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'Holland and we were bot one in our cause':¹ The Covenanters' 'Dutch' Reception and Impact

Esther Mijers, University of Edinburgh

Introduction

In 1660, over 300 ministers and their congregations left Scotland for the Dutch Republic. Unable to accept the Restoration settlement, they were part of a larger group of Scottish Covenanters who chose exile abroad over conformity or resistance at home; others left for Ireland or the New World. Those who landed in the Dutch Republic settled in Rotterdam, where they lived as a close-knit community until c.1688. Their ongoing concern was the state of Scotland and her church, and the continuous Reformation. A number of these Covenanters found kindred spirits among the members of the orthodox (*precieze*) wing of the Dutch Reformed church, led by the Utrecht Professor of Divinity Gijsbert Voetius (1589-1676), the minister Jacobus Koelman (1632-1695) and a group of likeminded academics and preachers. As part of the Dutch Pietist movement *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation), co-founded in the early seventeenth century by the Middelburg minister and St Andrews alumnus, Willem Teelinck (1579-1629) and the Franeker Professor of Divinity, William Ames (1576-1633), they supported their brethren across the North Sea and the Scottish exiles in the Dutch Republic, sharing their concern for the continuous Reformation and the unity of the Reformed Church. They helped disseminate their publications and translated them into Dutch. On occasion they also co-operated with them on matters of theology. Moreover, they took inspiration from the Covenanters and their suffering during the Civil wars and the Restoration in their own writings as well. The result was several intertwined religious networks, which put their mark on the Scottish-Dutch religious and theological relationship around the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the 1680s, following the failed Rye-House plot to assassinate King Charles II, the original exiles were joined by a new wave of refugees, who were arguably more politically than religiously engaged. As a result, the dynamic of the Scottish exile community changed and the Restoration networks began to unravel as politics came to replace ecclesiastical and theological concerns among the Scots in the Dutch Republic. Although the Scottish presence in the Dutch Republic would continue well into the next century, as students, merchants, soldiers and travellers continued to arrive in increasing numbers, the deep religious connection developed in the wake of the Civil Wars disappeared, when most of the exiles returned to Scotland around the time of the Williamite Revolution of 1688/9, although their ideas and publications would have a long afterlife among their Dutch supporters.

This article examines some aspects of the reception of the Scottish Covenanters and their cause and ideas in the Dutch Republic, from around the start of the Civil Wars until the return of the Restoration exiles almost five decades later. It will begin by looking at the foundations of the Scottish-Dutch religious relationship, before addressing the Dutch

¹ 'Robert Baillie to William Spang, 1639', Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing, Vol I (Edinburgh, 1841), 191.

reaction to the rise of the Covenanters and the wars in Scotland, the arrival of the Scottish exiles in the Dutch Republic and the formation of several Scottish-Dutch religious networks, their publishing and translation activities, and finally the reception and some of the impact legacy of the Covenanter ideas as interpreted by their Dutch supporters.

Historiographically, the story of the Covenanters abroad is still an under-researched topic despite the fact that Scotland's long Reformation has fascinated historians for centuries. To an extent the accounts by contemporaries such as David Calderwood (1575-1650) and John Spottiswood (1565-1639) and the work by early Church historians such as Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) and their nineteenth century successors such as William Steven, produced a canon whose narrative still informs a particular take on the Scottish-Dutch reformed relationship.² In the Netherlands, the work by the members of the highly productive Dutch *Pietas Studies* group and their main protagonist Willem Op 't Hof, actively promote the uncovering and dissemination of Pietist texts and ideas in its widest possible sense.³ As such, Op 't Hof and his collaborators do not consider the Scottish Covenanters as a specific historical group or cause but rather as part of a wider, northern European piety movement which shares a single, interconnected history.⁴ Indeed they consider all early modern British Protestant authors to be part of this wider movement and they tend to describe them in similar terms, whether they be Scottish Episcopalians, Presbyterians or English Puritans. Moreover, Op 't Hof has referred to the 'Puritization of Dutch Reformed Piety', to describe the impact of this 'British' Pietism, without distinguishing according to geography or persuasion.⁵ As a result, the historiography of the Scottish-Dutch religious relationship in the early modern period remains in part skewed and in need of much more research.

By contrast, recent work on Scotland's long reformation by Scottish academics including John McCallum, Jane Dawson, Chris Langley, Alan Macdonald, Neil McIntyre, Alasdair Raffae, Laura Stewart and many others has shed new and different light on its history, without taking its impact or legacy across the North Sea systematically into account, although the context of the Reformation in Europe is certainly part of this Scottish

2 D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and D. Laing, 8 vols., Wodrow Society, 7 (1842-9); J. Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. M. Napier and M. Russell, 3 vols., Bannatyne Club, 93 (1850); R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, ed. R. Burns, 4 vols. (1828); William Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam: To which are Subjoined Notices of the Other British Churches in the Netherlands; and a Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment* (Edinburgh, 1833).

3 Pietas Bronnenarchief, <http://www.ssnr.nl/bronnenarchief#>. Cf. Jeffrey Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007), Idem, *Defending the Revolution : the Church of Scotland, 1689-1716* (Farnham, 2013), E. Calvin Beisner, 'His Majesty's Advocate: Sir James Stewart Of Goodtrees (1635-1713) and Covenanter Resistance Theory under the Restoration Monarchy' (PhD, University of St Andrews, 2003).

4 Johannes Mueller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550-1750* (Leiden, 2016), 174-5.

5 Willem Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade. The North Sea as an Intermediary of Reformed Piety up to 1700', in: Juliette Roding & Lex Heerma van Voss (eds), *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)* (Hilversum, 1995), 257.

historiography.⁶ At the same time, a number of historians, including Alexia Grosjean, Allan Macinnes, Steve Murdoch, Siobhan Talbott, David Worthington and Kathrin Zickermann have looked at the relationship between Scotland and the wider world in the long seventeenth century. Here the Covenanters are often presented as part of a wider network of European alliances and interests, although the emphasis is largely on Scotland more so than on Europe, and much of their impact and legacy on the Continent is still to be written.⁷ What little work has been done, has tended to focus on Ireland and the Americas.⁸ Finally, there is a particularly glaring hole in our knowledge, as far as the Dutch Republic is concerned. Although we certainly know a great deal about the context of the wider Scottish-Dutch connections in the seventeenth century, the specific religious and theological relations remain under-researched.⁹ While this historiographical deficiency is now starting to be addressed, much work remains to be done here as well.¹⁰

The story of the Scottish Restoration exiles in the Dutch Republic has been described by Ginny Gardner and Douglas Catterall, although from a largely social and sociological perspective.¹¹ As a result we know about their numbers – Gardner identified 313 Scottish Restoration refugees, which divides into three groups: exiled ministers, ‘definite’ and ‘possible’ exiles – their identity, and the power dynamics of their Rotterdam-based community, and there are recent biographical studies on some of the key players in this story, including Robert Baillie, Sir John Stewart of Goodtrees and Samuel Rutherford.¹² The most extreme representatives of the Scottish Covenanter cause, the so-called United

6 For some of the most recent work see for instance John Macallum (ed.), *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c. 1500-c.1660* (Leiden, 2016), Alasdair Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, 2012), Laura A.M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution Covenanted Scotland, 1637-1651* (Oxford, 2016). Cf the polemical debate between Somerset and Homes: Douglas W.B. Somerset, 'Changing Views on the Scottish Reformation During the Twentieth Century', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal*, 7 (2017), 1-55 and Stephen Mark Holmes, "Historiography of the Scottish Reformation: The Catholics Fight Back", in P. D. Clarke and C. Methuen (eds.), *The Church on Its Past* (Studies in Church History, Vol. 49, Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 303-316 .

