁸³ Haitzma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice*, p. 123.

⁴⁸⁴ Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologica-Politicus*, p. 200; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 356-357.

⁴⁸⁵ Spinoza, *Tractatus Politicus*, p. 329; Herold, p. 240; Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 206.

⁴⁸⁶ Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 155.

⁴⁸⁷ Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, p. 746.

⁴⁸⁸ I have used the English translation by R.H.M. Elwes in the following edition: Benedict de Spinoza, *The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891), pp. 69-80.

condemned by Spinoza as the De la Courts had done, and he also placed aristocracy much closer to democracy.⁴⁸⁹ Aristocracy could after all be a helpful tool for law reinforcement (as it had been for the De La Courts), but only if it was on a more equal ratio with the *multitudo*; Spinoza put this ratio at one to fifty.⁴⁹⁰ Monarchy could be a unifying factor in a nation, he argued in *Tractatus Politicus*, but only when it was made subject to democracy, which meant an almost powerless head of state.⁴⁹¹ This idea opened the door to constitutional monarchy as we know it today.⁴⁹²

The circumstances in which Dutch Republicanism developed, although drawing from a European political language, were rather remarkable: in opposition to the great monarchies, the Dutch Republic maintained a decentralised government with small territory yet great commercial power.⁴⁹³ Unsurprisingly, it was to a great extent influenced by theories of commerce and trade, especially when written by merchants such as De la Court.⁴⁹⁴ Haitsma Mulier has insightfully traced European influences on Dutch Republican thought, and found Italian, Swiss, English and classical traces. In turn, the Dutch Republic was a source of inspiration for Republicanism in Europe (and later America).⁴⁹⁵ For example, the revolution in Naples in 1647 used the Dutch revolt and state as their model, making the Duke de Guise the stadholder and an elected council its main supreme power.⁴⁹⁶ The Dutch radical reinvention of the *respublica mixta* became a symbol for liberty that other nations, especially those suppressed by the great monarchies, could also strive for.⁴⁹⁷ We can, therefore, speak of a characteristic

⁴⁸⁹ Spinoza, *Tractatus Politicus*, p. 345.

⁴⁹⁰ Spinoza, *Tractatus Politicus*, p. 352; Haitsma Mulier, *Myth of Venice*, p. 187.

⁴⁹¹ Spinoza, *Tractatus Politicus*, pp. 329-330.

⁴⁹² Israel, *Monarchy, Orangism and Republicanism in Later Dutch Golden Age Thought*, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁹³ Velema, p. 11.

⁴⁹⁴ Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, p. 346.

⁴⁹⁵ Haitsma Mulier, 'Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism', pp. 179-196.

⁴⁹⁶ Mastellone, pp. 579-580.

⁴⁹⁷ Martin van Gelderen, 'Aristotelians, Monarchomachs and Republicans: Sovereignty and Respublica Mixta in Dutch and German Political Thought', in *Republicanism*, 2 vols., ed. by Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. I: 195-217 (p. 195).

Dutch republican paradigm, one that not only influenced contemporary republics, but also republicanism in subsequent centuries; echoes can for example be found in Boulanger, D'Holbach, Leibniz, Diderot, Morelly, and French revolutionary writers.⁴⁹⁸ For these reasons, Chapter VIII will look at the influence of Dutch Republicanism on its English counterpart.

Dutch Trade

The United Provinces' and especially Holland's economic situation developed at a great rate after the Union of Utrecht in 1579. This not only changed the proto-capitalist structure of both the rural and urban provinces, but also its political structure, as demonstrated above.⁴⁹⁹ Within a few decades the United Provinces became an urban society; in the early sixteenth century only half of the population lived in cities, but by 1622 this had already increased to fifty-nine percent and would reach sixty percent by the middle of the century.⁵⁰⁰ The rural population even decreased in this period, which is remarkable as the seventeenth century was the century in which most of the Dutch land reclamation took place. Within a century the nation was urbanised and by the 1670s the economic transformation was complete.⁵⁰¹ As a result of specialisation in agriculture – dairy farming, industrial crops and horticulture – only a small part of the population, thirty percent, had to work in the agricultural sector, enabling the majority to work in industry.⁵⁰² As Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude have shown in their overview of the position of the Dutch economy compared to other European economies, the progress of the Dutch Republic resembles somewhat the process of industrialisation

⁴⁹⁸ Israel, *Monarchy, Organism and Republicanism in Later Dutch Golden Age Thought*, p. 10; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 353-355.

⁴⁹⁹ J.L. van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 35.

⁵⁰⁰ Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*, transl. by Catherine Hill (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 20.

⁵⁰¹ Van Zanden, p. 36.

⁵⁰² North, pp. 24-25.

that changed almost all nations in the nineteenth century, but occurred almost two centuries earlier.⁵⁰³ The great force of the Dutch economy was, however, not internal produce or the restructuring of the population, but its trade empire.

As Bentivoglio noted in the quotation introducing this chapter, the Dutch nation rose within a couple of decades to world supremacy in terms of trade, an achievement that becomes only more remarkable when considering that the Dutch Republic was at war, had virtually no natural resources, a small territory and a small population. The convenient location of the United Provinces, sea access, great rivers for transportation, and direct land access to the other European nations were a great advantage. As a result, the Dutch were in the position to become a European warehouse. Fernand Braudel argued that the Dutch riches and their position as Europe's entrepôt (along with other rising nations in the early Renaissance) emerged through the dominance of bulk-carrying from the Baltic which would later develop into rich trades.⁵⁰⁴ Israel has argued that the Dutch world trade primacy could be explained through the Dutch participation in high-value products from the beginning, especially from the Baltic.⁵⁰⁵ It can, nevertheless, safely be argued that the Dutch participated dominantly in both areas of trade. The sudden Dutch rise led to admiration, as illustrated by Bentivoglio, sometimes envy, but often hostility, visible in the trade relations between England and the United Provinces. The remainder of this chapter will look at two different kinds of trade, herring fishing and the spice trade, which generated troubled diplomatic relations with the rest of Europe.⁵⁰⁶ The negative impact this trade had on political relations with

⁵⁰³ Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁵⁰⁴ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 vols. (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1993), vol. I: 572-575.

⁵⁰⁵ Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 10-11.

⁵⁰⁶ This chapter will focus on the East-Indies and not on the trading and trade disputes in South and North America, as this will allow space for a discussion of the politics and poetics of spice. The spice trade from South America, focussing on mainly three spices, Vanilla, Capricorn Pepper, and Allspice, would not be imported on a great scale into Europe until the eighteenth century. This also means that the rise and decline of the Dutch West Indian Company (WIC) is not discussed, which excludes an examination of the slave trade. The socio-history of coffee, tea (East) and

England, demonstrated in the three Anglo-Dutch Wars, can be seen in war literature of the period, a dialogue in which both Milton and Marvell participated. Their particular involvement in Dutch trade relations will be discussed in Chapters V and VIII.

The Dutch Republic was renowned for its herring trade, although at the same time ‘it was a set piece of foreign mercantilist propaganda to exaggerate wildly the size and profitability of Dutch ocean fisheries’, such as will be seen in the pamphlet by John Keymor below.⁵⁰⁷ The Hanseatic cities controlled this trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but when the Dutch took over, it marked the beginning of their economic power.⁵⁰⁸ The Dutch developed a new technique that allowed the shippers to gut and salt the herring on board a special ‘herring buss’, a veritable factory ship.⁵⁰⁹ This had two great advantages, namely that they could fish further afield, such as Scotland, the Shetland Islands and Iceland, and that they could export the fish afterwards to more distant markets, as they did not first have to return to port to pickle the fish. Conveniently, shortly after the establishment of the Republic, the Dutch gained a monopoly on salt, which worked as a major boost for the herring trade.⁵¹⁰ By the late sixteenth century, the Dutch had over 500 herring busses, establishing near total dominance over North Sea herring fishing.⁵¹¹

The Dutch Republic’s great competitor in the herring market, England, felt threatened by Dutch dominance and tried to ban them from fishing in their national waters around Scotland and the Shetland Islands. As Pieter de la Court wrote in his *Aanwissing der Heilsams Polityke Gronden* (The True Interest and Maxims of the Republic of Holland) (1669), the British sea was essential: ‘Holland is very well

chocolate (West) will also not be discussed, as the implications for society (such as their role in the coffeehouses) is radically different from the history of spice.

⁵⁰⁷ Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, p. 235.

⁵⁰⁸ Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 176.

⁵⁰⁹ De Vries and Van der Woude, p. 243.

⁵¹⁰ Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, pp. 22-23.

⁵¹¹ Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. 23.

situated to procure its good out of the sea which is a common element. It lies not only on a strand rich of fish, near the Dogger Sand, where haddock, cod, and ling may in great abundance be taken, and cured; but also near the herring-fishery, which is only to be found on the coast of Britain'.⁵¹² Several pamphlets were published on the subject, of which John Keymor's is rather illustratively titled: *John Keymors observation made upon the Dutch fishing, about the year 1601. Demonstrating that there is more wealth raised out of herrings and other fish in His Majesties seas, by the neighbouring nations in one year, then the King of Spain hath from the Indies in four. And that there were twenty thousand ships and other vessels, and about four hundred thousand people then set on work by both sea and land; and maintained only by fishing upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

As a result of attacks on Herring busses by the Spanish in the thirties and forties, the Dutch herring trade dropped by a third. Yet the English did not have the skills to fill this gap in the market: after sending a sample to prospective markets, their pickled fish were deemed to have a poor flavour.⁵¹³ It is perhaps no wonder that soon after, the first 'do-it-yourself' guides were published in England, such as Simon Smith's *The herring-busse trade: expressed in sundry particulars, both for the building of busses, making of deepe sea-nets, and other appurtenances, also the right curing of the herring for forreine vent* (1641).

⁵¹² Pieter de la Court, *The True Interest and Maxims of the Republic of Holland*, transl. by John Campbell (London, 1746), p. 22. This work was wrongly attributed to Johan de Witt, grand pensionary, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This particular edition from De la Court is therefore also printed under the name of John de Witt.

⁵¹³ C.A. Abbing, *Geschiedenis der stad Hoorn hoofdstad van West-Vriesland gedurende het grootste gedeelte der XVIIe and XVIIIe eeuw* (Hoorn: Gebroeders Vermande, 1841), p. 18.

One anonymous pamphlet, *A Most Strange and Wonderfull Herring* (1598), originally published in Dutch, is a particularly interesting case that illustrates both sides of the herring debate. An English translation of the Dutch tract describes the catching of a herring near Rotterdam in 1597 that forewarned God's imminent punishment if the United Provinces did not return the herring trade to the English ; on one side of the fish, one man is corrected by another (possibly two soldiers at war) and on the other side unreadable signs (possibly look-a-like Hebrew?) were carved.⁵¹⁴ According to the English translation, the herring itself was already significant as it was the most democratic of all fish – the best known fish amongst all kinds of people (although especially in North Europe).⁵¹⁵ The call for repentance could easily be interpreted in the English pamphlet as a warning from God about the unjustified Dutch dominance of the herring trade. The implications for the Dutch are somewhat different, when taking the Eighty Years' War into account. Thus seen, the Dutch soldiers on the fish represent a warning to the Spanish, making the herring a symbol for future Dutch prosperity.

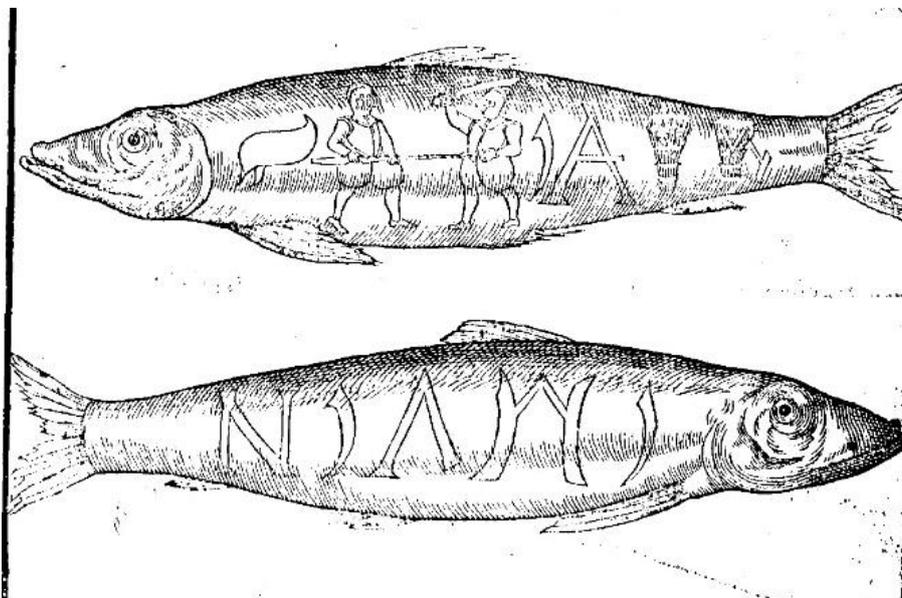


Figure 3. Anonymous, *A most Strange and Wonderfull Herring* (1598).

⁵¹⁴ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 110.

⁵¹⁵ D.W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Overseas Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 3.

Additionally, in the United Provinces herring was known for its medicinal properties, reinforcing the idea of liberation as a cure from the Spanish disease.

In the early seventeenth century, the fierce competition in the herring and spice trade unleashed an international debate about the ownership of the seas, in which the three great maritime nations, Portugal, England and the United Provinces participated. Hugo Grotius publication of his *Mare Liberum* (1609) was the first in a string of publications, and he claimed that the seas are an open domain for any nation: ‘the sea appears capable of being made a property by the power possessed of the shore on both sides of it; although beyond those limits it may spread to a wide extent [...], and with a straight beyond each of its outlets into the main sea or ocean. But this right of property can never take place where the sea is of such a magnitude, as to surpass all comparison with that portion of the land which it washes’.⁵¹⁶ Grotius had a difficult position to defend in the tract: on one hand to indict the Portuguese and their monopolistic trade, yet at the same time to avoid undermining the monopolies that Dutch already maintained (*Mare Liberum* stands in stark contrast with the Dutch East-Indian policy which will be discussed below).⁵¹⁷ He therefore made a separation between freedom of commerce and freedom of navigation. The latter he vigorously defends in the tract. It is a manifestation of Dutch foreign policy more than anything else, emphasising Dutch independence and the Republic’s freedom of action in foreign trade, via the freedom of navigation. The relation of Hugo Grotius and his theories to the freedom of navigation will be discussed at more length in Chapters V and VIII.

⁵¹⁶ Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, transl. by A.C. Campbell (London: Walter Dunne Publishers, 1901), p. 104.

⁵¹⁷ C.G. Roelofsen, ‘Grotius and International Politics of the Seventeenth Century’, in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, ed. by Hedley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 96-132 (p. 108).

Soon after, the English followed with the publication of William Welwood's *An Abridgment of all Sea Lawes* (1613), defending the English claim to the British seas, hence limiting the Dutch herring trade. John Selden's *Mare Clausum* (1625) is, however, the most famous English response to Grotius' tract (later translated by Marchamont Nedham into English in 1653),⁵¹⁸ and the *dominus maris* position that Selden promotes dominated English policy until William of Orange, spokesman for the freedom of the sea, ascended to the throne in 1688.⁵¹⁹ In the same year as Selden's work, the Portuguese Justo Seraphim de Freitas, too, supported the English in his arguments for ownership of certain seas, thus protecting Portuguese trade in the East Indies. It was a highly hypocritical debate; the Dutch supported the freedom of the seas, yet held several monopolies; Elizabeth had claimed that the sea only belonged to God when defending Drake's expedition, yet the Stuarts were against the open seas. As George Downing (English ambassador in The Hague) (1623-1684) had noted at the dawn of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the *mare liberum* principle was promoted by the Dutch in British Waters, but in Africa and the East Indies it was *mare clausum* that the Dutch supported.⁵²⁰

The spice trade in the East Indies, similar to the herring trade, was one of the great motors behind a wealthy economy, and unsurprisingly sparked great disputes between countries striving for dominance.⁵²¹ England and the United Provinces were each other's greatest rivals in the East during the seventeenth century, and it is therefore important to discuss the context of these relations in the East for an examination of Milton's and Marvell's association of English and Dutch exotic trade later in Chapter

⁵¹⁸ The implications of Marchamont Nedham's translation in the middle of the first Anglo-Dutch War will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

⁵¹⁹ W.E. Butler, 'Grotius and the Law of the Sea', in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, ed. by Hedley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): 210-221 (p. 212).

⁵²⁰ C.R. Boxer, *Zeevarend Nederland en zijn Wereldrijk, 1600-1800* (Leiden: A. W. Slijthoff, 1976), p. 142.

⁵²¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1985), pp. 148-150.

VIII. The centrality of the spice trade for each nation's economy is explained by Gerard Malynes in *The center of The circle of commerce. Or, A refutation of a treatise, intituled The circle of commerce, or The ballance of trade* (1623): '[t]he East India trade alone (although it be driuen in no ampler manner then is afore written) is a meanes to bring in more treasure into this Realme then all the other Trades of this Kingdome (as they are now managed) being put together'.⁵²² Portugal sent the first spice ship to the East as early as 1500, establishing Spanish and Portuguese dominance in Europe for almost a century.

However, after Spain put an embargo on the spice trade at the end of the sixteenth century, meaning that the port of Lisbon was shut to Dutch merchants, excluding the Republic from any spice trade, several Dutch merchants were stimulated to found new companies that penetrated the spice market directly in the East Indies, rather than trading via Spain or Portugal.⁵²³ The first ship left the United Provinces in 1595 to explore the trading possibilities in the East.⁵²⁴ The advantages of direct trade were quickly exploited by the establishment of one of the greatest trading companies in early modern Europe, the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Companie* (The United East-Indian Company), founded in 1602.⁵²⁵ This was shortly after the founding of the English East India Company (1600), but the Dutch were already active in the East Indies before the foundation of the VOC, such as through the *Companie van Verre* (Company of Far).

⁵²² Gerard Malynes, *The center of The circle of commerce. Or, A refutation of a treatise, intituled The circle of commerce, or The ballance of trade* (London: 1623), p. 113.

⁵²³ Prak, p. 99.

⁵²⁴ Hans Hägerdal, *Lord of the Land, Lord of the Sea: Conflict and Adaptation in Early Colonial Timor, 1600-1800* (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012), p. 34.

⁵²⁵ Bangs, p. 183.

prices to drop, or the suppliers on the other side of the ocean could raise their prices in response to rising European demand. Nonetheless, the potential for profit was vast.⁵³⁰

The journey to the East Indies and the spices that were now imported influenced European culture massively. Of course, spices had been introduced much earlier, as J. Innes Miller has shown, but not on such a scale.⁵³¹ The influx meant that a new world of tastes and smells were introduced, as well as new politics of global trade. These new experiences and concerns were soon finding their expression in poetry. Milton, too, in his poetry – especially *Paradise Lost* – draws on the fragrant imagery of spices and their origins, as will be examined in Chapter VIII. One of the first poems dedicated to the journey to the East is Luís Vaz de Camões' epic *The Lusiads* (1570), in which Vasco da Gama's travels to the Spice Islands are described. Spices are constantly evoked to present a paradise, a paradise in the hands of the Portuguese.⁵³² It was a utopia that could be geographically located:

He carries burning Pepper, which he bought;
Nutmegs, (for which their own dry'de flow'rs up trim)
From Banda; the black Cloce (for which is sought
Moluco's Isle) and Cinnamon, through
Which Ceylon is noble, beautiful and rich. (IX. 14 4-8)⁵³³

As early as Geoffrey Chaucer, references to spices could be found with the same fantastical qualities as in Camões's poem, such as in the 'Rhyme of sir Topas' (1477): 'He hadde a semely nose/ His heer his berd was lik saffron'.⁵³⁴ But it was during the

⁵³⁰ Prak, pp. 99-100.

⁵³¹ J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁵³² The connection of spice with paradise is very much part of a medieval tradition, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), p. 13.

⁵³³ Luís de Camões, *The Lusiads or the Portugals*, trans. by Richard Fanshawe and ed. by Geoffrey Bullough (London: Centaur Press Ltd., 1963).

⁵³⁴ Geoffrey Chaucer, 'Rhyme of sir Topas', in *Whan that Aprill with his shouris sote and the droughte of marche hath p[er]cid þe rote* (1477) (No page references, image 262).

Renaissance that spice became part of the narrative. Another wonderful example is Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* in which the shepherd's son Autolycus thinks up a shopping list:

Three pound of sugar, five pound of currants, rice,--what will this sister of mine do with rice? But my father hath made her mistress of the feast, and she lays it on. [...] I must have saffron to colour the warden pies; mace; dates?--none, that's out of my note; nutmegs, seven; a race or two of ginger, but that I may beg; four pound of prunes, and as many of raisins o' the sun. (IV. Iii. 38-50)⁵³⁵

In Dutch poetry, too, East-India and in particular Ceylon, are described in paradisiacal terms, this time a paradise in the hands of the Dutch. As early as 1602, Joris van Spilbergen had described Ceylon as full of pepper and cinnamon, with mountains of gold and silver, an abundance of gems, and soil so fertile that everything would grow there.⁵³⁶ Wouter Schouten, poet and surgeon for the VOC, travelled to the East Indies (1658-1660), and wrote this poem upon seeing the beauty of Ceylon:

*alwaer den mens dan van de strant
treet verder heen door 't lustig lant,
door ackervelden vol van rijs,
door landen als een paradijs,
door boomden van welrieckent kruit,
door hoven al vol lustich fruit
door 't lommerrijck en vrugtbaer hout,
door klaverweijden nadt bedout.*⁵³⁷

(II. 88-94)

⁵³⁵ See for the significance of this passage for the spices available at the time, Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 26.

⁵³⁶ Davies, p. 88.

⁵³⁷ Wouter Schouten, 'Want alles, oock het minste kruit, het boesemt al Gods wonders uit', in *Wouter Schouten, dichter en VOC-chirurgijn: 36 gedichten bij de Oost-Indische voyagie*, ed. by Marijke Barend-Van Haeften en Hetty Plekenpol (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2014), pp. 109-112.

from where one over the strand
wanders through the lovely land,
through acres full of rice,
through lands of paradise,
through spiced and scented woods,
through gardens of lusty fruit,
through shadows of fertile forest,
through clover fields, dew-blessed.

With the rise of the VOC and their policy of enforcing a spice monopoly on the other European nations, the rivalry between England and the United Provinces also increased. There are in general two approaches in historic scholarship to understanding the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East-Indies: those who argue that the English and the Dutch appeared so similar to the indigenous population that they were often misidentified, and as a result the colonizers helped each other defend their properties,⁵³⁸ and those who argue that they were great rivals.⁵³⁹ There are some contemporary records that support the first argument, such as Edmund Scott's *An exact discourse of the subtilties, fashishions [sic], pollicies, religion, and ceremonies of the East Indian* (1602) and the anonymous *The Last East-Indian Voyage (1606)*. It is, however, the rivalry between the two that made the deepest impression on history. On several islands the English had already settled, such as Java, the main trading post for black pepper, but not long after the Dutch arrived a battle took place, in which Jan Pieterszoon Coen

⁵³⁸ Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 194-201.

⁵³⁹ George Edmundson's complete monograph is dedicated to Anglo-Dutch rivalry, in particular in the East-Indies: *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the Early Half of the Seventeenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). A more recent example would be the edited volume by Nicholas Tarling, *The Cambridge History of South-East Asia, Vol I: From Early Times to c. 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

destroyed both the English factory and the native town of Jakarta. He then established the headquarters of the VOC there, henceforth called Batavia.⁵⁴⁰

Amboyna

The event that made the greatest impact on the English was the tragedy of Amboise or Amboyna. As Marjorie Rubright has argued, '[f]or both the English and the Dutch, "Amboyna" fast became a tragic keyword in the lexicon of Anglo-Dutch relations'.⁵⁴¹

The English infiltrated the Dutch fort on Amboyna in order to overthrow strict Dutch rule of the Spice Islands. But they were unsuccessful, and were arrested, tortured and executed, in an event that later become known as the Massacre of Amboyna. The English East Indian Company called it an 'unnatural barbarity' and used the event for propaganda purposes.⁵⁴² Several pamphlets were published with different pictures of the

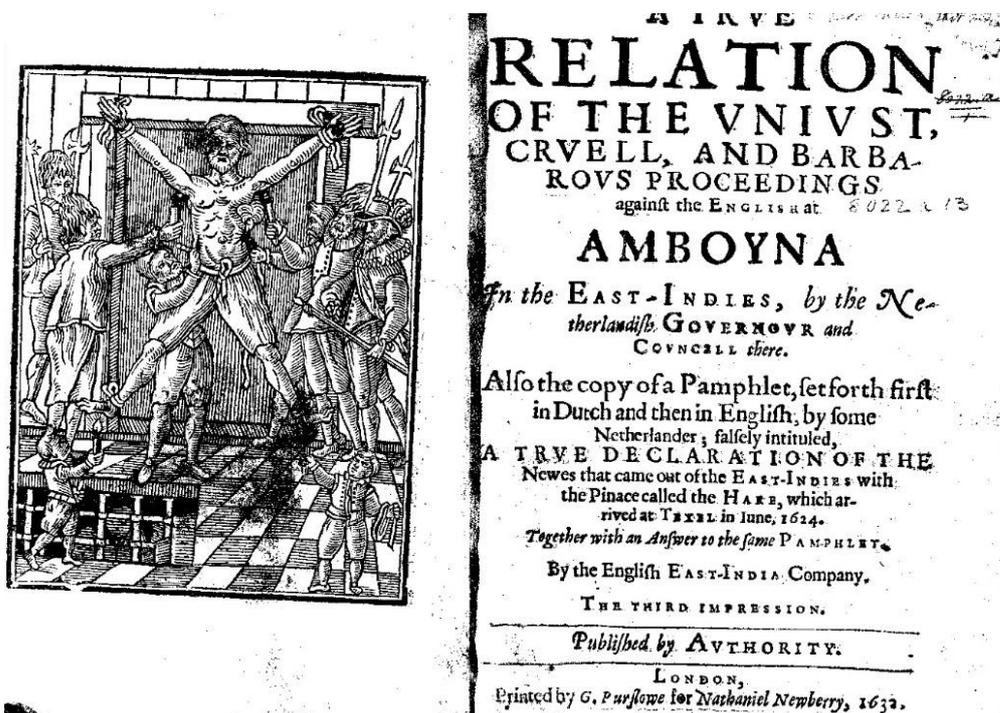


Figure 5. *A True Relation of the Unjust and Cruel Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (1632). torture, such as *A True Relation of the Unjust and Cruel Proceedings against the*

⁵⁴⁰ Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*, p. 161; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 323.

⁵⁴¹ Rubright, p. 209.

⁵⁴² Dunthorne, p. 112.

English at Amboyna (1624) (Figure 5) and *The Emblem of Ingratitude: A True Relation of the Unjust and Cruell proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (1672) (Figure 6).⁵⁴³

Relations between the Dutch and the English became tenser, and although several diplomatic missions were organised to clear the air, it was to no avail. James I and later Charles I could not afford to lose the support of the United Provinces against Spain, and therefore no real reprimand was given to the Dutch.⁵⁴⁴ Amboyna was, however, used as propaganda in all three Anglo-Dutch Wars, for example in Abram Woofe's *The Tyranny of the Dutch against the English* (published in 1653 in the middle of the First Anglo-Dutch War). For decades the English would refer to the massacre

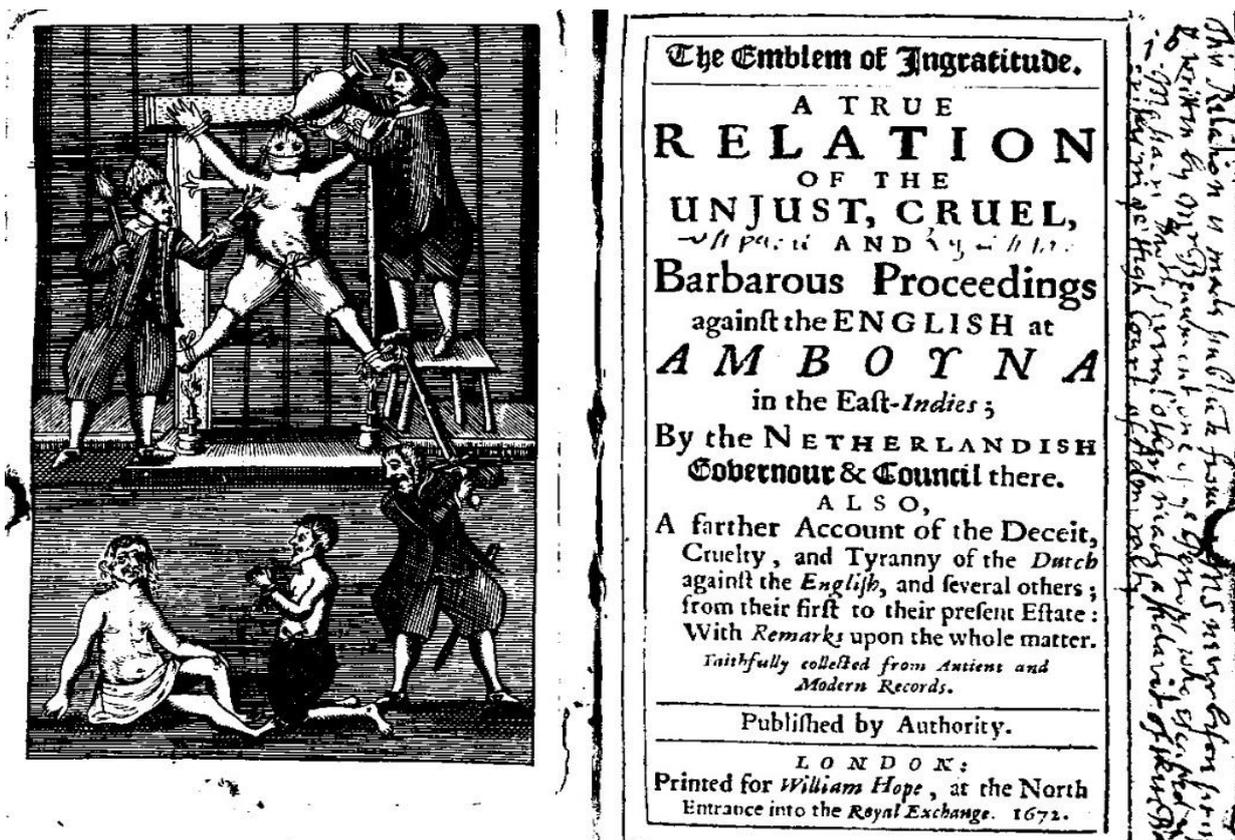


Figure 6. *The Emblem of Ingratitude: A True Relations of the Unjust and Cruell Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (1672).

⁵⁴³ A search on *Early English Books Online* reveals that three pamphlets on the Massacre of Amboyna were published in 1624 (two in English and one in Dutch), one in 1632, three in 1651, one in 1665, one in 1672.

⁵⁴⁴ Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*, p. 163.

when talking about the Dutch, such as in Dryden's play *Amboyna or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants* (1673), written during the height of anti-Dutch feeling. The epilogue gives a taste of the play, highlighting popular Dutch stereotypes and causes of animosity, as in their dominance in the herring trade:

The doteage of some *Englishmen* is such.
To fawn on those who ruine them, the *Dutch*.
They shall have all rather than make a War
With those who of the same Religion are.
The *Streights*, the *Guiney* Trade, the Herrings too,
Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you.⁵⁴⁵

Even as late as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) there are references to the massacre, featuring a Dutch Ship called *Amboyna*. The latest pamphlet I could find published on the subject, with the same title, is printed in 1766, nearly 150 years after the event, which is much later than some critics have claimed.⁵⁴⁶ It demonstrates that the Massacre of Amboyna deeply scarred diplomatic relations between England and the United Provinces, and not only in the seventeenth century, but in the centuries following.

The economic rise of the Dutch Republic, partly the result of its open political structure with an emphasis on the development of trade, opened up the world to a greater extent than had ever happened before. Of course, other nations such as Britain and France developed overseas empires that would become greater than the Dutch in later centuries. The 'Dutch Miracle' was, however, another sign of the beginning of a

⁵⁴⁵ John Dryden, *Amboyna or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchant*, ll. 5-10.

⁵⁴⁶ D. K. Bassett for example writes that 1672-4 was the latest date anti-Dutch propaganda on Amboyna was published, 'Early English Trade and Settlement in Asia, 1602-1690', in *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia: Papers delivered to the Third Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference*, ed. by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (London: Macmillan, 1968): 83-109 (p. 91).

phenomenon that would later be called globalization.⁵⁴⁷ This phenomenon is visible in the travel journal, as discussed in Chapter I, the rise of the book trade, as described in Chapter II, and the speed with which religious controversies now spread through Europe and beyond, which was at the centre of Chapter III. The expansion of the world had, indeed, advantages, as Claire Howard so vividly describes:

Holland was a peculiar delight to the traveller of the seventeenth century, because it contained so many curiosities and rarities. People with cabinets of butterflies, miniatures, shells, ivory, or Indian beads, were pestered by tourists asking to see their treasures. No garden was so entrancing to them as one that had a 'repullary nidary', or an aviary with eagles, cranes, storks, bustards, ducks with four wings, or with rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour. Holland, therefore, where ships brought precious curiosities from all over the world was a heaven for the virtuoso.⁵⁴⁸

Globalisation thus brought products of the world to European markets, diets were enriched and knowledge of foreign lands could be acquired; it transformed cities connected to the foreign trade.⁵⁴⁹ This led to the rise of a national awareness, as economies and political institutions, such as different versions of republicanism, could be more accurately compared. Naturally, such comparisons could be a double-edged sword, creating opportunities for more efficient and just systems, but also provoking unrest or jealousy when competitors met. The trade empire that the Dutch built at the end of the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century was arguably, therefore, one reason why there was such a degree of hostility in Europe in the early modern period; after all, it was the same trade, whether the herring trade on the North Sea, spice trade in the East Indies, or the grain trade from the Baltic, that was one of the factors that led to the Anglo-Dutch wars in later decades. As Michael Drayton in his nationalistic poem

⁵⁴⁷ The concept of globalisation and how it developed in the seventeenth century will receive more attention in Chapter VIII.

⁵⁴⁸ Claire Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: John Lane Company, 1965), p. 138.

⁵⁴⁹ Robert Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia, 1595-1660* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p. 11.

Poly Olbion (1612) argues, trading could create division, not only internationally, but also between national social classes:

And such a Road for Ships scarce all the world commands,
As is the goodly Tames, neer where Brute's city stands.
Nor any Haven lies to which is more resort,
Commodities to bring, as also to transport:
Our kingdome that enrich (through which we flourished long)
E're idle Gentry up in such abundance sprong.
Now pestering all this Ile: whose disproportion drawes
The publique wealth so drie, and only is the cause
Our hold goes out so fast, for foolish foraine things,
[...]
Disparaging our Tinne, our Leather, Corne, and Wooll;
When Forrainers, with ours them warmly cloath, and Wool:
Transporting trash to us, of which we nere had need.⁵⁵⁰

The first four chapters of this thesis have attempted to provide a context for Anglo-Dutch relations by highlighting stereotypical descriptions of the Dutch that were distributed in England at the time, by demonstrating how Dutch printing and publication penetrated foreign markets, including its literature, how Dutch religious culture with its toleration and religious controversies consequently influenced the Protestant nations of Europe, and lastly that the struggle for independence of the United Provinces allowed a free and open republican structure. The Dutch Republic's exponential growth in trade made England its greatest rival. These developments had a direct impact on Milton's

⁵⁵⁰ Michael Drayton, *Poly Olbion* (London: 1612), p. 253.

and Marvell's lives, and many Anglo-Dutch historic events can be traced and examined in their works, which will be the focus of the next four chapters.

PART II

Milton, Marvell, and the Dutch

Chapter V

Marvell, Milton, and First Acquaintances with the United Provinces.

Scarce any subject occurs more frequent in the discourses of ingenious men, than that of the marvellous progress of this little *State*, which in the space of about one hundred years (for 'tis not more since their first attempts to shake off the Spanish yoke) hath grown to a height.

William Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, laws forces, riches, manners, customs, revenue, and territory of the Dutch in three books* (1669), pp. 2-3.

Scarce had poor Holland baffled potent Spain,
When she usurps upon the spacious main
And (oh ingrateful) first affronts that crown,
Whose power alone kept her from sinking down.

William Smith, *Ingratitude Reveng'd, or, A poem upon the happy victory of his majesties naval forces against the Dutch*, (1665), p. 1.

These two quotations from pamphlets discussing the establishment of the Dutch Republic and its miraculous rise to wealth could not be more different in their appraisal and rejection of the neighbouring sea country, though both published in the 1660s. When looking at the body of Anglo-Dutch pamphlets of the seventeenth century published in English by the English, there are generally two movements: those who demonstrate (hesitant) admiration for the Republic, and those who condemn (or even attack) the Dutch and their lack of gratitude to the English, of which the latter by far outnumber the former group. The repertoire of offensive Dutch stereotypes or satirised

representations was relatively limited considering the number of pamphlets published on the subject; as a result, the same metaphors, descriptions and insults were recycled during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Although there was a continued supply of satirical pamphlets throughout the period, there were waves of increased production during the Anglo-Dutch Wars; in particular the periods 1664-1666 and 1672-1674, show an explosion in the number of satirical pamphlets, often based on pamphlets of the 1650s. In the early half of the seventeenth century, however, when the English were still assisting the Dutch in their struggle against the Spanish, there were virtually no pamphlets with the sole intention of satirising the Dutch as a people with, of course, the exception of the years 1623 and 1624 when pamphlets responded to the Massacre of Amboyna. The massacre was, however, referred to more frequently during the latter half of the seventeenth century during the First, Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars when it was used as an example of Dutch immorality. With this briefly summarised background of responses to Anglo-Dutch relations in mind, it is particularly interesting to look at the works of Milton and Marvell, who both met Dutch people and, in Marvell's case, even visited the Low Countries, in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the second half of the century, however, they were both closely involved with diplomatic relations with the United Provinces in various governmental positions. This chapter will focus on Anglo-Dutch relations in the early seventeenth century up until the 1650s, whereas Chapter VIII will look at the remainder of the century. This will enable an examination of Milton's and Marvell's travels to the continent, including their personal encounters with the Dutch.

In 1993, Robert Fallon wrote about Milton scholarship that it must await the day when 'the dynamics of influence, that is, just how Milton's knowledge of England's foreign affairs shaped his poetry' are considered.⁵⁵¹ This could equally be extended to

⁵⁵¹ Robert Fallon, *Milton in Government* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1993), p. IX.

the case of Marvell and his career, as Member of Parliament and as a traveller.

Although I do not propose to analyse the influence of Europe as a whole as Fallon suggests, this chapter will assess the impact of Anglo-Dutch relations on Milton's and Marvell's poetic oeuvre in the earlier half of the century. Consequently, their writings will be discussed not as quintessentially English poets, but as European poets writing in a shared European literary tradition, specifically, it will examine the extent to which they used English stereotypes of the Dutch and other popular views, often intertwined with their own personal experiences of the Dutch as a people.

Marvell's Continental Journey

Marvell's travel to the continent began late 1642 or early 1643, lasting for four years. Although the main purpose of the journey was not to avoid the outbreak of the first Civil War, he took, as Nigel Smith phrases it, 'a gamble with his limited means' and travelled abroad, missing the actions and battles of the war.⁵⁵² During this journey, he would visit four countries in four years, where he gained knowledge of these European countries, their customs and languages, excellent expertise to have for work in the government upon his return. As mentioned by Samuel Hartlib, Marvell was able to afford the journey as a tutor of noblemen's sons, despite the fact he was only 21 or 22 himself at the time.⁵⁵³ We do not know the exact journey nor the time Marvell spent in each individual country, besides what Milton revealed in his recommendation of Marvell for the position of Assistant Latin Secretary: '[h]e hath spent foure yeares abroad in Holland, France, Italy & Spaine, to very good purpose, as I believe & the gaineing of those 4 languages; besides he is a scholar & well read in the latin & Greeke

⁵⁵² Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 45.

⁵⁵³ Hartlib Papers, 29/5/50A. Accessed online via the University of Sheffield project (<https://hrdigital.shef.ac.uk/hrionline/>).

authors & no doubt of an approved conversation'.⁵⁵⁴ This brief description of Marvell's professional qualities echoes Evelyn's description of the desired traveller's education, as mentioned in Chapter I: namely that he 'mastered the tongue, frequented the Courts, looked into their customs, been present at their pleading, observed their military discipline, contracted acquaintance with their learned men, studied their arts, and become familiar with their dispositions'.⁵⁵⁵ It is this post-Elizabethan attitude towards travel, adapting like a chameleon to strange environments, that was desired in governmental positions, something that both Marvell and Milton fulfilled after returning from their travel (although not immediately).⁵⁵⁶ At this moment, there is no other evidence of Marvell's ability to speak and write Dutch besides Milton's letter. But as discussed later, there are tantalising hints to his ability to be found in his poetry.

Milton's Continental Journey

Milton's journey took place a few years before Marvell's, early 1638 to 1639, but excluded the United Provinces from the itinerary. Milton's earlier biographers write that he chose to travel to Italy in order to 'polish his conversation & learn to know men', again resembling Evelyn's diary, stating that the fruit of travel is 'that he know men, customs, courts'.⁵⁵⁷ In 1698, John Toland gave a somewhat less noble explanation behind Milton's reason for travelling, namely that Milton's father urged him to go abroad, as '[h]e could not discern the pre-eminence or defects of his own country, than by observing the customs and institutions of others; and that the study of never so many

⁵⁵⁴ CPW: IV. 859.

⁵⁵⁵ John Evelyn, 'State of France', in *Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Upcott (London: Henry Culborn, 1825): 39-95 (p. 46).

⁵⁵⁶ See Chapter I for a more elaborate discussion on how the attitude towards travelling and the acquisition of foreign languages developed throughout the seventeenth century. Evelyn, *Miscellaneous*, p. 46.

⁵⁵⁷ John Philips, 'The Life of Mr. John Milton', in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire (London: Constable & Co., 1923), p. 19; John Evelyn, 'Letter to Edward Hurland, 8 November 1658', in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (John Forster Edition of William Bray's Manuscript, 1906), p. 585.

books, without the advantages of conversation, serves inky to render a man either a stupid fool, or an insufferable pendant'.⁵⁵⁸ In both cases, the pursuit of knowledge would be most effective when visiting a number of countries, but Milton excluded all northern countries, despite the fact he had 'no small regard for the abilities of the Germans and even of the Danes and the Swedes', and limited his journey to Italy, Geneva in Switzerland, and a very brief period in France.⁵⁵⁹ It was a rather confined itinerary and did not conform to his own advice that travel should be to 'follow the example of the ancient philosophers [...] and aim not merely at the satisfaction of youthful curiosity, but at the acquisition of wider knowledge from every possible source'.⁵⁶⁰

Milton excluded both the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands from his itinerary, which would indeed have lengthened his journey, but he also had a greater budget than Marvell's. He would have been able to secure recommendation letters from Sir Henry Wotton for the United Provinces, since he retired as an ambassador from the same country. Wotton advised Milton on his travel (without recommending the United Provinces), in a letter of 1638, and provided him with a recommendation for Paris instead.⁵⁶¹ The only reason that he provides for omitting the United Provinces from his itinerary can be found in his *Second Defence*:

If I had actually been expelled from Cambridge, why should I travel to Italy, rather than to France or Holland, where you, enveloped in so many offenses, a minister of the Gospel, not only live in safety, but preach, and even defile with your unclean hands the sacred offices, to the extreme scandal of your church? But why to Italy, More? Another Saturn, I presume, I fled to Latium that I might

⁵⁵⁸ John Toland, 'The Life of John Milton, 1698', in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire (London: Constable & Co., 1923), p. 90.

⁵⁵⁹ John Milton, 'Letter to Leonard Philaras', in *Milton's Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, transl. by Phyllis B. Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 41.

⁵⁶⁰ John Milton, 'Letter to the distinguished Mr Henry de Brass', in *Milton's Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, transl. by Phyllis B. Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 41.

⁵⁶¹ John Milton, 'Letter of Wotton to Milton, 1638', qtd. in David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, 8 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1874), vol. 1, pp. 738-739.

find a place to lurk. Yet I knew beforehand that Italy was not, as you think a refuge or asylum for criminals, but rather the lodging-place of *humanitas* and of all the arts of civilization, and so I found it.⁵⁶²

Although this could have been used simply as a counter argument to Salmasius' and More's accusation (it is polemical writing after all) it does give us some insight into the reputation of the Low Countries and the Spanish Netherlands, despite the fact that several travel writers do recommend the Low Countries as part of a gentleman's grand tour (Milton's journey could be classed as such, unlike Marvell's), as has been discussed in Chapter I.⁵⁶³ The fact that Milton names Italy *the* hospitable domicile of all kinds of scholarship is striking as it implies by extension that the Dutch intellectual environment is inferior to the Italian. Of course, Italy was the place of Roman civilisation, but Milton was aware of the Dutch position as the intellectual entrepôt of early modern Europe; he asked, for example, the young Peter Heimback to enquire into the price and number of volumes of two Dutch atlases, that of Blaeu and Jansen, when Heimback was travelling through the Republic and, moreover, he discussed Dutch translations of his *Divorce Tracts* with Lieuwe van Aitzema, a Dutch ambassador for the Hanse cities.⁵⁶⁴ Moreover, if he were looking for a place of refuge as a result of controversial behaviour at Cambridge University, as Salmasius claims, it would have made more sense to go to the Low Countries, as this had been a haven for controversialists for decades.

At this point it would be helpful to mention that Milton did have some direct contact with the Dutch on his journey. In Paris 1638, he met Hugo Grotius, after

⁵⁶² CPW: IV. 609.

⁵⁶³ See Chapter I on how the Grand Tour itinerary changed throughout the seventeenth century; there was an increasing emphasis on visiting the 'liberal' countries of France and United Provinces, instead of the ancient countries of Italy and Greece.

⁵⁶⁴ John Milton, 'To the accomplished youth Peter Heimback' and 'To Leo de Aitzema', in *Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, transl. by Phyllis Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 38, 32-33.

expressing the wish to do so.⁵⁶⁵ Not a great deal is mentioned about this meeting in the accounts of his life. Perhaps the description of his nephew Edward Philips is the most elaborate:

The [Lord Scudamore] received him with wonderful civility; and understanding he had a desire to make a visit to the great Hugo Grotius, he sent several of his attendants to wait upon him and to present him in his name to that renowned doctor and statesman who was at the time ambassador from Christina, Queen of Sweden, to the French king. Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth, and the high commendations he had heard of him.⁵⁶⁶

John Toland adds to this that ‘[w]e may easily imagin that Milton was not a little desirous to be known to the first person then in the world for reading and the latitude of judgement, to speak nothing of his other meritorious characters’.⁵⁶⁷ We are now unable to determine the content of the meeting, as neither Milton nor Grotius has written anything on the meeting itself. As Campbell and Corns argue, ‘[t]hey had in common Lord Scudamore and Dr Theodore Diodati, and experience of the politics of Arminianism, and Milton’s nascent intellectual interests overlapped with those of Grotius’.⁵⁶⁸ Milton mentions Grotius three times in his printed works, and all with admiration, from which can be concluded that the meeting was important for Milton, or at least Grotius’s scholarship for the development of Milton’s own works.⁵⁶⁹ Grotius does not mention Milton at any point in his printed works, despite the fact that there is a clear overlap between the writings of both authors, but an in-depth investigation into

⁵⁶⁵ Campbell and Corns, p. 106.

⁵⁶⁶ Edward Philips, ‘The Life of Mr John Milton’, in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire (London: Constable & Co., 1923), p. 56.

⁵⁶⁷ Toland, p. 90.

⁵⁶⁸ Campbell and Corns, p. 106.

⁵⁶⁹ *Tetrachordon* (‘yet living, and one of prime note among learned men’), *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (‘A man of these times, one of the best learned’) *The Judgement of Martin Bucer* (‘able assistant’).

Grotius' personal correspondence in relation to Milton has not been yet been undertaken.⁵⁷⁰

Milton's Dutch

Milton until this point had no personal or professional involvement with the United Provinces and its people. This, however, changed during the second half of the seventeenth century, during build-up to the First Anglo-Dutch War. As I will relate below, Milton's engagement in government with Dutch documents and delegates was extensive. It is therefore a question much pondered whether Milton knew Dutch. Naturally, it would be tremendous for this thesis to prove that Milton knew and used Dutch, but evidence is unfortunately sparse. Roger Williams' letter to John Winthrop (12 July 1654) provides some evidence of Milton's ability of Dutch: '[i]t pleased the Lord to call me, for some time and with some persons to practise the Hebrew and Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The secretary of the council, Mr Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages'.⁵⁷¹ This would have been Hollands, rather than the German variant of the word Dutch, as Williams learned it in New Amsterdam, a city founded by people from Holland.⁵⁷²

Another suggestion of Milton's acquisition of Dutch is offered by Campbell and Corns in their Milton biography, in which they refer to an intercepted letter with annotations in Milton's hand. It is a letter from Princess Sophia (princess palatine of the Rhine, 1630-1714) to her brother Prince Maurits in a 'mixture of German and Dutch'.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ I have searched through Grotius' correspondence during his time in Paris when doing archival work in The Hague (April, May and June, 2015). Unfortunately, I was unable to finish the whole correspondence (including the correspondence of his time in Germany).

⁵⁷¹ Roger Williams, *The Letters of Roger Williams* (1632-1682), ed. by John Russel Barlett (Providence: Printed for the Narragansett Club, 1874), pp. 261-262.

⁵⁷² The word Dutch could refer to High or Low Dutch; see Chapter II for a more elaborate discussion of the standardisation of dialect in the United Provinces. Francis J. Bremer, 'Williams, Roger (c.1606-1683)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁷³ Campbell and Corns, p. 247.

Although the spelling of the Dutch in the seventeenth century indeed resembles that of German, it is possible to make a distinction between the two. Syntax of German and Dutch is rather similar, but German has a greater number of inflections compared to the Dutch, and the spellings are characteristically different. Milton's annotations are, however, on the English translation of Sophia's letter and not on the original letter itself.⁵⁷⁴ Moreover, when examining the letter and comparing it to other early modern Dutch scripts (such as letters by Lieuwe de Aitzema, ambassador for the Hanseatic cities and thus very familiar with German), we can conclude that the letter is completely in German. There are distinct differences between words such as for example the German 'mit' and 'ich' with the Dutch 'met' and 'ick', and the heavy use of umlauts in the German letter.⁵⁷⁵ Although Sophia was born and brought up in The Hague where Dutch was spoken (as is shown in literature and governmental papers), she was educated in an array of languages, including German. Moreover, part of her family lived in Germany – her father was prince Palatine (consequently making her princess Palatine as well) – all establishing very strong connections with Germany, making it a logical assumption that the letter was indeed written in German.⁵⁷⁶ The letter, therefore, has to be excluded as potential evidence of Milton's Dutch.

When turning back to Williams' letter, several important conclusions can be drawn from its dating. First of all, the mutual education of foreign languages would have taken place between 1651 and 1654, during Williams' second stay in England.⁵⁷⁷ This largely covers the time that Milton was the only officially designated secretary for foreign languages (March 1649 to September 1653), since the start of the Republic. His

⁵⁷⁴ National Archives, SP 18/1/55, fol. 142. Although this is not mentioned in the Milton biography, Campbell's *A Milton Chronology* does mention that the annotations are only on the translation of Sophia's letter. Gordon Campbell, *A Milton Chronology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p. 112.

⁵⁷⁵ National Archives, SP 18/1/55, fol. 140.

⁵⁷⁶ Jeremy Black, 'Sophia, princess palatine of the Rhine (1630–1714)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁷⁷ Francis J. Bremer, 'Williams, Roger (c.1606–1683)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

duties ranged from negotiations with Portugal and Denmark, to correspondence with Spain and France and to correspondence with the Oldenburg Safeguard (Hermann Mylius' went to England in 1651-1652 to obtain a safeguard for the Duke of Oldenburg that would allow unfettered travelling through territory in hands of the English), and Anglo-Dutch negotiations, all requiring different linguistic skills, including Dutch.⁵⁷⁸ Secondly, although Milton was officially the only responsible secretary, he was assisted by a number of linguists for particular translations, although they were not officially appointed. Theodore Haak, German born, was responsible for some of the correspondence with the United Provinces from 1650-1652, so he must have been involved with the Dutch embassy, December 1651 to June 1652.⁵⁷⁹ There are several entries in the State Papers that mention that Haak received a stipend from the Republic for his (Dutch) translations, but these entries disappear after 1652, followed by an entry that he would receive a pension from the state on 19 March 1656 onwards.⁵⁸⁰ There is no mention of Haak's services between 1653 and 1656, when Milton was involved with the Anglo-Dutch negotiations. Thirdly, Milton himself was personally in touch with native Dutch speakers. In Aitzema's diaries there is no mention of visits between Aitzema and Milton, when the former was on a diplomatic mission in London in 1652; this is perhaps due to the fact that Parliament had ordered in 1651 that 'no foreigner may be granted the possibility of access to members of Parliament or the Council of State', as recorded by Mylius in his diary.⁵⁸¹ We do, however, know that Aitzema was visited by Haak and Mylius, both excluded from the aforementioned restriction as they were not formally employed by Parliament; an example would be:

⁵⁷⁸ Fallon, pp. 14 and 18.

⁵⁷⁹ Leo Miller, 'New Milton Texts and Data from the Aitzema Mission, 1652', *Notes and Queries* (1990): 279-288 (p. 280); Fallon, pp. 247-250. This is also mentioned in Lieuwe van Aitzema's diary: 1.10.02, 45.

⁵⁸⁰ *Calender of State Papers, Domestic Series, Commonwealth*, 1: 177, 233, 2: 292, 4: 619, E403/2608/36.

⁵⁸¹ Mylius as quoted in Leo Miller, *John Milton and the Oldenburg Safeguard* (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1985), p. 69.

*Ick hadde oock besouck van Heer Haeck: die voor deesen is geemploijeert gewest ende noch is vant parliament hier ende daer in. Hij seijde dat oock seedert weijnich daegen de Heer Weckerlijn was hier ontboden ende in employ quam.*⁵⁸²

I was also visited by Sir Haak; who had been employed and is not of parliament. He said as well that since a mere few days Sir Weckerlijn was summoned and became employed.

We do know that Milton was in close contact with both Haak and Mylius, so they could have functioned as shared acquaintances, making introductions.⁵⁸³ On 5 February 1654, Milton sent a letter to Aitzema discussing his divorce tract, which proves that the two were then in personal contact.⁵⁸⁴ Besides, Aitzema refers to a sitting of parliament in which Milton makes a reference to *Areopagitica* and his opinion on licensing:

*Onlangs was hier gedrukt Catechismus Sotinam Racoviams Salex wiert van 't parliament qualijck genoomen; de drucker seijt dat Mr Milton het hadde gelicentieert: Milton gevraegt seijde ja: ende at hij een boekren op dat stuck hadde uytgegeve, dat men geen boecken behoorde te verbieden, dat hij van dat boeck niet meer gedaen had als wat zijn opinie was.*⁵⁸⁵

Recently, the *Racovian Catechism* was printed here, for which Parliament is blamed; the printer said that Milton had licensed the tract: when Milton was asked he said yes: and that he had published a book that argued that one should not ban books, and that he had not acted differently than what his opinion was.

As Miller also argues, Milton is not introduced in the diary in terms of his function in parliament, unlike other officials, but as an intellectual above all, illustrating his

⁵⁸² The name Weckerlijn probably refers to Georg Weckherlin, Milton's predecessor as Latin Secretary. This particular appointment refers to the re-appointment of Weckerlin on March 1652 as a kind of secretary to Milton, after Milton's sight completely failed. Weckherlin's position was soon taken over by Thurloe, as Weckerlin was already 68 years old by that time. Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Minuut verbal van de Legatie van Aitzema als Resident van Hanzesteden naar Brugge en Engeland* (1652), Nationaal Archief, 1.10.02, 49.

⁵⁸³ See Miller, *John Milton and the Oldenburg Safeguard* for the friendship with Mylius and Haak, Nigel Smith's book chapter, 'Haak's Milton', in *Milton and the Long Restoration*, ed. by Blair Hoxby and Ann Baynes Coiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 379-398, for the friendship with Haak.

⁵⁸⁴ Milton, 'To Leo de Aitzema', in *Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, transl. by Phyllis Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 32-33.

