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Piety in the wake of trade
The North Sea as an intermediary of Reformed piety up to 1700

W.J. OP ’T HOF

Paying attention to theology at the expense of piety is characteristic of the historiography of Christianity in general and Protestantism in particular. The experience of the doctrine and the resulting moral behaviour always remain underexposed. With this article I wish to give some counterbalance on a very modest scale.

Throughout the ages there has been the tendency within Christianity to pursue pious life as a specific aim. Attention to spiritual experiences and mysticism and the practice of piety went hand in hand. The Protestant form of that tendency was Pietism. This religious movement arose in various European countries rather quickly after the political, military, economic and ecclesiastical consolidation of the Reformation. In reaction to ethical abuses and the degeneration of religious and ecclesiastical life, it emphasized the necessity of internal and external piety. Religion should be a matter of the heart, becoming visible in life-style.¹

Pietism manifested itself both in Reformed and Lutheran Protestantism. Since this article deals with the former, whenever I employ the term Pietism I mean Reformed Pietism.

Southern Dutchmen to the Netherlands

As a place of refuge many southern Dutchmen emigrating for the sake of their religion before 1568 preferred the northern provinces to a country with a foreign language. Because of the arrival of Alva they found themselves urged as yet to emigrate either to England or Germany.² In 1572, after the first towns had sided with the Prince of Orange and when the Spanish forces seemed no longer invincible, the migration into the Northern Netherlands from the south but also from England and Germany started. According to Briels the influx lasted up to 1630 and reached an absolute height in the period 1585-1589. He ventures on quantifying and assesses the number of southern Dutchmen in England and Germany each on 30,000 of whom about 35,000 eventually settled in the Dutch Republic. He

¹ M. Brecht et al. (eds), Geschichte des Pietismus. Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1993).
estimates southern Dutchmen having directly entered the Northern Netherlands at a total of 115,000 persons. The immigration is not only quantified but also qualified by him. In his opinion the impact of the southern Dutchmen fundamentally modified the religion, economy, culture and society of the Republic. He pays ample attention to the religious consequences. However, it is characteristic that also he, who is fanatically zealous in stressing the importance of the immigration, keeps silent about piety. Nevertheless, they have very much to do with each other. Investigation on Pietism in the Republic has pointed out that it largely originated in the Southern Netherlands and that it owed its first growth to that impact. In this respect, the often reprinted Pietistic writings of Jean Taffin, court-chaplain of William of Orange, were enormously influential both in French and in Dutch. Moreover, it is known that throughout the seventeenth century Calvinistic religious refugees from the south and their descendants formed an important minority within Pietism in the province of Zeeland, where it was represented more than anywhere else in the Republic. Unfortunately, no research has been done on other provinces. Furthermore, the generation Van den Vivere in Middelburg and Francoys Boels in Dordrecht demonstrate that publishers from the Southern Netherlands had a great share in the dissemination of Pietism.
this justifies the conclusion that the religious conviction of many Reformed southern Dutch immigrants had pronounced leanings and perhaps even strong incitements to Pietism.

How can this be explained? As far as I can see, one has to consider the following. Religious refugees were by definition highly serious people in their religious conviction. By their escape they not only cut the tie with their past but also forfeited all their securities, while many of them suffered a financial drain as well. They were willing to sacrifice all that for their religion. This religious seriousness was intensified by the traumatic experiences of the hardships suffered during and after the escape, the general feeling of dislocation and the many insecurities in the new situation. Without exception these matters are in general very beneficial to Pietism. The combination of all this makes it understandable that many religious refugees could not approve of other people who were not so very particular in their life-style. They increasingly criticized abuses and started emphasizing the experience of Reformed doctrine and an according pious manner of life.

Southern Dutchmen to England

Many thousands ended their flight for faith from the Southern Netherlands in England. For the greater part they came from regions economically and culturally oriented on the seaport Antwerp, because of its geographical position being the main entrance to the west coast of the European continent. Therefore the Merchant Adventurers had settled there up to and including 1582. Of all Protestant places of refuge England was the most obvious one for the southern Dutchmen oriented on the Scheldttown, also because of the short distance of only a few hours sailing.

