‘A Tongue-Combat betweene two English souldiers’: A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Puritan Polemics, 1618-1628

A. Ewing
0728500
Hildebrandpad 143
2333 DE Leiden
06-15108320
alecewing@hotmail.com

MA Thesis History (Research)
Prof. Dr. J. Pollmann
Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
Universiteit Leiden
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Introduction: *Vox Populi* and Jacobean Foreign Policy

During the autumn of 1620 London fell into a tremendous uproar that left foreign dignitaries fearing for their lives. Xenophobic riots broke out which culminated in an attempt on the life of the ambassador of the King of Spain, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count Gondomar. In a letter by Sir George Calvert, then Secretary of State, the origins of this upheaval were traced to a number of disparaging pamphlets and recalcitrant preachers. He lamented that

> these libellous pamphletts and pasquills are every where spread abroad and, as they say, factious sermons preached in many pullpitts about London more then before, there is now at last an alarme given to the Spanish Embassador from diverse hands of an assault upon his person and family.[1]

Even on the continent the riots made quite an impression. In Antwerp the exiled Richard Verstegan, a Catholic who fled Elizabethan England some decades before, responded with a pamphlet entitled *Londons Looking-glasse* (1621), which described how representatives of all European nations were outraged at this barbaric behaviour. Especially galling was the treatment of Count Gondomar, for all knew 'that all Ambassadours ought to enioy a priuileged freedome, & in no wise to be molested in any Country where their residence is by the King, Prince, or State admitted.' It even, he claimed, gave rise to an Italian proverb, 'Ingleterra buona terra, mala gente (England is a good country, but the people are bad)'.[2]

For Verstegan the fault lay primarily with an unknown fanatical Puritan, who published a particularly odious polemic entitled *Vox Populi* some weeks before the riots. Its lies whipped the London crowds, already susceptible to puritan rhetoric, into a frenzy:

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[1] *The Fortescue Papers; consisting chiefly of letters relating to state affairs, collected by John Packer secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*. S. R. Gardiner ed. (London 1871) 144-145.
[2] D. N. [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse. Or the Copy of a letter, written by an English trauayler, to the Apprentices of London* ([S. Omer] 1621) 6.

> You must understand that albeit by seditious Sermons the aptnes of the instrument is prepared, yet the giving of the attempt in that conjuncture when it hapned, was forsooth caused by *Vox Populi*, somtyme erroneously termed *Vox Dei*, but was indeed *Vox Diaboli*. For the voyce of God is not sounded out by a monster with many heads; and the worthy secretary of this monster as a speciall Agent for the enemyes of peace, hath in an inuented flourish of wordes to delude his Reader, made the King & Countfellours of Spayne to act those partes which himselfe hath penned, abeit they neuer knew, nor heard of them.[3]

The pamphlet in question, *Vox Populi, or newes from Spayne*, purports to describe a meeting of the Spanish Council of State in which Count Gondomar, the Ambassador to the court of King James, reports on the many successes he has had in his efforts to bend the English nation to his master's will, including a relaxation of the Recusancy laws and the denunciation of decent Protestant preaching as seditious and puritan. Gleefully the Count details Spain's intentions 'to get the whole possession of the world and to reduce all to unitie under one temporall head, that our King may truly be what he is stiled, the catholick and unverisal King'[4] to which end numerous plots are underway throughout Europe. Gondomar assures the Council that his plots are particularly fruitful in England, where Spain has the support of the 'begging and beggarly Courtyers' and the Recusant population, creatures of 'inveterate malice, & haue seen so farr into their natures as I dare say they will be for Spaine against all the world'.[5]

Of course the pamphlet was utterly fictional, a fact to which the author even admits to in a later pamphlet,[6] though the tremendous upheaval in England suggests that many thought otherwise. Nonetheless, one might ask why all this fuss over a fictional pamphlet? The reason for that is, simply put, because it appeared in a very uncertain period in English political history; for during the early 1620s the monarch repeatedly clashed with Parliament over foreign policy, while public opinion was divided over how England should position itself in Europe. Should it renew a religiously-inspired alliance with the Dutch, thus steering towards another conflict with Spain, or should war be avoided to safeguard the nation's prosperity?

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[3] [Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 21.
[4] Anon. [T. Scott], *Vox Populi, or newes from Spayne* ([London?] 1620) 5.
[5] [Scott], *Vox Populi*, 9-10.
[6] A 1624 pamphlet sees the author exclaim, in response to allegations that the piece was a work of fiction: 'Was it not called *Vox Populi*, to note it onley probable, and possible, and likely, not historicall?'. See: T.S. [T. Scott], *Vox Regis* ([Utrecht 1624]) 10.

In this thesis English pamphlets concerned with foreign policy by both Catholic and Puritan authors, such as *Vox Populi* and *Londons Looking-glasse*, will be subjected to a comparative analysis. The goals and expectations of these polemicists in regards to the religious upheaval in Europe – such as the renewed conflict between Spain and the United Provinces and the escalating Bohemian crisis – will be explored, as well as their subsequent appeals for war or peace.

Though James encountered opposition to a number of his policies during his reign as King of England (r. 1603-1625), none was as controversial or created as much contention as his pursuit of an Anglo-Spanish dynastic alliance. This policy first arose in 1614, and aimed to marry Charles, the Prince of Wales, to the Spanish Infanta in order to cement such an alliance, a policy that became known as the Spanish Match.[7] Certainly, the Match had practical advantages in regards to two tensions vital during the Jacobean reign that, according to Simon Adams, largely shaped the King's foreign policy. The first was fiscal; as the crown had perpetual financial problems, the Spanish dowry – which was projected to be larger than the annual royal income – would be tremendously helpful in a period that also saw military costs inflate.[8]

Secondly, the Match would also strengthen James's claims to be a *Rex Pacificus*, a King of Peace. James regarded a possible confessional war as a disastrous prospect that needed to be avoided at all costs. For this reason, as he held royal sovereignty in higher regard than religious orthodoxy, the king also disliked the revolutionary implications of Calvinism. A scholarly monarch, in one of his own books he even defended the divine right of Catholic monarchs – 'our louing brethren, cosins, allies, confederates and friends' – and argued that the bonds between kings were crucial in bridging the religious divide.[9] And in this light, the Match would not only balance the earlier marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V of the Palatinate, the leading Calvinist Prince in the Empire, it would also place James in a position to mediate between the two confessional camps.[10]

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[7] T. Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match' in: R. Cust and A. Hughes ed., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London and New York 1989) 107-133: 111-113.
[8] S. L. Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy' in: H. Tomlinson ed., *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (London 1983) 79-101: 80-86; D. Thomas, 'Financial and Administrative Developments' in: H. Tomlinson ed., *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (London 1983) 103-122.
[9] James I, 'Premonition to all most mightie monarches, kings, free princes and states of Christendome' in: C.H. McIlwain ed., *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge 1918) 110-168: 110.
[10] Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands?', 79-90.

Serious marriage negotiations began in 1616 between the monarch and the Spanish ambassador Gondomar, though these were inconsequential as neither side wanted to compromise on religious affairs; Spanish negotiators deemed toleration for England's Catholics a vital condition, an option James refused to consider. The slow progress caused them to be overtaken by the Bohemian crisis in 1618, when James's son-in-law Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown and took up arms to defend it from the Austrian Habsburgs. Though James refused to aid Frederick militarily, the crisis transformed the Match into a diplomatic tool for the King to bring about a settlement of the conflict. Though further offset by the Spanish invasion of Frederick's ancestral Palatinate in 1620, James nonetheless hoped that the Match could bring about both the submission of Frederick and the restoration of the Palatine lands.[11]

The Spanish ministers, never enthusiastic about the Match, nonetheless prolonged the negotiations to ensure that James would not take up the leadership of a Protestant coalition in the Empire and to woo him away from a possible Anglo-Dutch alliance. Despite their efforts, the negotiations came to an unexpected climax, as the young Prince of Wales travelled to Spain incognito in a desperate attempt to win the Infanta. There the Spanish intentions were brought to light – the Spanish princess did not want to marry a heretic, while no agreement on the Palatinate could be reached – and the negotiations were finally terminated upon his safe return in late 1623.[12]

Though a marriage alliance never took shape – the two countries would again be at war in 1625 – the possibility of a Catholic queen deeply divided the country and led to fierce criticism of the King's policies. Simon Adams has argued that this disunity was in part based on a particular perspective on two intertwined questions on the religious realities of Western Europe: whether the developments in international politics were leading to a religious struggle in which stable alliances would be confessional, and whether this struggle was divine in nature (and therefore inevitable and desirable) or a disaster that must be avoided.[13]

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[11] For more on the state of the Palatinate during the early years of the Thirty Years War, see: B. C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years War* (Alderschot 2003) 123-253.

[12] Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands?', 95-98; Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', 111-115; T. Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution. English politics and the coming of war, 1621-1624* (Cambridge 1989) 12-20. For a detailed overview of the negotiations in Spain, see B. C. Pursell, 'The End of the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002) 699-726.

[13] Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands?', 86.

James's predecessor – who did not share his eucumenical sensibilities – pursued an Anglo-Dutch alliance against Spain that was quite popular amongst the population. The struggles of the sixteenth century had led many Englishmen to assume that a Catholic plot to root out Protestantism was in existence, and several events in the early seventeenth century– the creation of the Catholic League and the conflict over the Duchy of Jülich-Cleves in in 1609, the assassination of Henry IV of France in 1610, the Spanish-French marriage alliance in 1611 – suggested that war might soon flare up again. [14]

The Bohemian conflict that broke out some years later was subsequently seen by many in England as a divine opportunity to counter the catholic league of Spain and the Papacy. For not only would it free many of the faithful from Catholic yoke, it also give Protestants a chance to wrest control of the Holy Roman Empire from the Habsburgs. As John Taylor, the Water Poet, proclaimed:

> Since God then in his loue did preordaine
> That you should be his Champions, to maintaine
> His quarrel, and his cause; a fig for foes,
> God being with you, how can man oppose?[15]

Advocates of war were understandably frustrated with their King's reluctance to intervene in Bohemia, resulting in fierce attacks not just in print, but also from the pulpit and the stage. Cogswell goes so far as to describe the developments as 'a battle of sorts'[16] between the king and his subjects, to which there is some truth. *Vox Populi* was by no means the only pamphlet to criticize James – or to suggest that he was dominated by Spanish spies – whereas the king responded by issuing proclamations condemning all forms of criticism on royal affairs.[17]

Of course, not the entire population turned against the King, as numerous pamphlets defending royal policy were also in circulation. Instead, novel was the fact that royal decisions were publicly debated on such a tremendous scale. Nor did it end on

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[14] Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands?', 86.
[15] J. Taylor, *An English-mans love to Bohemia* (Dort [Dordrecht] 1620) 2. B. Capp, 'Taylor, John [called the Water Poet] (1578–1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24916, accessed 12 March 2013].
[16] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 20.
[17] The proclamations are: James I, *By the King. A proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London 1620); James I, *By the King. A proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London 1621). Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 20-53.

Charles's safe return; in the first months of 1624 the book markets were flooded with anti-Catholic theological tracts, anti-Spanish polemics and pieces advocating intervention in the Dutch conflict. Foreign policy had entered the public domain.[18]

Jacobean Foreign Policy in Perspective

Considering the chronological proximity to the Civil War, it is hardly surprising that numerous historians have been preoccupied with this chaotic period in English history. Characterized by years of political and civil discord, it might after all hold some clues to the origins of the most controversial topic in early modern British historiography. For even Parliament reared its head as MP's, too, petitioned the king to go to war. During the Parliament of 1621, they promptly voted to give James two subsidies before addressing other concerns. At the end of that year – as they would again in 1624 – Parliament even petitioned James to go to war against Spain, rather than to align himself with them.[19]

Consequently, these divisive years have been systematically studied from that historiographical perspective, focussing especially on the rationale and implications of political dissent, both in Parliament and in public opinion. In doing so, however, an emphasis on English political structures and English affairs is created that overlooks the fact that both the nation and England's main political actors were primarily concerned with political and religious developments on the mainland. Conrad Russell's otherwise invaluable work is illustrative; while immediately acknowledging that the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 revolved around the King's foreign policy, little to no attention is paid to calls for war or peace, or the motivations behind them. Instead, the author's focus is entirely on the position of Parliament vis-à-vis the King and the financial apparatus unfit to wage a war.[20]

While valid issues to study – especially when focussed on sessions of Parliament – the same historiographical lens is used when analysing pamphlets such as *Vox Populi* and their authors. These are subsequently studied in that same domestic context, focussed on political unrest and the role of parliament, rather than in the context of

[18] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 20-50, 281-307.
[19] S. L. Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624' in: K. Sharpe ed., *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford 1978) 139-171; Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 19.
[20] C. Russell, *King James VI and I and his English Parliaments : the Trevelyan lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge* (Oxford 2011) 177-188.

England's foreign policy. In doing so, the fact that this was a controversial debate in society, with fierce debates and licentious pamphlets setting the scene, is lost in translation; as are the worries and fears of the polemicists, their motivations and arguments, worldviews and religious convictions.

This thesis will attempt to analyse such polemics within the context in which they appeared; as part of a divisive, public debate on England's position in Europe. To do so, a systematic comparison will be made between the writings of two prominent polemicists of the period, the Catholic Richard Verstegan and the Puritan Thomas Scott, both of whom were in exile in the Low Countries during this period – the former in Antwerp, and the latter in Utrecht. While of different generations and religious orientations, both urgently wanted to influence English public opinion on continental conflicts. What are the motivations that fuel these men? How do they perceive the unfolding European religious conflicts, its actors and possible outcomes? And what role do they imagine England ought to play? This comparative approach will highlight that both authors had a transnational, rather than domestic, political agenda, and that their writings should above all be seen as polemics aimed at transferring this agenda to their readers.

Of the two especially Thomas Scott is a fascinating character as he was not only the anonymous author of the pamphlet *Vox Populi* described earlier, but also as his polemics feature in almost every narrative on the Spanish Match or the political upheaval of the 1620s. His writings have been recognised by historians as some of the most influential pamphlets of the 1620s, and none more so than *Vox Populi*. His prominence has even to criticism from Cogswell, who lamented that 'the sheer number and brilliance of his tracts has overshadowed the other contemporary commentators'. [21]

His prominence in analyses of the period is hardly surprising, however, as he was one of the most prolific political commentators of the 1620s and has therefore often been seen as representative of the public response to James's ambivalent policies. Though publishing *Vox Populi* anonymously, his identity was soon revealed and Scott – hitherto a minister in Norwich – fled into exile in the Dutch Republic. From his new home he continued his polemical career, writing no less than two dozen pamphlets before his violent death in 1626.

One scholar who has attempted to grasp Scott's focus on foreign policy is Marvin Breslow in his *A Mirror of England* (1970), which heavily leans on Scott's oeuvre in an

[21] Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', 115.

attempt to trace Puritan perspectives of other nations. Again, however, the international aspect of this political crisis is ignored, for Breslow argues that the religious conflicts of the mainland were hardly of actual importance to the Puritan community. Rather, they are to be seen primarily as a mirror; a warning for what would happen in England if they did not change their stance towards Recusants. Furthermore, Breslow argues that displaying one's willingness to oppose the Antichrist and showing concern for foreign churches in need formed a shibboleth for the Puritan community. It effectively functioned to prove one's membership to the Elect.[22]

However, this rather limited definition of Puritan transnationalism seems to hardly do justice to Scott. For, as will be seen, Scott's concerns go far beyond auspicious warnings for the homeland, even offering detailed accounts legitimizing both the Dutch Revolt and the Bohemian conflict – both religiously and constitutionally – in an attempt to justify military intervention. Why, if these conflicts simply serve as a warning to England's hesitant inhabitants, would he continuously strive for military intervention on behalf of those nations? It seems that Scott's concern for continental protestants went far a beyond a shibboleth.

Yet students of Scott's pamphlets have overwhelmingly limited him to the confines of England's political struggles in the decades prior to the Civil War. Interpretations of his intentions and ideological background have featured in various analyses throughout the twentieth century, and clearly highlight the domestic perspective held by scholars of the 1620s. Louis Wright, one of the earliest historians to analyse Scott's pamphlets, simply portrays the author as a typical Puritan clergyman fundamentally opposed to royal policy on the 'High Road to Civil War'.[23] After the onset of revisionism, this image was considerable nuanced. Peter Lake and Markku Peltonen have done invaluable work in tracing the political theories that form the basis of Scott's opposition to the crown, and both argue that central to his writings is his 'activist view of government and citizenship', though they disagree on its origins.[24] Both, however, agree that a fundamental dichotomy between the corrupt court and the country is the

[22] M. Breslow, *A mirror of England. English Puritan views of foreign nations, 1618-1640* (Cambridge, Ma. 1970) 40-44, 96-99, 139-158.
[23] L. B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 6.1 (1942/1943) 149-172.
[24] M. Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism in English political thought, 1570-1640* (Cambridge 1995) 232.

strongest political message conveyed by Scott,[25] to whom parliament had 'an almost mystical significance as the ultimate source of unity and concord'.[26]

Ann Hughes and Richard Cust similarly, though primarily leaning on *Vox Populi*, see in Scott a paragon of the 'country' ideology as opposed to the 'court'; an ideological polarity in which the former refers to a particular set of values and concerns revolving around staunch Protestantism and Parliamentary participation in the governmental process. The latter, in turn, was a convenient shorthand for all flaws in the English political system.[27]

Remarkably, while all offer invaluable insights into the crisis of the 1620s and its implications for England's political system, none of these historians approach Scott as an exiled advocate of religious war primarily concerned with suffering Protestants on the continent. Rather than attempting to grasp the goals Scott himself set out to reach with his writings or the experiences and religious beliefs they are derived from, they only seek to incorporate the political implications of his criticism of royal policy into their analyses. In doing so they present Scott and his writings as entirely concerned with affairs in England, such as problems surrounding Recusancy, the political significance of Parliament and the supposed dominance of the 'Spanish' faction at court.

However, by interpreting Scott and his pamphlets in a purely English context is to misrepresent him and the political upheaval in which he operated. Especially when taking his entire oeuvre into account, which largely appeared during his exile, and which is almost wholly concerned with presenting a case for military intervention in France, the Empire and especially the Low Countries, Scott appears in a totally different light. Rather than concerned with English affairs– comments on those matters are few and far between – he above all seems to be focussed on (perceived) threats to Reformed communities throughout the continent.

So far this transnational agenda is almost entirely neglected. While historians do observe, like Lake does, that Scott's 'protestant commitment was internationalist, rather than nationalist',[28] such concerns hardly feature in their analyses of political premises.

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[25] P.G. Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal* 25.4 (1982) 805-825: 820; Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism*, 236.

[26] Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition', 818; Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism*, 258-259.

[27] R. Cust and A. Hughes, 'Introduction: after Revisionism' in: Idem ed., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London and New York 1989) 1-46: 19-22.

[28] Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition', 811.

Cogswell's *The Blessed Revolution*, which gives a clear overview of the debates raging in England over foreign policy, also focuses primarily the implications for the English political process; a context that portrays Scott as engrossed by James's political failures rather than with the wellbeing of Protestants. Peltonen even went so far as to say that at the 'heart of his campaign lay an unmistakable classical republican analysis of the English commonwealth'.[29] Little in their analyses suggests that Scott was concerned with anything beyond England's borders.

In order to analyse Scott's transnational political agenda, his pamphlets will be juxtaposed with the contemporary polemics of Richard Verstegan, who published a number of pieces advocating non-intervention in the same period. Unlike his opponent, Verstegan rarely features in studies of England's political upheaval of the 1620s, perhaps in part because defenders of royal policy add little to studies on clashes between the monarch and people. Instead, this Catholic author has been primarily studied in the context of England's exiled Catholic community in France and the Southern Netherlands, for which he spent decades working as a printer and intelligencer. Having fled from Elizabethan England in 1581, he spent some years working on Catholic martyrologies focussing on contemporary English events, spreading awareness of the Reformation in England and its concomitant crimes against its Catholic population. In 1587, just two years after the fall of its Calvinist regime, Verstegan settled in Antwerp where he would become a key figure in the Jesuit English Mission. It is in this sixteenth-century environment, within a community aimed to restore Catholicism to England, that he has been by A. G. Petti and more recently by Chistopher Highley and Paul Arblaster.[30]

On the other hand, Belgian historians Edward Rombauts, Maurits Sabbe, as well as the Dutchman W. J. C. Buitendijk, have have long since highlighted his position as an intellectual in Antwerp during the Counter-Reformation.[31] This historical framework is not undeserved either, as Verstegan would remain in Antwerp until his death in 1640,

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[29] Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism*, 269-270.

[30] On his role in the Catholic exile community, see P. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World. Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven 2004) and C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford 2008). As for Verstegan's excellent martyrologies, see A. G. Petti, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the later Elizabethan period', *Recusant History* 5 (1959) 64-90.

[31] W. J. C. Buitendijk, 'Richard Verstegen als verteller en journalist', *Nieuwe Taalgids* (1953) 21-30; E. Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen. Een polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussel 1933); M. Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerste helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerpen 1933).

during which he established himself as author, historian and poet in the Dutch language as well. However, this versatile Counter-Reformation man has hardly been studied in the context of England's chaotic struggles over foreign policy in the 1620s, despite the fact that he published six lengthy pamphlets on the subject.

It is this side of Verstegan's impressive oeuvre, who was in his early seventies during the upheaval of the 1620s, which will be studied in this thesis. Again, the sources themselves suggest that Verstegan, as well as the debate in which he operated, was not primarily concerned with England's domestic politics that preoccupied revisionist historians, but with England's position vis-à-vis the Dutch and Spain. For his lengthy pamphlets, some of which are translations of Flemish originals he penned himself, are largely concerned with the origins of the conflict that ravaged the Low Countries, the attitude of the Dutch towards their English allies, as well as the nature of Reformed doctrine. The English polemics Verstegan wrote in this period will be compared with those of the warmongering Thomas Scott, not in the perspective of England's domestic struggles that fascinated revisionist historians, but within the context of the public debate over foreign policy in which they operated.

These two characters are especially interesting within a comparative approach as they engaged in a printed rivalry of sorts. As will be seen in the following chapters, this mainly took the shape of both explicit and implicit rebuttals and accusations, sometimes even mentioning their opponent by name. This rivalry reached a pinnacle in 1623, when two pamphlets appear on the English market with remarkably similar titles: Richard Verstegan's *A Tovng-Combat* and Thomas Scott's *A Tongve-Combat*. The former is a ninety page pamphlet describing a fictional argument between two English soldiers, Red Scarf and Tawny Scarf, in a Tilt-boat from Gravesend heading to the Low Countries, 'the one go-ing to serue the King of Spayn, The other to serue the States of Holland.'[32]

Scott's *A Tongve-Combat* appeared in that same year, written as the author could not 'permit so many falshoods (...) to passe without question or contradiction'.[33] It is a fundamentally overhauled edition of Verstegan's original in which all of Tawny Scarf's

[32] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat, lately happening, between two English soldiers; in the Tilt-boat of Grauesend. The one go-ing to serue the King of Spayn, the other to serue the States of Holland*. ([Mechelen] 1623) Title page.

[33] Anon. [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat, lately happening betweene two English souldiers in the tilt-boat of Gravesend : the one going to serve the king of Spaine, the other to serve the States Generall of the United Provinces. Wherin the cause, course and continuance of those warres, is debated, and declared. Pro Aris & Focis.* (London [the Netherlands] 1623) Dedication.

original answers and arguments, which were mostly brief and rather ignorant, are replaced with lengthy, convincing essays.

While not all of the pamphlets in question see them locking horns so forcefully as in their Tongue-Combat, its basic themes are continuously repeated throughout their other polemics, albeit in more detail. This continuing discussion between the two is most promising and telling, as it shows exactly what themes they deem to be essential and what arguments they feel need to be refuted. As will be seen, rather than debating royal prerogatives or parliamentary theory, these men overwhelmingly clash on the finer details of the Dutch Revolt as well as its religious implications. Both men are clearly primarily concerned with England's role in this conflict and, in extension, with England's obligations in regards to Reformed communities throughout Europe. While themes analysed by Lake and others certainly feature throughout the texts in question, they are implicit rather than explicit, and hardly subjected to debate.

Before this debate on foreign policy will be examined, chapter one will first explore the lives and oeuvres of these two exiled authors, as well as the public sphere in which they operated. In chapter two the 'Tongue-Combat' waged throughout their various pamphlets will then be analysed, in order to recreate the debate and highlight its main themes and sources of contention.

Two Dissenting Polemicists in Exile

The realization that these men and their pamphlets are part of an active public debate that took place over a period of several years, which reacted to contemporary developments on the continent and featured numerous authors and opinions, also forces one to see them in a different light. Cogswell and others characterized authors such as Scott as representative of a unified public, espousing the beliefs, motivations and political goals of the nation. The unpopularity of the Match has even led him to suggest that whole country was opposed to the King, whereas 'the anti-war argument was a fairly artificial one which James largely foisted on his subjects'.[34]

However, the fact that both men were participating in an on-going debate and felt compelled to publish numerous critical polemics, which reiterated arguments while

[34] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 310.

attacking other opinions, suggests that there was no such thing as a homogenous public opinion on foreign policy or the Match. Indeed Scott, as will be seen, felt compelled to defend himself and his policies numerous times from various critics; one pamphlet even sees him offering rebuttals to no less than ten common critical responses to his earlier work.[35] Can one therefore claim that either man, or their pamphlets, are truly representative of their public?

In part this question is precipitated by a comparative approach to their lives, which reveals that neither was, in fact, a common Englishman. All pamphlets – barring *Vox Populi* – were written while both were in religious exile in the Low Countries. As will be seen in chapter one, their respective exiles were admittedly self-imposed and not, strictly speaking, religious ones. Despite this, both were religious dissidents – a non-conformist Puritan and a Catholic, respectively – and one can assume that they felt at least partly persecuted for their religious orientation rather than for their political disobedience.

Despite this the historians who included Thomas Scott in their narratives primarily saw him as representative of political dissent in England during the 1620s – though an exemplary case. Little in their analyses suggests that Scott, as a religious exile, differed at all from Englishmen who did not flee prosecution. One cannot help but wonder, however, if their perspectives on contemporary developments were not at least in part influenced by their exile. In other words, did exile transform or radicalize their worldviews, agendas, or their sense of urgency?

In turn, this also begs the question whether there are significant differences to be found in how Catholics and Protestants experience their exile. Heiko Oberman singled out Calvinists as a group of refugees especially affected by their experience of persecution and emigration, emphasizing its importance in the shaping of their particular religious and political outlook.[36] Can the same be said for the Catholic exiles? The origins of their respective political agendas will also be explored in chapter two.

Moreover, juxtaposing these two authors in the context of a debate also changes the nature of their writings. For in a comparative light their conflicting arguments, rebuttals and accusations appear not as manifestoes representing a unified public, but as texts aimed at convincing a public that does not share their political and religious

[35] [Scott], *Vox Regis* 6-17.
[36] H. A. Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees' in: Idem ed., *John Calvin and the reformation of the refugees* (Geneva 2009).

convictions. Whereas Lake and Peltonen, in their attempt to analyse the political theories in Scott's oeuvre, treated his pamphlets as political tracts, this thesis will instead approach these pamphlets as polemical constructions aimed at delivering a particular message. Of course all texts are written with a certain purpose, consciously or subconsciously, and it will be seen in chapter two that these particular polemics are intended to transfer a particular worldview to their readers, one that either justifies or condemns English intervention on the continent. And, as will be seen, there are various indications that both are actively aiming to convince a mainstream English audience, rather than their own Catholic or Puritan communities.

Any attempt to engage their readers and achieve their goals, however, required these pamphlets to cross numerous imagined boundaries separating them from their intended readership. For both authors were not only non-conformists currently exiled in foreign lands, but were also – at times – highly critical of the ruling dynasty. As Christopher D'Addario has noted in his excellent study of exile literature, such 'texts had to negotiate, from a marginal position, broad religious or political distances, as well as a distance from the discourses of authority and dominant modes of expression' before reaching its readers.[37]

As will be seen in chapter three, these boundaries had to be dealt with through various polemical strategies that would, or so they believed, make their political agendas palatable to a readership utterly different from themselves. This required them to, amongst others, assure their readers that they were still utterly English despite all these obstacles and furthermore only wished to serve the nation and its faith to the best of their ability. They tried to do so in various ways; Verstegan's pamphlets for instance often featured an likeable, intelligent antagonist whose life shared few similarities with own, but was nonetheless appealing to common Englishmen.

Their pamphlets should thus not be considered as actual projections of their thoughts, beliefs and intentions, but instead as constructions aimed at appealing to their intended readership. This means that little of their contents can be trusted to describe the authors' lives, intentions or even their perspectives of domestic affairs. For, if indeed committed to a certain military goals, statements concerning the English political system can after all also be included simply to increase their appeal or to legitimize themselves

[37] C. D'Addario, *Exile and Journey in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge 2007) 12.

despite their ‘treasonous’ epithets. In chapter three these polemical strategies, as well as their functions, will be examined.

Chapter 1. Exiled Polemicists and the English Public

Before a comparative approach will be taken towards the polemics of Richard Verstegan of Antwerp and Thomas Scott of Utrecht, this chapter will explore their lives, their respective ouvres and the settings in which these pamphlets originated. Where did their religiosity come from? What was the reason for, and nature of, their respective exiles? Furthermore, this chapter will also provide an overview of their most important writings and especially of the English polemics central to this thesis. Moreover, it will also briefly elaborate on the practical side of polemic. How were they affected by censorship, both in England and the Low Countries? How could these pamphlets reach their readers and, importantly, how were they received?

In part, this chapter aims to resolve some issues surrounding the lives and oeuvres of these two influential men. Biographies of both have already been written but are at times contradictory, and bibliographies are often incomplete or inaccurate. Especially Thomas Scott is, as will be seen, a source of confusion. Of his life in England virtually nothing is known while pamphlets by others are often erroneuously ascribed to him. Biographers of Richard Verstegan have, in contrast, revealed a lot more of his life and the short biography that follows is almost wholly based on the invaluable studies of Edward Rombauts and Paul Arblaster. The latter, who in many ways offers an updated version of the former's biography, does include his English pamphlets in his analysis, but only does so very briefly and failts to connect these to the upheaval that ravaged England in the 1620s. Despite the language barrier, even these English pamphlets are presented as part of an ideological conflict between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. This chapter will instead assume that Verstegan consciously involved himself in the contemporary debate on foreign policy in England.

By looking at the lives and surroundings of Verstegan and Scott, the conditions of their exile and the prevailing literary styles, this chapter also aims make sense of certain priorities, claims and genres used throughout their writings, which will be examined in the following chapters.

1.1 An Elizabethan Catholic

Richard Verstegan was born as Richard Rowlands in East London, son to the cooper John Rowlands circa 1548, though the exact year of his birth is unknown. His family was possibly of Dutch descent, though his father changed their name from Verstegan (or Verstegen) to Rowlands, perhaps in an attempt to appear more English. However, very little can be said with certainty about his heritage, and these origins are only known due to a brief comment made in Verstegan's *Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (1605). In the Epistle he claims that, though he is not himself of fully English stock, he was born there nonetheless and holds no other nation in such regard:

> For albeit my grandfather Theodore Roland Verstegan was borne in the Dutchy of Geldres (and there descended of an ancient and worshipfull family) whence by reason of the warres and losse of his friends he (being a yong man) came into England about the end of the raigne of King Henry the seventh and there married, and soone after dyed; leaving my father at his death but nine moneths old, which gave cause of making his fortune meaner than else it might have been; yet can I account my selfe of no other but of the English Nation, as well for that England has beene my sweet birth-place, as also for that I needs must passe in the selfe descent and ofspring of that thrice noble Nation.[38]

Keeping in mind the Habsburg wars with Duchy of Gelderland in the early sixteenth century, there is no reason to doubt this explanation. Verstegan himself grew up in the East End liberties of London, a cosmopolitan community also known as 'Petty Flanders' where numerous Dutch merchant families resided. It was also the home of a number of breweries who brewed beer in the Dutch fashion.[39] There his father presumably made a decent living as a cooper, and was of enough substance to send his son to Oxford to pursue an academic education. He matriculated in 1564, and he would remain there until 1569, maintaining himself during his studies as a servant to Thomas Bernard, a staunchly Protestant canon of Christ Church Cathedral.[40]

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[38] R. Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (Antwerp 1605) Epistle.
[39] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 3-7. On the region of Petty Flanders, see A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford 1986) 100-112.
[40] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 3-11.

In his final year, however, Verstegan left without a degree. Anthony à Wood, in an overview of notables who were educated at Oxford, claims that he left prematurely 'to avoid oaths'. By 1569 Verstegan was apparently a staunch Catholic and, like many contemporaries, suffered under the state's attempt to limit the influence of popery at the University in the wake of the Revolt of the Northern Earls. By leaving Oxford without a degree, Verstegan avoided having to take the Oath of Supremacy.[41]

When Verstegan became a dedicated Catholic is unknown, but Arblaster has speculated that the young man became increasingly sympathetic to Catholicism during his studies, like so many others would do during their stay at University. While uncertain what religion he adhered to in his youth, his service to Bernard suggests that he was not a Catholic. Moreover, it seems to be no coincidence that the majority of prominent Catholic exiles in the Elizabethan period had, like Verstegan, ties to Oxford or Cambridge. This was also the case for, amongst others, Louvain professors Thomas Harding and Thomas Stapleton and prominent Jesuits Robert Persons, Thomas Fitzherbert and Edmund Campion. It seems Verstegan was part of a generation of Catholic intellectuals, and his drive and vigour for the Catholic faith should be seen from such a perspective.[42]

Returning to London without a degree, the young man became a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1574. And it was in London where he worked on his first book, a travel guide to the European mainland entitled *The Post of the World* (1576),[43] a translation and expansion of a German original.[44]

Meanwhile, the position of Catholics in England gradually worsened through ever stricter laws regarding conformity, mostly in response to recent political developments. The queen was excommunicated in 1570, while the Rising of the North had just been suppressed and troubles in Ireland continued until 1573. The following year, seminary priests began to leave the country, while many others went into hiding. The subsequent years saw ever-worsening relations between the state and the Catholic Church; the

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[41] A. à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford* (Oxford 1813) 393.
[42] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 9-11; C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 27; E. Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 24-25.
[43] [R. Verstegan] *The Post of the World. Wherein is Contayned the Antiquities and Originall of the Famous Cities in Europe. With their Trade and Traficke, with Their Wayes and Distance of Myles from Country to Country, with the True and Perfect Knowledge of Their Coynes, the Places of Their Mynts; with Al Their Martes and Fayres* (London 1576).
[44] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 12-15.