7 See for instance Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654* (Leiden, 2003), Allan Macinnes, 'Covenanting Exchanges with the French Court during the Wars for the Three Kingdoms', *E-rea: Revue électronique d'études sur le monde Anglophone*, 11 (2), (2014), Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2000/2003)

8 See for instance *Journal of Transatlantic Studies: Vol 11, No 2: Holy Heritage: Covenanters in the Atlantic World* (2013).

9 Elsewhere I have discussed some of the academic aspects of this issues: Esther Mijers, 'Addicted to Puritanism: Philosophical and Theological Relations between Scotland and the United Provinces in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *History of Universities*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (2017), 69-96. This article may be seen as a companion piece.

10 See for instance: Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982) . The most recent work is: James Eglinton, 'Early Modern French and Dutch Connections', in: David Fergusson & Mark W. Elliott (eds), *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume I: Celtic Origins to Reformed Orthodoxy* (Oxford, 2019).

11 D. Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600-1700* (Leiden, 2002); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2004).

12 Beisner, 'His Majesty's Advocate', Alexander Campbell, *The Life and Works of Robert Baillie (1602-1662). Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the British Civil Wars* (Woodbridge, 2017), John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions. The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997).

Societies, have been described by Mark Jardine.¹³ Two further recent additions to the historiography are James Eglinton's 'Scottish-Dutch Reformed Theological Links in the Seventeenth Century' and Leen van Valen's *In God Verbonden. Gereformeerde vroomheidsbetrekkingen tussen Schotland en de Nederlanden in de Zeventiende Eeuw, met name in de periode na de Restauratie (1660-1700)*, which both go some way to plug the gap, while also highlighting the need for more research.¹⁴ This article is a further attempt to start redressing the balance and encourage others to follow suit; it by no means aims to be comprehensive.

Background

The historical connections between early modern Scotland and the Dutch Republic are well known. Founded on longstanding commercial connections and common Calvinist religious principles, the two nations shared both religion and culture throughout the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which translated into mutual military and moral support in the wake of religious animosity, educational exchanges and a project of continuous Reformation as advocated by the orthodox wing of the Dutch Reformed church and the *Nadere Reformatie*. Dutch interest in Scotland and her Reformation can arguably be traced back to the early years of the Dutch Revolt (1568-1648). The Dutch provinces' struggle for political and religious freedom from Catholic Spain brought about a need for allies, militarily as well as intellectually. The former arrived in the shape of the Scots Brigade, the army regiments raised in Scotland with the specific aim of supporting the Dutch in their rebellion against their overlord, Phillip II of Spain.¹⁵ For the latter, the Dutch turned to education. During its founding years in the late sixteenth century, the University of Leiden actively recruited the first four of its philosophy professors from the University of St Andrews, whose reputation for Reformed learning had international appeal.¹⁶

Interest in Scotland was to an extent determined by geography and largely confined to the western provinces of Holland and Zeeland. For instance, the towns of Veere and Middelburg in Zeeland, sponsored several bursary students at St Andrews in the late 1600s.¹⁷ This was trade and consumption of sorts, which in part grafted onto the old

13 Mark Jardine, 'The United Societies: Militancy, Martyrdom and the Presbyterian movement in Late-Restoration Scotland 1679–1688' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2009).

14 James Eglinton, 'Scottish-Dutch Reformed Theological Links in the Seventeenth Century', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2013), 131-148, L.J. van Valen, *In God Verboden. Gereformeerde Vroomheidsbetrekkingen tussen Schotland en de Nederlanden in de Zeventiende Eeuw met Name in de Periode na de Restauratie (1660-1700)* (Apeldoorn, 2019). Like Op 't Hof, the latter takes a broad Pietistic view and does not distinguish the Covenanters. Cf. Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade'.

15 Hugh Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648', in: Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124–1994* (East Linton, 1996), 104–122; Jochem Miggelbrink, 'Serving the Republic: Scottish Soldiers in the Dutch Republic 1572–1782' (PhD, European University Institute, 2004). Cf. Adam Marks, 'England and the Thirty Years' War, 1618 – 1648', (PhD, University of St Andrews, 2012).

16 Mijers, 'Addicted to Puritanism', 81-83.

17 Mijers, 'Addicted to Puritanism', 84.

commercial relationship between Scotland and the Low Countries, and in part replaced it.¹⁸ The Scottish-Dutch relationship changed from the medieval trade in wool and cloth to a post-Reformation commerce of letters and culture, steeped in Protestant humanism and strengthened by the presence of a, so the Dutch hoped, sympathetic Scottish monarch. During his Scottish reign, they looked towards James VI as a Protestant hero, going out of their way to court him.¹⁹ When he was crowned King of England in 1603, the Dutch felt this was their crowning glory as well.

Over the course of his British reign, however, the Dutch began to realise that James VI & I was not quite the supporter they had hoped for. Over time, the subsequent divergence between the Dutch and the English would grow into outright rivalry and animosity. Towards the end of James' reign, the massacre in Amboyna of 20 Englishmen at the hands of the Dutch for their perceived encroachment onto the VOC monopoly of the spice trade, provided the English with an enduring trope in their growing commercial rivalry with the Dutch. In this climate, the close connection between Scotland and the Dutch Republic fell victim to the deteriorating Anglo-Dutch relationship, as the Dutch first lost interest in, and then sight of, their former ally and partner, as an independent actor in international affairs. The Union of the Crowns, Oliver Cromwell's annexation of Scotland and the Dutch spectacular imperial rise, diminished Scotland's political usefulness, although religiously and culturally the Scottish-Dutch relationship remained close, outlasting the Union of Parliaments and the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain.²⁰ Indeed, for most of the seventeenth century, we can see a distinct difference between the Dutch Republic's foreign policy focus on England and the continued interest of the provincial churches, whose commitment to their brethren across the North Sea first surged in the wake of the Synod of Dordt and the increasingly Arminian and Erastian stance taken by James VI & I's successors. During the Civil Wars, they became positively inspired by the resistance in Scotland against Charles I's and the Archbishop William Laud's impositions against the Scottish Kirk. The Scottish Covenanting movement received both moral encouragement and practical support from the Dutch Republic, through gun running, financial aid, prayer days and letters of encouragement.²¹ These activities were led by Scots resident in the Dutch Republic – most notably William Spang, the minister at Veere (1607–1664) – and their Dutch supporters. The churches in Zeeland were at the forefront of these supporting activities, and

18 For the earliest history of the trade relationship, see Alexander Fleming & Roger Mason (eds), *Scotland and the Flemish People* (Edinburgh, 2019).