⁵⁸⁵ \van Aitzema, 1.10.02, 49.

reputation in the United Provinces at the time, in particular after the publication of his *First Defence*.⁵⁸⁶ It is not unthinkable that for this reason alone Aitzema would have contacted Milton. Of course, none of the above points do provide direct evidence that Milton himself was able to correspond in Dutch with the Dutch; it merely illustrates that Milton had an incentive to learn the language during the Anglo-Dutch negotiations (although Latin and English translations of official documents were often included), there was someone capable of teaching him the language as Williams testified to have done so, and that he had a circle of Dutch (or Dutch associated) acquaintances, all during the first Anglo-Dutch war.⁵⁸⁷

Marvell's 'Character of Holland'

We do not have any documentation indicating whether Marvell met any influential Dutch people in the early half of the seventeenth century, but we do know that he visited the Netherlands. Marvell's itinerary as mentioned by Milton (Netherlands, France, Italy and Spain) does not necessarily give a chronological outline, but it would make sense geographically. It follows almost exactly Evelyn's lay-out of the perfect route through the continent, as described in Chapter I, starting with the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain and then Paris.⁵⁸⁸ Taking the United Provinces as the first country in his itinerary, he could have taken the most common route, a direct passage from Gravesend to Vlissingen (also called Flushing) or Middelburg. From there, he would have travelled southwards through the continent, taking a direct journey back from Spain to England. It is generally accepted that Marvell first visited the Netherlands, but the order of travel between Italy and Spain is ambiguous.⁵⁸⁹ As

⁵⁸⁶ Miller, 'New Milton Texts', p. 281.

⁵⁸⁷ Some of these points I have made in a short article in *Notes and Queries*: 'Did Milton Know Dutch?', *Notes and Queries*, 63.1 (2016): 53-55.

⁵⁸⁸ Evelyn, *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 51.

⁵⁸⁹ Smith, *Chameleon*, pp. 45-46.

mentioned before, he could have taken the route Gravesend-Middelburg, or alternatively he could have travelled from Hull, his hometown, to Rotterdam. The latter route only took two days, although hazardous weather conditions, as observed from Peter Mundy's diary in Chapter I, could delay the journey by four or more days.⁵⁹⁰ As Marvell did not travel through Germany, he entered the United Provinces in the south, either in the Province of Zeeland (Vlissingen or Middelburg) or in Holland (Rotterdam). The province of Holland (and to a lesser extent Zeeland and Utrecht), was the centre of Dutch culture, and would have had the greatest educational value for Marvell and his tutees, and some of the cities in Holland are mentioned by name in his poetry.

The most detailed cultural representation of the Dutch and especially of Hollanders in Marvell's works is the poem 'The Character of Holland'. The poem most likely dates from early 1653, in the middle of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), as it mentions the sea-admirals Deane, Monck and Blake, who played important roles in the battles early in the year 1653 (and ending with Deane's death 3rd of June 1653).⁵⁹¹ The majority of the poem deals with representations or stereotypes of the Dutch that were already widely circulated in popular satires, such as Owen Felltham's *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the states being three weeks observations of the vices and vertues of the inhabitants* (1652) and the two anonymous pamphlets, *The Dutch Boare Dissected, or a Description of Hogg-Land*' (1652) and *Amsterdam and Her Other Hollander Sisters Put Out to Sea* (1652). The poem itself has a curious publication history. It was first fully published posthumously in Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems* of 1681, almost thirty years after its first composition.⁵⁹² As Martin Dzelzainis argues, it is important to discuss the poem and its dating in terms of its composition and not its publication, as Marvell did not publish a great deal of his

⁵⁹⁰ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 68.

⁵⁹¹ Nicolas von Maltzahn, *An Andrew Marvell Chronology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), p. 89.

⁵⁹² Nigel Smith, *Poems*, p. 246.

work himself.⁵⁹³ It is difficult to establish to what extent the manuscript of the 1653 first version of the poem was circulated among a reading audience, as the poem is no longer extant in manuscript form from before 1665 (we only know that it is entered into the Stationer's Register, 13 June 1665).⁵⁹⁴

The original lines 101-152 in this version, which refer to the newly established English Republic were omitted from the 1665 edition of the poem and were replaced by eight new lines. This version praises the achievements of the Duke of York, published during the Second Anglo-Dutch War when Dutch antipathy reached new heights. This ending follows the general flow of pamphlets in the period 1664-1666, in which many praise the achievement of the Duke of York, such as for example Edward Howard's *A panegyrick to his highness the Duke of York on his sea-fight with the Dutch* (1666), and William Smith's poem *Ingratitude reveng'd, or, a poem upon the happy victory of his majesties naval forces against the Dutch* (1665), which was dedicated to the Duke of York. There is no consensus as to who wrote this new ending to the poem; opinions vary from Marvell having nothing to do with the new version written by an unknown author, to Marvell being aware of the new ending but not knowing of its publication or merely consenting to the publication of the new poem.⁵⁹⁵ However, several scholars have revisited the possibility that Marvell himself could be the author of the 1665 version and may have had a hand in its publication.⁵⁹⁶ To use Dzelzainis' words,

⁵⁹³ Martin Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Dutch in 1665', in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts*, ed. Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015): 249-265 (p. 249).

⁵⁹⁴ Smith, *Poems*, p. 246; Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Dutch', p. 250.

1653 printed in *Miscellaneous Poems* of 1681 (Wing 872).

1665 (A) printed as folio in London for Robert Horn (Wing M867)

1665 (B) printed again as folio in York for Stephen Bulkley (Wing M867A).

1672 printed as quarto in London for Robert Horn (Wing M868).

In this thesis, I will not look at the implications of the differences between the two 1665 versions, as Dzelzainis has already done that elsewhere, see the article 'Marvell and the Dutch'.

⁵⁹⁵ *P&L*: I. 309; John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 241.

⁵⁹⁶ Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Dutch', p. 250; Nicolas von Maltzahn, p. 89; Stephen Bardle, *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Waller, and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 89.

speculation on the authorship of the eight lines in the 1665 version is merely an experimental ‘thought process’, but an important one, in particular when discussing Marvell’s sympathies when it came to Anglo-Dutch relations during the First and the Second Anglo-Dutch Wars.⁵⁹⁷ Dzelzainis argues that the difference between the multiple versions and the chronological changes are the result of changes within Marvell’s original and authoritative manuscript, which was later used for the different publication. If we indeed adopt the assumption that Marvell is responsible for the different versions, that is to say the 1653 and 1665 variations, the poem could be read as a reflection of different historical points in Marvell’s life and as a chronology of his political sympathies, since the poem was published during each war.

For now, I will focus on the 1653 version of the poem. It is curious that Marvell used so little of his personal experience of the Dutch and the United Provinces in the poem and relied mostly on a witty adaptation of stock stereotypes. However, as Pierre Legouis suggested in 1965, the poem was not written as a personal reflection on someone’s travel, but rather as a covering letter.⁵⁹⁸ Through the composition of the poem, Marvell attempted to obtain the position of Assistant Latin Secretary, for which Milton wrote the recommendation letter, mentioned above. David Norbrook argues that Marvell ‘backed up his application’ and wanted to support his case by the creation of the poem.⁵⁹⁹ Perhaps it is fruitful to think about it as a demonstration of Marvell’s convictions in practise, as an advertisement, rather than a necessary addition. In that sense it is similar to Milton’s publication of the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, which publicly announced Milton’s support for the new Republic and the regicide at the time when he was being considered for the position of Latin Secretary. This makes it no

⁵⁹⁷ Dzelzainis, ‘Marvell and the Dutch’, p. 250.

⁵⁹⁸ Pierre Legouis, *Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan and Patriot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 92-93.

⁵⁹⁹ David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 293.

longer merely a witty satire, but a response to particular political developments. For decades (particularly in the nineteenth century), people tried to read the poem as a literary piece of work that could be read independently from its historical context and concluded that the poem did not work as such: '[Marvell's] satires in their day were much admired and feared: they are now for the most part unreadable. The subjects of satire as a rule are ephemeral, but a great satirist like Juvenal or Dryden preserves his flies in the amber of his general sentiment. In Marvell's satire there is no amber; they are mere heaps of dead flies'.⁶⁰⁰ Many Marvell scholars have looked since then at the political and historical context of the poem, but there are still readings of the poem that fail to recognise its satirical character and political agenda, such as, for example, Herman Pleij's recently published book, *Moet Kunnen: Op Zoek naar een Nederlandse Identiteit* (It Should be Possible: In Search of a Dutch Identity, 2014), which focusses briefly (and solely) on Marvell's representation of the Dutch land as 'vomit of the sea'.⁶⁰¹ Taking the particular context of the poem and his journey to the United Provinces into account will reveal an interesting reading of his choices in satirising this particular nation.

The poem (that is, the 1653 version with the lines praising the commonwealth) presents Marvell as a convinced supporter of the relatively new regime, similar to the poem 'In Legationem Domini Oliveri St John ad Provincias Foederatas' (1651), composed only a couple of years before the 'Character'.⁶⁰² When Marvell came back from his journey, he became acquainted with an intellectual circle of literary figures, some of whom were associated with royalist sympathies, such as Richard Lovelace and Thomas Stanley; evidence for Marvell's own royalism relies heavily on three royalist

⁶⁰⁰ Goldwin Smith, 'Andrew Marvell', in *The English Poets, Vol II: The Seventeenth Century: Ben Jonson to Dryden*, ed. by T.H. Ward (New York: Macmillan and Co, 1880): 383-384.

⁶⁰¹ Herman Pleij, *Moet Kunnen: Op Zoek naar een Nederlandse Identiteit* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2014), p. 85.

⁶⁰² Legouis, p. 92.

poems published in 1648 and 1649: ‘An Elegy Upon the Death of My Lord Francis Villiers’, ‘Upon the Death of Lord Hastings’, and ‘To His Noble Friend Mr Richard Lovelace, Upon his Poems’.⁶⁰³ Marvell’s association with Milton might have been a first suggestion that pointed to republican sympathies, but the poem itself would provide a first-hand testimony of support.

The Dutch Republic was at that time a refuge for Royalists, which meant that supporting the war strategy was in one way a critique of the royalists. Although the United Provinces was by institution a republic, the Orangist party, led by Willem II, had connections with the Stuart family and after the regicide demonstrated strong antipathy towards the English Republic.⁶⁰⁴ There was a general fear that the Dutch Republic could be infected with the English troubles, as can be observed from Dutch poetry and diaries from the period. Overall, the Dutch Republic did not show strong support for the new English Republic. Moreover, one of the reasons the proposal of a close alliance between the two countries failed in 1651-1652, leading to the First Anglo-Dutch War, was that the United Provinces refused to accept the condition that they could no longer offer accommodation to refugees and fugitives from the English Republic, which also meant that the royalists that were already there had to be evicted.⁶⁰⁵ Milton’s letter mentioned that Marvell visited the Low Countries, making it widely known among the people in government responsible for the admission of the new secretary that he went to a country with strong royalist sympathies. The mention of The Hague in the poem not only refers to the seat of the Dutch government, but more importantly refers to the new domicile of the Queen of Bohemia, Elizabeth Stuart, sister of Charles I, who was financially supported by the States-General. Several travellers mention that they were presented at

⁶⁰³ Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1-3.

⁶⁰⁴ See for the response of the United Provinces on the Regicide, Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Sphere: 1639-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁶⁰⁵ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660* (London: Longmans, 1894), Vol 1: 1649-1660, pp. 362-363.

her court with descriptions of the audience, palace, and food, including Evelyn, who also highlights the strong links between the Stuarts and Oranjes in his diary entry on 26 July 1641:

Arrived at The Hague, I went first to the Queen Bohemia's Court, where I had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand and several of the princesses, her daughters. Prince Maurice was also there, newly come out of Germany, and my Lord Finch, not long before fled out of from the fury of the parliament.⁶⁰⁶

It is certainly not unthinkable that the noble sons that Marvell was tutoring were invited by the Queen of Bohemia to pay their respects, and that he attended himself. For the promotion of one's (new) republican sympathies, there would be no better way to demonstrate this than to satirise the United Provinces and The Hague as the Dutch capital for royalism.

When we turn to the poem 'The Character of Holland', there are, nevertheless, some inventive metaphors and associations that reveal inside knowledge of the United Provinces, despite the fact that the majority of the poem is a re-writing of confirmed stereotypes in English pamphlets of the 1650s. In itself the title of the poem already shows that it will only deal with Holland and not with the United Provinces as a whole. Otherwise the title 'The Character of the United Provinces' seems more to the point, similar to Owen Felltham's *On the Character of the Low Countries*. As Richard Todd rightly observes, there are some lines that do refer to the United Provinces as a whole; these, however, do not argue that the term Holland is used proverbially, but are positioned in the poem to satirise the idea of one strong nation that the United Provinces themselves promoted, such as in their coat of arms (l. 100).⁶⁰⁷ It would be incorrect to read these lines as an argument that would promote the image of the United Provinces

⁶⁰⁶ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Walter Dunne Publisher, 1901) p. 33. Other travellers who also mention visits to the Queen of Bohemia: Robert Bargrave, John Reresby and William Brereton (see Chapter I).

⁶⁰⁷ Richard Todd, 'Equilibrium and National Stereotyping in 'The Character of Holland'', in *On The Celebrated and Neglected Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Claude J. Summer and Ted-Larry Pebworth (London: University of Missouri Press, 1992): 169-191 (fn. 9, p. 172).

as a coherent whole, as the lines ‘And now their Hydra of sev’n provinces’ (l. 137) and ‘To whom their weather-beaten *province* owes/ Itself’ (my italics, ll. 109-110) already illustrate.⁶⁰⁸ The geographical imagery can be split into three parts; it begins with the creation of land by draining, which was a feature of Holland and Zeeland. This is demonstrated by the greatest number of windmills present in the province of Holland, mentioned in the poem: ‘But who could first discern the rising land./ Who best could know to pump an earth so leak’(ll. 44-45). Perhaps the sight of the windmills that were drying the land and the travelogues that highlight the muddiness of the process might have inspired Marvell to write the opening of the ‘Character’, with its emphasis on ‘dunghill’, ‘vomit’ and the struggle of land with the overwhelming power of the sea (ll. 7-16).⁶⁰⁹

Throughout the poem the struggle with water and the process of creating land is mocked – it is the spine of the poem – similar to many other satires in the period, of which the pamphlet, *The Dutch Mens Pedigree, or, A relation, Shewing how they were first bred and descended from a Horse-turd, which was enclosed in a Butterbox* (1653), was the most outspoken.⁶¹⁰ This pamphlet describes a great horse – the product of the rape of a mermaid by Beelzebub – that was ordered by the devil to drink the sea near Holland until it was dry ground, and then a butter-box filled with dung was placed on this new soil, from which the Dutch were hatched by brooding devils. The pamphlet explains moreover where the name of the United Provinces, or in Latin *Belgia*, comes from:

⁶⁰⁸ Presenting the United Provinces as Hydra, with seven individual heads, each able to live independently as long as one head or one province survives, emphasises the independent nature of the Provinces, as reflected in the articles of the Union of Utrecht (1579) (see Chapter IV for a more elaborate explanation of the independency of each individual province) and the close cooperation in order to thrive.

⁶⁰⁹ See for example Brereton’s travelogue that focusses on the muddiness of the reclaiming process, William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-1635* (Manchester: Chatham Society, 1844), p. 62.

⁶¹⁰ It is interesting to note that this particular feature of the Dutch landscape was also their greatest pride. René Descartes, whilst staying in Holland in the seventeenth century, is by tradition supposed to have quipped: ‘Dieu créa le monde mais les hollandais créèrent la hollande’ (God created the world, but the Dutch created Holland).

I shall acquaint you with my intent concerning it, which I hope will be no offensive to his Majesty [sovereign king *Belzebub*], who hath commanded me that I be sure to give it such a name as may have the first syllable of his own in it, for which cause I think it most proper to be called *Bel-regia*; for if we call *Belzebub Bel* for shortness, it will then signifie *Belzebubs* kingdom: But if his Majesties servants the inhabitants shall think this too long a name to be readily spoken, I shall then condescend to call it *Belgia*, leaving out the middle most syllable in pronounciation, since it cannot but be understood by the sense of the word.⁶¹¹

These images remained popular throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, such as can be observed from the anonymous ballad *A Broad-side of the Dutch, with a Bounce, a Bounce, a Bounce* (1672):

Their ground, like themselves, is muddy and sandy,
For those are the parts of a Jack-a-Dandy
[...]
They live in a bog, as the people do tell,
For sure the low Countries needs must be hell,
And they may in time be taught to rebell.

Marvell's connection between the reclamation of land and the position of hell is a more complex and subtle image than we see in many other pamphlets; at the end of the poem, the Netherlands becomes Pluto's designated region, whereas England is that of Neptune, connecting it with the debate on the ownership of the seas between Selden and Grotius: 'For while our Neptune doth a trident shake/ Steeled with those piercing heads, Deane, Monck and Blake/ And while Jove governs in the highest sphere,/ Vainly in Hell let Pluto domineer' (ll. 149-152).⁶¹² However witty Marvell's description might be, it

⁶¹¹ D.F., *The Dutch Mens Pedigree, or, A relation, Shewing how they were first bred and descended from a Horse-turd, which was enclosed in a Butterbox* (1653), p. 1.

⁶¹² Andrew Fleck, 'Marvell's use of Nedham's Selden', *Notes and Queries*, 55.2 (2007): 422-425 (p. 424).

nevertheless followed the tradition of satirical pamphlets on the Netherlands that focussed on the geographical creation of the country.

The poem moves on by satirising the capital of Holland, Amsterdam, and the other most important town, although a village, The Hague:

Nor can Civility there want for Tillage,
Where wisely for their Court they chose a Village.
How fit a title clothes their Governours,
Themselves the Hogs as all their Subjects Bores
Let it suffice to give their Country Fame
That it had one Civilis call'd by Name,
Some Fifteen hundred and more years ago,
But surely never any that was so.

(ll. 76-83)

There are no other references in the poem to cities or towns in the rest of the United Provinces. The poem ends with a description of the competition between the new Commonwealth (in the above quotation, Marvell discards the myth of the Batavian state, making both Republics almost the same age) and the Republic in terms of trade (1653 version) something that was again dominated by the province of Holland. By focussing on this particular area only, the significance of the Eighty Years' War, noticeable especially in the provinces of Zeeland, Brabant, and Gelderland, is not mentioned at all in the poem, although there are some subtle references to the Dutch rebellion, in for example the lines: 'Who best could know how to pump an earth so leak,/ Him they their Lord and country's Father speak./To make a bank was a great plot of state;/Invent a shovel and be magistrate' (ll. 45-48), hinting at the fact that the Dutch

announced themselves an independent state in the Union of Utrecht in 1579.⁶¹³ Instead, the last part of the poem deals in particular with the First Anglo-Dutch War and, with the adapted ending of 1665 also the Second Anglo-Dutch War, in which the English are portrayed as blameless and virtuous, whereas Dutch incivility led to hostilities and consequently the War. In the same way that the unnatural behaviour of the Dutch is invoked in terms of their creation of the land, in which they embody disharmony with nature, the war with England is a disturbance of the same natural equilibrium.⁶¹⁴

Marvell implicitly refers to arguments about the ownership of the seas at the end of the poem. Andrew Fleck has recently discussed this division of the universe in three regions – Jove’s, Neptune’s and Pluto’s – in reference to Selden’s *Mare Clausum*, who used Homer’s lay-out of the universe to support his argument that the seas belong to nations.⁶¹⁵ The fact that classical literature, both Greek and Roman, presents the sea as owned by the respective gods, Neptune and Poseidon, means that ancient civilisations already followed the idea of *Mare Clausum*, which establishes an authoritative precedent for Selden. One of the major problems between the two republics concerned trade and especially fishing rights off the coast of Great Britain, but both nations were unwilling to compromise. In 1651, Gerard Shaep (one of the three ambassadors sent to protest against St. John’s navigation act) was sent to London to negotiate matters of trade, and although much was prepared for the first official embassy that came to the newly established English Republic, no fixed agreement was made.⁶¹⁶ The States-General’s unwillingness to cooperate led to Cromwell’s decision to remove all ambassadors from the Netherlands in June, but eight months later, Strickland

⁶¹³ There is a general trend in satirical pamphlets on the Dutch to mention their ingratitude after Britain assisted in the Dutch struggle and helped with the establishment of the Dutch Republic. To give a few examples: Anonymous, *The Dutch Boar dissected, or a description of Hogg-land* (1665); Charles Molloy, *Hollands Ingratitude, or, A Serious Expostulation with the Dutch* (1666); Poor Robin, *Poor Robins Character of a Dutch-man* (1672).

⁶¹⁴ Harold E. Toliver, *Marvell’s Ironic Vision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 198; Warren L. Chernaik, *The Poet’s Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 165.

⁶¹⁵ Fleck, p. 424.

⁶¹⁶ Gardiner, p. 353.

and St. John were sent back to the Dutch Republic to begin new diplomatic talks.

Marvell wrote the poem ‘In Legationem Domini Oliveri St John ad Provincias Foederatas’ for this particular occasion. We have no record of the proposal they brought with them, but we do know that the proposal was rejected, as was the Dutch counter-proposal by the English, which escalated the already troublesome relations between the nations, leading to war.⁶¹⁷ Milton was asked to translate *Intercursus Magnus* during this time, an agreement between Henry VII and the Duke of Burgundy in 1496, on which the Dutch had based their proposal.⁶¹⁸ However, it was to no avail. The passing words spoken by St. John upon the failing of the negotiations and the delegation’s consequent departure reflect some of the disappointed and bitter feelings of the English embassy:

*Alors vous viendrez rechercher pas vos envoyer ce que nous sommes venus pour offrir si cordialement; mais croyez moi vous repentirez alors d’avoir rejeté nos offres.*⁶¹⁹

You will soon send envoys to ask for what we have cordially offered you, but believe me, then you will repent of having rejected our offers thus.

These words echo in literature from the period, such as in the lines in *Paradise Regain’d*: ‘Soon thou shalt have cause/ To wish thou never hadst rejected thus/ nicely or cautiously my offered aid’ (4.375-377). Aitzema’s diary (1652), too, shows regret when the Dutch rejected the alliance:

*Onder tussen generaelijck seggen Hollant en wij moeten vrienden sijn ende blijven ende wij moeten elkanderen bijstaen tegen alle monarchen.*⁶²⁰

Meanwhile, generals say that Holland and we should be friends and stay friends and we should support each other against all other monarchies.

⁶¹⁷ Gardiner, pp. 357-359.

⁶¹⁸ Fallon, p. 76.

⁶¹⁹ Anonymous, *Histoire de la Vie et de la Mort des Deux Illustrer Freres, C et J de Witt* (Utrecht:1707), i. 63.

⁶²⁰ Van Aitzema, 1.10.02, 49.

Nevertheless, the violation of the fishing rights was an issue that very much occupied the Rump Parliament and they were unwilling to compromise; Marchamont Nedham published his translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum* in 1652, seventeen years after the original publication, right in the middle of the negotiations.

The connection between Nedham and Marvell in this context is a telling one. Nedham was a public republican, the 'most widely read journalist in puritan England', partly as a result of his *Mercurius Politicus*, of which Milton was licenser, as well.⁶²¹ In *Mercurius Politicus*, Nedham often proposed all kinds of unions between the two nations (in under two years, sixteen entries about the United Provinces can be found), in which the Organist party would be defeated, consequently weakening the Stuart's cause, such as the entry on 3 April 1651:

Many of the Dutch are as bitter and violent against us as the English, rayle fearfully in our hearing. Others again are well pleased, and over joyed with our coming, and desire with all their hearts that England and Holland may be come as one entire body. These are as much against the Prince of Orange his factions, as we against the Cavaliers.⁶²²

Perhaps the additions to his translation *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea* are even more telling. The book opens with the poem 'Neptune to the Commonwealth', again representing a kind of collaboration between the sea and the English Republic, making England the natural owner of the seas. The preface dedicated to the 'Supreme Authority of the Nation: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England' is even more outspoken in its Republican convictions (Charles II is constantly referred to as the tyrant, for example) and its support of Selden's claim:

⁶²¹ Blair Worden, 'Milton and Marchamont Nedham', in *Milton and Republicanism*, ed. by David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 156-180 (p. 157).

⁶²² (Only the last date of the issue is named here): 8 Aug 1650 (136-9), 10 Oct 1650 (307), 9 Jan 1651 (512), 16 Jan (529), 23 Jan (542), 20 Feb 1651 (600), 3 April 1651 (quoted above) (696-697), 29 May 1651 (816), 5 June 1651 (834), 12 June 1651 (857), 10 July 1651 (908-9, 913), 2 Oct 1651 (1103), 9 Oct 1651 (1110), 20 Nov 1651 (1211), 13 May 1652 (1586-7) and 20 May 1652 (1595).

The truth is, too much easiness and indulgence to the fathers and grandfather of the present generation was the first occasion of elevating them to this height of confidence, in pressing upon the seas of England. For who knows not with what tenderness, and upon what terms, they were first taken into the bosom of Queen Elizabeth? [...] It was counted reason of state to permit them to thrive; but they turning that favourable permission into a licentious encroaching beyond due limits, put the king to a world of trouble and charge, by embassies and otherwise, to assert his own interest. And dispute them into a reasonable submission to this right which has been received before as indisputable by all the world.⁶²³

This passage criticises the previous monarchies for their leniency towards the Dutch (as outlined in the introduction) and at the same time thus supports the Commonwealth's recently re-instated strict foreign policy; war was a better alternative to claim the right of sovereignty over the seas than allowing other nations to make imaginary claims of ownership.

Grotius's book *Mare Liberum*, starting the internal debate about the ownership of the seas to which Selden is responding, is mentioned in Marvell's poem (l. 35), as well as another reference to a work on international law by the same author, *Jus Bellis ac Pacis* (l. 113). By quoting these titles, Marvell gives a testimony of his knowledge of the current debate, and by referring to Selden's work at the end of the poem reaffirms his allegiance to the English Commonwealth. Marvell's decision to use Selden's representation of the universe's three regions (Jove's, Neptune's, and Pluto's) means he associates himself with Nedham (translator of Selden), one of the most outspoken republicans of the time, with ties to Milton and other republicans. An endorsement of Nedham, perhaps through a (public) appraisal of 'The Character' in *Mercurius Politicus*, would have been more important for a chance to get the job than Milton's

⁶²³ Marchamont Nedham, 'Preface', in *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea* (London, 1652), sig. A.

recommendation letter. Unfortunately, such a public endorsement never materialised.

The debate on the ownership of the seas will be further discussed in Chapter VIII.

In line with the Character tradition as an introduction to a specific country, the poem mentions five Dutch words in the first 100 lines, which means that if the lines were influenced by English satirical sources, those sources must have been printed before early 1653.⁶²⁴ These words have several meanings, each enhancing a different characteristic that emphasises the nature of the Dutch, whilst satirising the language itself. Three of these five words Marvell could have picked up from sources that were around at the time, but two could not have been. Firstly, the term *Heeren* (l. 34), as a polite title for gentlemen, was a word that was regularly used in English sources, often discussing Dutch matters; an example of this would be John Selden's reference to it in his *Titles of Honor of 1614*: 'We usually stile them *Lords*, as the Dutch their *Heeren*, or *Freeheeren*'.⁶²⁵ The term is also used in the pamphlet *Amsterdam and her other Hollander sisters put out to sea, by Van Trump, Van Dunck, & Van Dumpe* (1652), of which traces can be found throughout Marvell's poem.⁶²⁶ Secondly, the term *Hans-in-Kelder* (l.66) is mentioned as a term for an unborn child, or as a toast to a pregnant woman, which could literally be translated as *Jack-in-the-Cellar*. This expression was not long in use before the publication of the poem; the first recorded Dutch uses were in the early seventeenth century, such as in Huygens' poetry.⁶²⁷ It was then adopted into the English language; in Richard Brome's play, *The Sparagus Garden* (1640), it is used with the correct reference: 'Come here's a health to the Hans in Kelder, and the mother

⁶²⁴ A few examples of other texts writing in the same tradition besides Owen Felltham's: Anon, *A Character of France* (1659); Anon, *The Character of Italy* (1660); and John Evelyn's famous version, *The Character of England* (1659).

⁶²⁵ John Selden, *Titles of Honour* (London: 1614), p. 283.

⁶²⁶ To mention a few examples: the pamphlet describes Amsterdam as having 'as many sects as chambers' (p.3); the fact that the Dutch like knives more than swords (p. 10) is used by Marvell in the poem, where the Dutch cut each other and carve the arms of the United Provinces into their bodies (ll. 97-99). There is a pun on bore and the Dutch *boer* (farmer) (p.11), which, too, can be found in Marvell's poem (l. 79).

⁶²⁷ F.A. Stoett, *Nederlandsche Spreekwoorden, Spreekwijzen, Uitdrukking en Gezegden* (Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie, 1923), pp. 319-320.

/of the boy, if it prove so' (III.iv.1202-1203); and Brome uses the idiom later on in his play *The New Academy* (1658) (II.i.936). This suggests that the term was broadly known and used for comical and satirical effect by that time, re-affirming the nature and the purpose of Marvell's poem. Lastly, the word *dyke-grave* in line 49, referring to a chairman of the council that was responsible for the maintenance of the dykes.⁶²⁸ It has to be noted, however, that this word is not printed in italics and thus not highlighted as a foreign word. The word was in circulation before the poem's composition in 1653, such as in James Howell's letter from Amsterdam, written 1 April 1617, published 1650:

That the chief *Dike-grave* here, is one of the greatest Officers of trust in all the Province, it being in his power, to turn the whole Countrey into a Salt lough when he list, and so to put *Hans* to swim for his life, which makes it to be one of the chiefest part of his Letany, *From the Sea, the Spaniard, and the Devil*, the Lord deliver me.⁶²⁹

If readers at the time were unfamiliar with the meaning of these Dutch words in the poem, the balance in the bilingual chiasmus would explain the content and intention of the pun:⁶³⁰

Whole sholes of *Dutch* serv'd up for *Cabilliau*:

[...]

For pickled *Herring*, pickled *Heeren* chang'd.

(II. 32, 34)

⁶²⁸ *Geintegreerde Taalbank: INL Schatkamer van de Nederlandse Taal*, 'Dijkgraaf'.

⁶²⁹ James Howell, 'O my Brother, after Dr. Howell, and now Bp. of Bristol, from Amsterdam, 1 April 1617', in *Epistolae Ho-elianae familiar letters domestic and forren divided into sundry sections, partly historicall, politicall, philosophical, vpon emergent occasions* (London: 1650) p. 9.

⁶³⁰ Todd, pp. 188-189. Todd gives a more elaborate explanation of the word 'dijkgraaf' and its associated verb 'graven' (to dig), which I have excluded in this discussion of the Dutch words, as there is no indication that Marvell was indeed aware of this etymology of the word; there are no suggestions in the poem itself. The collocation with the word 'heemraad' (local council) is inventive to explain the Commission of the Sewers (l. 52), but as the 'Dijkgraaf' himself already commissioned the waterworks, I argue, that this could directly refer to the 'Dijkgraaf', rather than to a secondary council.

In these three instances, Marvell did not need to have any inside knowledge of the United Provinces or of the Dutch language itself.

Annabel Patterson argues that the poem is therefore nothing more than ‘educated ecphrasis’ of already existing satirical images of the Dutch and that the poem thus shows that Marvell himself had not ‘yet established personal connections with the United Provinces’.⁶³¹ She does not, however, discuss the Dutch words (and in particular the two Dutch words unknown in English literature at the time) at any point in her explanation of the poem, as several other Marvell scholars have likewise neglected to do.⁶³² Fleck even goes as far as to say that the ‘poet offers nothing innovative in the poem’s first hundred lines’.⁶³³ The use of the Dutch words in the poem works in both English and Dutch, and show some first-hand knowledge of the Dutch Republic and its language.

The two Dutch words *Cabillau* (l. 32) and *Half-anders* (l. 53) are not as easily traced in early English sources before 1653. The term *Cabillau* or *Cabilliau* in the poem refers to codfish itself, but was also a dish prepared with salted codfish.⁶³⁴ The term only appears once in a record in 1608 - Jean Francois’ *A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* - but it is used in reference to a certain Mr Cabillau. It is, therefore, likely that it is a word that Marvell picked up as a result of his journey through Holland. At the time, *cabillau* or as it was later called *kabeljouw* was very much part of the staple diet, in particular in sea-neighbouring provinces.⁶³⁵ It was widely available, and it is certainly not unimaginable that fishmongers would praise the *cabilliau* on fish-markets, and that

⁶³¹ Annabel M. Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 120.

⁶³² Richard Todd also picks up on the fact that not many commentators of Marvell discussed the Dutch words and their implications for the creation of the poem (footnote 4, p. 171).

⁶³³ Fleck, p. 423.

⁶³⁴ Nigel Smith explains the cabillau in footnotes as ‘a) codfish, salted and hung for a few days, but not thoroughly dried b) a dish of mashed cod, specifically associated with the Dutch’ (p. 251). It, however, also referred to the fresh product of codfish, then called ‘kabeljouw’, which has the same pronunciation.

⁶³⁵ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (London: Harper Imperial, 2004), pp. 176-177.

it was served in inns at the time. It is only after Marvell's poem that *cabillau* is used to refer to the Dutch diet, such as, for example, in Mountague's *The Delights of Holland* (1669): 'no Fricassee's, Ragou's, or Grilliades, but a good Dish of Cabilliau, Cod-Fish, of which the *Dutch* in general are great Admirers'.⁶³⁶ What we should also take into account is that Marvell grew up in Hull, and would become its Member of Parliament at the end of the 1650s (the implications of this during the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch War will be discussed in Chapter VIII). Since Hull was a port city on the North Sea, very much occupied with fishery, and with a great number of Dutch residing there and with constant trading traffic with the United Provinces, it is likely that words such as *Kabeljouw* were in use (at least among the fish markets) in Marvell's home town.⁶³⁷

The use of the word *Half-anders* is even more intriguing, as this term does not exist in (early) modern Dutch, nor in German variants and is invented by Marvell himself. It has never been used anywhere, but in Marvell's poem: 'For these *half-anders*, half wet, and half dry,/ Nor bear strict service, nor pure liberty' (ll. 53-54). The invention of a Dutch word could be another way of demonstrating Marvell's ability with the Dutch language, as claimed in Milton's letter, hence reinforcing the argument that the poem was used for promotional purposes. Nigel Smith explains the term as a coinage of the two words *half* and *anders* (other or different), or from the word *anderhalf*, meaning one and a half, as mentioned in Henry Hexham's *Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionarie* (1648).⁶³⁸ I, however, would like to propose a different interpretation. It is more likely that it is a pun on the word *heel-anders*, literally translated as 'wholly-different'. Through highlighting the English character, a clear

⁶³⁶ William Mountague, *The Delights of Holland: or, A three months travel about that and the other provinces With observations and reflections on their trade, wealth, strength, beauty and policy & c. together with a catalogue of the rarities in the anatomical school at Leyden*, (London:1669), p. 36.

⁶³⁷ Edward Holberton, 'Representing the Sea in Andrew Marvell's 'Advice to a Painter' Satires'', *Review of English Studies* (2014): 71-86 (p. 72).

⁶³⁸ Henry Hexham, *Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionarie* (London: 1648), p. 252.

distinction can be made between what is similar and different, as to define oneself by what they are and what they are not; in this case determining what is half-different, which would be a literal translation of the word. Todd, however, proposes two other readings of the word, namely that the word is a reference to Greek etymology, meaning *half-human*, or a pun on the word half-Flanders.⁶³⁹ The reading of a pun on *heel-anders* would require knowledge of the Dutch language, unlike the three previous Dutch words, but would also refer to the ambivalent relation between the sister nations, both Republican states, in which one had to focus on what was different, but also on what was the same. In Marvell's poem, the mirror works both ways, as a window looking out on a neighbouring rival, and at the same time as a reflection of England itself, but *half-anders*.

Milton's political involvement in the English Republic's diplomatic relations with the United Provinces informed his prose writings, as we have seen. Marvell's poem the 'Character of Holland', was written whilst seeking employment in the commonwealth, and became a political tool to satirize the Dutch during all three Anglo-Dutch Wars. The exchange thus works both ways: Anglo-Dutch relations influencing poetical works, as well as poetical works influencing Anglo-Dutch relations. The European experience of the Dutch that both Milton and Marvell gained on their journeys, their involvement with diplomatic missions, negotiations and personal acquaintance with Europeans has resulted in poetry not only occupied with constitutional and national issues, and which should be placed firmly on a European (literary) stage. Whereas 'The Character of Holland' mocks the Dutch nationality, the word *half-anders* itself stands in tension with the artificiality of clear national

⁶³⁹ Although inventive explanations of the pun *anders* do hint at the Greek word for half-human $\mu\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\theta\eta\rho$, Marvell's word would lose some of its hidden meaning when it is no longer concerned with the differences and similarities between the United Provinces and England, see Todd, footnote 35, p. 190. Thanks to Paul Martin for checking the Greek.

boundaries. This chapter has identified the range of associations with the United Provinces that Milton and Marvell experienced throughout their careers. It examined the processes of exchange within their professional careers, as well as personal acquaintances. Following chapters will look in more depth at the content of this exchange: the influence of Dutch works in early modern England, and Milton's and Marvell's thoughts on Dutch literature, religion and politics.

Chapter VI

Milton, Marvell and Dutch Literary Associations

<i>[...] dit roken d'Engelanders</i>	[...] this rouses the English
<i>En de Bataviërs, die trouw</i>	And the Batavians, who true
<i>Nu met onderlinge standers</i>	With mutual witness
<i>Gaan gepaard, als man en vrouw,</i>	Are paired, as bride and groom,
<i>Om de waterstaat te vagen</i>	This water-state to liberate
<i>Van het ongebonden schuim,</i>	From that unbounded froth
<i>Dat ter helle uit elk kwam plagen.</i>	That came from hell to frustrate.
<i>Tijd is 't dat de zeeplaag ruim',</i>	It is time to sweep this sea-plague off
<i>En zich weder ga versteken</i>	So it will again retreat
<i>In het onverlichte hol,</i>	Into the unlit cave
<i>Met haar grijns en valse streken.</i>	With her grin and false deceit.
<i>Hier staan liefde en eendracht vol.</i>	Here love and unity stand brave
<i>Amsterdam omhelst nu London,</i>	Amsterdam embraces London round,
<i>Beide aaneen door trouw verbonden.</i>	Both united, in loyalty bound.

(ll. 74-88)

These lines are taken from 'De Bruiloft van den Theems en Aemstel t'Amsterdam' (The Wedding of the Thames and the Amstel in Amsterdam) (1660), a poem by Joost van den Vondel, written to commemorate the wedding of Mary Stuart and Willem II van Oranje (1641). For Vondel, it was one of the most significant events of the period, marking an alliance between the nations and their natural kinship throughout the seventeenth century. It seems strange at first that he waited nineteen years before publishing the poem, but commemorating this particular wedding during the return of the King (Willem II was the nephew of Mary Stuart) provided a reminder that the

United Provinces had supported the British monarchy during the rule of the Commonwealth and would continue to do so – not least in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. I want to take Vondel’s unification of the Amstel and the Thames, and the continuation of this bond during the Restoration, further than the poem aspires to do, demonstrating through the metaphor of two rivers flowing together how, culturally-speaking, these countries inhabited a shared literary space. This chapter will therefore look at the breadth of exchange between England and the United Provinces that we can see in Milton and Marvell, with an emphasis on the intellectual developments presented in Chapter II. The literary interaction between the nations had two registers: material and imaginative. The former I define in terms of engagement with the explosion of Dutch printing culture – printing, publishers and publications- and the latter as the exchange of intellectual and literary ideas. As previous chapters have demonstrated, ever more intricate Anglo-Dutch relations were established throughout the seventeenth-century, meaning that thinking about them as separated by cultural boundaries is restrictive rather than descriptive. This chapter will therefore focus on some elements in Milton’s and Marvell’s works that illustrate the entwined Anglo-Dutch literary and intellectual sphere. I will discuss two different areas within the literary sphere – the shared printing/publication culture and correlating scholarly community, and secondly, the connections between Milton, Marvell, and Dutch writers. As Marvell wrote, rather one-sidedly, in his ‘Character of Holland’, the United Provinces is ‘but the off-scouring of the English sand’ (l. 1); however such a sentiment might be evaluated, England’s cultural boundaries with the United Provinces were to prove as fluid and dangerous as the narrow sea.

In *Areopagitica*, Milton wrote that ‘where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making’.⁶⁴⁰ Whether Milton has this particular context in mind when writing the tract we do not know, but, in any case, the Dutch printing and publication scene quite happily embodied this point of view, as polemical and progressive texts that sparked fierce debates often converted into considerable profit. Moreover, via the two prominent universities of Leiden and Utrecht, there was a cluster of scholars eager to offer their own writings and opinions, from the Netherlands and all over Europe. Several scholarly controversies therefore had their beginnings in Dutch publishing houses, provoking responses from scholars in other nations through their own publishing houses; this pattern can be seen in the responses to Hugo Grotius’s *Mare Liberum* (Leiden, 1609), including the Portuguese Serafim de Freitas’ *De Iusto Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico* (Valladolid, 1625) and John Selden’s *Mare Clausum* (London, 1635). Additionally, many foreigners used Dutch printers and publishers (especially the Elzevier family) to print texts that were forbidden in their native country, such as works by Galileo and Descartes. As Milton further notes in *Areopagitica*, these international kinds of debates, however controversial they might have been, could not be policed, since foreign books could not be licensed, thus granting them a *de facto* right to take place.⁶⁴¹ Translations of polemical works from other countries were also difficult to regulate, as the grey area between literal and free translation was and still is difficult to define.⁶⁴² This international milieu, whether it was in Latin, the vernacular,

⁶⁴⁰ *CPW*: II, 532.

⁶⁴¹ *CPW*: II, 503

⁶⁴² Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman, ‘Chapter 1: The Distribution and Dissemination of Popular Print’, in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 1-29 (p. 7).

or communicated through translation, provided the stage for many controversies, as well as facilitating vigorous correspondence between members of the Republic of Letters.⁶⁴³

Milton himself experienced the liberality of the Dutch publication environment when he became involved in a long-running controversy with Claudius Salmasius, a famous neo-Latinist at the University of Leiden. By the year 1648, Milton was a ‘proven controversialist [...] as a libertine advocate of divorce reform’ and was known as such in the United Provinces.⁶⁴⁴ Milton’s divorce tracts were later translated into Dutch and published as *Tractaet ofte discours vande echt-scheydinge: waerin verscheyden Schriftuyr plaetsen, ende politycke regulen dese materie aengaende, en der selver lang verborgene meyningen warden ontdeckt* (Middelburgh, 1655). Lieuwe van Aitzema was involved with these translations, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Milton had also already discussed printing and publication in terms of liberty, and the role of the author in *Areopagitica* (1644), as mentioned. He saw authorship, publication and printing as a way of influencing a nation (or even nations) and advertising reform, whether this concerned the church, education or political institutions. Potentially European-wide publication was the ideal medium, since in *Areopagitica* he writes: ‘writing is more public than preaching’.⁶⁴⁵ This contrasts with the more private Marvell, who for most of his lifetime favoured manuscript publication over print (if the work was considered for publication at all).⁶⁴⁶ As well as being a useful vehicle for texts

⁶⁴³ Censoring the Republic of Letters was extremely difficult, as manuscripts were often circulated within these letters, as projects such as Cultures of Knowledge, have clearly demonstrated (see <http://www.culturesofknowledge.org/>).

⁶⁴⁴ Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns, *John Milton: Life, Mind and Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 228-229.

⁶⁴⁵ *CPW*: II. 548.

⁶⁴⁶ Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 1, and Martin Dzelzainis, ‘Marvell and the Dutch in 1665’, in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015): 249- 265 (pp. 249-250). Marvell’s approach to publication changed after the restoration when his prose tracts and the Painter Poems became widely circulated.

promoting reform, the Dutch liberal publishing culture led to greater availability of foreign sources, both because Elzevier exported great numbers of books to foreign nations, and because the most polemical texts could often only be printed there.⁶⁴⁷ As Stephen Dobranski points out, Milton depended on others both while composing his texts and ‘during the practical process of putting his writing into print’ (although I would caution that these cannot always be cleanly separated); other Miltonists have called this collaboration a ‘complex authorial genesis’, a genesis in which the United Provinces also played a role.⁶⁴⁸ A more complete picture of Milton, then, would be as an author operating in a European literary sphere: engaging with foreign sources and authors, aiming to influence multiple nations, and continually interacting with Dutch printers and publishers. This perspective naturally invites us to ask to what extent the Anglo-Dutch literary intersection influenced Milton’s works, whether as inspiration, facilitation or antagonism, as of which can be seen in the Salmasius-Milton-More debate.

It was *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* that first made ‘Europe [...] ring with the name of this Mr. Milton’.⁶⁴⁹ In 1649, Salmasius published his *Defensio Regia pro Carola I. Ad serenissimum Magnae Britanniae Regem Carolum II. filium natu majorum, Heredem & Successorem legitimum*, printed in the Dutch Republic, and bearing the inscription ‘Sumptibus Regiis’, supported thus by Charles II who was residing in The Hague at the time. Despite initial appearances, it is not strange that this pamphlet supporting the British monarchy and condemning the regicide was published in the republican United Provinces. The regicide, royal exile, Interregnum and

⁶⁴⁷ See Chapter II.

⁶⁴⁸ Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship and the Book Trade*, p. 9, and John K. Hale, Thomas N. Corns, et al, ‘The Provenance of De Christiana Doctrina’, in *Milton Quarterly*, 31.3 (1997): 67-117 (p. 108).

⁶⁴⁹ David Masson, *The Life of Milton*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Macmillan Press, 1887), vol. IV, p. 316.

Restoration were followed with critical attention by Dutch intellectuals, and much depicted in Dutch scholarship and literature.⁶⁵⁰ The regicide was condemned not only by the Orangist party, but equally by the republicans. That a scholar at a Dutch University was asked by Sir William Boswell to write a ‘manifesto to rouse the continental monarchs against the English Republic’ reveals a great deal about the position of the Dutch Republic and its scholarly reputation in early modern Europe, and about its attitude towards the English monarchy and commonwealth.⁶⁵¹ Salmasius’ tract was translated into Dutch in 1650 as *Konincklycke verdediging voor Karel de I. aen den doorluchtighsten Koningh van Groot Britannien Karel den II. sijnen oudtsten soon, erfgenaem en vnettigh navolgher*, but there was no English translation at that time, neither in the United Provinces nor the English Commonwealth. Milton became involved in the debate by invitation of the Council of State and was instructed on the 8th of January 1650 to write a response to Salmasius’ tract, leading to the publication of *Joannis Miltonii Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam* (1651) (hereafter called *First Defence*), printed in London.⁶⁵² Milton’s *First Defence* became more widely circulated, with more editions, than any other of his works during his lifetime.⁶⁵³ The following is a coherent list of all the publications involved in the regicide controversy that began with Salmasius’ tract:

⁶⁵⁰ This is the main concern of Helmer Helmer’s book *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁶⁵¹ Leo Miller, ‘In Defence of Milton’s *Pro populo anglicano defensio*’, *Renaissance Studies*, 4.3 (1990): 1-12 (p. 2).

⁶⁵² Campbell and Corns, p. 229.

⁶⁵³ Leo Miller, *John Milton’s Writings in the Anglo-Dutch Negotiations, 1651-1654* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1992), p. 2.

<u>Author</u>	<u>Tract</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Place of Publication</u>
Claude Salmasius (Published anonymously)	<i>Defensio Regia pro Carola I. Ad serenissimum Magnae Britanniae Regem Carolum II. filium natu majorum, Heredem & Successorem legitimum</i>	(Late) 1649	Holland (Leiden?)
John Milton	<i>Defensio pro Populo Anglicano</i>	1651	London
John Rowland ⁶⁵⁴ (Anonymous; Milton suspected John Bramwall of writing it)	<i>Pro Rege et Populo Anglicano Apologia, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensiom Destructivam Regis et Populi Anglicani</i> ⁶⁵⁵	1651	Antwerp
John Philips	<i>Joannis Phillipi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi Cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano Infantissimam</i>	(Late) 1651	London
Pierre du Moulin ⁶⁵⁶ (Anonymous, thought to be by Alexander Ziegler & Schaller)	<i>Regii Sanguinis Clamor Ad Caelum Adversus Parricidas Anglicanos</i>	1652	The Hague (Vlacq)
John Rowland (Anonymous)	<i>Polemica, sive supplementum ad Apologiam Anonymam pro Rege et poulo Anglicano Adversus Jo. Miltoni Densiom Populo Ang Licani, &c.</i>	(Late) 1653	Antwerp
John Milton	<i>Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Densio Secunda: Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui Titalus Regii Sanguinis Clamor Ad Caelum Adversus Parricidas Anglicanos</i>	1654	London
Alexander Morus	<i>Ecclesiastæ & sacrarum litterarum professoris Fides Publica, contra Calumnias Joannis Miltoni</i>	1654	The Hague (Vlacq)
John Milton	<i>Joannis Miltoni Angli Pro Se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum exxlesiasten.</i>	1655	London

⁶⁵⁴ Both the Yale Prose Works, vol. IV, p. xii and Masson, vol. IV, assign these tracts to John Rowland.

⁶⁵⁵ Milton was aware of this version and received a copy, which he in turn gave to Mylius. The entry in the latter's diary is as follows: 'Mr. Milton has given me the *Pro Rege et Populo Anglicano Apologia, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensiom Destructivam Regis et Populi Anglicani*, printed in Antwerp 1651, at Hieronymus Verdussen's; he asked me to read it, and my opinion', Mylius qtd. in Leo Miller and translated by the same, *Milton & The Oldenburg Safeguard* (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1985), p. 137.

⁶⁵⁶ See for authorship of *Clamor*, Martin Dzelzainis, 'Milton, Peter Du Moulin and the Authorship of *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum Adversus Parricidas Anglicanos* (1652)', in *Notes and Queries*, 60.4 (2013): 537-538.

The places of publication show that the scholarly debate in Latin discussing the English regicide took place completely within the Anglo-Dutch sphere. Milton comments on this ‘international’ character and writes in his *Second Defence* that ‘this circumstance has aroused so much anticipation and notoriety that I do not now feel that I am surrounded in the Forum or on the Rostra, by one people alone, whether Roman or Athenian, but that, with virtually all of Europe attentive, in session, and passing judgment, I have in the *First Defence* spoken out and shall in the *Second* speak again to the entire assembly and council of all the most influential men, cities, and nations everywhere’.⁶⁵⁷ This list of publications, however, shows that it was a dialogue between the Government of the Commonwealth – Milton was assigned to write the tracts and it is likely that he assisted John Philips’ defence⁶⁵⁸ – and royalists in the United Provinces or printed via the United Provinces, without official consent of the republican States-General.⁶⁵⁹ Ziegler and Schaller were both German and Du Moulin French (although with strong English connections), yet all anti-regicide publications were printed in the Low Countries. It could even be argued that Milton wrote his first tract ‘with a Dutch audience prominently in mind’, illustrated by the fact that the States-General of the Netherlands are often directly addressed in the *First Defence* (which will be discussed in more detail below).⁶⁶⁰ Moreover, the majority of the publications printed in the

⁶⁵⁷ CPW: IV. 554.

⁶⁵⁸ It is difficult to determine the extent of Milton’s involvement with John Philips’ defence. We know that the latter was living in his uncle’s house at the time of the composition, and also that Edward Philips wrote in his biography that Philips showed the manuscript to Milton for ‘his examination and polishment’ (qtd. in Helen Darbishire, *The Early Lives of John Milton* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1932), p. 710). For extensive discussion, see Nicholas McDowell, ‘Family Politics; Or, How John Philips Read His Uncle’s Satirical Sonnets’, *Milton Quarterly*, 42.1 (2008): 1-21 (pp. 2-3).

⁶⁵⁹ The first two tracts were commissioned by the Council of State (although the only evidence we have that the second tract was commissioned is what Milton testified in his *Second Defence*). Of the third, there is no evidence whatsoever that Milton was writing on behalf of the English Government (Joad Raymond, ‘John Milton, European: The Rhetoric of Milton’s Defences’, in *Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 273-291 (pp. 277-278)).

⁶⁶⁰ Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell and Mercurius Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 129.

United Provinces are anonymous, whereas all publications defending the regicide are printed with the author's name; even Salmasius' tract was at first published under a false name, something that Milton emphasised when he said: '[I]et us then approach this cause so righteous with heart lifted up by sure faith that on the other side stands deception, lies, ignorance and savagery, on our side light, truth, reason, and the hopes and teaching of all the greats of mankind'.⁶⁶¹ Although the list of publications on the regicide seems to demonstrate that the United Provinces had monarchical sympathies and the Commonwealth republican, the reception of Salmasius' tract and Milton's responses was complex.

Claude Saumaise or Salmasius (1588-1653) had a mixed reputation among Dutch scholars. His work as a philologist was admired by many, and as a result he was invited by universities in several countries, such as France, Sweden and England, to take up positions at their institutions. The freedom he enjoyed in scholarship and publishing in the Netherlands, together with the handsome salary the University of Leiden offered, led to his decision to stay in the Dutch Republic.⁶⁶² He never became fond of the country, though, as is shown in letters from his friend in France:

*M^r de Saumaise disoit qu la Hollande etoit un Pays ou les quatre elemens ne valoient rien, et ou le Demon de l'Argent regnoit, cour onné de tabac, dans un throne de fromage.*⁶⁶³

Mr Saumaise said about Holland that it was a country where the elements are unequally present (or worth nothing), where the demon of money is ruling, with a crown of tobacco, and on a throne of cheese.

⁶⁶¹ CPW: IV. 307.

⁶⁶² F. F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius en zijn Kring: Zijn Leven to Zijn Afscheid van Koningin Christina van Zweden, 1618-1655* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1999), p. 30.

⁶⁶³ The letter bears a striking echo of the stereotypes displayed in travelogues from the period, see Chapter I for more detail. *Mélanges de Mr Philibert de Lamare* (Paris BN, F.Fr. 23251, p. 488, no. 1628), qtd. in F.F. Blok, p. 32.

This attitude towards the Dutch Republic and his somewhat arrogant disposition towards the University of Leiden – for example, he refused to be called professor, since he was not willing to teach classes – created plenty of enemies, such as the famous scholar Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), who was a professor at the same University at the time.⁶⁶⁴ Moreover, it was a public secret that Salmasius had homosexual relationships with certain young admirers, such as Pierre Daniel Huet, yet at home was ruled over by his fierce and dominant wife.⁶⁶⁵ This polemic is, for example, visible in Heinsius and Vossius' correspondence. These rumours did not only circulate in the Dutch Republic, but also beyond; Milton even used them for personal insults in his *Second Defence*. He constantly hints at Salmasius having a bisexual ('hermaphroditian') nature, by referring to him with both the feminine and the masculine Latin vocative of his name 'Salmasia' and 'Salmasius', 'for which of the two he was the open domination to his wife, both in public and in private, had made it quite difficult to determine'.⁶⁶⁶ Moreover, through the use of sexualised Latin language with words such as *gallus gallinacius* (dunghill cock) and *crumena* (money bag), Milton presents Salmasius as a lusty, seductive and greedy orator.⁶⁶⁷

Two Dutch humanist families are especially important in the discussion of the Dutch reception of the regicide debate and the reputation of Milton: the Heinsii and Vossii. Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), was well-known in the Dutch scholarly community, partly through his affiliation with the University of Leiden.⁶⁶⁸ Heinsius,

⁶⁶⁴ Masson, IV, p. 174.

⁶⁶⁵ Blok, pp. 33-34. These rumours are also mentioned (sometimes even changed into Latin puns) in the letters by Isaac Vossius and Nicholaas Heinsius, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

⁶⁶⁶ *CPW*: IV. 556.

⁶⁶⁷ Estelle Haan, 'Defensio Prima and the Latin Poets', in *Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 292-305 (pp. 297, 301).