Papacy supported a new rising in Ireland in 1579 and in 1580 the first Jesuits arrived in England, leading to even harsher laws and the execution of Campion.[45]

These developments had a tremendous influence on Catholics across the country, likely including Verstegan. For in 1581 and 1582 he worked on the martyrology *A True Report of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion, Jesuits and preiste, and M. Sherwin and M. Bryan, preistes at Tiborne the first of December 1581* (1582), which is usually ascribed to the priest Thomas Alfield. Around 1581 Verstegan appears to have set up a secret press somewhere at Smithfield, though this book was the only one produced there. For very soon after its appearance, the press was discovered and Verstegan fled to France, while some of his compatriots, including Alfield, were apprehended.[46]

A Martyrologist in exile

Only a very small number of Catholics chose to go into exile during the sixteenth century, as the vast majority remained in England and accommodated themselves as best they could within the Elizabethan religious settlement. Some conformed to the new settlement begrudgingly, remaining sympathetic to the Catholic faith despite visiting Protestant services – the so-called 'Church Papists' – while those known as Recusants illicitly practised the Roman faith when possible.[47]

However, a fraction of Catholics chose to flee during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, while small numbers would follow them into exile in the decades that followed. Most of these early exiles were either clerics students from Oxford and Cambridge, who overwhelmingly travelled to Louvain and Douai, while later Catholic exiles also travelled as far as Valladolid and Rome to join seminaries there.[48] Verstegan was thus different in respect to most of his contemporary exiles, as he only fled the country some two decades into the reign of Elizabeth, when the first English Jesuits had already arrived,

[45] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 48-49; P. McGrath & J. Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: their Harbourers and Helpers', *Recusant History* 19 (1988/1989) 209-233.
[46] Petti, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies',66-69.
[47] A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (1993) 1-3.
[48] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation,* 24-27; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor 2000) *361*-365, 396-445. For more information on migration patterns of Catholic refugees, also see: D. Worthington ed., *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Leiden 2010) and G. H. Janssen, 'The Exile Experience' in: A Bamji, G. H. Janssen and M. Laven ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham 2013) 73-90.

and never joined a Seminary. Though in exile for publishing an illegal book, one can assume he himself saw his exile in wholly religious terms nonetheless.

Unlike many Catholics, Verstegan travelled to the militant Catholic city of Rouen in 1582. Some months before Verstegan arrived Robert Persons, one of the most prominent English exiles on the continent, based himself in that city and started working as the coordinator for all of the printed output of the England Mission. However, like most English exiles in France, Persons was soon absorbed into the Guisard camp of French politics – King Henry III refused to support them in order to sustain his good relations with Elizabeth – leaving him little time for his original duties. When Verstegan arrived in the city, it seems he quickly took over this position in the Mission.[49]

Until settling down in Antwerp in 1586, Verstegan primarily engaged himself with this work both in Rouen and Paris, publishing typical Counter-Reformation pieces – especially martyrologies – in English, Latin and French. Verstegan mostly focussed on translating, editing and printing these, though he found some time to write his own materials as well. In Paris in 1583, he published his own *Briefve description des diverses cruautez que les Catholiques endurent en Angleterre pour la foy*, a martyrology including several copperplates engraved by Verstegan himself.[50]

His time in France would prove to be short-lived, however, as he was briefly jailed in 1584 after the English ambassador Stafford learned of his activities. Appealing to the king, Verstegan was jailed for some two weeks before obtaining release through the intervention of the papal nuncio.[51] He was subsequently spirited off to Rome where he continued his activities. There he released an expanded Latin edition of his own martyrology, *Briefue description*. Failing to get financial support from the Papacy, he moved on to Antwerp, where he obtained a pension from the Spanish authorities in February 1586 instead, although Rombauts suggests that payments were seldom on schedule.[52]

From his new home in the Southern Netherlands, Verstegan operated as one of the primary editors of English Catholic books until the Anglo-Spanish conflict ended in 1604. Numerous works for English mission, both secular and Jesuit, were printed under

[49] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 24-26. Also see: P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge 1981).
[50] Petti, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies', 72.
[51] A. G. Petti, 'A new Verstegan letter', *Recusant History* 12 (1973/1974) 250-253. Verstegan to Cardinal Barberini, Antwerp, 9 may 1624.
[52] Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 65-67; Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 33-36.

his supervision, including pamphlets, books and legal documents, all of which sold at high prices in England.[53] Furthermore, Verstegan also published what is in many ways his most important work in this period, the *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* (1587). One of the most influential Counter-Reformation polemics, it contains twenty-five engravings displaying the prosecutions under Henry VIII and Elizabeth, Huguenot crimes in France, and the cruelties of the Geuzen in the Low Countries.

Illustration 1.1 *The Martyrdom of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587*. R. Verstegan, *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* (Antwerp 1587) 85.

[53] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 50-54, for an overview of his other writings for the Mission, see 54-65.

The *Theatrum* is strongly focussed on English affairs, and it seems the main catalyst that fuelled the author was the execution of a saintly Mary, Queen of Scots, which is presented as the climax of Calvinist cruelty. His intentions are also evident; both the preface and the concluding remarks show that Verstegan wishes to showcase the monstrous deeds of Protestants, of which the Calvinist sect is particularly vile, and to mobilize the Catholic monarchs of Europe to unite against this common enemy.[54]

Richard Verstegan is perhaps best remembered for these books as his efforts allowed the Counter-Reformation to reach the beleaguered English Catholics. However, he was also influential as key component in an information network that spanned across Catholic Europe. As A. G. Petti noted, Verstegan's contribution to the Catholic cause is 'not confined to the composition and editing of books and the engraving of pictures; he also supplied for other authors with important information on the persecution in England.'[55] In many ways Verstegan was, Petti argues, responsible for disclosing the suffering and tribulations of the English Catholics to the rest of the Catholic world. For not only did he unearth numerous English martyrs in his own martyrologies, he was also a key figure in the information networks of many prominent Catholic polemicists.

Though few remain, Petti estimates that he must have sent thousands of dispatches to key authors throughout Europe, funnelling through the news he received from his contacts in England. Dispatches to influential English exiles such as Robert Persons, Francis Englefield, Roger Baynes and Cardinal William Allen remain to this day, but he was also in touch with numerous other prominent Catholics throughout Europe who subsequently used his information for their own ends. Petti recognises Verstegan's hand in, for instance, Pedro de Ribadeneira S.J.'s *Historia Ecclesiastica del Reyno de Inglaterra* (1593) and Diego de Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (1599).[56]

This, however, is just the 'visible side' of his role in a Catholic communication network, for during this time Verstegan was also a key intelligence agent for the Society of Jesus, the English Mission and the Spanish Monarchy. Arblaster even goes so far to state that 'in the years 1590-1596, Verstegan's intelligence network was one of the few reliable channels for information about English affairs.'[57] Though little is known of his

[54] Petti, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies' 78-82.
[55] Ibidem,85-86.
[56] Ibidem, 85-86.
[57] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 68.

activities as an intelligence agent, it seems that his involvement therein lessened considerably after 1603. Not only did the peace of 1604 mean his services as a publishing agent were no longer needed, but it also thoroughly transformed Jesuit activities in England. Moreover, those surviving sources appertaining to intelligence activities are overwhelmingly from the period 1592-1597. Perhaps more tellingly, Verstegan started writing again in the early 1600s.[58]

The Antiquarian

Soon after the end of the Anglo-Spanish conflict in 1604 Verstegan released his second monumental work, the antiquarian *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (1605), of which numerous other editions followed for decades. Simply put, it attempts to refute the then dominant view of British history that saw the inhabitants of the isles as descendants from the Trojan refugee Brutus – invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth – by arguing that the English instead descended from the Germanic peoples of Northern Europe.[59]

This was more controversial that it would seem, however, and there might have been some political implications behind it as well. For the Stuart iconography that surrounded the recent coronation of James, as well as the imagery connected to his reign, was largely built around a collective British history in an attempt to unite the two kingdoms more smoothly. The analysis offered in *A Restitution* fully clashed with this image, and though the author makes no mention of the matter, one can wonder if this was intentionally done to weaken Scottish ties to the English throne.[60]

The pamphlet would prove to be ground-breaking, and in many ways influenced English antiquarianism throughout the seventeenth century. It resonated in the Southern Netherlands as well, and some reworked chapters on Germania and the Low Countries appeared in 1613 as *Nederlantsche Antiquiteyten met de bekeeringhe van*

[58] Ibidem, 67-84.
[59] Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 25; Parry, T*he Trophies of Time. English antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford and New York 1995) 1-21; For an example of the Brutus myth, see A. Mundy, *The Triumphs of Re-united Britania* (London 1605).
[60] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 49-69; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 108-117.

eenighe der selve landen tot het kersten gheloove, deur S. Willibrordus, coinciding with the rebuilding of the church of St. Willibrord in Antwerp.[61]

Illustration 1.2 The Saxon idol Woden. R. Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (Antwerp 1605) 72.

[61] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 85-100.

The Antwerp poet and journalist

In the years that followed Verstegan continued to work on various books, especially in Dutch, and by 1617 he established himself as a prolific poet, mainly through the impressive *Nederduytsche epigrammen* (1617). During his years in Antwerp, Verstegan also became a prominent figure in the city's literary circles and amongst the local elite.[62] Verstegan's Dutch writings focussed on humorous literature, producing nine such books between 1617 and 1633, though he explored other fields as well. Other works that followed include the geographical guide *De Gazette van nieuwe-maren* (1618) and the *Characteren oft schepsinnighe* (1619) that mostly consists of stereotypical characterizations of various social figures, from magistrates to Calvinists, and from priests and prostitutes.

Here, during his later life in Antwerp, is where Verstegan also ventured into the political topics that will be analysed in this thesis. Starting in 1617, the now sixty-nine year old man authored numerous polemical pieces on international politics in Dutch, while a handful of them also appeared in English and French. At the same time he also began to work as a journalist for one the earliest newspapers of Europe, Abraham Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*.

This new approach seems to have been precipitated by his interest in the affairs of the Northern Netherlands. Rombauts even suggests that Verstegan might have travelled there during the Truce, as he maintained good relations with Anna Roemers Visscher, who dedicated a poem to him in 1617.[63] At any rate, Verstegan manifests himself in his polemics as one of the most knowledgeable Catholic authors on Calvinism. Already specifically denouncing them in *Theatrum* (1587), his later works see him explaining Calvinist conflicts, differentiating between different sects as well as offering thorough denunciations of their theology. This is already evident in the 1611 broadsheet *Oorspronck ende teghenwoordighen staet van de Calvinische secte*, that elaborates on its tenets before differentiating between its main branches: the Gomarists or Puritans, the Brownists, the Anglicans and the Arminians.[64]

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[62] Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 173-204.
[63] Ibidem, 178-182.
[64] R. Verstegan, *Oorspronck ende teghenwoordighen staet van de Calvinische secte, alsoo die nu verscheyden is in vier principale deelen* (Antwerp 1611).

However, his focus grew to greater proportions when the conflicts between Arminians and Gomarists in the Republic climaxed. Throughout the Twelve Years' Truce, a theological controversy raged through the Republic, largely surrounding the Calvinist tenet of predestination – though containing great political ramifications as well – that divided the Reformed Church. The clash between the two factions – each named after a prominent theologian from Leiden – was eventually resolved in the dramatic and decisive Synod of Dort (1618-1619), that completely rejected the tenets of Arminianism. The developments of both the controversy and the Synod were followed with great interest in Antwerp, where Arminian pamphlets could be safely printed – Wtenbogaert even lived there for some time – and where the death of Oldenbarnevelt was even mourned in several pamphlets.

Verstegan, perhaps capitalizing on this interest, authored several pamphlets exploring these troubles in depth, while also ridiculing and denouncing Gomarists. This occurs in the before mentioned *De Gazette* (1618) and *Characteren* (1619), but also worth mentioning are the short *Jan Josepsens Droom* (1619), which describes a meeting with the ghost of Oldenbarnevelt, as well as the *Een Cluchtich Verhael* (1619) which ridicules the concept of predestination.[65]

The latter two pamphlets are a part of the gazette *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* by Abraham Verhoeven, which appeared in collaboration with Verstegan. The gazette consists of a series of short pamphlets that appeared between 1620 and 1629, usually consisting of a brief summary of (international) news in Dutch, though several were simply educational short stories. At least 1336 issues appeared, usually about three a week. Sadly, little is known about the exact contribution of Richard Verstegan, as all appeared only under Verhoeven's name, though K. van Damme and J. Deploige suggest that Verhoeven primarily functioned as a printer relying on a network of writers and informants such as Verstegan.

Sadly, an in-depth study of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* has yet to be undertaken, meaning that now we can but guess at Verstegan's additions. Rombauts makes a case for three pamphlets through style analysis, including both *Jan Josepsens Droom* and *Een Cluchtich Verhael*,[66] while W. J. C. Buitendijk briefly singles out a further eight due to

[65] Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 178-179; For a perspective on the Arminians and Gomarists from the Southern Netherlands, see Sabbe, *Brabant in 't verweer*, 15-65.
[66] Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 197-200, 310-319.

their contents.[67] However, the contents of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* shared many similarities with Verstegan's polemical activities. A study of the gazette shows that 59,6 per cent of the *Tijdinghen* focus on the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War alone.[68] Who is to say Verstegan was not involved in some of these, considering his experience in international information networks and polemical activities?

For their contents quite closely align themselves to Verstegan's other polemics of the 1620s. As virtually all appeared anonymously their exact number is unknown, but Verstegan wrote at least a dozen pamphlets throughout the decade, which – in both Dutch and English – concentrate almost entirely on the Dutch Revolt, its origins and contemporary developments.

In the last years of his life, then, Richard Verstegan seemed to hardly slow down. In 1633 another humorous book, *Medicamenten tegen de Melancholie* appeared, and it seems he was working on a final collections of epigrams when he passed away in early 1640, having lived to his early nineties.

A Dialogue between a Brabander, and a Hollander

Of his numerous polemics from the 1620s the six English pamphlets, which appeared between 1621 and 1623, are especially interesting. Though his focus was almost exclusively on Dutch polemics for several years, two English pieces appeared in 1621, likely in response to upheaval surrounding the Match. Four more pamphlets appeared in quick succession between 1622 and 1623, one of which was a substantial revision of one of the earlier pamphlets, *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*. All six appeared anonymously, and all are lengthy pieces sketching a Catholic perspective of European politics, centring on three of the most gripping political events of 1621: the resumption of hostilities in the Low Countries, the escalation of the Bohemian conflict in the Empire, and the proposed Match. Throughout all six polemics, the author makes a

[67] Buitendijk, 'Richard Verstegen als verteller en journalist', 21-30.
[68] K. van Damme and J. Deploige, ''Slecht nieuws, geen nieuws'. Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652) en de *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*: periodieke pers en propaganda in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de vroege zeventiende eeuw', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 113.1 (1998) 1-22: 5-9, 21-22.

convincing case for James's peaceful diplomatic policies through a critique of Dutch and English Gomarist warmongers.[69]

All pamphlets are, to a large extent, based on his earlier Dutch pamphlets and journalist activities and it comes as no surprise that their contents are closely aligned to the contents of *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Two are even edited translations of his own *De speigel der Nederlandsche elenden* (1621)[70] and *Anatomie van Calviniste calumnien* (1622).[71]

Furthermore, all six polemics are written in a didactic style reminiscent of contemporary pamphlets that were produced in large numbers in the Spanish Netherlands in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Starting around 1585, more and more polemics appeared in the vernacular that sought to provide printed support for the Catholic communities and further the political goals of Catholic monarchs. Taking various forms such as histories, theological tracts, news sheets and pamphlets, they sought to both educate lay Catholics about the Church and its tenets, as well verbally arm them against Protestants.[72]

Edward Rombauts has argued that many of Verstegan's Dutch works, such as his tracts on Calvinism and editorial work for Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, should be seen in the light of this reinvigorating Catholic spirit, and there is no reason to doubt this, especially as Verstegan was closely associated with many writers working in this field.[73] Especially active amongst these were – in keeping with their educational aspirations – the Jesuits, amongst whose ranks prolific and influential authors such as Johannes David and Johannes Costerus can be found.

One of Costerus's most influential works, *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum nostri temporis de religione* (1586), which would be frequently reprinted in vernacular in the decades that followed, is especially interesting in this regard as it

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[69] A. F. Allison, 'A group of political tracts, 1621-1623, by Richard Verstegan', *Recusant History* 18 (1986-1987) 128-142. For a complete overview of these pamphlets and how these can be traced to Verstegan, see appendix A.

[70] In that same year it appeared as [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland the Vnited Provinces, made by an English Gentleman there lately resident, & lines written by himself from Paris to his friend in England* ([S. Omer] 1621).

[71] In that same year it appeared as D. N. [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes. Or the Anatomy of Caluinisticall Calumnyes, manifested in a Dialogue betweene a Brabander, and a Hollander. Vpon occasion of a placcart, lately published in Hollad, against the Iesuites, priests, friears &c ... Translated out of the Netherland language, into English* ([S. Omer] 1622).

[72] W. J. C. Buitendijk, *Het Calvinisme in de Spiegel van de zuidnederlandse literatuur der Contra-Reformatie* (Groningen 1942) 55-65; J. Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 147-153.

[73] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 185; Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen*, 246-249, 260-262.

appears to have inspired much of Verstegan's genre. It set out guidelines for approaching and debating various types of Protestants, such as genuine heretics and people who were simply misled, and provided useful tips and phrases to silence or even convince their opponents.[74]

All six English polemics appear as practical adaptations of Costerus's guidelines, as all are shaped around a debate in which the Protestant is effectively defeated through reason, employing a number of Costerus's tips. In one pamphlet, *Londons Looking-Glasse* (1621), this takes the shape of a conversation between the author and representatives of several European nations, while the other five appear as a debate between a Protestant and a Traveller often inclined to Catholicism – representing the reader and the author respectively. Their debates take place in various locations, such as on a ship travelling from Gravesend towards the Low Countries or in a tavern en-route towards Frankfurt, and see The Traveller taking many shapes to suit the current setting. At times he is a soldier, a merchant, or even the host of a dinner party, but Verstegan's alter ego is always someone who fully shared his opponent's convictions whilst in England, but has through his experiences learned the truth about many affairs Englishmen are almost entirely oblivious to.

Through the dialogue that follows, the Traveller deconstructs the topics debated, soundly discrediting very simplified versions of Protestant arguments on the legitimacy of war and the Reformed faith. In doing so, Verstegan manages to portray all Protestant conflicts as illegitimate, defend the King of Spain as a righteous monarch, and above all present Calvinism as a threat to all Christian societies. And by presenting his arguments in a step-by-step debate, that slowly convinces the dim-witted but well-meaning adversary, he allows the reader to reach such interpretations themselves. The fictitious meeting and debate thus function as a mechanism for conveying the author's political or religious message.[75] Crucial in this approach is that the Traveller is presented as an Englishmen who used to share the readers' thoughts and perspectives, and is thus understanding rather than condemning.

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[74] F. Costerus, *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum nostri temporis de religione* (1586); Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 147-149.

[75] Verstegan's usage of such a mechanism for conveying a political or religious message is unusual, but not unique nor only employed by Catholic authors. Nelleke Moser found a similar polemical mechanism in Dutch and English pamphlets critical of Spain's treatment of the Prince of Wales during negotations surrounding the Match. See: N. Moser, 'Manuscript Pamphlets and Made-Up Performances: News Sources and Challenges in the Study of Public Opinion' in: J. Bloemendal, A. van Dixhoorn and E. Strietman ed., *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden and Boston 2011) 181-218.

In some pamphlets Verstegan extends these debates to include a discussion on the legitimacy of the Reformation. The Traveller takes on the guise of a recent convert who, through the study of Scripture and the history of the Church, returned to the fold. This too, is debated in detail, in effect taking the reader on a journey to conversion, emphasizing the differences between Protestant churches and refuting the Reformed tenets, simultaneously legitimizing those upheld by the Catholic Church.

In doing so, Verstegan strongly relied on Costerus's writings, and particularly on *Bewijs der ouder Catholijcker leeringhe* (1601) from which he copied certain arguments. The Jesuit made a compelling case that highlighted the similarities between the Catholic mass and the practises of the Eastern and Malabar churches, 'proving' that Catholic traditions are rooted in the practises of the early Christian churches.[76] Verstegan simply translated much of this argument – albeit adding the Abyssinian church – for a number of his English pamphlets.[77]

Verstegan's pamphlets should therefore be above seen in the light of the polemical culture of the Southern Netherlands, as his Dutch and English works not only appeared simultaniously, but also due to the numerous similarities between them. Indeed, the author continued to produce similar pamphlets in Dutch throughout the decade, including *Ghereformeerde brandtstichterije van de Geusen* (1622) and *Oorloge ghevochten met die wapenen van die waerheydt* (1628).[78]

Of course, when looking for the origins of Richard Verstegan's own religious and political worldview and how exile influenced him, the Travellers' contradictory and fictitious accounts are of little value. Indeed, statements concerning his loyalty and conversion appear as a tool for transferring his political agenda rather than a reflection of himself. However, it seems that Verstegan's Catholic convictions originated in the

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[76] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, 202-204; F. Costerus, *Bewijs der ouder Catholijcker leeringhe* (Antwerp 1601) 47-50.

[77] The argument is repeated in four of Verstegan's pamphlets: [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 56-57; [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes*, 85-87; [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman, lately become a Catholike beyond the seas, to his Protestant friend in England ... In answere to some points, wherin his opinion was required, concerning the present busines of the Palatinate, & marriage with Spayne: and also declaring his reasons for the change of his religion* ([S. Omer] 1622) 43; [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affayres of Holland ... The second edition. Augmented with diuers new chapters, and in some few place also corrected, By the Authour of the first edition* ([S. Omer] 1622) 128-133.

[78] R. Verstegan, *Hier wat wonder wat nieuws, van de Ghereformeerde brandtstichterije van de Geusen* (1622); R. Verstegan, *Oorloge ghevochten met die wapenen van die waerheydt, en van die reden, in twee bataillien: Teghen twee valsche pretentën van de rebellighe Hollanders, te weten: 1. Dat sy zijngetwrouwe patriotten, oft liefhebbers van hun vaderlandt. 2. Ende dat sy hebben een ghereformeerde religie* (Antwerpen 1628).

turbulent years of Elizabeth's early reign when the young man, like many of his fellow students, turned his gaze to Rome. This too seems to have instilled in him a Catholic militancy that led to his cooperation on the 1582 martyrology that led to his exile.

Furthermore, though little can be said about how Verstegan experienced his exile, as only polemical and therefore untrustworthy accounts of his life on the continent remain, his deeds are very indicative. For almost the entirety of his life as a refugee was spent aiding the Catholic cause, both through print and in his capacity as an intelligencer. Most of the first two decades abroad were spent in the service of the English Mission, aiding the clergy in England while propagating their cause through gripping martyrologies, while in later life he entered the service of King of Spain and published numerous polemics to aid the Spanish cause. It seems that, if anything, his flight from England strengthened the political and religious convictions that can be found behind *A True Report of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion*. Therefore it seems that his worldview, and the concomitant political agenda pursued through these pamphlets, is at least in part the product of exile.

1.2 A Jacobean Puritan

Thomas Scott, Verstegan's adversary in print, was different in numerous ways. Not only was he of another generation – he was in his early forties in 1620, whereas Verstegan was in his seventies – he also occupied himself with entirely different literary genres. Moreover, as a Puritan Scott was in an entirely different position vis-à-vis the English nation; to be sure, exile likely strongly influenced the national identity of both men – as will be explored in the third chapter – but religiously Scott was in a far less disparaging position.

Before looking at Thomas Scott and his vast oeuvre, this difference will be briefly explored. For while both likely felt exiled for their religious beliefs, the Puritan movement is less easily defined than its Catholic counterpart as, especially in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, it did not sever its ties to the monarch or the national church. A vital difference between the two can thus be found in the relation between the authors and their intended readership. Where the Catholic Verstegan was faced with a tremendous religious barrier, Puritans remained – though perhaps living on the fringes

of the church – a part of the same religious community both men were appealing to in their writings.

However, as I will be referring to Scott as Puritan throughout this thesis, its meaning and implications should first be explored. For few people in Elizabethan and Jacobean England labelled as 'Puritan' completely severed their ties to the Church of England, and perhaps even fewer recognised themselves in that epithet. The words 'Puritan', and 'Puritanism', originated as terms of abuse, first employed by the Catholic exile Thomas Stapleton, and before 1640 few people associated themselves with it.[79] Indeed, even Scott remarked that those now called Puritan were in the past simply known as 'the sound Protestant',[80] and throughout his works he tends to characterize 'his' community as 'Protestants' or indeed even 'Sound Englishmen', though 'the Godly' was an often-used term by contemporaries.

While this thesis is not the place for an extensive discussion of the Puritan movement, it seems impossible to analyse Scott's impressive oeuvre without sketching an image of the community in which he originated. Historiographically, however, it has been a problematic group. It has traditionally been defined as an independent and largely isolated movement in English Protestant life in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, defined through its inherent otherness and opposition to Anglicanism. Pre-revisionist historians have characterized Puritanism, from its Elizabethan onset, as a radical opposition to the established Church of England, a crescendo of agitation that ever pushed for furthering the Reformation. Their ultimate failure would subsequently lead to their violent clash with the establishment in the Civil War. [81]

Revisionist historians have done much to alter this image of 'the Godly', especially of those in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, before the onset of Arminians and Laudians in late 1620s and 1630s. Especially Patrick Collinson and Nicholas Tyacke have been influential in producing an account of the Puritan movement that was in many

[79] C. Durston and J. Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan ethos, 1560-1700', in: Idem ed., *The culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, (London 1996) 1-31: 1-3.
[80] Anon., [T. Scott?] *The interpreter: wherin three principall termes of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded* ([Edinburgh?] 1622) 3.
[81] P. Lake, *The historiography of Puritanism*' in: J. Coffey and P. C. Lim ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge 2008) 346-371: 346-351.

ways intertwined with mainstream Protestantism and its central figures, rather than fundamentally in opposition to the Church and state.[82]

From this perspective, 'Puritanism' has never really existed as an independent movement that pursued continued agitation based on a particular theological agenda. Rather, the 'Puritan agenda' was based on contemporary social or theological priorities and therefore also experienced peaks and troughs in its activity. When George Abbot was archbishop during the reign of James, the church took a far more conciliatory approach to those ministers who did not agree with all elements of the Elizabethan Settlement, leading to a period of 'Calvinist consensus' in which Puritan agitation was nonexistent.[83]

Furthermore, no definition of 'Puritan' can be made solely through a theological approach; for most of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period there was a consensus on predestination amongst virtually all English clergymen, while those ministers usually grouped under the term 'Puritan' disagreed on a variety of other doctrinal and liturgical issues. Keith Sprunger, in his study on Puritanism in the Dutch Republic, employed it as an 'umbrella term' that included Brownists, Separatists and Anabaptists alike.

Nor is it a term for non-conformists alone, especially before the 1620s; numerous ministers who remained in England stayed within the establishment despite their misgivings, while even in the Dutch Republic, where most Puritan exiles found a new home, a number joined the conformist *Engelse gereformeerde kerk* in Amsterdam.[84] As will be seen, Scott too saw the Church of England as a wholly Reformed church, fundamentally linked to continental reformed communities despite ceremonial and organisational differences. It seems that rather than nonconformity, a stoic predestinarian theology or a particular method of ordering one's social life, the degree of

[82] P. Collinson, *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London 1983) 527-562; P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan movement* (London 1967); N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and counter-revolution', in C. Russell ed., *The origins of the English Civil War* (London 1973).
[83] Durston and Eales, 'Introduction', 3-5; J. Eales, 'A road to revolution: The continuity of Puritanism, 1559-1642', in: C. Durston and J. Eale (ed.), *The culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, (London 1996) 184-209: 184-185; M. Ingram, 'Puritans and the Church Courts, 1560-1640' in C. Durston and J. Eales ed., *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke and London 1996) 58-91: 80-91.
[84] K. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A history of English and Scottish churches of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Leiden 1982) 91-122.

belief and dedication to the Reformed faith is what distinguished the Puritan from the Protestants.[85]

Furthermore, while those now labelled Puritan likely felt the desire to preserve their religious identity, this rarely led to a complete separation from the ungodly, establishing instead what Durston and Eales call a 'semi-detached relationship with the remainder of the parochial community'. Rather than non-conformists, 'the Godly' in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period were often the more hot-blooded members of the parish who sought a stricter following of the Reformed faith, both in church as well as outside of it.[86]

Relatively few of these so-called Puritans actually joined separatist churches or fled into exile during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, while numerous prominent ministers with Puritan inclinations, such as William Ames or John Paget in Amsterdam, defended the Church in England despite its flaws. Collinson remarked that 'Separatists and non-separatists were at one in their belief that within the parishes of the Church of England were many thousands of elect and converted Christians'.[87]

Thomas Scott of Norwich

Though admittedly little is known about his theological and social perspectives before going into exile, it is in a company of such hot-blooded conformist ministers that Thomas Scott should be placed. While often hailed as the foremost polemicist of the 1620s, the details of his life in England are mostly obscure, excepting a brief tenure as rector of St Saviour's in Norwich in 1620. One of the reasons for this seems to be that there are several Thomas Scotts living in England in this period, all inconveniently known for their political activism, their Puritan sermons or literary talents. However, at least one can be easily separated from the others, one Thomas Scott of Canterbury (1566-1635). He too was a Puritan radical who strongly opposed the Spanish Match and other Jacobean policies in print, most notably in the 1619 treatise *A Discourse of Polletique and Civell*

[85] Durston and Eales, 'Introduction', 8-9, 16-20. Also see, for instance, M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and Social Control?' in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson ed., Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge 1985).
[86] Durston and Eales, 'Introduction',23-30.
[87] P. Collinson, *Religion of Protestants. The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford 1982) 278.

Honor. He, however, remained in England and even became MP for Canterbury in 1624.[88]

Illustration 1.3 Gravure of Thomas Scott, likely by Crispijn van de Passe the elder. T. Scott, *Vox populi Vox Dei. Vox Regis. Digitus Dei. The Belgick pismire· The tongue-combat· Symmachia or The true-loues knot. The high-vvayes of God and the King. The proiector* ([Holland 1624?]).

[88] For more on Scott of Canterbury, see P. Clark, 'Thomas Scott and the growth of urban opposition to the early Stuart regime', *The Historical Journal* 21.1 (1978) 1-26; C. Cuttica, 'Thomas Scott of Canterbury (1566-1635): Patriot, civic radical, puritan', *History of European Ideas* 34 (2008) 475-489.

Sadly, the other Scotts are less comfortably separated from the author of *Vox Populi*, especially where his life in England is concerned. Born somewhere around 1580, even Scott's nationality is uncertain. Sean Kelsey, who authored his biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* notes that he was possibly the son of a Norfolk cleric with the same name,[89] though at times he is also referred to as Scottish. Writing a commentary on some reprinted works, Scott himself implies so when marvelling on the wonders of returning to Scotland: 'For in England I was heauy, dull, slausih, and heartlesse; but assoone as I past the riuer Twede and recouered the Scottish soyle and ayer, my spirits reuived from death, or returned from exile, and I become more iocond, fresh, and agill.'[90] In fact, the first appearance of the man in any record is in Scotland in 1618, when he enrolled in the theological faculty of St. Andrews.[91] Though it is unknown where he Scott exactly found his Puritan drive, the remark above also suggests that it was something picked up during his studies.

His name first appeared in print in 1616, when two sermons supposedly preached before James I were published. However, it is likely that a different Scott was responsible, as Scott of Norwich only began to study theology in 1618, and it is therefore doubtful that he served as a chaplain at court two years prior. In that same year his name appears again, this time on a political libel entitled *Phylomythie, or, Phylomytholigie*. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, identifies the author as another Thomas Scott, a poet known for some other works in the previous decade, though he is probably not the author of the 1616 sermons as well. There is therefore no concrete evidence to suggest that Scott was polemically active before the publication of *Vox Populi*.

However, just as most of Scott's early life, the details surrounding the writing and appearance of Vox Populi are unclear. Samuel Gardiner noted that, based on its contents, the infamous pamphlet was likely written no later than the spring of 1619, meaning he wrote it during his studies in St. Andrews.[92]

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[89] S. Kelsey, 'Scott, Thomas (*d.* 1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24916, accessed 2 Dec 2012].
[90] T. Scott, *Vox populi Vox Dei. Vox Regis. Digitus Dei. The Belgick pismire· The tongue-combat· Symmachia or The true-loues knot. The high-vvayes of God and the King. The proiector* ([Holland 1624?]) To the Reader.
[91] S. L. Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford, the "Vox Spiritus" and the *Vox Populi*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976) 141-144: 142.
[92] S. R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I* III (1901) 392.

