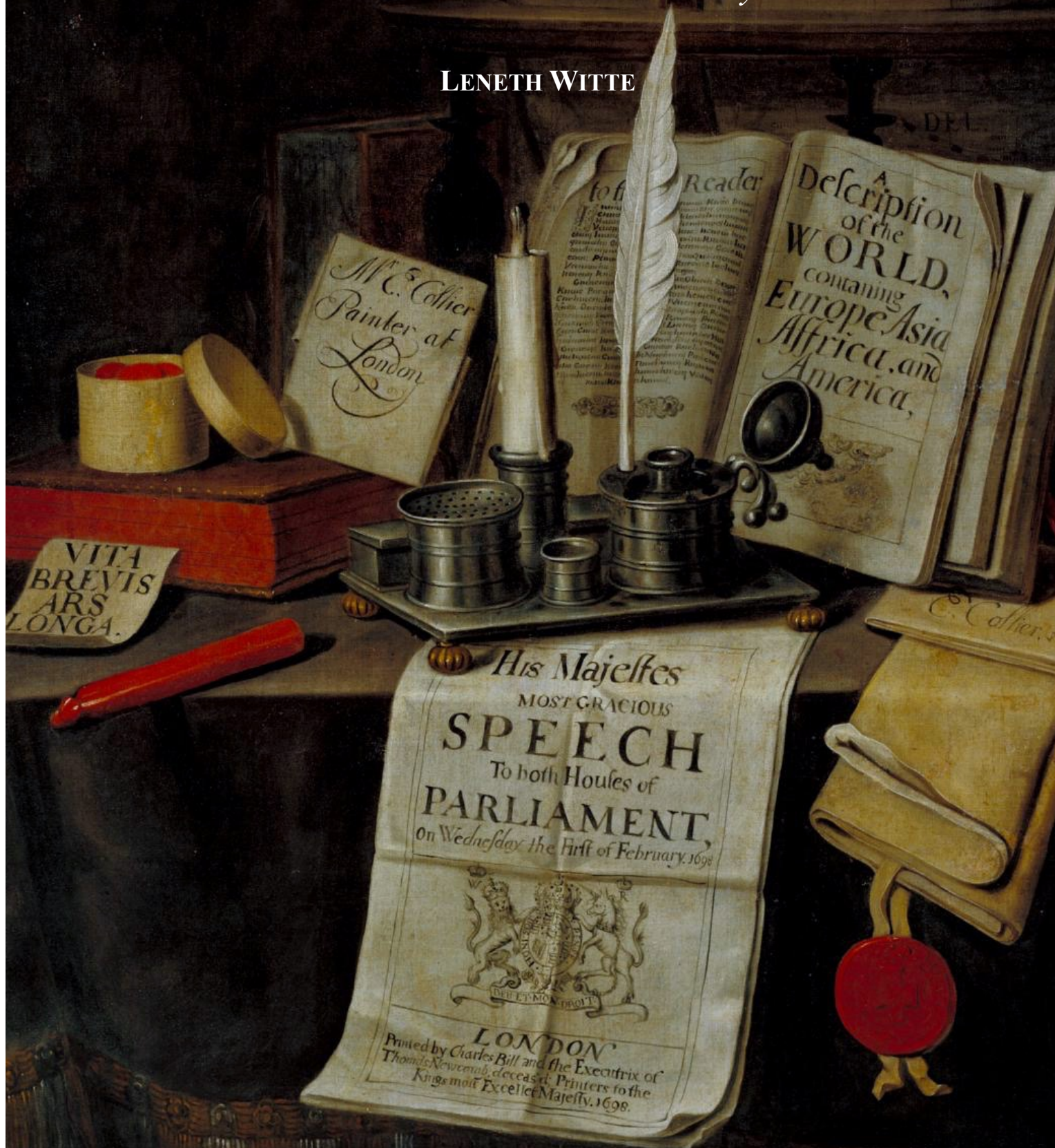


# The English Book in the Dutch Golden Age

*Three Well-Read Men and their Libraries  
in the Seventeenth Century*

LENETH WITTE



Libri Anglici in Folio.  
 tyrs, by Maister Iohn Foxe at London 2 volum. 1596, en 1597  
 e holy warre by Thomas Feller, in Cambridge.  
 els in to Africa & Asia, by Th. Herbert Esq. London 1638  
 vy of England, by S.D. London 1621  
 tions of Scotland, at Edenburrow 1609  
 tats, London 1598  
 eath of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotlant, London 1624  
 ings, &c. by Th. Bilson Bishop. of VVinch, London 1604  
 , by Iames Yerke, London 1641  
 &c. London 1614  
 y Francis VVhite, London 1624  
 New Testament with a Confutation of errors, by VV.  
 don 1601  
 , by VVilliam Burton, London.  
 on 1616  
 England betweene the two houses of Lancashier and  
 chy, by Th. Herbert, Lond. 1634

18 A

London 1636  
 32 A Commentarie upon the Epist. of St. Paule to Philemon, by VV.  
 33 Purchas his Pelgrimes, 4. volum. London 1625  
 34 — Hu Pelgrimage, London 1614  
 35 An Itenerarii of synes Moryson, London 1617  
 36 Theatrum Botanicum Anglice, of Iohn Parkinson, 3 volum. I.  
 37 The Historie of the world, by Sr. VValter Raleigh, London 1614  
 38 The workes of Geffrey chaucer Poët, London 1602  
 39 The Historie of Edward the fourth, Lond. 1640  
 40 The Historie of great Britaine, London 1623  
 41 Quadruple Dictionaire containing soure sundrie tongues, Lond. 158  
 42 The generall Historie of Virginia, New England, &c. London 1632  
 43 A necessarie introduction to the Archbishop of Cant. his tryall, Lond. 1  
 44 A New Survey of the VVest-indies, Lond. 1648  
 45 A breuiate of the life of VVilliam Laud, Lond. 1644

Libri Anglici in Quarto.

- 1 ENquiries of the diversitie of languages and Religions, by Ed. Breven
- 2 Episcopacie by devine Right asserted, by Ios. Hall London 1640
- 3 Via recta ad vitam longam Anglice, by To. Vermes Doctor of Physice,
- 4 North-west Fox or Fox from the North-west passage, &c. London 1635
- 5 A double Centurii of Resolves by Owen Fesstham, London 1636
- 6 The lives of VVil. the first, VVil. the second and Hen. the first, by I.H. Lon
- 7 A voyage into the levant, &c. London 1638
- 8 The Answere of Rob. Bish. of VVynchester to Iohn Fekenham concerning  
the supremacie, London 1566

F 3

Front cover: Edward Collier, *Vanitas still life with an English book, a pamphlet, a candlestick, a writing set, a terrestrial globe, a circular box of seals, among other things, all on a draped table* (1699). Currently in possession of Tate in the United Kingdom.  
 Image source: Tate, 'Edward Collier' <<http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/collier-still-life-n05856>> (27 July, 2017).

Inner wrapping: Johannes de Laet's book auction catalogue.  
 Image source: see bibliography.

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Leiden University: MA Thesis

Book and Digital Media Studies

First reader: Prof. dr. P.G. Hoftijzer

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## INTRODUCTION

The history of the relations between the Netherlands and Great Britain is characterised by extremes. An ally has often quickly transformed into an enemy and vice versa. To this day, political, cultural and economical aspects both connect and alienate the two countries. The historical events of the seventeenth century illustrate these shifting relations between the Dutch Republic and Great Britain and its effects on both nations. A prime example is the conquest of England by William III, Prince of Orange, in 1688, making the stadtholder of the Dutch Republic simultaneously the King of England. Written evidence of these historical ties, in the form of books, pamphlets and letters, can be found in many libraries and various studies have focused on this phenomenon. In this thesis, the available research will be expanded by taking Dutch book auction catalogues as a starting point to examine Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century. More specifically, the ownership of multiple English books was, especially at the start of the century, rather uncommon. In this thesis, the different reasons for the interest in texts written in a language most people in the Netherlands did not understand, including the different genres and changes across time, will be examined, in order to gain a better insight into the presence of English books in the Dutch Republic and the mutual cultural and linguistic exchange of Anglo-Dutch relations in general.

### *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century*

The Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century are marked by a wide variety of religious, economic and political issues and shift continuously throughout the century. For the Dutch Republic, the seventeenth century is often characterised as the Golden Age. Trade, art and scientific research all flourished and were highly acclaimed. Perhaps as a consequence, it is often stated that within the Anglo-Dutch relationship, Great Britain was mainly on the receiving end. As Charles Wilson writes: ‘There is hardly a period in English history when ideas or people from the Low Countries have not influenced [England] in one way or another, and the earliest evidence of Flemish settlers in England goes far back into the Middle Ages, before the Norman Conquest’.<sup>1</sup> For the seventeenth century, this is true in various areas; however, in many other respects it is clear that the English had a significant impact on the Dutch as well. A summary of this double-sided relation will be provided here

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<sup>1</sup> C. Wilson, *Holland and Britain: The Nations and Britain* (London: Collins, 1946), pp. 12-13.

to serve as a framework, which will facilitate the in-depth research of this study into English books in Dutch private libraries.

### *Religion and Politics*

During the Dutch Revolt in the second half of the sixteenth century, many Dutch and Flemish people fled to the British Isles. The Dutch Church of Austin Friars in London, founded as early as 1550, was established because of the arrival of these Protestant exiles. This refugee community not only brought economic opportunity to a rather isolated island, but also Netherlandish ideas and culture.<sup>2</sup> The Church even established a Protestant alliance between the Dutch refugees and the Huguenots, which persisted into the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> However, the number of British people who made their way across the North Sea and English Channel in the other direction was much larger. Many of these people were, just like the Dutch, religious and political fugitives. From the reign of Mary I, or 'Bloody Mary' (1553-1558), until the end of the seventeenth century, people of various different religious and political convictions found a safe haven in the Low Countries: Catholics in the south, Protestants in the north.<sup>4</sup> The influences of certain religious ideas on both English and Dutch citizens resulting from this mutual hospitality is apparent. At the end of the sixteenth century, many nonconformist Protestants found their way to the Republic to escape religious persecution in England.<sup>5</sup> As Wilson states: 'By 1610, Amsterdam had at least five English congregations, four of them Separatist'.<sup>6</sup> One small section of such a community in Leiden, who later became known as the Pilgrim Fathers, emigrated across the Atlantic, again in the words of Wilson, 'not because of intolerance from the magistrates but because they feared that a longer stay in Leiden would lead to assimilation into Dutch society, which they were reluctant to contemplate'.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, this reluctance did not stop people from moving to the Dutch Republic when another religious or political persecution commenced. When in 1649, Cromwell's radical Protestant Commonwealth was established, the monopoly of the Anglican Church of England was overthrown. Many Protestant religious refugees returned to England, making way for a new current of fugitives to the Dutch Republic, mainly followers