⁶⁶⁸ Edith Kern, *The Influence of Heinsius and Vossius Upon French Dramatic Theory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949), p. 52.

unlike most Dutch Humanists, was an outspoken Contra-Remonstrant, whereas Salmasius supported the Remonstrant party, a division that became one of the major factors in their disagreements.⁶⁶⁹ Heinsius was a powerful enemy, as his reputation in the Republic of Letters was considerable; he was ‘made a Councillor of State by Gustav Adolphus, a knight by St Mark of the Republic of Venice and invited to the papal court by Urban VIII’.⁶⁷⁰ His son Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681) became in turn a renowned classical scholar, working for Queen Christina of Sweden. This family was in close contact with the Vossii; father Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577-1649) was a linguist, historian and theologian, who also worked at the University of Leiden, and his son Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) was philologist who studied under Salmasius.⁶⁷¹ The Vossius family had good English connections – they visited England several times and established strong relationships with Laud and Ussher;⁶⁷² Isaac’s uncle Fransiscus Junius (who was acquainted with Milton) resided in England for over twenty years and eventually died there.⁶⁷³ Initially the Vossii had a close friendship with the Salmasius family; it was Daniel Heinsius, later supported by his son, who began the feud, but that was after a personal dispute with Salmasius over money. Through the development of a close friendship with Nicolaas Heinsius, Isaac Vossius became involved as well.⁶⁷⁴ The letters between Nicolaas and Isaac illustrate fulsomely the reception of the tracts, particularly Milton’s, in the Dutch humanist milieu.

⁶⁶⁹ Blok, p. 147.

⁶⁷⁰ Kern, p. 52.

⁶⁷¹ Paul Sellin, ‘The Last of the Renaissance Monsters: The Poetical Institutions of Gerardus Johannis Vossius, and Some Observations on English Criticism’, in *Anglo-Dutch Cross Currents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1976): 1-39 (pp. 5-6).

⁶⁷² See the cooperation between Ussher and Isaac Vossius to publish a discovered manuscript of Ignatius, in Leo Miller, ‘Milton, Salmasius and Hammond: the History of an Insult’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 9.3 (1973): 108-115.

⁶⁷³ Blok, pp. 82-86.

⁶⁷⁴ This development is clearly visible in the Vossius-Heinsius correspondence.

Both Isaac Vossius and Salmasius were at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden when Milton published the *First Defence*. The tract's forthcoming appearance was known, and enemies of Salmasius were already looking forward to the reply. The first mention is in a letter from Vossius to Heinsius (12 April 1652)⁶⁷⁵:

The news is that Milton's book came here yesterday. The Queen asked my copy from me. I have only run through it hastily. I had not expected such quality by an Englishman; and, unless I am mistaken, it has also pleased, with only a single exception [Salmasius], our incomparable Lady. Salmasius, however, says that he will send the author and his whole parliament to perdition.⁶⁷⁶

The scene alluded to was likewise used by Milton in the *Second Defence*, writing that 'When Salmasius had been courteously summoned by Her Most Serene Majesty, the Queen of the Swedes (whose devotion to the liberal arts and to men of learning has never been surpassed) and had gone thither, there in the very place where he was living as a highly honoured guest, he was overtaken by my *Defence*, while he was expecting nothing of the kind'.⁶⁷⁷ Shortly after his first letter, Vossius sent another to Heinsius (April 19th) in which he revealed in more detail the Queen's admiration for Milton's work: 'She highly praised a man of his talents and style of writing', something that Milton again reiterates in the *Second Defence*.⁶⁷⁸ Heinsius was in the United Provinces at the time and his letter back to Vossius (May 18th) illustrates something of the great interest that Dutch scholars were taking:

⁶⁷⁵ All dating from the Vossius-Heinsius correspondence is in the Dutch calendar.

⁶⁷⁶ 'Liber Miltoni heri huc est allatus. Exemplar meum petiit a me Regina. Ipse non nisi cursim dum perlustravi. Nihil tale ab Anglo expectaram. Et certe, nisi me animus fallit, placuit quoque, uno tantum excepto, incomparabili nostrae Dominae. Dicit tamen Salmasius se perditurum auctorem cum toto parlamento', Petrus Burmannus, *Sylloge Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum* (Leiden, 1727), III, p. 595.

⁶⁷⁷ CPW: IV. 556.

⁶⁷⁸ 'Certe & ingenium istius viri & scribendi genus multus praesentibus collaudavit', Petrus Burmannus, *Sylloge Epistolarum a Viris Illustribus Scriptarum* (Leiden: 1727), III, p. 596.

The book is in everybody's hands here on account of the nobility of the argument and there are already four editions, in addition to the English one – one in quarto, published at Gouda; three in duodecimo, of which the first by Lodewijk Elzevier, the second by Jan Janssen, and the third by an unknown person at Utrecht: a fifth edition is printed in octavo by the press at the Hague, as Elzevier told me. There is also a Dutch version around, and a French one is expected.⁶⁷⁹

Lodewijk Elzevier was a member of the printing family renowned for the publication of polemical works, and that the majority of the tracts were printed in small format is another sign of the text's controversial nature. Printers were quick to recognise profit in the Salmasius-Milton controversy, of which the clearest example is Adriaan Vlacq (1600-1667). He is presented in Milton's *Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda: Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui Titalus Regii Sanguinis Clamor Ad Caelum Adversus Parricidas Anglicanos* (hereafter called *Second Defence*) as an immoral printer (he first offered to print Milton's forthcoming work, but then printed *Clamor* instead). In the *Second Defence*, Milton presents the printer as being just as responsible for the content of *Clamor* as its author.⁶⁸⁰ All people collaborating in the creation of a book should be held responsible for its content: '[h]e is completely indifferent to what he says or does, that he hold nothing more sacred than cash – even a pittance – and that it was not for any public cause'.⁶⁸¹ Vlacq's subsequent publication of Milton's *Second Defence* is therefore a striking example of the flexible nature of Dutch publication in the seventeenth-century.

⁶⁷⁹ 'Est is liber in omnium hic manibus ob argumenti nobilitatem & iam quatuor, praeter anglicanam, editiones vidimus: unam in quarta, ut vocant forma Goudae editam, tres in duodecima, quarum primam ludovicus Elzevirius, secundam Johannes Jansonius, tertiam trajectensis necio quis edidit: quinta in octava forma editio Hagae sub praelo sudat, ut monet Elzevirius. Belgicam versionem video etiam circumferri, Gallicamuan expectari ferunt', Burmannus, III, p. 603.

⁶⁸⁰ Dobranski, p. 32.

⁶⁸¹ CPW: IV. 572-573.

The Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague has a copy of Vlacq's first publication of Milton's *Second Defence* (The Hague, 1654).⁶⁸² Vlacq printed it with a separate title page on which Milton's *Defence* is first announced: *Joannis Miltoni Defensio Secunda Pro Populo Anglicano: Contra Infamen Libellum anonymum cui Titulus, Regii Sanguinis Clamor adversus parricidas Anglicanos*; a little lower on the same page the answer by More is printed: *Alexandri Mori, ecclesiast, sacrarumque litterarum professoris: Fides Publica contra calumnias Joannis Miltoni Scurræ*. Each section within the duodecimo has its own title page (printed as Folio 1, 2, 3 and 4), separating Milton's *Second Defence* from the two responses by More and the introductory notes by Georgius Crantzius and Vlacq himself. It is a miscellany of selected works from the controversy (each printed as if they were the original pamphlets) and the title pages are subsequently not all dated 1654, but More's *Supplementum Fidei Publicæ contra calumnias Joannis Miltoni* is dated 1655. All these additions and alterations enhance the sensational atmosphere that Vlacq wanted to create to maximise sales. Throughout the introductory note, Vlacq argues that the printer *cannot* be made responsible for the content of the books printed, as this would defy the freedom of publication and print.⁶⁸³ He argues, moreover, that if the printer were indeed responsible, why had Milton's printer not warned him over falsely attributing *Clamor* to More?⁶⁸⁴ When we look at the *Hollandsche Mercurius* of February 1651, inspired by Nedham's *Mercurius Politicus* but with news on the United Provinces, it is no wonder that Vlacq was intent on playing his part in the controversy:

⁶⁸² Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Speciale Collecties, KW. 2203 G 19.

⁶⁸³ Paul W. Blackford, 'Preface to Fides Publica and Supplementum', in *Milton, The Complete Prose Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), volume IV, part II: 1082-1085 (p. 1083).

⁶⁸⁴ I discuss the fact that Milton was warned about the authorship of *Clamor* later in the chapter.

*Wij sullen Franckrijk nu voor een wijle tijts verlaten, en gaen over zee nae Engelandt: Alwaer tegens Claudius Salmasius sijn verdedingh des Conighs Carolus de I, Aen Carolus de 2 toegewijt, een seer bodinge en dappere latijnsse verantwoordinge voor 't Parlement uyt gekomen is, zijnde in dese tijden niet te vinden, die van politijcke saecken spreeckt: de autheur is geweest eenen Johan Milton, Engelschman, eene der Secretarissen van den Raet van Staten binnen London, to wiens tractaet (als zijnde nu in Nederlantsche, Engelse, en Frense Tale overgeset) wy den curieusen leser hier wijzen.*⁶⁸⁵

We will leave France now for a while, and go overseas to England: There against Claudius Salmasius' defence for King Charles I, dedicated to Charles II, a succinct and brave Latin defence of parliament has been published, unequalled, which speaks of political issues: the author is a certain John Milton, Englishman, one of the Secretary of the Council of State within London, to whose tract (which is now translated into Dutch, English and the French language) we would like to refer the curious reader.

These introductory notes, appearing a few years before the publication of Vlacq's little book with the *Second Defence*, are practically an advertisement for buying Milton's tract. That this short piece mentions its publication in multiple languages reveals the interest the Dutch reading audience had taken in the proceedings.

In the meantime, Salmasius was working on his answer in Stockholm, and Heinsius' letter (Oct. 17th 1651) to Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611-1671), German scholar at Leiden, reveals some anxiety: 'Salmasius continues the debate with Milton, and the printing-presses of Sweden are trying to print his horrible book; on the same day he will, as he boasts, bestow immortality onto me and my father'.⁶⁸⁶ With Salmasius having powerful enemies such as the Heinsii and the Vossii, one would have expected a positive reception of Milton's polemical tract, but condemnation of the regicide and the

⁶⁸⁵ *Hollandsche Mercurius* (Februari 1651), II, p. 16.

⁶⁸⁶ 'Salmasius Miltonum suum defricare pergit, in inendo horribili isto scripto graviter desudant operae typographicae in sueciâ. Me & patrem immortalitate etiam illa, ut gloriatur, occasione donaturus', Burmannus, III, p. 603.

support of the Stuart cause proved to be resilient, and soon began to influence the debate in early modern Europe.

In July 1651, news reached the United Provinces that Milton's book was being burned in Paris, broadcasted by the *Hollandsche Mercurius*:

*'t Boek van Jan Milton, genaemt Verdediginghe des Volckx van Engeland, geschreven door Claudius Salmasius, wiert op desen tijt te Toulouse en Parijs, met rijpe rade, door den Beul in 't publijck verbrant. De bisschop Londendery in Yerland schreef oock daer tegens; en om dat de voorz. Milton van een vreemt humeur was, soo wiert dit sijn tractaet in Hollant oock met weinigh smaeck gelesen.*⁶⁸⁷

The book of John Milton, named the Defence of the People of England, written to Claudius Salmasius, is at the moment burned in Toulouse and Paris, with mature deliberation, by the executioner. The bishop of Londonderry in Ireland wrote also against it, and because the aforementioned Milton was of a strange humour [or opinion], his tract is not read with great delight in Holland.

A greater contrast with the advertisement of only five months earlier is difficult to imagine. The same news had reached Sweden in August and Vossius reports to Heinsius (5th of Aug) that the news of the burning has greatly delighted Salmasius. What follows in Vossius's letter is an echo of *Areopagitica* in defence of the creation of books:

There is no need to intrude my judgment about that book in the meantime; this I know, that it is good books whose fate it is to be destroyed or be endangered in this way. Men generally come under the executioner's hands mostly for their crimes, but books for their virtue and excellence. Only fools are not afraid of such actions, but they are wrong when they think they can exterminate the writings of Milton and others in this way, since these books will stand out in the flames with a marvellous increase of light and lustre.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁷ *Hollandsche Mercurius* (July:1651), II, p.16.

⁶⁸⁸ 'Non opus est ut meum de hoc scripto interponam iudicium: interim hoc scio, fatum esse bonorum sere librorum, ut hoc modo vel pereant vel periclitentur. Homines plerumque propter scelera & privatatem manus carnificum

The image of regeneration by fire is again used by Milton in his *Second Defence*, when he writes: ‘You, hastening to put out one fire with another, built a Herculean pyre, whence I might rise to greater fame. We more sensibly decided that the frigidity of the *Royal Defence* should not be kindled into flame’.⁶⁸⁹ Although it does not demonstrate direct contact between the Dutch scholars and Milton, it does argue that these scholars (whether English or Dutch) took inspiration from the same classical sources. Vossius’ sentence that there is ‘no need to intrude my judgment’ is particularly interesting, as at no point in the correspondence, nor in their own writings, do Vossius or Heinsius show support for the regicide, or indeed Milton’s arguments. This idea is mentioned in Lieuwe van Aitzema’s work *Staet van Saeken & Oorlogh* (1662), in which he describes Vossius’ and Heinsius’ shared opinion:

*Eenen Milton in Engelandt refuteerd ‘t selfe boeck van Salmasius; Ende seecker geleert man alhier, schreef dat Salmasius een seer goede saeck, seer qualijck had verdedicht; Milton seer wel een seer quade saeck.*⁶⁹⁰

Milton from England refuted the same book of Salmasius; a certain learned man from here, wrote that Salmasius had defended a good case very badly; Milton had defended a bad case very well.

Heinsius (the ‘learned man’) wrote the same in a letter to Gronovius on the 1st of July, 1651. Heinsius’ careful judgement about the cause and the manner in which the tracts are written is, I argue, at the core of the reception that Milton and several other polemical tracts received in the Dutch Republic; Dutch scholars (when not associated

subeunt, libri vero virtutis & praestantiae ergo. Soli fatuorum labores tales non metuunt casus, sed sane frustra sunt, qui se hoc modo extirpare posse existant Miltoni & aliorum scripta, cum potius flammis istis mirum, quantum clarescant & illustrentur’, Burmannus, III, p. 621.

⁶⁸⁹ CPW: IV. 653.

⁶⁹⁰ Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saeken van Staet & Oorlogh*, vol. VI (Amsterdam: 1662), p. 205.

with the States-General so not bound by political ties) recognised its eloquence and scholarship, but did not approve of its general argument.⁶⁹¹ The States-General, especially after the assassination of the English ambassador Isaac Dorislaus (1649), did not officially endorse tracts by royalists, sometimes even forbidding their sale, as it damaged diplomatic relations with the Commonwealth, at the same time as questioning their own authority. Milton commented on this in the Preface to the *First Defence*: '[I]t is then with justice that the highest council of Holland, true descendants of the old liberators of their country, have by their edict condemned to oblivion this defence of tyranny, so ruinous to the freedom of all peoples'.⁶⁹² Milton's tracts, both the *First* and the *Second Defences*, were received relatively well by the States-General. They were even used to help negotiations between the English and the Dutch Republic in 1651: ambassador Geerard Schaep bought 25 copies of it in London, in order to distribute them among members of the States-General.⁶⁹³ The States even went so far as to forbid Graswinkel (a Dutch scholar) to write a response to Milton's *First Defence*, and denied More's request to write an answer to Milton,⁶⁹⁴ in which he denied the authorship of *Clamor* after the publication of the *Second Defence* (Vlacq published it in 1655, regardless, but only after the First Anglo-Dutch War had ended).⁶⁹⁵

Another illustration of how closely-knit the intellectual network was between the United Provinces and the English Republic is the knowledge of gossip surrounding Salmasius and More that Milton draws from in his *First* and *Second Defence*. A question remains about Milton's source for the necessary rumours, likely requiring him

⁶⁹¹ Harms, Raymond and Salman, p. 5.

⁶⁹² *CPW*: IV. 311.

⁶⁹³ Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, p. 161.

⁶⁹⁴ Graswinkel interdictum esse ne pergat in Miltoni confutando aegre fert Salmasius', 'Vossius to Heinsius, 5 Augustus', in Burmannus, III, p. 621.

⁶⁹⁵ Masson, IV, pp. 342, 634-635.

to know someone who had been in the United Provinces at the right time. There is a possibility that Marvell had provided some, recalling things he picked up during his tour of the Netherlands a few years before; it is probable that Marvell played a role in the assembling of the *Second Defence*.⁶⁹⁶ Salmasius himself believed that Nicolaas Heinsius and Isaac Vossius were the source for Milton's *First Defence*. We can read this in Heinsius' concern that Salmasius would take revenge on him and his father Daniel Heinsius in his forthcoming book. We also know, however, that Nicholaas and Isaac had never met Milton, nor corresponded with him; the letters often discuss Milton's background from what they have heard from others, such as Queen Christina. The rumours surrounding Salmasius and More (his alleged seduction of Mrs Salmasius' maid Pontia and the official response of the States-General to Pontia's allegations) were discussed in letters between Vossius and Heinsius before 1653, as quoted above. Aitzema must have read these letters at some point, as he refers to them in his *Saeken van Staet & Oorlogh*. It is therefore possible that Lieuwe van Aitzema, who we know visited Milton in London, passed these tidbits on. Alternatively, other scholars may have discussed Salmasius' problems and the reception of his tract in Europe. Mylius may have heard some snippets of information about Salmasius from the King of Denmark and discussed them with Milton.⁶⁹⁷ Another possible source for the spread of the rumours was Willem Nieuwpoort, ambassador for the United Provinces in London, who

⁶⁹⁶ Milton had written to Marvell with the request to give a copy of his *Second Defence* to John Bradshaw (living close to Marvell in Eton) with an introductory letter. He, moreover, sent a copy to Marvell himself, to which Marvell replied that he felt honoured and would learn the *Defensio* by heart. Marvell would later distribute copies of the *Pro Se Defensia* in Saumur, France: Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 123, 132.

⁶⁹⁷ 'Mr. Salmasius, while passing through, was handsomely entertained by the King of Denmark, on account of his *Defensio* for the King of Scotland, whereon people hereabouts have started many tales. I answer that liberality is fitting for kings, and nothing is more suitable to their nature. What his antagonist Mr. Milton informs me, even as I write this, I include in a copy herewith. I have distinguished new intrigues, loose words, and the rest with them, so that I fear the dubious for the certain', Mylius qtd. in Leo Miller and translated by the same, *Milton & the Oldenburg Safeguard*, p. 126.

was in contact with More and had shared acquaintances with Milton. In a letter to More (23 June 1654), in which he assures More that he knows he is not the author of *Clamor*, Nieuwpoort writes that he ‘asked two gentleman, friends of mine, who are particularly acquainted with Mr. Milton, to represent to him the reasons for which we desired, in the present juncture of time and affairs, that he should not publish the book we had been assured he had written against another entitled *Clamor Sanguinis Regii*, or at least that he should not do you the wrong of attributing that work to you, and that, if he persisted in refuting that book, he would not insert anything in it that could affect you’.⁶⁹⁸ It is unlikely that Milton himself had read the correspondence, as he never mentions either Vossii or Heinsii, but it is likely that he was aware of works by both families.⁶⁹⁹ For example, Gerardus Vossius’ *De Historicis Graecis Libri IV* (1602) and *Commentariorum Rhetoricorum* (1606) were used at Cambridge when Milton was studying there.⁷⁰⁰

Milton’s *Defences* can be seen as illustrations of how communications between the network of European scholars functioned and that printers and publishers often worked within the same milieu. The Dutch Republic operated as an intellectual entrepôt in early modern Europe, so it was only a matter of time before a controversial and ambitious author such as Milton would get involved in one way or other with the Dutch scholarly community and their publishers. The responses above are only post-

⁶⁹⁸ More, *Fides Publica* (transl. Masson, IV, p. 632).

⁶⁹⁹ Boswell in his reconstruction of Milton’s library includes three books by Daniel Heinsius (*Aristarchus Sacer, De Tragoediae Constitutione* and *First Pythian Ode of Pindar*), as well as a work by Isaac Vossius (*Verses on Rovai*), see Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Milton Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton’s Library and an Annotated Reconstruction of Milton’s Library and Ancillary Readings* (New York: Garland Publishing, p. 1975).

⁷⁰⁰ Sellin, footnote 83, pp. 34-35. Moreover, when reading Mylius’ diary there is a conversation about books mentioned and Christopher Arnold of Nuremburg recommended some titles that are noted down by Mylius in the margins of his diary, among which is a book on the Pelagians by Gerardus Vossius. This small conversation took place when Mylius was in London on business in the early 1650s and illustrates that the works by Vossius were a topic of discussion among intellectuals in 1650s London. Leo Miller, *Milton & the Oldenburg Safeguard*, pp. 26-27.

publication, but the European network also became involved with works that were still in progress, of which the *Second Defence* is, again, a good example. During the process of its writing, Milton was warned via three different networks that More was not the author of *Clamor*:⁷⁰¹ Vlacq wrote to Milton's friend Hartlib (19 October 1652) in which he emphasised More's innocence, as mentioned in Vlacq's preface to Milton's *Second Defence*; Nieuwpoort sent two gentlemen to Milton, as mentioned above, and lastly, John Dury was in Amsterdam in 1654, met with More, and wrote afterwards to Milton warning that More was not the author (14 April 1654).⁷⁰² It is thus possible that Milton received the information for the *First* and *Second Defence* from this European network, from shared acquaintances or from Englishmen visiting the Netherlands at the time; gossip travels fast, even in the early modern period. The examples given above demonstrate that the Dutch context not only informed European scholarship through the purchase of English copies and re-publication of the works of English authors, but also participated in the creation of its content through correspondence, meetings and naturally the influence of their own (scholarly) publications: an Anglo-Dutch community was fully operational.⁷⁰³

Milton, Marvell and Dutch Authors

As argued in the earlier sections of this thesis, it was relatively easy to gain access to Dutch literary sources, whether these were distributed through Elzevier's cheap duodecimos, spread by diplomats such as Jacob Cats, Lieuwe van Aitzema or

⁷⁰¹ I think we should not read Milton's decision to attribute *Clamor* to More despite being informed to the contrary as simply an error (of whatever significance), but rather follow his claim that anyone who has some role to play - no matter how small - in the publication and printing of a tract was responsible for it; in this case More was as responsible as Du Moulin, as was Vlacq. For a more detailed argument along these lines, see Dobranski, pp. 31-32.

⁷⁰² Masson, IV, p. 630.

⁷⁰³ Harms, Raymond and Salman, p. 5.

Constantijn Huygens in England, or personally collected by travelling through the United Provinces. The scholarly community in Europe corresponded in letters, books were exchanged and dedicated to foreign scholars, and controversies about almost any topic took place (an example would be Hugo Grotius' controversy with Johan de Laet about the origin of the native-Americans).⁷⁰⁴ A number of interesting parallels can thus be drawn between Milton's and Marvell's poetical works and several Dutch writers. At the same time, it is unlikely that Dutch writers engaged with the poetry of Milton and Marvell directly when it was written in English. Not many Dutch writers and intellectuals had knowledge of the English language – with the great exception of Constantijn Huygens (which will be elaborated on below) and a few others. As Cornelis Schoneveld argues in *Intertraffic of the Mind*, there were no official institutions at which one could learn the English language and the number of personal tutors was relatively small;⁷⁰⁵ the number of translations from English into Dutch was minimal, and the great majority of these were religious writings or texts dealing with the regicide.⁷⁰⁶ Moreover, when we read Petrus Rabus (1660-1702), poet, translator and editor of the *Boekzaal van Europe* (1692-1700) (Library of Europe), written later in the century, it appears that the great majority of people in the seventeenth century were not interested in *poetical* writings in English.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ Hugo de Groot, *Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (Amsterdam: 1642) and Johan de Laet's *Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De Origine Gentium Americanarum: et Observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illius Quaestionis* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1643) and *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis Grotii De Origine Gentium Americanarum, cum indice ad utrumque libellum* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1644).

⁷⁰⁵ Cornelis W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), pp. 118, 123-124 and Helmer Helmers, 'Unknown Shrews: The Transformations of The/A Shrew', in *Gender and Power in Shrew-Taming Narratives, 1500-1700*, ed. by G. Holderness and D. Wootton (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 123-144 (p. 125).

⁷⁰⁶ See for further discussion (and in particular the rise of English in the United Provinces in the eighteenth-century), N. E. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists: A study of the Earliest English and Dutch Dictionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁷⁰⁷ G. J. van Bork & P. J. Verkrusse, 'Pieter Rabus', in *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse Auteurs* (Weesp: De Haan, 1985), p. 466 and Peter Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe', in *Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europa, 1692-1702* (Amsterdam: Holland Universiteits Pers, 1974): 1-109.

*Maar 'k voele mijn lust van verder uitschrijven wat gezakt, dewijl onder een deel Engelschen Digtters, die ons Hollanders niet veel raken, gelijks als, W. d'Avenant, J. Denham, J. Donne, B. Johnson, J. Milton, J. Oldham, J. Wilmot, Grave van Rochester, W. Shakespear, Ph. Sidney, E. Spencer, J. Lukkling, E. Waller en andere.*⁷⁰⁸

But I feel my desire to elaborate somewhat sink, because of a number of English poets, that do not affect us Hollanders much, such as, W. d'Avenant, J. Denham, J. Donne, B. Johnson, J. Milton, J. Oldham, J. Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, W. Shakespear, Ph. Sidney, E. Spencer, J. Sukkling [*sic*], E. Waller and others.

The discussion in this chapter therefore related to interaction between English poetical works in Latin and a Dutch reading audience, translations of Dutch works into English, and possible engagement with literary sources in Dutch by the English. It has to be noted that translation of English prose works into Dutch was much more firmly established, especially when it came to religious texts and natural philosophy. I have earlier discussed the respective possibilities of Marvell's and Milton's acquisition of Dutch, which would have enabled direct interaction with sources in Dutch, whether these could have been read within the United Provinces, in Marvell's case, or distributed through the early modern European network. My purpose here is to discuss some similarities between Dutch writers and Milton and Marvell, not in terms of narrow intertextuality or direct engagement, but instead through the notion of a combined Anglo-Dutch literary milieu, a shared 'literary air' that both writers breathed. In order to illustrate this, I will use two examples characteristic of this literary exchange and convergence: firstly, Marvell's associations with Constantijn Huygens, and secondly,

⁷⁰⁸ Peter Rabus, *Boekzaal van Europe* (Rotterdam: Pieter vander Slaart, 1695), IV, p. 442.

similarities in Milton with some of the plays by Joost van den Vondel, with a politico-religious explanation for the resemblances between the writers.

Marvell did have the opportunity to experience the Dutch literary environment personally in the 1640s and later in the 1660s. Whether Marvell became acquainted with the writers of the Muiderkring during his travels or during his time in parliament is unknown. No correspondence between him and any of these writers has (yet) been found. We do know that the castle and village of Muiden, where the meetings of the Muiderkring took place, were sometimes visited by British travellers, such as Peter Mundy, who saw it in 1639.⁷⁰⁹ A literary connection does, however, exist between Marvell and Constantijn Huygens, one of the prominent members of the Muiderkring. Huygens spoke English and went on a political mission to London in 1618, where he was knighted by James I. There he established a broad network of British intellectuals, including Thomas Bodley, Sir Robert Killigrew and Sir Henry Wotton.⁷¹⁰ Huygens was a great admirer of John Donne's poetry (as described in Chapter II), but the index of his library shows he took great interest in English literature as whole; volumes range from a first-folio edition of Shakespeare, to Chaucer, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Edmund Waller's poetry.⁷¹¹ Huygens translated more English poems than any other Dutch writer in the seventeenth century, even if the numbers are still remarkably small – nineteen poems by John Donne and all of Archibald Armstrong's epigrams.⁷¹² Marvell and

⁷⁰⁹ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, 5 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), vol. IV.

⁷¹⁰ A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantijn Huygens and Britain: 1596-1687* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), passim.

⁷¹¹ Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel, 'Appendix III: Huygens and English Literature', in *A Selection of the Poems of Constantijn Huygens* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996): 201- 217 (p. 201).

⁷¹² Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind*, p. 117.

Huygens were both influenced by Donne's poetry, in particular the metaphysical poems, as can be observed from their own works.

However, the most intriguing parallels are those between Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* and Huygens' *Hofwijck*; both started the composition of their version of the country house poem during the summer of 1651. In Huygens' poem, the gardens and Hofwijck itself are fashioned after The Hague, each in turn representing Eden and Holland. In Marvell's piece, Appleton House and its gardens accommodate General Fairfax's walks, and the estate symbolises Eden and England.⁷¹³ Both poems are divided into three parts: the house, followed by the garden and the wood. These structural similarities have led to speculation about a meeting between the two when Marvell was travelling through the Netherlands in the 1640s. During that time, Marvell's political allegiance was still ambiguous but, as mentioned before, he wrote three poems during the 1640s that are royalist. Huygens was a convinced Royalist and supporter of the Orangist party, knighted by James I and secretary to both Frederick Hendrik van Oranje and Willem II van Oranje. He was, furthermore, a Calvinist member of the Dutch Reformed Church (as illustrated for example by his poems on the Lord's Supper and satirical poems such as 'Ooghentroost' (1647)) and outspokenly anti-Catholic, despite the fact that he had Catholic friends, such as Joost van den Vondel and Tesselschade Roemer.⁷¹⁴ We also know that Marvell was Protestant (the exact details of his religious background will be discussed in the next chapter). A meeting can therefore not be excluded on the basis of excessively different ideological principles.

⁷¹³ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 168.

⁷¹⁴ Christopher Joby, "'This is my Body': Huygens' Poetic Response to the Words of Institution", in *Return to Sender: Constantijn Huygens as a Man of Letters*, ed. by Lisa Gosseye et. al. (Gent: Academia Press, 2013): 83-104 (p. 83).

In the early 1640s, Huygens' estate Hofwijck was finished and he was showing like-minded intellectuals around.⁷¹⁵ Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel argue that 'the two poets met in the 1640s and that Marvell's memories of Huygens' set speeches on the tour of Hofwijck remained in his memory sufficiently strongly to contribute to the design and form of *Upon Appleton House*'.⁷¹⁶ This alone would not explain the time frame (approximately eight years) between the tour and the composition of both poems; however, even assuming Marvell had indeed received a tour of Hofwijck, it would still require both poets to have been miraculously inspired at the same time about the same subject in the summer of 1651. Another possibility, which Nigel Smith proposes, is that *Hofwijck* served as a source for Marvell's poem, and that he thus had seen some manuscript version before 1651 when he began his own poem.⁷¹⁷ However, a substantial draft of Huygens' poem would have been necessary if it is to explain some of the detailed concurrences, as well as the similarities in structure and generic form. Huygens had only finished 252 lines (of 2800) of the poem in the summer of 1650, as we know from the dated manuscript, and started writing again after the 14th of August 1651.⁷¹⁸ It would have been impossible for Marvell to have seen the whole poem before the beginning of his own composition. I argue, therefore that the resemblance will not be explained in terms of direct influence, convenient as this would be, but only through a less linear consideration of the context in which both writers were operating.

⁷¹⁵ Davidson and van der Weel, p. 211.

⁷¹⁶ Davidson and van der Weel, p. 212.

⁷¹⁷ Smith, *The Chameleon*, p. 49.

⁷¹⁸ Ton van Strien, 'Inleiding', in *Constantijn Huygens: Hofwijck* (Amsterdam: KNAW press, 2008), vol II: 1-65 (p. 17).

The idea of shared contextual inspiration provides a good starting point for illustrating how the similarities between the different writers may have occurred; I hope, however, to define in more detail the politico-religious Anglo-Dutch sphere in which Milton, Marvell, Huygens and Vondel were writing, by first demonstrating similar literary techniques and tropes they employ, followed by a discussion of how these function within the historical context that shaped the works. The choice of literary genre already reveals some explanations for the similarities: Huygens and Marvell both chose the country house poem for their literary purposes, inspired by Ben Jonson's 'To Penhurst', and use it to allude to topical political issues. The composition of both poems commenced in 1651, a tumultuous political time in both countries. Appleton House is located in Yorkshire, close to the Scottish border, and in the summer of 1651, Charles II planned to invade northern England with his army in Scotland. Fairfax himself was still undecided over which side to support: either to answer the English Government's appeal to return, or to support the Stuart cause.⁷¹⁹ The battle of Worcester was about to begin, in September of that year. At the same time, Huygens was closely involved with the Family of Oranje. When Willem II died in 1650, the first 'stadhouderloze tijdperk' (era without a stadholder) commenced (as explained in Chapter IV), during which the republicans became more influential than the Orangist party. On the whole, Anglo-Dutch relations became rapidly more hostile during this period, accelerated by the introduction of the Navigation Act (1651). It did not take long for the first Anglo-Dutch War to break out. Both poems were composed by poets who followed closely political

⁷¹⁹ Derek Hirst and Steven N. Zwicker, *Andrew Marvell: Orphan of the Hurricane* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), passim.

developments in their countries, and it is thus no wonder that they addressed similar issues, using a genre that accommodated political debate and content very well.

The country house poem has considerable precedent as a vehicle for discussing the establishment, development and progress of the (e)state, since the estate functions as a microcosm of the state.⁷²⁰ Although in both poems the country house and lands are presented as a retreat from the outside world, they never fail to acknowledge that this ideal world is still part of a society, including its historical circumstances.⁷²¹ Huygens uses a progressively telescopic movement from the state to the small estate (nation – province – area – village – road – garden):

In Holland, wat een land! Noordholland, wat een landje!

In Delfland, wat een' Kleij; in Voorburgh wat een sandje!

*Aen 't Coets-pad, wat een wegh! Aen 't water, wat een Vlied!*⁷²²

(ll. 33-35)

In Holland, what a country! North-Holland, what a small state!

In Delfland, what clay; in Voorburg, what sand!

Next to the Coets-pad, what a road! Near the water, what a Flood!

In Marvell's poem, too, the narrator draws attention to the microcosm within the macrocosm; Appleton is double-guarded within the retreat of England, itself surrounded by protective seas:

Oh thou, that dear and happy isle

The garden of the world ere while,

⁷²⁰ Robert van Pelt, 'Man and Cosmos in Huygens' *Hofwijck*', *Art History*, 4.2 (June 1981): 150–174 (p. 151).

⁷²¹ Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 3-5.

⁷²² All quotations from *Hofwijck* are taken from the following edition: Constantijn Huygens, *Hofwijck*, ed. by Ton van Strien, vols. II (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Amsterdam, 2008), vol. I (tekst).

Thou Paradise of four seas,
Which heaven planted us to please,
But, to exclude the world, did guard
With wat'ry if not flaming sword;
What luckless apple did we taste,
To make us mortal, and thee waste.

(ll. 321-328)

The political and religious events occurring outside the estate can in this case be compared to a stone thrown into a pond, causing ripples that reach even the most remote places; the narrators cannot detach themselves from developments outside. The pastoral nature of the country house poem, similarly to Virgil's *Eclogues* that discussed the aftermath of Rome's Civil War, is concerned with the imperfect divide between the peaceful countryside and the troublesome demands of society; Huygens' pun *Hofwijck* ('court avoid', 'garden of refuge' or 'the court's neighbourhood'⁷²³) illustrates his consciousness of this tension.⁷²⁴ In the following lines, Huygens even admits that it adds to the pleasure of his estate:

*Heb ick altoos getelt het dobbele geniet
Van ijet verheughelix op 't kantjen van 't verdriet;
Op 't kantjen sonder schroom; soo dat vast and're smaken
Het ghene mij genaecht en niet en kan geraken.*

(ll. 275-278)

I have always counted enjoyment twice
When something pleasurable is close to grief;
Close to grief, without hesitation, so that other experiences

⁷²³ Van Strien, *Hofwijck*, p. 82.

⁷²⁴ Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, p. 3.

That come near cannot touch me.

Like a church, the estate with its forest becomes a sanctuary from the earth's disequilibrium; a walk through the forest is connected to religious experiences and thoughtful contemplation, a simile used by both poets:

*De Bercken staen om mij als Toortsen, die in Kercken
Niet half soo dienstigh staen en druijpen op de sercken,
Blanck-stammigh is de Boom, gelijk 't wasch vande Bije.*

(ll. 341-343)

The birches stand around me like torches, which in churches
Stand not half as useful, dripping on the tombstones,
The paleness of the bark recalls the beeswax.

Compare Huygens' candles to the pillars of Marvell's poem:

The arching boughs unite between
The columns of the temple green;
And underneath the wingèd choirs
Echo about their tunèd fires.

(ll. 509-512)

The use of sacred images to describe the estate is a feature of many country house poems, of which Margaret Cavendish 'Nature's House' (1651-3?), likely composed around the same time of Marvell's and Huygens' poems, is a further example: 'To bear High-roofed Thanks, Ceiled with Praise,/ *Windows* of Knowledge, Let in Light of Truth,/ *Curtains* of Joy, are drawn by Pleasant Youth./ *Chimneys*, of th'Touchstone of

affection made' (ll. 8-11).⁷²⁵ The religious experience induced by the tranquility of the estate is reinforced by allusions to Eden; its abundant fertility hinting at a Golden Age. This comparison with a voluptuous paradise is a commonplace of estate poems;⁷²⁶ we find it for example in Edmund Waller's 'On St James Park, As Lately Improved by His Majesty' (1660) (ll. 1-11), Henry Vaughan, 'Upon the Priory Grove, His Usual Retirement' (1645-6) (ll. 30-36), Richard Lovelace's 'Amyntor's Grove' (1641?) (ll. 67-81), as well as in Marvell and Huygens' poems. The reference to Eden, in which mankind is positioned as God's most noble creature, is important for the design of the estate itself. Marvell mentions the perfect and 'holy mathematics' (l. 46) of the human body in a reference to Da Vinci (ll. 46-48), and Huygens designed his garden on the mirroring characteristics of the human body: 'I saw myself, that is all I had to do/ two eyes to see, two to smell, two ears to hear' (l. 980-981). Another similarity is that both Huygens (ll. 401-406) and Marvell (ll. 513-515) use the sound of the nightingale as a traditional soundscape of wooded areas. This is again not a feature exclusive to Marvell and Huygens, as it can also be found in George Hils' poem 'To the Duke Bracciano' (1624?) (ll. 124-128) and Henry Vaughan's 'Upon the Priory Grove, His Usual Retirement' (ll. 5-10) among others.

Beyond these shared tropes of the genre, its form may have appealed to both writers, since the device of having a speaker describing the house and its gardens immediately distances and protects the poet from any incriminating content. The poet – guide – country house separation is similar to what we find in the genre of the painter

⁷²⁵ Margaret Cavendish, 'Nature's House' (1651-3?), in *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, ed. by Alistair Fowler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994): 318-319.

⁷²⁶ Alistair Fowler, 'Introduction', in *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, ed. by Alistair Fowler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994): 1-29 (p. 3).

poem (poet – painter – painting), whereby polemical content is delivered under the disguise of pedagogy or harmless description, making either genre eminently suitable for political purposes. Sometimes the two genres are combined, as in George Mackenzie's 'Caelia's Country House and Closet' (1667-8?). An interesting example of an estate poem that places a tranquil England within a Europe of political crises is Sir Richard Fanshawe's, 'An Ode upon Occasion of His Majesty's Proclamation in the Year 1630' (9 Sept 1630):

Now war is all the world about,
And everywhere Erynnis reigns,
Or else, the torch so late put out,
The stench remains.
Holland for many years hath been
Of Christian tragedies the stage,
Yet seldom hath she played a scene
Of bloodier rage.
And France, that was not long composed,
With civil drums again resounds,
And ere the old are fully closed
Receives new wounds.
The great Gustaves in the west
Plucks the imperial eagle's wing,
Than whom the Earth did ne'er invest
A fiercer king:
Revenging lost Bohemia,
And the proud wrong which Tilly dud,
And tempereth the German clay
With Spanish blood.

[...]

To one blest isle;
Which in a sea of plenty swam
And turtles sang on every bough,
A safe retreat to all that came.⁷²⁷

(ll. 1-20, 44-47)

The safe retreat allows a calm view on matters occurring outside. Indeed, the dangerous outside world emphasises the utopian vision of within; it is through these visions of foreign warfare that tranquillity and peace emerge by comparison.

In Marvell's and Huygens' poems we can also find general commentary on tyrannical states – this time biblical ones – for example that of Babel and its king Nimrod (Huygens, ll. 733-792; Marvell, ll. 23-24), recast as estate mismanagement. However, the speaker in the poems cannot escape active participation in events occurring outside the tranquil estate, as we can see from the personal interferences by the speaker in Huygens' poem and Fairfax in Marvell's, when it comes to religious controversies. Fairfax makes a ruling based on religious justice, associating his actions with the history of the nunnery on Appleton's estate:

What should he do? He would respect
Religion, but not right neglect:
For first Religion taught him right,
And dazzled not, but cleared his sight.
Sometimes resolved to his sword he draws,

⁷²⁷ Sir Richard Fanshawe, 'An Ode upon Occasion of His Majesty's Proclamation in the Year 1630' (9 Sept 1630), in *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, ed. by Alistair Fowler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994): 123-127.

But reverenceth then the laws:
For Justice still that Courage led;
First from a judge, then soldier bred.

(ll. 225-232)

Huygens also bars religious violence from his ideal estate, remembering the near outbreak of civil war after the controversy between Arminius and Gomarus. He writes that on rare occasions the parliament in The Hague will tolerate such debates as necessary for the state, but they are not allowed at Hofwijck:

Ick bann het bits vermaen

*Van Kercken-spertelingh: Staet uijt, Arminiaen,
Die op den Gomarist uw' tanden meent te slijpen;
En staet uijt Gomarist; die desen meent te grijpen
En krabben d'oude roof van 't seer van Achtien op.*

(ll. 1503-1507)

I outlaw the aggressive stirring
Of the Church's struggle: Keep away, Arminian,
Who thought to sharpen your teeth on a Gomarist,
And keep away, Gomarist, who thought to capture
And score the old scare of Eighteen.⁷²⁸

Tolerance, however, was in both cases still combined with anti-Catholic propaganda.

Marvell rakes up some commonplace myths of the seditious behaviour of (Catholic) nuns, namely the burial of children in the nunnery courtyard at midnight:⁷²⁹

⁷²⁸ Reference to the year 1618, when the discord between Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants was at its fiercest, and Prince Maurits van Oranje intervened; see Chapter III.

⁷²⁹ Annotation to the poem by David Ormerod and Christopher Wortham, in *Andrew Marvell: the Pastoral and the Lyric Poetry of 1681* (University of Western Australia Press, 2000).

But sure those buildings last not long,
Founded by folly, kept by wrong.
I know what fruit their gardens yield,
When they it think by night concealed.
Fly from their vices. 'Tis thy 'state,
Not thee, that they would consecrate.
Fly from their ruin. How I fear
Though guiltless, lest thou perish there.

(ll. 217-224)

More outspoken than Marvell, Huygens, too, makes some references to Catholicism and in particular its rituals. He uses a pun 'misdaad' on the practice of mass:

*Dat Christelicke vier, in plaets van rad en galgh,
Daer van ick even soo als van uw' misdaed walgh.*

(ll. 1595-1596)

That Christian fire, instead of wheel and gallows,
Of which I am equally disgusted as of your crime.

In this instance, *Mis* means mass, as well as missing a target, with *daad* referring to deed, are combined in the word *misdaad* recalling associations with the word crime (misdeed). Marvell's poem is in this case less provocative than Huygens', but Huygens had a greater degree of lassitude, since he was writing about his own house and was politically influential as secretary to the Oranjes, as we can see in the reference to The Hague. *Upon Appleton House*, by contrast, was written by a poet with less political security, and dedicated to his more powerful patron, rather than an unfettered expression of his views.

Both poems, moreover, discuss recent political events close to home, namely the regicide, a recurring topic in the Anglo-Dutch literary sphere.⁷³⁰ Marvell's allusion to the regicide is much more oblique than Huygens'. The reader is first taken through a mowing scene filled with military imagery, echoing the violence of the civil wars, after which the world is compared to a blank canvas; the possibility to start anew: 'a new and empty face of things/ A levelled space, as smooth and plain' (ll. 443-444). From the meadows, the walk reaches the forest, described in sanctified language, where we find a reference to the regicide itself, hidden in the forest of the woodcutter:⁷³¹

Who could have thought the tallest oak
Should fall by such a feeble stroke!
Nor would it, had the tree not fed
A traitor worm, within it bred.
(As first out flesh corrupt within
Tempts ignorant and bashful Sin.)
And yet that worms triumphs not long,
But serves to feed the hewel's young.
While the oak seems to fall content,
Viewing the treason's punishment.

(ll. 551-560).

The tallest oak naturally refers to Charles I; Marvell's poem thus forms part of the English literary and cultural tradition of the Royal Oak, which sprung up after Charles' seeking refuge in an oak tree during the Civil War. In several places in the Huygens poem, there are also references to the regicide, often in complex metaphorical settings.

⁷³⁰ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, passim.

⁷³¹ for a brief analysis of this section, see page 295.

One of the first direct references we find is halfway through the poem, when the narrator's thoughts wander off during a shooting game: '*Van daer een eenigh Heer gesplitst 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'* (From where one Lord was divided into many Lords/ From where a Crown, a Crown, and still another crown, surprisingly,/ found its way there where it does not suit') (ll. 1242-1244).

As Helmers has argued, several decades of literary criticism of Huygens' poem have wrongly taken these political references as insignificant commonplaces of the genre, making its political context and role in the poem irrelevant.⁷³² However, the narrator cannot escape the associations of the regicide within his peaceful estate, leading to powerful feelings of anxiety, of which the following lines become the most explicit allusion to the political developments in England.⁷³³

*En staet als kijker bij, of neemt de recht-banck waer,
En oordeelt sittende van 't naeste spelend paer.
En, soo de Kegel valt die Coningh is van achten,
Soo vliegt'er wel een droom door spelende gedachten
Van Coningen 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 parlement.*

(ll. 2149-2155)

⁷³² Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, pp. 152, 157. An example of one of these literary discussions is by Willemien B. de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling: De ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse Hofdicht in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (1613-1710) (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1998), p. 161.

⁷³³ Other references to the regicide and the civil war can be found in ll. 1231-1247.

And stands as spectator, or becomes part of the tribunal,
And judges, whilst sitting, the nearest playing pair.
And when the cone falls, hit at the back,
A dream is floating through playing minds,
To dispose of a king in the middle of her people,
That remains standing erect, while the blackest cloud,
That ever hid the sun, a cloud over any thought,
Three crowns fell with outrageous thunder.

Bowling is no longer a game, and the cones are parliament.

The metaphor of the regicide as a bowling game was not original in literature of the 1640s, of which Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* is perhaps the prime example (Milton later condemned it in his *First Defence* as silly rhetoric).⁷³⁴ This connection with Salmasius' tract indicates that Huygens was following the regicide debate and was likely familiar with anti- and pro-regicide propaganda, in common with many other Dutch intellectuals, as mentioned previously.⁷³⁵ The fact that the events of the regicide and Civil Wars in England have reached the tranquil estate of Hofwijck, despite all thoughts of unrest having been summarily banished from this idyllic retreat, reveals the impact it had in the state of Holland; perhaps in this case we should no longer speak of the English political developments as causing ripples, but perpetually recurring waves within the poem. The English political situation is a constant danger to Huygens'

⁷³⁴ Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, pp. 160-162.

⁷³⁵ From auction catalogues of Huygens' book collection (1688), we can find mention of Latin and Dutch editions of Salmasius' tract.

painfully constructed peace in his estate, perhaps partly influenced by the imminent Anglo-Dutch war.

Both poems offer communion with Creation as the key to preventing the entrance of strife, civil war and general intolerance. The universal language of nature, the same for every Protestant denomination, highlights the pastoral aspect in the genre of the country house poem. Marvell turns to the birds and the presence of nature itself ('Thus I, easy philosopher,/ Among the birds and trees confer', ll. 561-562), whereas Huygens finds solace in the account of Creation as a whole ('*Het Boeck van alle dingh,/ Van alles dat hij eens in 't groote Rond beving'*', ll. 1599-1600) (The book of all things, Of how things on the great Earth began). By listening to the sound of birds and observing the perfection of creation, the inhabitants of the paradisaical estate can regain a pre-lapsarian status with a universal state and church, in which peace is no longer threatened by political developments from outside.

In Milton's case, too, we can find similarities between his literary oeuvre and some Dutch writers; he, however, did not travel through the United Provinces, making it unlikely that he directly engaged with many Dutch writers in Dutch, such as Marvell had likely been able to do. Scholars in the past have argued that Milton was very much personally connected with the Dutch literary environment; one of the most outspoken advocates of Milton's engagement with Dutch sources was George Edmundson, writing that: '[n]egotiations with Dutch envoys, controversies with Dutch professors, intercourse with a circle of quasi-Dutch friends, correspondence with Dutch residents, quarrels with Dutch booksellers, all conspired to familiarize Milton with Dutch

affairs'.⁷³⁶ The relations are somewhat more complex than this quotation suggests, as for example both Salmasius and Vlacq to whom Edmundson refers were not born in the United Provinces. It is, however, possible that Milton received books that were published in the United Provinces (not necessarily in Dutch) from Lieuwe van Aitzema for example, or via his intellectual network that included people such as Dury and Hartlib. We know that Milton met at least one person from the Muiderking, Jacob Cats. In the function of Grand Pensionary of Holland, Cats went on a mission to London in December 1653, to discuss peace with Cromwell. The trip was ultimately unsuccessful.⁷³⁷ Milton was asked as Secretary of State to translate the answer to the ambassadors.⁷³⁸ He will have seen Cats during Council meetings and other official functions when he had to be present as the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. We do not know whether they met in private, but we do know from Mylius' diary (20 Jan 1651) that Milton was visited by an unknown Dutch person (which excludes Gerard Schaep, whom he had met before, and Lieuwe van Aitzema who had not yet arrived in London⁷³⁹): 'And when I had thoroughly informed him of the state of my case, I took my departure. As I was leaving, one of the Dutch came to him'.⁷⁴⁰ Cats delivered in December a Latin oration to Parliament asking for conciliation concerning the Navigation Act.⁷⁴¹ Hartlib comments later that it was pedantic and pretentious, despite

⁷³⁶ George Edmundson, *Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature* (Toronto: Trubner & Co, 1885), p. 20.

⁷³⁷ The pomp and circumstance that the mission displayed did not work in their favour, either, in the sober English Republic: 'Together with returning Gerard Schaep came Paulus van Perre, and heading the trio of ambassadors was Jacob Cats, renowned as a poet, and remembered as Dutch ambassador years ago to King James I. With them came their Secretary, the doctor of laws Jan van Vliet, with two amanuenses; their preacher, the reverend Johannes Cruss, or Croese; a *Hofmeister*, a chief of staff; twelve 'ordinary *Nobiles*' and ten 'extraordinary *Nobiles*:' Cat's daughter with her governess, a widow, and five maids; twelve aides and pages; fifteen servants for housekeeping and the stable; twenty-six other servants for the preacher, the *Hofmeister*, the Secretary and the *Nobiles* - ninety persons', Miller, *Milton and the Oldenburg Safeguard*, p. 106.

⁷³⁸ Robert Fallon, *Milton in Government* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), pp. 77-78 and Leo Miller, *John Milton's Writings in the Anglo-Dutch Negotiations*, pp. 9-10.

⁷³⁹ Mylius and Aitzema would become acquainted later in 1652, see for example van Aitzema's diary of the year 1652, *Nationaal Archief*, 1.10.02, 49.

⁷⁴⁰ Mylius (20 Jan 1651) qtd. in Leo Miller and translated by the same, *Milton & the Oldenburg Safeguard*, p. 126.

⁷⁴¹ Miller, *Anglo-Dutch Negotiations*, pp. 10-11.

the fact he also found it to be in eloquent Latin; it was, nevertheless, published in English, Latin and Dutch in several versions.⁷⁴² Lieuwe van Aitzema translated the whole oration into Dutch and quoted it in his *Saeken van Staet & Oorlogh* and Mylius reveals in his diary that he received a Latin copy.⁷⁴³ It is unknown whether Milton was present during the delivery of the speech at Parliament. He was not well at the time following treatment to stop the failing of his eyesight, and the Dutch envoys often translated all papers into English themselves, so his services may not have been required (the oration was translated by Lodewijk Huygens, the son of Constantijn Huygens).⁷⁴⁴ Milton would, however, have encountered a copy as he was involved with the Anglo-Dutch negotiations. In 1651, Schaep and Mylius discussed the replies of the council's commissioners to the Dutch embassy, which were translated into Latin by Milton himself. The oratory was an illustration close to home of what an intellectual such as Cats was capable. He was thus a representative of the Dutch scholarly community – being acquainted with many intellectual circles, including the Muiderkring – and what Dutch literary scholarship as a whole could achieve.

Although there is a possibility that Milton and Cats were acquainted, the relation between Milton and Joost van den Vondel has led to much more scholarly attention, as a result of striking resemblances within their poetical works. Edmundson's scholarship, sparked an interest in (re)discovering *direct* Dutch literary influences in the works of John Milton, especially the relation between Milton and Vondel.⁷⁴⁵ It is safe to say that

⁷⁴² Miller, *Milton & the Oldeburg Safeguard*, p. 116.

⁷⁴³ Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saeken van Staet & Oorlogh*, Volume III (1669), pp. 699-701; Miller, *Anglo-Dutch Negotiations*, p. 302, note 13.

⁷⁴⁴ Miller, *Anglo-Dutch Negotiations*, p. 47.

⁷⁴⁵ The list of articles and book is extensive. Just to name a few: A. Mueller, *Milton's Abhaengigkeit von Vondel* (Dissertation University of Berlin, 1891); Thieme de Vries, *Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature* (Chicago: Grentzebach, 1916); Jehangir Mody, *Vondel and Milton* (Bombay: K & J Cooper, 1942); Gwendolyn Davies, *The 'Samson' theme in the Works of Rembrandt, Vondel, and Milton: A Comparative Study in the Humanities* (Unpublished Masters thesis, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan); Hugo Bekker, 'The Religio-Philosophical

Vondel and Milton never met in person; Vondel never travelled to Britain, nor concurrently any of the countries that Milton visited on his grand tour. Vondel was virtually unknown in England in the seventeenth century; there are only sporadic references, such as a second-hand quotation in a letter by Hugo Grotius, mentioned by John Dunton in a letter (1659-1732).⁷⁴⁶ This, however, did not stop scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from drawing extensive parallels between the two authors. Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature*, published in 1885, proposes that *Paradise Lost* (1667) was directly indebted to several of Vondel's plays, among which *Lucifer* (1654) and *Adam in Ballingschap* (1665) foremost. He furthermore argues that *Samson Agonistes* (1671) was derived from *Samson, of Heilige Wraak* (1660). This assumption was adopted by other critics in the twentieth century, such as Walter Kirkconnell, who thought 'that there are enough close resemblances to make his familiarity with Vondel reasonably assured'.⁷⁴⁷ The similarities in themes between Vondel's trilogy (*Adam in Ballingschap* (1664), *Lucifer* (1654) and *Noach* (1667)), and *Paradise Lost* (1667) and *Samson Agonistes* (1671) with *Samson, en Heilige Wraak* (1660)), had already been noticed by travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as John Bowring (1792-1872): '[c]ompare [Vondel] with Milton – for his *Lucifer* gives the fairest means of comparison, - how weak are his highest flights compared with those of the bard of *Paradise*; and how much does Vondel sink beneath him in his failures! Now and then the same thought may be

Orientations of Vondel's *Lucifer*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Grotius's *Adamus Exul*', *Neophilologus*, 44.1 (1960): 234-244.

⁷⁴⁶ Guillaume van Gemert, 'Between Disregard and Political Mobilization – Vondel as a Playwright in Contemporary European Context: England, France and the German Lands', in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendaal & Frans-Willem Korsten (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 171-200 (p. 172).

⁷⁴⁷ Watson Kirkconnell, *The Celestial Cycle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 627-631.

found in both, but the points of resemblance are not in passages which do Milton's reputation the highest honour'.⁷⁴⁸

The theory of a direct relation between the two authors has been long since rejected and as Nigel Smith says 'there should be no worry concerning the possibility of Vondel influencing Milton, as was once thought to be the case'.⁷⁴⁹ The Dutch scholar, Jan Jurien Moolhuizen argued as early as the late nineteenth century that it was highly unlikely that Milton had read Vondel's works and adapted them into his own epic; more plausibly, the similarities in their works were the result of similar available resources and similar contemporary contexts.⁷⁵⁰ This is still the generally accepted view today, and although in recent years the question of intertextuality between the two authors has received renewed attention, Moolhuizen's work remains central.