However, it would not be published immediately and a year later Scott received his appointment in Norwich. While nothing can be said with certainty about the printing and circulation of *Vox Populi*, Simon Adams argues that it was likely published in the middle of November 1620, as a letter by Sir George Calvert to Buckingham survives, dated 28 November, which testifies to its existence. In the short letter Calvert relates his 'descovery of the seditious book called Vox Populi', and ensures Buckingham that he is currently trying to trace its author. Calvert had apprehended the author of another seditious pamphlet entitled 'Vox Spiritus', written by one Thomas Gainsford. Adams suggests that the capture of Gainsford led Thomas Scott to go into hiding, and eventually flee to the Netherlands, which might very be the case as he left the country in early February of 1621 when his identity became known.[93] Rather than fleeing religious prosecution, Thomas Scott's exile was thus precipitated by publishing a licentious pamphlet, though one can wonder if he experienced it as such himself.

An Englishman in the bulwark of the Reformed faith

As a Puritan exile in the Netherlands Scott was hardly exceptional, as several hundred English and Scottish ministers travelled to the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century, some of whom were non-conformists or were for some other reason, like Scott, forced to seek refuge elsewhere. John Stoye estimated that the English Puritan community in the United Provinces was larger than 'all the people of English extraction scattered over the rest of the continent'[94] combined. Many of these were soldiers in the English regiments of the States-General, but there were also numerous merchants and Puritan congregations to be found, many of whom frequented English churches. Puritans first began arriving in numbers in the 1590s, and six Puritan churches were established in the Republic in the late sixteenth century, followed by a further thirty-four in the seventeenth, most of which were to be found in Amsterdam, The Hague, Leiden, Delft,

[93] Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford', 141-144; *The Fortescue Papers; consisting chiefly of letters relating to state affairs, collected by John Packer secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*. S. R. Gardiner ed. (London 1871) 143-144.
[94] J. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667; their influence in English society and politics* (New York 1952).

Dordrecht, and Middelburg. However, due to the many schisms, splits and merges of various congregations their number fluctuated throughout the period.[95]

For these communities, the Dutch Republic was especially attractive through its proximity to England and the religious advantages it offered. As Marvin Breslow put it, 'the United Provinces stood as a besieged fortress of the religion' and formed a 'haven for the homeless' and it comes as no surprise that they felt a special bond with the Dutch people.[96] Scott doubtlessly shared such a vision; writing on the Dutch in 1622, he noted that:

> Neither need wee be ashamed of such Tutors [the Dutch] vvho come of the same race originally as wee doe, as our speech withnesseth (...). Besides, they are such whose natures and manners we better agree with, then with any other Nation: having ever found them plaine, but sure friends, both in these latter times, when *Spaine* would haue swallowed vs, and before that for many hundred years continuance (...).[97]

In that same year Thomas Scott reappears on the military frontier as a chaplain for the English regiment in Gorinchem. There were two dozen English and Scottish military churches to be found on the frontier of the Eighty Years' War, and each chaplain served both in the field during campaigns, as well as in towns when garrisoned. Of course, the military camps were hardly pious places, but they did offer a pulpit to many non-conformists and indeed, Keith Sprunger notes that almost all preachers attached to the military forces were of a Puritan disposition. There, they found an audience, a salary, and protection from both the States-General and their officers. Moreover, they found an opportunity to bring the word of God to the licentious soldiers, as well as aid in the struggle against Spain, and it seems that many of them appeared hopeful in the face of their dire circumstances.[98]

This is perhaps most evident in a short book written by the chaplain, Samuel Bachelor, minister to the regiment of Sir Charles Morgan. In Gorinchem he wrote *Miles*

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[95] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, preface, 2-6, 14; J. Wilson, 'Another look at John Canne', in: *Church history*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1964) 34-48: 44 .
[96] Breslow, *A mirror of England.*, 74.
[97] Anon. [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire: Stinging the slothfull Sleeper, and Awakening the Diligent to Fast, Watch, Pray; and Worke Out Their Owne Temporall and Eternall Salvation With Feare and Trembling* (London [the Netherlands] 1622) 49.
[98] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 262-265.

Christianvs, or the Campe Royal (1625), which both praises the Godly intentions of the struggle against Spain and the labours of the preachers there, as well as providing his fellow preachers with advice to promote godliness amongst their flock. *Miles Christianvs* is especially interesting because Thomas Scott contributed a poem entitled 'Of M. Samuel Bachilor his Campe-Royall or Campe-Christian'. In this two-page poem Scott laments the struggles faced, comparing life in the camps to the struggle between Michael and 'the old Dragon' in heaven, but it was evidently also a humbling and educational experience:

> The Campe's a schole, where th' understanding part
> Improuement makes, in everie Liberall art.
> Where practise perfects, what in books we learne.[99]

And, considering the polemical output he would go on to write in the years that followed, the reality and hardship of war apparently did little to weaken his resolve. Nonetheless, he did not stay in Gorinchem for long, as he accepted a position as minister to the new English Church of Utrecht, where he was inducted on the 20th of May, 1622.

At this point a Thomas Scott also appears in Ipswich, who published a sermon in 1622 while serving as a chaplain for the third earl of Pembroke. Louis Wright assumes that Scott of Norwich briefly returned to England, but considering his work in Gorinchem and Utrecht, I feel that Kelsey is correct in suggesting that this is another Thomas Scott, though it remains unclear if Scott of Ipswich is the same as any of the other Scotts roaming through England in the 1620s.[100]

Why Scott of Norwich left Gorinchem so soon is unclear; perhaps he was ill-suited for the harsh life at a military camp, or perhaps he wanted to pursue a writing career, which was doubtlessly easier to do away from the frontline. Furthermore, the magistrates of Utrecht offered to pay him 600 guilders a year, while the pension he received in Gorinchem from the States General would only have been around 200 guilders a year, which may have influenced his decision as well.[101]

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[99] S. Bachelor, *Miles Christianvs, or the Campe Royal* (Amsterdam 1625) dedictatory poem.
[100] S. Kelsey, 'Scott, Thomas'.
[101] W. Steven, *The history of the scottish church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh 1832) 338; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 262.

The English-Scottish community in Utrecht was quite well established by the 1620s. While a military chapel was available to the English inhabitants when the city was garrisoned in winters, there were some 120 English-speaking families in the city, who wanted more consistent spiritual aid. In 1622 they petitioned the States of Utrecht and the city magistrates for funds to establish their own church, and Scott of Norwich was called upon to be its first minister.[102]

Sadly, little remains of the archives of the English church of Utrecht, and so it remains unknown why Scott was chosen, or how he was received. Considerable parts of the archives were lost over time, now only consisting of several volumes of the Consistory Register, starting in 1657. Fortunately these do give us a limited picture of how the church was founded and its first minister appointed,[103] as it recorded a description on the origins of their church 'litterally transcribed out of our [now lost] book':

> Then the Captains joyned with the Burgers & desirous to have an English Preacher, the wrote their Letters, & sent espress messengers to one mr Thomas Scot, then preacher of the English Garrisone at Gorcum (Gorciham) (who was newly called out of England for writeing a book called vox populi, therein discovering the impostors of the Spanish, being therfore pursued with all heat of violence by Gondomarc the then Spanish Embassador, to Call him to this place. And they promised to make his stipend 600 Gulds by the year to allow him a house, & that besides 2 Gulds by the short month of every single Company & rateably of the rest. This was preformed & settled & the minr mr Thos Scot inducted by the hand ofs of mr John Torbes preacher to the Company of English merchant adventurers then resident at Delft, who preached at his induction, mr Thos Barksely preacher to the English Church at Rotterdam, mr Andrew Hunter preacher to the Scotish Regiments, Mr Gualter Whitstone preacher to the Regiment of Viscount Lesslie, the States & magistrates

[102] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 212-218.

[103] During the summer of 1759, the church clashed repeatedly with the Classis of Utrecht and the Dutch Consistory over their status within the city, as the membership of the English Church had declined over the years. In response, the church elders documented their own history once again to show that they hand, since 1622, ranked amongst the city churches in the first *locaat*. See: Het Utrechts Archief, Archieven van de kerkvoogden der Nederduitsche hervormde gemeente 1292-1813, toegangsnummer. 709-5. Aanhangsel: archief van de Engelse kerk, 1657-1840: 848-1 Notulen van den Kerkraad, 1657-1779, deel 1, 284-285.

> sent also to be present at the induction & admittance as witnesses & assistents; and all this was preformed the 20th of may anno Dom: 1622 to due solemnity.[104]

Thus relatively little is known about Scott's tenure in Utrecht, though this short text does let us say with certainty that the author of *Vox Populi* had taken up residence in the city. And it was there in Utrecht that Scott resumed his polemical career, quickly rising to prominence as one of the foremost critics of James's Hispanophile policies.

However, Scott's career abruptly ended on the 18th of June, 1626. While making his way to the St. Peter's Church in Utrecht together with his brother William and his nephew Thomas, the three men were suddenly assaulted by John Lambert, an English soldier who had waited for him in the churchyard. In the struggle that followed, the armed man drove his rapier through Scott's stomach, who bled to death that same day.

Though the archives in Utrecht yield no information regarding the murder, a pamphlet detailing the events of that day, as well as the subsequent torture, trial and execution of Lambert appeared in London in 1628. Entitled *A Briefe and trve relation of the mvrther of Mr. Thomas Scott*, the pamphlet does not name an author on its title page, though it might have been written by one of the two men who testify to its truth in the 'Certificate' on the last page, Scott's successor Ieremiah Elbourough, '*Pastor of the English Church at Vtricht*', and Commander Hankinson, to whose regiment Lambert belonged to. [105]

The tone of the pamphlet is one of reverence and godliness, which presents Scott as a paragon of the Christian religiosity. Immediately after being wounded, for instance, Scott answers with 'I know thee not, God forgiue thee and I doe from the bottome of my heart'. Similarly, the eulogies present him as a saint in God's service, while the turn-out and lamentation at his funeral was 'the like hath not been seene, nor knowne in Vtricht.'[106]

The pamphlet goes on to relate that the murderer, who admitted to serving the Spanish army for some time, failed to escape and was hanged two days later. However, there is some uncertainty about Lambert's motivation; at first the soldier supposedly

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[104] U.A., Archieven van de kerkvoogden der Nederduitsche hervormde gemeente 1292-1813, toegangsnummer. 709-5. Aanhangsel: archief van de Engelse kerk, 1657-1840: 848-1 Notulen van den Kerkraad, 1657-1779, deel 1, 288-289.
[105] [Anon], *A Briefe and trve relation of the mvrther of Mr. Thomas Scott Preacher of Gods Word and Batchelor of Diuinitie* (London 1628) 10.
[106] [Anon], *A Briefe and trve relation of the mvrther of Mr. Thomas Scott*, 2, 6.

claimed that Scott was a traitor to his sovereign, while also hindering a promotion the soldier felt he deserved, though later admits to being motivated by spiritual visitations of James, Charles, Elizabeth, and William of Orange. Though broken on the wheel, Lambert continued to deny that he was 'hired, by any Priest, Iesuit or other whatsoever',[107] though both the tone of the text as well as the contents of the eulogies imply that this was more likely the case. While one can wonder to what extent this account is true, the choice of words, as well as the fact that his death was still so lamented in London two years after his death, does suggest he was an author of some acclaim.

The Polemics of 'the Controversialist par exellence'

In 1624 the English market was flooded by anti-Catholic literature, ranging from relatively simple critiques of Catholic practise or liturgy to political polemics critical not only of Spain's intentions, but also of James's policies. Similar expressions were made by ministers with Puritan inclinations throughout the country. Just a few years before such expressions from the pulpit, let alone in print, would have led to harsh repercussions – Scott himself fled from the authorities for this very reason – but by 1624 the practise became widespread and, moreover, were readily available in bookstores.[108]

Scott, whom Cogswell called 'the controversialist *par exellence*', became one of the most notorious authors in this brief period. His polemical career only really took flight after settling down as a minister in Utrecht, as virtually all of his pamphlets appeared after 1621. The only exceptions are *Vox Populi* and another brief piece that appeared in 1621, entitled *A speech made in the Lower House of Parliament*, which is in some ways an oddity amongst Scott's other pamphlets. It consists of a fictional Parliamentary speech, supposedly given by Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon (1572–1638), a rather well-known MP and staunch supporter of a Reformed – and therefore anti-Spanish – foreign policy.[109] Published a year after the disastrous Battle of White Mountain, this very brief polemic sees Scott actively propagating intervention in both

[107] Ibidem, 5.
[108] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 282-301.
[109] R. Lockyer, 'Cecil, Edward, Viscount Wimbledon (1572–1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4975, accessed 10 April 2013].

the Low Countries and the Empire. For inactivity would only further the Spaniard's cause;

> 'Their footing in the Palatine, for the displanting of a whole Countrey of our religion (…) then the passages that these successes, do offer to open him downe into the United Provinces, in the body of which state they haue a faction now a working, the sect of the Arminians (…) Out of the low Countreyes, they cannot but look into England which will carry all the rest.[110]

This does much to set the scene for the pamphlets that would follow, as most emphasise the need for war due to religious, dynastic or political obligations and crises –as will be seen in the following chapter. The subsequent polemics, however, are far longer than *A Speech* – typically between thirty and a hundred pages long – and rather than purporting to describe a fictional discussion as Verstegan does, most pamphlets are sermons or reports detailing his motivations and beliefs, and goals.

Of course there are some exceptions, most notably amongst which are *Vox Populi* (1621) and *A Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624) that, much like *A Speech*, purport to describe the thoughts and actions of others – in this case Gondomar. These two pamphlets stand in sharp contrast to each other, however, as the former is highly positive about Spanish fortunes, while the latter laments its failures in especially England and the Low Countries. A third pamphlet, *Sir Vvalter Ravvleighs Ghost, or Englands Forewarner* (1626), in which Gondomar is confronted by the ghost of the Elizabethan hero, then, sees the count admitting to his crimes and plots once again.

Another pamphlet that stands out due to its genre is *The interpreter: wherin three principall termes of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded*. (1622). Thoroughly different from anything else flowing from Scott's pen, *The interpreter* is instead a long poem describing the virtues, faults and concerns of three types of people inhabiting England: the Puritan, the Protestant and the Papist. All pamphlets, however, differ little in regards to their contents, as all advocate religious war on the continent.

However, any attempt to study Scott's oeuvre as a whole is hampered by serious uncertainties appertaining to authorship, which perhaps in part explains why many historians limit themselves to only a number of his pamphlets. Of course, this is partly

[110] Sir Edward Cicell [T. Scott], *A speech made in the Lower House of Parliament* ([The Netherlands] 1621) 2-3.

due to the fact that many of his pamphlets were initially published anonymously, while he was by no means alone in advocating religious warfare through polemic. Consequently, several pamphlets by other authors have often been associated with Scott, especially works later traced to Puritan polemicists Henry Hexham[111] and John Reynolds.[112] Further exacerbating the problem are, as seen earlier, other Thomas Scotts roaming through English literary history in this period, forcing the Short Title Catalogue to list 28 different works that can potentially be attributed to Thomas Scott of Norwich.

The author himself further complicates matters, as a collection of his supposed works appeared in 1624, consisting of some twenty-four different pamphlets. Titled *The Workes of the Most Famous and Reverend Divine Mr. Thomas Scott* (Utrecht 1624), it contains pamphlets by both Hexham and Reynolds, while at least four pamphlets presented as his own are likely translations rather than original works.

[111] Henry Hexham (1585?-1650) was an officer in the English regiments fighting for the States. While serving at the sieges of Ostend, Breda, 's-Hertogenbosch, Venloo, Roermond and Maastricht, he is mostly known for his translations of Dutch works into English, including theological tracts by Johannes Polyander and an edition of Mercator's *Atlas* (1636). However, he has also made a significant contribution to the theory of the art of war, publishing an impressive *The Principles of the Art Militarie Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands* (1637) as well as translating works by Samuel Marolois into English in 1638. At least two pamphlets often attributed to Scott could very well be his, as their style is quite different from that usually seen in Scott's confirmed writings. See Appendix A and A. F. Pollard, 'Hexham, Henry (*fl.* 1601–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13160, accessed 11 April 2013].

[112] Two other pamphlets, *Vox cœli* and *Votivae Angliae* (both 1624), that appeared under the pseudenom S. R. N. I. have often been heaped together with Scott's oeuvre, but are more likely the work of one John Reynolds(1588-1655). While mostly known for his poetry, his connection to these two political pamphlets is primarily established because he was extradited to France in 1624, where he was subsequently imprisoned for some years. See appendix A and K. Grudzien Baston, 'Reynolds, John (*b. c.*1588, *d.* after 1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23422, accessed 11 April 2013].

Illustration 1.4 The frontispice to Vox Dei T. Scott, *The workes of the most famous and reverend divine Mr. Thomas Scott* (Utrick [Utrecht] 1624).

Of course, this should not discourage scholars, as authorship was of lesser importance in the seventeenth century as it is now, and their inclusion in this collected works at the very least shows that Scott fully embraced the contents and messages of these suspect

pamphlets. Nonetheless, this study will primarily focus on those works that appeared under his own name, are translations by his hand, or are to be found in a shorter collection of works (1624). Unlike *Workes* this second collection is untitled, as it simply lists all nine pamphlets included on its title page. What is especially useful about this collection is that includes a foreword written by Scott, in which he claims authorship of its entire contents in a general introduction – something he does not do in *Workes*.[113] This approach leaves one with twenty-two pamphlets, the full list of which can be found in appendix A.

Of this group of pamphlets, ten appeared between 1620 and 1623 while all others – barring one 1626 piece – appeared in 1624. The general tone of all, to a large extent reflects contemporary political developments, especially in regards to the Spanish Match, the disastrous capture of the Palatinate, and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624. The pamphlets appearing before 1624 thus all emanate a sense of defeat and frustration. *Vox Populi* especially portrays the Spaniard as victorious, with Gondomar recounting his successes in thwarting all attempts by Puritans to influence the King, while claiming responsibility for the utter failure of the Parliament of 1621. A similar sense of resignation prevails in other pieces as well. The sermon-like polemic *Belgicke pismire* (1622) largely revolves around characterizing England and its Church as 'a slothful sleeper', whereas *The Proiector* (1623) portrays the nation as in decay.

Scott's later pamphlets, then, largely reflect the sense of optimism and anti-Catholicism felt throughout England after the marriage negotiations – and, seemingly, James's Hispanophile outlook – came to an end late 1623. In stark contrast to its namesake, *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), mostly laments the turning of the Spanish fortunes and the failure of so many of their plots. The mood is ominous as the actors are mostly lamenting on how 'her plots and practises are smoaked, their Gordian

[113] Only one of these – *A Tongue-Combat* – cannot be tied to Thomas Scott with certainty, though throughout this thesis it will be considered as one of his works. Historians have attributed it to either Scott or one Henry Hexham, both of whom tied their name to the pamphlet. In some editions Hexham is named as the author of the 'Dedication', while the pamphlet also appeared under Scott's name. The latter also included it in both of his compilations, the confusing *Workes*, as well as in the more accurate untitled compilation (1624). The latter compilation is suggestive, as all other works included are confirmed as his, while he also claims authorship of all in the introduction. One possible explanation for this puzzle could be that this was a collaboration between the two authors; both were in the Republic at the time, while the contents of their polemics suggest that they shared a very similar worldview. It therefore does not seem unthinkable that this pamphlet involved both men to some extent. At any rate, Scott unequivocally presents it as his own, thus taking its contents as his own, and is therefore worth including in my analysis.

knots vntwisted euen by children'.[114] Especially praised in this regard are the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham, who were recognised as the new protectors of the realm. This is clearly seen in an introductory poem to *Vox Dei* (1624):

> The Duke kils Briberie (bane of Commonweales)
> With fire-brand Faction, and so truely deales
> For Kinge and Kingdome, as a man that knowes,
> Vpon one roote, their equall vvelfare growes.
> The Prince false Vniversalls doth detest,
> And, true of faith, is by the true faith blest.
> Hee for the Kinge the Kingdome and the Kirke,
> Like Hercules begins herock vvorke,
> And sets new pillars on the coast of Spaine,
> To bownd three-bodyed Geryon once again[115]

Yet this newfound optimism in his writing does little to diminish his sense of urgency, as the polemical outburst of 1624 continues to vigorously promote his military agenda. Rather, the sudden popularity of anti-Spanish polemics presumably encouraged him to continue writing.

Remarkable, however, is that number of Scott's 'seperates' are actually translations of French, Dutch and Italian pieces. *Aphorismes of State* (1624) is actually a translation of an anonymous Dutch pamphlet[116] detailing the supposed agreement between the Papacy and Spain, whereas the highly informative *A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate* (1624) is based on a French original[117] that appeared shortly before this translation. Interestingly, the ESTC suggests that *The Spaniards perpetuall designes* (1624) could be a liberal translation of either two French pamphlets. Possibly the original is *Dessein perpetuel des Espagnols a la monarchie universelle* (1624), which is sometimes attributed to Jean Hotman, and sometimes to one père Joseph. However, it might very well also be an expanded version of Willem Baudartius's *Progrez des conquestes du roy d'Espagne* (1623).

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[114] T.S. of U. [Thomas Scott of Utrecht], *The second part of Vox popvli, or Gondomar appearing in the liknes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament* (Goricom [Gorinchem] 1624) 3.
[115] Anon. [T. Scott], *Vox Dei* ([The Netherlands 1623?]).
[116] [Anon.] *Nieuwe, ongehoorde, vreemde en secrete artijckelen, tot herbouwinge vande Roomsche Kercke-standt, by het Collegie der Cardinalen binnen Romen* (Amsterdam 1623).
[117] [Anon.] *Briefve information des affaires du Palatinat* (1624).

However, the highly entertaining *Newes from Pernassus* (1622) is most interesting amongst his translations. This pamphlet is in fact the first English translation ever made of a part of Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612), an Italian satirical critique of the Spanish hegemony in Europe, that situates all of Europe's monarchs on the mountain Pernassus, under the watchful eye of Apollo, where they interact with each other and discuss the developments of the last years. Considered by William Marquardt to be quite a faithful translation of the original, only the Epilogue is new, in which Scott elaborates on recent developments in the Low Countries and the Palatinate not covered by the original.[118] Scott's translation is also partially reprinted in the compilation of Boccalini translations *The new-found politicke* (London 1626).

Telling is his ready use of these translations, as all are concerned with the continuation of the Reformation and the dangers posed by Habsburg monarchs in Europe, rather than even remotely occupied with domestic affairs in England. By making these available for an English audience, the author above all implies that his writings are concerned with transnational, rather than national, developments. Indicative also are the – quite faithful – Dutch translations of several of his own pamphlets, which evidently also found readers in the Republic, suggesting that his writings are not solely of interest to Englishmen. Multiple Dutch editions of *Vox Populi* appeared in the 1620s, whereas three other prominent pamphlets were also released in Dutch: *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie* (1624), *Vox Dei* (1623) and *Vox Regis* (1624). Interestingly, *Belgicke Pismire* (1622) also contains a preface aimed at Dutch readers.

Sadly, there are no documents appertaining to Scott's experience of exile. Unlike Verstegan, Thomas Scott rarely defends or elaborates on the origins of his religious and political convictions through polemic, while no diary or other sources survive. But again his activities are telling; as *Vox Populi* was written during his studies, his political and religious convictions had possibly already taken shape during his early life.

However, just like his adversary in Antwerp, Scott's life as a refugee is activist in every sense. It seems that especially his service in the army of the States-General instilled in him of the Dutch and their Reformed religion, on which he elaborated at length in pamphlets such as *Symmachia* (1624), *Belgicke pismire* (1622) and *The Belgick sovldier* (1624). Though little can thus be said with certainty about his exile and its effect

[118] W.F. Marquardt, 'The first English translators of Trajano Boccalini's "Ragguagli di Parnaso": A study of literary relationships', in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15.1 (1951) 1-19.

of Scott's perception of contemporary developments, his service in the war with Spain, and the vigorous polemical career that followed suggest that exile did little to soothe his military convictions.

1.3 'Seperates' for the English Market

The short overviews of their lives have already highlighted several fundamental differences between these authors. The two men are of different generations and, as historical coincidence would have it, grew up in distinctly different times of English history. Verstegan was born during the reign of Edward VI, spending his youth in a time of great religious uncertainty during the reign of Mary and the early years of the Elizabethan government. Scott, in stark contrast, grew up in an England where Protestantism was far more securely settled. When Scott fled the British Isles in 1621, Verstegan had already been on the continent for almost forty years. Furthermore, while the Norwich preacher kept both feet firmly in the English community both in Gorinchem and Utrecht, Verstegan was in many ways a cultural mediator who travelled across Catholic Europe.

This diversity is, in a way, reflected in their respective oeuvres. For Richard Verstegan enjoyed an extensive and versatile writing career, spanning decades and touching upon many subjects in various languages. It almost goes without saying that this remarkable bibliography, as a whole, hardly lends itself for a comparison to Thomas Scott's brief polemical outburst in the early 1620s. While the Norwich Puritan focussed almost exclusively on political tracts, his Catholic opponent indulged, over a period of more than four decades, in almost every literary genre known to a seventeenth-century reader. Next to political matters, his interests and literary works covered history, geography, poetry and theology. And yet he was far more than a writer, having worked as a journalist, engraver, printer, translator, antiquarian, and merchant as well.

And yet there are some similarities to be found between the two, as both seem to have developed their respective convictions during their studies and fled prosecution for licentious publications. And it was in exile that both men dedicated their lives to their religiously-inspired causes. Furthermore, both were compelled to engage in the public debate that divided England during the early 1620s through printed media.

Though relatively little can be said with certainty about how they were received or how well-read and influential their polemics were, there is some room for speculation. Some scholars – most notably Habermas[119] – have argued that the public sphere only started to develop in the late seventeenth century, but I agree with Richard Cust who argued that such an entity was already in existence in England in the 1620s. Indeed, he has argued that England's interest in news and politics increased rapidly in this chaotic period of English history, marked by a strong growth of the news market and an increase in available newsletters and pamphlets. Cust goes on to state that around this time, news, public opinion and the influencing thereof became 'an integral part of the political process.'[120] Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn characterized early modern public opinion as a 'a process of the formation of opinion within a specific public'[121] and though their focus was on the Low Countries, I believe Verstegan and Scott operated within a similar process in England in the 1620s.

Like newsletters, the amount of available pamphlets – or 'seperates' as they were known – increased tremendously and provided information on subjects hitherto beyond the scope of many Englishmen. They covered almost every subject that attracted public interest, and was one of the first vehicles for circulating parliamentary news and proceedings. Moreover, they were generally considered reliable and could therefore easily influence public opinion. As Cust noted, 'unlike the newsletter, which was by nature ephemeral and frequently open to correction, the "seperate" was regarded as an authoritative record.'[122]

In this market exile was an advantage in some ways, as most authors had to avoid controversial subjects as printing presses were regulated the Stationers' Company charter that, since 1557, allowed regulated and censored book production.[123] Critical

[119] An excellent overview of Habermas's approach to the public sphere can be found in: L. Goode, *Jürgen Habermas. Democracy and the Public Sphere* (London 2005).
[120] R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 112 (1986) 60-90: 73.
[121] J. Bloemendal and A. van Dixhoorn, 'Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries' in: J. Bloemendal, A. van Dixhoorn and E. Strietman ed., *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden and Boston 2011) 1-35: 20.
[122] R. Cust, 'News and Politics', 63.
[123] For more on clandestine printing and the English book market see, amongst others: D. M. Loades, 'Illicit Presses and Clandestine Printing in England, 1520-1590' in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse ed., *Too mighty to be free: censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen 1987) 9-27; A. B. Worden, 'Literature and Political Censorship in Early Modern England', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse ed., *Too mighty to be free: censorship and the press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen 1987) 45-61; D. Shaw, 'The book trade comes of age: The sixteenth century', in: S. Eliot en J. Rose ed., *A companion to the history of the book* (2007) 221-231: 227.

presses could therefore easily lose their license and be prosecuted; indeed, both Verstegan and Scott fled into exile for their part in producing illegal books.

Ironically, however, this allowed them to work on their polemics in relative peace. In the Southern Netherlands all works of a religious nature needed both ecclesiastical approbation as well as a licence of the royal council, which Verstegan always obtained.[124] In the Northern Netherlands, in contrast, censorship was repressive rather than preventive, meaning that the States-General only tried to suppress books long after they had been produced and distributed and by that time it was already too late for effective censorship.[125] The *plakkaten* of 1615 and 1621 implicitly concentrated on Puritan authors, and clearly forbade the printing, selling, owning and distributing of these 'scandalous and seditious books',[126] while considerable diplomatic pressure was also exerted from England. However, the results were meagre as most magistrates apparently lacked any desire to harass the Puritan printers and authors – the rather famous Brewster and Brewer print shop of Leiden being an exception.[127]

From their respective printing presses, the pamphlets would have then been smuggled to England through various networks, though little known about how this exactly took place – in a way a testimony to their efficiency.[128] The relatively unprofitable polemics were taken to English and Scottish harbours in small numbers by dedicated Puritan or Catholic merchants and sailors, where they would be copied by hand before being sold. Sellers of such polemics could employ a whole team of copyists who could disseminate new material to a wide audience in a matter of days. Their numbers could run into the hundreds and even thousands of copies.

In the Early Modern public sphere 'speakers' such as Scott and Verstegan – individuals who collected, edited and spread information – could be quite influential as only few people had the means and motivation to gather and spread news. Consequently, pamphleteers like these men were in a position to steer public opinion by

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[124] Arblaster, *Antwerp & the world*, 50-54; P. Arblaster, 'Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585-1690' in: B. M. Dooley & S. A. Baron ed., *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (2001) 179-198.

[125] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 75-76; R. van Vliet, 'Print and public in Europe 1600-1800', in: S. Eliot en J. Rose ed., *A companion to the history of the book* (2007), 247-258: 255-257.

[126] K. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the tower. English Puritan printing in the Netherlands 1600-1640* (Leiden 1994), 38-40.

[127] Sprunger, *Trumpets from the tower*, 34-45.

[128] R. Cust, 'News and Politics', 64. For more on Puritan smuggling activities in the Dutch Republic, see: K Sprunger, *Trumpets from the tower*, 156-169 and R. Breugelmans, 'The Pilgrim press and how its books were sold', in: J. Bangs ed., The Pilgrims in the Netherlands, recent research (Leiden 1984), 25-28. For more on Catholic smuggling from the Southern Netherlands, see: Arblaster, *Antwerp & the world*, 47-54.

determining controversial topics.[129] Of course, a large portion of the population remained illiterate and relied on oral news, but Cust argues that a considerable amount of printed news could still easily reach illiterate audiences as well. He argues that 'the separation made between popular and élite culture was in practice sometimes non-existent' as they shared most of the news media. Scott's pamphlets were thus both read, as well as read to people. At a popular level, their contents were perhaps less accurately displayed and less refined, but its message broadly similar. Polemical works such as those in question could thus affect a broad social spectrum.[130]

A question that remains is, of course, whether they did. It was already seen in the introduction that a number of historians consider Thomas Scott to be one of the most influential polemicists of the period, and I see no reason to doubt this. Verstegan's presence in the English public sphere is less easily analysed, however, as he has hardly been studied in this perspective. Moreover, his pamphlets appeared anonymously, so perhaps few contemporaries traced them to same author, especially after typographical similarities disappeared in hand-written copies.

Interestingly, it is his adversary Scott who hints to his prominence and popularity amongst the English public. This is above all the case in regards to *A Toung-combat* (1623) that warranted a rebuttal:

> I could not, without injurie to Truth, permit so many falshoods (as vnder colour of sincerity and modesty, were wrapt vp in those waste-papers, to bee ventend for rich commodities vpon our Coast, greedie of nouelties) to passe without question or contraction.[131]

And this was not a lonely case; another pamphlet by Scott that appeared a year prior to *A Tongue-Combat* that also implied that Verstegan's influence necessitated a reply. For in *The Belgicke Pismire* (1622), the main criticaster of the Dutch is even singled out by Scott, stating that even 'M. Verstegan, an able and indifferent Iudge in this case' must agree that the Dutch and English are indeed of a similar origin.[132] Moreover, as will be seen in the following chapter, Scott's writings feature many implicit rebuttals as well,

[129] Bloemendal and van Dixhoorn, 'Literary Cultures and Public Opinion', 19-31.
[130] R. Cust, 'News and Politics', 65-69.
[131] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat,* Dedictation.
[132] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, 49.

addressing issues raised by 'hispaniolized' Englishmen that also feature in Verstegan's writings.

In the end, anti-Spanish pamphlets like those of Scott seem to have appealed to a wider audience and were therefore likely more widely read. After Charles and Buckingham returned safely, large portions of the nation seemed to have breathed a sigh of relief.[133] It was, however, by no means a one-sided debate and one can assume that anti-war tracts like Verstegan's pamphlets also reached a considerable audience, either in print or through word of mouth, though one can do little more than speculate about the extent of his influence.

While it would be an exaggeration to claim that the two men were frontrunners of their respective 'factions', I nonetheless believe the two men were influential and, to some extent, representative of the two sides in the debate. In that respect it is especially interesting that in such a capacity both – though especially Richard Verstegan –depend on prevailing styles and tropes of their new surroundings in the Low Countries, testifying to the transnational character of their polemical activities. Their writings are even to an extent, as has been shown, aimed at both English and Dutch readers. Several pamphlets appeared in both languages almost simultaneously, whereas Scott even goes as far as publishing English translations of Dutch and French originals as his own. In the following chapter, this transnational character of their polemics and political agendas will be explored.

[133] Cogswell has described the subsequent celebrations in some detail, see: Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 1-54.