19 Astrid Stilma, *A King Translated* (London & New York, 2012). For the diplomatic mission to woo James, see Esther Mijers, 'The Dutch in Scotland: The Diplomatic Visit of the States General upon the Baptism of Prince Henry' (forthcoming).

20 Esther Mijers & Steve Murdoch, 'Migrant destinations, 1500-1750', in: T.M. Devine & J. Wormald (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012). 320-338.

21 See W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Eerste deel, tweede druk* ('s-Gravenhage, 1889), *Passim*. Cf. *A Brief Relation*. No. 54, Leiden, Septem. 9. 1650, in: P. Geyl, 'Een Engelsch Republikein over Willem II's staatsgreep in 1650', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, Deel 45 (1924), 831.

as the Civil Wars went on, sympathisers in Holland and Utrecht came to promote the Scottish cause as well.

Dutch responses to the Civil Wars

The outbreak of the Civil Wars in the British Isles did not go unnoticed in the Dutch Republic. As their Revolt against Spain entered its final phase in the late 1630s, the Dutch kept a close eye on Charles I's pro-Spanish policy.²² When war broke out in Scotland in 1639 and Charles turned to the Dutch for support, he encountered opposition and mistrust.²³ Later that same year, however, the Battle of the Downs brought home to the Dutch the importance of a better relationship with England, to keep the Republic safe from attacks at sea. Moreover, with unrest looming in Spain as well at home, Charles' attitude began to change.²⁴ Having already agreed to a marriage between his eldest daughter, Henrietta Maria, and the Stadholder Frederick Henry's son, William, he now also saw himself forced by Parliament to sign *The Nineteen Propositions* (June 1642) to 'enter into a more strict alliance with the States of the United Provinces and other neighbouring princes and states of the Protestant religion' in order to protect Protestantism both nationally and internationally.²⁵ The subsequent unravelling of this treaty and the slide into the First Anglo-Dutch War has been told several times, by Simon Groenveld, Steve Pincus and Gijs Rommelse among others, although Scotland has had little prominence in their accounts.²⁶ There is certainly a further story to be told here though, as many in the Covenanter army had served in the Dutch Republic, and brought with them their knowledge and experiences.²⁷

Although the situation in Scotland seems to have had little influence on Dutch foreign policy towards the British Isles, there was a great deal of interest at local level. The vast number of translated accounts of the events across the water bears testimony to this.²⁸ As early as 1638, pamphlets appeared describing the events in Scotland. These were often translations and notably referred to the wars in all three kingdoms. A number focus on the Scottish Kirk though, and from 1643, *De Schotse Post* appeared several times with news from Scotland translated into Dutch.²⁹ The Dutch churches generally rejoiced in the Puritan

22 M. Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns against Scotland, 1638–1640* (Cambridge, 1994), 46.

23 Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars*, 172-3.

24 Simon Groenveld, 'The English Civil Wars As a Cause of the First Anglo-Dutch War, 1640-1652', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 3. (Sep., 1987), 541-566.

25 Groenveld, 'The English Civil Wars', 544.

26 Groenveld, 'The English Civil Wars', S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism. Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy 1650-1688* (Cambridge, 1996); Gijs Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667). International Raison d'Etat, Mercantilism and Maritime Strife* (Hilversum, 2006).

27 Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars*, 10, 82, 89, 148.

28 See W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling*, Eerste deel, tweede druk, no 4561-2; 4947-50; 4980, 4990-3, 5044, 5062-2, 5153-4 and *Idem*, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling*, Tweede deel, eerste druk, ('s-Gravenhage, 1892), no 6435-6; 6594, *Passim*.

29 *De Schotsche Post, Mede brengende eene Declaratie Vande Heeren van syne Majesteyts secreten Raedt in Schotlandt. Mitsgaders: Vande Commissarisen gestelt omme te conserveren den vrede ende de Articulen vande laetste handelinghe tusschen de Coninckrycken van Engelant ende Schotlandt Als mede Een verradelyck complot vande Yrjysche, Enghelsche, ende Schotsche Papisten nu ontdeckt, vyt de Engelsche Copye, eerst tot Edenburch,*

reform across the water and the rejection of Episcopalianism, holding prayers and organising collections in support of their co-religionists.³⁰ Specific support for the Scottish Covenanters came from the churches in Holland and, especially, Zeeland, which went furthest in proclaiming and promoting religious solidarity. The latter province was well known for its strict Calvinist stance, which arguably descended from the influx of Flemish refugees, who arrived as the Dutch Revolt gained momentum in the late sixteenth century, and as the birthplace of the *Nadere Reformatie*.³¹ Moreover, it was home to the Scottish Staple at Veere and its church, which, like the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam upheld close relations with Scotland and her religious institutions. Zeeland was also politically the most British-oriented of the Dutch provinces. To many Scots the orthodox churches of Zeeland became both an example and an inspiration.³²

The events of the 1630s and 40s were best described by the Staple minister William Spang, whose correspondence with his cousin Robert Baillie (1602–1662), Professor of Theology at Glasgow and Westminster divine, provided a virtual eye-witness account of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Orchestrated by Spang, the Scottish Staple at Veere acted as the centre of the Dutch support for the Covenanters and as early as 1639, the future conservator Thomas Cunningham and other merchants supported the Covenanter cause by supplying arms and financial aid.³³ Baillie noted his appreciation by writing to his cousin that ‘Holland and we were bot one in our cause’.³⁴ Four years later, the provincial Synod wrote a letter to the Church of Scotland, dated 18 July 1643, which ‘commended the [Scots for] their new found freedom and warned them never to be seduced again by Episcopal ceremonies’.³⁵ In 1644, the famous Middelburg theologian, Wilhelmus Apollonius (1603–1657) wrote his *Consideratio quarundam controversiarum*, and sent it to the Synod in London on behalf of the churches of Walcheren.³⁶ In it, Apollonius, commented specifically on the situation in Scotland:

ende daer na tot Londen gedrukt, getrouwelij ck overgeset. Gedrukt (3. n. v. pi. en v. dr.) .1643 (Gedagt. -5-Juny.) in-4°. , 8 blz; De tweede Schotsche Post (1643); De Vyfde Schotsche Post (1643).