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<sup>2</sup> K.H.D. Haley, *The British and the Dutch: Political and Cultural Relations through the Ages* (London: George Philip, 1988), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Holland and Britain*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa. Culturele betrekkingen tussen Groot-Britannië en de Nederlandse Republiek', in A.G.H. Bachrach, J.P. Sigmond and A.J. Veenendaal jr. (eds.), *Willem III: De Stadhouder-Koning en zijn Tijd* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988), p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, *Holland and Britain*, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

of the Stuart monarchy and members of the Anglican Church. After Charles II restored the monarchy in England in 1660, it was the turn of the nonconformists to flee to the Dutch Republic again.<sup>8</sup> Because of this constant emigration and immigration, religious life in England was influenced by the Dutch experience and vice versa. An illustrative example of this is the printing and circulation of Puritan literature, which was prohibited in Stuart and Anglican England. Works by William Prynne, for instance, were printed in both Dutch and English in order to reach a larger public. The younger generation of English fugitives had come into contact with the Dutch political and cultural system where, as K.H.D. Haley writes, ‘the official Calvinist Church was not based on titles, had no bishops [and] which had in practice to tolerate a considerably diversity of opinion’. In addition, ‘in the Republic there was no preliminary censorship of the large number of printers and the only penalties upon works which had appeared, however scandalous, were light and easily evaded’.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, many Dutch Protestants were greatly influenced by the theology of English Puritan refugees. The lack of censorship in printing in the Dutch Republic facilitated the Puritans in spreading their ideas. It is not surprising, then, that many magistrates and Calvinist ministers in the Dutch Republic owned English devotional literature, mostly in translation, sometimes in the original language.

### *English Soldiers in the Netherlands*

However, not only religious and political refugees came to the Dutch Republic and the influence on the book trade, and literature in general, can be characterised by other English immigrants as well. The second half of the sixteenth century marks a large presence of English soldiers in the Low Countries, who arrived there to fight against the Spanish tyranny. The Dutch resistance against the Spanish was a European concern, if only for the trade routes and opportunities which were slowly diminishing because of the weakened Dutch position. It is known that various British poets fought in this war for example, from Ben Jonson and Christopher Marlowe to Sir Philip Sidney, who died in Arnhem after a battle.<sup>10</sup> One effect of this particular English presence in the Netherlands was the, albeit modest, spread of the English language. In 1647, Henry Hexham, a soldier who served in the English army in the

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<sup>8</sup> Hoftijzer, ‘Een Venster op Europa’, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> Haley, *The British and the Dutch*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>10</sup> J. Huizinga, *Verspreide Opstellen over de geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum Boekhandel Canon, 2007), pp. 103-120.

United Provinces, compiled the first English-Dutch dictionary.<sup>11</sup> The influence of English soldiers on the literary Anglo-Dutch relations is thus apparent.

### *Anglo-Dutch Trade*

Another factor which played a prominent role in Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century is trade. Especially because of its internal political and religious unrest and its rather isolated position as an island, England has always been characterised as being a few steps behind on the Dutch Republic regarding its economy and trade. At the start of the seventeenth century, England was not necessarily a profitable or necessary source for trade for the Dutch Republic. The Merchant Adventurers' Company was possibly the most notable trade intermediary between the Dutch and English. The Merchant Adventurers were a guild which had the monopoly of woollen fabrics and settled in various cities in the United Provinces after Antwerp became subjected to Spanish power.<sup>12</sup> These merchants were significant in spreading religious and political ideas across the Republic as well as in England. However, up until the Glorious Revolution, and even thereafter, the trade relation between the British and the Dutch can be described as envious and competitive. Herman Scherpbier describes the antipathy of the English towards the Dutch as 'jalousie de métier', referring to the fact that 'the United Provinces were the chief commercial country in the world, the English their great rivals. England and Holland, for a short time united against Spain, soon became opponents and were to fight three wars for trade interests.'<sup>13</sup> These wars were fought between 1652 and 1674 and mostly at sea. Even though this generally did not affect the flow of refugees to the Republic or the exchange of cultural ideas and literature, it is not until the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 that a large increase in the economy and technological advancement in England can be seen. The invasion, according to Lisa Jardine, was both an 'intervention on behalf of the Dutch state, to prevent James II from forming an anti-Dutch Catholic alliance with France, and a bid to secure [William III] and his wife's dynastic interests'.<sup>14</sup> By ascending the throne as the King of England, the Prince of Orange 'brought about a union between the two commercial rivals against the threatening supremacy of France in Europe'.<sup>15</sup> Considering the hostile sentiments towards the Dutch before the

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<sup>11</sup> H. Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland: A Study in the Literary Relations of England and Holland before 1730* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1933), p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> L. Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008), p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, p. 27.

Glorious Revolution, it should come as no surprise that the invasion by William III was not necessarily welcomed widely. Nevertheless, it is a fact that because of the Glorious Revolution England had the opportunity to participate in European trade on a much larger scale.<sup>16</sup> In addition, it facilitated the direct imitation of Dutch institutions. At the end of the century, Britain mirrored the Dutch model by calling into existence a Funded National Debt as well as a Bank of England, partially funded by Amsterdam.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, a notable re-orientation in Anglo-Dutch trade relations can be seen at the end of the seventeenth century, changing the commercial landscape in both England and the United Provinces.

### *The Anglo-Dutch Language Exchange*

As much as the presence of Englishmen in the Republic, and of Dutchmen in England, marks the seventeenth century, the presence of the foreign language in both countries is harder to establish. The knowledge of Dutch was unnecessary for most English scholars and other readers, since most books of importance were still published in either French or Latin.<sup>18</sup> As for trade, the use of Dutch was more common. Some scholars even claim that it was used as an international language as French and English are used today.<sup>19</sup> Proof of this can be found in the English vernacular and the use of Dutch words and phrases in plays and other texts in the seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the correspondence between the Merchant Adventurers in London and the Rotterdam magistrate was, until the start of the second half of the seventeenth century, partially carried out in Dutch.<sup>21</sup> The aversion of the English against the Dutch traders, as mentioned previously, had an effect on the English vernacular as well. The various negative connotations with the word 'Dutch' which are still present in the English language are proof of this.<sup>22</sup> However, after 1650, when the presence of England on the world map increases, the use of English expanded as well. As J.E. Elias states: 'The national self-respect of the English seemed to have developed so much that they did not write to the Rotterdam people in Dutch or Latin anymore, but for the first time in English'.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Een Venster op Europa', p. 116.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson, *Holland and Britain*, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> Haley, *The British and the Dutch*, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>20</sup> A few examples of this can be found in John Marston's *The Dutch Courtezan* and William Haughton's *A Woman will have her Wil*. Cf. Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>21</sup> Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, p. 87.

<sup>22</sup> 'Dutch courage', 'Double Dutch' and 'going Dutch' are just a few examples. Cf. Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa', p. 115.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Scherpbier, *Milton in Holland*, p. 87.

The presence of the English language in the Republic thus witnessed a notable increase after around 1650. However, even before that time, because of the presence of many English fugitives, Dutch society will already have come into contact with the English language. Learning the vernacular was not part of an official education; nevertheless, many English settlers in the Republic made a living providing translations and English lessons.<sup>24</sup> This also brought about the first English-Dutch and Dutch-English grammars and dictionaries, such as the one by Hexham, as mentioned previously, as well as one by Willem Sewel, who was a religious refugee with a Quaker background, who lived in Amsterdam. He created an Anglo-Dutch dictionary which was used as a standard until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, these refugees and other English settlers at the beginning of the seventeenth century have had a notable influence on direct language exchange between the English and the Dutch. Nevertheless, indirect communication also played an important role. Printed English texts were not greatly popular with the Dutch public. Not only the language formed an obstacle, but also the high costs of a work published in England made it unpopular. In addition, the scholars and readers who did master the English language often disliked the language for literary use, characterising it as uncultivated. Moreover, even though translations of some English works in Dutch and French circulated in the United Provinces during the late seventeenth century, the genre and style of the English works often did not align with what was popular in the Republic. William Shakespeare, John Donne and Ben Jonson are rarely found in a seventeenth-century library of an English-reading Dutchman.<sup>26</sup> The most avid readers of English works were Dutch magistrates and theologians, who followed English Puritanism and pietism closely.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the book auction catalogues will prove that other Dutch citizens owned English books as well.

### *Dutch Book Auctions*

The online repository of Leiden publisher Brill has provided the digital database *Book Sales Catalogues Online*, containing almost 5000 book auction catalogues from 1600 to the 1830s in JPG format. This image-based repository facilitates both quantitative and qualitative research of different types of book-owners throughout more than two centuries. This thesis will partially rely on the provided information of this database.

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<sup>24</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa', p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Een venster op Europa', p. 134-135.

<sup>27</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637-1724* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 1987), p. 6.

Book auctions are not a phenomenon exclusive to the seventeenth century, but they did increase in popularity during this time. This is due to various reasons, one of which is the appearance of the printed catalogue. In all probability, the first book auction catalogue was printed in 1599 by Loys Elsevier in Leiden, of the collection of the diplomat and scholar Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde.<sup>28</sup> It was soon established that the printed catalogue improved the proceeds of the auction, and many booksellers in various cities followed. Especially when the collection was large and attracted wide interest, it was profitable to print a catalogue. Moreover, books were often sold separately from the other possessions of the deceased and attained a popular status among the middle and upper classes. Apart from the printed catalogue, the popularity of the book auctions carries several other reasons. Firstly, the high literacy rate in the Republic resulted in a great demand for books. Secondly, the production rate of books was high and there was thus much stock to sell. Thirdly, the Dutch did not attach value to family possessions as traditions in other countries may have done. Fourthly, public libraries provided limited access and their small collections were often unsatisfactory for the learned public that the United Provinces housed.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps an additional reason is the relative freedom of religion. As Graham Pollard states: ‘Book auctions made more progress in northern and Protestant countries than they did in the older Catholic centres of learning. [...] This was due to the dynamic atmosphere of trade in those countries rather than to any explicit doctrinal disapproval of the practice’.<sup>30</sup> In any case, the blossoming economy and culture of the Dutch Golden Age marks an increase of book auctions and provides the researcher with an insight in the private libraries of magistrates, scholars, travellers and other readers of the seventeenth century.

The popularity of book auctions can be retrieved by two main sources, namely the obligatory registration with the local authorities which occurred from the middle of the seventeenth century, and the advertisements in, sometimes international, newspapers. The registration obliged book sellers to compile a printed catalogue of the books that were being sold and submit a number of copies of these to the authorities. Advertisements and the promotion of the auction using printed catalogues reached far into Western Europe including Britain, of which proof can be found in the *London Gazette* at the end of the seventeenth

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<sup>28</sup> O.S. Lankhorst, ‘Dutch Book Auctions in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds.), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, London: Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2001), p. 65.