Schilling and Pettegree have shown that economic motives also were underlying the southern Dutch emigration. They who crossed the North Sea for these reasons will have mainly entered the Church of England. On the other hand, for the southern Dutch religious refugees – not including the Anabaptists among them who joined nothing – that church was too unreformed to exert appeal. Therefore they aimed at an own church. After the short-lived model church in London

13 The Dutch refugee churches in England have been described in changing perspective by: A.A. van Schelven, De Nederduitsche vluchtelingenkerken der XVII eeuw in Engeland en Duitsland in hunne beteekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1909); J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars. Ge-
from 1550 to 1553 a dozen Dutch refugee churches arose from 1560 onwards, when Elizabeth had taken the place of her elder half-sister Mary. They were all stationed in the south-western coastal areas of England. Although it was Elizabeth who gave the Anglican church its typical compromise character – in doctrine mainly Protestant and in church government and ceremonies partly Roman-Catholic – she tolerated Reformed refugee churches, be it that social freedom came to an end and the churches were placed under Anglican supervision.

The vast majority of churches consisted of originally southern Dutchmen. This origin was reflected in ministers, elders and deacons.

In the studies on Dutch refugee churches nearly all aspects are discussed except piety. On the one hand, this is quite understandable, for relevant sources are rare. On the other hand, it is an omission that no attempt has ever been made to describe the devotional side of religious life of the members of the Dutch refugee churches in England, however fragmentary it may be. Here I wish to give an impetus to it.

The conclusion of the previous paragraph that pietistic tendencies were undeniably working among southern Dutch immigrants in the Northern Netherlands, also holds good for those in England. Here they came into touch with Puritanism. The attention and activities of this movement were first primarily aimed at a further reformation of Anglican liturgy and church government. When these endeavours miscarried, Puritanism applied itself mainly to personal and collective piety, in the hope that in this way church and society should as yet be purified. The movement developing is called Puritan Pietism or Pietistic Puritanism in literature. For convenience sake merely Puritanism or Puritan is used for the latter henceforth in this article. This Puritanism produced a piety which in respect of the world of spiritual experience as well as the practical formation and regulation of personal, family and social life was much more mature, comprehensive, vigorous and convincing than the pietistic tendencies among southern Dutch religious


15 Boersma, Vluchtig voorbeeld, pp. 64-66, 88-89.


refugees. It is therefore no wonder that Pietistic oriented southern Dutchmen came under the influence of Puritan piety which they became acquainted with through personal contacts and literature.¹⁸

Moreover, the numerous contacts between the Pietistic Teellinck family and the Dutch churches in England testify to warm spiritual harmony.¹⁹ Apart from that, the documents published by Hessels about the Dutch church in London reveal that the Dutch churches in England always had very close relations with the Reformed church in Zeeland in general and the classis of Walcheren in particular. Since the latter two were preponderantly of Pietistic nature²⁰, this may be supposed for the refugee churches, too.

Southern Dutchmen from England to the Dutch Republic

Among the many originally southern Dutch refugees who left England and settled in the Republic before 1630 there were some people who had not only come under the influence of Puritanism in England but also energetically started to propagate the Puritan insights and ideals in the Netherlands. This can best be demonstrated by the activities of translators and publishers.

In rendering a total amount of 40 writings into Dutch Vincentius Meusevoet was the main translator.²¹ Of that number, 31 were of an outspoken Puritan nature, most written by William Perkins²², one of the most influential European theologians at that time. More or less simultaneously Johannes Lamotius²³, who was born in London, translated 24 Puritan books into Dutch, among which almost all the works of the Scot William Cowper. Sometimes a printer and publisher also took an active part in disseminating Puritan ideas. Because of his Calvinistic ideas