Between Milton and Vondel, similarities can be found in the choice of subject, rather than genre; Vondel was foremost a playwright, Milton an epic poet. Helmer Helmers and Jan-Frans van Dijkhuizen have introduced new readings of Vondel's plays that reveal more about the shared literary milieu that Moolhuizen theorized.⁷⁵¹ Instead of focussing solely on traditional poetical interpretations, they set *Paradise Lost* and *Lucifer* within their political context.⁷⁵² However, the question that remains when discussing the resemblance between both their poetical works, which has not been asked

⁷⁴⁸ John Bowring, *Sketch of the Language and Literature of Holland* (Amsterdam: Diederich Brothers, 1829), p. 38.

⁷⁴⁹ I am very grateful to Nigel Smith for showing me a draft of the following article: Nigel Smith, 'The Politics of Tragedy in the Dutch Republic: Joachim Oudaen's Martyr Drama in Context', in *Dramatic Experience: The Poetics of Drama and the Early Modern Public Sphere(s)*, ed. by Katja Gvozdeva, Kirill Ospovat and Tatiana Korneeva, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2016/2017): 220-49 (p. 24). The page references refer to the draft, as I was unable to identify the correct pages in the book itself.

⁷⁵⁰ Jan Jurien Moolhuizen, *Vondel's Lucifer en Milton's Verloren Paradijs*, (Ph.D. Thesis, Utrecht University (1892)), p. 121.

⁷⁵¹ Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and Helmer Helmers, 'Religion and Politics – *Lucifer* (1654) and *Paradise Lost*', in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendaal & Frans-Willem Korsten (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 377-406.

⁷⁵² See also Helmer Helmers' approach to the politicising of Anglo-Dutch texts in his book *The Royalist Republic*.

by others when concluding that Vondel and Milton had similar sources available, is how it is possible that they used the same biblical narratives for their own literary (and politico-religious) purposes, even when these were opposite? Why no Daniel or Esther for example, each as iconic, but Samson, Creation and the Fall? The differences between the two authors were substantial, after all, and both managed a complex position within their society: Milton was puritan and republican, writing from a monarchy, whereas Vondel was Catholic and with sympathies for English royalists, writing from a republic. The relation between Vondel and Milton is characterised by contrasts, unlike Marvell and Huygens, who were ideologically much more similar. It is true that both Milton and Vondel were intimately familiar with the Bible (however differently they chose to interpret it) and that they were both sufficiently masterful poets to go ‘each their own way’, as Moolhuizen argues.⁷⁵³ The choice to use Genesis, furthermore, was not original in the Renaissance, as the Fall of Mankind and Creation were regular literary topics, and not only in the Anglo-Dutch sphere.⁷⁵⁴ One could mention Du Bartes’ *Creation du Monde* (1578) and Aemilia Lanyer’s *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* (1611). Moreover, the narrative of the Fall is versatile and eminently suitable for literary purposes, as Grotius explains in the Preface to his own *Adamus Exul* (1601):

This history is the first that occurs in the Holy Scripture; it has the catastrophe of the Fall of Man from its blessed position to the miserable status of today. A lot is taken from philosophy, especially metaphysical: about God, the Angels and the Souls; as well as from Physics, the creation of the universe; ethics throughout the work, as with all writers, and in places also Geography and Astrology. All according to the rules of the Stage by the example of Euripides, of Epicharmus and of Ennius.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵³ Moolhuizen, p. 121.

⁷⁵⁴ A.G. van Hamel, *Zeventiende- Eeuwsche Opvattingen en Theorieen over Litteratuur in Nederland* (Utrecht: Hes Publishers, 1973), pp. 60-67.

⁷⁵⁵ *Historia est prima quæ in Sacris occurrit Litteris & Catastrophen habet, Hominis ex integro felicique statu in hanc miseriam lapsus. Philosophica occurrunt plurima, præsertim Metaphysica, de Deo, Angelis, & animis; physica etiam*

A narrative describing the creation of the world would naturally be a fitting topic in a period saturated with political and religious beginnings and endings. Although their allegiances were opposed, Milton and Vondel were writing in a century in which people were constantly attempting to create a national identity for their recently established republic or monarchy (even if these sometimes only survived for a couple of decades). Representing Heaven, Hell, the Garden of Eden and the world after the Fall as independent states was therefore a literary device for opening dialogues about politics and religion, however indirectly. Moreover, the narrative of the revolt of heaven and of mankind was especially topical after the English Revolution and Restoration, and the Dutch Revolt at the end of the sixteenth century. Vondel and Milton were both involved in the re-shaping of a nation after a revolt, founding or revolution, and although they were working according to different ideological principles, the same questions were asked within the same topical sphere, namely questions of authority.⁷⁵⁶ These questions particularly applied to tyrannical kingship or absolute monarchy, whether projected on to Charles I and Cromwell, or the Princes van Oranje and King Philip II of Spain. The narrative of Samson likewise concerns resistance, power and obedience, with the rejection of the Philistine regime. The nature of authority and divine providence, whether religious or political, is at the heart of the plays and poems by Milton and Vondel.⁷⁵⁷

de rerum creatione; Ethica passim ut apud omnes; Geographica, & Astrologica nonnunquam, quæ Omnia à Scenâ non essa aliena Euripidis, Epicharmi, & Ennii me docuit exemplum. Hugo Grotius, 'Preface', *Adamus Exul* (Den Haag: 1601).

⁷⁵⁶ Van Dijkhuizen and Helmers, p. 404.

⁷⁵⁷ The book by Korsten is completely dedicated to sovereignty in Vondel's works, illustrating how important the idea of authority is for the poet's complete oeuvre: Frans-Willem Korsten, *Sovereignty as Inviolability: Vondel's Theatrical Exploration in the Dutch Republic* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2009).

As with Bowring's comparison between *Paradise Lost* and *Lucifer*, the main focus of research on Anglo-Dutch relations in Milton and Vondel has been an comparative analysis of these two particular works.⁷⁵⁸ I instead explore connections with Vondel's play *Adam in Ballingschap* (Adam in Exile) (1664) and will return to questions of authority and divine intervention.⁷⁵⁹ Both writers took the Bible as the starting point of their texts, and had access to what several classical authors had written on the creation of the universe. Perhaps Grotius' *Adamus Exul* (1601) has also served as a common source text, as they were familiar with some of his works.⁷⁶⁰ This play by Grotius' was, however, not as accessible as his other Neo-Latin plays; it was not reprinted beyond its initial publication in 1601, and there was no translation of it in English.⁷⁶¹ I will draw attention here to a few of classical authors – Lucretius, Empedocles, Democritus, Epicurus, and Ovid, united by their discussion of atomist theories. Each was published in the Dutch Republic throughout the seventeenth century, with the likely exception of Empedocles (I have not yet been able to locate a seventeenth-century Dutch copy). As a result of the Epicurean Revival, started by Hobbes, Bacon and Boyle, atomist texts were also widely available in England.⁷⁶² Thomas Stanley's *History of Philosophy* (1655-1662), contains chapters on Empedocles, Democritus and, particularly extensively, Epicurus, but not on Lucretius. Of course, Ovid was already widely read at this point; Vondel himself translated the

⁷⁵⁸ See pages 51-52 for Bowring's quotation.

⁷⁵⁹ Vondel's play was printed twice in the year 1667 by the same printers, and were the only editions to appear in Vondel's lifetime. It was not performed until 1910, meaning that Vondel's never saw his play staged. Jan Bloemendaal, 'New Philology – Variants in *Adam in Ballingschap* (1664)', in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendaal and Frans-Willem Korsten (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 489-508 (p. 490).

⁷⁶⁰ See Chapter V for Milton's association with Grotius' works and Chapter II for Vondel's friendship with Grotius as part of the *Muiderkring*.

⁷⁶¹ William Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 101-106.

⁷⁶² In the first chapter of his book, Rodney Cotterill demonstrates the significant steps that were taken in the development of Atomism in the seventeenth century (and later centuries), through the figures of Boyle and Christiaan Huygens for example: Rodney Cotterill, *The Material World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2008), pp. 25-52.

Metamorphoses of Ovid into Dutch. The manner in which these classical theories are adopted in Vondel's play and Milton's poem reveals a great deal about the context both were writing in, and how they refined or repositioned them to complement the contemporary religious, literary and intellectual milieu.

With the contemporary context and classical texts in mind, let us compare the accounts of Creation within the two works. Within the first ten lines of *Paradise Lost* we receive an impression of the role that chaos is going to play in the epic: '[i]n the beginning how the heavens and earth/ rose out of chaos' (I. 9-10).⁷⁶³ This eliminates *creatio ex nihilo*, something Milton also propounded in *De Doctrina Christiana*, in which he writes: 'out of nothing, I reckon their opinion [*of creatio ex nihilo*] originates'.⁷⁶⁴ He instead argues for a combination of *creatio ex deo* and *materia*: God organised the individual chaotic particles into earth, heaven and hell, and 'afterwards God arranged it and made it beautiful'.⁷⁶⁵ In a Platonic conception, chaos in Milton's epic is presented as a constant battle between the four elements. In Book II, he writes:

Before their eyes in sudden view appear
The secrets of the hoarie deep, a dark

⁷⁶³ In this thesis, I cannot answer the question fully whether Chaos is evil or good in Milton's epic. I would argue it has the potential for both: in itself it is an objective force, but through the process of creation it can become either evil or good. I find Quint's suggestion that the dregs of Chaos were used to make hell persuasive (David Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost: Reading the Designs of Milton's Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), footnote 14, p. 258), demonstrating that *waste* is not *wasteful*. This contradicts N. K. Sugimura's argument that night is the effect of these dregs ('*Matter of Glorious Trial*': *Spiritual and Material Substance in Paradise Lost* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 275-276). This would suggest that Chaos is only to some extent 'fertile' for further creation, which seems to defeat the essence of Chaos itself. John Rogers takes a different stance and argues that chaos is a paradox of creation and anti-creation, as Chaos' dregs are 'adverse to life' (VII. 239): *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 130-143. We do not know, however, whether these dregs will be rejuvenated through God later, as Chaos on its own is indeed adverse to life. There is a wealth of scholarship on these issues of which I will mention a few. Those arguing that chaos is evil: Regina Schwartz, 'Milton's Hostile Chaos '...And the Sea was no more'', *ELH*, 52.2 (1985): 337-374; John Leonard, 'Milton, Lucretius and the 'Void Profound of Unessential Night'', in *Living Texts: Interpreting Milton* (London: Associates University Presses, 2000): 198- 218. Those arguing that Chaos is essentially good: John Rumrich, *Milton Unbound: Controversy and Reinterpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 118-133; Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, pp. 258.

⁷⁶⁴ CPW (OUP) (2012): VI. 287.

⁷⁶⁵ CPW: VIII. 293.

Illimitable Ocean without bound,
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
 And time and place are lost; where eldest Night
 And *Chaos*, Ancestors of Nature, hold
 Eternal Anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless Wars, and by confusion stand.
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four Champions fierce
 Strive here for Mastery, and to Battle bring
 Their embryon Atoms; they around the flag
 Of each his faction, in their several Clanns,
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
 Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the Sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring Winds, and poise
 Thir lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
 Hee rules a moment; *Chaos* Umpire sits,
 And by decision more imbroiles the fray
 By which he Reigns: next him high Arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wilde Abyss,
 The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave,
 Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
 But all these in thir pregnant causes mixt
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
 Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain
 His dark materials to create more Worlds,

(II. 890-916)

In Milton's abyss, being the start and the end of creation, elements or atoms on their own can never connect for long enough to become a unity, or a creation.⁷⁶⁶ It is not surprising that Satan finds in the anti-creator, Chaos, an unexpected ally. The idea of

⁷⁶⁶ Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, p. 71.

chaos as a constant rejection of unity was first explored by Empedocles (c. 490 – c.430 BC), who held that unification and separation were performed through interference of love and strife, of which the first connects and the second separates.⁷⁶⁷ Empedocles' vision was in theory compatible with Christian doctrine, since the entrance and withdrawal of love and strife into the universal sphere could be divinely ordained. In Milton's epic, the particles would forever remain unbound and chaotic without divine determinism, hence the adjective 'embryon' is used, referring to the as yet unformed nature of their future connection. However, Milton's use of the word 'atom' explicitly refers to Democritus (c. 490 – c. 370 BC), the first to introduce an atomic model of the universe. Democritus argues that matter is eternal but that the connections between the individual particles are temporary, and that these are ordered randomly through connection and disconnection as a result of the atoms' shapes.⁷⁶⁸ This was later adopted by Epicurus (341 – 270 BC) in his universe without hierarchy.⁷⁶⁹ Milton, however, rejects this notion and makes the constant affirmation of divine interference and authority central to the process of creation in his epic. It is God's spirit that 'satst brooding on the vast abyss/ And mad'st it pregnant' that led to the creation of the world (I. 21-22).

Vondel conversely displays a combination of *creatio ex nihilo* and *materia* in his play. In the first act, Adam and Eve ruminate about what to sing, after which Adam encourages the angels to follow their song:

⁷⁶⁷ Brad Inwood, *The Poem of Empedocles* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001), p. 51; John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy: Thales to Plato* (London: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 72-73.

⁷⁶⁸ This is a much more complicated idea than I am able to discuss in this chapter, as the infinite gradations of atomic shapes are dependent on their purpose. Atoms could be as big as the world, while the atoms on this world are imperceptible, meaning there could be worlds that have imperceptibly small atoms as big as earth (C.C.W. Taylor, *The Atomists: Lucippus & Democritus*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999), pp. 172-174).

⁷⁶⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve: How the Renaissance Began* (London: Vintage Books, 2012), p. 98.

*Wachtenglen, volgt ons spoort, heft vrolijk aan: ontvouwt,
Bij beurte op ene rij, den oorsprong aller dingen.
De galm van 't paradys schept lust u na te zingen
Hoe dit heelal uit niet zoo heerlyck wiert gebout.*

(ll. 211-214)

Guardian angels, follow our course, reveal and happily sing,
In single order of the origin of all things.
The echo of paradise sparks desire to repeat all you sing
Of how this universe was summoned out of nothing.

These lines state explicitly that the universe was created out of nothing, but through the command of God. Vondel therefore frequently refers to God as 'den oirsprong aller dingen', 'the origin of all things', as above. Throughout the play, the division between God and nature itself is emphasised.⁷⁷⁰ God creates from nothing, whereas nature needs the God-created matter to create in turn. This reinforces the image of God's immutable immortality and the temporary character of nature, arguing that all things are directly or indirectly made by God, but are not *of* God:

*God schiep den baiert, woest en duister.
Natuur had maer een aengezicht,
Lagh vormeloos, en zonder luister.
Toen sprack de Hoogste: 't werde licht.*

(ll. 215-218)

God created chaos, dark and bare.
Nature had only one sight,
Lay shapeless, with no beauty there.
Then the highest spoke: let there be light:

⁷⁷⁰ Korsten, pp. 45-52.

This again follows Democritus' idea that underlying matter is eternal and could form an infinite number of connections, whereas nature has but one face, a temporary shape. God first created infinite chaos from nothing, followed by the creation of finite nature through chaos, adding temporariness as an aspect of this last step.

Although the origin of chaos is differently explained, both works describe it as the ante-movement of creation, leading to an eternal battle between the elements, in which the seed of the world, or even different worlds, lies hidden:⁷⁷¹

*Random den blinden baiert heen,
Daer 's weerelts zaet in lach gewonden,
En elcke hoofstof ondereen.*

(II. 224-226)

Around the formless abyss,
In which the hidden seed of the world lay,
And order in elements was still amiss.

Vondel's description of earthly seeds awaiting the divine order to sprout reflects the same possibility of multiple worlds that Milton so famously described as 'His dark materials to create more worlds' (II. 916.).

The aforementioned idea of elemental chaos was taken from the older Greek classical texts: Empedocles, Epicurus and Democritus. Both poets, however, also incorporated later works by the Romans Lucretius (c. 99 – c. 55 BC) and Ovid (43 BC–

⁷⁷¹ John Rumrich, 'Milton's God and the Matter of Chaos', *Modern Language Association*, 110.5 (1995): 1035-1046 (p. 1038).

17? AD), through the depiction of a fifth element: ether.⁷⁷² This substance was posited as weightless and invisible, flying upwards to create a sun or several crystalline spheres.

See for example Book V of *De Rerum Natura*, in which Lucretius writes:

Wherefore earths ponderous bodies did retire
First to the Center, where declining weight
Did them I'the lowest region situate,
Whose congregation, as 'twas more condense
Did with more force presse forth those seeds, fro whence
The greate worlds wall, sun, moone, seas, starrs were made
Who all smoother and rounder elements had,
And farre lesse seeds then those which did compose,
The ponderous earth, from whose small chinks first rose,
In severall parcells, the whole starrie skie
With which the seeds of fire did upwards flie.⁷⁷³

(V. 467-477)

Milton adopts this vision of Creation in which different heavenly bodies and the outer wall of the universe are made of ether. In Book III he writes:

And this ethereal quintessence of heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That rolled orbicular, and turned to stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
Each had his place appointed, each his course,
The rest in circuit walls this universe.

⁷⁷² The use of Lucretius and his ideas on materialism are insightfully discussed by John Leonard in his article 'Milton, Lucretius and the 'Void Profound of Unessential Night''. Katherine Collway's article draws the comparison more widely by also focussing on their ideas on mortalism: 'Milton's Lucretian Anxiety Revisited', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 32.3 (2009): 79-97. She comments on the ambiguity of Milton's materialism, his anxiety and his essential rejection of it, and so contradicts other works with a full argument in favour of Milton's materialism.

⁷⁷³ Lucretius, 'On the Nature of Things', translated by Lucy Hutchinson, in *The Works of Lucy Hutchinson*, ed. by Reid Barbour and David Norbrook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 325.

This exact idea can also be found in Vondel's play, in which crystal as element limits and even captures the universe:

*Een hoofstof, wuft en ongebonden,
 Gehoorzaemt hem, die haer beriep
 Om hoogh uit grondelooze gronden,
 En uit kristal een hemel schiep,
 Om in dien kreits, rondom te vloten.*

(II. 237-241)

An element, volatile and unbound,
 Obedient to him who commanded her
 Upwards from bottomless grounds,
 And from crystal made a heaven,
 Its circle to float and flow.

In both these passages there is an emphasis on the active role of the omnipotent in Creation, unlike the self-conceived determinism present in Lucretius's and Ovid's works.⁷⁷⁴ The connection between the atoms is divinely ordained, whereas Lucretius makes the arbitrary movement between *clinamen* (unpredictable swerve of atoms) and the *voluntas* (meaning will itself, nothing comes out of nothing, 'therefore *voluntas* must have a cause at the atomic level'), responsible for collision between the individual particles, leading to creation.⁷⁷⁵ In a less advanced way, Epicurus, too, rejected the idea that humans had no access to *voluntas*. This separation, I contend, is central to the resemblance between the respective accounts of Creation in the play and epic. The

⁷⁷⁴ Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton Among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 20-21.

⁷⁷⁵ Don Fowler, *Lucretius on Atomic Motion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 415; Fallon, p. 42; Collopy, p. 83.

similarities between the works of Milton and Vondel emerge in their rejection of specific characteristics of the classical atomist theories, and the insertion of divine intervention.⁷⁷⁶ The universe is rendered rational, but rooted in an act of divine creation.⁷⁷⁷

I have already discussed the appropriateness of the Genesis narrative for both writers' various poetical and politico-religious purposes. Another factor is, however, at play, the Renaissance ambition to marry classical theories with Christian doctrine; ideas of stoicism and epicureanism were introduced by figures such as Lipsius and Gassendi.⁷⁷⁸ By rejecting Epicurus' and Lucretius' idea that the atoms are arbitrarily connected, in preference for a purposeful creation of matter through the objective force of the 'swerve' (or *clinamen*) of the atoms themselves, the authority of God is reinforced;⁷⁷⁹ this is an important point to make for the Christian, classically influenced writer. Earlier examples of this act of synthesis exist, for example in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which placed classical atomists who admitted the potential for divine intervention (which includes the idea of an immortal soul) in the first circle of Hell, whereas Epicurus suffered in the sixth (Lucretius' text had at this point not been re-discovered).⁷⁸⁰ Vondel comments on exactly this disparity between the classical and Christian views of atomic creation in his book *Bespiegelingen van God en Godsdienst* (Reflections on God and Faith) (1662), volume IV:

⁷⁷⁶ Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, p. 85.

⁷⁷⁷ As Fallon also remarks in his book *Milton Among the Philosophers*: '[f]or Milton [...] the concerns of natural philosophy are inseparable from the concerns of theology, and the question of the nature of substance is central in *Paradise Lost*', p. 247.

⁷⁷⁸ Margaret J. Osler, 'Introduction', in *Atoms, Pneuma and Tranquillity: Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 1-11 (p. 7).

⁷⁷⁹ Joan Retallack, *The Poethical Wager* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), p. 3.

⁷⁸⁰ 'This circle is the cemetery for all/ disciples of the Epicurus school,/ who say the body dies, so too the soul' (10. 13-15), Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, transl. and ed. by Robin Kirkpatrick (London: Penguin Classics, 2012).

*Lucrees, de schildknaap en de tolk van Epicuur,
Een god die bij hem, doortast den boezem van natuur,
Ontvouwt, uit 's meesters mond, al haar geheimenissen,
Om in 't godvruchtig hart der mensen uit te wissen
Het ingedrukte merk van Gods voorzienigheid,
Den Godsdienst, en 't geloof [...].⁷⁸¹*

Lucretius, squire and interpreter of Epicurus,
As a god, touched the heart of nature,
Reveals, from the master's mouth, all her mysteries,
To eliminate from man's heart all its pieties,
The impressed mark of God's providence,
Of Religion, and of faith [...].

In both works the atoms themselves are predestined by God to fulfil a certain function after the Creation, making the *process* predetermined, but not its outcome.

I have here focussed on similarities between Vondel's play and Milton's poem, but many other lines of comparison are available. It has to be noted nonetheless that both works employ similar myths, discuss similar theories and ideas from the same sources, but often draw different conclusions, which are the result of their opposing religious and political views; for example, as Van Dijkhuizen and Helmers have already extensively discussed, Lucifer in Vondel's plays becomes a defence and reaffirmation of divine kingship, whereas Satan's rebellion in *Paradise Lost* is presented as a failed attempt to make the divine political and the political divine.⁷⁸² In Vondel's *Samson, of*

⁷⁸¹ Joost van den Vondel, *Bespiegelingen van God and Godsdienst; tegens d' Ongodisten, verloochenaars der Godheid of Goddelijke Voorzienigheid* (Amsterdam: 1661).

⁷⁸² Van Dijkhuizen en Helmers, p. 404.

Heilige Wraak, Samson becomes a threat to the established regime, endangering the painfully achieved peace between the Israelites and the Philistines (or allegorically, between the United Provinces and England). Milton, by contrast, presents Samson as a tragic hero who righteously rebels against tyrannical authority.⁷⁸³ These representations will be examined in more depth in the following two chapters.

In this chapter, we have seen that Milton, Marvell and several Dutch writers discussed similar politico-religious issues that dominated the Anglo-Dutch sphere, such as regicide and civil war. The close-knit printing and publication culture that the United Provinces and England shared led to a great exchange of scholarly texts and debates, further connecting both intellectual milieus. These factors ultimately led to a joined Anglo-Dutch scholarly community, which reveals that the questions and choice of subject were often the same for Dutch and English authors but that their response were often different, as I will discuss next.

⁷⁸³ Nigel Smith, 'The Politics of Tragedy in the Dutch Republic: Joachim Oudaen's Martyr Drama in Context', p. 21.

Chapter VII

Dutch Theology in Milton and Marvell

Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

Paradise Lost, II. 557-561

In his 2007 article, 'Milton and the European Contexts of Toleration', Nigel Smith makes the important point that Milton's theology is frequently examined in terms of its final destination, rather than the road that led to these conclusions.⁷⁸⁴ That Milton was not of one fixed opinion but developed his thinking throughout his life could similarly be argued for Marvell, leading to problems in establishing a static and long-standing religious identity; as John Spurr has argued in his article on Marvell's religion, 'Marvell, possessed of a fluid, subtle mind, was a man of anything but fixed identity. His was an evolving temperament'.⁷⁸⁵ Marvell is an especially complicated case to define in concrete religious and political terms. He was – particularly compared to the outspokenly polemical Milton – a diplomatic chameleon, carefully manoeuvring through the tumultuous and treacherous political and religious climate of the seventeenth century. A characteristic example of this, partly induced by the public

⁷⁸⁴ Nigel Smith, 'Milton and the European Contexts of Toleration', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 23-44 (p. 42); Mary Ann Radzinowicz attempts something similar in the section on Milton's theology, *Towards Samson Agonistes: The Growth of Milton's Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 313-347.

⁷⁸⁵ John Spurr, 'The Poet's Religion', in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Derek Hirst & Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 158-173 (p. 159).

office that Marvell kept, are some inscriptions on a version of the *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, the first of which reads as: 'It is supposed to bee written, by Mr Marvell, A Countrey Gentleman & A Great Republican', to which another reader replied: 'In saying he is a great Republican you ar very much mistaken for he is one of this parliament and a conformist'.⁷⁸⁶ Centuries later opinions on his political and religious allegiances are still divided; Marvell scholars, such as Warren Chernaik, Annabel Patterson and John Wallace, have arrived at different conclusions in their individual studies.⁷⁸⁷

Just as Nicholas von Maltzahn compares toleration in Milton and Marvell, I endeavour to compare Dutch theological traces in Milton's and Marvell's works, not in order to derive a fixed conclusion about what their religious convictions were, but to trace the successions of influences throughout their life and work.⁷⁸⁸ This will ultimately enable a more nuanced interpretation of their religious sympathies. Analysis of their theologies in terms of chronology but also genre will be given, as the latter can significantly affect how a doctrine might be represented, as William Poole previously demonstrated in relation to Milton's religious convictions.⁷⁸⁹ In order to do so, I will focus on two crucial areas of theology of the seventeenth-century and its Dutch traces in Milton and Marvell: toleration, or liberty of conscience, and the debate between Arminianism and Calvinism.

⁷⁸⁶ Qtd. in Annabel Patterson, 'Introduction', in *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), vol 1, xi.

⁷⁸⁷ Warren Chernaik, *The Poet's Time: Religion and Politics in the Works of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), and the edited volume with Martin Dzelzainis, *Marvell and Liberty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999); Annabel Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); John Wallace, *Destiny his Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

⁷⁸⁸ Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'Milton, Marvell and Toleration', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 86-104.

⁷⁸⁹ William Poole, 'Theology', in *Milton in Context*, ed. by Stephen Dobranski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 475-486.

One of the first questions to be asked is to what extent Marvell and Milton had access to sources dealing with Dutch theology. We know Marvell's own library was small, and he therefore must have used the libraries of his influential friends. The Earl of Anglesey's (1614-1686) and John Owen's (1600-1666) libraries were most likely used by Marvell at the time of his prose tracts, and their catalogues can give some illuminating insights.⁷⁹⁰ There is, for example, a wealth of information in these collections on the Dutch predestination debate of the 1610s. Both have some of Arminius' works, such as the three-volume *Opera Varia Theologica* (Leiden, 1635) and Owen also owned a tract dedicated to the controversy between Gomarus and Arminius, *Arminii Examen Gomari de Presdestinatione* (1644). Although the works of Gomarus were not as well distributed or widely published throughout Europe as Arminius', Owen's library has a copy of his *Opera Omnia Theologica dual Partibus uno volumine* (1644).⁷⁹¹ The two collections had texts that discussed the Synod of Dort itself, published only shortly after the Synod: several different versions of *Acta & Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium* (1620) and *Canonas Synodi Dordracenae cum notis D. Tileni* (1622), but also various responses of European theologians agreeing or disagreeing with Arminius, for example *Lareni Responsio ad Abaktsin Ja. Arminii in 9 Cap. Ad Rom* (1616) in Anglesey's collection and a defence by Arminius' student Simon Episcopius, *Responsio ad Contra-Remonstrant contrat iam declarationem* (1658) in Owen's library.⁷⁹² Anglesey's and Owen's library records do not give the places of publication. Moreover, none of these texts can be found on *Early*

⁷⁹⁰ *Bibliotheca Angleseiana, sive catalogus variorum librorum* (1686) and *Bibliotheca Oweniana* (1684). See for the discovery of Marvell links to the Earl of Anglesey: Annabel Patterson and Martin Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Earl of Anglesey: A Chapter in the History of Reading', *The Historical Journal*, 44.3 (2001): 703-726.

⁷⁹¹ A quick search on *Early English Books Online* reveals that there are no records of Gomarus as an author of books printed in Britain, although he is mentioned in 176 records. Arminius is the author of two records printed in London, and mentioned in 742 records.

⁷⁹² Brian Cowan, 'Millington, Edward (c.1636–1703)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

English Books Online. It is, therefore, likely that they were printed and published in the United Provinces. The question then remains how Anglesey and Owen would have acquired such books. Edward Millington (1636-1703) is an important figure in the acquisition of Dutch books. He was a bookseller and auctioneer, who, for example, sold the entire library of the Dutch theologian Gisbertus Voetius in England. Together with other booksellers, he endeavoured to import scholarly books from the continent in order to sell them to English scholars and intellectuals.⁷⁹³ It is not unlikely that Anglesey and Owen bought at least some of their books from Millington. Of course, Dutch theology dealt with more issues than the predestination debate of the 1610s alone, but the extent to which books on or by Arminius spread across Europe is a good example of how Dutch theological issues were attended to throughout Europe and that for educated people such as Marvell it was relatively easy to get access to Dutch theological texts.⁷⁹⁴

In Milton's case, we find some direct engagement with Dutch theologians, even less widely published works. In the *De doctrina Christiana* manuscript,⁷⁹⁵ we find a reference to Gomarus' works on anti-sabbatarianism: 'Atque in hac ferme sentential doctissimos quosque theologorum, Bucerum, Calvinum, Marturem, Musculum, Ursinum, [Gomarum] aliósque video fuisse'.⁷⁹⁶ The name of Gomarus is added later by Milton himself, and written above the other names. In general, Milton's (religious) works are filled with references to European theologians, of which several are Dutch, such as Franciscus Junius, Gisbertus Vossius and Jacobus Arminius.⁷⁹⁷ We can

⁷⁹³ Brian Cowan, 'Millington, Edward (c.1636–1703)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁷⁹⁴ See for the religious exchange between England and the United Provinces, Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), pp. 3-12.

⁷⁹⁵ Hereafter called *De Doctrina*.

⁷⁹⁶ *CPW* (OUP) (2012): VIII (part 2). 1052-1054

⁷⁹⁷ Milton could have read these works in collections, as several religious treatises were bound together. I have, however, been unable to find a copy that has Gomarus' or Arminius' works combined.

conclude that his reading and access to these sources by Dutch theologians was extensive.

There is one person that is worth specific mention in this context: John Hales, a fellow at Eton until 1649. For both Milton and Marvell he functioned as a learned example of Arminianism. As chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton, Hales was present at the Synod of Dort, of which he later famously said, ‘there, I bid John Calvin good-night’.⁷⁹⁸ His account of the Synod of Dort was translated into Dutch (*Korte historie van het synode van Dordrecht, vervatende eenige aenmerkelyke en noyt voor-henen ontdekte bysonderheden*) and went through six editions in 1671 and 1672. He was a supporter of toleration, following in the footsteps of Erasmus, Richard Hooker and Hugo Grotius, and often accused of Socinianism.⁷⁹⁹ After all, in both England and the United Provinces, Calvinists were quick to understand the polemical value of accusing an opponent of being Socinian. Hales was still a fellow at the time that Milton lived in Horton, five miles away.⁸⁰⁰ Milton may have had access to the library at Eton; whether this was owned by Hales himself or he was merely closely involved cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but it included many books on Arminianism. Works on the controversy between Arminius and Gomarus during the time of the Synod of Dort were especially well represented (and some were even in Dutch).⁸⁰¹ Access to this

⁷⁹⁸ John Hales, *Golden Remains* (London: 1659), sig. A4v.

⁷⁹⁹ It is difficult to determine the exact nature of Hales’ religious convictions, as he had connections with all different denominations, and was acquainted with the Tew Circle, including William Chillingworth, who had some associations with Socinianism; see Nigel Smith, ‘Best, Biddle and Anti-Trinitarian Heresy’, in *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, ed. by David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 160-184 (p. 163); Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: the Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 81-83; Basil Greenslade, ‘Hales, John (1584–1656)’, *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸⁰⁰ Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 88, 104.

⁸⁰¹ William Poole, ‘Analysing a Private Library, with a Shelflist Attributable to John Hales of Eton, c. 1624’, in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books and the Production of Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015): 41-65 (pp. 52-59).

particular library in Eton would have exposed Milton to Arminianism in the 1630s, early on in his literary career. Hales also has some connections with Marvell. As private tutor to William Dutton, Marvell was a private servant at Eton.⁸⁰² It was at the household of Lady Salter of Richings Lodge that Marvell became acquainted with Hales, though the latter was no longer a fellow of Eton as a result of his support for the king. It was an important connection for Marvell, as Arminianism during the 1650s had previously undergone a rapid decline, due to the efforts of high-placed Calvinists in Cromwell's regime.⁸⁰³ Marvell would later on in his *Rehearsal Transpros'd* remember Hales and their conversations: 'Tis one Mr. Hales of Eaton, a most learned Divine, and one of the Church of England, and most remarkable for his sufferings in the late times, and his Christian patience under them [...] as I account it no small honour to have grown up into some part of his Acquaintance and convers'd a while with the living remains of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom', and refers to a work by him, *Tract concerning Schism*, he read many years ago.⁸⁰⁴

So far, access to Dutch theological sources in England has been discussed, but not English theological traffic the other way.⁸⁰⁵ As argued in the previous chapter, the amount of translation from English into Dutch was relatively small when it came to poetical works, but English religious prose works were readily available in the

⁸⁰² Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: the Chameleon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 110-111.

⁸⁰³ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church', in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Zutphen: Walburg Institute, 1994): 68-83 (p. 69).

⁸⁰⁴ *PWAM*: I. 130. Hales himself was an interesting figure in terms of Anglo-Dutch relations. In his *Golden Remains* (1659) (p. 276), he described his discovery of Dutch genre painting, which could be used 'as a model for the writing of history', Basil Greenslade, 'Hales, John (1584-1656)', *ONDB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸⁰⁵ Keith Sprunger's book, *Dutch Puritanism*, examines the immense influence of English and Scottish immigrants in the Netherlands up until the Glorious Revolution. His study looks at churches in the major cities, as well as discussing the effects English synods had and the wars on the Dutch religious milieu. Another book examining the international character of Calvinism is by Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), who focusses in particular on identifying the spread of Calvinism and the fluidity of the early modern religious culture.

Netherlands.⁸⁰⁶ The tracts were often first printed in the original Latin (or English), but then translated, see for example Wilhelmus Perkins' *Een tractaet van de vrye genaede Gods, ende vrye wille des menschen* (1611) (translated from William Perkins, *A C[hristian] and [plain]e treatise of the manner and order of predestination : and of the largenes of Gods grace* (1606)). Note that predestination in the English title is translated into free will in the Dutch, emphasising the polemic value of the term predestination in the United Provinces and abroad. Several works of John Dury in Latin (such as *De pace ecclesiastica inter evangelicos procuranda sententiæ quatuor*) can be found in the Dutch archives as well as works by James Ussher in Latin, which demonstrates the versatility of the exchange. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrims Progress* (1678) was shortly afterwards translated into Dutch (*Eens christens reyse na de eeuwigheyt* (1683)), as well as some works by Richard Baxter in Dutch translation. These are merely some examples of the mutual exchange of religious texts between the United Provinces and England, but there is another illustration of how controversial religious texts were brought to the Dutch Republic in the hope of finding willing printers and publishers that could not be found in England, such as in the case of the manuscript of *De doctrina Christiana*.⁸⁰⁷

There are interesting links between the United Provinces and the history of the *De doctrina Christiana*'s intended publication. Daniel Skinner, whether he was given the manuscript or took it himself after Milton's death, recognised the heretical content of the tract and decided to send it, together with some of Milton's state papers, to Daniel

⁸⁰⁶ Cornelis W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), pp. 118-124; E. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists: A Study of the Early English and Dutch Dictionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁸⁰⁷ In this thesis Milton's authorship of *De Doctrina christiana* is assumed, following the close research of Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie, in *Milton and the Manuscript of De Doctrina Christiana* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Elzevier – who with his cousin Lodewijk Elzevier was the most controversial publisher of the Elzevier family - and who had a printing business in Amsterdam.⁸⁰⁸ The state papers in the meantime had already been published by the Dutch publisher Blaeu, without any mention of printer, bookseller, or place of publication;⁸⁰⁹ how Blaeu got hold of the state papers is as yet unknown.⁸¹⁰ After printing, Skinner intended to distribute the tract and state papers in England, which is a good illustration of how the English used Dutch print culture for publishing controversial material in their own country. Skinner's intent is confirmed by an anonymous informant writing to Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State: 'he is resolved to print [Mr. Milton's writing on the Civil & Ecclesiastical Government of the Kingdom] and to that purpose is gone into Holland and intends to print it at Leyden⁸¹¹ (and at this present is either there or at Nemequen) and then to bring and disperse the copys in England'.⁸¹² After consulting with the Remonstrant Phillip van Limborch, the Arianism in the tract led to it being rejected for publication, including the state papers.⁸¹³ Although this is only one case-study, some general conclusions about the religious exchange between England and the United Provinces can be drawn: for controversial texts, Dutch printing and publication culture was the place to go, after which the copies could be distributed in the country of origin. As a result, there was a wide array of religious texts from Europe available

⁸⁰⁸ See Chapter II for more details about the Elzevier family.

⁸⁰⁹ Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie, p. 14.

⁸¹⁰ We do know after Kelley's work that this edition was published in Amsterdam, and that Blaeu was responsible for publishing it: Maurice Kelley, 'Letter in Times Literary Supplement', (29 April 1960), p. 273.

⁸¹¹ Interesting to note is that the informant, too, is not aware of the multiple printing businesses that the Elzevier family had, and although Elzevier's main press was in Leiden, Daniel Elzevier was based in Amsterdam. Daniel Skinner himself was aware of this and refers to Elzevier at Amsterdam in his letter (18 Oct 1676) (PRO SP 29/386, fol. 96), qtd. in Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie, p. 14.

⁸¹² Anonymous, 'Letter to Joseph Williamson', Longleat, Marquis of Bath Collection: Coventry Papers, f. 60.

⁸¹³ As Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie note, it is important to know that Van Limborch was a Remonstrant, especially sensitive to Arianism, as they were often wrongly accused of the latter, p. 7.

within the United Provinces; there was, however, also a limit to this toleration, as Daniel Elzevier refused to publish Milton's treatise on the basis of its heretical content.

Both writers were operating in a continental scene, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, and they showed direct engagement with Dutch theologians – Arminius, Gomarus, Episcopius and Grotius to mention a few.⁸¹⁴ English Arminianism was substantially different from Dutch Arminianism. In the late 1620s and 30s, Arminianism was introduced in earnest into England, to some degree the consequence of three Arminian Archbishops of York in succession: George Montaigne [Mountain] (1628), Samuel Harsnett (1628-31) and Richard Neile (1632-40).⁸¹⁵ The Archbishopric of Canterbury was soon also taken by another Arminian, the previous Bishop of London, William Laud (1573-1645). Laud proved to be a central figure in the aggressive promotion of English Arminianism.⁸¹⁶ It was during these decades that English and Dutch Arminianism diverged; English Arminianism became a polemic term for everything that was not orthodox Calvinist, rather than representative of the

⁸¹⁴ Stephen Fallon has already made the distinction between Dutch and English Arminianism in his perceptive chapter 'Elect above the rest': Theology as Self-Representation in Milton', in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. by Stephen B. Dobranski and John Rumrich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 93-116 (p. 94-95).

⁸¹⁵ Whether Neile was an Arminian or not is a difficult point, as in some of his work he shows intimate knowledge of the five points of Calvinism as determined in the Synod of Dort, but accepts a Beza influenced version thereof, instead of Remonstrantism. Yet he played a very important role in the support of Laud, leading to the latter's rise, see Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 272-286; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 181.

⁸¹⁶ As David R. Como has shown, Laud often used informal hearings to 'bully' Calvinist ministers into avoiding the topic of predestination and free will, on threat of imprisonment, 'Predestination and Political Conflict in Laud's London', *The Historical Journal*, 46.2 (2003): 263-94 (p. 283). The rise of Laudanism is a complex development, and there is a great wealth of secondary material on the topic. Just to mention a few: Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) (for an individual case of Laudian conversion); Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006) (for a complete account of the transformation of the Anglican Church under the leadership of Laud); E.C.E Bourne, *The Anglicanism of William Laud* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946) (For a (somewhat dated) narrative on the political rise of Laud); Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch* (London: Routledge, 1983); Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) (for overviews of Charles I role in the assistance of Laud); and Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) (for the ideological aspect of Laud's rise).

teachings of Arminius, hence Nicholas Tyacke's use of the term anti-Calvinists for English Arminians.⁸¹⁷ Dutch Arminianism concerned the individual's responsibility for salvation, whereas ritualized worship in a communal sense with an emphasis on the role of the clergy (especially in the Church of Laud) became a prominent characteristic of the Arminian movement in England. This was satirised by Marvell in the *Rehearsal Transpros'd*: 'the Table set Altar-wise, and to be called the Altar, Candles, Crucifixes, Paintings, Images, Copes, bowing to the East, bowing to the Altar, and so many several Cringes & Genuflections, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a Dancing-Master and a Remembrancer'.⁸¹⁸

Moreover, English Arminianism had a monarchical aspect to it, since they accused Calvinists of being 'theocrats and in consequence disloyal to the throne', a conversation that did not take place in the United Provinces.⁸¹⁹ Later, in the 1650s, as a result of the Civil War, and the placement of extreme Calvinists in high positions, such as John Owen – in the 1650s Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell – the progress of English Arminianism was slowed.⁸²⁰ As Smith has argued, Owen believed that Protestantism needed 'strict and relatively narrow parameters', which led to Owen's version of Independency and strict Calvinism, excluding Arminianism, Socinianism and all forms of Anti-Trinitarianism.⁸²¹ After the Restoration, Arminianism flourished in a manner unprecedented.⁸²² The term

⁸¹⁷ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, passim.

⁸¹⁸ *PWAM*: I. 188-189; Mortimer argues that English Calvinism was much less strict than its Dutch sister of Calvinism, and English Socinianism was not the same as Dutch Socinianism. The boundaries between different protestant religions appear to have been more fluid in England: Mortimer, pp. 42-43.

⁸¹⁹ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 246

⁸²⁰ In the 1640s, there was a rise in sectarian manifestations of Antinomianism, a more extreme version of Calvinism that claimed that the Law of Moses is no longer necessary for the elect, further pushing Arminianism into the background (Tyacke, 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church', p. 69).

⁸²¹ Smith, 'Best, Biddle and Anti-Trinitarian Heresy', p. 163.

⁸²² Tyacke's article on the rise of Arminianism after the Restoration, especially the account of Arminianism in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, is illuminating: 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church', pp. 68-83

Arminianism in this chapter is used in direct opposition to Calvinism, rather than to denote everything non-Calvinist. This is how the term was used in a seventeenth-century context, which is visible in John Owen's *A Display of Arminianism* (1643), Hugo Grotius' *In Ordinum Hollandiae Westfrisiae Pietas* (1613), and also in Milton's own work *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1644). In this chapter, I will use the terms Arminianism and Calvinism with their Dutch connotations, since both Milton and Marvell were aware of the distinctions between Dutch and English uses, and deployed the terms in the former sense.

Toleration in Milton and Marvell

As I have shown in Chapter III, religious toleration in the United Provinces was indissolubly connected to Arminianism, and the intolerance that was the outcome of the Synod of Dort became illustrative of Calvinism in Reformed Europe.⁸²³ The Arminian religious outlook was structurally connected with a tolerationist view, which means it is imperative to understand Milton's and Marvell's views on toleration in order to understand the impact of Arminianism in their works.

Milton, during his involvement with the English Commonwealth, and Marvell through his travels and later diplomatic duties, were able to witness the different approaches to toleration in Europe. Compared to countries such as the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania and the United Provinces, which both had religious toleration written into their constitutions, England was only moderately tolerationist.⁸²⁴ This was partly the result of the rise and decline of Arminianism throughout the seventeenth

⁸²³ Tyacke, 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church' pp. 69-70.

⁸²⁴ Smith, 'Milton and the European Contexts of Religion', p. 24.

century. Even though English and Dutch Arminianism drifted further apart during the seventeenth century, English Arminianism after the Restoration became again associated with toleration, a link that had been lost in the 1630s under Laud. As mentioned in Chapter III, Dutch toleration permitted silent freedom of mind and belief within outward conformity, but this certainly did not extend to the practise or acceptance of dissent. This was not the result of ideological principles, but the conclusion that full religious toleration was simply not compatible with political stability, something that was clearly demonstrated in the strife of the 1610s. Interestingly, Dutch toleration was very similar to Charles II's desired toleration in the 1670s after his Declaration of Indulgence (1672), in which Non-Conformists were invited to apply for a license that would permit public worship, and Roman Catholics encouraged to worship within their private houses alone (a liberty which would potentially be extended later as part of Charles' Catholic agenda).⁸²⁵ It is not implausible that Charles' idea of toleration was influenced by his time as an exile in the United Provinces.

The two streams of religious toleration in the United Provinces after the Synod of Dort, namely Arminian toleration and Republican toleration, had their English counterparts (outlined in Table 2 below). As we have seen earlier, the English Arminian toleration movement grew out of the Dutch tradition, after which it became a new form of Arminianism, and relatively intolerant in the Church of Laud of the 1630s. English republican toleration was formed in the 1640s and 50s, and thus before the Dutch tradition; yet, both were and remained relatively similar.⁸²⁶ The Arminian tradition

⁸²⁵ Keith W.F. Staveland, 'Preface to *Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration*', in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vols. 8 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), vol. 8: 408-415 (p. 408).

⁸²⁶ Jonathan I. Israel, 'Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought', in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship, and Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994): 13-41 (16).

found fertile soil in England, in particular in the intellectual and tolerant circles of the Cambridge Platonists and the Tew Group in Oxford, perhaps most clearly in the works of John Hales and William Chillingworth.⁸²⁷ Both these circles were in contact with Dutch Remonstrants at the time, as we can see in a letter from the Dutch Remonstrant Arnold Poelenburg to Isaac Vossius (1664), sending greetings to Pierce at Oxford University and Gunning and More at Cambridge University.⁸²⁸ Through Hales, both Milton and Marvell may have been exposed to this type of Dutch Arminian toleration.

Country:	Period:	Tolerationist Tradition:	Prominent followers:
United Provinces	1620s-30s	Arminian Toleration	Arminius, Grotius, Episcopius
England	1640s	English Republican Toleration partly based on Grotius's works	Milton, Roger Williams
England	1660s	Mixture of all three	Marvell
United Provinces	1670s	Dutch Republican Toleration	Spinoza, De la Court brothers
England and United Provinces	1680s	Combination of both republican traditions	Locke

Table 2: Tolerationist Traditions

The lack of toleration in the early seventeenth century in the United Provinces and its unstable religious situation led to an explosion of texts on liberty of conscience and practise. We see a similar movement in England during the tumultuous 1640s and 60s, especially after the Blasphemy Ordinances in 1648 and the *Clarendon Code* in the early half of the 1660s. This is closely connected to radical discussions on freedom of speech, as liberty of religious conscience is difficult to separate from liberty of expression. Marvell and Milton both participated in these waves of tolerationist writing; Milton with his most outspoken *Areopagitica* in 1644 and *Of True Religion, Heresy,*

⁸²⁷ Mortimer, p. 64; H. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth-Century Essays* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), pp. 166-230.

⁸²⁸ Tyacke, 'Arminianism and the Restoration Church', p. 72.

Schism, Toleration; and what best means may be used against the Growth of Popery in 1673, and Marvell's prose works, especially his *Rehearsal Transpros'd, part I and II*, responding to the four acts of the 1660s. In his *Rehearsal Transpros'd, part I*, Marvell satirises 'Mr. Bayes' aversion to the press, joining Milton in an argument in favour of freedom of the press.⁸²⁹ Interestingly enough, Marvell uses the example of a 'bulky' Dutch printer, Laurens Koster, who was allegedly the inventor of the printing art.⁸³⁰ As Arminius, Episcopius and Grotius had argued before, a free intellectual discussion, in print, manuscript and orally, on multiple readings of the scripture leads to similar interpretations of the essential doctrinal issues; this was later to be echoed by Christopher Potter and John Hales in England.⁸³¹

Annabel Patterson writes in the introduction to Marvell's prose that his works discussing toleration can be seen as a bridge between Milton's *Areopagitica* and Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), 'if one acknowledges that a theory of toleration between Protestants was for all three of these writers quite compatible with politically motivated anti-Catholicism'.⁸³² I suggest that rather than seeing the transition between these three tolerationists as a chronological movement, a better explanation would be an acknowledgement of a shared Dutch influence – in particular these two streams of Dutch tolerationist thinking. For this reason, I attempt to show traces of Dutch Arminian toleration and Dutch republican toleration in Milton's and Marvell's works.

⁸²⁹ *PWAM*: I. 44-46.

⁸³⁰ *PWAM*: I. 46.

⁸³¹ Christopher Potter (1590?-1646) was dean of Worcester when he was accused of Arminianism and Pelagianism as a result of his ties with Bishop Laud: J. Hegarty, 'Potter, Christopher (1590/91-1646)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸³² Patterson, 'Introduction', vol. I: xi-liv (xxxiv).

During the seventeenth century, an interesting exchange of different religious tolerationist traditions can be found between England and the United Provinces, two countries in which the debate about toleration was most intense and far-reaching.⁸³³ Milton's *Areopagitica* can be seen as one of the first English texts written in the republican tolerationist tradition. It asks for full Protestant toleration, but nevertheless still excludes Catholicism completely. Similarly to the Republican tradition in the Dutch Republic, Milton argued that the state and the church were completely different institutions, with a different foundation, and should therefore not be allowed to regulate one another:

But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrain'd by a discipline imitated from the Prelats, and learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the brest of a licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men.⁸³⁴

The toleration in this case is not based on approval or rejection of the state or the church, but on constant discussion of the scripture, which is exactly what Arminius, too, tried to encourage. This discussion of multiple interpretations of the scripture ought to lead to an agreement on the key doctrines of Protestantism. It is from this point that Milton deviates from those who tried to establish peace within a universal church, such as Grotius:

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest

⁸³³ Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 147.

⁸³⁴ *CPW*: II. 541.

and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men, to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own hands again.⁸³⁵

The power therefore does not lie with the theologians as Arminius would have it, but with the common man, the individual, in learned discussion; state and church follow this discussion, rather than precede it with ordinances.

Milton's ideas on toleration did not alter a great deal in the thirty years between *Areopagitica* and *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration* (1673). *Areopagitica*'s strong emphasis on free speech in order to strengthen the establishment of truth is re-uttered in *Of Religion*: 'There is no Learned but will confess he hath much profuited by reading Controversies, his Senses awakt, his Judgment sharpn'd, and the truth which he holds more firmly establish't'.⁸³⁶ Critics have striven to find a mellowing of Milton's attitude towards Catholicism in his tolerationist prose works, but *Of Religion* proves quite the opposite. Unlike Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd, Parts I and II*, Milton did not write this tract in favour of Charles II's Act of Indulgence, as he argued that it opened the door to Catholicism.⁸³⁷ Presbyterians also receive consistent hostile treatment in the majority of Milton's works (with the exception of the anti-episcopal tracts). *Of Religion* does not have any direct reference to either Charles' act or Parliament's response in the Test Act,⁸³⁸ but the spine of the poem is an attack on Catholicism, to which some core values of Protestant toleration are summarily attached.

⁸³⁵ CPW: II: 554.

⁸³⁶ CPW: VIII: 437-438

⁸³⁷ Reuben Marquez Sanchez, 'The Worst of Supersitions': Milton's *Of True Religion* and the Issue of Religious Tolerance'', *Prose Studies*, 9 (1986): 21-38.

⁸³⁸ Staveland's persuasive argument that Milton's tract was written after the Test Act had been passed by parliament is based on Milton's confidence in the magistrates and the fact that he does not make his own recommendations for what should be done (CPW: VIII. 430, note 55).

The Test Act was based on Anglican doctrinal articles, which meant that Anti-Trinitarianism was excluded from the proposed toleration, and the act, moreover, compromised the position of some English Dissenters (which was later compensated for in the bill for the Ease of Protestant Dissenters).⁸³⁹ Milton similarly refers often to Anglican documents and writers, while showing some sympathy for Non-Conformists. However, he made use only of those sources that present Socinianism and Anti-Trinitarianism as not heretical per se, as long as all these Protestant schisms maintain the same principle doctrines.

The Pharisees and Saduces were two sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God At Jerusalem. But here the Papist will angrily demand, what! Are Lutherans, Calvinists, Arnabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no Hereticks? I answer, all these may have errors, but are no Hereticks. Heresie is in the Will and choice profestly against Scripture; error is against the Will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly: Hence it was said well by one of the Ancients, Err I may, but a Heretick I will not be.⁸⁴⁰

Even if Milton does not agree with some or all of their theological interpretations, he still maintains that these authors were not heretical, but ‘Learned, Worthy, Zealous, and Religious Men’, ‘perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblameable in their lives’.⁸⁴¹ In Milton’s toleration, the revivers of these sects were free to interpret the scripture and arrive at different (if sometimes wrong) conclusions, as long as this all took place within a Protestant framework. These ideas were compatible with Arminius’, and, indeed, Grotius’ ideas on toleration; Hales, too, uses this argument in *A Tract Concerning Schism* (1642).⁸⁴² Milton’s list of all these schisms does not reveal his

⁸³⁹ Stavely, ‘Preface to *Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration*’, p. 413; Lieb, *The Theological Milton*, p. 236.

⁸⁴⁰ CPW: VIII: 423.

⁸⁴¹ CPW: VIII: 426.

⁸⁴² John Hales, *A Tract Concerning Schism (1642)*, pp. 23-24.

preference for any of the sects or any personal allegiance,⁸⁴³ and each of them receives a certain justification of the accusations commonly levelled at them (such as Calvinism making God the author of Sin, and Arminians ignoring God's grace).⁸⁴⁴

Although Milton was one of the prominent writers in the English Republican toleration tradition, his vision on toleration is more limited than its counterpart in the United Provinces in the 1660s, even compared to his contemporary tolerationist writer Roger Williams.⁸⁴⁵ The strict Calvinist Williams argued for full toleration, including Catholics, a version of which he had realised on Rhode Island.⁸⁴⁶ As shown in Chapter III, Spinoza and De la Courts always maintained that toleration had to be free within Christianity and Judaism as a whole, which included Catholicism: Milton's complete toleration by contrast extends only to forms of Protestantism.⁸⁴⁷ What they do share, though, and what is absent in Marvell (as we shall see below) is a complete division between the Church and the State. Milton argued in *Of Religion* that making religion political leads to usurpation, as among popes in the past.⁸⁴⁸ As early as 1644, English tolerationists such as Roger Williams and Thomas Collier had argued for a complete separation of state and church, almost fifteen years before their Dutch counterparts. This stress on separation means that a national church in which the faiths

⁸⁴³ Sometimes the list that Milton provides, with a short explanation of their alleged scriptural fallacies, is used as a way to understand Milton's degree of allegiance to any of them at the end of his life, see for example Radzinowicz, p. 316. I would argue that it is a stretch to derive at such conclusions from this short extract, since he gives a justification for each of them, and they are used in an argument on toleration, not in a testimony of his own religious preference, which would defeat the purpose of the tract altogether.

⁸⁴⁴ Michael Lieb, *The Theological Milton: Deity, Discourse and Heresy in the Miltonic Canon* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2006), p. 241.

⁸⁴⁵ In the middle of the seventeenth century Roger Williams in his *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience, Discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace* (London: 1644) had written that heathen and Judaic sects should be allowed to 'live without molestation' and state persecution, Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 235.

⁸⁴⁶ Thomas N. Corns, 'Milton, Roger Williams, and Limits of Toleration', in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. by Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 72-85 (p. 76).

⁸⁴⁷ Smith, 'Milton and the European Contexts of Toleration', p. 30.

⁸⁴⁸ CPW: VII. 429.

are united, even within a tolerant environment, is not part of Milton's concept of what toleration should be.⁸⁴⁹

When Marvell travelled through the Netherlands in the early 1640s, he would have witnessed the aftermath of the Arminian toleration movement that flourished in the 1620s, led by Simon Episcopius. We know from his poem 'The Character of Holland' that he was aware of it, when he satirically describes the religious freedom in Amsterdam:

Sure when religion did itself embark,
And from the east would westward steer its ark,
It struck, and splitting on this unknown ground,
Each one hence pillaged the first piece he found:
Hence Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of sects and mints of schism grew;
That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion finds but credit, and exchange.
In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear;
The universal Church is only there.