Chapter 2. A 'Tongue-Combat' lately happening between two English soldiers

In this chapter the English pamphlets of Richard Verstegan and Thomas Scott will be compared in the context in which they appeared; a divisive debate on England's foreign policy in the early 1620s. Public opinion was influenced by compemporary developments throughout the world, such as the renewed conflict in the Low Countries or atrocities in the East Indies, and pamphlets can be seen responding to these events as well as to other authors. This continuing interaction between authors is especially insightful, as it highlights the essential themes of the public debate on foreign policy, which aspects thereof are deemed most important, which appeals are most controversial and which necessitate reply. The pamphlets are thus approached as constructed texts that are responsive to political developments and not only aim to make a case for one's own agenda, but also to counter particularly galling arguments or accusations of others. Through this comparative approach the context in which these men were writing and the political agendas they sought to convey to their readers will become clear.

Unfortunately, historical coincidence would have it that the polemical activities of Scott and Verstegan did not entirely centre on the same period. As chapter one revealed, all of Verstegan's English pamphlets appeared between 1621 and 1623, whereas the bulk of Scott's works appeared in 1623 and 1624. It is thus unknown how Verstegan responded to the failure of the Spanish Match or to the promising Parliamentary sessions in 1624, though this hardly comes in the way of a comparison between the authors. Not only did they clash fiercely in the years before 1624, the central themes of contention remain largely unaltered in Scott's later pamphlets.

Of course, their 'debate' was not one solely between themselves, but largely revolved around discussing similar themes and of ridiculing, denying or countering the arguments of certain unsavoury authors, without naming any names. Scott's accusations were usually directed at hispaniolized Englishmen; in *Belgicke Pismire* (1622), for instance, he attacked 'half-hearted English-Spanish readers', while Verstegan acted

similarly. In *Londons Looking-glasse* he pointed at 'puritanly affected preachers',[134] while the anatagonists in his pamphlets are staunch, ignorant protestants. Both authors were thus possibly also addressing other opponents as well, but both go as far as attacking each other directly. It was already seen in the introduction that Scott even used the name of his opponent, while and that Verstegan specifically attacked the author of *Vox Populi.*

This comparative approach will show that these two men, and thus to a certain extent the public debate in which they featured, were largely unconcerned with the domestic themes explored by historians as Lake and Cogswell. While they focussed on Scott's appeals for political and religious changes in England, a comparison with Verstegan reveals that this only formed a small part of the Puritan's polemical agenda. Their debate, or 'Tongue Combat', revolves almost entirely around English obligations to intervene in conflicts involving religious or dynastic allies. Those conflicts were, as will be seen, debated in detail from historical, dynastic and religious perspectives. Should England intervene in the conflicts that ravaged the Low Countries and the Empire, and why? And, if so, on which side? What legitimizes or discredits such conflicts? And, vitally, does England have any religious obligations towards the embattled churches on the continent?

Admittedly, the 'national' themes explored by scholars such as Lake and Peltonen do certainly feature in some of Scott's pamphlets. Several warn of the scourge of Popery throughout England, which he characterized as an undermining force throughout the world that had, in England, taken hold at every level of society. In the sermon *The Proiector* he argued that most forms of corruption and sin find support in it, and support the growth of this malign religion:

> The corruption of manners hath broken downe our Walles and let in the Trojan Horse [of Popery] laden with trumperies. And for my part I feare nto what they bring in so much as I doe the In-bringers. Atheisme brings in Papisme; irriligion, superstition.[135]

[134] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 19-20.
[135] T. Scott, *The proiector. Teaching a direct, svre, and ready vvay to restore the decayes of the church and state both in honour and revenue. Delivered in a sermon before the iudges in Novvich anno 1620* (London [The Netherlands] 1623) To the Reader.

Similarly, the appendix of *The Second Part of Vox Popvli* (1624) includes an illustration (Illustration 2.1) of a meeting of the priests and jesuits in England as they plotted to further the Catholic cause, along with a list of names.

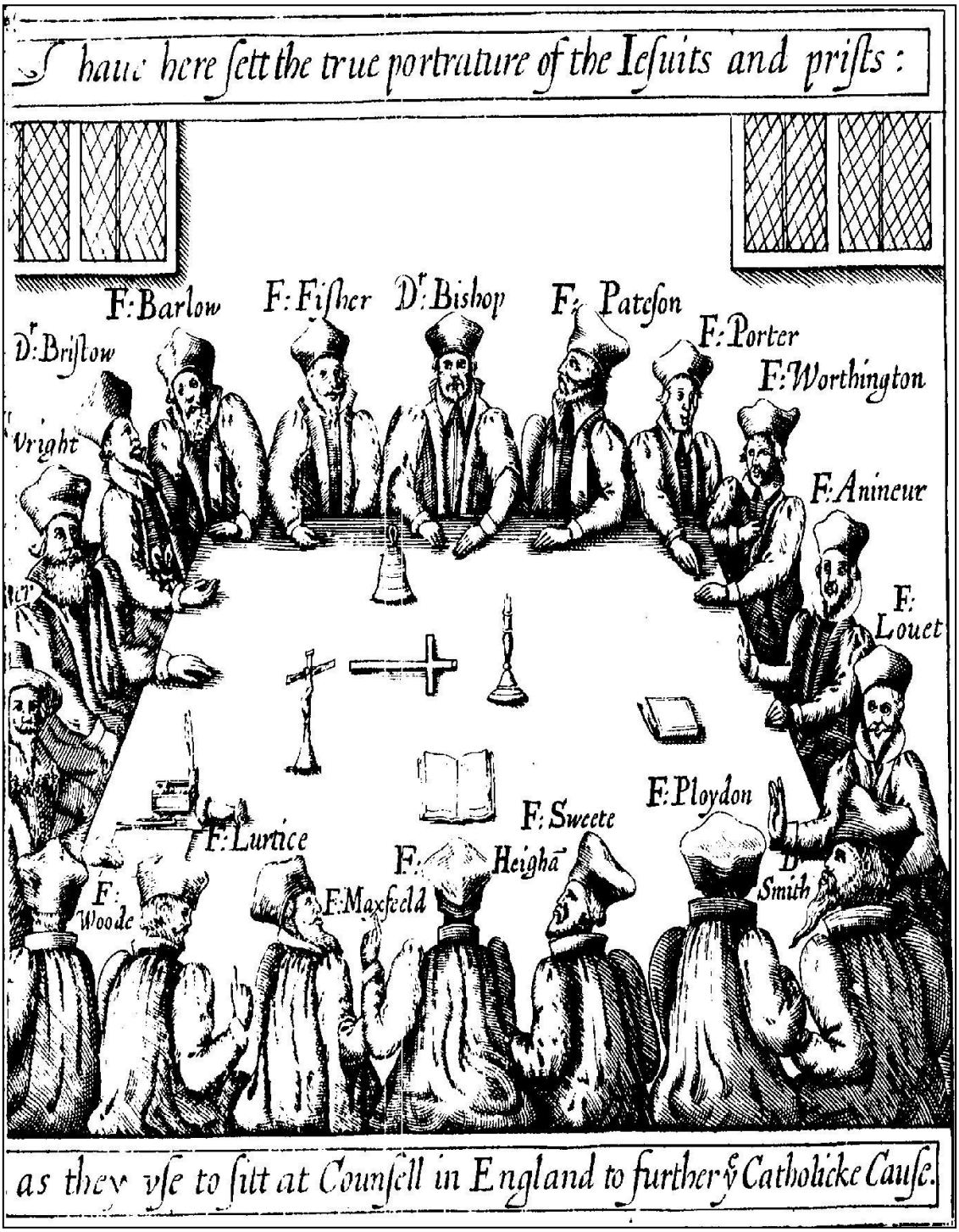

Illustration 2.1 A Meeting of the Prominent Priests and Jesuits currently residing in England. T.S. of U. [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli, or Gondomar appearing in the liknes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament* (Goricom [Gorinchem] 1624) 54.

Scott thus certainly aimed to combat Popery in England, a goal further illustrated by the pamphlet *Englands Ioy, for svppressing of Papistry* (1624), that appeared in reponse to the Petition on Religion passed by the Commons in April of that year.[136] It aimed to surpress Recusants and Papists in England, and Scott unsurprisingly hailed it with joy:

> What? Papistrie to be suppressed? The Priests and Iesuites to be banished? And the Gospell of Iesus Christ to flourish? My soule leapes for joy, and myheart is enditing a good matter. [...] my tongue is the pen of a ready writer. Oh blessed be God for this alteration. [137]

However, it was Parliament which Lake and Peltonen saw as central to Scott's writings. The former even identified the calling of Parliament as Scott's primary motive, and goes as far as stating that, to the Puritan exile, the Match 'represented a breakdown in the workings of the English political system'[138] rather than something viewed from a religious perspective.

Parliament does feature prominently in a number of Scott's pamphlets, and especially in *Vox Regis* (1624) and *The highways of God and the king* (1623), both of which feature heavily in Lake's analysis. Both certainly praise the institution as central to the relation between the Monarch and the people. *Vox Regis* even details the proceedings of the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 at length, also elaborating on its duties and merits:

> A Parliament therefore, where Prince and People meet and ioyne in consultation is fit only for that weightie and important worke in whose even ballancing the weale of a State doth consist. And without this councel the greatest Peere or Officer yea the greatest profest Enginere in the State stratagems may easily erre upon either hand many degrees from good government and so fall into an Anarchy or Tyrannie.[139]

A comparative analysis of Scott's writings and those of Verstegan, however, reveals that any concerns about the political status quo of England or the threat of Recusancy were

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[136] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, 232-234, 245-250.
[137] Anon. [T. Scott], *Englands ioy, for suppressing the papists, and banishing the priests and Iesuites* ([London?] 1624) 2.
[138] Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition', 814, 816-818.
[139] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 67-68.

largely secondary in their ouvres, and only featured prominently in a handful of these pamphlets.

The epitome of this printed rivalry that will be analysed was the appearance of two remarkably similar pamphlets in 1623: Verstegan's *A Toung-Combat* and Scott's *A Tongve-Combat*, which appeared in rebuttal to Verstegan's original. The former is a ninety page pamphlet describing a fictional argument between two English soldiers, Red Scarf and Tawny Scarf, who engaged in a discussion on the legitimacy of the Dutch Revolt. Both men were travelling to the Low Countries, each intending to serve a different side in the renewed struggle between the King of Spain and the States-General. In the preface, the Catholic author relates how the two supposedly agreed to a civil combat in words only, 'wherein neither of both were slayn or maymed'[140] as both were determined in their cause and thought themselves able to defend it.

The following debate is an excellent example of Verstegan's polemical style, as it is a discussion between the experienced and insightful Red Scarf and the rather ignorant but kind-hearted Tawny Scarf. Rather than a severe and judgemental Catholic, Red Scarf sympathizes with his opponent and simply finds it 'strange vnto mee that men of sence and vnderstanding, should not rather regard the iustnes of the cause & quarrel which they are to defēd'.[141]

In the ensuing debate, Red Scarf discusses the origins of the rebellion and of English participation therein, as well as other political and religious concerns, with his opponent. Throughout the course of the 'Tongue Combat', Verstegan's reasoning predictably shakes Tawny Scarf's very foundations, who laments that 'you haue so intoxicated my braine, that you haue almoste broght mee to stand staggering between hauk, and buffard',[142] and leaves him severely doubting the Dutch cause.

Scott's *A Tongve-Combat* appeared in that same year, and is a very critical evaluation of his adversary's original, as the Puritan could not 'permit so many falshoods (...) to passe without question or contradiction'.[143] It is a fundamentally altered edition of Verstegan's original, in which most of Red Scarf's statements stay intact, while all of Tawny Scarf's original arguments and accusations, which were mostly brief and rather ignorant, are replaced with lengthy, convincing answers. This time, it is Tawny Scarf

[140] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, Dedication.
[141] Ibidem, 8.
[142] Ibidem, 89.
[143] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*,Dedication.

who thrashes his opponent, portraying any serving Spain as traitors to their sovereign, and convincingly argued for renewed English participation in the conflict.

The 'Tongue Combat' between these two authors is the most direct confrontation between them, and lends itself especially well for a comparative approach as it reveals exactly what the main points of contention were and how both authors approached them. It illustrates the internationalist context in which these authors and their respective polemical activities need to be viewed, as all accusations and retorts concentrate entirely on four questions: Is the Dutch rebellion a legitimate one? Was Elizabethan participation in that conflict legitimate? Are the Dutch deserving of English aid now? And finally, and most importantly, does the English nation have any religious obligation to come to their aid?

While no other pamphlets witness such a direct confrontation, most revolve around these exact issues, albeit in more detail and from a number of other angles. In this chapter their Tongue Combat, extended to include other pamphlets, will serve as starting point to in order to reveal and analyse their respective political agendas. Their respective worldviews will then be explored individually. What are the basic themes and assumptions that shape these? And what are the origins of such transnational worldviews?

2.1 A Tongue-Combat on the Low Countries

The controversy surrounding the Dutch Revolt is thus the main focus of their 'Tongue Combat'. Scott's revised version of the pamphlet shows that the initial sources of contention are the political and constitutional background of that conflict. Two themes are especially subjected to debate: Firstly, was the original conflict of the 1560s and 1570s, and Elizabeth's involvement in it, legitimate? And secondly, are the Dutch now deserving of English aid?

Verstegan's original, which devotes much effort to these issues, shows an adamant disposition concerning the illegitimacy of the conflict. No man, he firmly states, can question Phillip's sovereignty or his treatment of the inhabitants of these regions. '[H]ee left none of his Netherland subiects for anie cause of innouation, in anie thing,

anie whit disgusted, but in as great tranquilitie as euer they had bin'.[144] Some alleged reasons, such as a supposed inquisition existed only in 'continuall pamphlets & preachings, as is the name of a Bulbegger to make litle children afrayd.'[145] Instead, 'seditious preachers' and 'some of nobillitie litle better then bankrupt' began spoiling churches in a rebellious rage in 1566. The King, in sending the Duke of Alva in retaliation, simply upheld his oaths to defend the Church and clergy of the Netherlands.[146]

This interpretation of the revolt is repeated in greater detail Verstegan's other pamphlets, most notably in both editions of *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland and the Vnited Pronvinces* (1621 and 1622). There the United Provinces are presented as the 'Country which is the fittest for rebelliō in all Christendome', primarily through their diffuse approach to religion. Not only are those low regions 'neerest neighbours to the Diuel', but also because they are so bred with Bible in hand that 'euery Cobler is a Dutch Doctor of diuinity'.[147] The origins of the conflict are thus to be found in an unholy alliance between the greedy nobility and religious radicals who are inherently opposed to monarchy and order.

Despite the protests of Verstegan's Tawny Scarf, Red Scarf goes on to argue that English participation in the conflict was illegitimate as well and, furthermore, originated solely from Elizabeth's unjustified hatred of the Spanish. Noting that before Mary's death, 'England and Spayn haue anciently remayned in great amitie together', he further claims that Philip, despite his own claims to the throne, gave 'quiet entrance vnto Queen Elizabeth [...] for further proof of his desyre of continuance of peace and amitie'.[148] Though she outwardly responded with kindness, Elizabeth replied secretly with numerous plots, as well as outright attacks, aimed at her brother-in-law. Through such blatant actions as coercing the Moors of Granada into rebellion, seizing Spanish assets in England, as well as outright attacks in the West Indies, she forced the King of Spain to retaliate in 1588.[149]

[144] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 12.
[145] Ibidem, 22.
[146] Ibidem, 16.
[147] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 15, 16.
[148] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 23.
[149] Ibidem, 25-28; [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 39-54.

Red Scarf goes on to state that Elizabeth never had a just cause in mind in regards to the Dutch rebels; she simply lent her assistance to their cause 'because shee hated the King of Spayn, and so made vse of them as the instruments of her hate'.[150]

Scott's rebuttal devotes a considerable number of pages to defend the Dutch and their rebellion against a sovereign king, responding in kind with accusations of a Catholic inability to accept their sovereign's rights because of their blind adherence to their other ruler in Rome; 'Had it beene warrented vvith a *Bull* from *Rome*, as the Irish vvarre vvas, then you durst not haue unsealed that secret to examine the iustnesse of it'. Scott proceeds to elaborate on the true rights and privileges of the States which he deems central to the conflict, though knowing full well that it is futile to argue with a Papist as 'the bright Sunne makes Moles the more blinde'.[151]

At length the reborn Tawny Scarf describes Dutch privileges set out by the Batavians and confirmed by Mary of Burgundy 'for an euerlasting memorie'.[152] The Spanish monarch, Tawny Scarf argues, knowingly attacked these privileges, chiefly through the Inquisition, to lure the people into a rebellion 'vvhereby hee might haue occasion of that generall Conquest, vvich those high-minded *Spaniards* supposed to be easie to their daring and slaue-subduing spirits'.[153] For to gain possession of a country through marriage or other means is hardly an advantage; only by the force of a Conqueror can one truly be king, 'otherwise hee thinkes hee cannot lord it enough, and there is some disparagement to his inuincible arrogancie'.[154]

The origins of the conflict are thus wholly to be found in Spanish plots for domination. This interpretation is, both in *A Tongue-Combat* and in other pamphlets, followed by an extensive account of Spanish atrocities in the first half of the conflict, in which Alva's cruelties – whose actions are dishonourable even by the standards of heathens and barbarians – and those of Spanish soldiers – who 'had secret instructions to mutine, or pretend Rebellion' to blamelessly increase havoc and impoverish the people[155] - feature prominently.

In regards to England's quarrel with Spain, Tawny Scarf utterly ridicules the notion that it originated solely out of Elizabeth's personal whims, giving no less than

[150] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 35.
[151] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 4.
[152] Ibidem, 15.
[153] Ibidem, 22.
[154] Ibidem, 4-25; for the quote, see p. 23.
[155] Ibidem, 25-42, 44-52; for the quote, see p. 39.

nine reasons England could employ to justify the conflict. These included, amongst others, Philip's detrimental influence on English religion during Mary's reign, the loss of Calais to France, and the invasion of Ireland in 1579.[156]

However an Anglo-Dutch alliance was hardly popular in England in the early 1620s, as relations had cooled due to various grievances. These deteriorated even further in 1623, when reports appeared in England that ten members of England's East India Company had been tortured and killed by their Dutch competition on the island of Amboyna. It resulted in a public outcry throughout the country, bringing crowds in London to the verge of rioting, while Dutch merchants and sailors required government protection. Voices in England strongly argued against a renewed alliance, also claiming that the Dutch were absolutely disrespectful towards the King and utterly ungrateful for all English sacrifices. [157]

Unsurprisingly, Verstegan gladly repeated such complaints in his polemics. For despite decades conflict, in which 'an infinite number of Englishmennes liyues lost', the Dutch will now not 'acknowledge anie friendship donne them, and therefore can they not entertayn anie thoghts of obligration, or gratitude.'[158] Similar remarks were made in regards to the trade conflicts outside Europe, as the fictional Catholic bemoans the 'most vile and contemptible usage of our nation in the East-Indies' and similar incidents 'Groon-land' and 'Muscouie'.[159] The Dutch, Red Scarf claimed, were the 'verie caterpillers and desroyers of our comon welth'.[160]

Amidst the public vilification of the United Provinces Scott was, as Breslow noted, as 'a lonely and worried voice in favour of the Dutch.'[161] Several of his early pamphlets were even dedicated to the task, while Dutch merits feature throughout his later writings as well. His Tawny Scarf therefore mitigates any accusations concerning ingratitude, noting that all war is a burden on people, and that soldiers' employment 'is burdensome euen to those that employ them'.[162]

Soon after the Puritan's arrival in Utrecht, a pamphlet even appeared whose main purpose was to idolize the Dutch and their religiosity, presenting them as ideal tutors for

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[156] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 56-60.
[157] Breslow, *A mirror of England*, 85-90; A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge 1996) 503-515.
[158] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 29-30.
[159] Ibidem, 31.
[160] Ibidem, 32-33. Also see: [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 62-65.
[161] Breslow, *A mirror of England*, 88.
[162] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 61.

the English nation. Written in response to 'those who labour to effect a division betwixt vs',[163] *The Belgicke Pismire* revolved around Proverbs 6.6: 'O Sluggard, goe therfore to the Pismire, consider her waies, and be wise'. The English, Scott claimed, should not just aid the Dutch in their struggle, but should look on them as tutors, 'they are such vvhose natures and manners we better agree with, then with any other Nation.'[164] For, in England,

> how our bodies are generally weakned; our manners corrupted, our healths impayred, and our estates wasted in drunkennesse, gluttonie, lecherie and pride? Yea, how are wee contemned and sleighted, and counted the off-scouring of all Nations? O Sluggard, goe therfore to the Pismire, consider her waies, and be wise.[165]

The pamphlet *Symmachia: or, a trve-loves knot*, that appeared in 1624, repeats much of such praise. In 'To the Reader', Scott explains how he wishes that this breach between England and the Republic 'with all my heart were stopped by timely prouision', before dedicating the entire pamphlet to proving the ancient bonds between the two peoples. For the Dutch are fighting a war for the Reformed religion, and have little or nothing to do with those criminals in the East Indies; they cannot even be rightly called Dutch, as they're 'such persons (…) as loue Mammon better then Christ, and count gaine the only godliness.'[166]

Essentially, the Utrecht polemicist goes on to sketch an image of the Low Countries and England as one and the same, both through culture, history and religion, with the former being the outer defences, and the latter the Market Place and Sanctuary. The one cannot be sustained without the other, and their bond is therefore to the benefit of both. Quoting 'a greate Commander in his speech made to the Parliament anno 1621', 'that if wee loose the Counterscarfe [The exterior slope or wall of the ditch] though it be beyond the ditch, the whole fortification is accounted lost.'[167] He goes on to call upon all worthy Englishmen to fight

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[163] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, Preface.
[164] Ibidem, 49.
[165] Ibidem, 13.
[166] Anon. [T. Scott], *Symmachia: or, A trve-loves knot. Tyed, betvvixt Great Britaine and the Vnited Prouinces* ([The Netherlands 1624]) 2.
[167] [T. Scott], *Symmachia*, 12-13.

> for them with vndaunted resolution, and, in neede bee, dye for them with comfort and cheerefulnes euen as for your owne County; since, as I haue manifested, the warre is the same though a little farther remoued, and besides that it is also a religious warre.[168]

'Employed for the maintenance of one same religious with that of England'

Verstegan and Scott thus quarrelled extensively over the nature of the Dutch conflict, as well as over the gratitude shown by the Dutch people. Ultimately, however, the 'Tongue Combat' centres on Dutch religion and its supposed links to English Protestantism. Is the fight for the Dutch, and thus ultimately for their Reformed church, also a fight for the English church? In other words, can one equate the English and Dutch churches, despite any superficial differences? Indeed, both authors seem to hold England's religious obligations as key to any declaration of war, and subsequently the 'orthodoxy' of continental Protestantism is heavily debated. Interestingly enough, this also means that the ensuing debate is not on the nature of English Protestantism at all – whatever one might expect of two zealots in the decades preceding the Civil War – but entirely on the nature and traditions of other confessions. What is and what is not part of the English Reformed tradition is kept vague, and thus employed purely to suit the purposes of the author. Both thus, to some extent, appropriate the religious perspective of their readers for themselves.

This focus on foreign confessions is especially noticeable in their Tongue Combat, where a critical analysis of the Dutch religion forms the climax of both editions. Verstegan's attack on Dutch Calvinism also features prominently in his editions of *Observations* as well as in his *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes* (1622). All accounts employ two contradictory sets of reasoning to counter the notion that those soldiers serving the States are employed for the maintenance of the English religion. For, firstly, the Republic is dominated by 'Gomarists' who are utterly opposed to the English religion, and

[168] [T. Scott], *Symmachia*, 18.

> in regard of a more pure and perfect Reformation, they do out of zeale and conscience the lesse desyre the continuance of the State, as it is'. Their freindes the Puritans, haue long since giuen them to vnderstand how ilfauourerdly the Religion of England is now reformed; and what great want they haue of a Holland-discipline (...).[169]

Forcing Verstegan's Tawny Scarf to admit that the Puritans of England are 'seditious and vurulie tounged fellowes', he leaves him baffled when commenting that 'heer at home you seeme not willing to defend such vurulie toungued fellowes, & yet you go from hence into Holland to fight for them'.[170] Worse however, is the fact that Gomarists utterly denounce the Elizabethan Church. Not only do they make 'pettie Popes' and 'Pettie Antichristes' of English Bishops, but they even accuse all Englishmen of being idolaters for naming the King Supreme Head of the Church. It is therefore truly ludicrous that Elizabeth moved to 'defend that Ghospel and religion abroad, which shee persecuted at home, as holding it to bee vngodly & seditious'.[171]

There can thus be no religious link between England and the Republic; for he that denies that the temporal prince is also supreme Head of the Church is in England 'by the law to dy as a traytour', while he that affirms it in Holland is 'by their doctrine to be held for an Idolater'.[172] In the second edition of *Observations* Verstegan even goes as far to conclude that in their fundamental doctrines, the Gomarists have more in common with 'the opinons of the Turks or Mahometans' than with English Protestantism.[173]

However, his second approach, effortlessly interwoven with the first, is that the Republic is actually a vile 'Babel of Religion', rather than a Gomarist dictatorship, where the people are indifferent to their neighbour's choice in religion. For freedom of religion is extended

> to that of the Lutherans as to that of the Anabaptists, & to that of the Synagogue of the Iewes, none of all which religions beeing allowed in England. But beeing by authoritie of the States allowed in Holland whosoever employeth himself in defence

[169] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 39-40.
[170] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 39-40.
[171] Ibidem, 40-41.
[172] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 127-128.
[173] [R. Verstegan], *Observations ... The second edition*, 194-196.

> of that vusurped State & Gouernment doth consequently defend these fowre different religious [including Puritans][174]

Englishmen who go out to fight for the Reformed communities in the Low Countries are thus also spilling their blood for Lutherans, Jews and others who they would despise at home. For in such a state, it is no wonder that every one believes what he wants. 'What shall restrain him?' Many Dutch sailors 'haue falne to Mahometisme by whole shipfulls at once' in Tunis, while in Amsterdam many others 'haue relinquished their Christianitie & are become Iewes', while some Geus regiments even march under the signe 'the Deuelles clawes.'[175] As Verstegan argues elsewhere, the Dutch employ an Inquisition only in condemning two Religions: Catholicism and Arminianism.[176]

Verstegan thus paradoxically characterizes the Dutch religion as one held in the highest regard by its people, as well as in utter disregard. This latter approach is epitomized, in his perception, by William of Orange to whose conversion Verstegan devotes a considerable part of *Observations*: 'There was no great need of learned Deuins to dispute the matter, Scriptures and ancient Fathers were not important to be looked after, Faith and Conscience had heerin no clayme, and Reason of State did put the Holy Ghost to silence.'[177] In the description that followed, the Prince considered all possible advantages gained from any conversion, whether Catholic, Lutheran or Anabaptist, before finally settling with Calvinism. Not only did this sect stand out 'in regard of their stirring spirits' which would strengthen his hand, they also cemented his relations with England and the Huguenots of France.[178]

Remarkably, Scott's defence of the Dutch religion is fully structured by the themes set out by Verstegan, suggesting that Scott, at least in part, is responding to criticism. In an attempt to mollify the differences between the Dutch and English confessions, however, the policy of religious toleration seems to have been very problematic. In *A Tongue-Combat* it is only briefly addressed, stating that is a false argument also applicable on the enemy. For 'he that fights for the Emperour or Venetian, fights for the Iewes, vnder whom they find toleration'. Furthermore, those Englishmen serving Spain, are thus also serving the Antichrist whom he represents or serves.

[174] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 44-45.
[175] Ibidem, 19-21.
[176] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 18.
[177] Ibidem, 78.
[178] Ibidem, 73-85.

Continuing such a line of reasoning, 'he that fights against the Catholike King, fights against Antichrist'[179] and thus serving the States is a legitimate religious position to sign up for.

However, the issue of religious toleration was evidently frequently employed by criticasters of the Dutch, as Scott is forced to address it a number of times. In *The Belgicke Pismire*, which mostly hails the Dutch as an example to be followed, Scott does this in detail, mitigating it as a necessity brought forth by the hardship of war.

Firstly, he argues that the conflict demands a complete unity of the Dutch people if they hope to withstand the Spanish onslaught; and they 'must for that cause hold good quarter vvith all, both in regard of their owne infected members, vvhose corruption might otherwise be vvrought vpon to breake out'. Secondly, as the Spaniards make use of heretical gold to finance their empire, the Dutch hold it equally fair to 'to use the gold of Iewes, Turks, and Heretikes to defend themselues vvithall', whom they will therefore need to keep on their side.

Furthermore, Scott points out in that same pamphlet that, as the Dutch aim to be a Commonwealth of people, they lack 'that absolute power ouer their members, vvhich Monarchies haue and may use; and therefore are forced sometimes to vvinke at singular Mischiefes, for the avoyding of universall Inconveniences'. Nor are the Dutch a people, like their opponents, who would force their religion upon others; 'God himselfe saues no man against his will'.[180] The Dutch policy of religious toleration was thus not at all something Englishmen ought to approve of, but is born out of the necessities of war and state.

Yet central to Scott's approach to the Dutch religion is a defence of the Reformed tradition. Various pamphlets see him arguing for unity between that the English Church and the Gomarists, pointing out that 'euen the Doctors and Bishops who were sent out of England, ioyned with Gomarus and the rest in that memorable Synod of Dort' where they unequivocally and by 'unitie, they declared a consent in doctrine, howsoeuer they might differ in some poynts of lesse consequence about ceremonies; so they had all one Gospell.' Despite any superficial differences Papists may point out, all Reformed

[179] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 89.
[180] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, 91-82.

churches agree 'that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that we should seperate from him; the difference is, how farre we should do it'.[181]

This notion is central to the 1623 sermon *Digitvs Dei*. In it, the Puritan author details how all true Reformed Englishmen ought to consider all matters that divide the Protestant Churches of Europe; 'Wheter they be points of Doctrine, or points of Discipline. Whether matters substantiall and fundamentall, or ceremonious and circumstantiall. Whether of necessitie and vnalterable veritie, or of indifferencie and variable conveniencie.'

If of the first sort, the faithful ought to consider if reconciliation is possible by 'clearing or remouing some terms diuersly vsed and vnderstood, or by silencing some peremptorie expressions and absolute definitions (...)' If the divisions arise out of the second sort of problems, then consider 'whether the formes & diuersities of gouernment may be left free to euery Nation and Church, without the breach of brotherly loue and charitie, and of the vnion and communion of Saints.'[182] But they should always seek unity and stand together in the face of the enemy.

For Cæsar owes more to God, then any man to Cæsar

It is this religious question that dominates their perspective on foreign policy, and it seems to trump all other considerations for war. While the Dutch conflict was not fought for purely religious reasons, it was certainly presented as such by these authors. Other considerations – such as the ingratitude of the Dutch population or the legitimacy of the initial revolt – are certainly included, but both interpretations of the conflict revolve around this religious issue.

All points of contention, highlighted above, are certainly steeped in it. The Catholic Verstegan saw – or presented – the core of the Dutch Revolt as one involving recalcitrant and heretical preachers who rose up in iconoclasm and defiance of sovereign rights, provoking retaliation from a King sworn to defend the Church and its clergy. Considered in Catholic circles as an expert on the Reformed tradition, the naturalized *Antwerpenaar* declared himself baffled when England sided with the Dutch,

[181] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 88.
[182] T. Scott, *Digitvs Dei* ([The Netherlands 1623]), 34.

and it seems that the notion overshadowing all of his pamphlets is that the Dutch conflict is fought for their own peculiar religious tradition, rather than for the safeguarding of English Protestantism.

Scott, in reply, is quick to denounce such notions. Indeed, the interpretation of the differences between the Reformed communities as only 'ceremonious and circumstantiall' is almost a prerequisite for a further understanding of the Dutch conflict, its origins and contemporary English-Dutch relations. Rather than a conflict led by ignorant preachers and bankrupt nobles, it became one of providence that left notions of sovereignty on the sideline. While reiterating any 'secular' reasons justifying the revolt, as seen above, in the end the true religion trumped all other concerns. When elaborating on the subject in *Digitvs Dei*, he states that 'If Cæsar therefore will neither pay God his due, nor permit thee to doe it, thou maist deny Cæsar whatsoeuer is found to haue Gods expresse Stamp on it.'[183]

Having established this religious link, Scott gives his readers an obligation for war, not only to themselves, but to their suffering co-religionists abroad as well. For 'we may be farre mistaken then seeking for peace, and behold it is warre; peace with men, may proue warre with God. Beware'.[184] This notion is the sole focus of *The Belgick Sovldier* (1624), the subtitle of which – 'Warre was a Bleßing' – is telling. In it, he argues at length that war is a religious virtue, bringing prosperity to the nation and safeguarding the church, to which end he details the history of Christianity to show that the primitive church always flourished under war. Once established as a Catholic Church, 'In a word, they grew wanton with peace and plentie: and as warre had caused their greatnesse, they caused their sinnes to be more great through the corruption of prosperity'.[185]

This is precisely what has occurred in England, which has fallen asleep through Spanish lullabies. Peace 'hath made us drunke with ease and carelesnesse, forget our God, be vncharitable to our neighbours, neglect our calling, sleepe in security, accustome our selues to foolish exercises (...).[186] All those with 'true English hearts', however, are obliged to come to the aid of Reformed communities in the Low Countries, thus also safeguarding their own religion.

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[183] T. Scott, *Digitvs Dei*, 8-9.
[184] Ibidem, 3-4.
[185] Anon. [T. Scott], *The Belgick sovldier: dedicated to the parliament. Or, VVarre was a blessing* (Dort [Dordrecht] 1624) 10-11.
[186] [T. Scott], *The Belgick sovldier*, 39.