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¹⁹ Op 't Hof, Engelse pietistische geschriften, pp. 499-505.
²⁰ Op 't Hof, 'Nadere Reformatie in Zeeland'. See for the classis Walcheren the testimony by the congregational minister John Quick, who served the English church in Middelburg from 1680 up to and including 1681, that half of the Middelburg ministers and the great majority of the members of that classis were Pietists: G.F. Nuttall, 'English Dissenters in the Netherlands 1640-1689', Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, New Series, LIX (1978-1979), p. 38; cf. G. van den End, Guilhelmus Saldenus (1627-1694). Een praktisch en irenisch theoloog uit de Nadere Reformatie (Leiden, 1991) p. 220.
²¹ The leading Pietist Jacobus Koelman calls in his letter of 10 December 1676 to his spiritual friends at Sluis that classis still one of the best in the Republic: Theophilus Parresius, Historisch Verhael van de proceduuren Tegen D. Jacobus Koelman (Rotterdam, 1677), p. 584.
²² See for him: Op 't Hof, Engelse pietistische geschriften, pp. 441-455.
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the southern Dutchman Richard Schilders\textsuperscript{24} fled to London in 1567 and settled as a townprinter in Middelburg in 1579. His output comprised many theological works, the majority – about 90 – consisted of English Puritan books.

**Puritans to the Republic**

Because of the military situation the Merchant Adventurers moved from Antwerp to Middelburg in 1582. Economic and other reasons made them change their staple-town in the Dutch Republic three times: Delft (1621), Rotterdam (1635) and Dordrecht (1655). Among them, freed from Church of England supervision, nonconformism including Pietistic Puritanism flourished. The same – be it to a lesser extent – can be said of the English and Scottish regiments which served in the States’ army. In 1621 their number had increased to 13,000 soldiers, not including their wives and children. A third group, sometimes overlapping the groups just mentioned, was formed by nonconformist Puritans whose existence was under constant threat in their own country. Their endeavours for ecclesiastical reformation went hand in hand with a painstaking practice of piety. Among these Puritan refugees all kinds of professions were represented.

If possible, the English and Scots established churches. In 1630 there were 25 to 30 churches. In the period 1622-1633 an English synod even existed, which most churches had joined. Most of them were Puritan in nature.\textsuperscript{25}

On the subject of piety, the numerous Puritans in the Republic exerted a strong attractive power. As a professor of theology at Franeker university from 1622 to 1632, William Ames\textsuperscript{26} was uniquely placed to pass Puritan piety on to Dutch students. That the province of Friesland around the middle of the seventeenth century was a stronghold of Dutch Reformed Pietism\textsuperscript{27} will for a large part have been the result of his influence.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{27} Ph.H. Breuker, Friese cultuur in de jonge Republiek (Leeuwarden, 1991), p. 10.
\textsuperscript{28} Apart from that his influence reached much further than the province mentioned. Willem Teellinck sent his son Maximiliaan in 1624 from Zeeland to Franeker in order to study theology, especially with a view to him. Moreover, they supported each other in their attempts at realizing a further reformation:
Puritan ministers had a strong devotional emanation, too. Minister and prominent pietist Jacobus Borstius was thus spiritually stamped. Among the Puritan refugees, printers, publishers and booksellers greatly contributed to the dissemination of Puritan ideas in the Netherlands, in the shape of both English and Dutch books. Puritans such as the Vlissingen notary Thomas Morris and the Amsterdam apothecary John Grindal even acted as translators of Puritan writings.

Various Puritan soldiers are known to have done their best for a Puritanization of Dutch piety. In Zwolle, English and Scottish officers in the persons of Hugh Montgomery and Thomas Holles effected not only the formation of a Pietistic group but also the publication of many Pietistic books, whether or not translated. Without their influence the work of the important Zwolle translator and Pietist Everhardus Schuttenius is inconceivable. Even Puritans such as the Delft quartermaster Henry Hexham and the Zwolle standardbearer John Fargharson rendered Dutch translations of Puritan works.

Schuttenius reveals that not only Puritan soldiers but also Puritan merchants furthered the transfer of the English Pietistic ideas. With the help of Hexham, John Quarles, an English merchant in Rotterdam, instigated him to a Puritan translation, which he dedicated to the English merchant William Cranmer and the whole general court of the Merchant Adventurers in Rotterdam.