(ll. 67-76)

In *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, Marvell directly comments on the position of the Arminians in the Church of England and the Grotian Church, and their toleration. As Dzelzainis and Patterson note, Marvell saw the rise of Arminianism in the 1630s under the leadership of Laud as one of the main factors that resulted in the Civil War.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁹ Von Maltzahn, 'Milton, Marvell and Toleration', p. 98.

⁸⁵⁰ Arminianism was rapidly introduced into the English Church in the 1630s under the leadership of Laud; in return the English Arminians swore absolute loyalty to the crown. When some of Laud's liturgy was forced upon the Presbyterian Scots, a rebellion broke out, ending Charles I's personal rule, leading to the Civil War: Patterson, 'Introduction', pp. 16-18. Although some historians still follow a version of this theory on the Civil War, such as Tyacke (*Anti-Calvinists*), others such as Peter White (*Predestination, Policy and Polemic*) have written against it.

However, the editors do not make a distinction between Dutch Arminianism and English, which is important in terms of toleration.⁸⁵¹ Marvell himself does make this distinction in the tract, emphasising that Dutch Arminianism was introduced into the English church with a very different reason, namely to accommodate monarchy and episcopacy: '[i]t was Arminianism, which though it were the Republican Opinion there, and so odious to King James that it helped on the death of Barnevelt, yet now undertook to accommodate it to Monarchy and Episcopacy'.⁸⁵² From the outset, Dutch Arminianism promoted toleration, in which orthodox Calvinists and Arminians could still be part of the same Dutch Reformed church. The Arminian tradition has at its heart an essential emphasis on the divine and universal truth in every Christian religion, including Catholicism and even Judaism, an emphasis which could only occur when free debate on these issues was allowed.⁸⁵³ All other things such as ceremony, church rituals and liturgy were pushed to the periphery of Christianity, in which opinion could differ and would not obstruct the universal church. This is radically different from the intolerance that Laud showed with his insistence on ceremony, and hinted at in his attitude towards the Puritans, as Marvell describes:

And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the sober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were so exceeding *pragmatical*, so intolerably ambitious, and so desperately proud, that scarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their Mules. [...] For the English have been always very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to say) no less of their Reputation.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵¹ Surprisingly, this distinction is also absent from other books on the period dealing with Anglo-Dutch relations, such as Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁸⁵² *PWAM*: I. 189.

⁸⁵³ See Chapter III for a more extensive description of the toleration that the Arminians promoted.

⁸⁵⁴ *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, *PWAM*: I. 190.

Furthermore, in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, Marvell uses Hales' *Tract Concerning Schism*, which displays a Dutch-influenced vision of toleration, as a counter-point to Samuel Parker's 'intemperate excess'.⁸⁵⁵ So it is English Arminianism and its intolerance that Marvell rejects.

Did he then endorse the toleration that the Dutch Arminians in the 1620s and 30s promoted, under the leadership of Grotius and Episcopius? No, in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, he also condemns Grotius, as an extreme version of the toleration that Arminius promoted: 'For, in fact, that incomparable Person Grotius did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to cover over; or at least laid some of our considerable passes open to them and unguarded'.⁸⁵⁶ In Grotius' works of the 1610s and 20s, especially *Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae pietas* (1611), *De satisfactione* (an explanation that Arminianism is far removed from Socinianism) and *De veritate religionis christianae* (1627) (first published in Dutch as *Bewijs van den Ware Godsdienst* (1622)), he envisaged a united church that shared essential doctrines, but with individual denominations that could maintain their differing, non-essential, articles of faith; this church included Judaism and Catholicism, as these believed fundamentally in the same God and his creation. Grotius had corresponded about his ambition to create a united church with Laud and thought that the Church of England was the best option for realising such an irenic plan.⁸⁵⁷ Grotius' approach to toleration had opened the door to Catholicism in the Church of England, which was, according to Marvell, inviting 'the

⁸⁵⁵ N. H. Keeble, 'Why Transpose the Rehearsal?', in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999): 249-268 (p. 264).

⁸⁵⁶ *PWAM*: I. 63.

⁸⁵⁷ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Hugo Grotius and England', in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship, and Art in the Seventeenth-Century* (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994): 42-67 (52-61).

Enemy to cover over'.⁸⁵⁸ Marvell was not as outspokenly anti-Catholic as Milton.⁸⁵⁹

This can be observed in the response of the Catholic Earl of Castlemaine in his praise of Marvell and hostility towards Milton.⁸⁶⁰ However, it is safe to say that Marvell also did not support Grotian toleration.

The Republican tolerationists were prominent in the United Provinces at the time of Marvell's later poetry and prose. The difference with the Arminian tradition is that the Republicans thought that toleration could only occur if it was accommodated by complete political freedom; one could not exist without the other, an extreme anti-Erastian view. Marvell's famous reflection on the Civil War becomes even more poignant when applying it to the political and religious tumult in the Netherlands in the 1610s and 1620s and the 1670s, as well as to the English situation:

Whether it were a War of Religion or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which-soever was at the top, the other was at the bottom; but upon considering all, I think the Cause was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have trusted God; they ought and might have trusted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the church are Prayers and Tears*, the Arms of the Subjects are Patience and Petitions. The king himself being of so accurate and piercing a judgment, would soon have felt where it stuck. For men may spare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faster for our driving. Even as his present Majesty's happy Restauration did it self; so all things else happen in their best and proper time, without any need of our officiousness.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁸ *PWAM*: I. 63.

⁸⁵⁹ Marvell's *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* can be used as a counter-argument that Marvell was anti-Catholic, but as Von Maltzahn has argued, this tract is more an attack on the state of Rome rather than the Church and is concerned with France as well, Von Maltzahn, 'Milton, Marvell and Toleration', p. 90.

⁸⁶⁰ Martin Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Earl of Castlemaine', in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999): 290-312 (p. 203).

⁸⁶¹ *PWAM*: I. 192.

At no point does Marvell support complete freedom for either state or religion. Stability is the most important thing, and only within can that freedom, including liberty of consciousness, have its place. Freedom without stability is unsustainable, which goes for both religion and politics. This stability could only be established when there was some sort of regulation, by the court, parliament or the Church. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke – although heavily influenced by the republican tolerationist Spinoza – argues that even if the natural liberty of man is to be free from any power, civil society requires legislative power established by the consent of one commonwealth.⁸⁶² This conception of liberty is more limited than that of the Dutch Republican tolerationists, and closer to Marvell. Marvell was likewise not against some sort of leadership; after all, the *Rehearsal Transpos'd* is written in defence of the Court and not in the name of general liberty.⁸⁶³ The king, too, promoted liberty, although he was in this not supported by the Cavalier parliament and the Church of England. Charles II's suspension of laws against dissenters (March 1662) cut a link between church and state, something that the Anglican Parker, with an Erastian approach to toleration, did not support.⁸⁶⁴ Marvell does protest against the tyrannical exercise of state power that Parker promotes, but is not against a moderate Erastian approach to state and church. The Dutch Republican tradition saw the church and state as two completely separate entities, and put freedom before stability, in the hope that the former would lead to the latter.

Examining traces of principles associated with Dutch toleration in Milton's and Marvell's works demonstrates that the exchange worked two ways, and that the

⁸⁶² John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London: Everyman's Library, 1978), p. 127.

⁸⁶³ Keeble, 'Why Transpose the Rehearsal?', p. 252.

⁸⁶⁴ Jon Parkin, 'Liberty Transpos'd: Andrew Marvell and Samuel Parker', in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. by Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzetzainis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999): 269-289 (p. 270).

different tolerationist movements, whether English or Dutch, are difficult to separate; hence highlighting the close intellectual connections between both nations. Marvell displays a mixture of multiple traditions. Within toleration, one is allowed to disagree with another, even ignore differences, constructing a society with an emphasis on private practise within a secular state, as we saw in the rejection of the Dutch Republican toleration tradition and Spinoza's and De la Courts' vision of the state: freedom of thought within an Erastian society, with an emphasis on personal conscience.⁸⁶⁵ Unity in Marvell's toleration was always more important than conformity. In contrast, Milton's toleration thrives on dialogue, debate, agreement and disagreement, taking place in a public, uncensored sphere, towards the construction of the truth, and a rejection of the falsehoods of Catholicism. Between these calls for dialogue and unity, however, neither Milton nor Marvell go as far as the Dutch Arminians in the acceptable breadth of universal essential doctrines; neither would follow Grotius and the Dutch republican tradition, for instance, in admitting Judaism into the same sphere of worship.

Arminianism in Milton and Marvell

Milton and Marvell were thus tolerant of different denominations within a Protestant framework. The progress of Arminianism relied heavily on such a tolerationist view. Although neither author experienced the unrest caused by the debate between Gomarus and Arminius in the United Provinces in the 1610s and 1620s personally, they will have seen the rise of English Arminianism first-hand. They read texts that directly dealt with the Synod of Dort, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Moreover, Milton personally met

⁸⁶⁵ Von Maltzahn, 'Milton, Marvell and Toleration', p. 86.

Grotius in Paris, who was deeply involved with the Dutch religious situation. Marvell travelled through the United Provinces, just over two decades after the Synod of Dort, when Episcopius and others still published texts on toleration and Remonstrantism. Cromwell once said to Colonel Robert Hammond, ‘Let us look into providences, surely they mean somewhat’.⁸⁶⁶ I will now set out on a similar endeavour and look at Dutch Arminianism in the works of Milton and Marvell.

Arminius’ theology on predestination and free will, as discussed in Chapter III, features prominently in several of Milton’s works. At the end of the previous chapter, I briefly mentioned some Arminian resonances in Milton’s account of the creation in *Paradise Lost*. As noted above, Milton’s theological convictions altered throughout his life and this is also visible in his Arminianism. It is likely that Milton’s family attended a Laudian chapel in the 1630s, when Laudian Arminianism was at its height.⁸⁶⁷ Traces of this sympathy can perhaps be found in *Comus* (1634); in Campbell’s and Corns’ words: ‘the most complex and thorough expression of Laudian Arminianism and Laudian style within the Milton oeuvre, and, indeed, the high water mark of his indulgence of such beliefs and values’.⁸⁶⁸ This involves not only an emphasis on ceremony and sacrament, but also some Arminian ideas of salvation within the masque: throughout the masque, providence is presented as undetermined and un-fixed, even in the case of the character of Comus himself:

[...] In a place
Less warranted than this, or less secure

⁸⁶⁶ Qtd. in Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. xvii.

⁸⁶⁷ Edward Jones, ‘Milton’s Life, 1608-1640’, in *The Oxford Handbook of John Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 3-25 (p. 14); Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie, p. 114.

⁸⁶⁸ Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, p. 84. See for a different reading of *Comus*, Cedric C. Brown, *John Milton’s Aristocratic Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 57-77, who interprets the Ludlow Masque as a Reformation (almost Calvinist) text with an emphasis on morality and providence.

I cannot be, that I should fear to change it,
Eie me blest Providence, and square my triall
To my proportion'd strength. Shepherd lead on.

(ll. 326-330)

Yet, Nicholas McDowell has argued that Milton did not feel comfortable in the Laudian, baroque style of poetry that featured at Cambridge in the 1620s and 30s, and that 'Lycidas' shows a rejection of Laudian clericalism as well as the ornate poetic style connected with Laud (1637).⁸⁶⁹ If we accept for now that Milton and his family held some Laudian sympathies, it is safe to say that after 1637, Milton was no longer of that persuasion. This though, his early prose works of the 1640s show curiously little criticism of Laud and his Arminianism, even though this was a common feature of anti-prelatical tracts in the early 1640s.⁸⁷⁰ The fact that Arminianism was not a popular topic at that particular moment could serve as an explanation, or that Milton was already too Arminian at this point to 'centre his critique of episcopalianism in doctrine'; or perhaps the fact that his adversary, Joseph Hall, was not an Arminian made the issue inconsequential.⁸⁷¹ As we shall see below, the mature Milton presented clear and outspoken ideas on Arminianism in his works, meaning there was a progression from Anglican Arminianism to Dutch Arminianism sometime in the 30s and 40s.

Perhaps the answer to Milton's silence can be found in his ambiguous ideas on salvation and grace. A change from sacramental Arminianism to Dutch Arminianism would require intimate knowledge of Arminius' *Opera* and his complicated arguments on salvation and grace. In the two works of the 1640s in which Arminius is mentioned,

⁸⁶⁹ Nicholas McDowell, 'How Laudian was the Young Milton?', *Milton Studies*, 52 (2011): 3-22.

⁸⁷⁰ Thomas N. Corns, 'Milton's Antiprelatical Tracts and the Marginality of Doctrine', in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. by Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 39-48 (p. 42).

⁸⁷¹ Corns, 'Milton's Antiprelatical Tracts', pp. 43-44.

Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce (1643) and *Areopagitica* (1644), Milton's conceptions of Calvinism and Arminianism become convoluted. Firstly, in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton associates 'the sect of *Arminius*' with Jesuits who 'are wont to charge us of making God the author of sinne in two degrees especially, not to speak of his permissions', in which the 'us' refers to orthodox Calvinists.⁸⁷² This follows the popular polemic of accusing English Arminians of Catholicism, since both have an emphasis on communal ceremonial worship.⁸⁷³ Secondly in *Areopagitica*, Arminius is presented as being 'perverted' from the Calvinist doctrine by a book – most likely an anonymous tract by Coornhert – he first desired to prove wrong: 't is not forgot since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a namelesse discourse writt'n at Delf, which at first hand he took in hand to confute'.⁸⁷⁴ At the same time, *Areopagitica* shows a passionate defence of free will and toleration, both associated with Arminianism in the seventeenth century.⁸⁷⁵ It appears that during the 1640s, Milton worked to find his place in the theological maze that Arminius and Calvin (as well as many other theologians) had created with their doctrines of grace and salvation; he arrived at a coherent presentation of Arminianism in his mature poetical and prose works. Milton's *Of True Religion* has an interesting passage that demonstrates that Milton had by then read Arminius' works in full: '[t]he Arminian lastly is condemn'd for setting up free will against free grace; but that Imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon the Scripture only'.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷² CPW: II. 293

⁸⁷³ Stephen N. Dobranski, *Milton's Visual Imagination: Imagery in Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 48.

⁸⁷⁴ CPW: II. 519-520.

⁸⁷⁵ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 301.

⁸⁷⁶ CPW: VII. 425-426.

This brings us to the influence of (Dutch) Arminianism seen in his later works, and in particular *Samson Agonistes*, which will be discussed with reference to *De doctrina* and *Paradise Lost*, as further elaborations on ideas of predestination and determinism. Milton's tendency towards Arminianism in his mature religious convictions has been generally accepted by a majority of Milton scholars.⁸⁷⁷ In the main, Milton agrees on three points with Arminius: that grace is offered to all and not limited to a few elect, grace is resistible, and that one's salvation depends on individual free will rather than on divine predestination.⁸⁷⁸ The theological similarities (and disparities) between *De doctrina* and *Paradise Lost* have been extensively discussed as evidence in favour of Milton's Arminianism by Maurice Kelly in the early half of the twentieth century, afterwards supported by scholars such as Dennis Danielson and Stephen Fallon.⁸⁷⁹ Milton's ideas on predestination, and the seeming inconsistency between the theories of salvation – Calvinist in *Paradise Lost* (book III) and Arminian in *De doctrina* – are used as arguments to deny Milton's authorship of the latter.⁸⁸⁰ This at first sight seems undeniable, as the ideas on predestination of Arminius and Calvin (more extreme in Beza, Perkins and Gomarus) are completely incompatible; otherwise the Synod of Dort would never have been necessary.⁸⁸¹ Against such claims, in this

⁸⁷⁷ Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's De doctrina Christiana as a Gloss upon Paradise Lost* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941); Dennis Danielson, *Milton's Good God: A Study in Literary Theodicy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 59; Stephen Fallon, 'Milton's Arminianism and the Authorship of *De doctrina Christiana*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 41.2 (1999): 103-127. A few examples of scholars who argued that Milton perhaps shared some ideas with Arminius, but cannot be called an Arminian, are John Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), pp. 139-140; Paul Sellin, 'John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *De doctrina Christiana* on Predestination', *Milton Studies* 34 (1996): 45-60.

⁸⁷⁸ Stephen Fallon, 'Milton's Arminianism and the Authorship of *De doctrina Christiana*', p. 103.

⁸⁷⁹ Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument*; Dennis Danielson, *Milton's Good God*; and Stephen Fallon, 'Elect above the rest'.

⁸⁸⁰ Look for example to Paul Sellin's article, 'John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *De Doctrina Christiana* on Predestination', pp. 45-60; William B. Hunter, 'The Provenance of the Christian Doctrine', *The English Renaissance* 32.1 (1992): 129-142.

⁸⁸¹ Danielson in *Milton's Good God* does try to find a middle ground in which he uses both ideas on predestination in order to complement each other within Milton's epic. However, there is no real middle ground between Calvin (Beza) and Arminius in their reading of predestination; more, they often arrive at opposite conclusions. Tyacke described a middle way, in which a minority is absolutely elected, with the rest receiving the possibility to save themselves as

chapter, I read *Samson Agonistes* as an Arminian narrative and will demonstrate that this reading will place the seemingly Calvinistic passage in *Paradise Lost* in the same Arminian framework, hence rejecting claims that Milton could not possibly be the author of *De doctrina* on the basis of theological inconsistency.⁸⁸²

Samson Agonistes is a particularly interesting example of Milton's agreement with three Arminian points (grace is universal, grace is resistable, and free will is necessary for salvation). As Fallon has noted before, the biblical Samson presents a more complex view on predestination, namely 'the freedom of even those specifically chosen by God to fall'.⁸⁸³ Samson's story is therefore especially suitable for discussing issues of salvation and divine intervention. This has led to Russell Leo's reading of *Samson Agonistes* in terms of the influence of Calvin's 1559 *Institutio* on the representation of predestination in Milton's dramatic poem.⁸⁸⁴ In his thesis, Leo concludes that Milton strays far from Calvin's and Ames' ideas on election and the Trinity.⁸⁸⁵ However, besides briefly mentioning Arminius and the influence of the Synod of Dort on early modern European theology, he does not discuss the appearance of Arminius' doctrine within Milton's poems (although he does compare Arminius' tract against Perkins with *De doctrina Christiana*).⁸⁸⁶ Leo insightfully describes

long as they accept God's grace (Nicholas Tyacke, 'Arminianism and the Theology of the Restoration Church', p. 72). Milton and Arminius' ideas on the role of the chosen individual but with similar conditions for salvation is not the same as this middle way.

⁸⁸² Some critics have used the passage (Book III, 183-201) from *Paradise Lost* as a sign of Amyraldism (which is further explained below): see N. H. Keeble, 'Introduction', in the *Complete Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Annabel Patterson, 2 vols (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 2003): 381-411 (p. 388) and Nigel Smith, *Chameleon*, p. 129. Amyraldism was still loyal to three of Calvin's five points. In this chapter, I will argue that Milton was instead faithful to four of Arminius' five points.

⁸⁸³ Stephen Fallon, *Milton's Peculiar Grace: Self-representation and Authority* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 250.

⁸⁸⁴ Russel Leo, *Affect before Spinoza: Reformed Faith, Affectus, and Experience*, in *Jean Calvin, John Donne, John Milton and Baruch Spinoza* (Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 2009).

⁸⁸⁵ See Chapter 4 of his thesis: 'The "sense of Heav'n's desertion": *Lustratio*, *Affectus* and God's Special Decree in John Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1671)', pp. 329-383.

⁸⁸⁶ Several works that deal primarily with Milton's theological doctrine completely ignore Arminianism within his work, such as Lieb, *Theological Milton*.

Milton's strong rejection of Perkins' theory (and thus also Gomarus' ideas) on reprobation and election, as well as Arminius' rejection of Perkins, but he does not discuss the similarities in these two rejections.⁸⁸⁷ He goes as far as to state that 'Milton is no Arminian; on the contrary, he adapts and exaggerates Arminius' fourfold division of decrees by introducing the additional Ramist distinction general/special'.⁸⁸⁸ Although Milton does not follow Arminius' theories on reprobation, I will argue that Milton was perhaps not an orthodox Arminian, but that he agreed with Arminius on three main points of predestination. It is, therefore, an Arminian reading of *Samson Agonistes* that I want to propose in this chapter, by following these main points – (peculiar) grace, free will, divine foreknowledge of future faith, and election – as outlined in Chapter III of the thesis.⁸⁸⁹

Samson's narrative concerns an elect individual within an elected group of people – a man chosen by God to liberate the people of Israel from the Philistines. It is a difficult story to fit into Arminian doctrine because of its direct engagement with election and predestined purpose, which the biblical narrative openly demonstrates. The famous opening lines of *Samson Agonistes* – 'A little onward lend thy guiding hand/ to these dark steps, a little further on' (ll. 1-2) – continue the line of providence with which *Paradise Lost* had ended:

The World was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:

⁸⁸⁷ Leo, pp. 380-383.

⁸⁸⁸ Leo, p. 376.

⁸⁸⁹ Calvinist predestination is outlined in five points: Original Sin, Unconditional Election (elected without any input from the person), Irresistible Grace (God's salvation cannot be rejected), Limited Election (only a selected number are saved), Perseverance of the Saints (once saved is always saved). Arminius, on the other hand, believed in Original Sin, Free Will (one's faith is essential for salvation), Resistible Grace (accepting grace in tandem with faith is required), that the extent of election is universal, and that salvation can be lost through the rejection of faith. For a more elaborate discussion of these points, see Chapter III.

They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through *Eden* took their solitary way.

(XII. 646-649)

This dependence by the unseeing on an unseen God and his divine providence as the opening to the poem functions as an introduction to the themes of divine foreknowledge, predestination and election that becomes increasingly prominent in *Samson Agonistes*. As a result, Milton's dramatic poem can be used as a gloss on the problematic passage in Book III of *Paradise Lost*, instead of using *De doctrina* as a gloss on *Paradise Lost* and vice versa, as Kelley and Fallon have done before.⁸⁹⁰ In Book III of the epic, God describes his plan for the salvation for human kind before the Fall has occurred, but he begins his speech with a puzzling view on election, which appears to be orthodox Calvinism:

Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
Elect above the rest; so is my will:
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
The incensed Deity, while offered grace
Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
And I will place within them as a guide
My umpire conscience, whom they will hear,

⁸⁹⁰ Kelley, *This Great Argument*; Stephen Fallon, "Elect above the rest", pp. 93-116.

Light after light well used they shall attain,
And to the end of persisting, safe arrive.
This my long sufferance and my day of grace
They who neglect and scorn shall never taste;
But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;

(III. 183-201)

God seemingly refers here to *peculiar* grace, a term directly associated with Calvin's theories on predestination as we find it in the *Institutes* (later reiterated by Perkins and Gomarus): only a select few will receive grace, which is irresistible, separating mankind into a small group of elect and the rest, the reprobate.⁸⁹¹ Arminius explicitly rejected this view and illustrated in his works that there is only one general type of grace – *common* grace to all – which means salvation as sufficient. Together with personal faith it will lead to salvation as applied, creating a division between those who accept God's grace and the damned who chose to reject it.⁸⁹² Milton, too, argues for grace available to all in *De doctrina*:⁸⁹³ 'There seems, then, to be no particular – but only general – predestination and election, that is, of all those who believe from the heart and persist in believing; no one is predestined or chosen inasmuch as he is Peter or John, but insofar as he believes and perseveres in believing, and then at last the general decree of election is applied to each believer individually and confirmed for those persevering'.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹¹ Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 212-213.

⁸⁹² Fallon, 'Elect above the rest', p. 95.

⁸⁹³ Benjamin Myers, 'Prevenient Grace and Conversion in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Quarterly*, 40.1 (2006): 20-36 (p. 25).

⁸⁹⁴ *CPW* (OUP) (2012): VIII (part 1). 79.

We find a similar conflict between election and common grace in *Samson Agonistes*, in which Samson is introduced as one of the chosen few with an elected life. He is described as both Israelite and as Nazarite, the meaning of the latter name already illustrating a separation from the rest of mankind: ‘I was his nursling once and choice delight, / His destined from the womb, / Promised by heavenly message twice descending’ (ll. 633-635). It is difficult to overlook the existence of election in this story or many others in the Bible – Abraham, Daniel, and several prophets all being chosen for a particular role, elected above the rest (there are also examples of individuals with a special invocation in the New Testament, Timothy 1:9). Arminius could not deny this aspect, either.⁸⁹⁵ As a result, his position does allow for some election, the favouring of certain persons with a great (-er) love of God, leading to a species of divine employment:

You will say that, if he has apprehended the offered grace by the aid of peculiar grace, it is, then, evident that God has manifested greater love towards him than towards another to whom He has applied only common grace, and has denied peculiar grace. I admit it, and perhaps the theory, which you oppose, will not deny it. But it will assert that peculiar grace is to be so explained as to be consistent with free-will, and that common grace is to be so described, that a man may be held worthy of condemnation by its rejection, and that God may be shown to be free from injustice.⁸⁹⁶

This means there is a possibility that some people are elected for a particular role during their life, but the same rules of salvation will still apply to all: salvation through merit, rather than through birth. This means there is equality in salvation, but not in purpose for each individual; election can thus co-exist with free will, as this election of purpose

⁸⁹⁵ Biblical examples mentioning individuals with a special invocation can be found in Romans 8:28-32 and Timothy 1:9. It is worth noting that election thus took place within the Old and the New Testaments.

⁸⁹⁶ WA: III. 329-330.

can be refused as well. There are three instances (in particular chapter 1.17 ‘On Renewal, and also on Calling’), in which this idea of the ‘elections of individuals as instruments of God’ is discussed within *De doctrina*.⁸⁹⁷ God’s speech in *Paradise Lost* does connect these few elect to his ‘day of grace’ which is open to all, making the salvation process conditional for everyone, including the chosen few (III. 198).⁸⁹⁸

Milton’s ideas on salvation are more explicit in Book XII, in which the process of salvation from the Fall onwards is further illustrated:

So law appears imperfect, and but given
 With purpose to resign them in full time
 Up to a better covenant, disciplined
 From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
 From imposition of strict law, to free
 Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear
 To filial, works of law to works of faith.

(XII. 300-306)

The superseding of the law through faith (*sola fide, sola scriptura, and sola gratia*) (leading to a change from legal theology to evangelical theology) is a general agreement of all Protestant dominations. However, Arminius’ individual interpretation of this aspect can be found in Milton’s work. Arminius writes in an undated letter to his friend Wtenbogaerd that salvation is changed from obedience to the law, to faith in Christ, also

⁸⁹⁷ CPW (OUP) (2012): VIII (Part 1). 95: 1.4 (‘On Predestination’) ‘to them he gave the ability to wish and run more fully, that is, to believe’.

CPW (OUP) (2012): VIII (Part 1). 265: 1.6 (‘On the Holy Spirit’) ‘But in 1 Cor. 12 he is *said to distribute gifts to each individual just as he wishes*; and himself, I say, to be distributed to each individual according to the will of God the father, Heb. 2:4 and in John 3:8, too: *the wind blows where it wishes*’.

CPW (OUP) (2012): VIII (Part 1). 545: 1.17 (‘On Renewal, and also on Calling’) ‘Special calling is that by which God whensoever he wishes invites these rather than those, whether they are so-called ‘chosen ones’ or ‘reprobate’, [and does so] more clearly and more often’.

⁸⁹⁸ Fallon, ‘Elect above the rest’, p. 96.

called the law of faith (*'Jam vero duplex est lex Dei, una operum, altera fidei'*), which is echoed in the last line of the *Paradise Lost* quotation.⁸⁹⁹ No one is excluded from this 'better covenant' (XII. 303) after people were endowed with the capability of grace, another point of incompatibility with Calvin's concept of irresistible grace. Before the Fall, Adam and Eve had no capability to believe in Christ; otherwise God would have prepared them for what would happen after the Fall, hinting at the position of supralapsarianism. This change from one path to salvation to the other was universal: the law applied to all until Christ became the new law, which then became the only route to salvation for all. Arminius condemns Perkins' idea that for some the law still applied while for others the law of faith was additionally necessary for salvation. This inequality would imply that God is stricter towards humankind than towards the angels, despite the fact that the latter sinned individually and not through persuasion of a third party.⁹⁰⁰ In the quotation from Book XII, there is also a clear distinction between the two ways of salvation, which will ultimately lead to 'large grace' (XII. 305) as the only way of salvation, and open to all (hence large grace), which can be seen as a further clarification of the passage in Book III. Samson is a clear example from the time before the application of inborn capability of faith. In the poem, there are several instances in which he refers to his reliance on the law for his salvation: 'I with this messenger will go along,/ Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour/ Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite' (ll. 1384-1386) and 'yet this be sure, in nothing to comply/ Scandalous or forbidden in our Law' (ll. 1408-1409).

⁸⁹⁹ 'Letter Arminius to Wtenbogaerd (1599?)', qtd. in William den Boer, *Duplex Amor Dei: Contextuele Karakteristiek van de Theologie van Jacobus Arminius (1559-1609)* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Apeldoorn, 2008), p. 120.

⁹⁰⁰ 'Letter Arminius to Wtenbogaerd (13 January 1605)', qtd in den Boer, p. 123.

Returning to the quotation in Book III of *Paradise Lost*, we read that those who ‘neglect and scorn shall never taste;/ But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,/ That they may stumble on, and deeper fall’ (III. 199-201).⁹⁰¹ On this particular idea both Arminius and Calvin, and Milton, too, agree, sharing ideas of original sin – ‘[t]heir sinful state’ (III. 186) – and eternal damnation for those who willingly and freely reject faith – ‘and deeper fall’ (III. 201) – both present in God’s speech. In *Samson Agonistes* we see an individual case of this reprobation, and literal blindness; the symbolism of the poem.⁹⁰² Calvin links this particular rejection of God’s grace to the punishment of greater blindness, even if the individual demonstrates repentance:

To some it seems harsh, and at variance with the divine mercy, utterly to deny forgiveness to any who retake themselves to it. This is easily disposed of. It is not said that pardon will be refused if they turn to the Lord, but it is altogether denied that they can turn to repentance, inasmuch as for their ingratitude they are struck by the just judgment of God with even greater blindness.⁹⁰³

Arminius agreed on this double punishment and double blindness played out in Milton’s poem. Although Samson’s lamentation begins with a description of the loss of his mortal eyes, Milton continues the digression by connecting it to a blindness of the light within the soul, similar to Calvin’s explanation of God’s induced greater blindness: ‘[...] if it be true/ That light is in the soul,/ She all in every part: why was the sight/ To such a tender ball as the eye confined?’ (ll. 91-94).⁹⁰⁴ This follows Augustine’s

⁹⁰¹ Radzinowicz argued that Milton ‘rejected the view that God damns unbelievers or reprobates them or hardens their hearts; unbelievers damn, reprobate, and harden themselves’, Radzinowicz, *The Growth of Milton’s Mind*, p. 340. This view is simplistic, however, as these lines in *PL* already contradict this statement. It is true that in Milton’s theology, and visible in his version of the Samson narrative, the individual is free to fall, but the punishment can become more severe as a result of God’s withdrawal. This point will be further elaborated on below.

⁹⁰² Anthony Low, *The Blaze of Noon: A Reading of Samson Agonistes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 93-95.

⁹⁰³ *Institutes*, 3: 24. 8.

⁹⁰⁴ Albert R. Cirillo, ‘Time, Light, and the Phoenix: The Design of Samson Agonistes’, in *Calm of Mind: Tercentenary Essays on Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes*, ed. by Joseph Wittreich (London: Western Reserve University, 1971): 209-234 (p. 219).

reasoning that the multi-partite nature of the body is in contrast to the soul, which ‘is not diffused in bulk through extension of place, but in each body, it is both whole in the whole, and whole in each several part of it’.⁹⁰⁵ As a result, each thing that affects a particular part of the body will affect the soul in its entirety too, which is in line with Calvin’s and Arminius’ agreement on individual reprobation (‘sometimes he also causes those whom he illumines only for a time to partake of it; then he justly forsakes them on account of their ungratefulness and strikes them with even greater blindness’⁹⁰⁶). This means that bodily blindness and spiritual blindness are united, which can be found in the poem:

O torment should not be confined
To the body’s wounds and sores
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, breast and reins;
But must secret passage find
To the inmost mind
There exercise all his fierce accidents,
And on her purest spirit prey,
As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
With answerable pains, but more intense,
Though void of corporal sense.

(ll. 606-616)

Calvin’s use of blindness is a metaphorical one, whereas Samson’s a literal and spiritual one, which makes Samson’s punishment of blindness more potent, hinting both at reprobation and the physical darkness itself. Despite this similarity between the

⁹⁰⁵ St. Augustine, ‘St Augustine: On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises’, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Philip Shaff (New York: Cosimo, 2007), p. 101.

⁹⁰⁶ *Institutes*, 3: 24.8, Bangs, p. 213.

doctrines on reprobation in Arminius and Calvin, Milton has a somewhat different version of the double reprobation illustrated here.⁹⁰⁷ This type of reprobation could be seen as double predestination of damnation; human will has nothing to do with God's reprobation in this case:

Election, therefore, is not part of predestination, and much less so is reprobation. For since predestination properly includes within it the idea of an aim – the salvation of at least believers, which is indeed essentially desirable – whereas reprobation involves the extinction of unbelievers, which is essentially unpleasant and hateful, then surely God in no way purposed reprobation as an aim for himself or predestined it [...] If God wanted neither sin nor the death of a sinner, that is, neither the cause nor the effect of reprobation, then surely he did not want the thing itself. Reprobation, therefore, is no part of divine predestination.⁹⁰⁸

He argues in this quotation that election works both ways – election for salvation and election for reprobation – both to be excluded from his own theories of grace and predestination. This contrasts with Calvin's comment as discussed above, which also implies that those who reject faith were never predestined to receive it in the first place, nor will they ever receive it in the future; they were damned before the Fall. Faith is therefore not connected to election, nor salvation to individual acceptance of grace. Arminius, by contrast, argues that mankind is allowed to reject faith, and will be punished (even doubly punished by God's reprobation), but can return in the end to God's grace with the return to faith. In this case, those who accepted grace can resist it

⁹⁰⁷ Milton is indebted here to Socinianism and its ideas on the mortality of both body and soul. As the soul is accountable for sin, it will be punished by perishing together with the body. For a more elaborate explanation of this idea within Milton's works, see John Roger, 'Delivering Redemption in *Samson Agonistes*', in *Altering Eyes: New Perspectives on Samson Agonistes*, ed. by Mark R. Kelley and Joseph Wittreich (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002): 72-97 (especially page 75).

⁹⁰⁸ *CPW* (OUP) (2012): VIII (part 1). 75.

later and vice versa, the direct result of free will, and something we see clearly in the character of Samson.⁹⁰⁹

It is at this point that Milton distances himself from Calvin's teachings on predestination, and turns to Arminius' theology of free will. Milton had already emphasised the necessity of free will in *Areopagitica* and his belief in free will's role in the salvation process remained unchanged throughout his life. In *Paradise Lost*, too, it features prominently: 'freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell' (III. 103).⁹¹⁰ In *Samson Agonistes*, Samson repeatedly focuses on his own birth, destined by God for a fixed purpose, foretold by angels; Milton explicitly denies that God was the author of Samson's sin, an argument that was often used by Arminius and other Remonstrants against Gomarus' and Perkins' ideas of supra-lapsarianism and other high-Calvinists' conception of predestination. When Samson reflects upon the gift of strength that hung upon his vulnerable hair, he rejects the notion that its vulnerability was God's purposeful ill-doing, however tempting to do so, as he 'must not quarrel with the will/of highest dispensation, which herein/ haply had ends above my reach to know' (ll. 60-62).⁹¹¹ Instead he concludes that it was his own will to choose Delila as his wife, leading to his downfall; God's favouring 'is not a guarantee of success or salvation'.⁹¹² These murmurings had already been explored by Milton, in his famous sonnet 'On his Blindness', in which his purpose as a poet is at first denied through his blindness, but when asking why his light has gone, 'patience to prevent/ That murmur, soon replies', that God does not rely solely on one man. Of course, Milton's blindness was not

⁹⁰⁹ Fallon, 'Elect above the rest', p. 102.

⁹¹⁰ Poole, 'Theology', p. 477.

⁹¹¹ David Loewenstein, *Representing Revolution in Milton and His Contemporaries: Religion, Politics, and Polemics in Radical Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 272.

⁹¹² Radzinowicz, p. 342.

perceived in the same way as Samson's punishment, but similar questions about their origins or reasons are nevertheless asked.

Moreover, Arminius' doctrine that God is all-knowing, but had not decreed events in the past (or even before Creation and the Fall as the supra-lapsarians believed) is reiterated by Samson when he speaks about the divine promise that he was charged to fulfil, the delivering of Israel from the yoke of the Philistines:

Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
Divine prediction; what if all foretold
Had been fulfilled but through mine own default,
Whom have I to complain of but myself?

(ll. 43-46)

Arminius' conviction that free will, available to every rational being, is flexible to either side, led to the argument that God's divine grace could be rejected by humans, meaning a free choice.⁹¹³ Samson rejected God's grace as a chosen Nazarite, and slipped from that same grace: a 'sense of heaven's desertion' (l. 632). Calvin, Perkins and Gomarus had by contrast argued that divine grace was irresistible and that the predestined seeds of faith were immortal. Samson, though, having first been granted the highest state, fell to the dungeon in which he now resides – a descent that is repeatedly emphasised by the chorus, such as in lines 168-172:⁹¹⁴

Strongest of mortal men,
To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.
For him I reckon not in high estate

⁹¹³ WA: III. 470-472.

⁹¹⁴ John T. Shawcross, 'Irony as Tragic Effect: *Samson Agonistes* and the Tragedy of Hope', *Calm of Mind: Tercentenary Essays on Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes* (London: Western Reserve University, 1971): 289-306 (pp. 289-299).

Whom long descent of birth
Or the sphere of fortune raises;

(ll. 168-172)

It is clear that Gomarus' and Perkins' doctrine of eternal security – once saved, forever saved – is not embodied in Samson.⁹¹⁵

Arminius' ideas of free will that could turn to either side also means that the individual is able to redeem themselves after a fall from grace. Divine election can only be determined at the end of one's life. Since all are offered the same opportunities to accept or spurn grace, redemption is personal and provisional. There may even be multiple moments of redemption within one's lifetime.⁹¹⁶ With Samson's renewed acceptance of God's grace through his faith, his strength returned, leading to the fulfilment of his birth promise, as well as his own ending. Manoa reflects upon this two-fold nature of salvation after Samson's death when he says: 'To himself and father's house are eternal fame;/and which is best and happiest yet, all this/ With God not parted from him, as was feared,/ But favouring from and assisting to the end' (ll. 1717-1720). The salvation as sufficient, present as God's *Duplex Amor Dei* (love for men as sinner and also for what is just) was always with Samson. When he chose to accept it as a result of his restored faith, the salvation was applied.

I will take the whole of Samson's narrative a step further in terms of its Arminian nature, in order to demonstrate why this particular biblical narrative with its antinomian emphasis was especially suitable for the discussion of predestination, grace and free will. John Rogers has insightfully discussed the Socinian (sometimes called

⁹¹⁵ WA: III. 454.

⁹¹⁶ Bangs, p. 73.

Unitarian) tendencies in Milton's work and its rejection of (High) Calvinist orthodoxy.⁹¹⁷ As explained in his article, Milton denies the theory of ransom, also called the idea of penal substitution, which is inherently Calvinist: if there is a debt between two parties (God and mankind) and a third pays the ransom (Christ's voluntary crucifixion), mankind can refuse to believe that this debt has been paid or that there was a debt altogether, but yet it would still have been paid, leading inevitably to their salvation. The narrative of Milton's dramatic poem is constructed against the idea that a third party could pay the ransom for someone else, especially visible in the narrative of Manoa in the poem – Milton's device for which there is no biblical precedence.⁹¹⁸ Rogers links the rejection of any kind of ransom to Socinianism and their alternative interpretation of the salvation, but I argue that this rejection could as easily lead to Arminianism.⁹¹⁹

Socinianism was more extreme in its vision of the person's role in their own salvation, rejecting the necessity of Christ's sacrifice for one's salvation, since individual faith is sufficient. There remain, however, a number of similarities with Arminianism, mostly in the rejection of Calvinist ideas on predestination and the role of Christ.⁹²⁰ Arminians as well as Socinians did not deem God and Christ operating in a trinity to be necessary for the process of one's salvation. As Arminius wrote, 'Christ is the fundament for that blessing, not as God, but as θεάνθρωπος [God-man], mediator,

⁹¹⁷ Rogers, 'Delivering Redemption in *Samson Agonistes*', pp. 72-97.

⁹¹⁸ See Wittreich's book, especially chapters 2 and 3, on which parts of the Judges narrative Milton omits, which he adopts, and which he adds himself: Joseph Wittreich, *Interpreting Samson Agonistes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

⁹¹⁹ This chapter does not discuss the impact of Socinianism on Dutch theological thought, but see Mortimer, especially 'Chapter 2: Socinianism in England and Europe', pp. 39-62.

⁹²⁰ Milton's own sympathy for the Socinians is shown in the fact that he licensed the *Cathesis Ecclesiarum quae in Regno Poloniae* (1652) (translated in English as *The Racovian Catechism*), which was a full introduction to the theology of the heretical Socinians.

saviour and head of the church'.⁹²¹ The Socinians took this idea further in their theology by making mankind solely responsible for its own redemption without interference from any divine being, meaning that original sin could not possibly exist. Christ becomes merely one example of a saviour's deliverance of freedom, of which there are several others in the Bible. This rejection of the Trinity and denial of Christ's divinity (in Arminius' case only a rejection of the Trinity in the process of salvation and never a denial of Christ's divinity) fits conveniently with Milton's adoption of elements of Arianism (pre-existence of the Son before the Fall) and Socinianism (denying the Trinity and Christ's divinity).⁹²² His difficulties with presenting Christ's Passion in any of his poetical and prose works demonstrate that Milton did not necessarily see the crucifixion as the centre of Christianity. 'The Passion', although one of his earlier works, is the most obvious example. Milton argues that it was not the crucifixion but Christ's having offered himself that fulfilled the new covenant, which goes against both Calvin and Arminius.⁹²³ Milton additionally does not accept the Socinian idea that Christ is merely an example, as is shown in the quotation from Book XII discussed above, but believes that Christ's acceptance of his own offering redeemed us, not his moral teachings.⁹²⁴ Granted, in *Paradise Regained*, Milton creates a narrative in which the Son defeats Satan through reason⁹²⁵, and not through the act of atonement itself, but

⁹²¹ 'Nam Christus Fundamentum istius benedictionis est, non qua Deus, sed qua θεάνθρωπος, mediator, salvator et caput Ecclesiae' (AAC 614 (III 214)). Thanks to Paul Martin for suggestions on the Greek.

⁹²² For the purposes of this thesis, it is not necessary to discuss Milton's Arian sympathies, as it focuses on theologies of Dutch origin. For works by critics on Milton's Arianism see: Michael Bauman, *Milton's Arianism* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987); John P. Rumrich, 'Milton's Arianism: Why it Matters', in *Milton and Heresy*, ed. Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 75-92; C. A. Patrides, 'Milton and Arianism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul, 1964): 423-429; William Hunter, 'Milton's Arianism Considered', *Harvard Theological Review*, 52 (1959): 9-35; Maurice Kelley, 'Milton's Arianism Again Considered', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (July, 1961): 195-205.

⁹²³ John Rogers, 'Milton and the Heretical Priesthood of Christ', in *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, ed. by David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 203-220 (p. 212).

⁹²⁴ Poole, 'Theology', p. 479.

⁹²⁵ Reason is an interesting word in this context. It was consistently associated with Arminianism and Socinianism. Arminians were accused by Calvinists of focussing too much on reason and applying that to the Scripture, when faith

the Son is still necessary for salvation, even if he functions as a Socinian example in the epic.⁹²⁶ From a doctrinal point of view, it can be concluded that Milton was not a Socinian even if he adopted some unconventional readings of the Bible that could be said to align with those of the Socinians (and often the Arminians, too). He disagreed on the most important foundations of the Socinians: the role of the Son in the salvation process, original sin, and mankind's reliance on God's grace.⁹²⁷

In *Samson Agonistes*, we find an analogy of Christ's role as sole redeemer of mankind (contradicting Socinianism) and not necessarily in terms of ransom (contradicting Calvinism) within the character of Samson. Milton's dramatic poem is especially interesting in this regard as it has two redeemers: Samson as the deliverer of Israel from the Philistines and Manoa as deliverer of Samson. The first succeeds, but the latter does not, and there is a reason why Milton invented this particular additional story line as a counterpart to Samson's success. The difference between these two is that one pays the debt himself, whereas Manoa functions as a mediator. The first of these follows ideas of Arminianism about one's own responsibility for salvation. When we read the lines near the end of the poem, in which Manoa exclaims: 'no time for lamentation now, / Nor much more cause, Samson hath quit himself / like Samson' (ll. 1708-1710), it is clear that Samson established his own salvation through God's grace by paying the ransom himself. Similarly, Israel needs to accept the liberty that Samson offered by his death, leading to their redemption. Manoa, on the other hand, functions as

should be the central concern. It is not difficult to see that both Marvell and Milton must have felt attracted to Arminianism for this reason alone.

⁹²⁶ Smith, 'Best, Biddle and Anti-Trinitarian Heresy', pp. 176-178. See for another narrative on antitrinitarianism Radzinowicz, pp. 324-336. See for the role of Christ in *Paradise Regained*, Barbara Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1966), pp. 182-192.

⁹²⁷ I am following here the general argument of Michiel Lieb. In his chapter 'The Socinian Imperative', however, he does not allow that some of the similarities between Milton's reading of scripture and the Socinians find common ground in the Arminians, and this is essential for a complete understanding of the rest of his theology: Lieb, *Theological Milton*, pp. 213-260.

an answer to the idea of Calvinist predestination. He tries to negotiate Samson's freedom by paying the ransom and functioning as the third party, similar to the concept of predestination, but then concludes that liberty and salvation cannot occur through mediation alone.⁹²⁸

In this reading of *Samson Agonistes* as an Arminian narrative, it is clear that Milton deviates from the high Calvinist doctrine on predestination. Samson as a character demonstrates that grace is resistible, even when elected for a special vocation, that this grace is universal, and that personal faith as a result of free will is necessary for redemption, leading to salvation. Although Milton differs from Arminius (and Calvin) on the question of whether election can work both ways – election for salvation and election for reprobation – as they have no place in the concept of predestination, Milton is clearly writing from within an Arminian paradigm, in which the life and choices of the individual are as paramount for salvation as God's grace.

Marvell and Arminianism

As we have seen, Milton's concern with theological issues such as predestination is direct and often explicit in his poetry. This contrasts sharply with Marvell, whose allusions to free will and divine providence are remarkably subtle, even elusive. Throughout his works, different doctrinal notions of predestination appear, seeming to contradict each other. Scattered throughout his poetry are small suggestions that refer to divine providence and free will, such as the opening to 'A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector': '[t]hat Providence which had so long the care,/ Of Cromwell's head, and numbered ev'ry hair' (ll.1-2). As Takashi Yoshinaka has argued,

⁹²⁸ Rogers, 'Delivering Redemption', p. 91.

the majority of references to ideas of predetermined life are not explicit in the poetry itself, but rather the poems seem to function without divine agency, without references to a hell nor a heaven, excluding by their omission predestination and its implications.⁹²⁹ Notably, in ‘To His Coy Mistress’ and in particular the line ‘Deserts of vast eternity’ (l. 24), the traditional Protestant afterlife with its division of hell and heaven is nowhere to be found.⁹³⁰ On the other hand, there are poems, such as the relatively short ‘A Dialogue Between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure’, ‘The Coronet’ and many of the epitaphs, which mention heaven multiple times, and as a desired final destination.⁹³¹

Some poems, meanwhile, still reveal a sense of earthly reprobation and even Original Sin. In ‘Upon Appleton House’ images of the Royal Oak are likened to those men that are tainted with sin after the fall, making their flesh corrupt:

That for his building he designs,
And through the tainted side he mines.
Who could have thought the tallest oak
Should fall by such a feeble stroke!

Nor would it, had the tree not fed
A traitor-worm, within it bred.
(As first our flesh corrupt within

⁹²⁹ Takashi Yoshinaka, *Marvell's Ambivalence: Religion and Politics of Imagination in Mid-Seventeenth century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 138.

⁹³⁰ This poem has led Christopher Hill to the conclusion that Marvell was the first poet writing in English on eternity without associations of heaven and hell. See Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, 2 vols. (Brighton: Harvester, 1986), vol. II, p. 288.

⁹³¹ Christine Rees reads ‘A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure’ as a poem in the Catholic tradition with a Protestant purpose, which in itself illustrates the complex intertwining of Marvell’s use of religion. Her reading of ‘The Coronet’ and ‘Bermudas’ as representing ‘three points on a spectrum of Puritan thinking about the possibility of spiritual choice’, namely ‘innate depravity and arbitrary grace’, is highly problematic, as these notions of arbitrary grace and Calvinism do not go easily together, nor are they a feature of Puritan thinking per se: *The Judgement of Marvell* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), pp. 8-9.

Tempts ignorant and bashful Sin).

(ll. 548-557)

It is only within the 'holy leisure' of Appleton House that a state of innocence could be preserved (ll. 96-104). In the poem 'The First Anniversary of the Government under H. H. the Lord Protector', there are direct references to the reprobate, elected and the consequences of Original Sin: 'The world by sin, does by the same extend./ Hence that blest day still counterpoised wastes,/ the ill delaying, what th'elected hastes' (ll. 154-156). Yet, the poem 'A Dialogue between the Soul and the Body', does not mention the presence of sin (whether original or individual) in either part of the conversation, despite being a seemingly ideal topic of discussion.⁹³²

Moreover, if we take the word 'fortune' to be an occasional synonym for 'providence' whether divine or not, an antonym of chance,⁹³³ there are several instances in Marvell's poetry in which we see that the lives of individuals are ruled by the decisions of some higher power.⁹³⁴ In 'An Horation Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland', the lines: 'But thou the War's and Fortune's son/ March indefatigably on;' (ll. 113-114) hint at the same application of election of certain individuals that we have seen in Milton's works. This would imply that Cromwell was one such, like Samson, predestined for a specific function throughout his life, although he would still have to find salvation under the same laws as everyone else.

⁹³² Nigel Smith explains this lack of the presence of sin as due to the poem being concerned with a platonic relationship between body and soul, and not with the reformed issues of death, sin and judgments, which would include predestination, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Nigel Smith (Harlow: Longman Annotated English Poets, 2007), p. 61.

⁹³³ Milton, too, adopts this use of the word fortune in the *Art of Logic* (1672), in which he writes 'fortune should be placed in heaven, but should be called by the different name of divine providence' (CPW: VII.14). See for the importance of providence in the early modern period: Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁹³⁴ Margarita Stocker, *Apocalyptic Marvell: The Second Coming in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985) pp. 72, 327, n. 84.

As argued above, election of individuals for a purpose in life can still fit within a general Arminian framework. In Marvell's poems, however, there are even some hints of High Calvinist predestination in the poems concerning Oliver Cromwell, as one might expect, for example 'The First Anniversary of the Government under H. H. the Lord Protector':

Hence I oft I think, if in some happy hour
High grace should meet in one with highest power,
And then a seasonable people still
Should bend to his, as *he to heaven's will*,
What we might hope, what wonderful effect
From such a wished conjuncture might reflect.

(My italics, ll. 131-136)

The reference to 'High grace' creates associations with High Calvinists and their ideas of elected peculiar grace. This accords with the Calvinist notion that the individual, including Cromwell, bends to Heaven's will; combining this election with God's providence would lead, according to Marvell, to 'wonderful effect'. In the same poem, Cromwell's birth is described as a 'happy one' and his 'mould was chosen out of better earth' (ll. 159, 160). After his death, he is still described as 'heaven's favourite' ('A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector', l. 157). The poems draw heavily on a Calvinistic vocabulary with words such as 'heaven's choice', 'elected', and 'Deserved fate [of] guilty lives'. Another example would be the poem 'Upon the Death of Lord Hastings', in which God's eternal book is inscribed with the names of an entire elected family: 'But most he doth th'eternal book behold,/ On which the happy names do stand enrolled;/ And gladly there can all his kindred claim' (ll. 38-39).

However, in other poems, contrasting images of pre-determinism can be found, such as in 'Upon Appleton House', in which the phrase 'destiny their choice' leads to a highly ambiguous reference to providence: 'Whence, for some universal good,/ The priest shall cut the sacred bud;/ While her glad parents most rejoice,/ And make their destiny their choice' (ll. 741-744). All these contradictory images cannot be explained as a result of chronology, since all of the poems mentioned here were written in the late 1640s and 1650s.⁹³⁵ It is safe to say that within Marvell's poetical works a coherent and consistent theology on divine providence and free will remains elusive, or in Marvell's own words: '[t]hat 'tis is the most which we determine can' ('The First Anniversary of the Government', l. 143).

It is for these reasons that we have to turn to his prose for a discussion of Arminianism and Calvinism. *Remarks Upon a Late Disingenuous Discourse* (1678) most outspokenly discusses the disparity between doctrines of predestination in Marvell's prose works. I will therefore focus on a discussion of this particular prose tract.

In 1678, Marvell's *Remarks Upon A Late Disingenuous Discourse* was published as a response to John Howe (Presbyterian minister, 1630-1705) his letter to Robert Boyle (natural philosopher, 1627-1691), entitled *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels, Exhortations, and Whatsoever Other Means He uses to Prevent Them* (1677), and to Congregationalist Thomas Danson's response to Howe, entitled *De Causa Dei: or, A*

⁹³⁵ Some argue that some of these poems such as 'A Dialogue between the Soul and the Body' were composed in the late 60s and 70s. See for example, John Spurr's essay that claims that after 1667, Marvell took a more religious stance, of which 'A Dialogue between the Soul and the Body' is a feature: Spurr, 'The Poet's Religion', pp. 160-161. I, however, follow Smith's dating in the *Poems of Andrew Marvell*.

Vindication of the Common Doctrine of Protestant Divines, concerning Predetermination (i.e. the Interest of God as the first Cause in all the Actions, as such, of all Rational Creatures:) From the Invidious Consequences with which it is burdened by Mr. John Howe in a late Letter and Postscript, of God's Prescience (1678).⁹³⁶ Some critics, such as Yoshinaka, present Marvell as taking a middle path (accepting a number of Calvinist points, as well as Arminianism) when it comes to the issue of predestination, partly based on his *Remarks* and the inconsistent theology in his poems.⁹³⁷ Such a notion would be supported by the *Essay*, which constantly emphasises the search for compromise, toleration and middle ways. In the case of Arminianism and the middle way this would imply that Marvell followed the school of thought of Amyraldism (also called moderate Calvinism), which still adopted the Calvinist theology on predestination (the five points of Calvinist predestination mentioned above), except that Christ's atonement was not only for the elect, but universal. Moïse Amyraut was the principal of the academy of Saumur from 1641-1664. We know that Marvell visited this academy sometime in 1655.⁹³⁸ Even if Marvell did not adopt Amyraut's theology completely at this point (or ever), he was immersed for some time in a tolerant and moderate environment, which quite possibly influenced his later works. Other contemporary followers of this doctrine were Richard Baxter and John Howe.⁹³⁹ Milton was also familiar with the theology of Saumur, as is demonstrated in a letter to

⁹³⁶ See Keeble's persuasive arguments for the attribution of the *Remarks* to Marvell, 'Introduction', pp. 399-408.

⁹³⁷ Yoshinaka, pp. 9, 174-175.

⁹³⁸ Smith, *Chameleon*, pp. 128-9.

⁹³⁹ Keeble, 'Introduction', pp. 389-390. See for Baxter's defence of Amyraldus, *Certain Disputations of Right to Sacraments* (1657).