30 See below.

31 For example, the brothers Lampsins came from Flemish stock. See below.

32 Esther Mijers, A Natural Partnership? Scotland and Zealand in the Early Seventeenth Century, in A.I. Macinnes & A.H. Williamson (eds), *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: The Atlantic Connection* (Brill, 2005), 233–60. Cf the correspondence of Robert Baillie to his Dutch contacts: Baillie, *Letters and Journals*.

33 *Eenen Sent-brief van de Nationale Synode van Schotland, aen de Nederlantsche Kercken, Inhoudende een hertige Dancksegginghe, van de Liberale Collecte aen die van Yrlant, met Noch Andere Considerable Materien* (Middelburg, 1644); Cf. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 209.

34 ‘Robert Baillie to William Spang, 1639’, Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 191.

35 W.C.P. Knuttel ed., *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621-1700*, 6 vols. (’s-Gravenhage, 1908-16) II, 399–402; *Een Brief Van de Synode van Zeelant, Aan de Gecommitteerde van de Generale Vergaderinge der Eercke in Schotlandt. Eerst by hun den 18 July 1643 in 't Latijn beschreven , ende uyt het Latijn in 't Engelsch, ende nu uyt het Engelsch in 't Nederlants getrou welijck vertaelt {Met titelvignet.} Eerst ghedruet tot Edinburgh. Anno 1643. {Z. n. v. pi. en v. dr.} in-4°. , 12 bl.*

36 *Consideratio quarundam controversiarum ad regimen ecclesiae Dei spectantium, quae in Angliae regno hodie agitantur. Ex mandato & jussu classis Walachrianae conscripta; a Guilielmo Apollonij verbi Dei apud Middelburgenses ministro. Et ab ecclesijs Walachris ad ecclesiarum suarum sensum & consensum judicandum transmissa, ad synodum Londinen-sem. 16. Octobris, anni 1644. Londini, typis G. M. sumptibus Georgij Tomason ad insigne Rosae in Coemiterio D. Pauli, XX, 184 blzn.; 8vo.*

For how great a thing are we to judge this, that these troubles of your Churches have produced this holy Covenant between the three Kingdomes; plucked up by the roots the differences between your Kingdome and that of *Scotland*; conjoined the *English* and *Scots* as brethren in the strictest bonds of unity, and ingaged you all really, constantly, sincerely, and to your utmost power to labour and endeavour to defend and maintain the Reformed Religion of the Church of *Scotland* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government against the common enemies [...]³⁷

That same year, the Staple Church adopted the Solemn League and Covenant.³⁸ The Kirk expressed its gratitude for the Dutch support in an official letter.³⁹

Church support for the Scots and the further 'Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Rule of the Word of God, and the Pattern of the best Reformed Churches', was not matched by the Dutch authorities, despite Spang's relentless activities.⁴⁰ Indeed, in the early 1640s, concern was growing over the Republic being drawn into the wars of the three kingdoms.⁴¹ When Thomas Cunningham failed to obtain a loan on behalf of the Estates of Scotland in 1644, the wealthy merchants Adrian and Cornelis Lampsins stepped in to advance the money 'in corroboration of the joynt Publique-Faith of both Kingdomes'.⁴² In 1649, the States of Holland issued a decree to stop the meddling of the churches in foreign

37 W. Apollonius, *A Consideration of Certain Controversies at this Time Agitated in the Kingdome of England, Concerning the Government of the Church of God. Written at the Command and Appointment of the Walachrian Classis, by Guilielmus Apollonii, Minister of the Word of God at Middleburgh. And Sent from the Walachrian Churches, to Declare the Sense and Consent of their Churches, to the Synod at London*. octob. 16. 1644. stilo novo. Translated out of Latine According to the Printed copy London, Printed by G.M. for Tho Underhill at the Bible in Woodstreet, N.p.

38 The role of the Zeeland-Scottish relationship in connection with the Cromwellian proposals for Anglo-Dutch union still need to be uncovered. S. Groenveld, "'Als het huwelyck van mann ende wyff'". Puriteinsse Voorstellen voor een Nederlands-Engelse unie, 1642-1652', in: E. K. Grootes and J. den Haar eds., *Geschiedenis, Godsdienst en Letterkunde* (Roden, 1989). Cf. A. H. Williamson, 'Union with England Traditional, Union with England Radical: Sir James Hope and the Mid-Seventeenth-Century British State', *English Historical Review*, 110 (1995), pp. 303-322, p. 319.

39 *Eenen Sent-brief van de Nationale Synode van Schotlant, aen de Nederlantsche Kercken, inhoudende een hertige dancksegginghe, 1644. Oorlog tusschen de koning»- en parlamentsgezinden in Engeland. 865 van de liberale Collecte aen die van Yerlant, met noch andere considerable materien*. (Met titelvignet.) Tot Middelburgh, Ghedruct voor Zacharias Roman, 1644. in-4°. , 8 blz. T. 2915.

40 Apollonius, *A Consideration of Certain Controversies*. For Spangs actions, see Baillie's correspondence with him, esp *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, vol 2 (1841), for instance Baillie to Spang (London, December 7th, 1643), p 115; (London, April 12th, 1644), p. 165.

41 *Den Britanischen Blixem, Of Subyte Verwerringhe, in Enghelandt, Schotlandt, ende Yerlandt, tot waerschouwinghe van de Geünieerde Provinciën, om te verstaen de swaricheden, en de oorsaken daer van, om die onder ons te weeren, opdat wy haer Plaghen niet deelachtich en werden. Door een trouwen Lief-ebber*, G. L. V. Gedrukt (z. n v. pi. en v. dr.) 1642. in-4°. , (VUI) en 32 blz.; *Observatie Oft Aenmerckingen Noopende Den Prince van Orange ende de Staten van Hollandt. Eerst gedrukt tot Londen, ende nu uyt de Engelsche sprake ghetrouwelyck Overgeset*. (Met titelvignet.) Z. n. v. pi. en v. dr. Anno 1642. in-4°. , 12 blz.

42 'Particular specification of the armes and ammunition bought in the Netherlands upon the credit of Messrs Lampsins of Zeeland', *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere 1640-1654*, ed. E. J. Courthope (Edinburgh, 1928), 95.

political affairs.⁴³ The execution of Charles I, followed by the untimely death of his son-in-law, the Stadholder Willem II, who not only had been one of Charles' most vigorous supporters but who had also been courted by the Scots and their Zeelandish allies to lend his support for their cause, sent shock-waves around the Dutch Republic.⁴⁴ Cromwell's republican ideas with regard to a Protestant union with the Dutch came to no avail and the subsequent outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch War in 1652 seems to have moved the Dutch churches away from further political engagement, instead shifting increasingly towards theological exchanges and cooperation. Now, support became focused on the printing and smuggling of Covenanter texts.⁴⁵ Joined in their concern over continuous Reformation and the unity of the Reformed Church, the theologians of the *Nadere Reformatie* and their followers became increasingly drawn to ideas of the Scottish Covenanters and their intellectual heirs, inspired by the arrival of the Restoration exiles in the early 1660s.