Op 't Hof, Engelse pietistische geschriften, pp. 497-499. The southern Dutch religious refugee Frederik van Schurman, who had settled in Utrecht after dwelling for years in Germany, moved to Franeker in 1623, where he and his son Johan Godschalk enroled themselves at the university especially intending to attend Amesium's lectures: F.A. van Lieburg, 'Johan Godschalk van Schurman (1605-1664)', in J.B.H. Alblas et al., Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie, III (Rotterdam, 1993), pp. 55-56. They were respectively the father and brother of the richly talented and internationally famous Pietist Anna Maria van Schurman, who later on went over to the separatist Pietism of Jean de Labadie.

35 Op 't Hof, Engelse pietistische geschriften, pp. 417-422.
36 Op 't Hof, 'John Fargharson'.
37 H. Quarles van Ufford, A Merchant-Adventurer in the Dutch Republic. John Quarles and his times 1596-1646/7 (Amsterdam, 1983).
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Puritan works in the Republic

It is evident from the preceding that the activities being developed both by southern Dutch and Puritan religious refugees to introduce Puritan piety in the Dutch Republic were strongly connected with the booktrading world. One can distinguish between original editions in English, sometimes in Latin, and Dutch translations of the writings in question.

The data we are acquainted with create the image of considerable numbers of Puritan books being read in the Netherlands, especially by Pietists but also by other Calvinists. The books concerned editions, published in the Low Countries by English and also Dutch publishers, as well as publications that appeared in England.

In the Netherlands Puritan books in the original language were numerically vastly overshadowed by translations. Various of them were so favourably accepted, that they were reprinted many times. The absolute bestseller was *De practycke ofte Oeffeninghe der Godzaligheydt* (*The practise of pietie*) by bishop Lewis Bayly, published in 1620 for the first time. In the seventeenth century it was brought out in no fewer than about 50 editions in Dutch.

Generally speaking, the denomination of the chosen authors did not matter much to the translators. They translated works of Anglican bishops and nonconformist Anglicans, Presbyterians, Separatists and even a Baptist such as John Bunyan as well. So, in the translations ecclesiology is hardly ever a subject of discussion, in contrast to common Puritan piety. Readers displayed an even greater indifference in this respect. Translations of different denominational backgrounds were standing side by side fraternally in the book-cases of Dutch Reformed lovers of devotional literature.

There exist two bibliographical lists which enable us to assess approximately the total number of translations, first editions as well as reprints, namely by Van der Haar and Schoneveld. Happily, thorough investigation has been done on

42 By composing a list of English theological works translated into Dutch Van der Haar has greatly obliged the academic world: Van der Haar, *From Abbadie to Young*. Unfortunately, a chronological index is missing in this. This shortcoming has been partly met by F.A. van Lieburg by countering the book production mentioned by Van der Haar per 25 years and by classifying its result, divided in first editions and reprints, in a table and a graph: F.A. van Lieburg, ‘Piëtistische lectoruur in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw’, *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, XIII (1989), pp. 73-87, especially p. 76. According to his numeration there would have been 524 first editions and 537 reprints issued up to the eighteenth century. Schoneveld delivers surveys of all possible writings translated from English in the seventeenth century, among which a chronological: Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the mind*, pp. 163-264. A happy circumstance hereby is that he classifies the translations, so that a comparison is possible with the data of Van der Haar and Van Lieburg. He numbers 425 first editions and 364 reprints: Op
the exact number of Puritan translations up to 1633.\footnote{Op ‘t Hof, *Engelse pietistische geschriften*, supplemented with data from the sequel of this study to be published in the future: W.J. op ‘t Hof, *Engelse pietistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1623-1632.*} Comparison of the totals of this research with the relevant numbers of Van der Haar and Schoneveld results

\footnote{‘t Hof, ‘Geïmporteerde vroomheid?’, p. 105. The four resulting totals are somewhat inflated, for both Van der Haar and Schoneveld have entered all theological works in their list, not only the devotional. On the other hand, the great majority of the translations are Pietistic in nature, so that the differences are not too great.}
in a factor, with which the latter numbers can be converted. Because of the greater reliability of Schoneveld it is useful to follow his converted numbers. The total of Puritan editions translated into Dutch up to 1700 then amounts to 728.