> yea, our Neighbours are our charge, whose Countries have beene lately ouerrun, their Villages destroyed, their houses burnt, their Cattle pilledged, their Wiues deflowered, their Daughters ravished, their Infants brained, their Children starved, and their Husbands taken prisoners; and thus while they haue (...) beene trating a peace and contract vs, they [the Spanish] haue established a warre against them: and so by degrees will at last set vpon vs, if we prepare not to set vpon them.[187]

In a comparative analysis much is thus revealed about the goals of these authors and how they approach the Dutch conflict. Both men reveal themselves as particularly dedicated to a particular foreign policy in regards to the Low Countries. Indeed, rather than revealing or criticising certain domestic affairs, the majority of their pamphlets are dedicated to either justifying or condemning military intervention.

Furthermore, the key to this 'Tongue Combat' seems to be the nature of the Reformed faith. Both men are proclaiming a foreign policy based on an interpretation of England's Reformed tradition and its possible ties to the Dutch confession. Proving or disproving such a link seems to be vital for both men, as it features prominently throughout their oeuvres.

One can wonder why other, non-religious, arguments such as the constitutional legitimacy of the conflict are included; perhaps to add further weight to their pleas, or in an attempt to convince readers not swayed by religious arguments alone. However, it seems that religious obligation was deemed by both to be the most persuasive argument. Especially Scott deems it strong enough to trump any other grievance one might hold towards the Dutch. He is, for example, also quick to mitigate any links between the Dutch pirates in the East Indies and the religious struggle conflict with Spain, noting elsewhere that no true Dutchmen would 'intend the least hurt to him [King James], who is the Defender of the Faith'.[188]

Though both authors are primarily preoccupied with the Dutch Revolt, this confessional reasoning is applied to other regions as well. Scott, establishing that England's true Protestants belong to the same religious community as the Dutch the French and German – especially Palatine – Reformed churches, subsequently advocates that all of these come together, both religiously and politically, in defence against their

[187] [T. Scott], The Belgick sovldier, 43.
[188] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, Preface.

collective enemy: Spain. For it is Spain that is presented as the main antagonist in Scott's pamphlets, responsible for the wealth of problems suffered in these times:

> the King's children, Religion, the Reformed Church, suffered shipwracke, by the insulting, cruell, and bloudy Spaniard; and many thousands of Christians were martyred after a barbarous and butcherly manner; yea vpon all aduantages, euen vnder tearmes of Treaty and Peace[189]

Many of Scott's pamphlets thus, as will be seen, sketch a highly critical image of Spain as the primary opponent of the Reformed tradition, appropriating numerous tropes from the Elizabethan and Dutch Black Legend to make his case. Crucially however, this anti-Spanish agenda is not concerned with the threat to England, but to the entire Reformed confession throughout the continent.

Verstegan proceeds in similar manner. His appeals for peace largely rely on severing any ties between England's church and any other Protestant doctrine available in Western Europe, continually emphasizing that all of those religions are particularly opposed to the English tradition. A number of pamphlets even see him arguing that the English tradition has far more in common with the Catholic Church, than with any Protestant confession. Mirroring Scott's attacks on Spain in some respects, Verstegan subsequently presents Calvinists – and especially the Dutch – as the main threat to English society and church.

2.2 The World of Thomas Scott

Due to his unrelenting attacks on Spain, Scott's pamphlets has often been recognised as an influential author in the development of the English Black Legend, the entirety of hispanofobic stereotypes and accusations. William Maltby, who wrote an insightful, if not very scholarly work on English Hispanophobia, credited him, and especially his *Vox Populi*, with interpreting 'anti-Hispanism to a new generation', which he did 'with great

[189] [T. Scott?], *A tongue-combat*, 69-70.

originality and a modicum of wit, and there is every reason to believe that his influence was great.'[190]

There is some historiographical confusion about where the so-called Black Legend originated. Julián Juderías, who coined the phrase, sought its origins in the Revolt of the Netherlands, when anti-Spanish slander was readily invented – especially William of Orange's *Apologie* is recognised as influential– while hitherto obscure and especially bitter Spanish authors, such as Bartolomé de las Casas were propelled to untold fame. Juderías also bemoaned them for portraying the Spanish nation as religious fanatics, which were inherently cruel and superstitious, projections that were subsequently exported to an eager audience throughout Europe.[191] In contrast, Sverker Arnoldsson, placed the origins of anti-Spanish sentiments in early Renaissance Italy, where Catalan merchants aroused resentment and gained a barbaric reputation.[192]

Regardless of the origins of hispanofobic propaganda, several historians have emphasized that the English Black Legend of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was thoroughly influenced both by contemporary events of the Dutch Revolt – which Maltby recognised as a 'more immediate cause of anti-Spanish feeling' – as well as pamphlets that circulated in the Low Countries. These appeared not only in their native Dutch and French, but also in German, English and Latin and were 'thus able to stimulate Hispanophobia outside the Netherlands'.[193] Though these contained a large variety of accusations, Swart distilled four main themes from this genre of propaganda: '(i) the diabolical machinations of the Spanish Inquisition; (ii) the private vices of Spain's supposedly greatest king, Philip II; (iii) Spain's master plan for universal empire; and (iv) the innate cruelty of the Spanish people.'[194]

While Maltby's book is not as analytical, his overview of English hispanofobia does rely on these same themes. Especially the supposed violent and cruel nature of Spaniards, first expressed by Las Casas in his *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las*

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[190] W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham 1971)108.
[191] G. Versteegen, 'Bewondering, verwondering en verachting. De beeldvorming omtrent Spanje en de Zwarte Legendes', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 24 (1997) 260-278: 260-264.
[192] Versteegen, 'Bewondering, verwondering en verachting', 267; W. Thomas, 'De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie in de Nederlanden van de zestiende eeuw', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 105 (1990) 394-414: 399-403.
[193] K. W. Swart, 'The black legend during the eighty years war' in J. Bromley and E. Kossman ed., *Britain and the Netherlands volume V: Some political mythologies. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference* (Den Haag 1975) 36-57: 37.
[194] Swart, 'The black legend', 38.

Indias, supposedly originating in their Jewish and Moorish ancestry, became commonplace in English pamphlets. Maltby argued that works like the *Brevissima*, as well as the Elizabethan conflicts with Spain finally cemented this imaginary agenda for world domination.

Maltby argued that Scott to a large extent reiterated Elizabethan anti-Spanish sentiments, but this is only partially the case. To be sure, numerous Black Legend tropes certainly feature throughout his oeuvre; in one fictional meeting of the Spanish Council of State, he lets a Duke admit 'to be descended of the Moorish race'.[195] However, such remarks are to a large extent incidental while the anti-Spanish rhetoric in the bulk of his writings focuses on one theme of the Black Legend – the concept of universal monarchy – as well as a more implicit mentality which Lake termed 'anti-popery'. Significantly, this mentality as well as his animosity towards Spain feature not only in an English context, but as a threat to Protestant Europe as a whole.

'they learne to obey the Church of Rome as their mother…'

Spain's religiosity and dominance of Rome has already been recognised as one of the central themes of the Black Legend by both Swart and Maltby, primarily personified by the Inquisition. While the institution does feature numerous times – especially when detailing the origins of the Dutch conflict – it seems to be hardly central to his account on Catholicism. Instead, Scott presents his readers with the notion that Spain, and Catholics in general, are the antithesis to Protestant England and its faithful population. Instead of focussing on various tropes attributed to the Catholic Spaniard and his ambitions, Scott's account of Catholicism is in many ways similar to what Peter Lake has termed Anti-Popery: 'popery was an anti-religion, a perfectly symmetrical negative image of true Christianity', a perspective rather commonplace amongst Protestant Englishmen.[196]

This is clearly reflected in those polemics that specifically attack English Catholics. While in 1588 they 'were English and not fully Iesuited',[197] *Vox* Populi

[195] [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli*, 13.
[196] P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' in: R. Cust and A. Hughes ed, *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (Harlow 1989) 72-106: 73: 73.
[197] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 8-9.

characterizes the Recusants as having undergone a transformation, effectively becoming the vanguard of the Spanish monarchy. This notion features throughout his oeuvre; a 1624 pamphlet sees Gondomar proclaiming that 'his Catholique Maiesty and our selues all haue very many faithfull and fast friends in England' that remained vigilant.[198]

Similar phrases are used when describing Spaniards and other Catholics throughout the continent. Rather than a different interpretation of Christianity, they professed a satanic perversion of it. Through a series of such disparaging accounts, Scott effectively divided up the world in good and evil, which allowed him author to describe conflicts in a whole series of opposites, such as the carnal versus the spiritual, tyranny versus liberty, light versus darkness, Protestant versus Catholic.

In this light, many aspects of the Catholic religion are ridiculed or denounced as heretical; they were illusions or simple trickery, lacking any scriptural basis. Mass was either characterized as an empty ritual, aimed at appealing to the ignorant and the superstitious, or even as black magic, just as alleged saints and miracles. As Lake noted, most aspects of this anti-religion were 'designed expressly to appeal to the corrupt common sense and self love of the natural man'. [199] This features throughout Scott's polemics. In one pamphlet, several Spanish noblemen discuss several miraculous events in the Southern Netherlands, though all are agreed they are false:

> No question, quoth *Gonzales de Cordua*, I cannot be persuaded that, that which they call the holy Blood of Boxall, which the *Brabanders* and all the Netherlands visit in Pilgrimage, and euery yeare lookes as red and fresh, as if it had been taken from the body buy yesterday, can be the very blood of Christ.[200]

However, all this is of little concern to them, 'so long as it brings in good store of mony to the poore Priestes of the Church'.[201] Catholicism was thus utterly distanced from true religion and thus everything Catholic was, in this perspective, and utterly incompatible with English, or even Protestant life. It was foreign and necessarily involved allegiance to a foreign prince, either the Pope or the Most Catholic King of Spain.

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[198] [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli*, 8.
[199] Lake, 'Anti-popery', 75.
[200] [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli*, 38.
[201] Ibidem, 39-40.

While Lake's analysis of anti-popery focussed on a national context, the caricature Scott presented his readers was not limited to Spaniards or Recusants alone, but included Catholics everywhere. To be Catholic was to be 'hispaniolized', having become a subject of Spain.

This divisive perspective on loyalty is not unique to Scott, as similar views can be seen in the Dutch Republic in the same period. Judith Pollmann found a stereotype of a 'hispanicised Netherlander', which functioned as a mechanism for unifying both Catholic and Protestant inhabitants of the Low Countries in their hatred of the Spaniards and their Dutch sympathisers.[202] Scott's stereotype, however, referred to all Catholics throughout Western Europe, regardless of where their loyalties lay. Consequently, all who even sympathised with Catholicism or treasured some of its remnants or traditions in England and elsewhere lost their national identity. As the Puritan noted in *Vox Populi*, the 'Catholique King must needs have an invisible kingdome, & an unknowne number of subiects in all dominions'.[203]

The divisive nature of this worldview worked both ways for the Puritan preacher; just as all Catholics were heaped together as unwavering servants of Spain, Reformed communities throughout Europe were all tied together through a religious identity that overcame all inconsequential animosity. Scott's 'Tongue Combat' on the Dutch illustrates this clearly, as any grievances Englishmen might hold against them are irrelevant as the two nations share one religious identity. Indeed, if anything England should align themselves more closely to the Dutch. 'O Sluggard, goe therfore to the Pismire, consider her waies, and be wise'.[204]

This is also extended to other Reformed communities in Europe d. Indeed, it seems to be a given for the author that Reformed churches in France and the Empire are all equally connected to the English faith:

> And whether the Religion in France, the Vnited Prouinces and the Palatinate, be not the same in substance with that in Great Brittaine, which we should not doe well therefore to discountchance and abandon for the outward forme sake[205]

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[202] J. Pollmann, "Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all'. Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years' Truce' in: J. Pollmann & A. Spicer ed., *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden and Boston 2007) 211-227.
[203] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 6.
[204] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, Front.
[205] T. Scott, *Digitvs Dei*, 35.

Certainly, these differences in outward form are something that Scott feels should be addressed, calling for efforts to be made 'to helpe to vnite the reformed Churches in one, and to remoue or qualifie such differences as hold them deuided, to the great aduantage of the enemie.'[206] In no way, however, should this affect England's obligations towards them, and a number of Scott's pamphlets are entirely or partially dedicated to pleads for English intervention on behalf of French and German Reformed communities. This manifests itself in numerous descriptions of their struggles throughout Europe, albeit not in as great detail as in his pamphlets on the Low Countries, which evidently had his priority. The intention to protect 'our innocent neighbours in France, Bohemia, the Palatinate, Haßia, and other parts of Germanie, and through the Christian World (...)' [207] seems to have been there nonetheless.

Indeed, all of the churches Scott wishes to protect are – or so he claims – threatened by Spanish plots in their quest for a universal monarchy, and his appeals for intervention manifest itself most clearly in a series of thunderous attacks on Spanish ambitions.

'from Portugall to the Netherlands, thence through Italy, so into France'

The concept of universal monarchy was already prominent in Scott's first and most infamous pamphlet, *Vox Populi*. Throughout it the Match is presented as a ploy to establish Spanish dominion over Britain without firing a shot. The Duke of Lermas is featured proclaiming that Spain was 'by the Bishop of Rome selected before other peoples to conquer and rule the nations with a rod of Iron, and out Kings to that end adorned with the title of Catholike King, as a name aboue all names under the sunne (which is) under Gods Vicar generall himselfe the Catholike Bishop of soules.'[208]

Admittedly, this perspective of Spain is largely unoriginal, as it mostly consists of Elizabethan themes applied to contemporary conflicts throughout the continent, but Scott was a pioneer in some respects. The Norwich preacher is recognised as being partly responsible for creating and popularizing the idea that England was already

[206] T. Scott, *Digitvs Dei*, 37.
[207] Ibidem,17-18.
[208] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 4.

subjected to Spanish domination.While Elizabethan polemics often claimed that Spain wished to conquer England – to which end the Armada was proof – Scott was largely novel in presenting an England already labouring under Spanish rule in numerous ways.[209]

Indeed, he argued that a sizable Spanish faction had taken hold of the levers of power throughout the land. As Scott relates in *Vox Populi*, these supporters of the Spanish Match consisted of two sorts of people: 'First the begging and beggraly Courtyers, that they might haue to furnish their wanys. Secondly the Romish Catholiques.'[210] Unsurprisingly the spider in this Spanish web, and the key to all recent political and religious controversies, is the Spanish ambassador Gondomar.

Several pamphlets are largely dedicated to this infiltration of English society, politics and the King's proximity. The various plots currently underway are all subsequently traced to Gondomar, and in his two most influential pamphlets, *Vox Populi* (1621) and *A Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624) Scott gives Gondomar himself a voice to explain these in detail. These two pamphlets stand in sharp contrast to each other, however, as the former is highly positive about Spanish fortunes, while the latter laments its failures in especially England and the Low Countries. A third pamphlet, *Sir Vvalter Ravvleighs Ghost, or Englands Forewarner* (1626), in which Gondomar is confronted by the ghost of the Elizabethan hero, sees the count admitting to his crimes and plots once again.

Count Gondomar is presented as the most ruthless and vicious spy the world has seen, constantly concocting new schemes to further the aspirations of Spain; 'how euerey minute hee produced new and vnnaturall Cocks-egges, brooded them from the heat of his malice, hatcht them with the deuilishnes of his Policte, and brought forth Serpents able to pyson all Europe'.[211]

[209] Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 102-109.
[210] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 8-9.
[211] Anon. [T. Scott], *Sir VValter Ravvleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner* (Utricht [Utrecht] 1626) 6.

Illustration 2.2 A Meeting of the Spanish Parliament. T.S. of U. [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli, or Gondomar appearing in the liknes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament* (Goricom [Gorinchem] 1624) 1.

Vox Populi sees Gondomar gleefully detail his accomplishments to the Spanish Council, having not only led England into disarray and leaving it ripe for invasion, but having, in effect, created a Spanish faction in England. Speaking in front of his peers, Gondomar relates how his greatest successes has been to further discussions surrounding the Spanish Match. This way James, who 'extremely hunt after peace, [...] as for it he wil doe

or suffer any thing' pursued this highly unpopular marriage, while Gondomar obtained 'a cover for much intelligence, and a meanes to obtaine whatsoever I desired.'[212]

Moreover, he was highly successful in creating a rift between the King and Parliament, and now 'the King will never indure Parliament again, but rather suffer absolute want then receive conditionall relief from his subjects.' Gondomar thus left England unfit for war:

> Thus stands the state of that poore miserable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my master should resovle upon an unvasion, the never fits as at this present, securitie of this marriage and the disuse of armes having cast them into a dead sleepe, a strong and wakening faction being ever amongst them ready to assists us, and they being unprovided of shippes and armes, or hearts to fight.[213]

However, while perhaps most worrying for the readers, this English context is hardly central to Scott's writings, or even to his anti-Spanish rhetoric. For it is continually emphasized that England is but one of the many Protestant nations suffering from Spanish ambitions, all of whom are desperate for aid. For while other empires, like those of Russia or Rome 'extend not their limits further then their stiles, which are locall' Scott lets his Spanish protagonist insist that only 'the most Catholike King is for dominion of bodies' rather than regions. And to this end France, Venice, the Low Countries, Bohemia are 'now al labouring for life under [Spanish] plots', while he proclaims Naples, Navarre and Savoy to be in Spanish hands already.[214]

Indeed, Spain's power is characterized as unparalleled throughout the world, its gaze fixed upon establishing an universal monarchy. In *Newes from Pernassus* (1622) Philip II admits to the Oracle of Delphos that 'for a long time together, all my thoughts haue aymed at that *Vniversall Monarchy*, whereunto the *Romane* people only arrived'.[215] It is those other Protestant nations who are desperate for English military support and indeed, much of Scott's anti-Spanish rhetoric revolves around Spanish crimes and plots outside of England; especially in France, the Empire and the Low Countries. Scott thus

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[212] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 8.
[213] Ibidem, 16.
[214] Ibidem, 4, 7.
[215] Anon. [T. Scott], *Newes from Pernassvs. The politicall touchstone, taken from Mount Pernassus: whereon the governments of the greatest monarchies are touched* (Helicon [The Netherlands] 1622) 36.

hardly limits himself to the defense of England's faithful, but devotes himself to the wellbeing of Protestant Europe. And though he partially does so by employing Elizabethan tropes of the Black Legend, he presents his readers with detailed accounts of the tribulations of continental Protestants, suggesting that his calls for support were much more than a display of Reformed zeal.

At times this is done through rather dry, fact driven accounts of conflicts involving Spain. The 1624 pamphlet *The Spaniards perpetvall designes to an vniversall monarchie* describes, in detail, various victories throughout France, Italy and Germany, while the much longer *A briefe information of the Affaires of the Palatinate* (1624) at length discusses the origins of the Bohemian conflict in great detail, employing a variety of sources to defend Frederick's claims and how Spain tried to disrupt these.

Other pamphlets employ more absurd claims, such as the 1624 polemic *Aphorismes of State*. It details a list of 29 articles supposedly agreed upon by the College of Cardinals, concerning the Papally sanctioned redistribution of power in the Holy Roman Empire. Throughout the articles, Catholic power is emphasized in the Empire, while the notion of Imperial election is simultaneously ridiculed:

> It is in the Popes hands, as in all Histories appeareth to renew the Emperour in their Empire, to transport the authority of one Nation vnto another, and vtterly to abolish the right of Election: how wickedly and vngodly then doth the Saxon, in labouring to pluck the said power from the Chaire of Rome, and to vnite the same vnto the Colledge of the Prince Electors?[216]

The emphasis is, however, always on Spain; all Catholic victories are invariably Spanish victories, and the Austrian Habsburgs thus had little to do with developments in in Bohemia: 'If Germanie as the heart bee possest by the Spaniard, who striues to get the dominion over all Europe, the rest of the Princes shall not long draw or enioy any vital life or spirits'.[217] For their footing in Bohemia and the Palatine, 'do offer to open him downe into the United Provinces, in the body of which state they haue a faction now a

[216] T. Scott, *Aphorismes of state: or Certaine secret articles for the reedifying of the Romish chvrch agreed vpon by the colledge of cardinalls in Rome* (Utrech [London] 1624) 12th article.
[217] Anon. [T. Scott], *A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate* ([London?] 1624) 10.

working, the sect of the Arminians (…) Out of the low Countreyes, they cannot but look into England which will carry all the rest'.[218]

The Spanish presence in the East and West Indies is also featured at times, but in a wholly different perspective. Rather than appropriating Las Casas's depiction of Spanish cruelties,[219] Scott mainly sees the Spanish territories overseas in economic terms. Their main function is to finance the Spaniards' many wars and conflicts throughout Europe, though Scott also recognises them as a means for Spain to achieve economic domination. Justifying the Dutch presence in the East and West Indies, the author notes that

> If the *Vnited Prouinces* had peace vvith *Spaine*, then they must trade, as others doe, at the appointment of *Spaine*; vvho hauing once the East and West Indies in possession, vvould force all *Europe* to be their Retaliers, and that vpon most servile and vnequall conditions.[220]

Once a mercantile dictatorship is established, 'whereby, hauing before the Indies, those fountains of gold and siluer in their power, they would also this way ingrosse all the wealth of Christendome into their coffers, and thereby inable and arme themselues to accomplish that vniversall Dominion they ayme at.'[221]

Scott's political agenda thus transcends the British Isles. Rather than simply wishing to combat Spanish ambitions at home, he implores his readers to do so throughout Protestant Europe. To this end he explores those conflicts throughout Europe in detail; not simply to highlight Spanish atrocities or plots, but also to justify war on behalf of those continental Reformed Communities. Thus *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie* (1624) for example, argues for military intervention in the Palatinate to safeguard the local populace, regardless of England's safety.[222] An attack on other Reformed communities alone seems to necessitate war.

The Puritan preacher thus tries to instil in his readers a political urgency derived from a very black and white perspective on Europe's religious divide, in which not only

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[218] [T. Scott], *A speech*, 2-3.
[219] B. Schmidt, *Innocence abroad: The Dutch imagination and the new world 1570-1670* (Cambridge 2001)95-98; Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 12-28.
[220] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, 59.
[221] Ibidem, 59.
[222] Anon. [T. Scott], *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie, why the king of England should hereafter give over all further treatie, and enter into warre with the Spaniard* ([London] 1624).

all Reformed communities share a sense of unity and obligation, but all Catholics (secretly) adhere to the same monarch and harbour an inherent hatred of their Protestant neighbours.

2.3 The World of Richard Verstegan

Richard Verstegan's plea for non-intervention in Europe's continental conflicts employs a reasoning very similar to the one seen in their 'Tongue Combat'. His main argument, again, is that England is in no way religiously affiliated with other Protestant communities throughout the continent. Just like Scott, the emphasis of his pamphlets is on the Dutch conflict, but his approach other conflicts – especially that surrounding the Palatinate – is very similar.

By 1622, when Verstegan published a pamphlet concerning the Palatine conflict, *The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman,* both Bohemia and the Palatinate had been conquered by Habsburg forces,[223] and Verstegan evidently felt no need to describe the troubles. He simply noted that Frederick had no just reason to accept the Bohemian Crown, 'which appertayned vnto his owne soueraygne Lord the Emperour, vnto whome he being a subiect, it maketh the case so much the more dishonorable and vniust'.[224]

However, in his attempt to dissuade readers from supporting the Elector's cause such arguments considering sovereignty are largely absent. Instead, the main reason for maintaining the peace with Austria – and therefore Spain – is that those Germans and Bohemians seeking aid find the English religion utterly heretical. Consequently, a considerable section of the pamphlet is dedicated to dispelling England's ridiculous notions of Reformed unity in Europe. He does so by assuming the role of a Traveller who, like all Englishmen 'was, as you know, as fervent in our protestant religion as eyther your selfe or any in the Country can be. I was a great reader of Scripture, a great frequenter of Sermons, and a great hater of Papists'.[225]

But the Traveller, who through his zeal travelled to the aid of Frederick, 'who we then called King of Bohemia', discovered a truth about the Protestant religion there that would shock all Englishmen. For there

[223] For more on capture of the Palatine lands in the early 1620s, see: Pursell, *The Winter King*, 165-194.
[224] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 5.
[225] Ibidem, 18.

> beholding the Lutheran preachers to stand swaggering in their pulpits, with their mouthes as full of Scripture, as any of our Pulpitmens in England might possibly be, and there to see them so to contemne, scorne & deride our English preachers pretension of restoring Apostolicall religion, as the most ridiculous iest in the world, I stood not a little amazed at the matter. (...)

Moreover, upon arriving in Bohemia, such ridicule continued:

> there did I hear the Hussite-preachers (...) condemne our doctrine of England, laugh and scof at our preachers pretension of primitiue truth, as a iest only to make sport withall, not conteyning, nor carying therewith, so much as any shey of truth. (...) Which when I would haue gaynsayed, they strayghtwayes came vpon me with Temporall, and Feminine Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and with pageants of little Popes, as though they had their instructions from Puritans and Brownists.[226]

Much to the Traveller's amazement, as it would amaze all Englishmen, he not only found the local religion to be utterly different to traditions cherished in England, but also found that the locals demanding English aid utterly opposed the English religious doctrine. And this was not just the case for the Lutherans and Hussites, but for all the various cults spread throughout the Empire. Even 'in the company of Anabaptists (...) they protested by yea, and by nay, that our Protestant Religion of England, was not consonant, but contrary to the truth of the Ghospell of the Lord.[227]

The protagonist goes on to describe that like all Protestant Englishmen, he knew only of the existence of a dichotomy between Protestants and Papists, 'as our Preachers could smoothly dissemble these other opposites, and but little meddle with them, crying Crucifige lowdest of all agaysnt those of the Church of Rome.' However, the Traveller impresses upon the fictional recipient of the letter – and therefore on his readers – that they should be wary in trusting all those claiming the name Protestant. For it is not as if they were simply ignorant; instead

> these seuerall sects [were] so full of Scripture as none in England could be fuller, and these so contemptibly to despise, & hold most ridiculous our English proetstant

[226] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 19, 21-22.
[227] Ibidem, 19-20.

> religion, as a very mock-religion; and in most serious asseveration of their soules, to declare it to be the damnation of al their soules that follow it (...).[228]

The implication is that England has absolutely no religious obligation to aid these so-called Protestant communities on the continent. For why would one fight and die for those who hold your religion as heretical? As Verstegan remarked toward the end of this pamphlet, England would be better off as a continual 'participant of the wealth of Spayne, and the Countreys thereon depending, which seeing the rebellious Hollanders cannot enioy, they enuy that our Nation should'.[229]

Thus Verstegan manifests himself as Scott's opposite. While the Puritan polemicist defended his pro-war agenda through an emphasis on religious links between England and continental Protestants, Verstegan argued that there was no such thing as a united Protestant or Reformed community with concomitant military obligations. Rather the Protestant doctrine was marked by division and conflict, instead of unity, and Englishmen should feel no sense of duty towards these heretics.

A 'Great or Honorable Match'

As England has no obligation to go to war on behalf of the Palatine Elector Verstegan proceeds to make a case the Anglo-Spanish alliance that was still being pursued by James in 1622. This, to a large extent, is done by dispelling lies about Spain, while also mitigating the harshness of the conflict of the Elizabethan period. Noting that some believe 'that the hatred of the rude multitue is not so much against the Spanish nation in regard of their religion, as it is for their intending to haue inuaded England in the yeare 1588', this is similarly mitigated as being largely provoked by the Queen:

> But if the reasons of the one side may in reason be heard, as wel as those on the other, then will the Spaniards heerunto answere, that Queene Elizabeth had many waies prouoked it by infinit wrongs & iniuries of many years continuance done vnto

[228] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 23-24.
[229] Ibidem, 48.

> them; (…) & that the King of Spayne was not euerlastingly bound to put vp all the iniuries she could do vnto him[230]

Other pamphlets see Verstegan completely denouncing accusations surrounding a supposed attempt to create a universal, Catholic monarchy. This is especially the case in the 1622 pamphlet *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes* which features a debate between 'A Hollander' and 'A Brabander' remincent of his *A Toung-Combat*. The two men meet up while travelling to Frankfurt and engage in a civil discussion much like Red Scarf and Tawny Scarf did. The pamphlet is especially interesting for featuring a debate on the Jesuit order, and whether or not they are 'a pernicious & murtherous sect' that is furthering the 'Tyranny and absolute Domination of the King of Spayne'.[231]

In the course of the debate, the Brabander utterly ridicules all accusations, especially the notion that the Society of Jesus is a sect of assassins. Reviewing all prominent nobles assassinated since the foundation of the order, he establishes that few were killed by Catholics at all, while none by Jesuits. Discussing Balthazar Gerards, who assassinated William of Orange, he notes that 'that he was a Iesuyte was neuer knowne, but if Calunists haue gotten the skill to make him a Iesuyte eight and thirty yeares after his death, who in his life was neuer any, it may be registred for a Caluinisticall miracle'.[232]

Even now, Verstegan argues, there is little reason why Englishmen would want to oppose Spain. In the 1621 pamphlet *Londons Looking-Glasse* the author relates of a fictional discussion he had with a number of French, Italian and Spanish guests.[233]

In their ensuing discussion, all guests are astonished 'that there should be such a hatred be continued in England among the common people against Spaine & Spanyards, seeing there is peace and amity between England and Spayne.'[234] Eventually it is established that the fault for this animosity, as well as for a widespread hatred of Spain amongst commoners, lies with

> violently affected Preachers, who out of loue vnto the reformed discipline of Holland, on the which the eye of all their hope is fixed, would fayne make the poore

[230] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 36-37.
[231] [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes*, 17-18.
[232] Ibidem, 24.
[233] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 5, 6.
[234] Ibidem, 18.

> weake vnderstanding youths, and the ruder sort of simple people, the subiects of their sedition.[235]

He goes on to ridicule the notion that the Puritans have any say in politics: 'Must the King acquaint Puritan-Preachers & Apprentices with his designes, or aske them leaue what Princes Ambassadours he shall admit into his Country, & about what busines he shall treat with them?[236]

As most of his pamphlets appeared before the marriage negotiations ended, the impending Match is presented as the wisest decision the King had made throughout his reign, as there cannot be a 'more Great or Honorable Match be found for that Prince, in all the world'[237] Verstegan subsequently attacks all those who criticize James; 'Who can tender the good of the subiect more then the King? And who knoweth best what is most conuenient for the weale of the Realme? And who may more desire it?'[238]

Richard Verstegan's pleas for a non-interventionist policy in regards to the Empire are thus remarkably similar to his approach to the Dutch conflict. Again, the legitimacy of the rebels is briefly questioned, but the emphasis of his polemics is primarily on religious matters. By questioning a supposed unity amongst Reformed communities in Europe, England is freed from any military obligations and James is left to pursue the policies most beneficial to his own kingdoms. And that would clearly be an Anglo-Spanish, rather than an Anglo-Dutch alliance.

Especially that last option would be detrimental to England's prosperity according to the author. Through his dinner guests he goes on to proclaim that sensible Catholics and Protestants alike all wonder why in England there is no hatred directed against the Dutch, for whose ignoble cause so many troubles have befallen England and the rest of Europe. For not only are they – as has been highlighted in the 'Tongue Combat' – ungrateful heretics who would turn on their allies if there was a profit in it, they are also pursuing a secret agenda in allegiance with their heretical brothers in France and England, seeking to dominate Europe.

Indeed, almost immediately after dispelling notions that proclaim a theological connection between England and the Calvinist Dutch, Verstegan proceeds to vilify the

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[235] Ibidem, 19-20.
[236] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 38.
[237] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 11.
[238] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 38.

Calvinists in a manner much like Scott does with Catholics, as a next logical step in his narrative. Not only are they presented as a murderous sect secretly working throughout Western Europe, Verstegan also holds them responsible for sacrificing the peace of the empire for their own gains, as they attempt to establish control over the Low Countries, France, and England.

Almost immediately after dispelling any rumours about the Jesuits, Verstegan continues *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes* by instead accusing the Calvinists – in all their guises, whether its Huguenot, Puritan or Geus – of being a violent, murderous sect, who are far more deserving of the epithet of 'King Killers' than the Jesuits. The Brabander proceeds to relate numerous attempts by Calvinists to slay prominent nobles throughout Europe, including an attempt by Huguenots on 'the most Christian King Francis the second, with his mother' and an attempt by a 'Zeland Gewse or Caluinst, meant to haue blown vp William of Nassaw'.[239]

Although, as one dinner guest in *Londons Looking-Glasse* notes, this is hardly surprising. 'Their religion', claimed the Italian, 'doth not admit Confession of sinnes vnto Priests, and heereof proceedeth, that youth, from the beginning of their understanding, haue not the instructions planted in their mynds of the true odiousnes of euill, and great worth of goodnes.'[240]

However, it seems that the author's anti-Calvinist assertions consist of much more than a handful of accusations. Instead, much like Thomas Scott's anti-papist worldview, Calvinists take on the guise of the anti-church in Verstegan's narrative, becoming something inherently foreign and evil, intent on fundamentally changing Europe's landscape. Several pamphlets see Verstegan warning his readers of what would come of helping the Gomarist cause in the Low Countries. In the first edition of *Observations*, for instance, he elaborates on what would happen if the States-General do reach their goal of controlling the 17 provinces, as well as the Duchies of Cleve and Julich, and Liege:

> how would they then haue borne themselues towards England and France? How had they then beene able to giuen law to both these kingdomes; to the one by land (…), and the other by sea, by being able to ouertop shipping? What doubt may be made heerof, considering what a correspondent party they would haue found in France by

[239] [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes*, 73.
[240] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 23.