<sup>29</sup> Lankhorst, ‘Dutch Book Auctions’, pp. 68-69.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in B. van Selm, ‘The Introduction of the Printed Book Auction Catalogue’, *Quaerendo*, 15-2 (1985), p. 141.

century.<sup>31</sup> In the Republic, Leiden was the main centre of book auctions. As a university town, this is unsurprising. What increased the popularity of book auctions in this particular city as well is the fact that booksellers were allowed to act as auctioneers themselves, which not only facilitated the high demand for certain books from Leiden scholars and their connections outside of the city and country, but also the selling of excess stock of the booksellers' inventories.<sup>32</sup>

It is for this reason that book auction catalogues as a source for research should be approached with some caution. For instance, many catalogues were printed without the name of an owner of the private library that was being auctioned. It was common practice for booksellers to use the opportunity of a book auction to sell their own stock of books. Especially when a library of a famous scholar was being auctioned, booksellers added a lengthy appendix containing their own books.<sup>33</sup> In addition, sometimes booksellers falsified a name on the title page and added a description of this 'person', describing how learned he was, whereas in fact the bookseller was selling the books he could not get sold in his own shop. A prime example of this is the auction of one W. Snellonius, who is described as being 'very famous and experienced'. This auction was held in 1691 by Pieter van der Aa in Leiden and it is now known that Van der Aa invented Snellonius to sell of his surplus stock.<sup>34</sup>

Not only appendices and falsified auctions distort our impression of the contents of a private library. Some books were simply not auctioned because they remained in the family, whereas others may have been sold before the catalogue was drawn up.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, if the catalogues are approached with a cautious mind, they can still provide an impression of what was read during the seventeenth century and by whom.

Especially during the second half of the century, an increase in auction catalogues can be seen. In addition, the lay-out as well as the content of the catalogues undergo some changes. Books of different languages become less and less separated from each other, giving the impression that at the end of the seventeenth century, French and Italian were just as much read, or sold for the same price, as the Dutch vernacular and Latin. Moreover, books in the vernacular seem to gain more ground as texts in Latin slowly diminish. However, most of these works would be Dutch and French. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, books in the English language are still rare. Usually, if a scholar or magistrate owned books by English

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<sup>31</sup> Lankhorst, 'Dutch Book Auctions', pp. 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> Van Selm, 'The Introduction of the Printed Book Auction Catalogue', p. 126.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Lankhorst, 'Dutch Book Auctions', p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> Lankhorst, 'Dutch Book Auctions', p. 74.

authors or publishers, they had been translated in Latin or French. Owners of books in the English vernacular are scarce, and most of them did not have large or varied collections. The few Dutchmen that do have a relatively larger collection of English works are, since they are quite unique, an interesting starting point to examine what English titles were available and why these particular people had them in their collections.

### *English Book Owners in the Republic*

Naturally, for this study a selection had to be made to facilitate more in-depth research. Nevertheless, there are other collections found in the auction catalogues which each could be, or have been, a starting point for interesting research on our understanding of the presence of English books in the Dutch Republic.

It has already been mentioned that throughout the century, a large focus lies on English theology. In addition, some auctions were held for magistrates or church ministers of English descent who settled in the United Provinces, giving an idea of the literature these immigrants possessed. An example of this is Hugh Goodyear, who was born in Manchester around 1590 and came to Leiden after studying theology at Cambridge. He identified himself with the English separatists who had settled in Leiden and who later would be known as the American ‘Pilgrim Fathers’.<sup>36</sup> It is thus unsurprising that, apart from Latin texts, many books in the English vernacular were present in his private library, which was auctioned in 1662. The majority is theology, but a few English works deviate from this. *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609) by Sir Francis Bacon, a fable book, is an example of this, as well as *An English Expositor* (1616) by John Bullokar which focusses on the interpretation of the English language. He also had a copy of the sonnets of William Shakespeare, the first time that this title is mentioned in a ‘Dutch’ collection. It is perhaps even more interesting that after this lengthy list of English titles, about forty Dutch titles are mentioned, including a Bible.<sup>37</sup>

An example of a Dutchman owning books in the English language is Abraham Grenier. He was born in Middelburg in 1626 and passed away in 1660. His books were auctioned in Leiden, where he had studied law. He was also a poet and friends with the remarkable literary figure Jan Six van Chandelier, with whom he travelled to France and

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<sup>36</sup> J.D. Bangs, *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of Hugh Goodyear, English Reformed Minister at Leiden* (Utrecht: H&S Publishers, 1985), p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus variorum librorvm*. [Collected by a minister of the English congregation in Leiden: Hugh Goodyear] (Leiden: David Lopez de Haro, 1662), 4<sup>o</sup>: [38] pp.

England.<sup>38</sup> Grenier's travels must have inspired his collection of English books. Many focus on religion, such as *Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandements by Mr. John Dod* (1603) and *A Reply a Pretended Christian Plea the Antichrist Church of Rome, published by Mr. Johnson* (1617).<sup>39</sup> However, some books in this collection focus on the history of Great Britain, such as *The Historie of the Warres of England between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke [...]* (1641)<sup>40</sup> and *The Historie of Great Britanie under the Conquest of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans, from Julius Cesar unto the Raigne of King James* (1623). An interest in languages can be seen in an English grammar titled *The Interpretation of the Hebrue, Greeke, and Latin* (date unknown).<sup>41</sup> Even though the collection is rather small compared to the Latin, Dutch and French works Grenier owned, it is evident that his interest in England reached further than its religious circumstances.

In addition to English settlers, who unsurprisingly often had a large collection of English texts, and Dutchmen who had an, albeit often smaller, English library, there are also auction catalogues including English works without a mentioned owner. As explained previously, these auctions were held to sell off the stock of the booksellers. The titles in these catalogues give an insight in the circulation of English works in the Netherlands; however, it is hard to determine their popularity and intended audience. Therefore, for this thesis the focus is laid on three individual Dutchmen with a relatively large English collection.

### *The Case Studies*

The three Dutchmen who owned English books and who will be discussed in this thesis show a part of this diversity, but perhaps also of the exclusivity, of the reading public in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Existing research has examined a few private libraries, from people such as Hugh Goodyear to Constantijn Huygens, for instance, on the basis of their auction catalogues, but on the whole not much research has been done on English books in these catalogues specifically.<sup>42</sup> By highlighting the libraries of three

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<sup>38</sup> P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and K.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek. Deel 7* (rpt. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1974), p. 496.

<sup>39</sup> The title of the latter work is seemingly abbreviated. Its full title is: *A Reply to a Pretended Christian Plea for the Anti-Christian Church of Rome, published by Mr. Francis Johnson*. (Oxford: Francis Johnson, 1617).

<sup>40</sup> The full title is: *The Historie of the Warres of England between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke in the life of Richard the Second, Henry the IV and V and VI and Edward the IV and V and Richard the III and Henry the VIII, by Henry Earle of Monmouth* (London: John Benson: 1641).

<sup>41</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum*. [Collected by a Middelburg magistrate: Abraham Grenier] (Middelburg: Jaques Fierens, 1660), 4<sup>o</sup>: [26] pp.

<sup>42</sup> The exploration of the library of Constantijn Huygens can be found in: A. van Elslander & W. Schrikkx, 'De Engelse werken in den catalogus van C. Huygens', *Tijdschrift voor levende talen*, 18 (1952), pp. 35-43 and 179-201.

specific, well-read men, an impression will be given of English book owners in the seventeenth century. In addition, it will provide an insight into what English books were available, perhaps well-read and owned by scholarly Dutchmen in the Golden Age.

In the first chapter, the English part of the library of Balthasar Lydius (1576-1629) will be examined. It was auctioned in 1630, a point in time in which it was even more rare to possess English books than at the end of the century. Lydius became a minister in Dordrecht after studying theology in Leiden. Unsurprisingly, the English books he owned mainly focus on religion.

In the second chapter, Johannes de Laet's English titles will be discussed. De Laet (1582-1649) was a merchant in both England and the Republic and a writer, as well as one of the founding directors of the Dutch West-Indies Company from 1620 onwards. His library was auctioned in 1650 in Leiden. His collection of English books varies greatly. Books on religion, history, politics, language and travelling are included in this auction.

In the third chapter, the English books owned by Justus Turcq will be studied. Turcq (1611-1680) was not only a physician, but also the mayor of Bergen op Zoom and a poet. His political, literary and medical background all had an influence on the English books he possessed, which the auction catalogue will prove.

The English presence in these auction catalogues raises certain questions. For instance, in what way do the English titles included in the auction catalogues reflect the constantly evolving and increasing Anglo-Dutch relations throughout the seventeenth century? Who are these people that mastered a rather unpopular vernacular, and why did they have knowledge of the English language? What types of English books did they read and were these popular, or perhaps frowned upon in the Republic? Did these books align with the owner's profession, or were there also books for leisure included in their libraries? The three case studies will explore some, if not all, of these questions.

2.

*je*

CATALOGVS  
Van verscheydē uytneemen-  
de Duytsche/Hooghduytsche ende Engelsche  
Boecken/uyt de Bibliotheke van  
D. BALTHAZAR LYDIVS.  
In sijn leven Dienaer des H. Euangelij  
tot Dordrecht.

Waer van de Auctie ghehouden sal werden in de  
Hof-tract ten hupse bande Erf-genamen  
Op den



Tot Dordrecht,  
By de Weduwe van Pieter Verhaghen/ in de  
Druckerij by de Wynbrugge, N<sup>o</sup>. 1630.

Figure 1: The title page of Balthasar Lydius' book auction catalogue.

## BALTHASAR LYDIUS

Balthasar Lydius was born on 13 August 1576 in Groß-Umstadt, near Darmstadt and Frankfurt.<sup>43</sup> During his life, he was a student of theology, a minister, a partisan of the Counter-Remonstrants and a writer. By retrieving the book auction catalogues of his library, it becomes clear he possessed many books. Three auctions in total were held of his library after he passed away on 20 January, 1629 in Dordrecht: two of Latin and German works, which were auctioned at two points in time, one in 1629 and one at the start of 1630. The third one is entirely devoted to texts in the vernacular languages Dutch, German and English. If all these books were truly owned by Lydius, his library comprised around 5000 books. This number does not, however, include the books his sons may or may not have inherited. In this chapter, the persona of Lydius will be examined, with a special focus on his religious activities, in order to come to an understanding why he owned so many English books and which specific titles he had in his collection. A few of these titles will be highlighted, not only to get an impression of what Lydius read, but also to provide a general idea of what English literature was available in the United Provinces at the start of the seventeenth century.