Of how many copies did the editions of this kind of literature consist? On the average they varied between 1,000 and 1,500. When the former amount is followed 728,000 copies were printed. In view of the number of reprints there is no need to take a great percentage of unsold books into account. This implies that in the most unfavourable case many more than half a million copies were in circulation and were also read.

**Puritanization of Dutch Reformed piety**

The stimulating effect of the Puritans dwelling in the Republic and the propagating activity of the translators of Puritan books did not remain without effect. In itself the enormous number of translations already clearly demonstrates the immense Puritan impact. The still greater amount of reprints of them points out that Puritanism defeated its ten thousands in the Republic. Bibliometry is revealing to the modern investigator in another respect also. Regarding Dutch Pietistic works, a distinction can be made between original Dutch and translations from French, German and English. Whereas in the previous period translations from French had predominated, in the period 1599-1619 Puritan translations formed the greatest part of the production of Pietistic works. After that Dutch Pietistic writings took over the leading role. Translations from English continued to occupy second position and surpassed the total of translations from both French and German many times.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Dutch Reformed piety took shape in the movement of Reformed Pietism. The beginning can be placed in 1588, when works of a wholly Pietistic nature began to come out yearly, among which the works of Taffin in Dutch translation. From the end of the sixteenth century till 1620 the

44 Before 1633 exactly 92 first editions and 70 reprints of Puritan works in Dutch were brought out, for which 21 translators were responsible. The numbers of books over the same period according to Van Lieburg – the term 1625-1632 has been proportionally counted – are 122 and 93 and according to Schoneveld 109 and 69. So the latter is more reliable than the former. With reference to the first category the negative difference with Van Lieburg amounts to 24,59% and with Schoneveld 15,60% and respecting the second category respectively 24,73% and 1,45%, the latter actually. Converted according to Van Lieburg, 395 first editions and 404 reprints in total would have been published and according to Schoneveld 359 and 369 respectively.


Puritan impact was predominant. It was precisely in this period in Pietism that the network of the Further Reformation originated. This distinguished itself from Reformed Pietism in converting the pursuit of piety into programmatic activity. Without neglecting the inner experience it translated Pietistic words and complaints into action not only by developing complete programs pointing out which matters in church, politics, society and family should be reformed and how, but also by presenting them as concrete reformation requests to relevant ecclesiastical, political and social organs. Although Pietism and Further Reformation shared common ground, it was the Further Reformation that stamped Reformed piety in the
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seventeenth-century Republic. There are good reasons to let it start in 1608. It was this very network that blended with Puritanism. In all likelihood the Dutch term for Further Reformation, 

_Nadere Reformatie_, is the translation of the Puritan term further reformation. This is connected with the course of the life of Teellinck, the father of the Further Reformation, who after his conversion in England continued to be strongly oriented to Puritanism. Voetius, professor of theology in Utrecht and central figure of the Further Reformation, found Puritan piety so important that the study program of theology developed by him was devoted to it for a third part. Actually, his students paid more attention to English than to Hebrew and Greek! Koelman, another principal representative of the network in question, was dismissed by the political authorities because of his stubborn aversion to using liturgical forms and observing Christian feast days, notions he had borrowed from Puritanism.

Roughly speaking, the contents of Puritan impact can be paraphrased in two words: description and prescription. In the Republic also Pietists started to describe the spiritual processes of the soul and experiences extensively, analytically and psychologically. Attention was drawn towards the ups and downs of the inner life of faith and feeling, of which the theme of spiritual desertion was typically Puritan.

47 See for the Further Reformation: 


48 His conversion resulted from attending a private prayer day on which Puritan leaders like John Dod and Arthur Hildersham were gathered. This prayer day was held very likely with a view to the Hampton Court Conference, at which the Millenary Petition was presented to king James I. In this request about 1,000 clergymen made a series of concrete proposals to further purification and reform of the Church of England: L.F. Groenendijk, 'De oorsprong van de uitdrukking “nadere reformatie”', _Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie_, IX (1985), pp. 128-134. The conclusion from this may be that the Further Reformation borrowed from Puritanism not only its name but also its determining peculiarities.