Restoration

As a Pietist movement, the *Nadere Reformatie* had its roots firmly in the province of Zeeland and to an extent, Utrecht, especially its University.⁴⁶ Its founding members, William Ames and Willem Teelinck, were heavily influenced by English Puritanism, whereas their successors increasingly turned to Scotland. The movement appealed to the most orthodox ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, who came to dominate the Dutch Church in the wake of the Synod of Dordt (1618-19). From among their ranks rose the Utrecht minister and Professor of Theology at the University of Utrecht, Gijsbert Voetius, whose presence would tower over Dutch orthodox theology for much of the seventeenth century. From the middle of the seventeenth century, Voetius became the leading figure of the *Nadere Reformatie*, alongside several of his colleagues at Utrecht. While heavily criticised by Robert Baillie for not following Apollonius in his outright support for his Scottish coreligionists, Voetius showed much sympathy for the Covenanters' practices and ideas.⁴⁷ As a student he had been taught by the Scottish professor at Leiden, Gilbert Jack, and in 1650-1 he invited Samuel Rutherford on behalf of the University of Utrecht, to take up a post in Divinity, which Rutherford regrettably refused.⁴⁸ If Voetius was its academic theologian, its emotional leader was the banished minister of Sluis in Zeeland, Jacobus Koelman, who spent much of his life wandering the country, while writing lengthy letters of advice and warning to his congregation, encouraging continuous reformation and practices including conventicles,

43 Knuttel, *Acta Synoden Zuid-Holland*, II 399-402. Cf. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 385.

44 *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, vol 3(1841), 89-90. Cf. P. Geyl, 'Willem II en de Stuarts', *De Gids*, 87 (1923), 45-78.

45 Laura A. M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637-1651* (Oxford, 2018), 36. Cf. Alastair J. Mann. *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000).

46 P.J. Meertens, *Letterkundig Leven in Zeeland in de Zestiende en de Eerste Helft der Zeventiende Eeuw* (1943), 170-1.

47 *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, vol 2, Baillie to Spang (N. P., May 31st, 1644), 189.

48 G.W. Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus. Vroedschapsresolutiën en Andere Bescheiden Betreffende de Utrechtsche Academie*, I, (Utrecht 1936), 263-274.

secret assemblies and covenants. The movement was further supported by the preachers and close associates of Koelman, Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635-1711), Jacobus Borstius (1612-1680) and Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620-1677), Abraham van de Velde (1614-1677) and the author Anna Maria Schuurman (1607-1678), until her defection to the Labadist movement – the pietist sect founded by Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) – in the early 1660s.⁴⁹

The arguably distinctly ‘Scottish phase’ of the movement reached its height with the arrival of the c. 300 Scottish exiles and their ministers in the early 1660s, as a result of the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Their presence, largely concentrated in Rotterdam and focused on its Scottish Kirk, which had been founded in 1643 in the middle of the Civil Wars, not only further raised the awareness of Scotland’s plight among its Dutch supporters - the Dutch translation of the Solemn League and Covenant was reissued in 1660 - but also led to close individual contacts between these two groups.⁵⁰ The earliest ministers of the Kirk in Rotterdam - John Hog, Alexander Petrie (c.1594-1662), Robert Macward (c.1625-1681) and Robert Fleming (1630-1694) - were all Covenanters. The exile experience of their congregations further helped keep the cause alive. Soon then, two new centres emerged alongside the *Nadere Reformatie*’s traditional home in Zeeland: the Scots Kirk in Rotterdam, the focal point of exile activity during the Restoration, and Voetius’ Utrecht, the centre of Dutch reformed *precieze* theology. Among the most high-profile exiles were the theologian John Brown of Wamphray (1609-79), Samuel Rutherford’s private secretary during the Westminster Assembly, the minister and Rutherford’s favourite; the popular preacher John Livingstone (1603-72); the future leader of the United Societies, Richard Cameron (1648?-1680) and MacWard, Fleming and Petrie. In Utrecht, Voetius and his like-minded colleagues Matthias Nethenus (1618-1686) and Andreas Essenius (1618-1677), formed the core of a network of theologians, who cooperated closely with the Scots. Notably, their influence went well beyond the *Nadere Reformatie* and they would also play an active part in the Cartesian/Cocceian disputes, which drew in virtually all of Dutch academia into the eighteenth century.⁵¹ Scots stayed largely away from the latter, marking the limitations of the Scottish-Dutch networks.⁵² Their alliance was more focused on theological practice rather than on the underlying philosophical principles.

49 Labadie and his followers, formed a community of those born again from sin, believing in the necessity of interior illumination by the Holy Ghost. Their communitarian and egalitarian ideas placed them at odds with other Pietist movements, including the *Nadere Reformatie*.

50 *Solemnel Covenant ofte Heiligh Verbondt Gemaect door de Heeren ende Gemeente van de Drie Koninckrijcken van Engelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, om de Religie te Reformer enz.* (Znd. pl., 1660), 4^o, 8 blz.

51 K. van Berkel, ‘Descartes in Debat met Voetius. De Mislukte Introductie van het Cartesianisme aan de Utrechtse Universiteit (1639-1645)’, *TGGNWT*, volume 7, issue 1, (2012), 4 – 18; Cf. J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall*, (Oxford, 1995), Ch 34.

52 An exception was Brown of Wamphray, whose *Libri Duo: in priori, Wolzogium, in libellis duobus de interprete Scripturarum, causam orthodoxam prodidisse demonstratur. In posteriori, Lamberti Velthusii sententia libertino-Erastiana, in libello vernaculo de idololatria & superstitione ... detegitur & confutatur ... Quibus præfixa est præfatiuncula, in quâ quædam de naturâ Ecclesiæ visibilis & invisibilis, ut & communionis ecclesiæ, separationem illegitimam jam in Belgio cæotam convellentia, breviter ac summatim proponuntur* (Amsterdam, 1670) was a contribution to the philosophical dispute with the Cartesians.