> their most confident friendes the Huguenots, and in England by no lesse friendes the Puritans?[241]

Though never employing terms as 'universal monarchy', the Calvinists assume the role of a foreign invasion force that sweeps away the local religion and privileges, 'as the colour of reformation of Religion had also beene sufficient for the taking away of the Countrey from the true owner'.[242]

Therefore, the wars of the King of Spain are safeguarding Western Europe:

> Who cannot now discerne that the King of Spayne, by continuance of war against the Hollanders, hath highly benefited both England and France; and that England and France by assisting the Hollanders against the King of Spayne, have laboured to their own cost.[243]

This caricature is repeated, with several unique twists, throughout Verstegan's English pamphlets. In the second edition of *Observations*, the author claims that the Calvinist main purpose is the 'making of Republikes of Kingdomes', while elsewhere in that same pamphlet it is claimed that the Calvinists seek to dispose James, replacing him with the Palatine Elector Frederick, 'by his mothers side is of the house of Nassow, to which house of all other vpon earth they are most deuoted.'[244]

Much like Scott, Verstegan was thus concerned with propagating a particular foreign policy in a fashion in which domestic concerns hardly feature. Instead, both are almost entirely occupied with either justifying or denouncing English intervention in continental conflicts with a religious disposition.

Crucial in this 'Tongue Combat' between these proponents of fundamentally differing policies is the nature of English Protestantism. For central to both pleas is the possible existence of a unified Reformed community or identity that obliges the English nation to come to the aid of other Reformed churches. Scott, by affirming such links between the various Reformed communities of Europe, obliges all true Englishmen to engage in a religious war, whereas Verstegan, by denying the existence of such relations, frees them from any military obligation. The 'debate' between them is thus highly

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[241] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 67-68.
[242] Ibidem, 66.
[243] Ibidem, 67-68.
[244] [R. Verstegan], *Observations ... The second edition*, 69, 86-87.

transnationalist in nature, as the emphasis is on a supposedly heightened level of interconnectivity between Reformed communities throughout Europe.

This transnationalism manifests itself most strongly in Scott's pamphlets, which reveal a worldview that juxtaposes this Reformed community with a Catholic one, headed by the Spanish monarch. As the one is truly Christian and consists of everything proper in society, the other is necessarily the opposite of it. His main goal, it seems, was not simply to counter any Spanish threats to England or the United Provinces, but to combat popery wherever it posed a threat to the Reformed church.

Verstegan's main intention, in contrast, was to keep England out of a continental war with Spain by discrediting a transnational perspective of the Reformed doctrine, a notion he evidently encountered amongst the English public and compelled him to offer a rebuttal. Ironically, his preferred foreign policy consists of an eucumenical approach to Catholic Spain, while taking a non-interventionist or even agressive stance towards Calvinist or 'Gomarist' communities. Indeed, these groups are cast in an anti-English mould and characterized in a fashion reminiscent to Scott's Catholic menace.

A comparative approach to this 'Tongue Combat' thus reveals that these authors clashed on themes entirely concerned with foreign policy. Both authors focussed on transferring a particular interpretation of contemporary political developments to their readers in which transnational, religious concerns were central. Does England adhere to a European Reformed doctrine? How do contemporary conflicts on the mainland affect England? In this light, anxieties surrounding domestic affairs – such as the supposed threat from either Recusants or Puritans– only seem to come to the forefront of their narratives as a result of these transnational conflicts 'spilling over' into England, in the form of supposed plots of either Spaniards or Gomarists.

2.4 Foreign Policy in Exile

Lastly, this chapter will explore the origins of these transnational political agendas. For while these pamphlets might have found a ready audience throughout England, this does not mean that either Verstegan or Scott were representative of their readers, or of political or religious thought in England in the 1620s. Scott's worldview is emblematic of this, as Hispanophobia and belief in a transnational Reformed identity were not

commonplace even amongst England's hot-blooded Protestants. A study by Anthony Milton found that, even before the onset of Laudianism, there was no true concensus to be found amongst England's Calvinists on these matters. 'Calvinist, anti-papal divines', Milton notes, 'were quite capable of disagreeing with Calvin's doctrines, of making tactically positive admissions regarding the nature of the Roman Church, and of making practical distinctions between confessional allegiance and the conduct of foreign policy'.[245]

Illustrative is Scott's unwavering support for the Dutch, despite various trade-related conflicts and the Amboyna massacre that angered so many other Puritans. Many Englishmen would have been theoretically willing to support the 'Protestant Cause' in the Low Countries, but for most political and polemical contexts were far more influential than religious obligation.[246] Consequently, the prevailing animosity between the two nations prevailed over Scott's hopeful transnationalism. While Scott was thus a prominent figure in the controversy surrounding foreign policy in the 1620s, his particular agenda should not be seen as representative of all of his readers, as one cannot know what texts found a susceptible readership and which arguments were most convincing. Indeed, the very fact that Scott felt compelled to write these polemics suggests that his opinions were not commonplace amongst his entire audience. One can similarly doubt if all Recusants shared Verstegan's particular worldview.

Their worldviews are thus their own, and not necessarily reflect English public opinion. Both authors were part of the process that formed opinion in England, and though capable of steering it, neither could dictate it. Instead, this thesis will argue that their political agendas, are – rather than typical for Catholic or Protestant Englishmen – the product of their respective exiles and should be seen in such a light.

Sadly, however, little can be said with certainty about how Verstegan and Scott experienced that physical, psychological and spiritual displacement from England. As seen in chapter one, the available knowledge of their lives reveals little about how Richard Verstegan and Thomas Scott interpreted this exile, while their writings can hardly be seen as representative of their own experiences. Both men overwhelmingly voiced their opinion through polemic, and their writings should thus be seen as tailored to suit a particular audience, rather than pure reflections of themselves. As will be seen

[245] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 534.
[246] Ibidem, 503-515.

in the third chapter, exile is both implicitly and explicitly present in their writings, but will not be regarded as an actual account their own displacement.

However, there is some room for speculation as historians have studied the effect of exile upon religious minorities in Early Modern Europe. In a time when few people were ever forced to migrate (permanently) beyond their own national borders, beyond the reach of their traditional lives and communities, I believe that the self-enforced displacement of men like Scott and Verstegan to another nation, with its own religious and political struggles, profoundly affected the worldviews of both men, as well as on their perspective of the homeland.

As both fled England to avoid prosecution on account of their licentious printing activities, they were not, strictly speaking, religious exiles, though one can assume both felt their threatened due to their unorthodoxy. Not only did both come from outside the state-approved religious mainstream, the printed works that led to their exile also had strong religious connotations – especially Verstegan's hand in Thomas Alfield's martyrology. It appears that both men felt subjected to religious persecution, and my hypothesis holds that their subsequent exile did not only radicalize their religious beliefs, but also strengthened a sense of political urgency.

A number of historians have pointed out the religious signifigance of exile for early modern refugees. Hannibal Hamlin argues that the Bible offered not only consolation to English Christians, regardless of their denomination, but also helped them to understand and structure their exile. Certainly, both the Old and New Testament provided numerous scriptural models for flight – including the expulsion from the Garden of Eden that so preoccupied John Milton, the book of Exodus and the Babylonian captivity – as well as justification for fleeing religious prosecution. Christ himself said in Matthew 10:23 'But when they persecute you in this citie, flee ye into another.' Hamlin even goes as far to state that 'the Bible is fundamentally a book about exile'.[247]

Scholars Ole Peter Grell and Heiko Oberman singled out Calvinists as a group of refugees especially affected by their experience of persecution and emigration, emphazing its importance in the shaping of their particular religious and political outlook. Through a particular interpretation of the Old Testament and their identification with the Israelites, Calvinist communities supposedly fully structured their

[247] H. Hamlin, 'Strangers in Strange Lands: Biblical Models of Exile in Early Modern England', *Reformation* 15 (2010) 63-81: 63, 64-66.

personal experiences through a framework of divine providence and a consequence of their membership to the chosen people. Prosecution and exile thus served to 'reinforce the Reformed faith of those who undertook it.'[248]

Moreover, Grell argues that the experience of flight and displacement thoroughly transformed the sense of identity and political outlook of Calvinist communities throughout Europe. For the numerous Calvinist diasporas that were established following their migration, as well as their connections and marriages with other refugees and the local populace resulted in a vast, interconnected Calvinist network with a distinctly transnational outlook.

To be sure, numerous historians have already emphasized the transnational character of seventeenth-century Calvinism and the concerns those communities had for suffering co-religionists. Menna Prestwich, who edited a volume on Calvinism, recognised its internationalism as one of its most important characteristics.[249]

This was also the case in England, where the Elizabethan period saw much of its foreign policy dictated by 'political Puritanism' as pursued by Francis Walsingham and Robert Dudley. While this policy was largely reversed by her successor, it was nonetheless still alive among the population. While military aid never materialized properly, the English donated vast amounts of money to aid their Calvinist brethren in the Palatinate between 1626 and 1633, while numerous voices championed military intervention as well. Collinson even stated that 'the English contribution (...) far outstripped the help which came from the Swiss, French and Dutch'.[250] A Calvinist solidarity that trancended national boundaries thus also seemed to have been rooted in some Englishmen, and would again raise its head to aid the Huguenot cause, leading to the disastrous La Rochelle campaign of 1627 and 1628.[251]

Moreover, Grell suggests that this confessional solidarity was only strengthened through exile, both through the persecution and displacement experienced by these

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[248] Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge 2011) 5. Also see: Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*', and J. Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001) 220-243.

[249] M. Prestwich, Introduction: the Changing Face of Calvinism' in: Idem ed., *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford 1985) 1-14: 5.

[250] P. Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism 1558-1640' in: M. Prestwich ed., *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford 1985)197-223: 207.

[251] S. Baskerville, 'Protestantism as a transnational ideology', *History of European Ideas* 18.6 (1994) 901-911. On the English participation in the conflict surrounding La Rochelle, see S. L. Adams, 'The Road to La Rochelle: English Foreign Policy and the Huguenots, 1610-1629', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 22.5 (1975) 414-429.

refuguee communities, either themselves or in their shared history, as well as through the contacts with various Reformed communities in various nations.[252] Pettegree has shown that a similar development occurred amongst the exiles of Emden, where Dutch exiles harbouring vague ideals emerged with a politicised Calvinist mentality.[253] It is my belief that this is exactly how Scott was shaped by his exile. Scott was already displaying a sense of Reformed solidarity as well as a sense of political urgency in *Vox Populi*, and his exile, if anything, would have only strengthened these sensibilities.

His presence in the Republic in particular seems to have strengthened or confirmed the religious framework that structured his perspective of contemporary developments. The Dutch struggle assumed the most prominent place in his polemics, and is in every sense portrayed as a divinely inspired one. Indeed, the Dutch successes only serve to prove the legitimacy of a religiously inspired conflict:

> So hath the glory of the States beene raised out of difficultie; and as wee see a radiant sunne dispell misty vapours, and foggy exhalations. So hath the warres wiped away all those impediments of the Low Countries: and their constancy in religion, made religion to florish.[254]

Rather than typical of English Protestants, Puritans or Parliamentary supporters, I believe that his polemics should above all be seen as a product of his exile, which helped shape his political convictions and and strengthened his concerns for co-religionists throughout Europe. Furthermore, it instilled in him a providential urgency, that allowed him to see himself as a soldier fighting for the Reformed religion on foreign soil. This is exactly how he is characterized in one of his funeral elegies:

> Though warr'dst against the monsters of our daies;
> Oppos'd great gyants sinnes, great sinners hence
> Warr'd against thee, and wronged thy innocence.
> From Warre to wayfare thou did'st runne thy race
> In warlike lands disposing time and place,

[252] O. P. Grell, 'The creation of a transnational, Calvinist network and its significance for Calvinist identity and interation in early modern Europe', *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire* 16.5 (2009) 619-636.
[253] A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt: exile and the development of reformed Protestantism* (Oxford 1992) 226-251.
[254] [T. Scott], *The Belgick sovldier*, 36.

To Gods great glory, and the Churches good,
Till hellish hands exhausted thy hearts blood.
Well, t'was Gods will who had decreed it best
To call thee from thy labor to his rest.[255]

While these characteristics have often been associated with Reformed exiles, I see no reason why this cannot be extended to Catholic refugees as well. Hamlin's analysis of the importance of Scripture to English exiles was based on both Catholic and Reformed migrants, while Christopher Highley also argues that Catholic and Protestant employed a very similar set of Scriptural authorities and arguments for condoning their flight from persecution. Verstegan's contemporary, Cardinal William Allen, who was also an active polemicist, claimed to follow 'the warrant and example of Christ, his Apostles, S. Athanasius, S. Hilarie, and other our forefathers in faith, in the like persecutions'.[256] Furthermore, this seems hardly inherent to Englishmen, as Geert Janssen found similar perceptions of flight amongst Dutch clergymen in exile in the late sixteenth century.[257] He noted elsewhere that 'the impact of displacement in Calvinist and Catholic circles seem to have been surprisingly similar in that exile served as a catalyst for confessional radicalization.[258]

While Highley and Janssen focussed on the clergy, I see no reason why this cannot include lay refugees like Verstegan as well. While not following contemporary exiles into seminaries, Richard Verstegan still showed a remarkable religious conviction in his martyrologies and in the decades spent working for the English Mission. Indeed, his life and oeuvre reflect a similar political urgency that centered not on England or the Low Countries alone, but that trancended national boundaries. And he certainly experienced a fair share of it. Having fled prosecution in England –reflected in his martyrologies – he spent some time labouring in a religiously divided France, moving to Antwerp almost immediately after the fall of the Calvinist Republic that had been established there. The

[255] [Anon], *A Briefe and trve relation of the mvrther*, 9.
[256] W. Allen, *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endevours of the two English colleges, the one in Rome and the other now resident in Rhemes* (Rheims 1581) 13; E. Duffy, 'Allen, William (1532–1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/article/391?docPos=5, accessed 13 March 2013]; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 23-36.
[257] G. H. Janssen, 'Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566-1609', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64.2 (2011) 472-499; G. H. Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63.4 (2012) 671-692:675-677.
[258] Janssen, 'The Exile Experience', 79.

works that make up his oeuvre above all show him as one concerned with the threat of Calvinism to Catholic Europe, and during his later years he established himself as an authority on the theological basis and disputes in the Reformed world.

While relatively little is known about transnational Catholic solidarity or the politization of Catholic exiles, I do believe that Richard Verstegan's experiences on the continent, as well as the displacement from his homeland, facilitated an internal process similar to that of the Puritan Scott. His exile and almost continuous struggle for the Catholic faith would have only politicized his worldview and strengthened his conviction that especially Calvinism is detrimental to society.

And in this, Verstegan does in no way need to be an exception amongst Catholics; Janssen convincingly argued in a 2012 article that Dutch Catholics exiles developed a 'more strictly defined, "politicised" confessional mentality' in the sixteenth century, even stating that 'what Emden did for Reformed Protestantism, Cologne and Douai did for Tridentine Catholicism'.[259] While perhaps prominent figures in England's public debate on foreign policy in the 1620s, their pamphlets are thus not necessarily representative of the worldviews of England's population; instead their writings reflect the confessionalized mentality of religious refugees.

2.5 Conclusion

A comparative approach to the pamphlets of these two polemicists reveals a number of interesting characteristics not only of their debate on English foreign policy, but also about the worldview of religious exiles in the early seventeenth century. Recreating the 'Tongue Combat' between the rather well-studied Puritan Scott and the relatively unknown Catholic exile Verstegan reveals above all that their polemics are focussed on international, rather than domestic, concerns. While various references to domestic affairs, such as Recusancy or the role of Parliament in the state's political process, can certainly be found in their writings, these references should not be seen as representative of these pamphlets or of the messages these authors sought to convey to their readers.

[259] Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee',681.

Instead, both authors were primarily concerned with convincing their readers of the foreign policy England should pursue. Scott was particularly preoccupied with emphasizing England's responsibility to safeguard Protestant communities in the Low Countries, the Empire, and France, all of whom are threatened by Spanish ambitions. Verstegan, in contrast, focuses on discrediting any supposed obligations for intervention by highlighting differences between various Reformed confessions, while simultaneously promoting a possible Anglo-Spanish alliance. Calvinist ambitions, rather than Spanish ones, supposedly harbour a true threat to England's wellbeing in his pamphlets.

Comments on domestic political or religious issues thus appear as of secondary concern to both. Furthermore, though both authors also elaborated on constitutional or dynastic reasons for war or peace, perhaps in a bid to appeal to readers unswayed by theological arguments, both clearly allow confessional perspectives to dictate foreign policy. However, scholars should not be too quick to suggest that the political agendas pursued by these religious exiles are representative of the wishes of the English public. Though this 'Tongue Combat' doubtlessly highlights some of the themes debated by the public, their worldviews are necessarily their own.

While the political struggles of the 1620s might highlight some of the underlying tensions that would escalate in the decades that followed, this comparative analysis nonetheless suggests that these tensions were not, in fact, the source of those troubles. Instead, the crisis of the 1620s revolved around foreign policy, and specifically the pragmatic position of James vis-à-vis Protestant states on the continent. While perhaps indicative for shortcomings in the English political system, the polemical storm that followed James's indecisive policies were concerned with political and religious developments in Europe and should be seen in such a perspective.

Both authors were thus attempting to transfer a particular worldview and concomitant political agenda to their readers through a series of pamphlets. Crucially, this means that these texts not only sought to inform, but also aimed at persuading a particular readership. To this end texts and arguments were constructed in a fashion that – or so the author believed – maximized appeal. Importantly, this also meant dictating the terms on how they wished themselves and others to be seen.[260]

The pamphlets in question are thus constructed texts and likely aimed at appealing to an audience who did not share the authors' ideological and religious perspectives. Of course, just because these pamphlets could be seen as representative of a Puritan or Catholic perspective, this in no way means they were intended or interpreted as such. While neither author states this clearly, it is quickly made apparent when analysing introductions, conclusions as well as the language used to formulate their respective agendas, that both sought to address a wider, conformist audience rather than their own communities. One pamphlet, for instance, sees Thomas Scott addressing and praising 'the true-hearted British Readers'[261] while his adversary in print refers to his readers as 'deere Friends and Countreymen'.[262]

This is a daunting prospect, as these pamphlets needed to cross numerous imagined boundaries separating them from their intended readership; For both authors were not only religious non-conformists exiled in foreign lands, but were also highly critical of the ruling dynasty.[263] In order to overcome this distance, both authors primarily claimed to be speaking on behalf of all true Englishmen, effectively presenting their own characterization of events as representative of the opinions of common Protestant Englishmen, as well as appropriating that English identity for themselves. In this chapter I will explore how they reconstructed and presented their own identities as fundamentally English, despite their un-English reputations. Why would they portray

[260] J. Raymond, 'Introduction: networks, communication, practice' in: Idem ed., *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe* (New York 2006) 1-17.
[261] [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire*, Preface.
[262] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 40.
[263] Christopher D'Addario has also argued that exile strongly affected one's ties to the homeland. See: D'Addario, *Exile and Journey*, 12.

themselves as such? How do they do so, and do Catholic and Puritan authors differ in in their approach to the English identity?

An assumption behind this approach is, of course, that a concept of national identities can be applied to early modern England; an assumption that is not uncontested. As Adrian Hastings noted, 'one can find historians to date 'the dawn of English national consciousness' (...) in almost every century from the eighth to the nineteenth'.[264] Most influential are 'modernist' historians, who argue that imagined communities, national identities and nationalist movements do not appear until the nineteenth century and later. In the case of England, this is advocated by, amongst others, Krishan Kumar. Borrowing from the influential Benedict Anderson, he argues that genuine nationalism requires the construction of an 'imagined community' as a 'horizontally integrated group of like-minded individuals occupying the same cultural and political space,'[265] a definition considered inapplicable to Stuart England due to the lack of secular, democratic and industrial tendencies.

However, I feel that a more loosely defined sense of the nation, as argued by Christopher Highley, can definitely be traced to early modern England. He argues that if 'we think in looser terms than English "nationalism" conceived as an "ideology and movement," but instead about a sense of national identity, of national consciousness, and national sentiment, then the picture looks quite different.'[266] Such a looser approach has also been advocated by sociologists such as Stuart Hall and Kathryn Woodward. They understand identity not as a stable object within the subject, separated from outside influences and unchanging, but as 'not only temporally and spatially variable, but as intrinsically plural and contradictory.'[267] The space inside the subject that constitutes the identity is then best regarded as existing, but constantly adapting to one's surroundings. As Hall claims, it 'is a matter of "becoming" as well as of "being."' Thus a male identity is dormant until distinguished by its differences with the female identity, just as Englishness unfolds itself in relation to Frenchness or Scottishness.[268]

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[264] A. Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge 1997) 35.
[265] K. Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge 2003) 90.
[266] Highley, *Catholics writing the nation*, 3.
[267] J. Martin, 'Identity' in: D. Atkinson ed., *Cultural geography : a critical dictionary of key concepts* (London and New York 2005) 97-103: 99
[268] S. Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Cinematic representation' in: M. B. Cham ed., *Ex-iles: essays on Caribbean Cinema* (Trenton, N.J. 1992) 220-236: 223; K. Woodward, 'Concepts of Identity and Difference' in: Idem ed., *Identity and Difference* (London 1997) 7-62.

I believe that such an adaptable identity can certainly applied to the pre-industrial past and that in the approximate timeframe of this thesis a loose, at times contradictory and not universally shared sense of English identity existed, albeit one that only surfaced infrequently. Furthermore, it does not need to replace or conflict with other identities, such as religious, local or economic ones. Verstegan, for instance, also appears to identify himself with the apprentices of London in *Londons Looking-glasse*, while Scott seems to comfortably intertwine a national identity with a transnational religious one. It can thus be fractured and unstable, and can effortlessly overlap with other, perhaps contradicting identities. But a perceived English identity, or perhaps multiple English identities, can definitely be found in the England of the 1620s.

For, as will be seen, fundamentally different notions of what does and does not constitute 'Englishness' existed, and the two refugees both felt the need to defend and elaborate on their interpretation. This appropriation of the English identity is especially remarkable because both are quite honest about their own atypical lives. Not only are they very critical of the Stuart dynasty – Scott of James's peaceful policies and Verstegan of his children in the Palatinate – but both also reveal themselves as non-conformists and exiles. While their depiction of themselves does not correspond entirely with their biographies, some similarities can still be found. Numerous pamphlets see Verstegan defending a conversion to Catholicism, while also presenting himself as a soldier in the service of Spain or an Englishmen who has migrated beyond the seas. Scott, on the other hand, who was known to have fled persecution, published most of his writings under his own name, while fully aligning himself with the Dutch Gomarists and the States-General.

While both continued to see themselves as English, this doubtlessly clashed with the common interpretation of that identity. By the 1620s England was a thoroughly Protestant nation in which the national identity as well as the ruling dynasty were fully intertwined with the national church. Many regarded these as inseparable, a notion that doubtlessly made pamphlets written by non-conformist exiles suspect at best.

There has been some historiographical disagreement about how and when England became a Protestant nation ruled by a Protestant dynasty. G. R. Elton confidently noted in the 1970s that this was this was already the case at the end of Edward's reign,[269] but this has since been revised. Patrick Collinson and Christopher Haigh have been especially influential in popularizing the notion that 'the birth pangs of

[269] G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1508-1558* (London 1977).

Protestant England' were part of a longer and contested process that did not end until the later years of the Elizabethan period. For while royal decrees instituted Protestantism, it would take some time before it it settled into the hearts and minds of their audiences as well; as Haigh noted, 'legislative destruction proved easier than evangelical construction'.[270]

Collinson traces this process to the Marian troubles; 'thereafter Protestantism, originally suspect as a foreign importation, began to be identified with the national interest, Catholicism with all that threatened that interest'.[271] However, this was a slow and arduous transition. Peter Marshall noted that even in the 1580s some theologians remained reluctant to name England a Protestant nation.[272] Nonetheless this transformation was actively supported by the Elizabethan government, which employed it primarily as a means for legitimizing itself. The concept of a Protestant dynasty and nation was projected upon the nation through various channels, including through a thorough overhaul of commemorative traditions. In his *Bonfires and Bells* David Cressy's shows how, in the wake of the religious settlement of the mid-Elizabethan period, the national calendar was purified of its pagan remnants and Catholic traditions, and instead filled with festivities focussed on recent dynastic and religious events, such as the anniversaries of Protestant monarchs, the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot.

Popular festivities became, Cressy argues, instruments for 'for declaring and disseminating a distinctively Protestant national culture' and served as unifying force, 'binding the nation to the ruling dynasty and securing it through an inspiring providential interpretation of English history'.[273] Vitally, he argues that this was to a large extent orchestrated by Whitehall and Westminster. Moreover, it would seem that this hardly lessened under Jacobean rule. Indeed, central to an article of Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake reviewing Jacobean religious policies is the unwavering unity of the King and the Church, and therefore the nation; James saw himself as a 'godly prince,

[270] C. Haigh, *English Reformations: religion, politics, and society under the Tudors* (Oxford 1993) 288. Also see P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke 1988) and C. Haigh, *The English Reformation revised* (Cambridge 1987).
[271] Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*,11.
[272] P. Marshall, 'The Naming of Protestant England', *Past and Present* 214 (2012) 87-128: 105.
[273] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London 1989) xi.

exercising his divinely ordained powers as head of church and state, [who] would preside over a new golden age of Christian peace and unity.[274]

Unsurprisingly this identification of the monarchy and the nation with a particular brand of Protestantism made it especially difficult for non-conformists such as Verstegan and Scott to claim to be loyal to that same monarch and to be part of that same English community. Indeed, Marshall convincingly argues that the utility and popularity of this religious identity was exactly that it offered a mechanism for excluding non-conformists. Primarily describing the Protestant/Puritan dualism, he argues that the concept of a Protestant nation allowed one 'to effect exclusion from an identity the excluded themselves wished to claim',[275] though there no reason why this could not be extended to other non-conforming believers in England as well. Fincham and Lake argued that James saw any type of nonconformity, Catholic or Puritan, as 'open defiance of his authority as supreme governor' and attempted to emasculate both threats during his reign,[276] while historians of Recusancy have shown that those groups were similarly perceived as traitorous and un-English.[277] As will be seen, both authors struggled with this religious dissonance in their attempt to claim to be speaking for all Englishmen.

Their distance from the common identity was further exacerbated by their exile. Can one who, for whatever reason, departs England and (supposedly) transfers his allegiance to another monarch – such as the King of Spain – continue to be English? Problematically, there was no legal precedent that on this issue. England and Spain had already been bickering about the status of Catholic exiles in the past, especially in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot some two decades earlier. As England and Spain had just months before cemented an alliance, England demanded the extradition of three exiles. The English statesman Cornwallis, one of the architects of the peace, argued that it was impossible for subjects to change their citizenship. As Mark Netzloff noted, Cornwallis saw 'national identity [as] intrinsic and unaltered, despite exile, migration, or political allegiance'.[278] Spain retorted, however, by stating that the exiles in question had either

[274] K. Fincham and P. Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies* 24.2, *Politics and Religion in the Early Seventeenth Century: New Voices* (1985) 169-207: 169.
[275] Marshall, 'The Naming of Protestant England', 122.
[276] Fincham and Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy', 176.
[277] See, for instance, A. F. Marotti, 'Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies' in: Idem ed., *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke and New York 1999) 1-34.
[278] M. Netzloff, 'Catholic Exiles and the English State after the Gunpowder Plot', *Reformation* 15 (2010) 151-167: 157.

exchanged their political allegiance to other bodies – such as the Society of Jesus – or had become naturalized as Spanish subjects over the course of their exile.[279]

However, despite this legal uncertainty about their status, their writings suggest that they feared the detrimental effects of exile on their identity, as both put considerable effort in mitigating and justifying their exile in their attempt to affirm their Englishness. The notion that a refugee's identity was affected by his flight has also been recognised by Highley, who found that Catholic refugees throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were vulnerable to numerous charges from Protestant critics, 'from being out of touch with events in England, to being fugitives and "unnatural and disordered subjects" who sought succour from foreign princes'.[280]

Both authors were thus hardly in a position to appear as Englishmen, not just through their criticism of the Stuart dynasty, but also through their non-conformity and exile. As will be seen, both men try to cope with this divergence by apologetically reinterpreting the English identity to suit their own circumstances.

3.1 'Catholikes are no intruders vpon protestants'

Fortunately for Verstegan, his English polemics – all published between 1621 and 1623 – appeared in a period when James was still pursuing a peaceful, pro-Spanish foreign policy, and therefore does not have to justify a dissenting opinion. Instead, he is able to present his treatises condemning the Dutch as representative not only for James's perspective, but also as that of the nation itself. Red Scarf, the protagonist of *The Tovng-Combat*, can thus easily praise the monarch for his policies:

> But thankes bee vnto God, our peacefull *King Iames* coming to the crown, and wel knowing how matters had passed, did to the great happynes of the Realme salue vp this sore from further festering, wherevnto hee found Spayn most redie and willing, and wel content to let pas and forget all English iniuries[281]

[279] Netzloff, 'Catholic Exiles and the English State', 154, 156-157.
[280] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation* 30.
[281] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 27.

Only in regards to the Palatine Crisis does Verstegan need to defend his position as he, as seen in the previous chapter, unequivocally supports the Habsburg Emperor in his conquest of the Palatinate and therefore opposes the King's children. This the author does at length in *The Copy of a Letter* (1622), though again he claims to be following James's policies, arguing that Frederick should have lent his ear 'vnto his Maiestyes desyre about a Truce, or perhaps an absolute Peace and Reconciliation, betweene the sayd Prince and the Imperial Maiesty'.[282]

The Traveller goes on to relate how Frederick instead chose to follow the advice of the Dutch, who employed him for their own ends. For they are those who 'dispose of him to their owne endes and purposes, not caring at all to what calamityes they expose him'. The Elector's ruin is thus entirely his own fault, 'seeing he hath follow his owne selfe will, & the sinister counsell of turbulent spirits (...) who cannot but thinke that his Maiesty hath serued him right?'[283]

The author thus argues that his libels are representative not only of the King's policies, but also that of all sensible Englishmen – though he would have been more hard-pressed to do so with any conviction a few years later. Instead, the primary barrier between Verstegan's perceived identity and that of his intended audience is formed by his Catholicism, and he employs a number of different methods to overcome this obstacle.

In the first edition of *Observations* (1621), Verstegan circumvents the religious dissonance between him and the reader by simply presenting his perspective as that of an ordinary Protestant. The Traveller is cast into the role of an Englishman who spent some time in The Hague, where the 'intollerable demeanour of theirs'[284] fundamentally changed his opinion of the Dutch and the righteousness of their cause. His hostile account of the Dutch, their conflict and of the Calvinist religion, as seen in chapter two, thus appears to be that of a Protestant Englishman, with whom his readers can easily relate.

His other pamphlets all see the author 'coming out' as a Catholic. While one can guess at his motives for doing so, it does allow him to present his own religion in a favourable light, while simultaneously repeating the baleful account of Calvinism that he gave in *Observations*. However, this also creates the breach between his identity as a

[282] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 6.
[283] Ibidem, 5, 6-7, 10.
[284] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 5.

Catholic and that of his Protestant readership. As will be seen, Richard Verstegan tries to overcome this dissonance by 'disarming' Catholicism, presenting it as far closer to the religion preached in England than often thought, while simultaneously giving a scriptural defence of some aspects of Catholicism.

However, instead of engaging in the daunting task of presenting Catholicism as a superior alternative to English Protestantism, he achieves this by juxtaposing his religion with his interpretation of Gomarism that has been set out in chapter two. This is perhaps best seen in *Newes from the Low-Countreyes* (1622) and *A Tovng-Combat* (1623), both of which are in essence a comparison between a Catholic – a Brabander and a soldier of serving Spain, respectively – and a Protestant – a Hollander and a soldier serving the Republic, respectively. While both consist largely of a denunciation of the Dutch and their conflict, both pamphlets end with a discussion on some theological tenets of Catholicism. Both debates have, at this point, denounced Calvinism as utterly different from English Protestantism and in the continuing discussion both scripture-reading, Protestant antagonists find Catholicism much more to their liking than Calvinism.