49 A.C. Duker, _Gisbertus Voetius_, 3 vols (Leiden, 1897-1915); J. van Oort et al. (eds), _De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten wetenschappelijk symposium Utrecht 3 maart 1989_ (Kampen, 1989).


52 Op 't Hof, _Engelse pietistische geschreven_, pp. 581-582.

53 See for this and the following: C. Graafland, 'Der Einfluß des Puritanismus auf die Entstehung des reformierten Pietismus besonders in Holland', _Monatshefte für Evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes_, XXXI (1982), pp. 73-92.
application. In this context the various spiritual groups within the congregations were addressed separately, mostly again subdivided into groups with different sorts of spiritual experience. At the same time lists of sins were composed with a view to self-examination, while Dutch Pietists started recording histories of conversion as well. On the other hand, under Puritan impact they came to a practical and accurate regulation of sanctification. The right use of means such as reading the Bible, prayer, meditation and observance of the Sabbath was prescribed down to the minutest details. In doing so, family life and education were the focus of attention.\textsuperscript{54} Finally, the making of personal and collective covenants and the rejection of formulary prayers, liturgical forms in general and Christian feast days were typically Puritan peculiarities.

In one respect the Puritan impact influenced Dutch church history deeply and widely: the Sabbath. Throughout the seventeenth century Puritan sabbatical ideas and practices gave rise to fierce disputes which extended from the level of congregations to that of professors of theology.\textsuperscript{55} In the great contrast between the Voetianists and the Coccejanists, which for a long time from the middle of the seventeenth century, increasingly divided the Dutch Reformed, the disputes on the sabbath were the main element.

Taking over has to be distinguished from copying. Dutch Pietists integrated Puritan ideas and ideals in their own situation. For example, they transferred overseas piety, which was quite multi-faceted in ecclesiastical respect, into their own framework, that of the Reformed Church. Moreover, the conscious acceptance was attended by an independent processing, having its critical moments.\textsuperscript{56}

\textbf{From England and the Republic to Germany and vice versa}

In the preceding it appeared that Puritan piety entered the Republic and nestled itself here in the wake of trade, army and economy. The last two factors can be excluded for Germany, the first least of all. When in 1582 the Merchant Adventurers left Antwerp, they moved their headquarters to Emden, hence to Hamburg, in 1587 to Stade and in 1612 back to Hamburg.

In 1584 a devotional work, originally composed by an English Jesuit, came out.


in a Puritan adaptation: *A Booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to Resolution*. This was getting enormously popular, for no fewer than 32 editions are mentioned. The Puritan version was translated into German by the Stade English merchant Emanuel Thomson during a commercial stay in Dantzig and it was issued in 1612 in Frankfurt. After this it underwent a lutheran adaptation and became a resounding financial success. No fewer than 43 editions of this version appeared. Besides, a Swedish and Dutch translation were published, the latter in two editions, while the Puritan version had been brought out in Dutch before."57

There was also in another respect a close devotional link between England, the northern west coast of Germany and the Netherlands. It had all to do with the crypto-Calvinistic Otto Casmannus, who had become rector of the Stade gymnasium in 1595 and combined this with the dignity of minister from 1601.58 From that moment onwards he published many devotional compilations, which received international acknowledgment. Comparison between these writings by Casmannus and those by Perkins reveals many and sometimes exact similarities in theme and argumentation.59 This does not admit of another conclusion than that the German Pietist had been thoroughly influenced by the Puritan.60 This in its turn is inconceivable without the presence and emanation of Merchant Adventurers dwelling in Stade.61

With Casmannus the reverse route is visible, too. The publishing of one of his most Pietistic books in English will probably have been due to the same merchants.62 For the rest it is remarkable that works were issued by Puritans in which

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59 These resemblances led in 1615 to the publication of an excerpt based on the combination of the works of both Pietists translated in Dutch: *Sommighe Regulen, welcke aenwijzen, hoe men een Christelick ende Godsaliach leven leyden sal* (Breda, 1615).

60 The swerve from the cathedra to the pulpit made by Casmannus at the end of his lifetime was perhaps likewise a result of that.