While the influence of the Covenanters on the theology of the *Nadere Reformatie* needs much more systematic examination than this article allows, some initial insights are provided by a look at the most comprehensive project of its members, namely the translating and printing of works by the Scottish exiles, which shows the true extent of the Dutch enthusiasm for their cause and the level of reception of their thought. Interest in reformed Scottish authors predated the Civil Wars. A translation of George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni apud Scotos Dialogus* had appeared in Amsterdam in 1598.⁵³ Five years earlier John Napier of Merchistoun's anti-papal *Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint Iohn*, (1593) had appeared in the same year it was published in Scotland.⁵⁴ During the Civil Wars, the number of translations began to increase, reaching its high point during the Restoration.⁵⁵ It is unknown exactly how many works by Scottish exiles were translated into Dutch during the later seventeenth century. With respect to the actual Covenanter works, much more, systematic and comparative work remains to be done. Willem Op 't Hof, following C.W. Schoneveld and F.A. Lieburg, has estimated the number of Dutch pietist works translated into English at 551 and English works translated into Dutch at 80, for the period 1675-1699.⁵⁶ Van Valen's recent PhD lists far fewer, but none of these authors offer a comprehensive overview, not least because they fail to distinguish along denominational lines and instead focus on Pietist material in general.⁵⁷ There are a fair number of repositories for sources which have yet to be mined and analysed systematically: In 1980, J. van de Haar published his 2-volume bibliography of Dutch translations of anglophone 'Puritan' texts.⁵⁸ This has since been overtaken by the *Pietas* sources database and the American *Post-Reformation Digital Library*.⁵⁹ More important than numbers is the question which authors and works were translated and by whom. The majority of Covenanter works were taken on by Borstius and, especially, Koelman, most notably the authors Hugh Binning (1627-1653), John Brown of Wamphray, David Dickson (c.1583 – 1662/3), James Durham (1622-1658), Robert Macward, and of course Samuel Rutherford. These Dutch translations were disseminated by a number of specialised booksellers: Samuel van Harinkhouk in Bolsward, Friesland, Abraham van Laren in Vlissingen, Zeeland, Johannes van Someren in Amsterdam, and the Utrecht booksellers Johannes Ribbius and Juriaen van

53 G. Buchanan, *Tsamesprekinghe vant Recht der Coninghen* (Amsterdam, 1598).

54 John Napier, *Een Duydelijcke Verclaringhe Vande Gantsche Openbaringe* (Middelburg, 1593).

55 Van Valen, *In God Verbonden*, Bijlage I.

56 W.J. op 't Hof, 'Geïmporteerde vroomheid? De zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse gereformeerde vroomheid in internationaal perspectief', in: Karel Davids et al. (eds), *De Republiek tussen Zee en Vasteland. Buitenlandse Invloeden op Cultuur, Economie en Politiek in Nederland 1580-1800*, (Leuven, 1995), 83-105; C. W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600-1700* (Leiden 1983); F.A. van Lieburg, 'Piëtistische lectuur in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 13 (1989), no. 2 (Najaar), 73-87.

57 Van Valen, *In God Verbonden*, Bijlage I.

58 J. van de Haar, *Van Abbadie tot Young. Een Bibliografie van Engelse, Veelal Puritaanse – in het Nederlands Vertaalde Werken* (Veendendaal, 1980).

59 *Pietas & Bronnenarchief*:

<http://www.ssnr.nl/www/library/bibliopac/bin/wxis.exe/www/library/bibliopac/?IsisScript=bibliopac.xic&db=PIETAS&lang=N&start=pietas>; *Post-Reformation Digital Library*: <http://www.prdl.org/index.php>.

Poolsom dominated in the middle of the seventeenth century; a generation later Johannes Boekholt and Gerardus Borstius in Amsterdam and Reinier van Doesburg in Rotterdam were the key figures.⁶⁰ Clearly, booksellers followed the geographic shifts of the Scottish-Dutch hubs from Zeeland to Utrecht and Rotterdam.

The influence of the Scots on their Dutch co-religionists was substantial and manifested itself in ongoing practical - through printing and translation activities – and moral support, for the Covenanter's (armed) resistance at home, as well as calls for the adoption of their ideas and practices. The Utrecht theologians offered scholarly help, assisting the editing and facilitating publication of original Covenanter texts. Brown of Wampray's *Apologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings* (1665) and *The History of the Indulgence* (1680); James Steuart of Goodtrees *Jus Populi Vinicatum, or the People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion, vindicated*, a vindication of his *Naphtali* (1667), co-written with John Stirling and Macward's *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (1678), and many more besides, were all published in the Dutch Republic.⁶¹ Robert MacWard submitted his edited manuscript of Rutherford's *Examen Arminianismi* to the Utrecht theologians, Nethenus, Essenius and Voetius, who added a preface acknowledging MacWard's role and a short biography, and supervised its publication.⁶² The same trio, with help from the well-known biblical scholar and Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, Johannes Leusden, also tried to publish a Latin translation of the Bible by the exiled minister John Livingstone (1603–1672), which had been left unedited upon his death.⁶³ On occasion, the Dutch took position in internal Scottish affairs, such as during the divisions over James VII's Letters of Indulgence or when they ordained Scottish ministers.⁶⁴ Leading the way in this practical form of support was à Brakel, a former student of Voetius and close to Koelman, with an extensive network of contacts in the north of the country, especially among the Voetian ministers at the University of Groningen.⁶⁵

The members of the *Nadere Reformatie* were particularly interested in the principles of the Covenant, as a way of revitalising the relationship between God and the people

60 J.B.H. Alblas, 'Johannes Boekholt (1656-1693)', in: *Idem, Figuren en Thema's van de Nadere Reformatie*, DI 3 (Rotterdam, 1993), 87-97.

61 John Brown of Wamphray, *An Apologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithfull Ministers & Professours of the Church of Scotland, since August, 1660 wherein Severall Questions, Usefull for the Time, are Discussed: the King's Prerogative over Parliaments & People Soberly Enquired into, the Lawfulness of Defensive War Cleared, the by a Well Wisher to the Good Old Cause* (Rotterdam?, 1665); *Idem, The History of the Indulgence Shewing its Rise, Conveyance, Progress and Acceptance: Together with a Demonstration of the Unlawfulness thereof, And an Answer to contrary Objections: As also a Vindication of such, as scruple to hear the Indulged. (1678)* (Rotterdam), 1680; Anonymous, *Jus Populi Vinicatum, or the People's Right, to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion, vindicated* (Rotterdam?, 1669); Robert Macward, *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (N. P., 1678).

62 *Examen Arminianismi, conscriptum & discipulis dictatum à Doctissimo Clarissimoque viro Samuele Rhetorforte ... Recensitum & editum à Matthia Netheno* (Utrecht, 1668).

63 This apparently never appeared. Eglinton, 'Scottish-Dutch Reformed Theological Links', 147.

64 Jardine, 'The United Societies', 36-7, 106; In 1687, James VII issued his Letters of Indulgence allowing outed Presbyterian ministers to return to their parishes; this sparked a heated debate among the exiles in Rotterdam. Cf. Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, Ch. 6.