Richard Jones, who was at Saumur at the time (1 August 1657),⁹⁴⁰ and some echoes of Amyraldism and the way it deviates from Calvinism can be found in Milton's works.⁹⁴¹

Although the *Remarks* deals with issues of predestination that Howe and Danson quarrelled about, the tract does not directly engage with the main points that the two were disputing. Marvell's choice to write the tract as remarks rather than animadversion confirms the view that the author himself did not want to comment directly on the controversy and ignored both arguments.⁹⁴² The fact that the front page is anonymous, but signed '[b]y a Protestant', highlights Marvell's ambition to make the tract about writing style and ethics, rather than theological ambiguity, distaining to conform to any particular protestant division. Within the first few pages, Marvell provides an explanation for why he does not comment on the content of the debate:

Arguing upon such points [God's Prescience and Predestination] as no man, unless he were Prior and precedent to the First Cause, can have the Understanding to comprehend and judge of: and most of them do but say and unsay; and while in word they all deny God to be the Author of sin, yet in effect, and by manner of their reasoning, they affirm it; I, therefore, being both apprehensive of the danger in such Arguments, and more particularly conscious of mine own weakness, shall not presume to interpose my Opinion in the differences of this matter.⁹⁴³

This stance is maintained throughout the tract and constantly reinforced 'I that intermeddle not as an Opinionist either way, but endeavour only to comprehend as far as I can *Its* meaning, shall for that purpose put a Case in *Its* own terms' (II.433). The

⁹⁴⁰ Milton, 'To the Noble Youth Richard Jones, 1 August 1657', in *Milton: Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, ed. by Phyllis B. Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 44-45.

⁹⁴¹ See Campbell, Corns, Hale and Tweedie for a more elaborate discussion of Amyraldism in Milton's *De doctrina Christiana*, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁴² Keeble, 'Introduction', p. 402.

⁹⁴³ *PWAM*: II. 417.

tract is written in support of Howe's letter, and as such a number of the statements from Howe's work are quoted in Marvell's *Remarks*, which are inherently Arminian, for example '*That God doth not by an Efficacious Influence universally move and determine Men to all their Actions, even those Actions which are most wicked*' (p. 421). But in no case are they represented as *the* (only) Truth. The only opinion of Marvell's own that we can find is relatively early in the tract, in which he describes the history of evil and good, and that this is sufficient for every Christian:

[T]hat second chapter of Genesis contains the plain history of Good and Evil, and (not to mention so many attestations to it of the Old and New Testament,) what other Comment needs there, for what belongs to Good, than that, Jam. 1.17. that it is from God only, *That every Good Giving, and every Perfect Gift descendeth?* And, as to Evil that [5] also of St. James, is sufficient conviction, cap. I. v. 13,14. *Let no man say, when he is tempted, I was tempted by God; God cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man: But every man is tempted, when he is drawn aside by his own lusts and enticed.* Or that of the same Apostle, cap. 4.v. I. *From whence Come Wars and Fightings among you? (and even that logomachia, I fear, with which this question is vexed,) Come they not hence? even from your lusts that fight in your members.* And there is no examining Christian but must find both these Truths evidently witnessed by his own Conscience.⁹⁴⁴

This conviction is reaffirmed towards the end, when Marvell quite bluntly states that 'this predestination is not the stated Doctrine of Protestants'.⁹⁴⁵ The purpose of this tract was thus only to 'hinder one Divine from offering violence to another'.⁹⁴⁶ It is interesting to see that even in a defence of his own tract, he does not seek support of any particular Christian denomination, but maintains the same overarching Protestant

⁹⁴⁴ PWAM: II. 416.

⁹⁴⁵ PWAM: II. 479.

⁹⁴⁶ PWAM: II. 482.

affiliation that the front page also displayed, italicised in print for emphasis: ‘And if I should be molested on that account, I doubt not but some of the *protestant* Clergy will be ready therefore to give me the like Assistance’.⁹⁴⁷

Where does this leave us in a discussion of Marvell’s theology? Prominent Marvell critics remain divided: Pierre Legouis calls him a rationalist, a thinker of a later time.⁹⁴⁸ Warren Chernaik has called him sympathetic to Non-Conformists or even an occasional Non-Conformist himself, but this can be contradicted by assertions (if highly ironic) from the prose, such as ‘[a]nd I must confess, when I have sometimes considered with my self the dullness of the Non-Conformists, and the acuteness on the contrary of the Episcopalians’ (*A Short Historical Essay*),⁹⁴⁹ or in the *Rehearsal Transpros’d*: ‘I might, if it appeared so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Non-Conformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive Impressions of any of their party’.⁹⁵⁰ Yet, at the same time, he is sympathetic to the Non-Conformists in general in *The Rehearsal Transpros’d*, part I and II. Annabel Patterson has called Marvell ‘[i]n religion indecisive’. Yet, in the introduction to his prose works, she argues ‘that the *Remarks* is, however, necessary reading to get a full picture of Marvell and confirm that on this central issue in theology Marvell and Milton were both left-wing Arminians, however self-contradictory those terms might seem’.⁹⁵¹ Some also think of him as an Arminian,

⁹⁴⁷ *PWAM*: II. 482.

⁹⁴⁸ Pierre Legouis, *Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan and Patriot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 233.

⁹⁴⁹ *PWAM*: II. 145.

⁹⁵⁰ *PWAM*: I. 181; Chernaik, *The Poet’s Time*, p. 123.

⁹⁵¹ Annabel Patterson, *Andrew Marvell* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994), p. 66, and ‘Introduction’, in *The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), vol. 1, xi-xli (xxi). I have traced these contradictory affiliations, which are in several ways problematic. Christopher Hill was the first to make the distinction between left-wing Arminians (supporting the oppressed) and right-wing Arminians (believing in divine right of the monarch and magistrate) in *Milton and the English Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), pp. 268-278, reiterated in his essay ‘From Lollards to Levellers’, in *Rebels and Their Causes*, ed. by Maurice Cornforth (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1978), pp. 58-59. This idea of Milton as a left-wing Arminian has spread through scholarship, visible in for example, Brian Manning, ‘The Levellers and Religion’, in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984): 65-90 (p. 69); Catherine Gimelli Martin, *Milton Amongst the*

too, as the result of links to Howe and his visit to Saumur, yet he fervently disliked Laudian Arminians and blamed them for the Civil War.⁹⁵² All, however, agree that he was anti-Catholic.⁹⁵³

In this chapter, I have tried to uncover clues that would point to Arminian sympathies, but using the content of the *Remarks* as evidence of Marvell's Arminianism is problematic, as it does not comment on the arguments of predestination itself, but is a discussion of the way Howe and Danson presented their arguments. That it was written in support of Howe's letter, who adopted some Arminian principles, would perhaps provide a better argument. When looking at the arguments in the *Remarks*, Marvell does not applaud Howe in terms of his Arminian principles, but instead praises his attempt to find compromises between these two doctrines on the basis of scripture. This in itself is not an argument for Marvell's Arminianism. Perhaps, on the evidence we have, assigning him fully to a particular sect of Protestantism is not yet possible. We can conclude which individuals he defended and on whose behalf he was writing, but not that he was one of them, as N.H. Keeble has argued.⁹⁵⁴ However, as we have already seen, if oblique in other matters, Marvell was outspokenly in favour of religious toleration. This is demonstrated by the acquaintances and friendships he maintained throughout his life: heretical and opinionated Milton, the conservative Puritans the Earl of Anglesey and Harley, with whom he corresponded, more libertine circles such as that

Puritans: the Case for Historical Revisionism (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 49, and very recently, Stephen Dobranski, who used this explanation in *Milton's Visual Imagination: Imagery in Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 48.

⁹⁵² N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Non-Conformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), p. 327.

⁹⁵³ Martin Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Earl of Castlemaine', p. 291.

⁹⁵⁴ Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity*, n. 10, p. 327. I am grateful to N.H. Keeble and Johanna Harris for sharing their forthcoming chapter that concludes: 'He was a tolerationist and, in Annabel Patterson's terminology, a liberal, a defender of moderate, reasonable dealings in the religious sphere against partisanship and extremist churchmanship, whether among nonconformists or conformists' (p. 28). 'Marvell and Nonconformity', in *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), pp. 1-41. (the page numbers of the article are yet unknown, so the page number refer here to the draft).

of the Duke of Buckingham, the moderate Calvinist John Howe, and John Hales, an outspoken Arminian. Even Catholics do not always feature in negative terms in his works, such as Douglas in the 'Loyal Scot', and their treatment in the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* is mild.⁹⁵⁵ This tolerant approach to religion is more at ease in an Arminian environment than an orthodox Calvinist one and an impression supported by important points in his life: his moderate clergy father,⁹⁵⁶ his exposure to tolerant and moderate forms of doctrine at Saumur and in the Netherlands, associations with all dominations, and being an eye-witness to the ravages that anti-tolerant religionists could cause.

A beautiful demonstration of the toleration that both Milton and Marvell promoted is that Marvell defended his old friend, 'a man of great Learning and Sharpness of Wit as any man' in the *Rehearsal Transpros'd, Part II*.⁹⁵⁷ Despite their divergent visions of toleration, Arminianism, and other theological differences, our readings of both often come together.⁹⁵⁸ In his book *Milton and the English Revolution*, Christopher Hill concludes, after trying to label Milton as a follower of several heretical sects, that he was 'an eclectic, the disciple of no individual thinker'.⁹⁵⁹ Perhaps the same could be said about Marvell. Both were deeply learned men, and although Marvell was not as outspoken about his personal opinions as Milton, they do share some facets of the same

⁹⁵⁵ See for Marvell's sometimes unexpectedly lenient position towards Catholicism: Dzelzainis, 'Marvell and the Earl of Castlemaine', pp. 290-312.

⁹⁵⁶ Andrew Marvell senior is an interesting case. His sermons were not particularly Calvinist, or Laudian. But most intriguing of all, he had a copy of the *Racovian Catechism* in his possession, which was considered heretical all over Europe. Whether he was an anti-Trinitarian or not, this does provide evidence for an open mind in terms of biblical scholarship, creating a tolerant environment for Andrew Marvell junior to grow up in (Smith, *Chameleon*, pp. 20-22).

⁹⁵⁷ *PWAM*: I. 417.

⁹⁵⁸ Another example of how Milton and Marvell are often drawn together yet devided, is Phillip Connell's article: 'Marvell, Milton and the Protectoral Church Settlement', *Review of English Studies*, 62.256 (2011): 562-593. Connell explores the literary friendship between the two poets, as well as their opposing views on the Protector's religious reform in the Interregnum, through an examination of their prose works and their poetry.

⁹⁵⁹ Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution*, p. 285.

theology: an interest in Dutch Arminianism, a rejection of Laudian Arminianism, an interesting mixture of different ideas on toleration, and an antipathy for Catholicism. As we have seen in previous chapters, the close and varied exchange between the United Provinces and England led to a continuous influx of texts, of which many were religious tracts. Neither Milton nor Marvell adopted any Dutch tradition completely, or blindly for that matter; they reformed them to fit into their own theology and doctrine, hence contributing to a shared religious community between the United Provinces and England:

Two nations ne'er had missed the mark so long
The world in all does but two nations bear.

(‘The Loyal Scot’, ll. 251-252)

Chapter VIII

Dutch Politics and Trade in Milton and Marvell

At a time when I found lying upon his board certaine books of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the later & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike & entercourse of merchants are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c.

Richard Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham', in *The Principall Navigations of the English People* (London, 1598), sig. *2r.

Richard Hakluyt's (1552? – 1616) brief and amusing anecdote demonstrates a deep interest among early moderns in geography, trade and globalisation from an early date.⁹⁶⁰ Interestingly, it is here not presented as driven by profits alone, but as having a strongly religious dimension, too. It was a fruitful lesson for Hakluyt, as he went on to become a renowned geographer, editor and translator, encouraging many authors to produce works of geography and travel.⁹⁶¹ He was, however, certainly not the only Englishman interested in this emerging field. One only has to have a brief look to find

⁹⁶⁰ As Christopher N. Warren has explained, globalisation was a term not widely used until the twentieth century, but I am using Dennis O. Flynn's and Arturo Giraldez's argument that we can speak of globalisation when silver from America was traded in China in the year 1571, which would make it a truly early modern concept: Christopher N. Warren, *Literature & the Law of Nations, 1580-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 1; Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez, 'Globalization Began in 1571', in *Globalization and Global History*, ed. by Barry K. Gills and William R. Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2006): 232-247.

⁹⁶¹ Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?-1616)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

many sources in English concerned with trade, travel and geography. Robert Kayll's *The trades increase* (1615), Henry Robinson's *England's safety in trades encrease* (1641), John Evelyn's *Navigation and commerce, their original and progress* (1674), and James Puckle's *England's way to wealth and honour* (1699) are just a few examples, stretching through the seventeenth century. Milton himself wrote in the preface to 'A Brief History of Muscovia' that the 'study of Geography is both profitable and delightful' and Marvell, in particular in 'Bermudas' (1653-1654), 'reveal[s] a deep-seated cartographic awareness'.⁹⁶²

Most of these works about geography make conclusions through comparisons with other countries, as we have seen in the travelogues, and then especially interconnections between the Dutch constitution and their rapidly acquired wealth and the English nation; they all tried to answer the prevailing question of 'why the Dutch managed their trade better than the English'.⁹⁶³ As Joyce Oldham Appleby has pointed out, it was an unescapable idea in the seventeenth century that economic progression and national strength were connected and the Dutch themselves were the prime example in these pamphlets: private profit resulted in this national strength, which in turn led to more private profit.⁹⁶⁴ Time and time again, the tracts take the Dutch nation, identify their strengths, and find ways to implement them into the English system. This included the prohibiting the consumption of lamb meat as they do in the United Provinces, so wool production can be increased, as Henry Robinson proposes, or Roger Coke's suggestion that similar to the Dutch – both female and male youths – should be trained

⁹⁶² CPW: VIII. 474; D. K. Smith, 'tis not, what once it was, the world': Andrew Marvell's Re-Mapping of Old and New in *Bermudas* and *Upon Appleton House*, in *Seventeenth Century*, 21.1 (2006): 215-248 (p. 217).

⁹⁶³ Roger Coke, *A discourse of trade* (London: 1670), p. 49.

⁹⁶⁴ Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 88.

in geometry and mathematics, which would lead to a general ‘trading awareness’.⁹⁶⁵

The Dutch example as a powerful rival in trade and competitor on foreign markets stimulated economic and political thinking within England.

This chapter will follow a similar pattern as the above texts on trading and geography, by first focussing on England and the Netherlands in isolation, but in a joint narrative: the Restoration and Dutch revolt in Milton’s *Samson Agonistes* and Joost van den Vondel’s *Samson, of Heilige Wraak* (Samson, or Holy Revenge), which will provide a comparative analysis of their attitudes towards royalism and republicanism. This will be followed by comparing England to the United Provinces in terms of diplomatic relations and the Second Anglo-Dutch War, through Marvell’s poetry. The geographical element can be found in a discussion of the spice trade in *Paradise Lost* and Marvell’s ‘Bermudas’, examining Anglo-Dutch relations further afield in the East.⁹⁶⁶ Chapter V has focussed on the 1650s, including the influence of the First Anglo-Dutch War on Milton and Marvell’s careers and poetry. This chapter will take the Restoration and the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars as its framing events.

In the previous chapter, a theological reading of *Samson Agonistes* in terms of Arminianism was proposed. In this chapter, a comparative reading of *Samson Agonistes* (1671) and Joost van den Vondel’s *Samson, of Heilige Wraak* (1660) is performed, with an emphasis on nationhood, politics and revolt.⁹⁶⁷ As Christopher N. Warren explains,

⁹⁶⁵ Henry Robinson, *Certain Proposals* (London: 1652), p. 11; Roger Coke, *A discourse of trade* (London: 1670), pp. 49-51.

⁹⁶⁶ I am aware that by focussing on the East I am not discussing Anglo-Dutch relations in the West, which were of crucial importance in the establishment of America. Alison Games’ article is a good example that links Anglo-Dutch relations in the East to the West: ‘Anglo-Dutch Connections and Overseas Enterprises: A Global Perspective on Lion Gardiner’s World’, in *Early American Studies*, 9.2 (2011): 435-461. For other works discussing the English and the Dutch in America, see Cynthia J. van Zandt, *Brothers among Nations: The Pursuit of Intercultural Alliances in Early America, 1580-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2004).

⁹⁶⁷ This chapter will not go into the issue of direct intertextuality between Milton and Vondel, as this has been done in Chapter VI. It is, however, interesting to note that Vondel purposefully chose to spell Samson the English manner,

autobiography and the biblical narrative cannot escape each other: '[f]or while [a biblical] story purported to dramatize ancient events in the history of (usually) Israel, the narrative had been chosen and shaped in accordance with the author's own experiences, needs, and desires, which is to say his or her interpenetrating narratives about self, community, and nation at the time of composition'.⁹⁶⁸ This is an idea already explored and explained by Grotius in the 'Prolegomena' to *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis* (1631 edition), in which he writes:

Moreover sacred history, besides that part which consists of precepts, greatly excites our social feeling, since it teaches us that all men are sprung from the same first parents; so that in this sense too we can truthfully say what Florentinus said in another sense, that there is a kinship established among us by nature: and as a consequence that it is wrong for one man to plot against another.⁹⁶⁹

Biblical genre, in particular, can lead to multiple layers of interpretation.⁹⁷⁰ Chapter VI described the poetics of Anglo-Dutch versions of biblical narratives and their borrowings from classical sources, as well as the genre of the country house poem, followed by a tracing of Dutch theological sources in different biblical stories in Chapter VII. This chapter will take another layer of interpretation, namely that of representations of monarchy and Samson's revolt, written within the context of a restored England and the Dutch Republic after its revolt.

rather than the commonly used Dutch variant Simson or Simpson. This may be merely will be a coincidence, but intriguing nonetheless.

⁹⁶⁸ Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 166.

⁹⁶⁹ Trans. and qtd. in Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 101.

⁹⁷⁰ Joseph Wittreich, *Shifting Contexts: Reinterpreting Samson Agonistes* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2002), p. 66.

There is not a great deal of comparative scholarship on these similar biblical narratives. Of course, several people have noted the similarities, such as Helmer Helmers, Nigel Smith, Watson Kirkconnell, J. N. van Hall, and George Edmundson.⁹⁷¹ One of the most interesting parallel studies is by the Dutch poet Albert Verwey (1865–1937), who made a poetical comparison between Vondel’s and Milton’s Samson.⁹⁷² In his *Inleiding tot Vondel* (Introduction to Vondel) (1892-1893), an immense work of nearly 1500 pages that deals with everything by Vondel, Verwey presents quotations that show the similarities and the differences between the two.⁹⁷³

See Milton’s and Vondel’s Samson. The first is a Samson, deviated from what is written in the Bible, through all kinds of imagined incidents comes to the deed of his death. The second one, from deed to deed shaped meticulously according to the biblical, for Vondel the reality. The first is a Unity, on it is own, as the body of Milton’s own passion. The second is a Unity, as a result of the art with which Vondel carefully compiled hundred studies of the biblical and lived reality. The first has its boldness as an advantage, but the second its precious reality.⁹⁷⁴

Verwey’s presents here poetical license and inventiveness as Milton’s greatest quality, whereas Vondel is thought to follow the biblical story more closely. This distinction is an important one, when discussing nationhood in Milton and Vondel, as both were

⁹⁷¹ Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 237-258; Nigel Smith, 'The Politics of Tragedy in the Dutch Republic: Joachim Oudaen’s Martyr Drama in Context', p. 24; Watson Kirkconnell, *That Invincible Samson: The Theme of Samson Agonistes in World Literature with Translations of the Major Analogues* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1964), pp. 179-181, viii; J. N. van Hall, 'Nederlands Tooneel: Samson of Heilige Wraak, Treurspel van Vondel', *De Gids*, 70 (1906): 166-174; George Edmundson, *Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature* (London: Trubner & Co, 1885).

⁹⁷² Mea Nijland, 'Albert Verwey en John Milton', in *Europen Context: Studies in the History and Literature of the Netherlands*, presented to Theodoor Weevers, ed. by P.K. King and P.F. Vincent (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971): 248-267 (p. 250).

⁹⁷³ Verwey’s book was published in serial instalments between 1892 and 1893. The complete collection was published in 1937, and re-published in 1986, which shows that the interest in his book has remained throughout the twentieth century.

⁹⁷⁴ Ziet den Samson van Milton en die van Vondel. De eerste is een Samson, met afwijking van wat in den bijbel staat, door allerlei verbeelde voorvallen komend tot de daad van zijn dood. De tweede een, van daad tot daad angstvallig gevormd naar den bijbelschen, voor Vondel’s werklijken. De eerste is een Eenheid, vanzelf, als het lichaam van Miltons hartstocht. De tweede is een Eenheid, dank zij de kunst waarmee Vondel de hundred studies naar bijbelsche en doorleefde werkelijkheid zorgzaam heeft saamgesteld. De eerste heeft de stoutheid voor, maar de tweede zijn kostelijke werkelijkheid, qtd. in Nijland, p. 254.

writing in complex political contexts. As I will argue below, Milton added much to the Samson narrative in order for it to fit in an English Restoration context, whereas Vondel relied more heavily on exegeses of the biblical passage that were used to justify the Dutch revolt. Some of the comparative studies between these texts have performed a political reading, such as Helmers has done, although the majority focus on poetics, as Verwey does.⁹⁷⁵ One article is worth mentioning here, ‘Typological Impulses in *Samson Agonistes*’, in which Christopher Kendrick compares Vondel’s and Milton’s work on Samson (although only in the first half of the article). He argues that Milton’s exegesis of Judges ultimately leads to the ‘loss of the political’, and that Vondel and Milton consciously (he follows Edmundson’s claim of direct textual exchange between the two authors) decided to interpret the Samson narrative in opposing ways, although both far removed from the political.⁹⁷⁶ In this chapter, by contrast, I will highlight some of the similarities to be found in both dramatic works, concluding that the authors were writing in different political contexts and with different political aims, but that the execution of these has led to interesting parallels.

Milton’s *Samson Agonistes* has also been compared to other contemporary Dutch sources in a political context, of which Warren’s book is a recent example. In *Literature & the Law of Nations, 1580-1680*, Warren examines the poetics of international law by comparing different types of law with literary genres. The renaissance term law of nations or national law – used for example by Milton in *Areopagitica*⁹⁷⁷ – is not concerned with the laws of one particular nation, but rather the

⁹⁷⁵ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, pp. 233- 258.

⁹⁷⁶ Christopher Kendrick, ‘Typological Impulses in *Samson Agonistes*’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 84.2 (2015): 1-30 (pp. 9, 11). Perhaps some of Kendrick’s readings can be explained by the fact that he read Vondel’s play in Kirkconnell’s translation, which at times deviates considerably from the original.

⁹⁷⁷ *CPW*: II. 513.

laws between nations, so *inter-national* in the truest sense of the word.⁹⁷⁸ This means that the Dutch dimension in the English judicial system could not be overlooked. In his chapter ‘From Biblical Tragedy to Human Rights’, Warren brilliantly examines the law of nations within biblical tragedy through the comparison of Milton’s *Samson Agonistes* and Grotius’ *Sophompaneas* (1635) (printed in England in 1639, and translated into English in 1652 under the same title).⁹⁷⁹ Comparing the Samson narrative to that of Joseph in Grotius’ works, which both deal with nationhood and international law in different ways, is an effective one. Reading these narratives as set within an international scene reveals a sphere in which law, jurisprudence and politics cross national boundaries and find a place within a multi-cultural literature.

Although Warren discusses juridical parallels between Grotius’ *Sophompaneas* and Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*, Vondel’s play on Samson, too, was greatly indebted to this work by Grotius. Vondel’s had translated Grotius’ play into Dutch, entitled *Somfompanes*, and Vondel’s play *Samson* deals with the same questions of nation that Grotius raised. Vondel’s translation is, however, only briefly mentioned in Warren’s monograph.⁹⁸⁰ Moreover, Vondel’s play draws direct connections with the law, as it was dedicated to Cornelis van Outshoren, one of the mayors of Amsterdam, and in charge of law and order in the city. For these reasons, I will mention a few political

⁹⁷⁸ CPW: II. 513.

⁹⁷⁹ The text in Latin was printed by Richard Hodgkinson in London in 1639 which was an unauthorized volume of Grotius’ poetical works.

⁹⁸⁰ Grotius’ work as translated by Vondel as *Somfompanes* (1635) is the first work in Vondel’s Joseph trilogy, followed by *Jozef in Egypte* (1640) and *Jozef in Dothan* (1644). Vondel’s translation of Grotius’ play saw over sixty performances between 1638 and 1665. In Latin, Grotius’ play was only performed once, in 1660. For more information on Vondel’s translation, see Freya Sierhuis, ‘Therapeutic Tragedy: Compassion, Remorse, and Reconciliation in the Joseph Plays of Joost van den Vondel (1635-1640)’, *European Review of History*, 17.1 (2010): 27-51; Madeleine Kasten, ‘Translation Studies – Vondel’s Appropriation of Grotius’s *Sophompaneas*’, in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal and Frans-Willem Korsten (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 249-271; Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 184.

readings that have been performed on the individual texts, and will draw political parallels between the two works on Samson further below.

It is important to emphasise that the political and religious contexts and allusions in Milton's poem are often obscure and oblique, and purposefully so.⁹⁸¹ This has led some critics to the conclusion that *Samson Agonistes* cannot be read as a political allegory.⁹⁸² On the other hand, two contrasting political readings of *Samson Agonistes* can be found in scholarship.⁹⁸³ The first is that the poem can be seen as a signal of reassurance, even hope, for the Non-Conformists or the passive republicans that oppression can and will be broken.⁹⁸⁴ The second is a more violent, negative view that sees the oppression by the heathen Philistines as a reflection of Milton's disappointment with the Restoration and failure of the English Commonwealth.⁹⁸⁵ As several critics have argued, Samson's nation in the poem was not that of a captive Israel, but Milton's own English nation, and in particular the restored monarchy, making 'the Restoration

⁹⁸¹ The dating of Milton's poem has led to some disagreements between Miltonists. It is now generally assumed that it was written after the Restoration due to the many references to Restoration politics, see Mary Ann Radzinowicz, *Towards Samson Agonistes: The Growth of Milton's Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), Appendix E; Blair Worden, 'Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, and the Restoration', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration*, ed. by Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 111-136; Laura Lunga Knoppers, *Historicizing Milton: Spectacle, Power, and Poetry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 42-66; William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), vol. II, pp. 903-917, is an example of arguing that the poem is written in the 1640s; Laura Lunga Knoppers, "'England's Case': Contexts of the 1671 Poems', in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 572-588 (p. 588).

⁹⁸² See for example, E.M. Krouse, *Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); Barbara Lewalski, 'Milton's *Samson Agonistes* and the "Tragedy" of the Apocalypse', *Periodical Modern Language Association*, 85 (1970): 1050-1062.

⁹⁸³ I am indebted here to R.W. Serjeantson's helpful distinction in Samson scholarship: '*Samson Agonistes* and "Single Rebellion"', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 614 – 631 (p. 614).

⁹⁸⁴ Sharon Achinstein, '*Samson Agonistes* and the Politics of Memory', in *Altering Eyes: New Perspectives on 'Samson Agonistes'*, ed. by Joseph Wittreich and Mark Kelley Wittreich (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002): 168–191 (pp. 179–83); Knoppers, "'England's Case'", p. 588; Janel Mueller, 'The Figure and the Ground: Samson as a Hero of London Nonconformity, 1662–1667', in *Milton and the Terms of Liberty*, ed. by Graham Parry and Joad Raymond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 137– 162;

⁹⁸⁵ Irene Samuel, '*Samson Agonistes* as Tragedy', in *Calm of Mind: Tercentenary Essays on 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes'*, ed. by Joseph Wittreich (Cleveland: Ohio, 1971): 235–57; Joseph Wittreich, *Interpreting 'Samson Agonistes'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

decade the work's natural home'.⁹⁸⁶ Sharon Achinstein argues that in republican times Judges was a 'favourite of those authors thinking about virtuous self-rule without kings'.⁹⁸⁷ As we will see below, however, Milton employs the story of Samson multiple times in his prose works, and often particularly associated with the king.

The first appearance of the Nazarite is in Milton's pamphlet *Reason of Church-Government* (1642). At the climax of the pamphlet, we see a state stripped of its locks of justice, shaven off by the prelates in the figure of Delilah:

But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he sleeps and thinks no harme, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and waighty tresses of his laws, and just prerogatives which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which as those Philistims put out the fair, and farre-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grinde in the prison house of their sinister ends and practices upon him. Till he knowing this prelatical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beames of Law and Right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himselfe.⁹⁸⁸

Soon after, we find a reference in *Areopagitica* (1644), in which a direct comparison with the English state is made: '[m]ethinks I see in my mind a *noble and puissant Nation* rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks'.⁹⁸⁹ By using a female pronoun, Milton explicitly excludes the association between Samson and the king, and focusses instead on the state and its parliament, which was often addressed at the time by female pronouns.⁹⁹⁰ Andrew Marvell, for

⁹⁸⁶ Elizabeth Sauer, 'Pious Fraud: Extralegal heroism in *Samson Agonistes*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 53.1. (2013): 180-196; Joanna Picciotto, 'The Public Person and the Play of Fact', *Representations*, 105.1 (2009): 85-132; Nicholas Jose, 'Samson Agonistes: The Play Turned Upside Down', *Essays in Criticism*, 30.2 (1980): 124-150 (p. 126).

⁹⁸⁷ Sharon Achinstein, '*Samson Agonistes* and the Drama of Dissent', *Milton Studies*, 33 (1997): 133-158 (p. 136).

⁹⁸⁸ CPW: I.859

⁹⁸⁹ CPW: II.558.

⁹⁹⁰ Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 171.

example, refers to the British nation as ‘Lady State’ in the first line of *Last Instructions to a Painter*. The connection between the king and Samson seen in *Reason for Church Government* is used again by Milton and made more explicit in *Eikonoklastes* in his response to the use of Samson in *Eikon Basilike*: ‘[a]nd if the Parliament so thought not, but desir'd him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the same proposition, as if *Sampson* had bin moved *to the putting out his eyes, that the Philistims might abuse him*’.⁹⁹¹ This point is reiterated later in the same prose tract: ‘[t]he words of a King, as they are full of power, in the authority and strength of Law, so like *Sampson*, without the strength of that *Nazarites* lock, they have no more power in them then the words of another man’.⁹⁹² Milton argues here that Charles is like a Samson, and without the support of a state or any other form of legality, is without hair and thus power.⁹⁹³ The last reference to Samson in his prose works is in the *First Defence* (1651).

By the same reason, say I, who but enemies to their country look upon a tyrant as a king? So that Eglon's being a foreigner, and King Charles a prince of our own, will make no difference in the case; both being enemies and both tyrants, they are in the same circumstances. If Ehud killed him justly, we have done so too in putting our king to death. Samson that renowned champion of the Hebrews, though his countrymen blamed him for it, "Dost thou not know," say they, "that the Philistines have dominion over us?" Yet against those Philistines, under whose dominion he was, he himself undertook a war in his own person, without any other help; and whether he acted in pursuance of a command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own valour only, or whatsoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many, that tyrannized over his country, having first called upon God by prayer, and implored his assistance. So that Samson counted it no act of impiety, but quite contrary, to kill those that enslaved his country, though they had dominion over himself too; and though the greater part of his countrymen submitted to their tyranny.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹¹ CPW (OUP) (2013): VI. 347.

⁹⁹² CPW (OUP) (2013): IV. 393.

⁹⁹³ Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 171.

⁹⁹⁴ CPW: IV.1.402.

In this parallel, the king is no longer compared with Samson, but becomes instead a representative of the Philistine people, to which Samson – the English people – rightfully protested against its tyranny. Milton demonstrates here Samson’s political versatility as an allegory.

On the other hand, we have Vondel’s play, *Samson or Holy Revenge*. It was never seen as one of Vondel’s greatest masterpieces, and as a result the play was only performed three times in Vondel’s lifetime.⁹⁹⁵ There is therefore not a great deal of literary scholarship on the drama, a lack that was recently mourned by Yasco Horsman in his psycho-analytic reading of the play.⁹⁹⁶ I have been unable to find any other references to Samson in Vondel’s poetical and dramatic works, which means that Samson does not have the same political history that we find in Milton’s works. However, a brief examination of the Samson narrative in the United Provinces is an illustrative one, and will reveal some of the political dimensions at play within Vondel’s work.

The first performance of the play was in 1660, in the middle of the English Restoration. Although the narrative of David’s banishment and Restoration was more often used in the English and Dutch context to dramatize the Stuart cause, the story of Samson in Vondel’s case, too, becomes a vehicle for staging the Restoration.⁹⁹⁷ Vondel was a strong supporter of the Stuarts, which means that he was writing his Samson from

⁹⁹⁵ Yasco Horsman, ‘Psychoanalysis - Law, Theatre, and Violence in *Samson* (1660)’, in *Joost van den Vondel: Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal and Frans-Willem Korsten (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 445-459 (p. 445).

⁹⁹⁶ Horsman, pp. 445-446.

⁹⁹⁷ An example would be another play by Vondel: *Koning David in Ballingschap* (King David in Exile), which was published and performed in 1660. There are, however, also literary works that present Cromwell as David. See for example Marvell’s ‘Horatian Ode’. Annabel Patterson, ‘Bermudas and the *Coronet*: Marvell’s Protestant Poetics’, *ELH*, 44.3 (1977): 478-499 (pp. 478-479); see for a full discussion of the David narrative, Mary Ann Radzinowicz, ‘Forced Allusions: Avatars of King David in the Seventeenth Century’, in *The Literary Milton: Text, Pretext and Context*, ed. by Diana Trevino Benet and Michael Lieb (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1994): 45-66.

the opposite situation to Milton, namely from a republic but as a supporter of English royalism. Vondel's English royalism has already been touched on the introduction to Chapter VI; in his poem 'De Bruiloft van den Theems en Aemstel t' Amsterdam', Vondel commemorates the marriage between Mary Stuart and Willem II van Oranje.

In contrast to England, the Samson narrative in the Low Countries was an extremely loaded biblical story, because of its contemporary relevance. As we have seen in Chapter IV, republicanism in the Dutch republic was for the first five decades after its establishment mainly concerned with a justification of the Dutch revolt, working towards a European recognition of the Dutch state. The Samson narrative deals, of course, with the exact same problems that were present in dialogues about the Dutch revolt: rebellion and its divine authorization, tyranny and (national) self-sacrifice. This parallel is clearly visible in the *Statenvertaling* (Bible translated by the state) (1637),⁹⁹⁸ which recounts in the preface to the Samson story that God had 'extraordinarily raised, called, and with this spirit of Wisdom and courage endowed [Samson] to act vicariously; to execute his and his people's right against Israel's oppressor and enemies', which can be read as a justification of the Dutch revolt.⁹⁹⁹ Although it does not comment on the Dutch situation directly, it is clear that an exegesis of the Samson passage by extension involved a justification or condemnation of the Dutch revolt.

Helmerts, however, argues that the violence of Samson's death and the ambiguity in Judges, as we will see below, made it a problematic narrative to employ for politico-religious purposes.¹⁰⁰⁰ A brief look at art and literature of the period shows that it,

⁹⁹⁸ See Chapter II for more information on this particular translation.

⁹⁹⁹ Qtd. in Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2009), p. 108.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Helmerts, *Royalist Republic*, p. 236.

nonetheless, remained a popular narrative for political discussion. Between 1628 and 1641, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) painted five paintings dedicated to the story of Samson.¹⁰⁰¹ The painting, *Simson Bedreigt zijn Schoonvader* (Samson threatening his father-in-law) (c. 1635), is a nice illustration of how the Samson narrative was perceived in the Dutch Republic.¹⁰⁰² The emphasis on Samson standing up against a foreign enemy is not incidental. Rembrandt painted it after the Twelve Years' Truce, which meant the Dutch Republic was again at War with Spain. The book of Judges is, after all, marked by wars with foreign enemies and the story of Samson in particular could 'serve as a model for the Republic's stadholder', who were generally in favour of the Dutch war policy with Spain.¹⁰⁰³

Additionally, the majority of dramatic works of the Renaissance dedicated completely to Samson were written in a German-Dutch environment: for the period 1500-1700, Watson Kirkconnell traced only four English poems or dramas, compared to the thirteen German-Dutch works (excluding seven in Switzerland).¹⁰⁰⁴ The majority of these German-Dutch narratives alter the medieval representation of Samson as a love-struck blind victim into one of a spiritual hero who functions as God's instrument to shake off the yoke of oppression.¹⁰⁰⁵ The Samson narrative was thus adapted to the

¹⁰⁰¹ Perlove and Silver, p. 107.

¹⁰⁰² Rembrandt's painting is just one example. Others include the Samson and Delilah paintings by the Dutch and Flemish painters Peter Paul Rubens (1609-1610), Gerrit van Honthorst (1615), Matthias Storm (1630), Christiaan van Couwenberg (1630) and Jan Steen (1667).

¹⁰⁰³ Perlove and Silver, p. 112.

¹⁰⁰⁴ A play by Edward Juby and Samuel Rowley (1602) (lost now); Francis Quarles' heroic poem, *The Historie of Sampson* (1631); the anonymous poem *Sampsons Foxes agreed to fire a Kingdom: Or, the Jesuit, and the Puritan, met in a round to put a kingdom out of Square* (1644), and Milton's poem. The fact that seven works are mentioned that were performed in Switzerland is significant for this context, as Switzerland, too, was a republic, and a successful one. It served as a republican example in Europe until the mid sixteenth century, when the Myth of Venice took over. The popularity of the narrative in Switzerland is another argument that the Samson narrative was inherently a republican one. See Eco Haitsma Mulier, 'The Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism in the United Provinces: Dutch or European', in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 186; Kirkconnell, *That Invincible Samson*, pp. 145-215.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Examples of this medieval tradition are still visible in some sixteenth century works, such as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (V.viii.2.) and Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost* (I.ii.70-88).

contemporary political situation, and successfully turned into a drama that commented on the events of the Dutch revolt.

Although writing in opposing situations, similarities can be found in representations of statesmanship and monarchy in the two texts. Milton and Vondel both present the Philistine monarchy in terms of theatrical excess and decadence. They are rare examples within the Samson tradition in highlighting the theatricality of the philistine monarchy – reinforced by the dramatic genre in which they are written;¹⁰⁰⁶ Marcus Andreas Wunstius' *Simson: Tragoedia Sacra* (1600, 1604) and Abraham de Koning's *Simson's Treurspel* (Samson's Tragedy) (1618), for example, chose not to do so. This has been noted by David Loewenstein, too, who briefly comments that 'only Vondel's *Samson or Holy Revenge* approaches Milton's self-conscious theatricalism [in their staging of the monarchy] [...] Both Milton and Vondel exploit the ironies inherent in the competition between the dramas of Dagon and God'.¹⁰⁰⁷ In a similar way to the *First Defence*, the monarchical institution in *Samson Agonistes* becomes associated with the Philistines, and Dagon in particular: Dagon, the idol, becomes the restored monarchy.¹⁰⁰⁸ The dramatic characteristics of the play, the pomp and circumstance of Dagon draws connections with the Restoration, especially the event itself in 1660 (as well as the actual coronation in 1661).¹⁰⁰⁹ The excess displayed both in the Netherlands and England became symbolic of the rule of Charles II. Samuel Pepys described it as a '[g]reat joy all yesterday in London, and at night bonfires then ever and ringing of

¹⁰⁰⁶ Christopher N. Warren, 'Samson and the Chorus of Dissent', in *Uncircumscribed Mind: Reading Milton Deeply*, ed. by Charles W. Durham and Kristin A. Pruitt (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2008): 276-291 (p. 286).

¹⁰⁰⁷ David Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History: Historical Vision, Iconoclasm, and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 140.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Worden, 'Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, and the Restoration', p. 118.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 90-91.

bells and drinking of the king's health upon their knees in the streets, methinks is a little too much'.¹⁰¹⁰ In Abraham de Wicquefort's diary, entitled *Verhael in forme van Journael* (1660), translated by William Lower as *A Relation in the form of Journal* (1660), the public's interest in the new king and the great efforts of the Dutch States-General to celebrate the English Restoration are the central concern of the journal. This short extract reveals some of the general ecstatic feelings for the King's presence in the United Provinces:

And to the end, to prevent the disorder among the people, which were come there in crowds from the neighbour towns [to see the king], the company which had the guard, was commanded to seise themselves of the avenues of the Chappel, and particularly to possess the dore, which leads into a little Partition, where the Princes of Orange heretofore caused a bench to be made cloathed with black velvet, and covered with a canopy of the same stuff for themselves, and for persons of quality, that were ordinarily of their train.¹⁰¹¹

The self-creation of Charles II as the king of a new monarchy, was all about 'the dramaturgy of royal power'.¹⁰¹² Staging extravagance and expense became core values of power, hence links were often made between the theatre and the monarch: '[t]he government staged Charles II's English coronation. 'Staged' is the appropriate verb, as historical precedent was studied and developed to produce royal pageantry of breathtaking splendour'.¹⁰¹³

The fact that Milton changed the house of the Philistines as it is described in *Judges* into a theatre is thus significant: 'The building was a spacious theatre/ Half round on two main pillars vaulted high/ with seats where all the lords and each degree/

¹⁰¹⁰ Qtd. in Knoppers, *Historicizing Milton*, p. 68.

¹⁰¹¹ Abraham de Wicquefort, *A Relation in the form of Journal*, translated by William Lower (London: 1660), p. 73.

¹⁰¹² Knoppers, *Historicizing Milton*, p. 72.

¹⁰¹³ Thomas Corns, *Regaining Paradise Lost* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 138.

Of sort, might sit in order to behold [...]’ (ll. 1605-1608). Dagon’s monarchy intended to stage the play of Samson’s downfall in a Philistine version of the Globe.¹⁰¹⁴ In addition to the decadent description of the theatre in Milton’s poem, the ‘national’ day of Dagon with ‘[s]acrifices, Triumph, Pomp and Games’, demonstrate some clear antipathy to royalism when linked to the theatrical event of the Restoration itself.¹⁰¹⁵ The comparison of the Stuarts to actors had, of course, already been made before by Marvell, who famously described Charles I as the ‘royal actor’ (‘An Horation Ode’, l. 53), later condemned by Milton in *Eikonoklastes* as ‘stage-work’.¹⁰¹⁶ Although it would be simplistic to argue that Milton here condemns theatre all-together, as the genre of the dramatic poem itself argues otherwise, Milton demonstrates a puritanical and critical attitude towards the theatre that was often the site of panegyrics for Charles II.

A similar connection between monarchy and theatricality can be found in Vondel’s play. This chapter will not discuss in great detail the issue of Vondel’s outspoken attack on Puritan anti-theatricalism in Act 3 of the play, as this has been done extensively by Jan te Winkel, Jacob van Lennep and Helmers.¹⁰¹⁷ Instead the representation of monarchy in combination with theatricality is addressed. When reading the preface to Vondel’s play, sovereignty is made its main emphasis. The play opens with an introduction to the pagan sovereign of the Philistines, Dagon. He is dressed as a stereotypical devil, with batwings and a long staff.¹⁰¹⁸ In a graveyard

¹⁰¹⁴ Walter S.H. Lim, *The Arts of Empire: The Poetics of Colonialism from Raleigh to Milton* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), p. 234.

¹⁰¹⁵ Achinstein, ‘Drama of Dissent’, p. 139.

¹⁰¹⁶ *CPW* (OUP) (2013): VI. 385.

¹⁰¹⁷ Vondel’s defence of the theatre is also present in other plays: *Lucifer*, *Salmeoneus*, and in a short Preface entitled ‘toneelschild of pleitrede voor het toneelrecht’ to *Batavische Gebroeders*; Jan te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde: Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde van de Republiek der Vereendigde Nederlanden* (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1924), IV. 263-266; Jacob van Lennep, *De Werken van Vondel, in Verband gebracht met zijn Leven* (Amsterdam: Binger, 1864), p. 217; Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, pp. 240 – 251.

¹⁰¹⁸ Helmer’s makes here a compelling argument that Dagon as a Sea-Idol is now represented in Vondel’s work as a fallen angel, which draws connection to some of the Dutch pamphlets that often presented Oliver Cromwell as a fallen angel. See for example Joachim Oudaen’s, ‘De Neergeplofte Lucifer’ (The Tumbling Lucifer) (1659), which

setting, Dagon enters the scene with a long soliloquy, explaining the necessity of the rituals of pomp and circumstance that will dominate the rest of the play:

*Daar Dagon's priesterdom, eerbiedig ten altare
Getreen, ter ere van mijn godheid stieren slacht,
Spijsoffers inwijdt, en den grootvorst van den nacht
Met juichen en triomf verwelkomt, en gezangen,
En offerspelen, daar wij spoken naar verlangen.*

(ll. 14- 18)

There Dagon's priesthood, towards the alter respectfully
He treads, in honour of my godhead bulls slaughtered,
Sacrifices dedicated, and monarch of the night
With cries and triumph is welcomed, and songs,
And games of offering, we, idols, most desire.

Note that Dagon in this passage announces himself as a royal, the 'monarch of the night', hence establishing his rule in the monarchy of the Philistines. In the same speech Dagon announces the real advantage of Samson's fall, namely that it might lead to a new enforcement of religious and political authority over the rebellious Israelites, which would include a new law. The rituals and festivities are thus a celebration of a renewal of the Philistine dominance. Soon after, he hides in a statue of himself that is present on the stage at every moment in the play, which highlights the irony of a heathen monarchy ruled by a statue.

draws comparisons between the fall of Cromwell and Lucifer; Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, p. 238. The batwings of Dagon can, of course, also refer to a reading of Dante and his representation of Lucifer, with whom Vondel was no doubt familiar.

Dagon's foreshadowing of the theatrical pomp and circumstance that will be staged in honour of Samson's defeat is, in Act 4 demanded by the Queen, and later supported by the King:

*Vorstin: Het Godsbanquet verheuge, en op een kerktoneel
Zijn kunst vertone, voor 's lands vorsten en vorstinnen.
Zo kunt ge Dagon's gunsten 't hart der Heren winnen
[...]*

*Vorst: Toneelspel heeft voorhene ons meer dan eens bedrogen
Met schijn van waarheid; en niet ongelukkig: want
Zo wordt de deugd met vreugd den vorsten ingeplant,
Al 't wereldlijk beloop naar 't leven afgeschilderd,
Door sprekende schildrij. Men ziet een hof verwilderd,
Verward en overend, geverfd met prinsenkoort.*

(ll. 662-664, 668-673).

*Queen: God's banquet is excited, and on a church-stage
Will see [Samson's] art, before the nation's kings and queens.
So Dagon's favour and the heart of lords can be won.
[...]*

*Vorst: In the past, theatre has fooled us more than once,
With the appearance of truth, but not unhappily, since
Virtue with pleasure is so planted within each king,
The world is painted as it is in life,
Through speaking paintings; one sees a garden wild,
Confused and standing, painted with regicide.*

The reference to regicide is, of course, not incidental. The king refers here to the anti-theatrical policy of the English Republic. Theatres, Vondel argues, can function as a

mirror, leading to self-reflection, but as a result of the anti-theatre policies of the Interregnum this self-reflection could not take place. As Helmers has noted before, the fact that Vondel uses the Philistines and their monarchy to promote theatre and to celebrate a monarchical Restoration in England seems counter-productive.¹⁰¹⁹ When one looks, however, at the location in which these plays take place, the ‘church-stage’ (which will be further discussed below), it is evident that the Catholic Vondel equated the false shows of the Philistines with the false religion of the Protestant regicides and their dismissal of the theatre; the fact that they are presented as a monarchy (although ruled by an idol and not a king) loses its importance.

However, in his assessment of Vondel’s play Helmers has overlooked the fact that Dagon, punished Samson not only through his performance on the church-stage, but foremost through the re-enforcement of Philistine law, which was their main agenda (as Dagon reveals in his prologue). As Milton, too, argued in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, the king (or any man) is always subject to the law: ‘he that bids a man reign over him above law, may bid as well a savage Beast’.¹⁰²⁰ The Jewish nation will, therefore, not be ruled through a monarchy, but through Dagon’s unlawful wielding of the law, executed through the king and queen of the Philistines. It is a helpful way of thinking about the necessity of violence within the Samson narrative. The only way this powerful lawful union of (false) monarchy and (a heathen) divinity can be broken is through a demonstration of greater power; in Vondel’s case, this is reinforced in the violence endorsed by (the Hebrew) God.

¹⁰¹⁹ Helmers, *Royalist Republic*, p. 241.

¹⁰²⁰ *CPW* (OUP) (2013): VI. 158.

Several critics have focussed on this emphasis on violence in the Samson narrative (especially Milton's version), such as Tobias Gregory, Michael Lieb, and Feisal G. Mohamed.¹⁰²¹ However, the violent and visual way in which the monarchy is opposed in Vondel's play is in contrast with Milton's soundscape of Samson's destruction. In Milton's poem, Manoa's describes it as a 'hideous noise' (l. 1509) and it is only through a messenger that we hear of the devastation, indirectly, although 'a horrid spectacle' (l. 1542). At no point do we see the aftermath of Samson's act. The description stops immediately after the collapse of the temple. This has led Kendrick to the conclusion that the violence of Samson's triumph in Vondel's work 'receives an equal stress to that in Milton's play'.¹⁰²² Vondel's play, however, climaxes a loud, bright and violent scene, in which the bloody aftermath of Samson's destruction is presented in gross detail:

[...] *Schenkels, darmen,*
En hoofd, en ingewand, een misselijk beslag
Doreen gemengd, en vlees, en been, en brein den dag
Bezwalken met een lucht, die haast een pest zal baren.

[V. 1621-1624]

[...] Shanks, intestines
 And head, and organ, a sickening mixture
 Joined together, and meat, and bone, and brain
 Will the air infuse with a smell, giving birth to a pest.

¹⁰²¹ Tobias Gregory, 'The Political Messages of *Samson Agonistes*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 50.1 (2010): 175-203; Michael Lieb, "'A Thousand Fore-Skins': Circumcision, Violence, and Selfhood in Milton", *Milton Studies*, 38 (2000): 198-219; Feisal G. Mohamed, 'Confronting Religious Violence: Milton's *Samson Agonistes*', *Periodical Modern Language Association*, 120.2 (2005): 327-340.

¹⁰²² Kendrick, p. 7.

The horrific vision here pushes the violence of Samson further than Milton does. Vondel describes how the survivors go through mountains of dust and debris to find their family, although all the dead are now unrecognisable (they identify bodies through old scars) (V. 1613-1634). The reader (or spectator) is even informed about the specifics of Samson's own death (a heavy stone that fell directly on the heart). In Milton's poem, the closest image we receive of Samson's body is that it *might* be 'soaked in his enemies' blood, and from the stream/ With lavers pure, and cleansing herbs wash off/ the clotted gore' (ll. 1726-1727). It is an indirect representation, even prediction, as Manoa is yet to find the body. The traumatising events that Vondel describes are far off from Milton's restrained representation of Samson's death, of which we only hear that he 'unwounded of his enemies he fell' and 'by his own hands' (ll. 1582, 1584). The importance of this contrast in representation and violence will be further discussed below.

Now we have established that in both cases the monarchy and its restoration are associated with heathen rituals and an unlawful yielding of the nation's juridical system, it is important to understand whether Samson's act in both dramas is divinely authorized or not.¹⁰²³ Achinstein has written of this divine inspiration that 'the questions of inspiration and spiritual growth are vital to understanding the Christianity in the work'.¹⁰²⁴ However, this reading of Samson's rebellion and eventual "escape" is essentially political too; in Milton's case, this would provide an emblem of hope for those in equal disappointment about the failure of the ideal republican state, which might still be redeemed by God's help. It would, moreover, continue the line of defence

¹⁰²³ As John Roger has noted in his article, it is the question of divine authority within the play 'that has most consistently provoked Milton's critics', John Rogers, 'The Secret of *Samson Agonistes*', *Milton Studies*, 33 (1997): 111-132 (p. 111).

¹⁰²⁴ Achinstein, 'Drama of Dissent', p. 134.

of the regicide and English Revolution that Milton began in his prose works in the 1640s. In Vondel's narrative, this would mean a justification of the Dutch revolt (so eagerly sought by Dutch Republicans) and a divine blessing for the independent Dutch state. The question of divine endorsement inherent in the Samson narrative was not new in these poetical reinventions of the narrative, as these were already part of exegeses of Judges throughout the centuries.¹⁰²⁵ In Milton's poem, whether Samson's 'rousing motions' are divinely inspired or not remains something of an ambiguity.¹⁰²⁶

Milton's Sanctification of Samson's Final Act

Even if read as an accident, the sanctification of Samson's revenge is an important problem in the narrative, as it comments on a private act of revenge that should be condemned, or as a struggle for liberation from an oppressor (an argument used in both the Dutch revolt and the English Revolution).¹⁰²⁷ A combination of Michael Lieb's proposal that Samson's revenge is not his own but a confrontation between God and Dagon, a 'theomachic confrontation', and David Loewenstein's argument that Milton's poem emphasises Samson's impulse to defeat the Philistines through a spectacular action, is one way to make sense of the violent narrative.¹⁰²⁸ Wittreich has argued that the violence in Milton's narrative has led to the undermining of Samson's heroism, but a comparison with Vondel's more explicit violence and the revelling in its aftermath, as shown above, demonstrates that Milton was quite restrained in his use of violent

¹⁰²⁵ Serjeantson, pp. 616 - 617.

¹⁰²⁶ John T. Shawcross, *The Uncertain World of 'Samson Agonistes'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); John Rogers, 'The Secret of *Samson Agonistes*', pp. 111–112.

¹⁰²⁷ Regina M. Schwartz, 'Samson Agonistes: The Force of Justice and the Violence of Idolatry', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Milton*, ed. by Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 633–648 (634).

¹⁰²⁸ Michael Lieb, *Theological Milton*, p. 186; David Loewenstein, *Representing Revolution in Milton and his Contemporaries: Religion, Politics, and Polemics in Radical Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 269–95.

imagery and language.¹⁰²⁹ It is not the bloody revenge that matters in Milton's poem (unlike Vondel's), but a reckoning of the one God leading to holy vengeance, an attack on Dagon, which would lead to an attempt to free the Israelites.¹⁰³⁰

Samson as Magistrate

Judges tells that Samson had acted as a judge for twenty years, which makes him not only a Nazarite rebelling against a Philistine oppression but also as a magistrate; this means he acted as a representative of the law and on behalf of the entire nation. This particular reading was performed by theologians in the United Provinces, as well as in England.¹⁰³¹ Curiously enough, this legitimatisation of Samson's act is not mentioned in Milton's poem.¹⁰³² Serjeantson suggests that this could be the result of Samson's association with dissenters, which would draw direct parallels with the English situation.¹⁰³³ It would give Non-Conformists magisterial power after the Clarendon Code, which would be a dangerous step to take. Moreover, Herapha accuses Samson of acting as a private person in rebellion, and not as a representative of the entire nation:

Is not thy Nation subject to our Lords?
Their Magistrates confest it, when they took thee
As a League-breaker and deliver'd bound
Into our hands: for hadst thou not committed
Notorious murder on those thirty men
At *Askalon*, who never did thee harm

¹⁰²⁹ Wittreich, *Interpreting Samson Agonistes*, passim.

¹⁰³⁰ Loewenstein, *Representing Revolution in Milton*, p. 289.

¹⁰³¹ Guilelmus Estius, *Annotationes a Urae in praecipua ac difficiliora Sacrae Scripturae loca* (Cologne: 1622), 169. We know Milton read Martin Bucer from his Divorce tracts and Bucer, too, performed a similar reading of Samson in *Psalmorum libri quinque ad Hebraicam veritatem traducti, et ... enarrati. ... Commentarii in librum Iudicium, & in Sophoniam Prophetam* (Olewig: 1554); As Serjeantson has shown, the English annotator of Judges makes a similar point in *Westminster Annotations, sig. Iii4^r* (on *Judg. 14: 19*), p. 621.

¹⁰³² Camille Wells Slight, 'A Hero of Conscience: *Samson Agonistes* and Casuistry', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 90 (1975): 395–413 (p. 404).

¹⁰³³ Serjeantson, p. 620.

Then like a Robber stripdst them of thir robes?
The *Philistines*, when thou hadst broke the league,
Went up with armed powers thee only seeking,
To others did no violence nor spoil.

(ll. 1182 – 1191)

This immediately eliminates the argument for Samson as symbol of the public through his wielding of the law.