61 Seen in this light the suggestion he played an intermediary role between Thomson and the publisher of his translation is quite likely: Höltgen, 'Die Lösung des alten Rätsels', p. 364.

62 A.W. Pollard et al. (eds), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, & Ireland and of English
medical terminologies and methodologies were applied to spiritual life, since Casmannus had introduced that in Latin.  

In the Netherlands Casmannus’ works met with favourable reception. Apart from the excerpt mentioned nine books were translated into Dutch, in all 12 editions. I have had the opportunity to investigate five of them. It appears that two of these works owe their existence to the instigation of the Amsterdam merchants F. de Vrij and C. van Ceulen. It will be no accident that the former wrote a book entitled *Anatomia, Dat is Ont-ledinghe van den Geestelycken Mensch* (*Anatomia, That is Dissection of the Spiritual Man*). In each case, the transfer of Pietistic ideas from Germany to the Republic took place via North Sea trade routes again.

The influence of Puritanism in Germany was far from being limited to the northern west coast only. All over Germany translations were published, matching as for the number of books as well as editions the totals of the corresponding Dutch translations. It is an extremely surprising fact that more than one half of the translations is not based on the original text but on the Dutch version! Of course, the German translations were primarily products of Reformed people and intended for the Reformed world in Germany. It is remarkable, however, that right from the beginning they came here into Lutheran hands and met with such a favourable reception that from the 1630s onwards they were accepted by Lutheran circles officially.

The German translations of Puritan works for the greater part did not only have a Dutch source-text, but it is also a fact that numerous German students at Dutch universities got acquainted with the spirit of Dutch Pietism as well. They were charmed by it and after having returned to their native country they propagated it passionately. For the rest, in the second half of the seventeenth century German translations of works by dozens of Dutch Reformed edifying authors were put out,


66 Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke and Hall*, pp. 29-31. Once more this combination proves that Dutch Pietism was steeped in Puritanism.


68 This applies to minister Theodor Undereyck, who may be considered as the father of Reformed Pietism in Germany, but also to a lawyer such as Philipp Erberfeld, who translated writings of Guiljelmus Saldenus and Teellinck into German since he had taken his doctor’s degree in Franeker in 1668. See for Undereyck: H. Faulenbach, ‘Die Anfänge des Pietismus bei den Reformierten in Deutschland’, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, IV (1977/1978), pp. 205-220; Johann F.G. Goeters, ‘Der reformierte Pietismus in Deutschland 1650-1690’, in Brecht, *Der Pietismus*, pp. 244-256, and for Erberfeld: Van den End, *Guiljelmus Saldenus*, pp. 263-265.
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in total about 60 editions.\textsuperscript{69} So there is every reason to fall in with the thesis of one of the best connoisseurs of German Reformed Pietism, that it originated in direct connection with Dutch piety and that they formed a true unity.\textsuperscript{70}

North Sea piety?

North Sea coastal areas formed a religious unity. Everywhere – apart from the small coastal area of Flanders, and this as late as 1585 – protestant religion was confessed. After the preceding the first question arises: was there ever such a thing as North Sea piety? This Sea was and is surrounded by Scotland, England, the Southern and Northern Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In the preceding, however, the latter three are missing, though they take up half of the total coast. This demonstrates the relativity of the Protestant unity of North Sea coasts. The missing countries were Lutheran, whereas the rest were Reformed, with the exception of Germany, where both religions were confessed. The dividing-line between both systems was so clearly marked, that Reformed piety was not able to land in Lutheran North Sea coastal areas, though trade with Reformed ones was ever so intensive. This not only legitimatizes the limitation of this article to Reformed piety but also in advance excludes the possibility of one common North Sea piety.

Reformed devotional literature yet reaching the Swedish North Sea coast had nothing to do with trade contacts with Reformed North Sea countries, but rather with religious links with German Lutheranism. As could be expected, they were for the greater part Swedish translations of Lutheran adaptations of German Puritan translations.\textsuperscript{71} Here we encounter the interdenominational trait familiar to Protestant piety.\textsuperscript{72} Reformed and Lutheran Pietists frankly adopted elements of Roman-Catholic piety which were not controversial in confessional respect. This interconfessionality clearly manifests an underground of Reformed Pietism consisting of prereformation devotion and mysticism.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{69} I borrow this new and surprising fact from a still unpublished relevant bibliographical list composed by Van der Haar. For the permission to inspect it I am very grateful to him.