65 Jardine, 'The United Societies', 104-8.

against their sins and those of the country, and the practicalities of the Scottish Reformation, especially conventicling, the rejection of episcopacy, and the problem of Church unity. Indeed, the first translation of the National Covenant appeared in 1638, followed that same year by King Charles I's Declaration in which he repealed the introduction of the Prayerbook.⁶⁶ Likewise the Solemn League and Covenant was translated in 1643, and reprinted in 1649, 1660 and again in 1671 and 1678 in Koelman's *Pointen van Nodige Reformatie*. The latter was followed by a lengthy discussion of its implications and a historical account of the breakdown of the Covenanter alliance.⁶⁷ Koelman also translated the 'Queensferry Paper', Donald Cargill and Henry Halls's draft of a new general covenant, in 1681 as 't nieuw covenant'.⁶⁸ In his preface, he warned his Dutch coreligionists against sin and immorality in the Dutch Republic, which would incur God's wrath, as it had done abroad. Employing his favourite concept of the *vroomme Leeraar* (pious teacher) - in this case Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron - Koelman made an example of Scotland's continuous Covenanter past for the Dutch.⁶⁹ In addition to the Covenants, the Dutch were also interested in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and a translation by Tobias Velthuysen appeared in 1651.⁷⁰

Scotland and her Reformation served to inspire and teach their Dutch supporters and their followers. Borstius and Koelman in particular employed the example of the Scots – their suffering at home and their exile abroad. Koelman often referenced the Scottish Covenanters and their practices, He likened his own banishment from Zeeland and Holland to the fate of the exiled Scottish ministers in the account of his own misfortunes, which he

66 *De confessie des gheloofs vande kercke van Schotlandt. Met aenvijnsinge van sodanige acten van parlamente, als bequaem zijn om eenigheyt (hier nae verhaelt) te bevestighen. Ende ondertekent by de noblen, baronnen, edelen, burch-heeren, kercken-dienaren, ende de gemeente, int iaer ons Heeren duysent ses hondert acht-en-dertigh. Met de redenen waeromme het service-boeck op Schotlant ghedrongen, behoorde gerefuseert te werden, wesende aen desen geannexeert. [...] Overgeset uyt de Engelse taele, by Fredrick Willemsz. Pennock Amsterdammer (Amsterdam 1638); Verklaringhe Des Konings van Groot Britannien, tot wechneminghe vande geschillen ende onvernoegtheden in Schotlant ('s-Gravenhaghe, 1638).*

67 *Solemn covenant ofte heylich verbandt gemaectt ende besworen door de heeren ende gemeenten van de drie koninckrijcken van Engelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, om de religie te reformeren ende te stabilieren (1643, 1660); Conventant ofte verbont, tusschen de drie koninck-rijcken, te weeten, Engelandt, Schotlandt, ende Yerlandt. Mitsgaders: de proclamatie van 't coninckrijck Schotlandt, tot aenneminghe van haeren wettighen koningh Charles Stuart, den tweeden van dien name ('sGraven-haghe, 1649); Christophilus Eubulus (pseud. van Jacobus Koelman), *De pointen van nodige reformatie, ontrent de kerk, en kerkelijke, en belijders der Gereformeerde Kerke van Nederlandt*. (Vlissingen, 1678), 654-658; 658-77.*

68 Jacobus Koelman, *Een waarachtige en volkomene copye van 't nieuw covenant, of verbondt, onlangs in Schotlandt gemaakt, 't welk genoomen is uit de papieren van Henry Hall, en Mr. Donald Cargill, tot Queens-Ferry, den 3. juny 1680. Nevens De verklaring, en 't getuigenis van Mr. Richard Cameron, en van verscheydene, die met hem waren. Gedrukt, en uitgegeven door order van de Geheymen Raadt van Zijn Majesteit, in gehoorzaamheid aan zijn Majesteits bevel, in Zijn brief, geschreven tot Windsor-Castle, den 5. july 1680 (1681).*

69 Tot den Lezer, *Ibid.*, A2^v.

70 *De belydenissen des geloofs der kercken van Engelandt, Schotlandt, en Yerlandt: Soo als die van de selve opentlijck aengenomen zijn, en tegenwoordigh beleden vverden: Mitsgaders hare gereformeerde kercken-orderinge, nu laetst door geheel Groot-Britannien politikelijck en kerckelijck vastghestelt: Uyt de oorspronckelijke copyen in onse Nederduytsche tale getrouwelijck overgeset, door Tobias H. Velthusius, dienaer Iesu Christi, in de Beemster (Amsterdam, 1651).*

published in 1677 under the name Theophilus Parresius.⁷¹ In his ‘blueprint’ for continuous Reformation, *De Pointen van Nodige Reformatie*, printed a year later, he set out the means (*middelen*) by which this may be achieved, as following the example of the Scottish Reformation.⁷² In this, he discussed the Covenanters and their cause, alongside the ideas of likeminded ministers such as Teelinck and Voetius. Koelman made special mention of Samuel Rutherford, who kept up his work in the face of adversity by writing letters to his congregation when preaching to them was made impossible.⁷³ He found great solace and inspiration in Rutherford’s correspondence, which he translated. As Peter Burke has pointed out early modern ‘translators often seem to have considered themselves to be co-authors.’⁷⁴ This was certainly the case with Koelman, whose prefaces and introductions, placed his translations in a Dutch context. Acknowledging the shortcomings of his translation, Koelman expressed his conviction that Rutherford’s words nevertheless held sway:

...dat de schrijver een groot meester in Israël was, dien het niet ontbrak, aan bekwaamheid om zich uit te drukken, zooals hij het best verstaan zoude worden; en hoewel zijn spreekwijzen in zijn moedertaal allerkrachtigst vallen, die het Nederlandsch zoo niet heeft kunnen navolgen, zoo zullen zij toch voor geestelijke menschen klaar zijn, en van zoeten ingang.⁷⁵

The second volume of his translation of Rutherford’s letters began with an address by Koelman to his congregation, formulated as a letter of appropriation (‘Brief van Toe-eigening aan de Gemeente van Sluis in Vlaanderen’), reminding his followers of their Christian duties and loyalties.⁷⁶

71 Theophilus Parresius (pseud. van Jacobus Koelman.), *Historisch verhael van de Proceduuren tegen D. Jacobus Koelman, Predicant tot Sluis in Vlaenderen. Wegens zijn debvoiren tot Reformatie ontrent het stuck der Formulieren en Feestdagen*, Volume 1 (Amsterdam & Vlissingen, 1677), 535. Cf. S. Rutherford, *De brieven van Samuel Rhetorfort professor en predikant wel eer in de academy en Kerck van St. Andries in Schotlandt* (Vlissingen, 1673), vol1, xxxiii; S. Rutherford, *Het tweede deel der brieven van mr. Samuel Rhetorfort* (Amsterdam, 1679).

72 *De punten van nodige reformatie*, 591-731. Cf. L.F. Groenendijk, ‘Jacobus Koelman’s Actieplan voor de Nadere Reformatie’, *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 2, 4 (1978), 121-6.

73 *De punten van nodige reformatie*, 613.

74 Peter Burke, ‘Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe’, *European Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 83–94 (2007), 91.

75 ‘that the author was a master in Israel, who did not lack the ability to express himself, in order to best be understood, and although his articulation in his mother tongue is most powerful, which the Dutch is unable to emulate, they will still be clear to all godly men and of sweet account’ (my translation). *De brieven van Samuel Rhetorfort professor en predikant wel eer in de Academy en kerck van St. Andries in Shotlandt. In het Nederlandts vertaalt door Jacobus Koelman, bedienaar des heyligen Euangeliums tot Sluis in Vlaenderen* (Vlissingen, 1673), [35].