### *Family*

A full understanding of Balthasar's life requires an analysis of his family background. It is unknown who Balthasar's mother was, but his father was Martinus Lydius (1539-1601), a Lutheran minister who had studied classical languages and theology in Germany. He started his career in Frankfurt around the time Balthasar was born and over a time span of about twenty years, he and his wife and children moved to Antwerp, Leeuwarden, Amsterdam and, finally, Franeker. Martinus was not of German descent; his parents had fled from the Dutch province of Overijssel to Germany in 1535 when the magistrates of Deventer, where they lived, proclaimed the death penalty for Lutheran heresy.<sup>44</sup> After his studies, Martinus slowly made his way back to the Netherlands again. He was a well-read man, who had accumulated a large library during his lifetime.<sup>45</sup> In addition, his influence on religion in the Republic has

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<sup>43</sup> A portrait of Lydius can be found in Appendix I.

<sup>44</sup> C. van der Woude, 'Martinus Lydius', in D. Nauta (ed.), *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, vol. I (Kampen: Kok, 1978), p. 146.

<sup>45</sup> He is described by Jacobus Trigland, a popular counter-Remonstrant theologian of his time, as: 'Een man seer belesen in alle soorten van schrijvers, en soo vredelievend, dat hij sich geen arbeit ontrent het slissel [sic] van kerkelijke verschillen ontsagh'. Cf. G.D.J. Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht: Eene Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der*

been notable. For example, in 1581 he was sent to the oecumenical council of Middelburg to converse with professors from Leiden about a reformation of the Dutch educational system.<sup>46</sup> Eleven years later, in 1592, he travelled to Amsterdam to solve a dispute between the church council and Jacobus Arminius, who was a professor of theology at Leiden and would become the instigator of the Remonstrant movement. Not only did Martinus know Arminius, he also had contacts with other learned men of his time such as Josephus Justus Scaliger and Justus Lipsius.<sup>47</sup> The importance of religion and the connections to well-known scholars appear to have influenced his sons, since Balthasar and his brother Johannes both studied theology and as Calvinist ministers maintained contacts with numerous well-known scholars. After the death of Martinus in 1601, Balthasar and Johannes inherited their father's extensive library. Scaliger, a friend of the family, arranged this legacy.<sup>48</sup>

Johannes Lydius (1577-1643) was born a year before Balthasar and studied theology in Leiden after which he became a Calvinist minister, just like his father and brother. He published numerous books in both Dutch and Latin, aided and influenced by his contacts with famous scholars such as Gerardus Johannes Vossius, Hugo Grotius and Antonius Thysius. However, his decision to take sides with the Counter-Remonstrants negatively affected his friendships with Vossius and Grotius, who were Remonstrants. Consequently, he did not publish much after 1618.<sup>49</sup>

Balthasar, who was born in 1576, married twice: first with Aletta de Witt in 1603 and, after her passing away, with Anna van der Mijle in 1608. He had four sons, Isaac and Martinus with Aletta, and Jacobus and Samuel with Anna. They all became ministers.<sup>50</sup> Isaac and Jacobus stood as ministers in Dordrecht, following in their father's footsteps. Isaac studied theology in Leiden and married in 1641. Of his thirteen children six would die at a young age. Isaac's only son Mattheus became a minister in the Dordrecht area as well and, just like his grandfather, he had a large library which was auctioned in 1685, demonstrating that being well-read ran in the family.<sup>51</sup> Jacobus, Balthasar's third son, too became a minister in Dordrecht at the same time Isaac did. Interestingly, as a student he had studied a multitude

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*Vaderlandsche Hervormde Kerk, sedert het Jaar 1572*, vol. 1 (Dordrecht: Van Houtrijve & Bredius, 1841), p. 259.

<sup>46</sup> Van der Woude, 'Martinus Lydius', p. 146.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>48</sup> A.J. Lamping, 'Balthasar Lydius', in C. Houtman, *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, vol. 6 (Kampen: Kok, 2006), p. 175.

<sup>49</sup> G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Johannes Lydius', in J. van den Berg (ed.), *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, vol. 4 (Kampen: Kok, 1998), p. 322.

<sup>50</sup> F.S. Knipscheer, 'Balthasar Lydius', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1930), pp. 1085-1086.

<sup>51</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, pp. 393-394.

of different subjects; he was not only learned in Latin and theology but in ethics and oriental languages as well.<sup>52</sup> Jacob Cats described Jacobus as a ‘learned and excellent young man’ and in 1643 he, on the suggestion of Cats, became part of a Dutch delegation that was sent to England to negotiate peace between Charles I and his parliament. In England, he met many theologians and Puritan and Anglican ministers, most of them recommended by Vossius, who still was on good terms with the Lydius family.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps his father’s interest in the English language and religious culture influenced him to visit the country himself. Jacobus wrote much of his poetry in the English language and his library resembles that of his father in many ways. He even had more English titles than Balthasar.<sup>54</sup>

### *Education*

Johannes and Balthasar were taught Latin and Greek by their own father, after which Balthasar studied theology at the Frisian university in Franeker for a few years. He defended two theses under Sibrantus Lubbertus, a Calvinist theologian and professor.<sup>55</sup> In 1599, his father sent him to Leiden, where he was taught Hebrew by Wilhelmus Coddæus, history by Paullus Merula and theology by Fransiscus Junius. Under the wings of Scaliger he became well versed in the classical languages Latin and Greek.<sup>56</sup> During the course of his studies he befriended many prominent scholars, such as Daniel Heinsius, Bonaventura Vulcanius and, like his brother, Gerardus Johannes Vossius.<sup>57</sup> At Leiden he defended two more theses, supervised by Junius. They were titled ‘*De iustificatione hominis coram Deo* (The Justification of Man before God), written in 1599, and *De resipiscentia* (The Conversion), written in 1602.<sup>58</sup>

### *Religion and Politics*

Lydius was, just like his father, a Calvinist minister. The Dutch Reformed Church was, as J.I. Israel states, ‘... the only Dutch church which was officially protected and financed by the

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 398-399.

<sup>54</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus insignis [...] librorum*. [Collected by a Dordrecht minister: Jacobus Lydius] (Dordrecht: Herman van Wessem, 1680), 4°: [136] pp.

<sup>55</sup> Lamping, ‘Balthasar Lydius’, p. 175.

<sup>56</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, p. 261.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>58</sup> Lamping, ‘Balthasar Lydius’, p. 175.

provincial and civic governments as well as the federal government'.<sup>59</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, the Dutch Reformed Church acknowledged a separation between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants. In England a similar situation existed between Anglicans and Puritans. Lydius' religious ideas were greatly influenced by this English theological debate which showed similarities to the religious (and political) unrest in the Dutch Republic. Especially during and after de Synod of Dordrecht (1618-19), he had a considerable influence on the theological differences in the Dutch Reformed Church.

During the last part of his studies, Lydius had already started to work as a minister in 's-Hertogenbosch. Around July 1602, Lydius gave a sermon in Streefkerk. After having heard him preach, the local congregation strongly wanted him to become their minister.<sup>60</sup> The church council in Dordrecht mediated between Streefkerk and the protestant refugees from Den Bosch and offered Lydius temporary ministership in Dordrecht. However, he never made it back to 's-Hertogenbosch or Streefkerk because, in 1604, his temporary position was turned into a permanent one. It is the beginning of a period during which Lydius would exert a great influence on church life in Dordrecht and the surrounding area.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, he also became the curator of the Dordrecht Latin School, with which came the responsibility for its library.<sup>62</sup> His popularity was considerable; the surviving testimonials describe Lydius as a much beloved man within the community.<sup>63</sup>

Lydius' character appears to have been good-hearted, forgiving, highly earnest and full of zeal, as well as being slightly angry, harsh in punishment and quick-tempered.<sup>64</sup> This paradox can also be recognised in the manner in which he practiced his religion. At the start of his career, he was rather tolerant and mild in his convictions. He could not bear the division within the Calvinist church between the Remonstrants and the Counter-Remonstrants and on various occasions he expressed his wish to bring these convictions together.<sup>65</sup> However, there was a turning point in his life in which he chose his position in the

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<sup>59</sup> J.I. Israel, 'Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought', in S. Groenveld and M. Wintle (eds.), *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Zutphen: Walburg Instituut, 1994), p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, p. 264.

<sup>61</sup> Lamping, 'Balthasar Lydius', p. 176.

<sup>62</sup> Anon., 'Lydius, Balthasar', in E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier and G.A.C. van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium van Geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800* (Den Haag: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1990), p. 266.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. this judgment, quoted by Schotel: 'Syne extraordinarise meriten ende sonderlinghe geleerdtheydt verwierven hem, reeds kort na zijn eaankomt, grooten lof, soo binnen als wt die stede, ende alsoo was hij gelieft bij de burgers ende magistraet, dat si hem volstrektelijk nyet gonden aen andere Capitale steden, die van Lydii af gehoort hadden'. Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

dispute and became one of the strongest persecutors of the Remonstrants.<sup>66</sup> How can a peace-keeper, a man who tried to unite two opposing Christian currents, choose for embracing the one and oppressing the other? A small conflict, it seems, changed Lydius from, as stated by G.D.J. Schotel, ‘a gentle lamb into a heinous lion’.<sup>67</sup> His friend Vossius, in a letter to Hugo Grotius, refers to the accusations amongst the Dordrecht congregation of Lydius being too sympathetic towards the Remonstrants. This criticism apparently caused Lydius to choose the side of the Counter-Remonstrants for good. His sermons following this incident demonstrate his bitterness towards the other community, calling them hypocrites and wolves.<sup>68</sup>

The Synod of Dordrecht of 1618-1619 marks an important event in Lydius’s life. It is said that especially during these two years he misused his eloquence by convincing the representatives at the synod of his hatred of the Arminians.<sup>69</sup> The synod was called to attempt to solve the conflict between the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants. There was much hatred amongst the two religious communities which co-existed in most Dutch cities. However, the confrontation did not only influence the religious communities of the Dutch Republic, but its political landscape as well.<sup>70</sup> The Synod lasted for six months, from the first meeting in November 1618 to the 154<sup>th</sup> and last in May 1619. Representatives of the church councils of the Republic were invited, as well as a number of representatives from foreign countries.<sup>71</sup> The debates were intensive and reached a boiling point in January, when the chairman of the synod, Johannes Bogerman, delivered a convincing speech in Latin, which banished the Remonstrants from the room and from the discussion.<sup>72</sup> It took another three months to finalise the ‘Canons of Dordrecht’, which rejected the position of the Arminians, dismissed all Remonstrant ministers and established the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church as the official religion of the Dutch Republic.<sup>73</sup>

Lydius’ role in this religious and political conflict is significant. Even though not much research has been done on him specifically, in many descriptions of the synod he is mentioned briefly. He was the one who, representing the churches of the southern part of Holland, had opened the synod on 13 November, 1618 in the *Groote Kerk* by giving a

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Examples of the struggle between the two communities can be found in A.Th. Van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen: Kerk en Kerkvolk ten Tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt* (Assen; Van Gorcum, 1974), chapter 16, ‘Het Volk in de Kerkelijke Strijd’, pp. 320-345.