\textsuperscript{71} Hellekant, Engelsk uppbygghelselitteratur.


\textsuperscript{73} Op ‘t Hof, ‘Rooms-katholieke doorwerking binnen de Nadere Reformatie’.
an important part of it. As this late-mediaeval piety was found in the whole of Europe, this aspect of Protestant Pietism does not point to a limitation to North Sea coasts.

All this gives urgency to whether Pietism including Puritanism can be considered as a typical product of Reformed North Sea countries. The geographical dissemination of Puritanism in England and Scotland and Pietism in the Republic strongly advocates this view. In the Dutch rural areas, for example, there was hardly any Reformed piety. Further, the many and intensive mutual piety connections between England, the Netherlands and the northern west coast of Germany existed thanks to the North Sea trade routes.

But what about the impact of Reformed piety in the rest of Germany? Indeed, here questions present themselves rapid. In England, a Swiss theological student such as Wolfgang Meijer, a descendant of the renowned reformer Martin Bucer, became a passionate adherent of Puritanism and planted Puritan piety in his native country and via his numerous translations of Puritan works in Germany as well. This took place to such an extent, that in the first decades of the seventeenth century Switzerland was one of the principal suppliers of Puritan translations to Germany. The same development can be seen in the case of Hungarian theological students at Dutch universities. Here some of them threw in their lot with the cause of Reformed piety. Even in the Netherlands they published pietistic books in Hungarian and in their own country they became fervent propagators of Pietism.

It is significant that the Dutch impact on these Hungarian Pietists was combined with the Puritan, as it was in Germany. Due to English emigrants settling in North America society and culture there received a strongly Puritan impulse at that time. Dutch Pietistic emigrants gave support to this to a much smaller extent. In the same way Dutch Pietism asserted itself in another part of the


world, South Africa. When Pietism vigorously manifested itself in Central European countries like Switzerland and Hungary and even settled in other parts of the world such as America and Africa, can we then still speak of a piety determined by the North Sea?

In each case these arguments show that Pietism was not the prerogative of Reformed North Sea countries. Must the idea of a Reformed North Sea piety therefore not be automatically relegated to the realm of fantasy? It would have to be if one could demonstrate that Pietism outside the North Sea area was equal in strength to that around the North Sea. As appeared from the preceding, the various national manifestations of the latter impregnated and stimulated each other. As far as I can see, this does not apply to the relation between Pietism around the North Sea and that outside it. It is true, the existence of the latter is wholly due to the impact of the former, but a reverse influence of any significance is not visible. For that reason in my opinion it is justifiable scholarly speaking to postulate that there was like a Reformed North Sea piety.

In all fairness I have to add that within the mutual influencing of the diverse national manifestations of Pietism, the Puritan influence was predominant. In this connection it is characteristic that Dutch Pietism abroad virtually always went hand in hand with Puritanism. The utmost consequence of this, that the history of Pietism was in fact solely the success of Puritanism, runs contrast to many results of the investigation and therefore goes too far.

What is now the significance of Reformed North Sea piety for the hypothesis of the North Sea culture in general? In the first place, it is one of the arguments on that scale of the balance on which the arguments in favour can be put. Secondly, one must not underestimate its weight. Supposing an investigation on Reformed theology of that time would show an identical image, the specific weight of that result would still be less weighty than that of the present investigation on Reformed piety. The latter is rooted much deeper and more extensively in the great numbers of church members than theology. But whether the weight of Reformed North Sea piety is sufficient to secure the North Sea culture is questionable and might continue to be a moot point for ever. Thirdly, in case future historical scholarship will answer positively in future, it is still a fact that the piety in question has been one of the most successful, if not the most successful element of that culture, at least during the period under discussion.

80 I am very grateful to drs. J. Weststrate for his willingness to correct the English text.