Perhaps some answer to Samson's justification without being a magistrate can be found in Grotius' line of thought in *De Jure Praedae Commentarius* (1603) (English translation *Commentary of the Law and Prize of Booty* (1950)): '[t]o be sure, the fact that Samson was moved by the Spirit of God [to seek an occasion for conflict with the Philistines exonerates him], in that he had no need of public authorization'.¹⁰³⁴

Samson's role as magistrate is thus made moot. Following this line of interpretation means that Milton used the same arguments as those justifying the Dutch revolt, since we have seen in Chapter IV that Grotius was heavily involved with early Dutch Republicanism. Grotius' argument here implies that Samson cannot escape from the state as both are inherently connected through God, yet Samson is at the same time not part of the state; God authorizes him not the people.¹⁰³⁵ This point is reiterated repeatedly in the poem. On one side, Samson is described as the 'mirror of our fickle state' (l. 164), but in the next line, the resemblance is denied, as he is a 'man on earth unparalleled' (l. 165). The same rejection of unity can be found with Israel's governors, who refuse to acknowledge Samson's deeds in delivering Israel from the Philistines:

That fault I take not on me, but transfer

¹⁰³⁴ Hugo Grotius, *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, ed. By Martine van Ittersum (Indiapolis: Library Fund, 2006), p. 84.

¹⁰³⁵ Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 177.

On *Israel's* Governours, and Heads of Tribes
Who seeing those great acts which God had done
Singly by me against their Conquerours
Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd
Deliverance offer'd.

(ll. 241-246)

Samson cannot be a deliverer or magistrate of the people, when the people have withdrawn their support (or their chosen representatives have). This Milton had already argued in the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.¹⁰³⁶

Revolt against Tyranny by a Private Person

Milton had previously asserted the sovereign right of the people to rise up against the monarchy, or any elected authority, displaying tyranny, in his prose works, published and unpublished 1644-1648.¹⁰³⁷ His arguments could be applied to the Dutch situation. *Tenure of King and Magistrates*, however, further complicates this view, being the lawful actions that can be taken against tyranny. The front page of the first edition of the tract boldly claims that it is ‘proving, That it is Lawfull ... for any, who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant ... if the ordinary magistrate hath neglected, or deny'd to do it’. In the second edition of the tract, Milton added the following phrase: ‘to doe justice on a lawless King, is to a privat man unlawfull, to an inferior Magistrate lawfull’, making his tract less radical (and perhaps more persuasive to open-minded

¹⁰³⁶ ‘Since the King or Magistrate holds his authoritie of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his own, then may the people as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retaine him or depose him though no Tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free born Men, to be govern'd as seems to them best’, *CPW* (OUP) (2013): VI. 158-159.

¹⁰³⁷ N.H. Keeble and Nicholas McDowell, ‘Introduction’, to *The Complete Works of John Milton: Volume VI, Vernacular Regicide and Republican Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 1-125 (p. 12).

Presbyterians).¹⁰³⁸ The inferior magistrate referred to here includes all authorities inferior to the king, such as parliament against the king in the English Revolution.¹⁰³⁹ However, when the magistrates fail in their duty, ‘the people are as it were without Magistrates, yea worse, and then God giveth the sword into the peoples hand, and he himself is become immediately thir head’.¹⁰⁴⁰ The problem in Samson’s case (in Milton’s poem) is that he is not supported by his own people, but then George Buchanan (1506-1582), a Scottish humanist, can provide us with an answer. In his *De iure regni apud Scotos dialogues* (1579), Buchanan writes that ‘it shall be lawfull for any man to kill a Tyrant’, as long as his tyranny is firmly established.¹⁰⁴¹ Milton follows this position in his *Tenure*, in which he, too, argues that ‘the right of choosing, yea of changing thir own Government is by the grant of God himself in the People’.¹⁰⁴²

This means that Milton has rejected three rationales for sanctifying Samson’s revolt: firstly, in the poem, Samson is not acting as magistrate, which would place the law above the king, justifying his actions. Secondly, Samson and his people are not rising up in union against the tyranny of the Philistines, but Samson acts privately. Thirdly, Samson’s actions are not divinely inspired, but his private revolt will be directly divinely endorsed, though only when it is against tyranny. Whether it is tyranny or not can only be determined when the individual is ‘govern’d by reason’.¹⁰⁴³ There is enough biblical evidence to support such a notion: Ehud, Moses and Deborah are just three examples. It is, after all, through the ‘rousing motions’ that Samson felt that he

¹⁰³⁸ CPW: III. 215–216; Martin Dzelzainis, ‘Milton’s Politics’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. by Dennis Danielson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 71–83 (pp. 79–81).

¹⁰³⁹ Keeble and McDowell, p. 38.

¹⁰⁴⁰ CPW (OUP) (2013): VI. 181.

¹⁰⁴¹ George Buchanan, *De iure regni apud Scotos, or, A dialogue, concerning the due priviledge of government in the kingdom of Scotland, betwixt George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland by the said George Buchanan; and translated out of the original Latine into English by Philalethes* (London: 1680), p. 130.

¹⁰⁴² CPW (OUP) (2013): VI. 159; Dzelzainis, ‘Milton and Politics’, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴³ CPW (OUP) (2013): VI. 151.

would be able to ‘achieve something extraordinary’ (ll. 1382-1383), which very clearly implies a divine interjection of power beyond that of a mere human, but it is only after his decision to rise up that he feels divinely endorsed.¹⁰⁴⁴ As we have seen in Chapter VII, Samson was elected for the purpose of defeating the Philistines, and it is not until Samson returns to this vocation that his strength returns, resulting in a continuation, or resuming, of Samson’s destined purpose. This means God did not inspire but endorse. This is a reading that agrees with Giovanni Diodati’s interpretation of the Judges passage, whom Milton met in Geneva and cited repeatedly throughout his works.¹⁰⁴⁵ That God’s authorization of Samson’s act is veiled in ambivalence, as critics have noted, may be caused by its political implications; it would not only defend in the Restoration the position of the republicans in the Civil War, but it would also sanctify the Dutch revolt, and all other uprisings (such as the French Huguenots).¹⁰⁴⁶

Vondel’s Legitimation of Samson’s Act

The same issues that Milton grapples with in his poem – sanctification of Samson’s revolt, a justification of his chosen death, and the presence of God within this violent narrative – are present in Vondel’s narrative, but they are boldly and unambiguously presented. The different arguments for sanctifying Samson’s act addressed but rejected in Milton’s poem, are all present in Vondel’s play. From the outset, Vondel makes clear that it is not Samson’s vengeance, but God’s, which is visible in the title *Samson, of Heilige Wraak* (Samson, or Holy Revenge).¹⁰⁴⁷ This notion is supported by a constant

¹⁰⁴⁴ Rogers, ‘The Secret of *Samson Agonistes*’, pp. 111-132; Serjeantson, p. 627.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and Learned Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (London:1651), sig. 2B3^v.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See for example, Shawcross, *The Uncertain World of ‘Samson Agonistes*’; Rogers, ‘The Secret of *Samson Agonistes*’, pp. 111–32.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This is in direct contrast with Marvell’s reading of Samson, as shown in the poem ‘On Paradise Lost’, in which Marvell presents Samson as a human revenger: ‘(So Samson groped the temple’s posts in spite)/ The world o’erwhelming to revenge his sight’, ll. 9-10.

analogy between Samson and Christ, already emphasised in the preface to the play, 'because he is made from God's wisdom to depict a greater deliverer through his own birth, life, and death'.¹⁰⁴⁸ Samson is frequently referred to as the 'Joodsche Rechter' (Jewish Judge), indicating that he also acts as a legal representative of all Hebrews. Samson, therefore, does not act as a private person.

Moreover at the end, Vondel's audience receives reassurance that we do not get from Milton. Samson's birth angel Fadael descends from Heaven to assure us that Samson is saved:

[...] *Nu heeft de held God's wraak
Standvastig uitgevoerd, uit ijver voor Gods zaak.
Zijn dood bedroeve u niet. De geest, bevrijd van kommer
En 's lichaams blindheid, wart gerust in koele en zoete lommer,
Bij d' oude helden, hem grootdadig vóórgetrêen.*

(ll. 1666-1670)

[...] Now God's revenge is through the hero
Steadfast executed, out of piety for God's plan.
His death should not sadden you. The spirit, freed from pain
And its body's blindness, rest now in cool and sweet shadow,
With those old heroes, who nobly proceeded him.

In Vondel's play, we can be certain that Samson's violence and consequent death are endorsed and supported by God, and that his revolt is divinely sanctified. Vondel

¹⁰⁴⁸ 'want hij is van God's wijsheid geschikt om een groten verlosser door zijn geboorte leven en sterven uit the beelden'; Joost van den Vondel, 'Preface', to *Samson, of Heilige Wraak*.

maintains the same arguments used in early Dutch Republicanism that justify the Dutch revolt and the Dutch state's independence, whilst writing as a convinced supporter of the Stuart Restoration; Samson is supported by God to rise against the Philistines, in the same way that the Dutch as a people were divinely endorsed to stand up against Spanish tyranny.

The Dutch Samson and the English Samson

After noting the similarities in the theatricality of monarchy and the differences in the divine authorization of Samson's rebellion, the question remains how these narratives could be read in opposing contexts. The setting in which Samson's defeat was staged – in Milton's case a Globe theatre and in Vondel's play a church – is where the answer perhaps lies. Milton was writing against the monarchy and the defeat of the ideal English commonwealth. Vondel had a very different agenda. We can see by his other examples of Restoration Literature, such as his poem 'Opgang van Karel Stuart den Tweeden' (Return of Charles II), his play attacks the anti-theatricalism of the Puritans, hence the Philistines staged their "play", or as Vondel has it their religion, in the church. In Vondel's 'Samsons Graftschrift' (Samson's Elegy), a short commemorative poem that would be read at the end of the performance of the play, he does not refer to the house in Judges but again the 'kercke', the church of Dagon. The Restoration was thus for Vondel not only the restoration of the lawful king, but also a restoration of the theatre. The Samson of Milton's poem redeems himself by destroying the same theatre that Vondel in his play restored. Milton criticises monarchy and its connected theatricality, whereas Vondel attacks religion and anti-theatricality. These differences in aim were the direct result of the English and the Dutch context, and reflected in both works in terms of warfare. The tense relation between war, justice and truth in Milton's poetical works,

as we have seen in the difficulties of representing Samson's revenge, are quite the opposite to Vondel's glorification of violence and war in the play.

As Miltonists have been arguing for decades, Milton was opposed to military discord, or only permitted it when it could be controlled and kept within certain (juristic) boundaries.¹⁰⁴⁹ We have seen in *Samson Agonistes* that, for Milton, warfare could be justified when justice was prioritised over peace; Samson's integrity is preserved as he opposed oppression. Bound together with this moral, there is Milton's much gentler *Paradise Regained*, in which the Son rejects temptation after temptation in favour of pacifism.¹⁰⁵⁰ These poems can thus be seen, as Knoppers argues, as 'fostering hope and fortifying resistance in dissenters and political radicals'.¹⁰⁵¹ Vondel, however, was born in the early stages of the Eighty Years' War, which means that the first 61 years of his life he was at war. After the peace of Westphalia, it would only take five years until the United Provinces were at war again, this time with England. War was a central part of the Dutch state, as has been discussed in Chapter IV, and what is more, it thrived being at war. However, the significance of showing these similarities and their differences is that Milton and Vondel were operating in the same Anglo-Dutch literary sphere that was heavily engaged with their neighbours' politics and religion, including similar justifications of the English and Dutch revolts. This led to the engagement of similar biblical narratives and the use of similar dramatic tools, even if applied in contrasting ways to reflect the political scene in which they were both writing, and the

¹⁰⁴⁹ Stella Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980); James Freeman, *Milton and the Martial Muse: "Paradise Lost" and European Traditions of War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Elizabeth Oldman, 'Milton, Grotius, and the Law of War', *Studies in Philology*, 104.3 (2007): 340 – 375 (pp. 341-342).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Oldman, p. 366.

¹⁰⁵¹ Knoppers, 'England's Case', p. 587.

religious denominations to which they belonged, which were, after all, dramatically different.

Marvell and the Anglo-Dutch Wars

In the previous section, we have seen the ultimately different ambitions and motifs of a Dutch and English author, writing within the same narrative framework in a shared literary culture. Marvell's poetry discusses a direct clash of England and the United Provinces during the first three Anglo-Dutch Wars. His 'Character of Holland' and its relation to the First Anglo-Dutch War has been discussed in Chapter V. This chapter will, therefore, focus on the Second and Third Wars, by looking at Marvell's *Painter Poems*. These will illustrate another aspect of Anglo-Dutch relations after the Restoration that is the focus of this chapter.

The authorship of the *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems* has been problematic since their composing. The *Second* (April, 1666) and *Third Advice* (Late 1666 - Jan. 1667) and *Last Instructions* (Sept. 1667) are now generally attributed to Marvell, despite irregularities in verse and form quality.¹⁰⁵² Readers at the time, such as Roger L'Estrange, spotted similarities in style between the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* (and the *Second Part*) and the *Second* and *Third Advice*.¹⁰⁵³ The *Fourth* and *Fifth Advice* are still

¹⁰⁵² John Burrows uses a linguistic computational approach in order to determine the authorship of the different *Painter Poems*. His article has a convincing argument that the *Second* and *Third Advice* and the *Last Instruction* can be attributed to Marvell, but that this impossible to say about the *Fourth* and *Fifth Advice*, as well as *Further Advice*. John Burrows, 'Andrew Marvell and the Painter Satires: A Computational Approach to their Authorship', *The Modern Language Review*, 100.2 (2005), pp. 281-297. See for an elaborate explanation on the different theories on authorship of the *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems*, Nigel Smith, 'Authorship', in *Andrew Marvell: The Poems* (London: Pearson and Longman, 2007), pp. 323-324.

¹⁰⁵³ Roger L'Estrange, *An Account of the Growth of Knavery, under the Pretended Fears of Arbitrary Government and Popery* (London: 1678), pp. 4-6. For more information on the publication history, and the relationship between L'Estrange and the publication of the *Advice-to-a-Painter* series, see Martin Dzelzainis, 'L'Estrange, Marvell and the Directions to a Painter', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of a Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 53-67.

regarded anonymous by all editors, similar to *Further Advice*. In this chapter I will, therefore, focus on the *Second* and *Third Advice* and *Last Instructions*, and discuss representations of the English and the Dutch nations and its people in these three poems.

Marvell's poems were initiated by the Second Anglo-Dutch War, a war that greatly contrasted with the first. The main issues of the dispute were again trading disagreements, but ideologies between the two nations were now also radically different. The First was fought between two Protestant republics, both expanding their trading empire, which naturally led to commercial rivalry and hostility. Politically and ideologically the states had never resembled each other so closely before, nor would they again in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵⁴ For example, Aitzema uses words such as 'mirror' and 'neighbours' to describe the relations between England and the United Provinces in the 1650s: *Dat dese landen haer mochten spiegelen [...] aen de nabuyrighen in Englandt* (that these lands could mirror themselves [...] to their neighbours in England).¹⁰⁵⁵

The Second War, in contrast, was between a relatively unstable, recently restored monarchy and a republic; in the mid-1660s, there was uncertainty about the best way of governing the English state, and the Dutch War was presented by Charles as 'necessary to the country's economic survival'.¹⁰⁵⁶ The fact that both were Protestant countries did not avert the war: 'For others' sport two nations fight a prize:/ between them both religion wounded dies' (*Third Advice*, ll. 425-426). In contrast to the previous English Commonwealth, Charles II's pragmatic and opportunistic approach to

¹⁰⁵⁴ William Speck, 'Britain and the Dutch Republic', in *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 173-195 (pp. 173-174).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Van Aitzema, 1.10.02, 49.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Annabel Patterson, 'The Country Gentleman: Howard, Marvell, and Dryden in the Theater of Politics', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 25.1 (1985): 491-509 (p. 494).

European politics did not improve England's international relations.¹⁰⁵⁷ In the 1660s, the United Provinces experienced its zenith of Republicanism under the leadership of Johan de Wit who was adamant in avoiding a restoration of the Prince van Oranje as stadholder, the nephew of the English king, pushing political relations between both nations even further apart.¹⁰⁵⁸ Marvell was highly informed about the Dutch political situation at the time (perhaps partly the result of his secret mission to the United Provinces in 1662), as is shown in these lines from the *Second Advice*:

Or if just, Orange to reinstate:
Instead of that he is regenerate
And with four million vainly giv'n as spent;
And with five million more of detriment;
Our sum amounts yet only to have won
A bastard Orange for pimp Arlington.

(ll. 329-334).

Marvell here shows neither sympathy for the republicans nor the Orangists. Moreover, after the First Anglo-Dutch War, during the Commonwealth and earlier part of the Restoration, the English fleet grew exponentially.¹⁰⁵⁹ The same could be said about the Dutch navy during the same time-span and this made the Second Anglo-Dutch War the 'hardest fought battle of the three seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch Wars'.¹⁰⁶⁰ Of

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gijs Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Steven C. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 196-198.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea in Andrew Marvell's Advice to a Painter Satires', *Review of English Studies* (2014): 71-86 (p. 72); J.D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 271.

course, the different outcome – the First was won by the English and the Second by the Dutch – heavily influenced the atmosphere in England.

The greatest difference for Marvell personally is that he became involved with the war administration of England in various ways during the Second War. In 1659, he became Member of Parliament for Hull. As Edward Holberton has shown, Hull was greatly affected by the Second War, as an important port. Sailors and other people invested in the maritime trade were involved with local politics, since they were supported by Trinity House, an organisation established to support seamen (from whichever nation, including the Netherlands); it also had jurisdiction over laws concerning the sea.¹⁰⁶¹ It means that Marvell had first-hand experience of the War's influence on England; for example, during 1666 and 1667, Hull's trade came to a near standstill.¹⁰⁶² In 1665, Marvell was appointed as a member of a committee that would manage goods taken from the Dutch and inquire into claims of embezzlement, and in 1667, Marvell became a member of another parliamentary committee, this time occupied with the investigation into some of England's failures, in particular that of Chatham, of which Edmund Waller was also a member.¹⁰⁶³ Furthermore, Marvell's personal acquaintances included men involved in the maritime trade and with connections to Hull Trinity House, such as his nephew William Popple.¹⁰⁶⁴ Marvell's political background and personal involvement with the war found expression in the *Painter Poems*, and as much as his poem 'The Character' can be read as a promotion letter responding to popular stereotypes, the *Painter Poems* can be read as a personal critique of the war policy of England.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶¹ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea', p. 76.

¹⁰⁶² Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, p. 296.

¹⁰⁶³ Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown*, pp. 126, 158; Smith, *Chameleon*, pp. 190 -192.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea', p. 75.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea', p. 86.

In 1666, Edmund Waller published his poem *Instructions to a Painter*, praising the achievements of the Duke of York after winning the battle against the Dutch at Lowestoft in June 1665. The poem follows the panegyric tradition of the early 1660s, in which the restored monarchy is so often praised (such as Dryden's *Astræa Redux* (1660) and *Annus Miribilis*, the latter also celebrating the English 'successes' in 1666). Marvell uses the same events of 1666, but this time for highly satirical and critical purposes in his *Second Advice to a Painter* (April 1666), by some critics considered the first substantial satirical attack on the ruling regime.¹⁰⁶⁶ Waller's decision to model his poem on Giovanni Francesco Busenello's poem 'Prospettiva del nauale ripotato dall Republica Serenissima contra il Turco' (1656) addressed to the painter Pietro Liberi gave English satirists a new and very suitable literary device: *Ut pictura poesis*, in which ironic directions were given to the painter. Within this dialogue the poet could indirectly criticise what occurred on the canvas.¹⁰⁶⁷ Busenello's poem describes the defeat of the Turks against the Republic of Venice at sea.¹⁰⁶⁸ It seems a questionable tactic to use the poem for reverse purposes: Venice, a Republic, versus the Ottoman Empire, ruled by an emperor or calif; yet, this time employed to praise the English monarchy in battle with a republic. The association of England with the maritime power of Venice is, however, not coincidental.

During the Restoration, many poems, such as Waller's and Dryden's as aforementioned, connect maritime power to royalty: the maritime supremacy of Venice

¹⁰⁶⁶ Such as George deF. Lord, 'Introduction', in *Poems on Affairs of State, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), xxxiv.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'Ut picture poesis', literally translated as a poem is like a picture. Taken from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, see Joan Faust, 'Blurring the Boundaries: Ut picture poesis and Marvell's Liminal Mower', *Studies in Philology*, 104.4 (2007): 526-555; Smith, *The Chameleon*, p. 188; Michael Schoenveldt, 'Marvell and the Designs of Art', in *Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 87- 101 (pp. 98-99).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Martin Dzelzainis, 'Andrew Marvell and the Restoration Literary Underground: Printing the Painter Poems', *Seventeenth Century*, 22.2 (2007): 395-410 (p. 396).

becomes that of England. In these poems, Charles, for example, learns navigational tactics, which will lead to domination of the seas and an increase in trade and wealth. This was satirised by Marvell in *Last Instructions*, by referring to May and Arlington's capital mistake of confusing Canvey Island with Crete, as that of 'Modern Geographers' (l. 402). Moreover, Neptune often sides with England in these panegyric poems, similar to what occurs in Merchamont Nedham's translation of *Mare Clausum* seen in Chapter V.¹⁰⁶⁹ John Dryden constantly emphasises in the Preface to his *Annus Mirabilis* that 'Providence has cast upon [Charles a] want of Trade, that you might appear bountiful to your Country's necessities', and in the poem itself, there is a reference to a 'British Neptune' (l. 733). Marvell, too, refers to the king as an 'Imperial Prince' in the *Second Advice* (l. 345), participating in the panegyric imperial imagery of the period. As David Armitage has shown, ownership of the seas remained a topic of conversation throughout the seventeenth century, and the Anglo-Dutch Wars only fanned the flames.¹⁰⁷⁰ In *Last Instructions*, Marvell instead presents a Neptune that once gave his empire to the English nation as in *Mare Clausum*, but that such an allegiance cannot be maintained:

When agèd Thames was bound with fetters base,
 And Medway chaste ravished before his face,
 And their dear offspring murdered in their sight,
 Thou and thy fellows held'st the odious light.
 Sad change since first that happy pair was wed,
 When all the rivers graced their nuptial bed,
 And Father Neptune promised to resign

¹⁰⁶⁹ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea', p. 74.

¹⁰⁷⁰ David Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 109-121.

His empire old to their immortal line!

(ll. 743-750)

Marvell's poems reverse those panegyric poems that present the English nation as a maritime empire, owner of the seas, leading to increasing national wealth, and focusses instead on private (often corrupt) gain in his poem through 'a complicated scheme of approval and disapproval'.¹⁰⁷¹

As a result of Marvell's inside knowledge of the failures and successes of the War, the poems are filled with references to particular events and people that neither praise the English nor the Dutch. Several Marvell scholars, such as Harold Love and Nigel Smith, have argued that the *Painter Poems* were written for a readership that existed of Members of Parliaments and other governmental officials.¹⁰⁷² The parallels between the official parliamentary enquiry into the miscarriages of the War during the 1667-1668 session and Marvell's *Last Instructions* would support the argument of a parliamentary readership.¹⁰⁷³ The great detail in the *Painter Poems* on which the satire is built, works best (if at all) when the reader is highly informed about the individual performances of the people mentioned and the complex war administration. We find the English nobility heavily satirised, such as the scene in the *Second Advice* that describes the Duke of Sandwich's looting of a Dutch ship filled with commodities from the East Indies, which he distributed amongst his own generals rather than giving it to the Crown (ll. 295-306). Individual Dutch admirals are depicted, sometimes relying on common satires on the Dutch, such as the ridiculing of Opdam in the line: 'Then, in kind visit

¹⁰⁷¹ Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁷² Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 112; Smith, *The Chameleon*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁷³ Holberton, 'Representing the Sea', pp. 81-86.

unto Opdam's gout' (II. l. 45). Here Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, is connected with gout, something already established in satires such as *Bellum Belgium Secundum, Or, A poem, Attempting something on his majesties proceedings against the Dutch* (1665).¹⁰⁷⁴ At the same time, there is approval for some (English) individuals, such as in the *Second Advice*, where Captain Jeremy Smith receives praise for his prevention of an attack on the Duke of York: 'Smith took the giant, and is since made knight' (ll. 214). This seemingly arbitrary pattern of praise and contempt only makes sense given an understanding of the complex English politics behind the poems; in this case, Smith is praised as a naval war veteran, an experienced seaman, and in strong opposition with the court-appointed sailor with no experience often blinded by self-promotion and profit.

What emerges is an ambiguous image of the War as a whole and of the two parties involved. Not even Neptune can decide upon a favourite: 'Draw pensive Neptune, biting of his thumbs,/ To think himself a slave whos'e'er o'ercomes (*Second Advice*, ll. 157-158). Throughout the *Painter Poems*, the war with the Dutch as a heroic enterprise is undermined, and the epic battle of courageous Hercules with the vicious (Dutch) monster Hydra in the 'Character' is now replaced with lines reflecting disillusionment: 'They stab their ships with one another's guns;/ They fight so near it seems to be on ground, and Evn'n the bullets meeting, bullet wound./ The noise, the smoke, the sweat, the fire, the blood,/ Are not to be expressed nor understood' (ll. 204-208). *The Advices* become more directly satirical during the progress of the War, as Marvell became more involved with the administration. Especially *Last Instructions*

¹⁰⁷⁴ 'Opdam is either sick or so would seem,/ Therefore our Duke is forc't to visit him. Yet the uncivill Dutch will not look out,/ As if they were all troubled with the gout', anonymous, *Bellum Belgium Secundum, Or, A poem, Attempting something on his majesties proceedings against the Dutch* (1665), p. 5.

presents a defeated Britain, after the raid on the Medway, one of the decisive points in the War, when the fleet was burned and their two prime ships stolen.¹⁰⁷⁵ The poem refers to the incident with imagery that echoes rape and shame, changing the image of England as a nation:

Ruyter the while, that had our ocean curbed,
Sailed now among our rivers undisturbed,
Surveyed their crystal streams and banks so green
And beauties ere this never naked seen.
Through the vain sedge, the bashful nymphs he eyed:
Bosoms, and all which from themselves they hide.
The sun much brighter, and the skies more clear,
He finds the air and all things sweeter here.
The sudden change, and such a tempting sight
Swells his old veins with fresh blood, fresh delight.
Like am'rous victors he begins to shave,
And his new face looks in the English wave.
His sporting navy all about him swim
And witness their complacence in their trim.
Their streaming silks play through the weather fair
And with inveigling colours court the air,
While the red flags breathe on their topmasts high
Terror and war, but want an enemy.

(ll. 523-532)

The change from heroic to pastoral in this scene does not, as Zwicker has argued, present gallant love, but reinforces the horror of the raid within a tranquil environment: the contrast makes the sea-admiral seem grossly out of place.¹⁰⁷⁶ The appearance of

¹⁰⁷⁵ P.G. Rogers, *The Dutch in the Medway* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 14.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, p. 113.

Michiel de Ruyter (1607-1676), a Dutch sea-admiral, changes when he looks into the sea as into a mirror – the violent events at sea form his reflection.¹⁰⁷⁷ As George deF Lord argues about satirical Restoration literature, ‘the pictures that [Restoration satire] paints are always to some extent distorted. The mirror they hold up to flawed human nature is often flawed itself’.¹⁰⁷⁸ These lines not only show the limits of this particular genre, but also the deformation that the war creates. Marvell emphasises De Ruyter’s success, since it highlights the corruption within the English admiralty, and especially the courtly officers, which led to the disaster at Chatham.¹⁰⁷⁹ It is a completely different image of the United Provinces and England than that portrayed in Marvell’s ‘The Character’. In the *Second* and *Third Advice*, as well as *Last Instructions*, it is personal gain placed over public good that is condemned, and the people responsible for this kind of behaviour, such as the Earl of Clarendon, are presented as greed personified.¹⁰⁸⁰ In the poems, Marvell is not afraid to show defeat, to criticise and to praise when deserved, whereas for Dryden the same events received a noble appraisal of the court in *Annus Mirabilis*.¹⁰⁸¹

He, first, survey’d the charge with careful eyes,
 Which none but mighty Monarch could maintain;
 Yet judg’d, like vapours that from Limbecks rise,
 It would in richer showers descend again.

(ll. 49-52)

¹⁰⁷⁷ Toliver, p. 207.

¹⁰⁷⁸ deF. Lord, p. xliii.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Holberton, ‘Representing the Sea’, p. 85.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Chernaik, *The Poet’s Time*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁸¹ Denise E. Lynch, ‘Politics, Nature and Structure in Marvell’s ‘The Last Instructions to a Painter’’, *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture 1660-1700*, 16.2 (1992): 82-92 (p. 83).

The praise for the king in this quotation – his careful examination of the war – stands in stark contrast to Marvell’s address to the king at the end of each *Painter Poem*. Marvell comments on the war policy, administration and the War’s futility, but remains equivocal about his sympathies. In *The Last Instruction*, his advice to the king becomes more outspoken, so that king and country can be restored to peaceful cooperation: ‘Ceres corn, and Flora is Spring,/ Bacchus is Wine, the Country is the King’ (ll. 973-74).¹⁰⁸² His poems show that Restoration literature was deeply concerned with Britain as a maritime power and its ever-expanding overseas empire, but he was also not afraid to show the nations’ mistakes, on both the English and the Dutch side.

In Constantijn Huygens’ poetry of the 1660s, we see a similar presentation of the sea as an opportunity for self-reflection. Some literary connections between Huygens and Andrew Marvell have already been drawn in Chapter VI. At the same time as the *Painter Poems*, Constantijn Huygens wrote his long poem, ‘Zee-straet’ (1665), commemorating the paved road from the Hague to the sea. Huygens’ own design for this road was eventually adopted, and in his 1000 lines poem, he describes the process of design and construction. What features prominently in sections of the poem is the objective force of the sea, functioning as a mirror. Huygens invites youth from The Hague to travel down the new road to the sea-front, where the endless movement of the tides reminds us all that denominations, countries, and wars are temporary – all while a war was being fought in that exact same sea:

In all het Wereltsche gaet even sulcken Vloed,

¹⁰⁸² Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown*, p. 497.

En sulcken Ebb te rugg: siet Menschen, Huysen, Staten
En Koninghrijcken aen; daer is geen toeverlaten
Op evenstandigheit; die schael moet op en neer.
[...]
De rijcken waggelen, de konincklicke Steden,
En die men gisteren sagh staen, waer zijn sy heden?

(ll. 578-581, 587-588)

In the world, each same flood flows,
And each Ebb returns: see Man, Genealogy, State
And Kingdoms, there is no depending
On a stable balance; the scales rise and fall.
[...]
The rich stumble, those royal Cities,
One once saw standing, where are they now?

The war is not mentioned directly in the poem, which is curious, as it is not unthinkable that its maritime engagements could be seen from the dunes of Scheveningen. The narrator instead presents himself as an old man, reflecting on his travels abroad when looking at the sea, the different countries he has seen, and that in the end time will end all. The attitude that Marvell and Huygens demonstrate, of futility and transience, stands in great contrast with other English poets writing on the Second Anglo-Dutch War, such as Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, who sees the War as inevitable and necessary:

Thus mighty in her Ships, stood *Carthage* long,
And swept the riches of the world from far;
Yet stoop'd to *Rome*, less wealthy, but more strong:
And this may prove our second Punick War.

What peace can be where both to one pretend?
 (But they more diligent, and we more strong)
Or if a peace, it soon must have an end
 For they would grot too pow'rful were it long.

(ll. 17-24)

Zwicker even proposes that Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* was composed as a counter-response to the critiques uttered in the *Second Advice*, in order to divert the attention away from the Duke and Duchess of York (and perhaps also composed with an eye on the position of Poet Laureate).¹⁰⁸³ This would mean that Marvell, who once wrote the most famous satire on the Dutch of the seventeenth century, in his response to the Second Anglo-Dutch War was closer in attitude to Huygens than the panegyric and patriotic Dryden.

Milton, Marvell and Empire

In the last section of this last chapter, I would like to take the rivalry that Marvell (and Milton) witnessed first-hand beyond European territory to the Far East. There, similar battles for naval supremacy, dominion over the trade of exotic goods, and early colonial power took place. After all, at the time of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the English (and the Kingdom of Makassar) were also fighting the Dutch in Eastern Indonesia.¹⁰⁸⁴ Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* opens with a description of the Dutch trade in the East,

¹⁰⁸³ Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Su Fang Ng, 'Dutch Wars, Global Trade, and the Heroic Poem: Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) and Amin's *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* (1670)', *Modern Philology*, 109.3 (2012): 352-384 (p. 352).

demonstrating that the English sought dominance over trade; that England *should* be the centre of the world:¹⁰⁸⁵

Trade, which like blood should circularly flow,
Stop'd in their Channels, found its freedom lost:
Thither the wealth of all the world did go,
And seem'd but shipwrack'd on so base a Coast.

For them alone the Heav'ns had kindly heat,
In Eastern Quarries ripening precious dew:
For them the *Indumæan* Balm did sweat,
And in hot *Ceylon* Spicy Forrest grew.

The Sun but seem'd the lab'rer of their Year;
Each waxing Moon suppli'd her watry store,
To swell those Tides, which from the Line did bear
Their brim-full Vessels to the *Belg'an* shore.

(ll. 5-16)

The struggle for imperial dominance in the East thus played an important role in the Anglo-Dutch Wars. Marvell briefly hints at exotic trade and colonial ambitions in his *Painter Poems*. In, for example, the *Second Advice*, the Duke of Sandwich, as mentioned above, divides a Dutch load from the East Indies between his officers: 'Two Indian ships, pregnant with eastern pearl/ And diamonds, sate the officers and Earl' (ll. 305-306). Moreover, Marvell's *Last Instructions* acknowledges that the loss of Chatham's harbour also hit English trade:

¹⁰⁸⁵ In this thesis, I will not go into the details of empire and nationhood, and its ambiguous representations in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, see Su Fang Ng, 'Dutch Wars', pp. 352-384; Laura Brown, 'Dryden and the Imperial Imagination', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 59-74; Sophie Gee, 'The Invention of the Wasteland: Civic Narrative and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29.1 (2005): 82-108.

The houses were demolished near the Tower.
Those ships that yearly from their teeming hole
Unloaded here the birth of either Pole--
Furs from the north and silver from the west,
Wines from the south, and spices from the east;
From Gambo gold, and from the Ganges gems--
Take a short voyage underneath the Thames,
Once a deep river, now with timber floored,
And shrunk, least navigable, to a ford.

(ll. 714-722)

The last section of this final chapter will unite the two previously discussed main points of nationhood and trade (leading to the Anglo-Dutch wars), by focussing on Anglo-Dutch presence in the Moluccan Spice Islands, and the trade of its spices.

Food and trade have always been an area self-conscious about the formation or alteration of nationality, and the exchange of foreign commodities has often led to changes in the national cuisine. Questions that should be asked when discussing food in the period – what is produced? how is it produced? where does it come from? – are all highly political.¹⁰⁸⁶ The latter question is particularly important, as it deals with matters of trade. The sourcing of ingredients and the diplomatic relations lying behind the produce became important for the nation's foundation itself: '[s]pices symbolized an ongoing transformation of the idea of surplus value: rather than a luxury, they increasingly seemed a necessity for maritime nations that made international trade a

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ronald J. Herring, 'How is Food Political? Market, State, and Knowledge', in *The Oxford Handbook of Food, Politics, and Society*, ed. by Ronald J. Herring (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 4-29 (p. 8).

crucial component of their tax structures, financial planning, labour markets, investment strategies, and ideological self-definition'.¹⁰⁸⁷

As early as the fifteenth century, capitalism and European colonial expansion changed the diets of the Europeans.¹⁰⁸⁸ The medieval tradition of food as solely 'symbols of material comfort and social prominence' became instead signifiers of much more: economics, politics, sociability and, even more important, national identity.¹⁰⁸⁹ Travellers visiting European countries brought back new cuisines to England; for example, recall the mentioning of the amount of butter used in Dutch cuisines noted in English travelogues in Chapter I. Those in England unable to travel could, after 1600, find recipe books with recipes attributed to special countries, such is visible in the cookbook of Cromwell's wife, Joan, published in 1664, which has a recipe of boiling pigeons the 'Dutch way'.¹⁰⁹⁰ Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, books and pamphlets were published that highlighted the political dimensions of the internationalisation of the English diet. Gervase Markham's *Country Contentments or The English Huswife* (1623) warns readers about the use of foreign food. Likewise, Robert Herrick's celebration of the simple life in his poem 'The Country Life' rejects the use of foreign spice:

Thou never plough'st the ocean's foam
To see and bring rough pepper home;
Nor to the Eastern Ind dost rove

¹⁰⁸⁷ Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 31.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Enrique C. Ochoa, 'Political Histories of Food', in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. by Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 24-35 (p. 25).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Jayeeta Sharma, 'Food and Empire', in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. by Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 242-256 (p. 243); Fabio Parasecoli, 'Introduction', to *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, Diversity and Dialogue*, ed. by Darra Goldstein and Kathrin Merkle (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005): 11-37 (p. 13).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 115-118.

To bring from thence the scorched clove;
Nor, with the loss of thy lov'd rest,
Bring' st home the ingot from the West.

(ll. 5-10)

As late as 1700, John Houghton discussed the Dutch dominance in the cloves trade and encouraged readers to use the English trade commodities of cardamom and grains of paradise instead.¹⁰⁹¹ Milton and Marvell were writing in this time of rapid change and will have been aware of contemporary dialogues on foreign foodstuff and its political dimensions. The politics of spice will therefore be discussed in this chapter, in *Paradise Lost* and some individual poems by Marvell, with reference to the Massacre of Amboyna. I will briefly examine associations with spice in the seventeenth century, before commencing a discussion of their role in literature.

In general, there were two types of spice in England during the seventeenth century: those from the New World (vanilla and chili) and from the East (cinnamon, cloves etc.). The spices from America were relatively new, whereas those from the East had already been mentioned in literature as early as 1400:¹⁰⁹² compare for example vanilla, mentioned 5 times in 2 records with cloves mentioned 10725 in 1058 records.¹⁰⁹³ A number of spices, such as cinnamon, are mentioned in the Bible, and therefore had a religious connotation. One only has to think of Joseph who was sold to a spice caravan (Genesis 37:25). As a result, Eastern spices had a wealth of associations, uses,

¹⁰⁹¹ Thirsk, pp. 92, 317.

¹⁰⁹² Stobart writes that Jamaican peppers were already imported to England in the seventeenth century, but I have been unable to find reference to these peppers in literature of the period. As a result, they are not mentioned in Appendix 3. Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 46.

¹⁰⁹³ See Appendix 3 for a complete overview of the dating of the spices in English literature, as well as their frequency, compared to spices from the New World.

and prejudices that had not yet developed for spices from the Americas.¹⁰⁹⁴ One of the most significant of these was the connection between spice and Paradise.¹⁰⁹⁵ It was thought that Paradise was still located on Earth and in the Far East, near India, yet still inaccessible, an idea for example visible on the Mappa Mundi of Hereford that places Paradise near India.¹⁰⁹⁶

It appears that Marvell plays with this belief in his poem 'Bermudas', in which the coloniser does not sail East to find a practical Paradise, but West, 'presenting a quest for a colonial Eden as misguided'.¹⁰⁹⁷ The references in the poem suggest that on this new world the oldest habitat of all can be found, Eden, with an 'eternal spring/ which here enamels ev'rything' (ll. 13-14). The remoteness of the Island, both in location and nature itself, is constantly emphasised by Marvell.¹⁰⁹⁸ This echoes other accounts of Bermuda, such as Edmund Waller's 'The Battle of the Summer Islands' (1645) that presents an ideal garden, in this case not an Eden, but 'Th'Hesperian Garden', but filled with crude inhabitants.¹⁰⁹⁹ It is, however, difficult to read Marvell's account of the landscape as genuine and non-satirical when taking contemporary accounts of Bermuda into account, such as John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624) and William

¹⁰⁹⁴ Merchants quickly picked up on the market value of these religious associations, and named some of the spices after this belief; think for example of the spice meleguete pepper, named 'grains of paradise': Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. 6, 13. The fact that this was sourced from West Africa, and nowhere near India and the supposedly located Garden of Eden, was unknown to the consumer.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Schivelbusch, pp. 6, 13.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Spice clearly still invokes many associations and is an imagination-sparking subject to write about, which is visible in the many popular history books that are published on the subject (see Kronrdl and Schivelbusch for example). Some of these books fall into the same pitfall of grotesque characterization as seen in travelogues of the period. Kronrdl, in particular, gives a one-sided view of the Netherlands in past and present that relies heavily on stereotypes of the Netherlands and its people, of which 'a numberless blond, blue-eyed people' is just one example: Michael Kronrdl, *The Taste of Conquest: The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2007), pp. 189.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Eric Song, 'The Country Estate and the East Indies (East and West): The Shifting Scene of Eden in *Paradise Lost*', *Modern Philology*, 108.2 (2010): 199-223 (p. 204).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Edward Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics, and Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 124.

¹⁰⁹⁹ A.D. Cousins, 'Marvell's Devout Mythology of the New World: Homeland and Home in 'Bermudas', *Parergon*, 30.1 (2013): 203-219 (pp. 203, 216).

Strachey's *A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knights, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas* (1609), which both present a near-caricature post-lapsarian island, with tempests, vermin, poor soil and gloomy winters.¹¹⁰⁰ More discoveries and colonies confirmed that Paradise was not to be found either in the East or the West, whether near the Spice Islands or Bermuda.¹¹⁰¹

Milton was aware of the history of spice at the time of the composition of *Paradise Lost*. In Chapter IV, I already briefly mentioned Camões' epic poem *The Lusiads*, which describes Vasco da Gama's travel to the East, including the discovery of the very valuable Spice Islands. Whether Milton had read Camões' poem is unknown, but Satan's flight has often been compared to Da Gama's travel.¹¹⁰² There are, indeed, several similarities, of which the descriptions of the hazardous journey and the travel to the Spice Islands are just two examples. However, at the time when Milton was writing his epic, the spice monopoly of the Portuguese had been taken over by the English and the Dutch. They were greatly assisted by a single book: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naar Oost ofte portugael's Indien* (1596), translated into English as *John Huighen van Linschoten: his discourse into ye Easte and West Indies: devided into foure books* (1598). This book describes the vulnerabilities of the Portuguese in the East through several maps, commercial manuals, and suggestions for navigation.¹¹⁰³ It was not long after that the

¹¹⁰⁰ Smith, 'tis not, what once it was, the world', pp. 221-222; Patterson, 'Bermudas and the Coronet', p. 488.

¹¹⁰¹ As Nicholas von Maltzahn has shown, Marvell had some interest in countries in the East (and West), for example shown in the interesting expression of 'Indians poison-pot' in his *Remarks* (PWAM: II. 471). This can be traced to a Spanish text about the New World and a Dutch source about Indonesia: Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'Marvell's Indian Poison-Pot', *Notes and Queries*, 60.4 (2013): 535-537.

¹¹⁰² See for example, Timothy Morton, *The Poetics of Spice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 71; Lim, *The Arts of Empire*, pp. 208-210.

¹¹⁰³ Markley, *The Far East*, p. 33.

spice trade was in the hands of the English and the Dutch: pushing Anglo-Dutch relations beyond the boundaries of Europe into the Far East.

Firstly, throughout Milton's works there are references to spicy odours, signifying corruption within satanic characters. In *Paradise Regained*, Satan offers the Son a meal that is spiced 'with pompous delicacies' (II. 390). In *Samson Agonistes*, the metaphor of mercantilism is even more prominent when Delila is compared to a Spanish ship:

Comes this way sailing
Like a stately Ship
Of Tarsus, bound for th' Isles
Of Javan or Gadier
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
Court'd by all the winds that hold them play,
An Amber sent of odorous perfume
Her harbinger, a damsel train behind;

(II. 713- 721)

The references to specific spices and their politics is, however, particularly prominent in *Paradise Lost*. The first time that Satan is referred to in terms evocative of a spice merchant is in Book II, when he is about to commence on his journey to Earth:

As when far off, at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants brings
Their spicy drugs: they on the trading flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape

Ply stemming nightly towards the pole. So seemed
Far off the flying fiend:

(II. 636- 643).

This describes the journey to the East, whereas later in the passage, Milton describes the journey back to Europe, mirroring the trafficking between the continents (IV. 157-165, quoted further below). Satan's journey through chaos with Eden as final destination, via the East, has previously been compared with an ocean voyage.¹¹⁰⁴ Chaos is, after all, described as 'dark/ Illimitable Ocean without bound' (II. 891-92), drawing connections with journeys of discovery and the trading networks that drove them.

The reference to Ternate and Tidore in the above quotation, two islands of the Moluccas, creates a direct link to the spice trade, describing the route through the Ethiopian Sea that merchants from Europe would take. The cloves that were grown on these two islands, and on Amboyna, were the prime source of cloves in Asia; production was purposefully restricted to safeguard their value, as well as to control the monopoly on cloves.¹¹⁰⁵ More importantly, they were in the hand of the Dutch, after they expelled the Portuguese in 1604 and the Spanish in 1609.¹¹⁰⁶ Afterwards, the Dutch claimed that the people of the Moluccas had promised all their cloves to the Dutch for a fixed price out of gratitude for freeing them from the Spanish and Portuguese.¹¹⁰⁷ The Dutch controlled the monopoly on cloves for the remainder of the seventeenth century,

¹¹⁰⁴ Su Fang Ng, 'Pirating Paradise: Alexander the Great, The Dutch East Indies, and Satanic Empire in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Studies*, 52 (2011): 59-91 (p. 86).

¹¹⁰⁵ Paul Freedman, 'The Medieval Spice Trade', in *Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. by Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 325-340 (p. 334).

¹¹⁰⁶ Vincent C. Loth, 'Armed Incidents and Unpaid Bills: Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the Banda Islands in the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies*, 29.4 (1995): 705-740.

¹¹⁰⁷ Markley, *The Far East*, p. 51.

through a careful policy of limited production, and the destruction of clove groves in the hands of the Dutch or other nations.

In this passage, Satan is not associated with the inhabitants of the islands, but with the merchants trading from them, which could only refer to the Dutch. Satan can, therefore, be read as a Dutch merchant.¹¹⁰⁸ It is not without reason that Satan, like a wealthy merchant, had his home in Pandemonium decorated with ‘sparkling, orient Gems’ (III. 507).¹¹⁰⁹ These lines of the poem have been read previously as a condemnation of the Portuguese and the colonialisation in the East.¹¹¹⁰ Anti-colonial arguments in the figure of Satan should not, however, be read as a general statement on colonialization.¹¹¹¹ As Su Fang Ng also argued, it is problematic to say that ‘Milton is a poet against empire simply because Satan is an imperialist monarch’, when observing the similarities between God and Satan as (imperialist) monarchs.¹¹¹² Given Milton’s writings on the colonialization of Ireland in his *Observations* (1649), it is impossible to argue that Milton was fully against the concept of colonialization in the first place. Instead, we must read these sentiments in the light of Anglo-Dutch rivalry, and as an attack on the Dutch monopolistic imperial expansion in the East. It was a sentiment frequent in English literature of the period, for which Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis* is again

¹¹⁰⁸ Others have already drawn this conclusion, although based on mercantile imagery, rather than spices. See Markley, *The Far East*, p. 83; Morton, pp. 71-72.

¹¹⁰⁹ Su Fang Ng has argued that Satan is a Dutch merchant for different reasons again. She argues that the pun ‘hollow’, referring to the situation of the Netherlands being below sea-level, draws parallels with Satan’s association with marshes, bogs and winds in the epic. I am not sure to what extent this would be recognisable to seventeenth-century polemic readers as typically Dutch: Su Fang Ng, ‘Pirating Paradise’, p. 74.

¹¹¹⁰ See for example Lim, pp. 210-218.

¹¹¹¹ See for critics arguing that Milton wrote against empire: David Quint, *Epic and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Paul Stevens, ‘Paradise Lost and the Colonial Imperative’, *Milton Studies*, 34 (1996): 3-21; David Armitage, ‘John Milton: Poet against Empire’, in *Milton and Republicanism*, ed. by David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 206-225. There are a few other critics who argue for positive and negative uses of colonialism, such as J. Martin Evans, *Milton’s Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

¹¹¹² Su Fang Ng, ‘Pirating Paradise’, p. 60.

a good example. In the concluding lines of his poem, Dryden describes a re-claiming of the Spice Islands as a restoration of what naturally belonged to the English:

Already we have conquer'd half the War,
And less dang'rous part is left behind:
Our trouble now is but to make them dare,
And not so great to vanquish as to find.

Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go;
But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more:
A constant Trade-wind will securely blow,
And gently lay us on the Spicy shore.

(ll. 1209-1216)

Similarly, Milton is not anti-mercantile but draws differences between English and the Dutch merchants through the other spices in Milton's epic. Though a Dutch merchant, Satan is not bound for the United Provinces, but alights in the Garden of Eden. This Eden, as Miltonists have argued before, is reminiscent of England and the English countryside; the 'scentscape' or 'aromarama' is remarkably different.¹¹¹³ What we find here, are not spices from the Moluccas, or even India, but only those linked to the Middle East and mentioned repeatedly in the Bible. When Rafael walks through the forest of the Garden of Eden, all kinds of spicy smells are released:

Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flowering odours, cassia, nard, and balm;

¹¹¹³ Song, 'The Country Estate and the East Indies (East and West): The Shifting Scene of Eden in Paradise Lost', pp. 199-223; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Paradise Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 181; Critics arguing for a resemblance of the English country house poem genre in the Garden of Eden, see D. M. Rosenberg, 'Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the Country Estate Poem', *Clio*, 18.2 (1989): 123-243; Christopher Wortham, 'A Happy Rural Seat': Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the English Country House Poem', *Parergon*, 9.1 (1991): 137-150.

A wilderness of sweets; for nature here
Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliss.
Him through the spice forest onward come
Adam discerned [.]

(V. 292-299)

These spices, cassia (a certain type of cinnamon), nard (also called spikenard), myrrh and types of balm are all biblical spices, for example in Salomon 4:14: ‘nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with every kind of incense tree, with myrrh and aloes and all the finest spice’. These biblical spices had particular connotations. Myrrh was thought to be a ‘prophylactic against devils’, making the herbs and spices that are to be found in paradise a defence mechanism against Satan’s exotic odours.¹¹¹⁴ It stages, therefore, a battle between English (biblical) spices and Satan’s Dutch spices.

Throughout the epic, we find distinctions drawn between exotic and fallen spice scents and those ‘native’ or natural spices, associated with God’s angels:

Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfume, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore
Of Arabie the blest, with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.

¹¹¹⁴ John B. Broadbent, *Some Graver Subject: An Essay to Paradise Lost* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960), p. 183.

This strong contrast between fallen and biblical spices is not only a rhetorical tool of persuasion, but, as Markley has suggested, reveals an English anxiety about the Dutch monopoly in the East Indies.¹¹¹⁵ From the first decades of the seventeenth century, the relations between the English and the Dutch were explosive in the East Indies.¹¹¹⁶ A trading treaty in 1619 divided the spice trade into one third of the Moluccan spices and half of the Javanese pepper for the English and the rest for the Dutch.¹¹¹⁷ In Milton's state papers are documents dealing with very specific quantities of spices that the Dutch had to pay to the English as compensation for a Dutch attack on their ships near the island of Poolaroon (such as a claim for 32,899 pounds pepper).¹¹¹⁸ Through his career in Parliament, Milton had copious data on the growth of the Dutch trading empire in the Far East, how valuable and corrupting the spices trade was, and the Dutch accumulation of monopolies on the spice trade. Milton's mentioning of Tidore and Ternate in the above quotation receives another dimension as a result.¹¹¹⁹ By

¹¹¹⁵ Robert Markley, "'The destin'd walls/ Of Cambalu": Milton, China, and the Ambiguities of the East', in *Milton and the Imperial Vision*, ed. by Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1999): 191-213 (p. 205).

¹¹¹⁶ It has to be noted that not all encounters between the English and the Dutch in the East Indies were hostile. They frequently helped each other during rebellions by the natives. They had dinner parties together, exchanged gifts, assisted with burials and supplies when necessary. The profit and trade was, however, what received most attention, which automatically made some relations tense; see Alison Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Connections and Overseas Enterprises: A Global Perspective on Lion Gardiner's World', pp. 435-461; Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelganger Dilemmas* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2015), p. 192.

¹¹¹⁷ Loth, pp. 719-722. This contract is an interesting illustration of the hypocrisy of countries when it came to profit involved. The proposal drafted by Grotius said that all the seas and territories that the Dutch had already conquered was theirs, which was in direct opposition to the *Mare Liberum* principle that the Dutch government supported. In a similar way, the English proposed a free seas strategy in the East, but maintained *Mare Clausum* when it came to European territory. See for more information, David Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 109-124.

¹¹¹⁸ Leo Miller, *John Milton's Writings in the Anglo-Dutch Negotiations, 1651-1654* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1992), p. 24.

¹¹¹⁹ The Dutch quickly found a way to stop the English from getting any profit. The contract also stated that the English were responsible for one third of the costs involved, and the Dutch presented these costs as so high that the only way the poorly funded EIC could pay was with spices, which meant they lost their trade almost completely. The treaty led to an exclusion of the English from the spice market until at least 1639.

mentioning two prime locations of clove production, associations with Amboyna, another clove island, are made.¹¹²⁰

Neither Marvell nor Milton discuss the event of Amboyna directly in their works, but there are echoes and suggestions to be found. In Chapter IV, we saw the far-reaching influence of the Massacre. Milton himself had some personal experience with the aftermath of the Massacre. One of the authors writing on the Massacre, the pastor Thomas Myriel, was acquainted with John Milton the Elder, so Milton could also have received information shortly after the event that way.¹¹²¹ Robert Fallon has already argued that Cromwell's politics was eastward-orientated (which would include the Netherlands as well as the Far East), 'where trade with wealthy and powerful neighbours was the prime concern of [Milton's] superiors in government', and thus Milton, too.¹¹²² Milton as Latin secretary had written or translated documents on the Massacre of Amboyna, and especially those dealing with the complaint that the Dutch had not provided reparations for the Massacre.¹¹²³ The state document *Paper of Demands*, which Miller concluded was an authentic state paper by Milton, has six separate documents dealing with Amboyna and trading relations in the East.¹¹²⁴ It is important to note that although Amboyna was the most famous of collisions between the English and the Dutch in the East, it was not an incident in isolation. Similar incidents occurred on the Islands of Banda during the seventeenth century.¹¹²⁵ Milton's

¹¹²⁰ J.L. van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 35.

¹¹²¹ Warren, *Literature & Law of Nations*, p. 37; Campbell and Corns, p. 25.

¹¹²² Robert Fallon, 'Cromwell, Milton, and the Western Design', in *Milton and the Imperial Vision*, ed. by Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer (Pittsburgh: Duquesne Press, 1999), p. 154.

¹¹²³ Such as 'A Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth Relating to the Affairs of the States-General [1652]', *Works of Milton*, ed. by Patterson et al, XVIII: 13; 'A Summary of the particular real damages sustained by the English company in many places of the East Indies from the Dutch Company in Holland [June 1652]', *Works of Milton*, ed. by Patterson et al, XIII: 133-135.

¹¹²⁴ Miller, *Anglo-Dutch Negotiations*, pp. 23-24.

¹¹²⁵ Loth, pp. 705-740.

and later Marvell's roles in parliament will have dealt with a spectrum of trading disagreements about spice in the Far East. The same arguments continued up to and during the Second Anglo-Dutch War when Marvell was involved. Both writers had a more complete overview than narratives of the Massacre alone.

Coming back to Marvell's poem 'The Character of Holland', it was composed in the same period as Milton's state papers dealing with the Dutch after the Massacre. In this context, it is not difficult to read Marvell's lines from the poem 'The Character' as another comment on Amboyna:

They try, like Statuaries, if they can,
Cut out each others Athos to a Man:
And carve in their large Bodies, where they please,
The Armes of the United Provinces.

(ll. 97-100)

The English claims of torture and massacre by the Dutch, as seen in for example the anonymous pamphlet *A True Relation of the Unjust and Cruel Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (1624), make the carving of the Arms of the United Provinces ring with echoes to the Dutch behaviour in Amboyna. The history of Amboyna became a symbol for Anglo-Dutch competition and rivalry in the East and a great propaganda tool, of which Dryden's play *Amboyna* (1673) is perhaps the greatest example. The play was performed during the Third Anglo-Dutch War, demonstrating the potency of Amboyna to induce anti-Dutch sympathies. Parallels can be drawn with Marvell's 'Character of Holland', that similarly was recycled during all three Anglo-Dutch Wars. It is unlikely that Milton will have seen the play, but not improbable that Marvell did. The prologue to the play encourages English warfare with the Dutch, and is worth

quoting it here in full, as it can be read as a full summary of Anglo-Dutch relations during the seventeenth century.