<sup>71</sup> C.N. Krijger, ‘De Dordtse Synode’, in A. van der Sluys and Th.E. Jensa (eds.), *De Synode van Dordrecht 1618-1619* (Dordrecht: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1969), pp. 22-23.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

sermon in both Dutch and Latin.<sup>74</sup> During this sermon, he begged God ‘to preside the synod with His Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth and Peace’.<sup>75</sup> In the months that followed, as a member of the Synod of South-Holland which included the most radical Counter-Remonstrants, he fulfilled the role of scribe.<sup>76</sup> He had numerous other important tasks during the synod as well, one of which was to create a new catechism, together with Franciscus Gomarus, Johannes Polyander and Antonius Thysius.<sup>77</sup> The closing ceremony of the Synod of Dordrecht on 29 May, 1619 was, again, led by Lydius.

### *His Works*

During Lydius’ lifetime, Dordrecht was a flourishing city: not only in religion and trade, but also in science and art. Unsurprisingly, Lydius was not only a minister, but a writer, poet and translator too. During his literary career, his main focus was on educating people in the faith he adhered himself so closely to. He contributed to numerous small publications and reprints of Reformist literature, such as the *Cort Verhael der Menschelijke Insettingen der Roomsche*

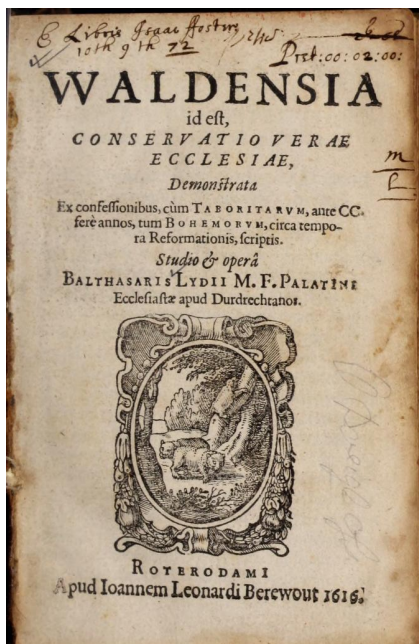


Figure 2: The title page of *Waldensia* by Balthasar Lydius. Source: Archive.org.

*Kerck*, which was first published in 1556 by F. Alardus.<sup>78</sup> However, Lydius’ main field of writing was on foreign Protestant congregations.

His most notable published work is *Waldensia* (1616), a two-volume work commentating on Waldensian literature and as such, describing the struggle of the Waldensians in Europe. The Waldensians were a Protestant community established at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and their enduring faith in the face of severe persecution served as an example for many sixteenth and seventeenth-century Calvinists.<sup>79</sup> Many printed texts were distributed as a type of newsbulletin to inform the Dutch public on the situation of the Waldensians.<sup>80</sup> *Waldensia* made Lydius a renowned member of the literary circles of

<sup>74</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, pp. 269-273.

<sup>75</sup> Krijger, ‘De Dordtse Synode’, p. 23.

<sup>76</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, p. 274.

<sup>77</sup> Lamping, ‘Balthasar Lydius’, p. 176.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> H.C. Rogge, ‘De Vervolging der Waldensen in 1655 en 1656’, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 2.2 (1903), p. 135.

<sup>80</sup> J. van Lodenstein, *Uyt-spanningen* (Utrecht: De Banier, 2005), p. 397.

Dordrecht and beyond. Moreover, he used his expertise on the topic to publish a Dutch translation of J.P. Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois et des Albigeois*.<sup>81</sup> Because of his extensive knowledge on religious persecution, Balthasar was asked in 1622 to complete Abraham Mellinus' work *Het Groot Rechtgevoelende Christen Martelaarsboek*. Unfortunately, Lydius was not able to do so.

Balthasar's interest in foreign peoples and languages also becomes apparent in the work *Novus Orbis, id est, Navigations Primae in Americam* (1616). This book on explorations and discoveries of new lands and people contains a foreword by Lydius.<sup>82</sup> It is believed that he published more on the aforementioned topics, but this has proved impossible to retrace. Indeed, the books in his library demonstrate his great learning and his interest in the world beyond the Dutch Republic.

#### *Lydius' Library as Represented in the Book Auction Catalogues*

Lydius owned so many books that his vast library had to be auctioned in three parts. The first auction was held on 11 September, 1629 and contained about 1600 books.<sup>83</sup> The second auction was on 10 April 1630 and comprised 1550 books.<sup>84</sup> In these two auctions his general Latin library was sold, including a few Dutch and German works. The third auction was also held in 1630, but the exact date is uncertain. This auction was held specifically for books in Dutch, German and English; it contained about 1220 books.<sup>85</sup> All three auctions were held in Dordrecht and the catalogues were printed by the widow of the local printer Peeter Verhaghen. Especially since Lydius had accumulated his library in the decades around 1600, a time in which the book trade in the Northern Netherlands had yet to flourish and works in the vernacular were still relatively rare, the size of his collection is impressive.

Judging from the sale catalogues of his library, Lydius is a prime example of a Calvinist minister of the seventeenth century. The majority of his general library consists of works on theology. Bibles in many different languages are included, as well as multiple works by Calvin, books on Remonstrants across Europe and commentaries of the Church Fathers. However, to state that Lydius was merely interested in theology undervalues his

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<sup>81</sup> Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, p. 280.

<sup>82</sup> Lamping, 'Balthasar Lydius', 177.

<sup>83</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus primvs illustris bibliothecae*. [Collected by a Dordrecht minister: Balthazar Lydius] (Dordrecht: Widow Peeter Verhaghen, 1629), 4<sup>o</sup>: [82] pp.

<sup>84</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus secvndvs illustris bibliothecae*. [Collected by a Dordrecht Minister: Balthazar Lydius] (Dordrecht: Widow Peeter Verhaghen, 1630), 4<sup>o</sup>: [76] pp.

<sup>85</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogvs van versheyden uytnemende Duytsche, Hoogduytsche ende Engelsche boeken*. [Collected by a Dordrecht minister: Balthazar Lydius] (Dordrecht: Widow Peeter Verhaghen, 1630), 4<sup>o</sup>: [18] pp.

character. His collection also comprises of books on law, politics, medicine, history, geography and literature, which demonstrates his broad interests in many different aspects of society and the world. The catalogues of the first two book auctions are categorised by the genres mentioned previously and sub-divided by their format. The third auction catalogue of the Dutch, German and English titles is not categorised by genre but rather by language and whether the books were bound or unbound. With the limited information available, it is difficult to establish the popularity of Lydius' book auctions as well as the types of people attending them. However, especially since so many works in different vernacular languages were sold, it seems evident that a varied public must have attended these auctions.

### *The English Books*

As mentioned previously, the Calvinists in the Dutch Republic felt a close connection to the English religious refugees. This is evident in the book collections of many Reformed ministers in the Netherlands, since English Puritan literature was of great interest to these men. As Op 't Hof states: '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'.<sup>86</sup> The contents of English Puritan literature was new to the Republic, calling for a further Reformation, and therefore popular amongst Dutch ministers; in English if they could read the vernacular, or in a translated version. In addition, many of these works were actually printed in the Low Countries, since Puritan literature was prohibited in England during a large part of the seventeenth century. It was thus not only the contents of these religious works, but also the easy access to these works that caused many Dutch Reformed theologians to own English books. Lydius was no exception to this. In fact, his theological and literary interests, in addition to his multilingualism, must have encouraged him to seek out English theological works.

In the third auction catalogue, about eighty English books are included.<sup>87</sup> For a collection accumulated at the start of the seventeenth century, this is a significant number. These works focus on topics such as theology, law and politics, geographical exploration, medicine and culture. In addition, a few English dictionaries and grammars are listed in the catalogue. These English works align well with the general contents of Lydius' library and therefore his main interests and professional occupations. It is surprising, however, that, even

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<sup>86</sup> W.J. op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade. The North Sea as an Intermediary of Reformed Piety up to 1700', in J. Roding and L. Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), p. 255.

<sup>87</sup> To serve as an example, two pages of this part of Lydius' catalogue are included in Appendix II.

though the majority of the English titles focus on theology, many other texts in the catalogue differ from this. A few works and authors will be reviewed below, in order to examine the contents of Lydius' varied English collection in more detail.

### *John Downname*

The majority of Lydius' English book collection is focused on religious and theological literature. Often more books of the same author occur. One author that Lydius appears to have liked is John Downname.<sup>88</sup> At least four of his works are included in the library.

John Downname (1571-1652) was an important figure in English Puritanism during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Downname was born in 1571 as the son of the bishop of Chester. After his studies in Cambridge, he moved to London to become a priest and rector of St Margaret Lothbury. He had a notable influence in various religious disputes, and made a name for himself with the so-called 'Golden lecture', which he continued to preach until his retirement in 1650.<sup>89</sup>

Downname's literary career is notable, having published nineteen works in total. Most of these are collections of sermons, biblical commentaries and treatises.<sup>90</sup> The four books by Downname that Lydius owned are *The Christian Warfare* (1604), *A Treatise of Beneficence and Almes-Deeds* (1616), often referred to as *The Plea of the Poore*, *The Conflict between the Flesh and the Spirith* (1618) and *The Summe of Sacred Divinitie* (1620). These four titles give a good overview of the nature of Puritan literature in England, as well as of Lydius' religious interests.

*The Christian Warfare* was Downname's first published work and simultaneously his largest, consisting of four parts published over the course of fourteen years. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a canon of Puritan theological works in England as well as on the continent and *The Christian Warfare* is considered part of this corpus. The work was very popular, and was present in many libraries, including that of Lady Anne Clifford, Samuel Jeake of Rye and Richard Baxter.<sup>91</sup> According to R.J. Pederson, who quotes from the

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<sup>88</sup> Some authors refer to him as John Downham, others use the different spelling of Downname, which will be used throughout this study as well.

<sup>89</sup> The 'Golden Lectureship' was founded by William Jones at the end of the sixteenth century and is an annual lecture by an Anglican priest. Downname was appointed to continue these lectures after Jones passed away. Cf. P.S. Seaver, 'Downham, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/article/7978>> (6 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>90</sup> R.J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603-1689* (Leiden: Leiden University Repository, 2013), Chapter 3: 'John Downname (1571-1652)', p. 71.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

book itself: 'It was intended for those who were burdened by the "sight and sense" of their sins in their combat with the flesh, world and devil'.<sup>92</sup> Most of this work focusses on the biggest war that has to be fought, according to Downname: the one with the devil.<sup>93</sup> Lydius owned the first part of this multi-volume text, *The Christian Warfare* (1604), as well as the final part, *The Conflict between the Flesh and the Spirith* (1618). The first part focusses on the defeat of Satan, the world and the flesh, which are all recognised as the enemies of salvation. The fourth and last part, touches upon the divide between the flesh and the spirit in the Christian life.<sup>94</sup> The two other volumes are not found in the catalogue, but perhaps they were auctioned under the name of the first book, or kept by one of Lydius' sons.