This defence of Catholic doctrine mostly revolves around the Eucharist, what Verstegan perceives – or at least presents – as the main difference between the various conflicting churches of Europe, arguing that the Catholic tradition is not only scripturally and historically sound, but also more similar to most Reformed traditions than Calvinism. Asking his opponent 'from whence it proceedeth that Catholiks belieue the reall Presence of Christ in the Sacrament?', it is established that

> This beliefe commeth from the very mouth of Christ himselfe: if it come from the mouth of Christ, then taketh it not originall from the mouth of any Pope. Christ must haue lyed when he sayd it was his body, if it were not his body; or Caluinists must now lye, in saying it is not his body, notwithstanding Christ sayd it is.[285]

Proceeding to employ Scripture to outflank the unwitting and hesitating Protestant, Verstegan even forces his opponent to concede that the only source for such Calvinist doctrines is that 'Our preachers doe so interprete it'.[286] As for the presence of Altars, Verstegan calls upon historical precedents to argue that all Christians since the time of

[285] [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes*, 78-79.
[286] Ibidem, 78-79.

the Apostles have worshipped at them and can thus hardly be seen as a Catholic invention:

> That besydes the Catholike Christians of the Roman Church, there are great numbers of Christians of the Greeke church: There are many Christians of the Abissine or Ethiopian Church: There are Christians of Malabar in the east Indies (...), with sundry other sorts of ancient Christians aswell in Asia as in Africa (...). [Who] can shew out of their Ecclesiasticall Annales and Church histories, that they haue had Masse euen from the very tyme of the Apostles, and haue alwayes belieued that the body of Christ was really in the Sacrament of the Altar.[287]

Moreover, even other Reformers follow the Catholic example in this matter; indeed only the 'Caluinian-Protestants and Anabaptists' use 'tables in steed of Altars [...] nor none denying the real presence of Christe in that Sacrament but they'.[288] They are thus finding opposition from their 'competitours in Reformation, Husse and Luther' as well.[289]

Verstegan's defence of Catholicism thus mainly revolves around presenting it as more legitimate than any Calvinist interpretation of Scripture followed by Gomarists or Puritans, and the essence of this reasoning is repeated throughout his pamphlets. While not converting Tawny Scarf to the Roman religion, he nonetheless impresses upon him a disliking for Calvinism and a more accommodating perspective of the Catholic faith. Indeed, the shaken adversary not only begins to doubt the righteousness of his intended cause, but also of his theological outlook, wondering 'verie much why our Learned men, that pretend all their recours to Scripture, should not see and practise the same'.[290]

This approach thus serves the two intertwined purposes of emphasizing the 'otherness' of Calvinism while simultaneously making a case for his own religion. Though repeated elsewhere, some pamphlets even see Verstegan going as far as to subsequently denounce the Reformation entirely. For the very notion of reforming the church implies that the Lord cannot be 'a good and perfect Architect, but began his worke vpon a weake and vnsure foundation'.[291] The general tone, however, is

[287] [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes*, 86.
[288] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 57.
[289] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 43.
[290] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 66.
[291] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 120-121.

ecumenical; rather than presenting Catholicism as superior to English Protestantism, he instead wants to focus upon their similarities.

However, this portrayal of Catholicism does little to mollify the rupture between a Catholic and an English identity. For while closer to the English nation than Calvinism could ever be, this does not automatically remove the foreign connotations attached to Roman religion. Even so, these pamphlets are – excepting *Tovng-Combat* – translations of Dutch originals and therefore originally not intended for this audience. While likely tailored to some extent to suit an English readership, none address English concerns specifically.

The pamphlets *Londons Looking-Glasse* (1621) and *The copy of a Letter* (1622), both English originals, are more insightful in regards to an English identity. Though a version of the scriptural defence of Catholic tenets is included in these pamphlets, both also attempt to reconcile the author, as well as Catholics in general, with English culture and people.

This is done, in part, by denying the 'otherness' or foreign aspects ascribed to Catholics, instead emphasizing their ties to England and their peaceful intentions. Verstegan presents exiles such as himself, as well as Recusants in England, not as immigrants or subversive rebels, but as regular Englishmen who have long since been a part of English society. For 'Catholikes are no intruders vpon protestants, or bringers in of any nouelties among them, but the imbracers only of that fayth from which Protestants are falne'.[292]

Furthermore, Verstegan claims that these 'Papists' are by no means invaders or spies plotting to overthrow Protestant rule or bring England back into the Catholic fold. Protestants thus have no 'reason to be so picquant and hatefull vnto Catholikes as they are',[293] as Verstegan and his brethren are simply seeking to be tolerated in their own homeland. Indeed, Verstegan proclaims in *Londons Looking-glasse* that

> I can wel be contented without any hart-burning hatred to leaue them [English Catholics] to God & to themselues, & in as Ciuill sort to conuerse with them as they [continental Protestants] do with me (...) I see no reason of not tolerating their

[292] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 45.
[293] Ibidem, 45.

> conuersation, when they can be content in humane & Ciuil manner to conuerse with me.[294]

Verstegan thus refutes the notion that Catholics are inherently foreign or seeking to overthrow England's Protestant church, instead calling upon Protestants 'to let them liue among them, & enioy their Ciuill conuersation'.[295]

However his second method is more compelling. Moving beyond rebuttals or denials, both pamphlets see the Traveller take on the guise of a loyal, Protestant Englishman who, during his travels on the continent, underwent an unexpected conversion. While other pamphlets, especially *A Tovng*-Combat and *Newes from the Low-Countreyes* see the Traveller as a confident Catholic enlightening honest, but ignorant Englishmen, here he is above all apologetic. Both pamphlets take the shape of lengthy letters written to his old friend(s) back in England, revealed in the explanatory subtitles as 'his Protestant friend in England' or 'the Apprentices of London'. They detail how his experiences changed both his religious outlook and his political convictions, and see the Traveller hoping that their differing opinions will not damage the friendship.

Verstegan, through the Traveller, thus presents himself as a man exactly like his 'very vvorthy and vvelvvished'[296] friends – doubtlessly a metaphor for his intended readers – and is thereby in effect sharing their identity as loyal Englishmen. Indeed, the Traveller appears above all as a God-fearing Protestant and fiercely loyal to the Stuart dynasty – in one pamphlet his conversion occurred whilst intending to enter 'the seruice of the Prince Palatine, who we then called King of Bohemia'.[297]

Both pamphlets start by emphasizing that 'whiles I liued in England I was, as you know, as servent in our protestant religion as eyther your selfe or any in the Country can be'[298] and that he 'was possessed with as much hatred against those of a contrary Religion to ours as you can be'.[299] The Traveller was, and effectively still is, just like any other Englishman though he fears that his friend will

[294] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 35-36.
[295] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 45.
[296] Ibidem, 3.
[297] Ibidem, 18.
[298] Ibidem, 18.
[299] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 35.

> straightways censue me to be turned Papist, and condemne me of leuity for being so soone swarued from the light of your Ghospell, to the liking of a Religion so generally misliked in England, wherby I may stand in danger to loose your loue, which very loath I would be to do, considering how sincere I haue alwayes found it[300]

To avoid this he begs him – and thus his readers – to consider 'whether I had any sufficient motiues or no, to bethinke my selfe in matter of Religion.'[301]

Both pamphlets then see the Traveller elaborate on how he came to his – fictional[302] - conversion and, though this is done in greater detail in *Copy of a Letter*, the structure and aim of both accounts is essentially similar. As seen in the previous chapter, Verstegan's writings heavily emphasized the theological differences between the various Protestant communities of Europe, arguing that English soldiers should have no interest in spilling their blood for the sake of those who 'condemne our doctrine of England'[303] as heretical. It was this overwhelming discord between the Protestant churches he encountered during his travels that supposedly did irreparable damage to the Traveller's zeal.

> But the thing now that amazeth the world is, that ech of those [preachers] comming with the Bible, & protesting in al confidence of thruth to reforme religion according to the very true & expresse word of God, do in their reformation so greatly differ, & ech callenge other of going about, vntruly, and not according to the word of God, to reforme it; yea and to teach most false & dannable doctrin.[304]

Only by 'our preachers in England it is concealed from vulgar knowledge' that protestant sects differ so greatly in doctrine, 'for in all the Sermon-going that euer I vsed, I neuer discouered so much'. And, through various discussions with Lutheran, Hussite, Calvinist and Anabaptist preachers and through reading Scripture, the Traveller and began to alter his perception of Catholicism. For while all Protestant reformers

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[300] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 16.
[301] Ibidem, 19.
[302] As seen in chapter one, Verstegan was already fiercely Catholic long before he left England, while the Traveller in both pamphlets only begins to doubt his commitment to English Protestantism during his travels on the continent.
[303] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 19.
[304] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 34.

> Played the run-a wayes from the sayd Roman Church, & were now become the accusers thereof, but with different accusations, I considered with my selfe that if the accusers of Susanna were proued false, & she innocent vpon the disagreement of two witnesses in their accusation, how much the more may the Church of Rome be deemed innocent, when there is so great a disagreement found in four of her principall accusers.[305]

Through subsequent debates with Catholic clergy, and through comparisons between Protestant and Catholic tenets much like those described in *Observations*, the Traveller is eventually brought to his conversion.

While again allowing him to present the Roman Church in a favourable light – and perhaps enticing others to make a similar spiritual journey – the strength of this approach lies not so much with in the justification of his conversion, but in the way Verstegan associates the Traveller with his readers. Through this fictional account of his English origins, Verstegan accentuates the citizenship and identity of those Catholics who fled from persecution, or are currently still in England. The Traveller is, in effect, one of his readers; a common Englishman, who understands the priorities, fears and doubts held by his readership, but who has already completed a spiritual journey that led back to the Catholic fold.

This not only reconciliate the author and his worldview with his readership but also, much like his comparison between Calvinism and Catholicism, directly counters the notion that the Roman religion is antithetical to England and its church. Rather than foreign and destructive, English Catholics like the Traveller remain sensible, loyal Englishmen.

Verstegan thus attempts to overcome the religious divide between author and reader through a thoroughly apologetic and ecumenical approach. Rather than condemning Protestantism in all its guises and proclaiming the superiority of the Church of Rome, he instead continues his anti-Calvinist line of reasoning by arguing that English Protestants would find Catholicism far more to their liking than Gomarism. Rather than the vanguard of a foreign invasion, Catholics are common Englishmen and women who simply wish to live in peace.

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[305] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 32-33.

And this is also how Verstegan approaches his physical displacement from England. Though never employing the term 'exile' he nonetheless presents the Traveller as living on the continent with no intention of returning to England. In *Londons Looking-glasse* the Traveller remarks that 'I haue made my residence in the Citty of Roan',[306] and while his whereabouts are unknown in *Copy of a Letter* – written 'from the place of my aboad'[307] – the tone of the pamphlet clearly suggests that he is not residing in England. However, this is completely inconsequential; despite his physical and spiritual distance from his readers, it is a foregone conclusion that he and his readers ever remain 'deere Friends and Countreymen'[308] Verstegan effectively remains in complete possession of his Englishness.

His other pamphlets see Verstegan taking a similar approach, again never addressing his exile as flight, nor implying that he changed his allegiance to another monarch. Instead, he characterizes the Traveller as ever wishing to serve the interests of England. *A Tovng-Combat* is emblematic of this approach, as it sees the Traveller not only entering the service of Spain, but also taking on an English scarf while departing his homeland. And yet the pamphlet only shows him as a combatant in a struggle to protect England and the King's sovereignty. It was already seen in the previous chapter that Verstegan utterly denounced the legitimacy of the Dutch cause, while also recognising them as a direct threat to England and its wellbeing. Proceeding from this notion, the Traveller's migration and allegiance to Spain only serves to combat 'such monsters, as to beare a verie diuellish hatred both vnto our nation and to our moste gratious Soueraigne himself'.[309] Rather than traitorous, Verstegan is thus ever aiming to protect 'his' England.

3.2 The Puritans of 'auncient English stock'

Scott, in contrast, devotes a considerable number of pages to addressing the perceived distance between him and his readers, though this is hardly surprising as more of his pamphlets are under consideration, lending itself to a more detailed defence of his identity. Throughout his oeuvre, as will be seen, he characterizes the Puritans – 'but

[306] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 4-5.
[307] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 49.
[308] Ibidem, 40.
[309] [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat*, 31.

indeed the sound Protestant'[310] – as unquestionably loyal citizens who are above all dedicated to England. However, their inability to adhere to the national church seems to have been a considerable hurdle to Puritans. Scott characterised the current disposition in England towards Puritans as such:

> Oh, they are dangerous, factious, & seditious fellowes ; and let their opinions, or affections, or actions be what they will, so they be questioned, the Brand of Puritanisme set once vpon their Backes by power or policie, all men flee from them, as from Rockes at Sea, and leaue them to perish[311]

In his attempt to mitigate his community's stigma, Scott denies any notion that there is a difference to be found at all between common Protestants and the 'Godly' churchgoers of England. As seen in chapter one, revisionist historians have convincingly argued that one cannot present Puritanism as an independent religious movement during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, before the appearance of Arminians and Laudians in the English church during the late 1620s and 1630s. Though this likely clashed at times with the Episcopal character of English Protestantism pursued by James, who certainly recognised them as a threat,[312] Puritans like Scott saw themselves as the more god-fearing, hot-blooded members that church rather than seperate from it.

And this shapes the main approach taken by Scott. Lake already noted that one of the main sources of his polemical force is derived from his claims to be speaking for 'the mainstream of English protestantism',[313] though his actual beliefs and political agenda were hardly representative for an English protestant consensus. As seen in the previous chapter, his appeal for military intervention in Europe rested mostly on the notion that the English Church and those of Reformed communities throughout Europe were fundamentally similar, but he fails to not elaborate on what the English religion actually entails.

In the light of this approach, it is hardly surprising that Scott rarely refers to Puritans or Puritanism, though at the few occasions when they are featured as separate from English Protestants, Puritans are seen as the most loyal subjects the King has ever

[310] [T. Scott] *The interpreter*, 3.
[311] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 71.
[312] Fincham and Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy', 176.
[313] Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition', 807.

had and, in some ways, truer Englishmen than conformists. In *Vox Regis*, for example, Puritans are revealed to be far more concerned about the King's children, than so-called Protestants ever were:

> It was made an infallible note of a Puritane, and so consequently of an ill subiect, to speake on the behalfe of the Kings children: and a certaine proofe of a good Protestant or a discreete and moderate man, to pleade against them for the Emperour, and King of Spaine.[314]

Similarly, the poetic *The Interpreter* presents the Puritan as a paragon of the English church and the greatest supporter of the Stuart dynasty:

> A Puritan is such an other thing
> As saies with all his heart, God saue the King
> And all his yssue: and to make this good,
> Will freely spend his money and his blood.[315]

In contrast to this virtuous man of 'auncient English stock,'[316] those generally referred to as Protestant Englishmen – 'so will the Formalist be called'[317]– appear as irreligious, indifferent cowards whose timidity are 'winning Spaine more then their armes could':

> A Protestant is an indifferent man,
> that with all faiths, or none, hold quarter can:
> So moderate and temperate his passion,
> As he to all times can his conscience fashion.
> He at the Chappell can a Bishop heare,
> And then in Holborne a Religious Frear:
> A Masse nere troubles him, more then a play,
> All's one, hee comes all one from both away.[318]

[314] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 21-22.
[315] [T. Scott] *The interpreter*, 3.
[316] Ibidem, 6.
[317] Ibidem, 7.
[318] Ibidem, 12-13, 14.

The 1623 pamphlet *The high-waies of God and the King*, which claims to be based on two sermons preached in Norfolk in 1620, is one of the few pamphlets in which the author actually elaborates on the traitorous implications of non-conformity, but again any notions of un-Englishness or treason are deemed absurd. Especially insightful is the second sermon, detailing the author's thoughts on dynastic loyalty and religious conscience:

> Thou sayest thy conscience tels thee, the *Religion* commanded by the King, or some ceremony vsed in the Church according to the Lawes established, is not agreable, but contrary to the truth; if thou canst manifest this by the word of God[319]

How can one be true to his religious conscience and remain loyal to a monarch whose actions counter 'Gods high-way'? Scott primarily reasons this through a thorough separation of God's Law and the King's Law – or 'high-way'. The King's law must

> agree with the equity of the Lawe of God, from vvhence it originally takes life and strength. For as where it agrees with Gods Lawe, wee must obay it for conscience sake; so where it contradicts or crosseth the Lawe of God, the Apostle Peter giues a generall rule, *It is there better to obay God then man*.[320]

This does not, however, mean that Scott sees himself and like-minded Protestants as disloyal. For, firstly, Scott states that the King's high-way must unavoidably correspond with 'publique iudgement, publique authority, and the Common Lawes of the Land' and the monarch is thus bound by these. 'Salomon, or Cæsar must not rule vvithout a Lawe, nor by his absolute power make any, but see to the execution of those that are made'.[321] The King is thus bound, just as all his subjects, to the King's high-way, the laws of England and of the English nation as dictated by God through Scripture. Opposing royal decrees does thus not necessarily mean one opposes the laws of God and the nation.

Moreover, by choosing to suffer the King's punishments as dictated by law for the sake of religion, 'thou obayest God and *Cæsar* too; God actively, doing vvhat he vvils; and Cæsar passiuely, submitting thy will to Gods holy ordinance, and obaying the Magistrate

[319] T. Scott, *The high-waies of God and the king* (London [The Netherlands] 1623) 70.
[320] T. Scott, *The high-waies of God*, 70.
[321] Ibidem, 67.

for conscience sake'.[322] Not only does one then follow his rule of Law through your punishment, Englishmen best serve their King by serving God.

This, however, does not account for Scott's critical attitude towards the King's political decisions. In his earlier pamphlets, which are thoroughly condemning royal policy, Scott tries to mask this by simultaneously praising James while attacking his decisions. *Vox Populi*, as his first and most infamous pamphlet, offers the best example, as Scott lets its main character Gondomar introduce the King as 'one of the most accōplisht Princes that ever raign'd'.[323]

Accompanying such praise, numerous pamphlets see Scott employing another typical polemical device, by blaming the people surrounding the monarch, rather than James himself. Rather than singling out the advisors to the King, Scott mainly accuses the 'begging and beggarly Courtyers', who have allegedly sold their services to Spain. However, the author rarely elaborates on the courtiers' crimes, mainly sticking to such brief accusations of corruption, without revealing any actual wrongdoings. The only courtier singled out by the Norwich preacher is Gondomar who, as was seen in the previous chapter, is indeed blamed for many of the King's mistakes with respect to religion, politics and diplomacy.

Despite this, Scott seems to be fully aware that many regard him as a criticaster of the king. Therefore he dedicates a whole pamphlet, entitled *Vox Regis* (1624), to justifying his motivations and writings, especially concerning his earlier criticism directed at the king. Written after failure of the Spanish Match, the underlying implication seem to be that Scott hoped to return quickly to England and, in lieu of a royal pardon, emphasized his Englishness as well as his love and dedication to the King and the nation to show that he had ever the best intentions possible.

Throughout the pamphlet Scott details how he**,** rather than criticizing the king and his policies, wished only to inform him.

> Because I thought (as the King himselfe hath since professed publiquely in Parliament) that all those mischiefes grew vp in darknesse, whist they were not seene by supreme Authority' and would (with the Basiliske) die, assoone as they were discouered by soueraigne prouidence.

[322] T. Scott, *The high-waies of God*, 71.
[323] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 8.

For, so he goes on, the guards 'placed about Princes, are not euer intended for their personall security' and are instead shielding James from the truth. To circumvent this barrier, or so Scott alleges, he published *Vox Populi* for the sake of 'my conscience and of my Countrey'. [324]

Responding to no less than ten different accusations made at earlier writings, Scott also rejects the notion that he acted dishonourably or even treasonous towards the King. He claims that both in his work as well as in his person he found 'nothing but plaine truth and duty there', and never intended to attack his King or country. Rather, upon reviewing his critics the preacher saw in them jealousy, envy, pride and prejudice. Evidently, 'vicious eyes may bring the disease with them (...) and all things which they see, lookes of their owne colour and complexion' and thus those who find treason and dishonour as commonplace in their own lives, are quick to denounce others of similar crimes.[325]

Similarly, the author argues that criticizing the Match is not only done out of a love for the prince and the commonwealth:

> 'Their Wiues ought to be as Mothers to euerie Subiect. And were not he a Foole, that would not desire a Naturall Mother, rather then a Step-Mother? Queenes ought to be nurcing Mothers to the Church: Who then would seeke a dry-Nurse, that might haue another [Church]?

In choosing his wife, then, a Prince ought to consider not just his own heart, but the hearts of the nation as well. For 'we loue the Prince, when we discerne he loues vs ; and he cannot manifest his loue more, then when we see he doth all for our good'.[326]

Throughout the pamphlet Scott goes on to describe the bloated, corrupted state of the country and the church, while both at home and abroad Papists are attacking the English religion and the King's children, asking himself 'Was it not then a time to Speake? Was there not a cause?'

> When I saw the generall combination of Romane Catholiques, both at home and abroad, against the Kings Children: and the forraine enemies violent and bloudie

[324] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 2-3.
[325] Ibidem, 6-7.
[326] Ibidem, 14.

> pursuite of all aduantages against them, and such as professe the Reformed Religion. So that abroad all went to wracke, and at home no remedie was thought upon (...) *Was it not then a time to Speake? Was there not a cause?*[327]

At the same time, Scott is quick to deny any implications that James is a bad ruler. Referring to the fourth chapter of Mark, when Jesus and the Apostles found themselves on a ship in a storm, Scott relates how even the Apostles were never charged of treason for expressing their fears. They awoke Christ in fright, proclaiming 'Master, carest though not that we perish?' After Jesus suppressed the waves and wind, he simply taught them to have faith, but never questioned their loyalty.

> This Ships is the Church, is the State: the Windes, the Waues, the Rockes, the Sands, and (more then all these) profest Pirates assualt it. It concernes vs all to looke about vs, euen from the Master to the Ship-boy. Nor shall it (I hope) be a capitall crime in me to awake the Supreme Gouernour, the Defender of the Faith, with the peoples voyce, *Master, carest though not that we perish?*[328]

The pamphlet thus describes how the King is unquestionably loved by his godly people, though this does not mean that he need not listen to their needs. Honest Englishmen who let their voices be heard – himself included – are but guilty of loving him. His criticisms are thus above all presented as patriotic.

However, several other pamphlets see Scott also circumventing his disputed loyalty to England altogether, by arguing that one's allegiance should be to the 'Laws of the Land', rather than to one single man. This was already seen in relation to his religion, where Scott argued that the Puritan interpretation of religion, though perhaps not agreeable to the monarch, was certainly not adverse to England and its natural laws. This circumvention of the monarch's authority, while continuing to claim to be a part of the English community, is repeated in a political and secular sense. In the poetic *The Interpreter*, for instance, these laws are embodied in Parliament:

> [The Puritan] not a Traytor be unto the King
> Not to the Lawes (for that's an other thing

[327] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 21.
[328] Ibidem, 24.

> Men dream not off: who think they no way can
> Bee Traytors unto many for one man)
> But his chiefe errour is to thinke that none
> Can bee a Traytor till law calls him one.
> And that the Law is what the state decrees
> In Parliament: by which whilst that hee sees
> His Actions and intentions justified
> Hee counts himself a Martyr glorified
> If in this cause hee suffers and contemnes
> All dangers in his way[329]

Indeed, several of Scott's pamphlets briefly praise Parliament as the embodiment of England – Gondomar recognising it as his chief opponent in *Vox Populi* – while a few do so in considerable detail. *Vox Regis*, for one, elaborates on its function and merits: 'The proper use of a Parliament (...) is (...) to conferre with the King as Gouernor of the Kingdome, and to giue their aduice in matters of greatest importance, concerning the King and the State, and defence of the King, Kingdome, and Church.'[330] And through Parliament, all know of the people's intentions and wishes,

> as they were readie to part with all to his Maiestie for the good of his Person and Posteritie, to be expended in defence of the Church and State ; so they would giue it by a Parliamentarie way, that the guift might be knowne to be their and to be giuen freely[331]

Scott thus places the 'Laws of the Land', rather than the monarch, at the centre of the nation's identity and presenting Parliament as its embodiment allows him to legitimize himself as utterly English. The details and origins of Scott's Parliamentary outlook have already been explored in great detail in the invaluable works of Peltonen and Lake, and there is no need to repeat their findings here. However, one can wonder if his republicanism was aimed at a political overhaul, or merely functioned as a polemical tool. While I agree with their interpretation of Scott's theoretical outlook on English politics, it has already been argued in the previous chapter that his primary goal was

[329] [T. Scott] *The interpreter*, 6-7.
[330] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 50.
[331] Ibidem, 54-55.

war on behalf of the Reformed churches of Europe, rather than reshaping the English political landscape.

Furthermore, proceeding from the notion that these pamphlets should be read as polemical, rather than as political manifestoes, the advantages of this exultation of Parliament, should not be ignored. As works intended to transfer a certain worldview and religious urgency to its readers, Scott needs to legitimize his arguments as inherently English and patriotic and redirecting his loyalty to a greater authority than the monarch seems to accomplish this regardless of his criticisms.

This reinterpretation of his identity and the concept loyalty is also extended to his exile. While some of his readers might assume that Puritan exiles have turned their backs upon England, Scott assures them that this is could not be farther from the truth. However, Scott hardly addresses his own exile; rather, he mainly identifies himself with the English soldiers currently serving the United Provinces and thus appropriates for himself an identity as a soldier for the Reformed religion. In the pamphlet *Symmachia*, for instance, he warns all Englishmen currently serving in the Low Countries should 'be carefull to serue the vnited Provinces faithfully' as they are through that service fighting for 'their owne Prince and Country'. [332]

Scott seems to identify himself with these soldiers and, angrily denying that he switched allegiances to another state, he presents himself in service of the English nation and its religion. Responding to criticasters in *Symmachia*, he states the following: 'And for those of myne owne Nation who haue thought me to vilifie our owne and to honor this people [the Dutch] too much, I let them know that I haue done nothing but what the truth and necessitie of this case required'. For aiding the Dutch in their quarell 'concernes all our welfares (especially for the point of Religion)' [333]

Occasionally, however, Scott reflects upon his personal exile while discussing his motivations, though emphazising he fled not from the monarch's justice, but from those seeking to shield the James from the truth:

> I fled not from his Maiesty ; for whityher should I flie on earth, to a more mercifull Throne? Let others appeale to Cæsar and to Rome, I will not. I fled not for feare of guilt; as one that thought I had deserued euill: but I fled for feare of a violent and

[332] [T. Scott], *Symmachia*, 19.
[333] Ibidem, 29.

> potent Aduersaire, who goeth about like a ro ring Lyon, seeking whom he may deuoure; and hath many adherents little lesse cruell them himself.[334]

Indeed, Puritans such as himself who are forced to flee the country remain the King's most 'true Subiects, (...) perhaps, with a little too much zeale', having proclaimed their support 'with a little too seuere and sharpe, and perhaps vndiscreet or vnseasonable admonition'. Ironically, these Englishmen are now subjected to 'the heauiest censures of arbitrarie Law to their vtter vndoing' while 'the Popish Priests and Iesuites, whom the Law calls Traytors, walke freely in the Streets, and presse into the Court, and to his Maiesties presence'.[335]

3.3 Clashing Identities

Interestingly, Scott and Verstegan combine this apologetic reinterpretation of their own identities with an unrelenting attack on each other's religious identity, characterizing either Catholicism or Puritanism as fundamentally and irreconcilably foreign. It has already been argued in the previous chapter that their polemical attacks on Spain and the United Provinces, respectively, were highly dependent on a denunciation of the confessions upheld by those states. However, when emphasizing their own 'Englishness', both invariably attempt to strengthen such claims by attacking either Catholicism or Puritanism in the same breath.

This is perhaps best seen in Scott's *The Interpreter*, that sees the author vilifying English Papists, whose very presence in England is a crime against God and the King:

> A Romanist is such an other thing
> As would with all his hart murther the King,
> That saith the house of Austria is appointed
> To rule all Christians and for this annointed
> By Christs own vicar.[336]

[334] [T. Scott], *Vox Regis*, 4.
[335] Ibidem, 70.
[336] [T. Scott] *The interpreter*, 15.

In chapter two it was already argued that Scott characterized Catholicism as utterly distanced from true religion; in the words of Peter Lake, 'a perfectly symmetrical negative image of true Christianity'. Interestingly, Scott goes on to argue that everything Catholic was also utterly incompatible with English life:

> We see the Romane Catholike religion hath taught every where, and almost made naturall, so that by a key of gold by intelligence, or by way of confession my master is able to unlock the secrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their subjects allegiance, as if they knewe themselves rather my master his subjects indeed, then theirs whom their birthes have taught to miscall Soveraignes. We see this in France and in England especially, where at once they learne to obey the Church of Rome as their mother, to acknowledge the catholique King as their father, and to hate their owene King as an heretique and an usurper.[337]

One could thus not be Catholic and truly English; consequently, all Englishmen who even sympathised with it effectively changed their allegiance to another monarch. This emphasis is particularly evident in contrast to Puritan loyalty. Tellingly, the 'Papist' of *The Interpreter* characteristically possesses 'Indian gould'. Religious orthodoxy was thus – implicitly defined as inclusive to Puritanism – equated with dynastic loyalty. Not only was Spain thus aiming to establish a universal monarchy, Catholics throughout England were plotting to realize it.

Richard Verstegan's approach is remarkably similar. His attempted reconciliation of Catholicism and the English nation goes hand in hand with attacks on Calvinism in all its guises. We saw in chapter two that he claimed that Calvinists, rather than the Spaniards, were attempting to overthrow the English church and government, but in doing so he particularly vilifies the Puritans of England.

For throughout his pamphlets he equates all various forms of Calvinism with each other, stating that 'Guwses of Holland, Huguenots of France, and Puritanes of England, are three Names of one signification'.[338] Not only is it thus implied that the Puritans of England are also to be held responsible for the crimes ascribed to the Dutch Gomarists, in *Londons Looking-glasse* they are also presented as if infected with an inherently foreign disease. For that inward illumination of spirit of which Calvinists boast,

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[337] [T. Scott], *Vox Populi*, 5.
[338] [R. Verstegan], *Observations ... The second edition*, 69.

> is no other then the fury of a certayne spirit-volant, that passeth ouer the sea between Holland & England, conioyning the actions of Gomarists and Puritans (...) in such a reciprocall operation, that the one sort of these hauing no sooner barbarously abused a Chancelor of Brabant sent vnto the Hollanders from the Archduke Albert, but presently vpon it, an Ambassador of the King of Spayne must be in like manner abused in England[339]

This Calvinist plague that already has parts of Europe in its grips – a 'Puritan-flying-devil' – only seeks to drive men mad and from God and King. Having struck London during a carnival, it allegedly led 'to such an vprore of Apprentices, Carters, and the rude multitude as though they were all for the tyme turned starcke mad; and as though the Citty were without lawes and magistrates.'[340] It thus stands to reason that all who love their King and the English religion should oppose the Dutch and 'their freindes the Puritanes' who have long wanted a 'Holland-discipline'[341]

While, as seen earlier, Verstegan effortlessly reconciles English Catholics and 'ordinary' Protestants in order to bridge the religious divide between him and his readers, this courtesy is not extended to Calvinists. Instead, the foreign character of Puritanism, both theologically and politically, serves to legitimize his harmonization of Catholicism and the English identity. Both authors are thus presenting England's religious dimensions as inclusive to the religions of both themselves and their readers, strengthening such claims of shared identity by emphasizing 'otherness' of their opponents.

3.4 Reconstructing the Englishman

What Thomas Scott and Richard Verstegan were effectively attempting is a redefinition of the English identity. Both seem to have feared – and likely not without good reason – that they, through their religious unorthodoxy and effective rejection of the monarch's sovereignty, forfeited their 'Englishness' and were thus disqualified from voicing their

[339] [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse*, 19-20.
[340] Ibidem, 25-26.
[341] [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland*, 97.

opinions in a public sphere. Anticipating this, both authors effectively redefine their own non-conformist and treasonous identity as unequivocally English, and they do so in a remarkably similar fashion despite their differing age and religion. Both Scott and Verstegan appropriate the English epithet for their religious community by highlighting the similarities between themselves and 'ordinary' English protestants, while simultaneously presenting a common adversary bent on destroying their shared identity. Indeed, most of their persuasive power is found in the presentation of another, inherently foreign scapegoat in the form of either the Puritans or the Papists. Both, moreover, claim to be serving England's interests abroad, rather than forsaking it or even fleeing prosecution.

The need for exiles to restructure one's national identity through literature has also been observed by scholars working with other exiled writers, especially from the twentieth century. The very influential Edward Saïd argued that there is an 'essential association' between national identity and exile. While more concerned with the experience of exile, he does briefly discuss the effects of expulsion on one's national identity. He argues that the existence of the identification with the nation is dependent on 'an assertion of belonging in and to a place, a people, a heritage', the exact antithesis of exile. In response to this, Saïd claims, exiles feel 'an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or a restored people.'[342]

M. Seidel similarly noted in a study on exile literature that such people, 'especially if exile is the result of contingent political circumstances or self-imposed ideological ones,' claim to possess 'the values of his native place, as it were, in proxy'. Much like Scott argued for the Puritan in *The Interpreter*, Seidel goes on to state that the exile 'is the truer version of the place from which he is barred'. [343]

Though mainly focussed on modern exiles – Saïd noted that 'our age (...) is indeed the age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration'[344] –D'Addario argued that early modern exiles also often struggled with their displacement, reconstructing their identity to give sense to their current positions. Early modern Englishmen, like Thomas Hobbes and John Milton are used as examples: 'By refiguring their own

[342] E. Said, 'Reflections on Exile' in: Idem, *Reflections on Exile and other literary and cultural essays* (London 2001) 173-186: 177.
[343] M. Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* (Ann Arbor 1986) 9.
[344] Said, 'Reflections on Exile', 174.

marginalization and exile as central, and truly English, exiles react to and seek to comprehend the experience of displacement, the physical, ideological or affective removal from their homeland'.[345]

This rehabilitation corresponds with the approaches Scott and Verstegan take in regards to their exile and the English nation. Interestingly, however, both also extend this tendency to include not only their exile and political convictions, but also to their religion, similarly presenting their version of it as truly English. The peripheral non-conformist becomes the centre of this refigured identity. This is perhaps typical of religious refugees – Highley remarks upon a similar tendency amongst Catholic exiles in general – though an alternative reason for it could stem from England's association with a national, Protestant church.

Nonetheless, there are some differences to be found in how the authors accomplish this, most notable of which is Scott's theoretical defence of religious and political non-conformity, revolving around the 'Laws of the Land', while anything similar is conspicuously lacking in Verstegan's narrative. To be sure, this difference is in part the result of their differing political intentions; As Verstegan's attempt to avoid war corresponded with James's foreign policy, he could simply claim to be speaking on behalf of English society, whereas Scott's criticism neccitated dialogue on loyalty and the relation between the monarch and the nation.