The dotage of some *Englishmen* is such
To fawn on those who ruine them; the *Dutch*.
They shall have all rather then make a War
With those who of the same religion are.
The *streights*, the *Guiney* Trade, the Herrings too,
Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you:
Some are resolv'd not to find out the Cheat,
But cuckold like, love him who does the Feat:
What injuries soe'r upon us fall,
Yet still the same Religion answers all:
Religion wheedled you to Civil War,
Drew *English* Blood, And *Dutchmens* now wou'd spare:
Be gull'd no longer, for you'l find it true,
They have no more religion, faith ----- then you;
Interest's the God they worship in their state,
And you, I take it, have not much of that.
Well Monarchys may own religions name.
But States are Atheists in their very frame.
They share a sin, and such proportions fall
That like a stink, 'tis nothing to 'em all.
How they love *England*, you shall see this day:
No map shews *Holland* truer than our Play:
Their pictures and Inscription well we know;
We may be bold one Medal sure to show.
View then their falshoods, Rapine, Cruelty;
And think what once they were, they still would be:
But hope not either Language, Plot, or Art,
'Twas writ in haste, but with an *English* Heart:

And lest Hope, Wit; in *Dutchmen* that would be
As much improper as would Honesty.

(ll. 5-34)

The religious accusations in this prologue reveal a great deal about the political context and the progress (or rather decline) of Anglo-Dutch relations in the 1670s. Charles II's second attempt at war with the Dutch was seen by opposition in Parliament as endangering the European Protestant cause, hence the reference in the prologue to the Protestant religion they both share.¹¹²⁶ In order to justify the war, Charles II employed two writers of propaganda: John Dryden (1631-1700) and Henry Stubbe (1632-1676).¹¹²⁷ They would argue in the following months that the Dutch were not quite Protestant, as they attacked their Protestant brethren in the East, of which Amboyna was the most obvious and effective example.¹¹²⁸ Stubbe attacked the Dutch mostly in prose tracts, published in journals such as the *London Gazette*, and in the Third Anglo-Dutch War, he wrote two tracts defending the war: *A Justification of the Present War Against the United Netherlands* (1672) and *A Further Justification of the Present War Against the United Netherlands* (1673). Dryden, however, went down the literary road, leading to his play *Amboyna*.¹¹²⁹ These writings during and about the Third Anglo-Dutch War, though a movement that neither Marvell nor Milton directly contributed to, demonstrate that the East-Indies became another theatre of Anglo-Dutch relations, where conflicts and rivalry were 'shaped, mediated, and muted by a common faith and an ongoing

¹¹²⁶ Anne Barbeau Gardiner, 'Swift on the Dutch East India Merchant: The Context of 1672-1673 War Literature', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54.3 (1991): 234-252 (p. 236).

¹¹²⁷ Mordechai Feingold, 'Stubbe, Henry (1632-1676)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹²⁸ Anne Gardiner, p. 236.

¹¹²⁹ James Thompson argues that Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* could also be seen as part of a similar anti-Dutch movement: James Thompson, 'Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* and the Dutch Wars', *The Eighteenth Century*, 31.3 (1990): 211-226.

history of military alliance in Europe'.¹¹³⁰ The first stirrings of recognition that the scene of Anglo-Dutch relations had become global rather than European are, nonetheless, already clearly visible in the *Painter Poems* and *Paradise Lost*.

In a way, it is fitting to end this final chapter with Dryden's play *Amboyna*, as embodying many of the topics discussed in this thesis. In his prologue, many stereotypes are used that Milton and Marvell, too, encountered (and sometimes used in their own poetry), such as the Dutch love for pickling and herring, or Felltham's remark that profit or interest is the Dutch universal church. *Amboyna* comments on the Protestant bond between England and the United Provinces, although this is undermined by the supposed Atheism of the States (presumably States-General). It argues that the Dutch have shown their true faces of 'falshood, Rapine and Cruelty', illustrating exactly *Amboyna*'s effectiveness as a propaganda tool, and to what extent trade influenced diplomacy between the two nations. The prologue describes the tense relations in the East as a result of trading competition. Most importantly, it demonstrates that relations with the United Provinces provided rich inspiration for the literature of the seventeenth century and beyond. As we have seen, the works of Milton and Marvell are enmeshed in these complex relations between nations, and they contributed to the creation of a multifaceted cultural and literary Anglo-Dutch sphere.

¹¹³⁰ Rubright, p. 193.

~ Conclusion ~

On the fifth of November 1688, William III of Orange landed in Brixham, not far from Exeter, with the ambition of becoming the first Dutch king of England. He brought only a small following.¹¹³¹ His intention was, once again, to fight with England for the Protestant cause. The unification that had been desired by the Netherlands during the beginning of the Eighty Years' War but rejected by Elizabeth, and again suggested by Cromwell in the early 1650s, had now become a reality. Given that this thesis provides an overview of Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century, it may seem remiss not to have addressed the Glorious Revolution. The focus on Milton and Marvell, who were both well dead before this event, has, however, largely confined my investigations to the preceding period. Here at the end of the project, it might be permissible to speculate briefly on their respective responses to the culminating event in Anglo-Dutch relations of the period.

In one of his later poems, 'The Loyal Scot', Marvell explores the idea of nationality, boundaries and different languages.¹¹³² He uses the word 'shibboleth' as a comment on how national distinctions are a direct result of the Fall and thus a human construction, making nations merely a reflection of unnatural linguistic differences. The use of the word shibboleth illustrates that sometimes the only difference between nations is the simple pronunciation of a single word, hence ridiculing the notion of innate superiority of the divine favouring of one country over another.

¹¹³¹ Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 171. Steve Pincus relatively recent book, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), emphasises the Anglo-Dutch relations of the Glorious Revolution.

¹¹³² Annabel Patterson, *Marvell and the Civic Crown* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 167-170.

Nation is all but name as shibboleth,
Where a mistaken accent causes death.
In paradise names only Nature showed,
At Babel names from pride and discord flowed;
And ever since men with a female spite
First call each other names, and then they fight.

(ll. 262-267)

The invitation extended to William to become king of England can be seen as another example of the fluidity of nations, and that nationality can be exchanged. The continuance of rule, order and stability were more important than mere ideas of nation. As ever, it is difficult to pin down Marvell's particular allegiances, which are subtle and pragmatic, as demonstrated in Chapter VII and VIII. Perhaps the best answer can be found in his polemic work: if the United Provinces is 'th' off-scouring of the British sand', he might argue that a Dutch leader would effectively be British in any case ('Character of Holland', l. 2).

By contrast, when Milton's *The Readie and Easie Way* was published, he was accused of wanting England to become like the United Provinces.¹¹³³ However, Blair Worden has found several anti-Orangist statements in Milton's earlier *Defences*.¹¹³⁴ Would Milton rejoice at the prospect of being ruled by an Orange? Probably not, although no worse, perhaps, than a Stuart. His republican sympathies, as discussed in

¹¹³³ Su Fang Ng, 'Pirating Paradise: Alexander the Great, The Dutch East Indies, and Satanic Empire in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Studies*, 52 (2011): 59-91 (p. 67).

¹¹³⁴ Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell and Merhamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 202-203.

Chapter VIII, demand that any form of monarchy is to be rejected. Whether this was a monarchy ruled by a Dutchman or an Englishmen might have been less important than the constitution of the nation. William's ascension to the throne Milton would not have considered any kind of paradise regained.

Perhaps the question should not be whether they would have endorsed a leader from a republic or a monarchy, Dutch or English, since whether he was Protestant or not would likely have been more important. As demonstrated in Chapter VII, neither Milton nor Marvell looked favourably upon Catholics, and often even excluded them from their versions of toleration. William was able to come over to England because the prospect of having an English Catholic king was considered worth the ignominy of being invaded. In the end, it calmed the tides of religious unrest, making Protestantism the victor, something that both Milton and Marvell would have supported.

This study has followed one deceptively simple concern: the identification of the impact of Anglo-Dutch relations on the works of two canonical English authors. These relations were not always direct, or even obvious, but their traces are nonetheless visible when seen in the correct light. Through each of the chapters, we have seen that the influence of the United Provinces on England was multi-faceted and complex. The Anglo-Dutch Wars affected all layers of society in both countries; scholarly correspondence shaped various intellectual environments; the news and print networks carried (religious) controversies swiftly through Protestant Europe; and trading disagreements between the United Provinces and England were frequently at the centre of English foreign policy. As a result of the close intellectual interactions between the countries, English and Dutch writers demonstrate striking similarities in their works, whether in prose, poetry or drama, which suggests that we should no longer speak of

national literary spheres, but of shared European literary communities. This study has repeatedly reinforced the conviction that single-nation historical scholarship can only tell one half of the story.

This thesis has set out to provide an overview of numerous aspects of Anglo-Dutch relations within a relatively confined body of texts. Although several characteristics of the diplomatic relations between the United Provinces and England have already been picked up by critics, some original contributions can be found in this study. I have deployed many critical sources of Dutch critics that have been published only in Dutch, as well as presenting Dutch poetry, drama and prose that has never been translated before. In tracing Dutch political and religious developments, I found that many of these had English counter-movements, albeit transformed during the crossing to a degree rarely appreciated in current scholarship. This means that English and Dutch Arminianism are related, yet not the same, and that Dutch Republicanism relies on similar arguments to English Republicanism, but that their contexts were radically different. An appreciation of the ways such streams of thought in multiple fields must be accounted for is increasingly important. My reading of *Samson Agonistes* has demonstrated Milton's sophisticated knowledge of Dutch Arminianism, but a political reading of the same poem in combination with Vondel's *Samson* simultaneously argues that he was writing as an English republican. A close examination of Marvell's prose reveals that he, too, was aware of the different types of Arminianism, and that he condemned certain versions of Dutch toleration, such as Grotian toleration. Trading hostilities, often historically examined rather than through literature, were at the centre of the Anglo-Dutch Wars, each of which, in turn, had an impact on Milton's and Marvell's life and oeuvre. Marvell's outspoken satire on the United Provinces, 'The

Character of Holland', demonstrates a strong support of the English Commonwealth, whereas his later and little discussed *Painter Poems* present a precarious balance between defending and criticising English war policy, marking his evolving awareness of the futility of unquestioned nationalism. Milton's *Paradise Lost* uses details gleaned from Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East to illustrate Satan's merchandising. This was dependent not only on a wide range of ancient and contemporary literary sources but also his own career and political experience. Examining Anglo-Dutch relations in all its forms has enabled me to contextualise and accent some surprising poetic expressions and imagery, contributing to both author's lasting value as producers of original thought and language. These include invented Dutch words in Marvell's poetry, and a symbology of spice, both biblical and contemporary in Milton's epic.

Throughout, this study has relied on a method of comparative readings of Milton, Marvell and Dutch writers. Rather than arguing for direct textual connections, as critics have most often done before, I show that a contextual analysis has rewarding outcomes, including demonstrating that the authors often relied on similar sources and were responding to similar political developments. Vondel and Milton deployed a number of the same biblical narratives and expressions in their works, partly the result of their reliance on the same classical sources. Marvell and Huygens followed political developments of the early 1650s closely, and their responses took similar forms, using the country house poem genre, within which they could escape the tumultuous political times, both as the construction of an idyll and as a safe instrument for commentary on events. I have thus provided an original explanation for the similarities between the works of these four authors, within discussions that also account for differences in their final choices of content and expression.

What we can conclude from this Anglo-Dutch perspective is that Milton and Marvell were authors with influences and responses that exceeded the boundaries of England. Anglo-centric readings of their works can lead to impoverished, one-dimensional interpretations. They had personal dealings with European intellectuals, and were aware of European developments; in short, they took an active interest in the Continent, which could not have failed to emerge in their poetry and prose. Reading Milton and Marvell as European poets, arguing for the influence of not only the United Provinces on their works, but other nations too, will reveal new interpretations that will not only assist English literary criticism, but studies of other early modern literary cultures, as well. Though an understanding of how early modern Europe was connected in many and various ways, Milton, Marvell and other canonical writers can be considered part of a single, diverse, literary European sphere, and this will enable more profound comprehension of early modern Europe as a whole. Though I have concentrated in this thesis on the exceptionally rich exchange between England and the United Provinces, the method for which this has been a case study could equally be applied in other contexts such as Milton's relationship with Italy, or Marvell and France.

In this thesis, I have only focussed on the works of two authors. This allowed a more detailed examination of the extent to which Anglo-Dutch relations impacted the lives and works of English individuals. This, however, also meant that a number of other things could not be addressed. Milton and Marvell did not live to see the closest example of Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century: the Williamite Revolution. A discussion of other English authors, such as John Dryden and Jonathan Swift, would reveal further developments in this Anglo-Dutch literary sphere, as well as

examining Anglo-Dutch relations in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century. A similar argument could be made for the late sixteenth century. Although I have looked at the establishment of the Dutch Republic and its influence on Dutch rhetoric, a close examination of poets such as Philip Sidney and George Gascoigne would reveal opinions and attitudes in England towards the beginning of the Dutch Republic. Furthermore, the final chapter of this thesis took Anglo-Dutch relations beyond the geographical boundaries of Europe to the trading empires of the Far East. Both the English and the Dutch, of course, also played major roles in the West, and their cooperation and conflicts significantly shaped North America's emergence into nationhood. This deserves more attention than I was able to give here.

Perhaps it is most suitable to end this thesis with a few lines from Vondel's poem 'Opgang van Karel Stuart den Tweeden' (Return of Charles II) (1660), an expression of hope for mutual co-operation and strength in future unity. We have seen at several points during the thesis that Vondel and many others in the Dutch intellectual community passionately supported the Stuart Restoration. When the event finally took place, Vondel wrote this poem to commemorate the journey of Charles back to England, hoping that the returning king would stop in Amsterdam before sailing across the channel, which he unfortunately never did:

*De bloedband van Oranje en Groot-britanje
Geeft hope dat, der bondgenoten band
Bevestigd, elk van beide, op zijn kampanje,
Braveren zal wat zich hiertegens kant.*

(ll. 45-48)

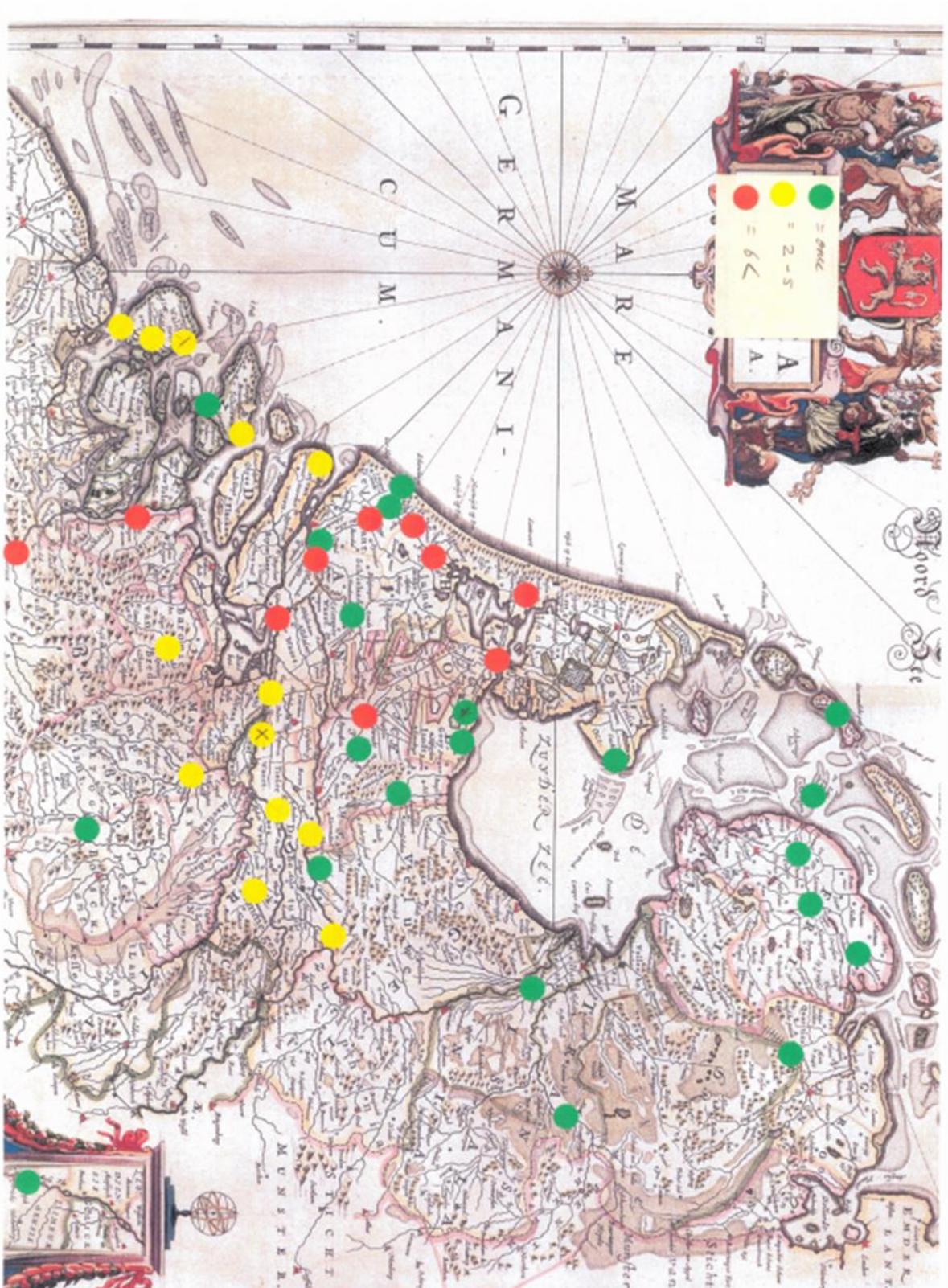
The blood ties of Orange and Great Britain,

Give hope, that the companion's bond

Is reinforced, by both, and each on his campaign

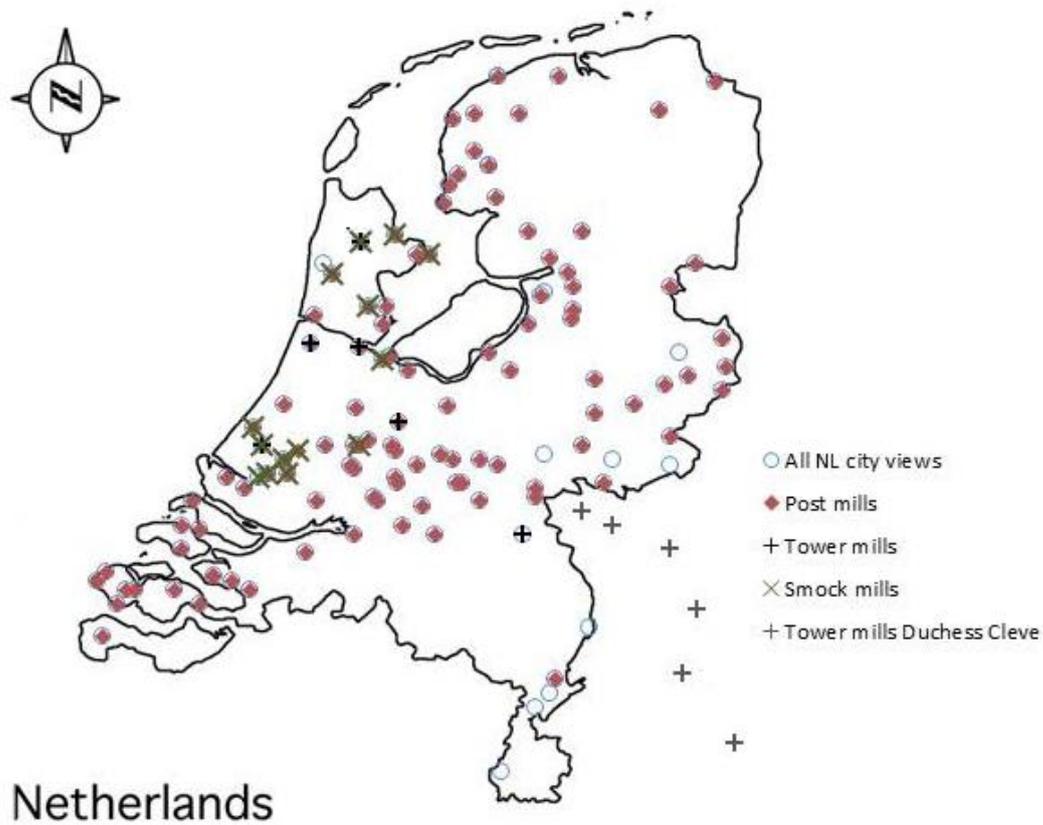
Shall brave those who with animosity respond.

~ Appendix 1 ~



Green = Mentioned by only one traveller. **Yellow** = mentioned by two –five travelogues. **Red** = mentioned by at least six travellers.

~ Appendix 2 ~



An analysis of the distribution of different windmill types in Europe has been carried out for the period 1550-1600.¹¹³⁵ A map of the Dutch seven provinces is shown here. In the seventeenth century the amount of windmills would even have been greater, as this is only a reflection of cities and not of villages and the countryside, which would include most windmills.

¹¹³⁵ I am grateful for the information that L.W.D. van Raamsdonk has given on his unpublished work. Analysis based on maps and city views of J.J. van Deventer, royal cartographer of King Philip II of Spain, published in facsimile, S. Munster, *Cartographia*, (Basel, first edition 1544), *Civitatis orbis terrarum*, 6 volumes (Cologne, 1572-1617).

~ Appendix 3 ~¹¹³⁶

BIBLICAL SPICES			
Spice	Hits	Records	(earliest) Date
Saffron	12658	1754	1400
Cinnamon	12639	1290	1480
Myrrh	11127	2280	1477
Aloes	9374	1426	1480
Cassia	4260	971	1526
Calamus	1954	607	1482
Nard	855	378	1480
Total	52897	8706	Average date:
Average per spice	7557	1244	1475

SPICES FROM EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA			
Spice	Hits	Records	Date
Pepper (including long-pepper)	14625	1991	1480
Cloves	10725	1058	1500
Ginger	8821	1154	1480
Cumin	2794	992	1485
Anise-seed	1886	472	1480
Camphora	662	159	1526
Turmeric	446	151	1577
Cardamom	207	99	1548
Total	40166	6067	Average date:
Average per spice	5020	760	1510

¹¹³⁶ All searches to the occurrence of spices have been done through *Early English Books Online* (16 March of 2016). All documents added after the aforementioned date have therefore not been taking into account). I have only used spices that were regularly mentioned in books about the spice trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and excluded spices with names that could result in more hits with a different meaning, such the spice mace also meaning maze.

SPICES FROM AMERICA			
Spice	Hits	Records	Date
Vanilla	5	2	1685
Chili	1	1	1604
Allspice	0	0	-
Total	6	3	Average date:
Average per spice	3	1.5	1645

~ Appendix 4 ~

‘I will precede you with song!’

Ick wil u voorgaen met gezangen!

Five Dutch Golden Age Poets in Translation

(Joost van den Vondel, *Adam in Ballingschap*, I. 150)

Jacob Cats (1577-1660)

Een selectie uit Sinne- en Minnebeelden (1627)

VIII Ik word zonder wond gekwetst

De blixem kan het sweert in hondert stucken breken,
Maer laet de scheede gaef, daer in het heeft ghesteken;
'Tis even soo een vyer dat my de pijn doet,
Ik ben, eylaes! ghequetst, en noyt en liet ick bloet:
Ik ben, eylaes! ghequetst, maer openbare wonden
En zijnder noyt ghesien, en zijnder noyt ghevonden;
Dies wensch ick tot behulp gheen kruyt, of machtigh gras,
Ick wensche reyne salf van enkel maeghde-was.¹¹³⁷

Niet al goudt datter blinckt

Wij sien een gult gevest, wy sien een mooye scheede;
Maer is de lemmer goet? Dat swoerje wel met eede.¹¹³⁸
En efter ist ghemist, de snelle blixem-strael¹¹³⁹
En breeck wel anders niet, als slechts het innigh stael.
Wanneer ghy menschen siet tot hooghen staet gheresen,
En achter niet terstont het hoochste goet te wesen;
Want daer 'thoof blinct en klinckt, daar dwinght en wringht de gheest;
Siet! waer het lichaem dreyght, daer is het hert bevreest.

Siet wat de blixem doet; hy sal een lemmer breken,
Hy sal in stucken slaen dat niet en is gheweken;
De scheede niettemin, daerin het yser stack,
Die blijft in haer gheheel en sonder onghemack.
Godt die het seltsaem vyer laet van den hemel dalen,
Die maect hem veel ghelijck met dese snelle stralen,
Hy breeckt dat wederstaet, hy spaert dat buyghen kan;
'Noyt wasser trotsch ghemoet dat Godes zeghen wan'.¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³⁷ *Maeghde-was*: zuiver was, en vaak gebruikt in zalven en pleisters. Alleen de volgzaamheid van de maagd kan hier dezelfde verzachtende functie als zuiver bijenwas veroorzaken.

¹¹³⁸ *Lemmer*: de kling van het zwaard.

¹¹³⁹ *En efter ist ghemist*: en toch is dat een vergissing.

¹¹⁴⁰ Laatste vier regels zijn een referentie naar God's toorn, zichtbaar in de blixem. Het is een specifieke verwijzing naar Job 9:13-17.

A Selection from Sinne- en Minnebeelden (1627)

VIII *Healthy outside, wounded within*

Lightning may break a sword into a hundred shards

Yet leave the sheath it rested in unharmed:

Just so, it is a fire that gives me pain.

I am, alas! hurt, though no blood escaped my veins

I am, alas! hurt, but suffer open wounds

That yet are never seen, nor ever found;

I seek no herb or potent grass as cure,

My only wish, a salve of wax most pure.¹¹⁴¹

All that glistens is not gold

We see a golden hilt and ornate scabbard, both

But is the blade as true? That, you swore with an oath

And did it really miss? Swift lightning

Wrecks nothing but the steel within.

When you see people raised to high estate,

Ascent to virtue rarely can equate;

For where the head is bright and brash, the soul is forced and writhing.

See! Within a threatening body, a fearful heart is hiding.

See what lightning does – the blade is splintered,

Shattered to pieces when it resisted:

The scabbard, though, where iron was interred,

Remains still whole and undisturbed.

God rarely sends fire from heaven's vault,

Yet equalises much with these swift bolts.

He breaks the unyielding, but spares the acquiescing:

'No proud disposition ever won God's blessing'.¹¹⁴²

¹¹⁴¹ A *salve of wax*: pure beeswax that was used in ointments and bandages.

¹¹⁴² The last four lines are images of God's wrath, visible in the lightning, making reference to Job 9:13-17.

XLIII *Al wat mint, wonder versint*¹¹⁴³

Eens was ick op tyt bij Rosemont gecomen,
Ik hadde met beleyt twee luyten met genomen;
 Op d'eene lagh een stroo, (siet! wat een vreemde streeck)
 Dat sprongh in haesten op, met dat de toon geleeck.
Ghy roert mij, Rosemont! Ghy roert my sonder raecken,
En, schoon ick elders ben, noch condy my ghenaecken:
 Siet; daer twee harten zijn op éénen toon gepast,
 Daar voeltmen menichmael ooc datmen niet en tast.

*Bly met den blyden.*¹¹⁴⁴

Wanneer de soete luyt heeft wel gestelde snaren,
En voelt een ander luyt op haer gestalte paren,¹¹⁴⁵
 Soo toontse bly gelaet, als ofse vreugde schiep,
 Dat yemant haers ghelyc tot eer en vreugde riep,
Leert hier uyt swarte nijt uyt uwen boesem weren,
Leert voordeel, leer geluck, voor uwen vrient begeeren;
 Het is een wreede vreught, een vinnigh onbescheyt,
 Dat yemant lacchen derf, om dat een ander schreyt.

 Ach! hoe ellendigh is de man,
 Die nimmer vrolijck wesen kan,
 Dan als een ander is beducht,
 Of in benautheyt leydt en sucht,
 Ach! hoe ellendich is de ménsch,
 Die als een ander krijght zijn wensch,
 Van spijt zijns herten bloet verteert!¹¹⁴⁶
 O vrient, die plaghe van u weert.

De luyt, de zoete luyt, bij niemant aenghedreven,
Die salmen hel geklanck bij wijlen hooren geven;
 Daer is geen meesters hant, geen vinger aende snaer,
 Maer slechts een stille lucht komt sijgen over haer.
Daer is een soete vreugt, een heymelijcke zegen,
Die op de zielen daelt door onbekende wegen;
 Mijn herte luystert toe, het is het hoogste soet
 Dat sonder menschen hulp beweegt een stil gemoet.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴³ *Wonder versint*: wanneer er wonderlijke zaken worden waargenomen.

¹¹⁴⁴ *Bly met den blyden*: motto uit Romeinen 12:15.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Op haer gestalte paren*: de tonen op elkaar afstemmen.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Van spijt zijns herten bloet verteert!*: een gepersonificeerde Invidia is traditionaal beschreven alsof ze haar eigen hart opat.

¹¹⁴⁷ Wanneer God met zijn verborgen geest de snaar bespeeld van de godsvruchtigen is er geen grotere verrukking. Wij kunnen de beweging van God's geest niet met onze sterfelijke ogen zien, maar we kunnen het wel door onze godsdienstigheid horen.

XLIII All that is created, induces wonder

Once I came to Rosemond on time,
Gently carrying two lutes of mine
 On one lay a straw (see – what a curious stroke)
 That sprang about when it hit the same note.
You move me, Rosemond! Without a touch you thrill.
Even when I stray you touch me still.
 See! Where two hearts to a common tone adjust
 One sometimes feels there is no need to touch.

*Glad with those who are glad.*¹¹⁴⁸

When the charming lute has well-tuned strings,
And with another lute perceives them twins,
 She shows glad countenance, as if had she created joy.
 That in her even tone, one bliss and honour may enjoy.
Learn thus to fend black envy from your breast.
Learn the benefit of wishing friends great happiness;
 It is cruel sport, a cutting impudence,
 When someone laughs, because another laments.

Oh! How miserable is the one,
Whose happiness depends upon
Someone's being petrified,
Or lie prostrate and sigh!
Oh! How miserable is the one,
Who when someone's wish is won,
Consumes their own heart's blood in spite!¹¹⁴⁹
O friend! You must ward off this blight.

The lute, sweet lute, that no one strums or tweaks,
One wants from time to time to let it rawly speak;
 But no master's hand is there, the string plucked by no finger,
 Only dumb air comes, its silence flowing round her.
There is a tender virtue, a blessing under veil,
That descends on souls by unknown trails;
 My heart! listen, 'tis joy of the highest kind
That moves through no man's help a quiet mind.

¹¹⁴⁸ Motto taken from Romans 12:15.

¹¹⁴⁹ An *Invidia* (jealousy personified) is traditionally represented as eating her own heart.

P.C. Hooft (1581-1647)

*Een selectie uit zijn Sonnetten (1600?-1630)*¹¹⁵⁰

*Aen A. J. van Blijdensinne*¹¹⁵¹

Genen poëet te recht yets vrolijx, oft bedaerts¹¹⁵²
Can singen in gedicht, nu, noch tot genen tije,
T'en sij dat hij beroert met vreemde raserije,¹¹⁵³
Gelaeft sij wt de claer Fontein des vluggen paerts¹¹⁵⁴
En machtich soo gemaect te singen yets vermaerts,
Doort inneblasen van der dichters Godt bedije;¹¹⁵⁵
Dats van des dichters siel een opperheerschappie,
Die boven t' lichaem vliecht, gereinicht van het aertsch.
De siel van den poëet verthoont sich in sijn dichten.
Soo, recht Pythagoras sijn jongers onderrichten¹¹⁵⁶
Van onser sielen reys, en wonderlijck bedrijf,
Achyilles siel was in Homerus lijf gescholen,
In Alexanders lijf Homerus siel verholen,¹¹⁵⁷
En nu woon Nasoos siel in Blijdensinnes lijf.¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵⁰ Hooft heeft in de jaren 1600-1630 een vijftigtal sonnets geschreven. Dit sonnet is één van de oudste sonnetten, alhoewel de precieze datum van compositie niet bekend is.

¹¹⁵¹ A.J. Blijdesinne was een vertaler van Ovidius van wie verder niets bekend is.

¹¹⁵² *Te recht*: naar behoren.

¹¹⁵³ *Rasserije*: geestvervoering, verrukking.

¹¹⁵⁴ *De claer Fontein*: Hippocrene, een bron op de berg Helicon, gewijd aan de muzen; *Des vluggen paerts*: het paard Pegasus die met zijn hoeven Hippocrene vormde.

¹¹⁵⁵ *Inneblasen*: inspiratie; *Van der dichters Godt*: de god der dichters, Apollo.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Recht*: Zoals.

¹¹⁵⁷ Volgens de overlevering was Alexander de Grote geïnspireerd door Homerus.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Naso*: Ovidius Naso, Romeinse dichter (43 v. Chr. – 17 n. Chr.).

A Selection from his Sonnets (1600?-1630)¹¹⁵⁹

To A. J. van Blijdensinne¹¹⁶⁰

No honest poet, in ecstasy or musing
Can song in verses truly capture,
Without the strange uplifting stir of rapture
 That at the swift colt's fountain has its rising,¹¹⁶¹
 And win renown with his fair sung line,
Except through gifts the god of poetry bestows.¹¹⁶²
That is the dominion of a poet's soul,
 In flight above the body, of all Earth purified
A poet's poems reveal his soul to us
Thus, as young men learned from Pythagoras
 Our souls can wander, and miracles achieve –
Achilles' soul survived in Homer's song,
Homer with Alexander travelled on,¹¹⁶³
 Now Blijdensinne Ovid's soul receives.

¹¹⁵⁹ Hooft wrote around fifty sonnets in the period 1600-1630. This sonnet is one of the oldest in his collection of 1636, but the exact dating of the poem is unknown.

¹¹⁶⁰ A.J. Blijdesinne was a translator of Ovid, of whom no more is known.

¹¹⁶¹ *Colt's*: the horse Pegasus who created Hippocrene with his hooves. *Fountain*: Hippocrene, a spring on the mountain Helicon, dedicated to the muses.

¹¹⁶² *God of Poetry*: Apollo.

¹¹⁶³ According to myth, Alexander the Great was inspired by Homer, and sought to emulate Achilles through his conquests.

*Aen Mijn Heer Huigh de Groot*¹¹⁶⁴

Weldighe ziel, die met uw scherp gesicht,¹¹⁶⁵
Neemt wisse maet van dingen die genaecken,
En al den sleur der overleden saecken
Begrepen houdt met yders reên en wight;
Vermoghend' ut te breên, in dierbaer dicht,
Wat raedt of recht oyt God oft menschen spraecken:
Sulx Hollandt ooght, als zeeman op een baecken
In starloos weêr, op uw verheven licht:
O groote Zon, wat sal ick van u maecken?
Een adem Gods die ut den hemel laecken
Comt in een hart wel keurigh toegericht?
Oft een vernuft in top van 's Hemels daecken
Verheldert, om op Aerd te coomen blaecken,
Daer 't landt en liên met leer en leven sticht?

¹¹⁶⁴ Het gedicht is gedateerd 3 September 1616. De grote rechtsgeleerde Hugo de Groot behoorde tot de vriendenkring van Hooft en hij bracht in september 1616 voor het eerst een bezoek aan het Muiderslot. Naar aanleiding van de Groot's *Hugonis Grotii Poemata, collecta et magnam partem nunc primym edita a fratre Guilielmo Grotio, Lugd. Batav.* (1617) schreef Hooft dit lofdicht.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Weldighe*: machtige.

*To my Lord Hugo Grotius*¹¹⁶⁶

O mighty soul, who with your gifted sight,
Attends to what the current of time brings,
And of the complex course of bygone things
 Comprehends for each its cause and weight;
 Enlightens with imagery, and prized poetry recites,
Enriched by God and mankind's law or reason:
So Holland looks out, like sailors for a beacon
 In starless weather, to your vaunted light.
O great Sun, beyond my skill for telling –
A breath of God from heaven descending
 Into a heart, ideally shaped and planned?
Or comes genius, that heaven's highest sphere
Illuminates, earthward brilliantly clear,
 A guide to life and law for souls and land?

¹¹⁶⁶ The poem is dated 3 September 1616. Hugo de Groot (or Hugo Grotius) was part of the literary circle of P. C. Hooft and first visited Hooft's castle 'het Muider slot' in September 1616. Hooft composed this poem to celebrate the forthcoming publication of de Groot's *Hugonis Grotii Poemata, collecta et magnam partem nunc primym edita a fratre Guilielmo Grotio, Lugd. Batav* (1617).

Aen Diana J.W.B. ¹¹⁶⁷

Nijdige tijt, waerom ist dat ghij u versnelt¹¹⁶⁸
Meer dan ghij sijt gewoon? laet ghij het u verdrieten
Dat ick den hemel van Liefs bijsijn mach genieten?
Wat schaedt u mijn geluck, dat ghij u daerin quelt?
Een grijsaert sijt ghij Tijt en proefden noyt tgwelt,¹¹⁶⁹
Van t geene datse Liefd'en soete weerlieft hieten.
Helas de traenen blanck over mijn wangen vlieten,
Als ick aent urwerck denck dat qualijck was gestelt;
Och meester die de tijt met uren af cunt meten
Gistr' avont misten ghij, en had u const vergeten:
Wel viermael sloech de clock in min dan een quartier
Maer nae mijn liefs vertreck doordient began te dagen,
En heeft de clocke boven sesmael niet geslaegen
In eenen tijt, docht mij, van twaelef uren schier.

¹¹⁶⁷ Eerst gedrukt in Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria* (Amsterdam: 1611). Het is nu onbekend wie Diana J. W. B was.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Nijdighe*: afgunstige.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Proefden noyt tgwelt*: ondervonden nimmer de kracht.

To Diana J.W.B. ¹¹⁷⁰

Envious time, what makes you accelerate
Your habitual step? Do you so grieve
That my love's company is heaven's reprieve?
 What harms you my happiness, that you so quake?
 Greybeard Time, this power beyond your embrace
Is love, and love in turn received.
See the traces that pale tears leave
 When I recall the clock, and its unlooked for face!
Oh master, meter of time's passing moments
Last night you fumbled, lost your competence:
 In a quarter – less – the clock had sung four strikes;
But between my love's departure and the dawn
There were no more than six, I could have sworn,
 Yet to twelve hours that spell felt cruel alike.

¹¹⁷⁰ First published in Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria* (Amsterdam: 1611). Who exactly Diana J.W.B was, and her connection with Hooft, are now unknown.

*Huigh de Groots Verlossing: Aan Mevrouw Marie van Reigersbergh (1632)*¹¹⁷¹

Gewelt van wallen, dubbele gracht,
Ontruste honden, wacht by wacht,
Beslage poorten, ysre boomen,
Geknars van slotwerck, breede stroomen,
 En d'onvermurwde kastelein
Versekerden, op Loevestein,
Den Grooten Huigen, buiten duchten
Van in der eeuwigheit t'ontvlugten,
 Ten waar sijn schrandere gemalin
En druckgenoot en kruisheldin
Een eerlijcke uitkoomst had gevonden,
En hem van 't lang verdriet ontbonden.
 Sy sprack: mijn lief, mijn levens licht
(de tranen stonden in 't gesicht),
Sal dees spelonck uw glans versmooren,
En is uw deught dit graf beschoren?
 Helaas! Maar 't is vergeefs gesuft.
Hier helpt geen kermen, maar vernuft.
Mijn geest die sal wat groots besoecken.
Terstont verandert hy in boecken.
 De Schiltwacht draught dien vetter buit
Op hare bee voor boecken uit.
Een vrouw belacht al die haar perssen
En laat hen op de tanden knarssen.
 Eén vrouw is duisent mannen t'ergh.
O eeuwige eer van Reigersbergh,
De volgende eeuwen sullen spreken,
Hoe ghy den haat hebt uitgestreken,
 Na datge op 't droef gevangenhuis
Gelijck Marye neffens 't kruis
Uw bruigom, onder moordenaren
Gerekent, trooste heele Jaren.
 Soo liet de trouwe Michol eer
Haar liefsten schat met joorden neer,
Toen sauls zwaarden hem besetten,
Gelijck de jagers 't hart met netten.
 Aldus wert Lynceus oock gredt
In sijn belegert bruiloftsbedt,
Toen soo veel ledekanten smoorden
In 't gruwlick bloedt der mannemoorden.
 Vergun mijn luite dates speel
Het Bergen van ons lantjuweel,
In 't onweer, dat het roer vermande,
Toen 't groote schip vol stuurman strande.

¹¹⁷¹ Dit gedicht is geschreven naar aanleiding van Hugo de Groot's ontsnapping uit het kasteel Loevenstein in 1621. De Groot was betrokken geweest in de strijd tussen Gomarus (ondersteund bij Prins Maurits van Oranje) en Arminius (ondersteund van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt). Na de synod van Dort verloor Johan van Oldenbarnevelt zijn positie en werd kort daarna veroordeeld en geexecuteerd. Hugo de Groot werd veroordeeld tot levenslang huisarrest op zijn kasteel in Loevenstein totdat hij ontsnapte en naar Frankrijk vluchtte.

Hugo Grotius' Release: To Marie van Reigersbergh (1632)¹¹⁷²

Strong walls, double moat and deep,
Guard upon guard, dogs abjuring sleep
Armoured gates, iron trees,
The snarl of locks, broad streams
 And the unyielding landlord
Himself at Loevenstein secured –
The Great Hugo, whom no-one could conceive
Would to eternity flee –
 Had not his shrewd partner,
Sharer of grief, burden-bearer,
Devised a famous plan, relief
From his enduring grief.
 She said: 'My love, life's light',
(With tears springing to her eye)
'Will your spark be smothered by this cave,
Your virtue condemned thus to the grave?
 Alas! But such is all in vain,
Here keening is no cure, but a keen brain.
My spirit moves ambitiously
And turns to books immediately'.
 The guard hauls out a prize more weighty
With the fine editions, on her entreaty.
A woman laughs at all those who would plague her,
Leaves them to grind their bitter teeth together.
 One woman will a thousand men deceive.
Of Reigersbergh's eternal majesty,
The centuries to come will speak –
Of the hateful nose you tweaked,
 Of you in that drear prison-house,
Like Mary stood beneath the cross,
Your bridegroom reckoned murderer
But you his steadfast comforter
 So also loyal Michol of yore,
Who lowered her sweetest pearl on chords
When Saul's swords pursued him near,
Like the hunter's net laid for the deer.
 As Lynceus was liberated
From his beleaguered wedding bed,
When so many beds were braised in blood,
A massacre's most gruesome flood.
 Forgive my lute that renders this lament,
Of the escape of our Land's most-loved gem,
In so dread a storm the wheel was overwhelmed –
The great ship beached, though skilled hands worked the helm.

¹¹⁷² Vondel wrote this poem to commemorate Hugo Grotius' escape from house arrest in his own Castle Loevenstein in 1621. Grotius had been involved in the battle between Gomarus (supported by *stadholder* Prince Maurits van Oranje) and Arminius (supported by John van Oldebarnevelt). Van Oldebarnevelt fell from power after the Synod of Dort, and was shortly afterwards executed (as a result of the efforts of Maurits). Grotius had been sentenced to life under guard. Through his wife's clever ruse, he escape in a bookchest and fled to France.

Constantijn Huygens (1587-1679)

*Cupio dissolve: Op de dood van Sterre (1638)*¹¹⁷³

Of droom ick, en is 't nacht, of is mijn Sterr verdweenen?
Ick waeck, en 't is hoogh dagh, en sie mijn Sterre niet.
O Hemelen, die my haer aengesicht verbiedt,
Spreeckt menschen-tael, en sight, waer is mijn sterre henen:
Den hemel slaetgeluyt, ick hoor hem door mijn' stenen,
En sight, mijn' Sterre state in 't heilige gebied
Daer sy de Godheit, daer de Godheit haer besiet,
En voeght het lacchen daer, blacht mijn ydel weenen.
Nu, Dood, nu snick, met een verschenen en verby,
Nu doorgangh van een steen, van een gesteen ten leven,
Dun schutsel, state naer by: 'k sal 't u te danck vergeven;
Komt, Dood, en maect my korts van dese Cortsen vry:
'k Verlangh in 't eeuwigh licht samen te sien sweven
Mijn Heil, mijn lief, mijn lijf, mijn' God, mijn' Sterr, en mij.

¹¹⁷³ ¹¹⁷³ Huygens schreef dit gedicht nadat zijn vrouw Suzanne van Baerle (in het gedicht Sterre genaamd) stierf in 1637.

*Cupio dissolve: On the Death of Sterre (1638)*¹¹⁷⁴

Do I dream it night, or is my Star vanished?
I wake, it is high day; of my Star find no trace.
O heavens, who deny me her present grace,
Speak mortal words, and say where my Star fled!
Heaven beats a sound, I hear it through my sighs
And reveals, my Star stood in the holy place,
There, see the Godhead, the Godhead sees her face,
And laughing there, my idle grief amuses.
Now, Death, now cry, at once appear and flee,
Now the entrance of stone, through the stone alive,
Thin veil, stay close, I will thank you right;
Come, Death, make brief my ordeal, this malady.
I long to float together in heaven's eternal light
My grace, my Love, my body, my God, my Star, and me.

¹¹⁷⁴ Huygens wrote this poem after his wife Suzanne van Baerle (called Sterre in the poem) died in 1637.

Een selectie uit Stedestemmen (1624)¹¹⁷⁵

's Gravenhage

Het heele Land in 't klein, de Wage vanden Staet,
De Schave vande Jeught, de Schole van de Daed,
Het Dorp der Dorpen geen daer ijeder Steeg een pad is,
Maer Dorp der Steden een daer ijeder Straet een Stadt is,
De rondom groene Buert, het rondom steenen Hout,
De Boers verwondering, al komt hij uijt het woud,
De Stémans steedsch vermaeck, al komt hij uijt de muren,
Der Vijanden ontsagh, de Vrijster vande Buren,
De Werelds leckernij, des Hemels welgevall;
Is 't daer met all gesezt, soo ben ick meer dan all.

Leiden

't En ware 't nijdigh Duyn, of 't Rijnsch verdwaelde sogh
Ick waer, spijt andere, de grootste Rhijnstadt noch;
Om nevens Katwijck uyt mijn' wraecke te gaen haelen
Van 't Arragonsch geweld. Hoe souden sy 't betaelen
Die, op mijn' aller weeckst, voor 'r stuyvende gerucht
Van een verotten muer verstoven in de vluch!
Nu doen ick 's meer van verr, nu doen ick oock te Roomen
Mijn' ware wetenschap, mijn' wijse Waerheit schroomen;
Kragt, kloeckste Phariseen, de snoodste van alle die ick ken,
't Zijn scherpe nagelen die 't meer zijn dan mijn' Pen.

¹¹⁷⁵ Huygens gebruikt hier een klassieke traditie om gedichten over steden te schrijven. Hij was de eerste die dit deed in het Nederlands, zoals hij ook zelf benadrukt in de inleiding van zijn gedichten. In totaal schreef hij 18 gedichten over steden en 6 gedichten over dorpen.

A selection from Stedestemmen (City Voices)

(1624)¹¹⁷⁶

The Hague

The whole country in miniature, the scales of the state,
The tutor of youth, school of deeds so great,
No village of villages, where an alley is a lonely lane,
But a village of cities, every street a city can contain,
Encircled by green, stones amongst the trees
The farmer from the forest, amazed at what he sees,
The citizen's city entertainment, though from within the walls,
The fright of foes, our kin dearest of all
The world's pleasure, Heaven's bliss,
Now all is said, I am more than all that is.

Leyden

Were it not for the hostile Dune, or the Rijn's lost silt,
I would still be, despite all, the greatest Rijn city ever built;
And on behalf of Katwijk, my revenge attain
For Spanish violence. How they would pay with pain
Who, when at my weakest, at the falling sound,
Of a rotting wall fled from our ground!
I will now do more from afar, and so every Roman
Will tremble at my true science and wisdom;
Screech, subtle Pharisees, only the cruellest of my ken
Could with his sharp nails sting harder than my pen.

¹¹⁷⁶ Huygens takes up the classical tradition here of writing short poems dedicated to the glories and histories of cities. He was the first to do so in Dutch, as he claims in his preface to the collection. In total, he wrote eighteen poems about cities, and six about villages.

Dordrecht

In mijns gelijkken Schaer befit ick 't eerste word;
Al wear't mijn' wearde niet, dat heft my mijn' geboort,
En 't planten van de kroon op onser Vooghden hoeden
Doe fat ick in de kley, die oock mijn bueren voedden:
Sints heft mij eene nacht Venetien gemaect,
En all' mijn wandelingh in handelingh gestaect
Maer of de Spaensche keel na mijne Stapel-mosten,
Na mijn' Munt Dorsten dorst; het soud' haer 't swemmen kosten,
Dat's menigh natten voet, en waeter in haer' Wijn:
Is 't niet de Land-scha waerd soo veil begracht te zijn?

Dort

Among equal sisters, I have the first word;
If not for value, the right were mine by birth,
And the place of the crown on our Counts' head.
Once I too sat in the clay, by which my neighbours are fed:
But overnight I was Venetian made,
My relations replaced by my trade;
If the Spanish throat for staples thirsts
And after my coins yearns, she has to swim first,
Suffer wet feet and wine mixed with sea:
Was land-loss not worth these canals, safe as can be?

Anna-Maria van Schurman (1607-1678)

Aen de Musen Van Myn Heer Cats (1632)

Op het Boeck geintituleert Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd
Door den Auteur selven tot een geschenck aen my overgesonden.

De gifte die ick roem, en niet genoegh kan roemen,
Becleet de waerdste plaets van 't geen ick myn magh noemen
Het wterlyck cieraet, 't gout dat van buyten glimpt
Is maer den laegsten trap, waer van men hooger klimpt.
Daer binnen leyt de kern van desen schadt verborgen,
Doch soo verborgen heet t geen doorbreeckt als den morgen,
Een kostelycke peerl, waer 't gout de schel van is,
Van oorspronck ongelyck, en soo ick niet en mis,
Het een is wt den schoot der aerden voortgekomen,
En 't ander wt den glans des heemels dauw genomen;
Sulks is oock dit juweel: den heemel geeft het licht,
Dat blixemt over al, in dit vermaert gedicht.
Of wel den ouden tydt in syne diepe afgronden
Bynae het beste deel der Wysheyt hadt verslonden;
'T verlies is hier al winst; ghy hebt dees overmaet,
Hoe 't elck op synen dagh het best te passen staet.
Het is niet noodigh meer tot Phoebus mont te treden,
Wt synen duystren sin te trecken wyse reden.
Want wat tot heden toe in aller volck'ren tael
Voor waer is toe gestemt, dat spreeckt hier in metael.
O onwtputtlyck diep! O ader ryck van segen!
Die als een vruchtbaer jaer stort haeren soeten regen;
Door uwen overvloed wy plucken met genucht
Van alle tyden 't saem de beste rype vrucht.

To the Muse of My Sir Cats (1632).

To the Book entitled *Mirror of Old and New Times*,
A gift delivered by the author himself.

A gift I praise, can praise less than I would,
Claims highest place of all my wordly goods
The utmost jewel, gold whose surface shines
Is but the lowest step, from which one higher climbs.
Within this treasure's core lies hidden, too,
Though hidden, like dawn breaking through
A precious pearl, of which gold is its shell,
Of unlike origin, the difference I can tell:
One from the Earth's embrace was hewn,
The other catching shine of Heaven's dew;
So also is this jewel: Heaven makes it shine,
Illuminates this honoured poem's every line.
Even if the Old Times in their deepest chasm
Have devoured the better part of Wisdom;
This loss is made here profit; in your surpassing
You show to each the fittest way of living.
No need now to approach Phaebus's mouth,
From his dark sin, wisdom safe plucked out.
For what to this day in the tongues of all
Is known for truth, speaks here in metal.
Oh infinite depth! Oh blessings' rich vein!
Like a fertile year releasing its sweet rain;
Through your abundance, we pick with rapture
The best ripe fruit of all times together.

Op Het Sermoen Ghedaen voor d'Inleydinghe vande Academie van Utrecht, Door den Eerweerdigen Hoogh-geleerden D. Gisbertum Voetium, Professor in de H. Theologie aldaer (1636).¹¹⁷⁷

Ghy die van verren komt, om Landen ende Steden,
Of om een schoon ghebouw, en andere wonderheden
Te hooren en te sien, en door de Faem gestiert,
Soeckt wat in dese Stad d'Inwoonders meest verciert:
Laet niet op kalck of steen u sinnen lange spelen;
Maer siet wat dieper in, daer zijn haer beste deelen.
Geen Silver, Goudt of Peerl, of kostelijck ghesteen,
En quam oyt by den prijs, van 't geene dat ick meen.
Want Pallas is alhier op haeren throon geseten;
Ghelijck ghy uyt dit werck kunt lichtelijck afmeten;
Siet dit is het Portael dat tot de wijsheydt leydt,
En tot haer nieuw gebouw is konstigh toebereydt.
Ghelijck des Hemels top heeft veelderhande lichen,
Die naer een seecker maet het aerdsche dal verlichten:
Soo is het Firmament dat in ons zielen straelt
Seer aerdigh in dit stuck naer 't leven af-ghemaelt. [...]

¹¹⁷⁷ Van Schurman schreef dit gedicht ter ere van de stichting van de Universiteit van Utrecht. Voetius, professor theologie aan dezelfde universiteit, werd gevraagd een preek te houden, en het is dit werk waarnaar Van Schurman verwijst in regel 10.

On the Sermon preached for the Institution of the University of Utrecht, by the honourable learned D. Gisbertus Voetius, Professor of Theology there (1636).¹¹⁷⁸

You who came from afar, for land and cities,
For a beautiful building, or other pagentries,
To hear and see, steered here by distinction,
Look for these inhabitants' truest decoration:
Do not seek for chalk or stone to whet your yearning;
But deeper gaze within, there her best parts discerning.
No silver, gold or pearl, no precious jewellery
Leads to the prize, the subject of my oratory.
For Pallas here is to her throne induced
As from this work can lightly be deduced;
 Observe the portal leading to sagacity
 And her new building, fashioned artfully.
 Equal to Heaven's lights of myriad art,
 That earth's valley illuminate in part:
So this firmament shimmers in our souls
As this sermon so adroitly extols. [...]

¹¹⁷⁸ Van Schurman wrote this poem for the inauguration of the University of Utrecht. Voetius, Professor of Theology at the same university, was asked to preach a sermon. It is this work that Van Schurman refers to in line 10.

Aanmerkinghe Over 't onderschijt tussen Utrecht en Ceulen (1654)¹¹⁷⁹

O Utreght, lieve Stadt hoe soud ick U vergeeten
Almosten ver van U mijn dagen sijn versleten
Tien mael op eenen dagh verhef ick uwen stadt
Die soo mijn oordeel lijt et al te boven gaet
Want als mijn trurugh herdt denckt aen die werde sielen
Die doen ic afschijt nam mijn om het herte vielen
 Dan vlight mijn ziel daer heen en volght den sterken bant
 Die al mijn toghten bint aent lieve vaderlant
Men prijst en oock met recht de grootste vande steeden
Die in het midden lijt van boven to beneden. [...]

¹¹⁷⁹ Van Schurman schreef dit gedicht vanuit Keulen met grote heimwee naar de stad Utrecht. In het gedicht presenteert ze positieve and negatieve kanten van Keulen om haar heimwee te overwinnen, maar zonder success. Het einde van het gedicht biedt troots met de gedachte dat alle christenen met elkaar zijn verbonden en zo landsgrenzen overwonnen kunnen worden.

*On the difference between Utrecht and Cologne (1654).*¹¹⁸⁰

Oh Utrecht, dear town, never far from my mind
Though I spend my days distant, having left you behind,
Ten times a day I praise your fair city
In my eye past all comparability –
For if my sad soul thinks of those souls so dear
Who as I said goodbye held me lovingly near,
 My soul races back there, following strong ties
 That bind to that dear fatherland all my desires.
One praises rightfully the greatest city I know
That lies in the middle betwixt above and below.

¹¹⁸⁰ Van Schurman wrote this poem in a state of great home sickness when she was staying in Cologne. Throughout the poem, she relates the positive and negative sides of Cologne to combat her home sickness, but to no avail. The poem concludes with the partial solace that all Christians are connected, beyond physical boundaries.

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