*A Treatise of Beneficence and Almes-Deeds* (1616) is the published text of Downname's inaugural lecture at St Bartholomew Exchange, where he was appointed as a lecturer in 1615. This text is, just like *The Christian Warfare*, a practical guide to divinity as well as an appraisal of William Jones, founder of the 'Golden Lectureship', whose position Downname took over after Jones' death. It touches upon the various forms of charity that were part of Jones' legacy, which became a model for other scholars and rectors.<sup>95</sup>

*The Summe of Sacred Divinitie* was in fact not written by Downname, but he did revise and publish it.<sup>96</sup> However, in various sources, as well as in Lydius' catalogue, it is stated that Downname was the author, which causes confusion, especially since the true author remains unknown. As Pederson states: '[This text] emphasises the centrality of Christ to Christian doctrine [and] reaffirms historic Reformed doctrine, including double-predestination and the covenant'.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, it touches on the same topics as *The Christian Warfare* and it is thus not surprising Downname contributed to this work.

In general, Downname's works served as an answer for Christians who were in doubt of the course their faith should take. In addition, they are good examples of the convictions of the Puritan movement within the Church of England. The focus on sin and salvation can also be found in the Dutch Reformed literature of the seventeenth century and will thus have served as an inspiration to Lydius.

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>93</sup> R.W. de Koeijer, *Geestelijke Strijd bij de Puriteinen: Een Spiritualiteit-Historisch Onderzoek naar Engelse Puriteinse Geschriften in de Periode 1587-1684* (Apeldoorn: De Banier, 2010), p. 106.

<sup>94</sup> Pederson, *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>95</sup> Seaver, 'Downham, John', n. pag.

<sup>96</sup> Pederson, *Unity in Diversity*, pp. 96-98.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

### *William Fulke*

William Fulke (1538-1589) was a learned divine and one of the first outspoken Puritans. He studied a variety of subjects at university, from mathematics and theology to different languages. He built a notable literary career for himself through his writings and enjoyed a considerable reputation during his lifetime.<sup>98</sup> Fulke occurs five times in Lydius' book auction catalogue, with the works *A Defense of the Sincere Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the Englisch Tongue against [...] Gregorie Martin* (1583), *A Treatise against the Defense of the Censure of W. Charke* (1586), *The Necessity of Schriff and the Popes Pardon against W. Allen* (date unknown), *Against the Declamation of P. Fratines* (date unknown) and *Fulke upon the New Testament against the Papist of Rhemes* (1601).<sup>99</sup> About fifty printed texts of Fulke have survived to this day; therefore, it can be assumed that Lydius made a selection in what literature of Fulke he wanted in his library. However, even though Fulke left behind a notable legacy, not much research is done on him. Where possible, the titles which are included in Lydius' catalogue will be examined on their content, in order to come to an understanding why Fulke takes up such a large part of Lydius' English book collection.

Many of Fulke's published works focus on the rebutting of Catholic doctrine, and all of the works Lydius owned by Fulke focus on this. For instance, *The Necessity of Schriff and the Popes Pardon against W. Allen* was aimed at the English cardinal of the Catholic church William Allen, who took part in the attempt to invade England as part of the Spanish Armada. Since Lydius experienced the oppression of the Spanish and its allies as well, this work must have been highly relevant to him.

*Fulke upon the New Testament against the Papist of Rhemes* is another example of such a commentary. The first English Catholic New Testament, translated and edited by William Allen and others, was published in 1582 at Rhemes in France. The word papist is used as a derogatory term to describe a Catholic, and it thus becomes clear what type of sentiment Fulke had towards this version of the Bible.

Many of these disputes between the Catholics and Protestants were about the interpretation and correct translation of the Bible. *A Defense of the Sincere Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the Englisch Tongue against [...] Gregorie Martin* is such a text.

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<sup>98</sup> B. Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans: Containing a Biographical Account of Those Divines Who Distinguished Themselves in the Cause of Religious Liberty, from the Reformation Under Queen Elizabeth, to the Act of Uniformity in 1662*, vol. 1 (London: James Black, 1813), p. 385.

<sup>99</sup> The full title of the first work is: *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue, against the Manifold Cavils, Frivolous Quarrels, and Impudent Slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the Readers of Popish Divinity, in the Traitorous Seminary of Rheims* (London: Henrie Bynneman, 1583).

Gregory Martin was an English Catholic priest who wrote a work entitled *A Discovery of the Manifold Corruption of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of our Days* (1582), in which he claims that the Protestants use the Hebrew vowels and points in their translations of the Bible, which were not used in the original version. The translation of the Hebrew text had been a great point of discussion between Catholics and Protestants, especially since the Catholics claimed that the points were incorporated later in order to make the text more legible, which was, in their eyes, heathenish. It was claimed that the people should not have to read the Bible but simply follow what the Church implemented on them. In turn, the Protestants disputed this argument by stating that the use of the vowels and points were introduced by the prophets themselves. Fulke wrote his rebuttal of Martin's text in 1583 and stated that 'seeing our Savior hath promised that never a particle of the law shall perish, we may understand the same also of the prophets, who have not received the vowels of the later Jews, but even of the prophets themselves, howsoever that heathenish opinion pleaseth you and other papists'.<sup>100</sup>

The dispute between Catholics and Protestants is thus what drove Fulke to write most of his works, which must have provided a good framework for Lydius to not only understand the foundations of his own Protestant convictions, but also apply it to the disputes between the two groups on the Continent.

### *John Cowell*

It is important to consider certain titles in Lydius' English book collection which are of a different genre than theology and devotional literature, in order to come to an understanding of his broader interests. One of those works is John Cowell's *The Interpreter of Termes in the Lawe Writers or Statutes of this Kigdome* (1607).<sup>101</sup> John Cowell (1554-1611) was a civil lawyer and monarchist. *The Interpreter*, as it is more commonly known, reflects this since it is one of the first English law dictionaries. Interestingly, it was condemned and burned on the

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<sup>100</sup> Quoted in J. McClintock and J. Strong, 'Vowelpoints', *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (1867), <<http://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/V/vowelpoints.html>> (6 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>101</sup> The full title of the work is: *The Interpreter: Or Booke Containing the Signification of Words: Wherein Is Set Forth the True Meaning of All, or the Most Part of Such Words and Termes, as Are Mentioned in the Law Writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and Renowned Kingdom, Requiring Any Exposition or Interpretation. A Work not Onely Profitable, but Necessary for Such as Desire Thoroughly to Be Instructed in the Knowledge of Our Laws, Statutes, and Other Antiquities* (Cambridge: John Legate, 1607).

order of the House of Commons after it was published.<sup>102</sup> A general fear existed in the parliament for a royalist uprising and it was believed that this book could be a possible instigator. The definitions of English law terms in the book display a strong preference for the king's power. In the text, the king is defined as standing above the law, whereas the parliament is described as a servant to the monarchy.<sup>103</sup> As B.P. Levack states: 'MPs complained that Cowell had drawn his arguments from the imperial laws of the Roman emperors and that his book was to take away the power and authority of the parliament'.<sup>104</sup> After Cowell's death, the book was reprinted about eleven times; even in the eighteenth century, the work was still popular.

It is perhaps remarkable that Lydius had this book in his collection, especially since it was such a controversial text. In addition, even though the book was highly political, it is not necessarily focused on religion. This book can therefore serve as proof of Lydius' broad interests in different aspects of foreign affairs.

### *Samuel Purchas*

Lydius' interests in foreign cultures, already present in the various Latin works he owned, can be demonstrated by a few English titles as well. *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* by John Stow (1604), for instance, contains a lengthy description of the history of Great Britain. More tellingly, however, is Samuel Purchas' *Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places* (1617).<sup>105</sup> Samuel Purchas was a clergyman of the Church of England, as well as a geographical editor and compiler. The work that Lydius owned was the third version of Purchas' lifework, of which he brought out updated versions from 1613 to 1626.

Even though the subtitle *Purchas His Pilgrimage* may suggest otherwise, Purchas never travelled himself. He stated: 'Even I, which have written so much of travellers & travells, never travelled 200 miles from Thaxted in Essex, where I was borne'.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> B.P. Levack, 'Cowell, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/article/6490?docPos=1>> (6 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> This work occurs in the book auction catalogue with a few spelling errors, as: '*Relations of the World and the Reigions observed in al ages and places*'. Its correct full title is: *Purchas His pilgrimage: or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present* (London: William Stansby, 1617).

<sup>106</sup> Quoted in D. Armitage, 'Purchas, Samuel', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/article/22898>> (6 June, 2017), n. pag.

Consequently, Purchas is described by J.P. Helfers as ‘a mere worker in the archives, who arranged a museum’.<sup>107</sup> The *Pilgrimes*, as the book is often called, is based on both oral and written travel narratives of voyages across the world. The book was printed in folio format and consists of four volumes: the largest book printed by an English press at the time.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, the work must have been rather expensive.

Interestingly, the *Pilgrimes* is often characterised as having a certain theological ideal interwoven in the text. As David Armitage states: ‘The [book] combined editing with editorialising to comprise the bulkiest anti-Catholic tract of the age’.<sup>109</sup> Purchas was an Anglican priest and used his literature to convey his viewpoints regarding religion. Protestantism views a voyage or pilgrimage as a spiritual undertaking and Purchas approached the narratives which he compiled his book in the same manner. He interpreted the history of English exploration in the light of the moral and spiritual significance of any type of journey.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, it was perhaps not only Lydius’ personal interest in exploration and foreign countries that made him purchase such a large and elaborate printed text but also the book’s Protestant undertone.

### *Conclusion*

Balthasar Lydius was not only a Reformed minister in Dordrecht, he was also a learned and well-read man who, based on the size and variety of his library, was interested in much more than just theological and devotional literature. The three book auction catalogues of his library prove this, displaying about 5000 works in total in various languages and of different types of genres. Since he lived at the start of the seventeenth century, it is remarkable that a sizeable part of his library was in the English language. Especially at that time, when the mutual influence of Anglo-Dutch relations had yet to flourish, not many Dutch people spoke or read in the English language, let alone owned almost eighty books in this vernacular.

Lydius’ involvement in the constant debate on religion during his lifetime is reflected by the English literature he owned. The majority is on English Puritanism, a Protestant movement which aligned with ideas of the Counter-Reonstrants in the Dutch Republic. Many works touch upon various religious conflicts and present a rebuttal of Catholic beliefs.

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<sup>107</sup> Quoted in J.P. Helfers, ‘The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas’, *Studies in Philology*, 94-2 (1997), p. 160.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Armitage, ‘Purchas, Samuel’, n. pag.