Scott's reasoning behind the 'Laws of the Land' is very insightful, however, as it moves far beyond a justification of a dissenting opinion, by reinterpreting the monarch's position in regards to both the Reformation as well as the nation. Furthermore, Scott's reconstruction of the English identity even takes centre stage in a number of pamphlets – *Vox Regis* is almost entirely preoccupied with this theme – whereas Verstegan's identity struggle is partially implicit and features only incidentally.

Of course, far more of Scott's writings are under consideration, so such differences could be coincidental. However, it also suggests that Scott has a far greater sense of urgency and perhaps also pursued an additional goal. One obvious difference between the two authors is their religion, but in my opinion this urgency should not be seen as characteristic of Puritans, but should rather be seen as indicative of Scott's personal expectations and goals.

[345] D'Addario, *Exile and Journey*, 8-9.

We already saw in chapter one that the two men likely had very different political expectations and aspirations. Verstegan had spent some forty years in exile when his anonymous polemics were published, and likely did not harbour any illusions about returning to England. Scott, in contrast, started writing pamphlets almost immediately upon his arrival in the Republic and likely hoped to be able to return home. Especially his later pamphlets, written after the failure of the Spanish Match, are highly optimistic about both the foreign and domestic policy of Charles. The 1624 pamphlet *Vox Dei*, for instance, ends in praise for the king and the state:

> To thee Buckingham, for serving thy King, thy Prince, and Countrey, faithfully, in a false, & crooked generation: To thee, O Prince! For thy obedience to God, and thy Father, with loue to thy loyall lovers: To thee, O King! For hearing our petitions, and not despising thy poore peoples desires, in seeking redemption of Gods honor, and thine[346]

While not explicitly stating it, one can assume that Scott was quite optimistic about the chances of returning home, and his detailed and prominent defence of his actions possibly also aimed at improving his chances to be pardoned. While both authors thus, in quite a similar fashion, redefined the identity of the English nation in order to legitimize their writings in the face of their readers, it could very well be that Thomas Scott pursued the additional goal of being pardoned.

The existence of such intentions leads one to speculate about the nature of their reconstruction of the English identity; was it for personal or for polemical gain? What Saïd described is an internal process, designed to (unconsciously) structure an exile's traumatic experience in order to make sense of one's life. D'Addario's study also showed that that ostracised royalists after the Civil War felt a similar need to struggle and mould their identity despite a forced dislocation. Years spent on the continent saw them struggling with an attempt to remain and define Englishness:

> the royalists lived amidst other cultures on the Continent, a fact of existence than consistently reminded them at once of their "foreignness" and their distance from

[346] [T. Scott], *Vox Dei*, 88.

> England and English culture. Beyond the absence of familiar materials, many exiles had considerable difficulty adapting to French and Dutch culture.[347]

It was a situation wherein only their native language remained as an unavoidable reminder of their banishment and 'Englishness', and the process of transferring their exile to written text likely aided them to structure their identity. It allowed them to 'redraw their marginal status vis-à-vis their departed homeland', arguing for their 'their political legitimacy as the "true" faithful remnants of the English nation'.[348] Their writings were thus above all an expression of their internal struggle.

For Scott and Verstegan, however, one can wonder to what extent this reconstruction of the English identity was made for their personal tranquillity, or for their polemical legitimacy. As seen in chapter one, little can be said with certainty about how these men experienced their physical and religious displacement, though one can speculate about its effects on their religious worldview. Certainly, it would be very surprising if their exile was not a disturbing and confusing experience, affirming and strengthening their religious fervour and political urgency. Therefore, one can assume they did undergo a certain internal process – consciously or unconsciously – in order to reconcile their own exile with their identity and religious outlook.

Their pamphlets should mainly, however, be seen as a polemical expression that was tailored to appeal to their intended audience. And, from a polemical perspective, there is a tremendous advantage, or even a necessity, to portray themselves as unquestionably English, as they were likely appealing to a public outside their own religious community. By reconstructing their appearances and religion as absolutely English, they were effectively legitimizing themselves in the face of their readers and thus strengthening their case. This corresponds with a tendency found in the Low Countries by Bloemendal and van Dixhoorn, who highlighted the 'legitimizing and moralizing function' of claiming to speak on behalf of the public; if achieved, it could very well exert social pressure upon the readers to conform.[349] Just as an appeal to republican values serves the polemical goal of justifying Scott's religious and political outlook, the very act of legitimizing oneself to the reader can thus serve the author's purpose.

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[347] D'Addario, *Exile and Journey*, 63.
[348] Ibidem, 70.
[349] Bloemendal and van Dixhoorn, 'Literary Cultures and Public Opinion', 29-31.

The polemical character of the appropriation of this identity is best seen in the writings of Richard Verstegan who, as seen above, bridges the religious divide between him and his readers by redefining Englishness as inclusive to both religions. While obviously making himself more appealing to his readers, it clashes entirely with the findings of Christopher Highley's study, who found that exiled priests overwhelmingly claimed a Catholic monopoly on that English identity, arguing that their heresy effectively transformed 'Englishmen into another race, nation or people'.[350] Verstegan's audience was instead characterized as Jews, barbarian Scythians or Turks by his fellow exiles. This notion culminated in the immense *Calvino-Turcismus* (1597), written by the contemporary Louvain lecturers William Rainolds and William Gifford, a work covering more than a thousand pages that argued that Protestants and Muslims were fundamentally similar.[351]

While this could imply that the layman Verstegan simply did not share the perspective held by clerical refugees, I would argue instead that this dissonance in presentation originates solely from the goals of the author and the characteristics he ascribes to his intended audience. For, though ecumenical when appealing to English Protestant readers his martyrologies, such as *Theatrum* (1587) that sought to gain the awareness of European Catholics, reveal an entirely different English identity. There, Verstegan reiterates the arguments of his exile compatriots, heaping Puritans and regular English Protestants together as unchristian brutes possessing an innate cruelty that would even shock Turks or barbarians. This can, for instance, be clearly seen in a pamphlet that appeared twenty years prior to the polemics under consideration here, entitled *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles* (1592):

> There is no treason that seemeth greater, nor no rime more vnpardonable in England, then there is to be Catholike, nor yet any offence so seuerely punished. There was neuer Scythian, nor sauage Tartar, that could vse more inhumaine cruelty then to rip vp the bodies of innocent men, being perfectly alive, to teare out their entrailes, to be consvmed with fyre. There was neuer Turk, nor Barbarian, that imposed vpon Christians so great and continuall a tribute, as twenty poundes, for euery eight-and-twentie dayes absence, from their Moskeyes. Nor there were neuer

[350] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 54.
[351] W. Rainolds [and W. Gifford], *Calvino-Turcismus id est, Calvinisticae perfidae, cum Mahumetana collatio, et dilucida utriusque sectae confutation* (Antwerp 1597); Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 54-79.

> Arrians, or other ennemyes, since the generall persecutions of the Romaine Emperors, that more vexed, spoiled imprisoned, and tortured Catholikes then doth now the State of England.[352]

Considering his long and likely traumatizing exile, the rest of his oeuvre, as well as his dedication to the English Mission, this characterization of English protestants likely corresponds more closely to his actual perspective of the English identity, as one solely belonging to Catholics. While Richard Verstegan could have altered his views since the 1590s, the polemical nature of those pamphlets under consideration here suggest that it is more probable that his ecumenical approach to the English identity is simply used to increase his appeal and legitimize his anti-Calvinist agenda.

Moreover, both reconstructions also served as vessels for transferring the worldview analysed in chapter two. This has already be shown in their denunciation of each other's claim to English identity, but also manifested itself in linking their particular perspective on contemporary events in both England and Europe to their constructed English identity. Thus Verstegan can claim that 'all true and louing subiects to his Maiesty' desire the Spanish Match to happen, while those who oppose it can only be found among 'the Hollanders and their correspondent-brethren our English Puritanes'.[353] All Englishmen who accept James as their sovereign should thus also support the Match.

In *The Interpreter* Scott similarly intertwines certain concerns for European conflicts with the three different identities he found amongst the inhabitants of England. While already shown that English Catholics are employed for Spanish ends, similar treatment is extended to the Protestants and the Puritans. The latter are those people who dare to say 'tis madness for the Palsgraue thus to stay and waite the loving leysure of Kind Spaine', whilst giving all lest 'Religion should in Fraunce, shipwrack and sinke'.[354] To be English is to want to aid the Dutch and the Count Palatine; it is to want to aid the suffering Huguenots. A reconstruction of the English identity is thus also a polemical tool; it offers them the opportunity to claim that their transnational agenda is typically English, while all of their critics can be denounced as detached from the nation.

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[352] [R. Verstegan], *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presuppoed to be intended against the realme of England* (Antwerp 1592) 45.
[353] [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, 14-15.
[354] [T. Scott] *The interpreter*, 3, 5.

3.5 Conclusion

In their respective attempts to reach their intended readership, both authors thus put considerable effort in crossing several substantial boundaries that separated them from their readers. For due to their religious non-conformity and political dissidence both were – or feared to be – seen as traitorous or even foreign by potential readers, hurting their chances of being seen as legitimate sources of news and opinion in the country's public sphere. In order to circumvent this stigma and to legitimize themselves and their writings, both seem to have taken the initiative by presenting themselves – and their respective religious communities – as typically English. And this they did in remarkably similar ways, as both presented their religious outlook as typically English – or at least compatible with the English community – while justifying their criticism on the Stuart dynasty and their chosen exile as patriotic. Moreover, both strengthened their claims to that identity by characterizing each other's community as a typical example of an inherently foreign and subversive group plotting to overthrow true Englishmen.

Both authors effectively offered their readers a redefinition of the English identity, that encompassed both their intended readership as well as their own community, while conveniently excluding either Puritans or Papists. A tendency to redefine a nation's identity has been found in exiles by numerous other scholars as a way to cope with their peripheral existence, but can in this case best also be seen as a polemical tool, rather than a just mechanism used to make sense of their respective lives.

Janssen rightly warns that correspondence and pamphlets written by refugees 'often served propagandistic purposes' as well.[355] For while exile likely drastically influenced both men, polemics aimed at transferring a particular worldview to people outside one's own community should above all be seen as constructions. While both might indeed interpret their identity as such, sharing this redefinition above all serves to legitimize themselves and their respective analyses in the face of their readers. Moreover, it is even employed as a means of disseminating their European agendas, as they present their particular political outlook as inherent to their identity.

[355] Janssen, 'The Exile Experience', 84.

Thus their reflections on English politics and the English church thus cannot be taken at face value, but must above all be seen as part of a polemical mechanism intended to transfer their political urgency in regards to continental affairs. This is especially insightful in regards to Scott's parliamentary theory that Lake and Peltonen recognised as central to his oeuvre. While a few of his pamphlets can certainly be recognised as an example of Puritan parliamentary theory, we already saw in the previous chapter that his concerns for the Reformed communities on the continent took centre stage in his writings. Considering the primary message of his polemics, one cannot ignore the polemical function that his parliamentary theory has.

Similarly, Verstegan ecumenical perspective on religion in England can hardly be seen as representative of Catholic thought in the 1620s, or even of his own writings due to its tremendous polemical advantage. Thomas Scott's and Richard Verstegan's focus on English affairs, religion and monarchy should thus primarily seen as a mechanism employed for disseminating their particular European agendas, rather than as representative for non-conformist political thought.

Conclusion: A Comparative Approach to Polemic

> Know now that we haue received late and sad newes of the apprehension of our most trusty and able Pensioner Barnevelt, and of the discovery of other our intendements; so that our hopes are for the present adjourned till some other more convenient and auspicuous time.[356]

With these words the session of the Spanish Council of State, which *Vox Populi* purported to describe, came to an abrupt end. Upon hearing this news of the death of one of their greatest allies, all those present 'crost their foreheads [and] rose up in sad silence' before returning to their plots, as this doubtlessly exacerbated their intended conquest of the Low Countries. By ending the pamphlet so abruptly, seeing Spanish spies moving into action, its author seems to imply that England so do the same. Just as the Spanish cogs are again in motion, England too should act rather than to wait in indifference.

Though this pamphlet is largely preoccupied with Spain's intention to conquer Europe, scholars have overwhelmingly analysed it in an insular, English context. The same approach has been applied to other pamphlets of its author, the Reverend Thomas Scott, despite their preoccupation with foreign affairs and the Reformed churches on the Continent. Scott is not alone in this; indeed, the political upheaval of the 1620s has been repeatedly analysed within an entirely English context, focussing on the implications behind dissent, a Puritan sense of active citizenship and the changing role of Parliament, rather than on the foreign policy that inspired it. While scholars have long since moved on from Wright's war-time interpretation, which saw Scott as attacking the monarch's 'appeasement' and 'collaborationist' policies,[357] little has changed about this national focus.

In this thesis I have sought to analyse pamphlets such as *Vox Populi* within the context in which they appeared, as part of a divisive debate on the nation's foreign policy, in order to reveal the author's intentions, fears and perspective of contemporary

[356] [Scott], *Vox Populi*, 24.
[357] Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', 149-150.

developments. To do so, I have made a systematic comparative analysis of the English polemics of Scott and those of a Catholic contemporary, Richard Verstegan who was highly critical of political Puritanism. Though of different generations and intellectual traditions, and employing vastly different writing styles, this comparison between their works has revealed numerous remarkable similarities between the two, which are indicative of the debate in which they participated.

Reconstructing their 'Tongue Combat' reveals that both exiled authors were almost entirely preoccupied with justifying or condemning English military intervention on behalf of beleaguered Reformed communities throughout Europe. And in doing so, rather than placing the focus on the King's hesitant decisions or the financial burden of war, both look entirely to the conflicts themselves. Is the Dutch Revolt a legitimate conflict? Do the Dutch deserve our aid? Crucial to both, however, is the extent to which various Reformed confessions correspond with England's Reformed tradition, an issue contested throughout the writings of both.

This comparison between the central themes, arguments and rebuttals of these pamphlets highlights that the two men are above all aiming to convince their readers of a particular outlook on contemporary developments, in which certain transnational connections are vital. Scott's pamphlets advocate a foreign policy based on two intertwined presumptions; firstly, that all Reformed –and to some extent Protestant – communities share a single confessional identity, which is, secondly, being prosecuted by an antithetical Catholic league headed by Spain. Crucial to his portrayal of Spain is, however, that it threatened the entirety of this Reformed community, rather than just England. Verstegan, in contrast, attempts to transfer a worldview to his readers in which a transnational Calvinist identity does certainly exist, but which threatens both England's unique reformation as well as all Catholic states.

This comparative approach suggests much about the nature and outlook of the debate in which these pamphlets appeared. For their focus is thus not on the righteousness of the King's actions or the duty of Parliament to intervene, but on differing interpretations of conflicts throughout the continent. Indeed, Scott is far more concerned with convincing his readers to support the Dutch cause, than he is with criticising the Match. When such national themes do feature in their writings, they even appear to be serving as a polemical tool for legitimizing their foreign policy agendas. And remarkably, this international outlook seems not to be limited to Puritans alone, as

his Catholic adversary employs a very similar line of reasoning. Tellingly, both present a corresponding confession as the ultimate justification for military intervention.

It thus appears that the political upheaval of the 1620s did not focus on England's political shortcomings or on Anglo-Spanish relations alone, but was a public debate with a distinctly international outlook. While Breslow claimed that even Puritans did not look further than their own national communities,[358] this comparison suggests that there was public uncertainty on England's position within Europe's Christian spectrum, as well as a genuine concern amongst the population about the escalating religiously-tinted conflicts throughout the continent.

Of course, it remains unknown to what extent these worldviews and arguments were successfully transferred to their readers. The fact that so many of these pamphlets circulated through the country suggests that the main themes explored in these polemics were certainly of interest to their readers, but little is known about how widely these worldviews were carried. The political agendas analysed here are thus necessarily their own, and should not be ascribed to the English public in its entirety, or even to the religious communities they came from. Instead they seem to display a sense of urgency and activism that scholars have found to be characteristic of both Reformed and Catholic exiles.

The polemical strategies used by both are already indicative of the differences between their worldviews and those held by their readers. Indeed, as has been explored in the third chapter, both men were trying to appeal to an audience utterly unlike themselves. Though employing various methods to do so, both ultimately tried to achieve this by presenting themselves and their political agendas as typically English. Their agendas were thus not simply presented as the right course of action, but as what the true Englishman would do. The very effort put into this suggests that neither was truly representative of the English public.

Though more comparative research must be done in regards to both the politicized worldview of exiles and non-exiles, as well as in the international outlook of the English public, this comparative analysis has proven to be very insightful. Firstly, it has highlighted the many similarities between the Puritan Scott and the Catholic Verstegan, who seem to have differed little in their worldviews. Both shared a very black and white perspective of Europe with their readers, differing only on the specifics of

[358] Breslow, *A mirror of England.* 40-44, 96-99, 139-158.

who was what. Indeed, in some ways Verstegan's caricature of Calvinism is a mirror image of Scott's portrayal of Spain. Furthermore, though relatively little is known about how these men experienced exile, both seem to have been similarly affected by it, strengthening the development of a politicised confessional mentality. While that is an hypothesis that needs to be corroborated by more research, it nonetheless appears that historians of early modern (religious) minorities and exiles could certainly benefit from a comparative approach to their sources.

Moreover, this comparative analysis has revealed that these two polemicists were not at all preoccupied with the national contexts in which especially Scott has often been studied. It suggests that English exiles, and perhaps this is to some extent true of England's entire public sphere as well, did not share the insular outlook of many scholars, but instead saw themselves as part of a greater confessional struggle that enveloped Europe. Although it falls far beyond the scope of this thesis, it would perhaps be more useful to see the unrest of the 1620s within the context of what Geoffrey Parker calls the 'General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,'[359] rather than solely as part of England's political and religious troubles that would eventually lead to the Civil War.

[359] G. Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648* (Oxford 2001).

Appendix A: The oeuvres of Richard Verstegan and Thomas Scott

The oeuvres of Richard Verstegan and Thomas Scott are rather confusing at times, and this appendix aims to give some clarity in this regard. Most pamphlets under consideration appeared anonymously, while much uncertainty surrounds Scott's oeuvre. This appendix will therefore chronologically list the English polemics that can and cannot be attributed to these authors. If these pamphlets appeared anonymously or under a pseudonym their names will be in square brackets. As most places of publication are unknown, I willl primarily list suggestions of scholars or the ESTC, which are also in square brackets.

1. The polemics of Richard Verstegan of Antwerp

Fortunately, scholars have done great work in collating Verstegan's vast oeuvre from his time in France, Rome and Antwerp and there is no need for me to fully recreate this here. The most expansive overview is given by A. G. Petti in his 1963 bibliography, including speculation about lost works, titles wrongly ascribed to him as well as an overview of works likely edited by Verstegan.[360] The only titles conspiciously absent from Petti's bibliography are in fact those English pamphlets under consideration here, which were only convincingly linked to Verstegan by A. F. Allison in a 1986 article.[361] These are:

- [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland the Vnited Provinces, made by an English Gentleman there lately resident, & lines written by himself from Paris to his friend in England* ([S. Omer] 1621).
- D. N. [R. Verstegan], *Londons Looking-Glasse. Or the Copy of a letter, written by an English trauayler, to the Apprentices of London* ([S. Omer] 1621).

[360] Petti, 'A Bibliography of the Writings of Richard Verstegan', 82-105.
[361] Allison, 'A group of political tracts, 1621-1623, by Richard Verstegan', 128-142.

- [R. Verstegan], *The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman, lately become a Catholike beyond the seas, to his Protestant friend in England ... In answere to some points, wherin his opinion was required, concerning the present busines of the Palatinate, & marriage with Spayne: and also declaring his reasons for the change of his religion* ([S. Omer] 1622).
- D. N. [R. Verstegan], *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes. Or the Anatomy of Caluinisticall Calumnyes, manifested in a Dialogue betweene a Brabander, and a Hollander. Vpon occasion of a placcart, lately published in Hollad, against the Iesuites, priests, friears &c ... Translated out of the Netherland language, into English* ([S. Omer] 1622).
- [R. Verstegan], *Observations concerning the present affayres of Holland ... The second edition. Augmented with diuers new chapters, and in some few place also corrected, By the Authour of the first edition* ([S. Omer] 1622).
- [R. Verstegan], *A Toung-combat, lately happening, between two English soldiers; in the Tilt-boat of Grauesend. The one go-ing to serue the King of Spayn, the other to serue the States of Holland*. ([Mechelen] 1623).

These six texts all appeared anonymously and were published in the Southern Netherlands. Allison convincingly links these to Verstegan for a variety of reasons, and not just because all share a similar style and content. Two editions of *Observations* have appeared – in 1621 and 1622 respectively – that are listed as seperate pamphlets, as the second edition has been thoroughly expanded, including an additional 65 pages. *Observations* can be linked to Verstegan as the second edition is a translation of a Dutch pamphlet that appeared in 1621, entitled *De speigel der Nederlandsche elenden* that has been signed with Richard Verstegan's initials R.V., his common signature. Presumably, the Dutch pamphlet was an expanded translation of the first English edition, whose additions were subsequently transferred to the second English version the following year.

Londons Looking-Glasse (1621), *A Toung-combat* (1623) and *Newes from the Low-Covntreyes* (1622) can subsequently be linked to Richard Verstegan through its signature D. N.. Though differing from the more common R. V., Allison remarked that these letters are the terminals of his name. The latter work, in turn, is a translation of another Dutch Verstegan polemic, *Anatomie van Calviniste calumnien* (1622).

The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman (1622), lastly, is neither a translation of a Dutch pamphlet, nor does it bare the signature of Verstegan, though it is signed as 'You know the hand', as is the preliminary epistle of *Observations* (1621). However, there are a number of reasons that lead me to agree with Allison that this pamphlet, like the five others, can with certainty be attributed to Verstegan. Firstly, through typographical analysis, Allison traced *The copy of a letter* like all others – barring *A Toung-combat* (1623) –to the English College press in S. Omer.

Secondly, the contents and style are also in many ways similar to the previous five. The arguments employed by the Traveller, as well as the formulation used to do so, show many similarities with other Verstegan works. Especially notable is the historical reasoning behind his defense of the legitimacy of the Roman religion, which is essentially an abbriviation of the argumentation of the second edition of *Observation*, while the arguments themselves are completely repeated in *A Toung-combat*. All six will therefore be treated as written by Richard Verstegan.

2. The writings of Thomas Scott of Utrecht

Much confusion surrounds the works of Scott. This is in part caused by the fact that several Thomas Scotts roamed through English literary history in early seventeenth century, but also because he translated several Dutch and French pamphlets into English. To make matters worse, Scott also published a collection of works, consisting of 24 different pamphlets entitled *The Workes of the Most Famous and Reverend Divine Mr. Thomas Scott* (Utrecht 1624). Confusingly, this does not include pamphlets which can be attributed to him with certainty, but also contains several pamphlets likely authored by others. As a result of all this confusion, the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) lists 28 different works that can potentially be attributed to Scott of Norwich,[362] but the actual number is lower. To offer some clarity, his pamphlets, translations and works likely written by others will be listed separately, along with a brief clarification.

[362] The entire English Short Title Catalogue can be found on www.estc.bl.uk [accessed 2 February 2013].

2. 1 Pamphlets that can be attributed to Scott with certainty

Rather than starting with his *Workes* (1624), one can best begin with those works that either appeared under his name, or in another, short collection that also appeared in 1624. Untitled, it simply lists those pamphlets included on its title page,[363] only one of which is of disputed authorship. What is especially useful about this collection is that includes a foreword written by Scott, in which he presents all of the pamphlets included as his. The listed years and places of publication are based on the Short Title Catalogue though it seems that the suggested locations – usually London – are nothing but guesswork, considering the numbers of printshops readily available in the Republic.

- Anon. [T. Scott], *Vox Populi, or newes from Spayne* ([London?] 1620).
- Sir Edward Cicell [T. Scott], *A speech made in the Lower House of Parliament* ([The Netherlands] 1621).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Belgicke pismire: Stinging the slothfull Sleeper, and Awakening the Diligent to Fast, Watch, Pray; and Worke Out Their Owne Temporall and Eternall Salvation With Feare and Trembling* (London [the Netherlands] 1622).
- T. Scott, *Digitvs Dei* ([The Netherlands 1623]).
- T. Scott, *The high-waies of God and the king* (London [The Netherlands] 1623).
- T. Scott, *The proiector. Teaching a direct, svre, and ready vvay to restore the decayes of the church and state both in honour and revenue. Delivered in a sermon before the iudges in Novvich anno 1620* (London [The Netherlands] 1623).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Vox Dei* ([The Netherlands 1623?]).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *The Belgick sovldier: dedicated to the parliament. Or, VVarre was a blessing* (Dort [Dordrecht] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Boanerges, or, The humble supplication of the ministers of Scotland to the high court of Parliament in England* (Edinburgh [London] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie, why the king of England should hereafter give over all further treatie, and enter into warre with the Spaniard* ([London] 1624).

[363] T. Scott, *Vox populi Vox Dei. Vox Regis. Digitus Dei. The Belgick pismire· The tongue-combat· Symmachia or The true-loues knot. The high-vvayes of God and the King. The proiector* ([Holland 1624?]).

- Anon. [T. Scott], *Englands ioy, for suppressing the papists, and banishing the priests and Iesuites* ([London?] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Robert earle of Essex his ghost, sent from Elizian : to the nobility, gentry, and communaltie of England* (Paradise [London] 1624).
- T.S. of U. [T. Scott], *The second part of Vox popvli, or Gondomar appearing in the liknes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament* (Goricom [Gorinchem] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Symmachia: or, A trve-loves knot. Tyed, betvvixt Great Britaine and the Vnited Prouinces* ([The Netherlands 1624]).
- T.S. [T. Scott], *Vox Regis* ([Utrecht 1624]).
- Anon. [T. Scott], *Sir VValter Ravvleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner* (Utricht [Utrecht] 1626).

2.1 Translations that can be attributed to Scott

Four pamphlets often regarded as Scott's originals are actually English translations. While one cannot be absolutely sure that Scott is the translator in some instances, he does claim them as his own in *Vvorks* (1624), while no other candidates present themselves.

- T. Scott, *Aphorismes of state: or Certaine secret articles for the reedifying of the Romish chvrch agreed vpon by the colledge of cardinalls in Rome* (Utrech [London] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott, included in *Vvorks* (1624)], *A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate* ([London?] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott, included in *Vvorks* (1624)], *The Spaniards perpetuall designes to an universall monarchie* ([London] 1624).
- Anon. [T. Scott, included in *Vvorks* (1624)], *Newes from Pernassvs. The politicall touchstone, taken from Mount Pernassus: whereon the governments of the greatest monarchies are touched* (Helicon [The Netherlands] 1622).

The original authors of the first two pamphlets is are not known. *Aphorismes of State* is actually a translation of an Dutch pamphlet entitled *Nieuwe, ongehoorde, vreemde en*

secrete artijckelen, tot herbouwinge vande Roomsche Kercke-standt, by het Collegie der Cardinalen binnen Romen (Amsterdam 1623), while the second pamphlet is based on the French *Briefve information des affaires du Palatinat* (1624). Of the latter it is suggested by the ESTC that Scott might have also authored the original.

Interestingly, the ESTC suggests that *The Spaniards perpetuall designes* could be a liberal translation of either two French pamphlets. Possibly the original is *Dessein perpetuel des Espagnols a la monarchie universelle* (1624), which is sometimes attributed to Jean Hotman, and sometimes to one père Joseph. However, it might very well also be an expanded version of Willem Baudartius's *Progrez des conquestes du roy d'Espagne* (1623).

Lastly, *Newes from Pernassus* (1622) is most interesting. This pamphlet is the first English translation ever made of a part of Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (1612), an Italian satirical critique of the Spanish hegemony in Europe. Only the Epilogue is new, in which the author elaborates on recent developments in the Low Countries and the Palatinate not covered by the original. W. F. Marquardt has convincingly argued that Scott is its author.[364] This edition is also partially reprinted in the compilation of Boccalini translations *The new-found politicke* (London 1626).

2.2 Works occasionally attributed to Scott

The best place to begin would be those works authored by other Thomas Scotts, that have already been briefly discussed in the biography, and those not included in his *Workes* (1624). These are:

- Tho.Scott Gent., *Philomythie or Philomythologie. Wherein outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes are taught to speake true English plainely* (London 1616).
- Thomas Scott Gent., *The second part of Philomythie, or Philomythologie. Containing certaine tales of true libertie. False friendship. Power vnited. Faction and ambition* (London 1616).
- T. Scott, *Christs Politician, and Salomons Puritan* (1616).

[364] W.F. Marquardt, 'The first English translators of Trajano Boccalini's "Ragguagli di Parnaso": A study of literary relationships', in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15.1 (1951) 1-19.

- Anon., *A relation of some speciall points concerning the State of Holland* (1621).
- Anon., [T. Scott?] *The interpreter: wherin three principall termes of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded*. ([Edinburgh?] 1622).

The first three have already been briefly discussed in the biography, and can best be assumed to be authored by others with the same name. The latter two are more interesting; the 1621 pamphlet was listed by Wright as a Scott polemic, but has since been identified by the ESTC as an English version of *Den Compaignon vanden verre-sienden Waerschouwer* (The Hague 1621) by an another, though anonymous translator.

The anonymous *The Interpreter*, however, is only listed here because it is not included in subsequent compilations of Scott's works. Despite this, it's contents offer every reason to see this as just another legitimate Thomas Scott pamphlet. While no explanation has been offered for its exclusion from subsequent editions, this might have been the cause because it was a poem rather than a polemical text. However, numerous scholars, as well as the ESTC, have recognised Scott as its author, so for all purposes I will assume it is one of his.

Then there are those pamphlets included in *Workes* (1624) whose authorship is doubtful. While their contents are not too dissimilar to Scott's works, several of them have since been recognised as the works of other authors. Why Scott included them in his collection of works under his own name is unclear, but considering their contents it is evident that he certainly agreed with them and had no trouble being identified with them.

- S.R.N.I. [John Reynolds], *Votivae Angliae: Or, The desires and wishes of England. Contained in a Patheticall discourse, presented to the King on New-Yeares Day last* (Utrecht 1624).
- S.R.N.I. [John Reynolds], *Vox cœli, or, Newes from heaven, of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen. 8., King Edw. 6., Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne* (Elisium [London] 1624).
- Anon. [Attributed to both H. Hexham and Scott], *An experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises* ([London 1623) Alternatively titled *A true souldiers councel*.

- Anon. [Attributed to both H. Hexham and Scott], *A second part of Spanish practices. Or, a relation of more particular wicked plots, and cruell, inhumane, perfidious, and unnaturall practises of the Spaniards* ({London] 1624).
- Anon. [Attributed to both H. Hexham and Scott], *A tongue-combat, lately happening betweene two English souldiers in the tilt-boat of Gravesend : the one going to serve the king of Spaine, the other to serve the States Generall of the United Provinces. Wherin the cause, course and continuance of those warres, is debated, and declared. Pro Aris & Focis*. (London [Holland] 1623).

The first two works, ahile both included in Scott's *Workes* the pseudonym S.R.N.I. has since been recognised as belonging to the merchant and writer John Reynolds (1588-1655). [365] The latter three works are more complicated, as they are variously attributed to both Scott and Henry Hexham (1585?-1650), an officer in the English regiments fighting for the States. The first two pamphlets could very well be authored by Hexham, as they differ both in style and content to Scott's confirmed writings.[366]

However, *A tongue-combat* is a more complicated case, as both both Scott and Hexham consciously tied their name to the polemic. Hexham is named as the author of the 'Dedication' in some editions, while Scott, not just included it in his confusing compilation *Workes*, but also in more accurate untitled compilation (1624). The latter is a far better indicator of Scott's involvement, as all other eight pamphlets included in it are definitely his, but also because he claims authorship of its entire contents in a general introduction – which he does not do in *Workes*.

One possible answer could be that this was a collaboration between the two authors. To be sure, both Englishmen were in the Low Countries at the time while the contents of their polemics suggest that they shared a very similar worldview. It therefore does not seem unthinkable that this pamphlet involved both men to some extent. The contents, however, feature numerous similarities with Scott's other pamphlets, especially *Belgicke pismire* (1623), *Symmachia* and *The Belgick sovldier* (both 1624), and from that perspective it comes as no suprise that Wright, Lake, Peltonen and Breslow all recognised him as the author. At any rate, Scott unequivocally presents it as

[365] K. Grudzien Baston, 'Reynolds, John (*b. c.*1588, *d.* after 1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23422, accessed 11 April 2013].
[366] A. F. Pollard, 'Hexham, Henry (*fl.* 1601–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13160, accessed 11 April 2013].

his own, and thus takes its contents as his own, and the pamphlet is therefore included in my analysis.

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W. Baudartius, *Progrez des conquestes du roy d'Espagne* (1623).

T. Boccalini, *The new-found politicke* (London 1626).

F. Costerus, *Bewijs der ouder Catholijcker leeringhe* (Antwerp 1601).

F. Costerus, *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum nostri temporis de religione* (1586).

[J. Hotman?], *Dessein perpetuel des Espagnols a la monarchie universelle* (1624).

James I, *By the King. A proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London 1620).

James I, *By the King. A proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state* (London 1621).

James I, 'Premonition to all most mightie monarches, kings, free princes and states of Christendome' in: C.H. McIlwain ed., *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge 1918) 110-168.

A. Mundy, *The Triumphes of Re-vnited Britania: Performed at the cost and charges of the Right Worship: Company of the Merchant-Tayulors, in honor of Sir Leonard Holliday kni: to solemnize his entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of London, on Tuesday the 29. of October 1605* (London 1605).

W. Rainolds [and W. Gifford], *Calvino-Turcismus id est, Calvinisticae perfidae, cum Mahumetana collatio, et dilucida utriusque sectae confutation* (Antwerp 1597).

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