76 *Het tweede deel der brieven van Mr. Samuel Rhetorfort, professor, en predikant wel eer in de Academy, en kerk van St. Andries, in Schotlandt. In het Nederlandts vertaalt; door Jacobus Koelman, leeraar der gemeynte van Sluis in Vlaenderen* (Amsterdam 1679), [3-44].

Koelman was most prolific in his work but others engaged in translation work as well. Jacobus Borstius, like Robert Bailie in his correspondence with William Spang, shared a concern over the unity and the purity of the Reformed Church - he was famously engaged in a protracted polemical discussion on the evils of luxury - and the threat posed by sects including the Labadists. Most pronounced was his preface to the translation of James Stewart of Goodtrees and John Stirling's *Naphtali, as Historie der kerken van Schotlandt, van het begin der Reformatie tot het jaar 1667*, published anonymously in 1678, in which he lay the blame for the outbreak of the Civil Wars squarely with the 'tyrannie der bisschoppen aldaer', praising the Scots for their loyalty to the King.⁷⁷ Borstius himself was a fervent Orangist. Others, including Gijsbert Voetius in his *Theologia Practica*, were also influenced by the Scots' suffering.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The reception and influence of Covenanter thought in the Dutch Republic requires a great deal of further research. However, we can begin to identify different groups and geographic centres, organised around central figures and causes. While overlapping in interest and membership, these can be roughly distinguished as follows: The Spang-Baillie network, focused on moral, financial and political support from the Dutch; Koelman' and his associates' translation initiatives, originating from the *Nadere Reformatie's* Zeeland heartland; and the Utrecht Voetian/Rotterdam exile ministers' cooperative publishing ventures and the specialised printers and booksellers, whose base largely overlapped with the *Nadere Reformatie's* geographic shifts, and who ensured further dissemination in the Dutch Republic. These networks shared an enduring commitment to continuous reformation, a clear rejection of episcopacy, and concern for the purity and the unity of the reformed church, as exemplified by Borstius' resistance of the corrupting forces of luxury and Koelman's adherence to the strict observance of the Sabbath.⁷⁹ More importantly, these

77 J. Stewart, (J. Borstius red.), *Historie der Kercken van Schotlandt, van het begin der Reformatie, tot het jaer 1667*, (Rotterdam, 1668), *3r, 193-4..

78 G. Voetius, 'De Theologia Practica', [Johannes Cuypius 21 February 1646], *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum*, vol. 3 (Ultrajecti: apud Joannem à Waesberge, 1659), 3-11.

79 Many Scottish visitors commented on the lax attitude of the Dutch towards Sunday as a day of rest. See for instance: *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687*, Ed. Walter Macleod (Edinburgh, 1893), 67; Jacobus Koelman, *De Praktyk des Sabbaths, of Daadlijke Heyliging van den Christelijken Rustdag of 's Heeren Dag* (Amsterdam, 1685).

broader Christian ideals, were framed within the context of war and strife, God's wrath against the nation and the sins of its people and the threat of disunity within the Church. The Civil Wars in the three Kingdoms and Scotland's suffering provided the ministers of the *Nadere Reformatie* with an example and a solution of these wider problems, in the shape of the Covenanter's cause and their National and Solemn League and Covenant. The internal divisions among Scottish Protestants, for instance during the 1648 Engagement Crisis, over the 1687 Letters of Indulgence, and over the revolutionary settlement in 1689, chimed with the disagreements and discord in the Dutch Republic, such as the disputes between Voetius and René Descartes (1596-1650) and the proponents of Cartesianism and, especially, the Labadist schism within the *Nadere Reformatie*.⁸⁰ The ideas and influence of the French pietist preacher Jean de Labadie, a Jansenist convert to Protestantism, was a particular thorn in the side of the members of the *Nadere Reformatie*, not least due to the conversion of one of their own, the famously learned author Anna Maria Schuurman. Favouring the community-based faith of the predestined, the Labadists considered the project of continuous reformation of the entire congregation, as advocated by the *Nadere Reformatie*, as having failed.⁸¹ Both the Voetian academics and Koelman and his associates, rejected the movement wholeheartedly. Jacobus Borstius published the Scottish opinion on this in his *Getuygenis en verklaringe van eenighe predikanten uyt Schotlant, woonende hier te lande, tegen de opinien en practijcken van Mr. Jean de Labadie en synen aenhangh*, a clear illustration of the influence and importance of the Covenanter connection for the *Nadere Reformatie*'s own thought.⁸²

These Scottish-Dutch networks eventually came to a halt in the wake of the Williamite Revolution. As a number of stalwarts of the older generation had died already and most remaining exiles returned to Scotland, the Scots and the Dutch increasingly went their separate ways. While some of the Covenanters' works continued to be influential in the *Nadere Reformatie* – indeed some remain available in print to this day – 1688/9 marked the end of mutual religious association. From then on, Scots increasingly turned to the

80. Gardner,

81 C. Graafland, 'De Nadere Reformatie en het labadisme', in: T. Brienens *et al.* (eds) *De Nadere Reformatie en het gereformeerd Piëtisme*, ('s- Gravenhage, 1989), p. 275-346., esp 338.

82 *Getuygenis en verklaringe van eenighe predikanten uyt Schotlant, woonende hier te lande, tegen de opinien en practijcken van Mr. Jean de Labadie en synen aenhangh. Mitsgaders een kort en oprecht verhael van het danssen, kussen, en omhelsen van Mr. Jean de Labadie en sijn geselschap geschiet Uitgegeven door Jacobus Borstius* (Rotterdam, 1671).

Dutch Republic and its institutions for inspiration and especially education, while the Dutch began to move away from the *precieze* doctrine of Voetius, Koelman and their circles. The career of William Carstares (1649-1715) serves as an example of this new phase of Scottish-Dutch relations. The son of the exiled Covenanter minister John Carstairs and himself a Rye House plot refugee, Carstares had unmistakable Covenanter credentials. Educated at Utrecht and Leiden and possibly even ordained by a Dutch classis, he allied himself firmly with William III's revolution and the subsequent Church settlement.⁸³ Never rejecting his own or Scotland's Covenanter past, he nevertheless chose a different 'Dutch', arguably more moderate, path over continuous reformation, deriving from the traditional and deep-seated Presbyterian concern over the education of Scotland's youth, which would lead to his famous reform of the University of Edinburgh, along Dutch-inspired lines.⁸⁴

83 Tristram Clarke, 'Carstares [Carstairs], William (1649–1715), Church of Scotland minister and political adviser', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 8 Dec. 2019. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4777>; Esther Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares, and the reform of Edinburgh University, 1690-1715', *History of Universities*. Volume XXV/2 (2011), 111-142.

84 Esther Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares, and the reform of Edinburgh University'.