<sup>110</sup> Helfers, ‘The Explorer or the Pilgrim?’, pp. 174-175.

It is likely that Lydius was interested in, and perhaps inspired by, these works since they paralleled his own convictions.

More unique are the works which defer from this devotional literature, such as books on law and travelling. This proves that Lydius not only had a wide variety of interests, but also enjoyed reading for leisure. Especially since he had such strong religious convictions, it is perhaps surprising that he owned, for instance, a controversial law dictionary. This gives a glimpse of the other side of Lydius' character and reaffirms the picture of his broad scholarly interests. In addition, it shows that the different types of English literature that he owned must have helped him in the various religious and political responsibilities he had during his lifetime.

# CATALOGVS BIBLIOTHECÆ

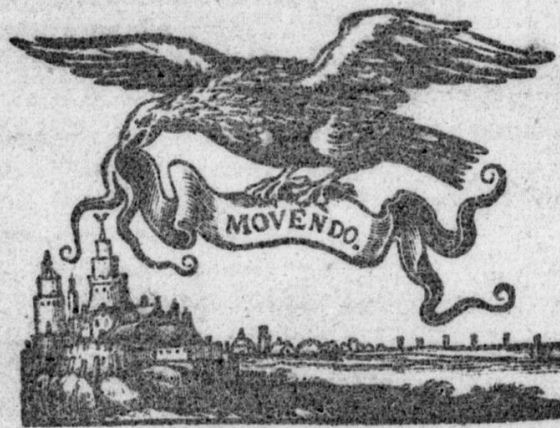
*Amplissimi & Clarissimi Viri*

D. JOANNIS DE LAET, Antwerpiani,  
dum viveret Societatis Indiæ Occi-  
dentalis præfecti,

*In qua varii ac Rarissimi in qualibet scientia ac  
lingua Libri continentur,*

Quorum auctio habebitur in ædibus FRANCISCI  
HACKII, Bibliopolæ in de Choorsteek,

27 Aprilis, Anno 1650. Die Mercurii, stylo novo.



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361

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM.  
Ex officina FRANCISCI HACKII.  
MDCL.

2137

1764

Figure 3: The title page of Johannes de Laet's book auction catalogue

## JOHANNES DE LAET

Johannes de Laet was born into a wealthy family in 1582 in Antwerp.<sup>111</sup> In his long life, he had many occupations, being a scholar, merchant, polyglot, writer, theologian and director of the WIC, amongst other things. The seventeenth century saw many religious disputes, discoveries of new lands and new types of literature, all of which De Laet seems to have concerned himself with during his lifetime. Remarkably, he can be connected to England and its language, scholars and literature in various ways. Naturally, this influenced the composition of his library as well. De Laet passed away in 1649 in Leiden, where he had lived most of his life. The sale of his library was held on 27 April, 1650 in the same town and comprised over 1800 books, including many English titles.<sup>112</sup> His library probably contained more books; these will have been inherited by his children or were given to one of his many scholarly friends.<sup>113</sup> In this chapter, De Laet's course of life will be examined in order to come to the understanding of why he owned so many English books, and also what the individual titles say about his character and his interests. Moreover, specific titles and genres will be highlighted to obtain an idea of what De Laet read in the English vernacular, in order to provide a general impression of what English literature was available during the first half of the seventeenth century.

### *Family and Education*

It is assumed that after the Spanish conquest of Antwerp of 1585 De Laet and his family, who were Protestants, fled to the north. One of the first signs that the De Laet family moved to the Dutch Republic is when De Laet's father invested money in the Dutch East India Company in 1602 in Amsterdam, a share which after his death, Johannes obtained.<sup>114</sup> Another sign is that in 1597, at the age of fifteen, Johannes enrolled at Leiden University as a student of philosophy.<sup>115</sup> He also attended lectures with Joseph Scaliger, who taught history, among

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<sup>111</sup> A portrait of De Laet can be found in Appendix III. In addition, some sources state that he was born late 1581, whereas others report the year of 1582. Most biographical dictionaries state 1582, which is what is used in this chapter. Cf. H. Brugmans, 'Johannes de Laet', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1930), p. 991.

<sup>112</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogvs bibliothecae*. [Collected by a director of the West India Company (WIC): Johannes de Laet] (Leiden: Franciscus Hackius, 1650), 4<sup>o</sup>: [50] pp.

<sup>113</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', *Lias*, 25 (1998), pp. 206-207.

<sup>114</sup> J.A. Jacobs, 'Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, 50 (1996), p. 110.

<sup>115</sup> R.H. Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649) as a mirror of his life', *Lias*, 25 (1998), p. 142.

other subjects.<sup>116</sup> During his studies, which lasted until the turn of the century, De Laet lived with Franciscus Gomarus, professor of theology and, for a year, rector of the university. In all probability, De Laet's family was connected to Gomarus by their shared Flemish roots.<sup>117</sup> With an intermission of a few years, De Laet returned to Leiden in 1605 to start his studies in theology. This was somewhat unusual, since it is clear De Laet had no intention to become a minister. There is also no evidence he ever finished his studies. However, it undoubtedly helped him during the first part of his life, in which he concerned himself with theological literature and religious disputes, which in all probability was influenced by his patron Gomarus and other Calvinists he surrounded himself with in Leiden.

In 1603, De Laet was sent to England by his father to obtain experience in trade. There, he married Jacomijntje van Loor, daughter of merchant Pieter van Loor, a prominent member of the Dutch Reformed congregation in London.<sup>118</sup> They married in the Church of Austin Friars on 3 July, 1604. This marriage brought De Laet in direct contact with many powerful men, both English and Dutch. For instance, he became brother-in-law to Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Edward Powell, Sir Charles Caesar and Walter de Raedt, who were all serving in the higher regions of the English government.<sup>119</sup> De Laet's intentions to live in England and pursue his mercantile interests there were cut short by the death of his wife in 1606. He stayed in London for one more year after which he returned to Leiden.<sup>120</sup> His second marriage was to Maria Boudewijns van Berlicum, also daughter of a merchant. This marriage gave De Laet about a dozen children.<sup>121</sup> Presumably after the wedding, in 1610, De Laet bought the house of Gomarus on the Rapenburg in Leiden (presently nr. 29-31). He lived there until his death in 1649.<sup>122</sup>

### *Religion*

Having studied theology in Leiden under Gomarus, it is not surprising that De Laet picked his side in the dispute between Gomarus and Jacobus Arminius, a bitter controversy which

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<sup>116</sup> R.H. Bremmer Jr., "'Mine is Bigger than Yours': The Anglo-Saxon Collections of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-1650)", in T.N. Hall and D. Scragg (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Books and their Readers* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2008), p. 141.

<sup>117</sup> Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 142.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> Jacobs, 'Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld', p. 109 and L. Scheurleer et al. (eds.), *Het Rapenburg*, vol. III (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1992), pp. 201-202. The latter source highlights the fact that the house increased in value after De Laet purchased it. In all probability, this was due to modernisation of the house and the attention to interior decoration the De Laet family brought to it.

ultimately led to the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619). Alongside a few theological works De Laet published during this time, which will be examined below, he took part in the synod as a member of the Leiden Church Council and as a representative of the States of Holland. He served on the polling-committee for the election of the Synodal board.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, together with various other theologians, De Laet was responsible for the publication of the ‘Canons of Dordrecht’.<sup>124</sup> After the synod, De Laet did not involve himself with religious discourse. However, some of his later works show certain aspects of the strong, orthodox beliefs he formed and expressed during his early career. In addition, his Counter-Remonstrant convictions were beneficial for his position in the trade business, since many Calvinist immigrants proved to be successful merchants.

### *The Dutch West-Indies Company*

During his years in England, De Laet was already earning a living in trade overseas and as an investor in land in the Dutch Republic.<sup>125</sup> After his return to Leiden, he probably continued these endeavours, especially since from 1619 onwards he was involved in the establishment of the Dutch West-Indies Company (WIC). At the end of the sixteenth century, Willem Usselinx had proposed the idea of a West-Indies trade company to merchants from Amsterdam and Zeeland. Usseninx, like De Laet, was an immigrant from the Southern Netherlands and strongly opposed the Spanish monarchy. He dedicated his life to schemes to subvert the Spanish power, particularly in the newly discovered lands of America.<sup>126</sup> In all probability, De Laet’s orthodox Calvinist conviction prior to the creation of the WIC worked to his benefit. When he was appointed as one of the directors of the Company in 1623, he found himself in the company of other former immigrants of Antwerp, such as Samuel Blommaert and Samuel Godijn, who also held Counter Remonstrant beliefs.<sup>127</sup> However, De Laet’s involvement in the administration of the WIC is not as straightforward as it may seem. In fact, he was living in Leiden, which was not one of the cities which automatically obtained a place in one of the chambers of the Company such as Amsterdam and Middelburg. To secure such a post, a city was required to contribute 100,000 guilders.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, in

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<sup>123</sup> H. Florijn, ‘Johannes de Laet (1581-1649) and the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619’, *Lias*, 25 (1998), pp. 171-172 and Jacobs, ‘Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld’, p. 109.

<sup>124</sup> Jacobs, ‘Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld’, p. 109.

<sup>125</sup> Bremmer Jr., ‘The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet’, p. 149.

<sup>126</sup> J.G. van Dillen, ‘De West-Indische Compagnie, het Calvinisme en de Politiek’, *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, 74 (1961), p. 145.

<sup>127</sup> E.A. Sutton, *Capitalism and Cartography in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), Chapter 4: ‘Profit and Possession in Brazil’, p. 81.

<sup>128</sup> Jacobs, ‘Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld’, p. 110.

1619 De Laet was asked by the Leiden magistrates to engage in the fundraising which was necessary to participate in the Amsterdam-based Company.<sup>129</sup> All-together, he brought in 275,000 guilders for the city of Leiden. Personally, he signed for himself and others a sum of 54,000 guilders, a very sizeable amount which got him appointed as one of the Company's first directors in the Board of the so-called 'Gentlemen Nineteen'.<sup>130</sup>

The WIC created opportunities for trade as well as for colonialism in the New World. For instance, in 1630 four directors of the WIC, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, Samuel Godijn, Albert Coenraets Burgh and Samuel Blommaert, started a plantation in North America, on either side of the North River.<sup>131</sup> Van Rensselaer named his colony Rensselaerswijck, of which De Laet obtained a tenth in shares. A legal dispute occurred between Van Rensselaer and the other shareholders about the rights and privileges of the Van Rensselaer family within the colony. During the last years of his life, De Laet was summoned to submit the relevant documents to court, stating his rights in the colony.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, De Laet's involvement in both trade and the colonising of the New World can most clearly be examined by the works he wrote on the New World. Especially since most of the archive of the WIC has been lost over time, De Laet's publications on the New World and on the history of the WIC have become invaluable.<sup>133</sup>

### *His Connections*

De Laet was acquainted with many learned and well-known men of his time, both within the Dutch Republic and abroad. His friends and enemies depict not only his strong character, but also his varied interests. Especially his scholarly network in the Republic of Letters was impressive and is worth examining.

The dedicatory letters in a number of his works display a part of De Laet's social and intellectual circle. For instance, some of the travel guides he compiled for Leiden publishing company Elsevier are dedicated to Sir Edward Powell, his brother-in-law through his first marriage, and to Sir William Boswell, who was the English ambassador in The Hague.<sup>134</sup> Another example of De Laet's contact with English scholars is his acquaintance with Dr

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<sup>129</sup> Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 150.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. and Jacobs, 'Johannes de Laet en de Nieuwe Wereld', p. 110.

<sup>131</sup> The North River is now named the Hudson River and the colonised area was near current Albany, New York. Cf. Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 152.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>133</sup> B. Schmidt, 'Space, Time, Travel: Hugo de Groot, Johannes de Laet, and the Advancement of Geographic Learning', *Lias*, 25 (1998), p. 192.

<sup>134</sup> Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 154.

Samuel Ward. De Laet had first met Ward, who was one of the delegates of the Churches of England and Scotland to the Synod of Dordrecht, around 1618. At that time, Ward was the master of Sydney-Sussex College in Cambridge. The two men corresponded about theological and religious topics. The four letters of this correspondence which are preserved, written between 1618 and 1628, show that De Laet continued to concern himself with theological matters after the Synod although his main interest in this period was in mercantile undertakings.<sup>135</sup>

Possibly inspired by his university teacher Scaliger, De Laet developed an interest in Old Germanic languages, particularly Old English. When he first moved to England, he corresponded with Scaliger specifically about certain English texts.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, De Laet shared his interest in Old English with Sir William Boswell, with whom he kept up an impressive correspondence in which the two men not only discussed their shared support for the Counter-Reformation cause, but also their study of the Anglo-Saxon language.<sup>137</sup> It was a lively exchange of knowledge, since Boswell was both familiar with the Dutch language, due to his long stay in the country, as well as with Old English, of which he compiled two English glossaries. In addition, he supported De Laet in his research on the language by introducing him to various English scholars in the field.<sup>138</sup>

De Laet's correspondence with John Morris, an English antiquarian and philologist, is perhaps the most well-known. Again, their shared interests in religion and in the Old Germanic languages were unifying factors. In addition, they exchanged various curiosities and objects, specifically plants, bulbs, rare stones and seeds, as well as books.<sup>139</sup>

Even though De Laet had a considerable network, he also found himself amongst men he disagreed and even disputed with. A prime example of this is Hugo Grotius, the most famous Dutch jurist and legal writer of the seventeenth century. During the first half of the century, following the discovery of new lands in the New World and their indigenous population, a debate flared up among European scholars about the origins of the American Indians. This debate developed into a fierce dispute in print between Grotius and De Laet.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 144-146.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>138</sup> J.A.F. Bekkers, *Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes De Laet (1634-1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), p. xvi.

<sup>139</sup> Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', p. 204.

<sup>140</sup> Grotius' *De origine gentium Americanarum* (1642) was rebutted by De Laet's *Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii* (1643). Grotius quickly replied with the publication of *Dissertatio altera* (1643), which encouraged De Laet to write a *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam* (1644). Remarkably, all of these works

This debate not only stressed the difference in religion between both men – Grotius was a Remonstrant –, but also the manner in which evidence was applied in scholarly works.<sup>141</sup> De Laet’s continuous rebuttals of Grotius’ works with the use of contemporary sources proved to be difficult for the latter.<sup>142</sup>

### *His Works*

The wide variety in religious, political, mercantile and social debates and activities De Laet concerned himself with during his lifetime can also be seen in the works he has written. Not only his involvement in the Synod of Dordrecht, but also his share in the WIC and his personal interest in Old Germanic languages were starting points for written and, in most cases, published texts. Since De Laet was a learned man, and much of his library contains materials to help him with his studies and writings, it is important to examine a some of the texts he has written.



Figure 4: The title page of *Compendium Historiae Universalis Civilis et Ecclesiasticae*. Source: Google Books.

Since De Laet was involved in theological matters during the first years of his career, it is not surprising that his first works discuss these topics as well. In all probability, one of the reasons he was chosen to participate in the Synod of Dordrecht was because of his *De Pelagianis et Semi-Pelagianis Commentatorium ex Veteris Patris Scriptis* (1617), in which he defends his opposition to the Arminians.<sup>143</sup> The work is not an objective analysis of both sides of the theological debate, but rather an exposition of Gomarist doctrine. Henk Florijn states that ‘this is immediately evident from his choice of words, however matter-of-fact they may seem, for time and again the Pelagin doctrine is called a heresy’.<sup>144</sup> In addition to *De Pelagianis*, De Laet wrote *Compendium Historiae Universalis Civilis et*

appear to have been published by Elsevier in Amsterdam. The premature death of Grotius in 1645 ended this dispute. Cf. Schmidt, ‘Space, Time, Travel’, p. 191.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>143</sup> Bremmer Jr., ‘The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet’, p. 149.

<sup>144</sup> Florijn, ‘Johannes de Laet (1581-1649) and the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619’, p. 168.

*Ecclesiasticae* (1643), which demonstrates that even though De Laet seemingly did not concern himself anymore with theological matters after the Synod, they did matter to him. In fact, the *Compendium* contains a summary of the events of the Synod and, again, demonstrates De Laet's anti-Remonstrant sentiments throughout.<sup>145</sup>

The largest part of De Laet's published works comprise geographical books. Being a director of the Dutch West-Indies Company, his interest in the New World and opportunities for trade and colonialism resulted in numerous works. It is important to note that De Laet never travelled to the Americas himself, but rather based himself on the travel accounts of explorers. For instance, De Laet played an important role in the Leiden publisher Elsevier's project of the *Republics* series. The books in these series, all published in small 24° format, aimed to describe all the countries that were known to Western civilisation at the time. De Laet wrote and edited numerous books of this series, on countries such as Spain and France but also on Mongolia, India and Persia, amongst others.<sup>146</sup> These works were written in Latin, since Elsevier wanted to sell the books internationally. As Rolf Bremmer states: 'It is especially these books that earned [De Laet] a name as a prominent seventeenth-century geographer.'<sup>147</sup>

However, these pocket-sized books are not the works which are currently most associated with De Laet. Rather, his *De Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (1625) and *Iaerlyck Verhael* (1644), which focus on the discovery and expansion of the New World, and on the activities of the WIC specifically, are considered De Laet's most notable published texts.<sup>148</sup> Commissioned by the States General, *De Nieuwe Wereldt* was the first extensive compendium in the Dutch language about the New World.<sup>149</sup> The work is rather unique in the manner in which it is compiled.

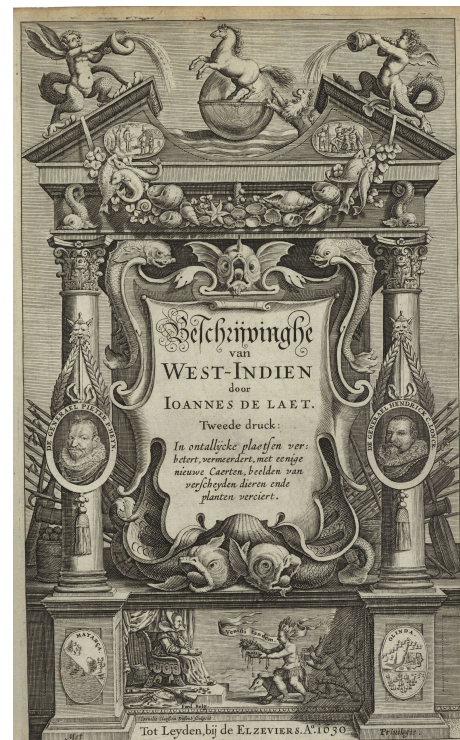


Figure 5: The title page of *De Nieuwe Wereldt*. Source: GaHetNa.nl

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 175-176.

<sup>146</sup> B. Dams, 'Writing to Comprehend Dutch Brazil: Joannes de Laet's *Iaerlyck Verhael*', in J. Dewulf, O. Praamstra and M. van Kempen, *Shifting the Compass: Pluricontinental Connections in Dutch Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp. 232-234.

<sup>147</sup> Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 153.

<sup>148</sup> The full title of the latter work is: *Historie ofte iaerlijck verhael van de verrichtinghen der geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie, zedert haer begin, tot het eynde van 't jaer seshien-hondert ses-en-dertich* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1644).

<sup>149</sup> Dams, 'Writing to Comprehend Dutch Brazil', p. 232.

De Laet combined previously published texts about the Americas with colonial objectives and reports on trade. The journals of Henry Hudson and Adriaen Block, which have been lost over time, are quoted extensively, making *De Nieuwe Wereldt* not only invaluable for the updated information, but also for the preservation of geographical knowledge before the interference of the WIC and others. Similarly, *Iaerlyck Verhael* is also an invaluable work with regards to the preservation of information which has been lost elsewhere. This work specifically chronicles the activity of the WIC during the years between 1624 and 1636.<sup>150</sup> Since the majority of the archive of the WIC has been lost, this text is the most important work of reference for the Company's history. In addition, Britt Dams states: 'Just like *De Nieuwe Wereldt*, the *Iaerlyck Verhael* has a clear informative goal but the reason why the latter work is so pioneering is the extensive use of Dutch contemporary sources.'<sup>151</sup> The use of modern sources seems to be the manner in which De Laet went about his research for his texts, as can also be seen in his dispute with Hugo Grotius.

A more personal interest of De Laet was the Old English language. He spent much of his life acquiring books on this topic and compiling an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Some of the sources he used can be found in the book auction catalogue of his library, which will be discussed below. To be able to access and purchase these books, De Laet acquainted himself with many learned scholars, specifically in England. Interestingly, as Rolf Bremmer states, 'De Laet, unlike the English Anglo-Saxonists, ventured into the unknown, thus showing the same exploratory attitude that had also marked his studies of the New World'.<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately, the dictionary was never published. It is assumed that De Laet completed the work a few months before he passed away and that his children arranged for it to go to the press. However, the book was never printed but rather lent to Peter Resenius, a Danish student. Perhaps ironically, it resided in the Royal Library in Copenhagen until 1728, when the city was bombarded by the English and the library burnt down.<sup>153</sup>

#### *De Laet's Library as Represented in the Book Auction Catalogues*

Even though the size of De Laet's library is considered to be average, the contents are rather unique. According to the title-page his library was auctioned on 27 April, 1650 in Leiden, but the sale presumably lasted a few more days, as exceptionally the university had cancelled all

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Bremmer Jr., "'Mine is Bigger than Yours'", p. 152.

<sup>153</sup> Bremmer Jr., 'The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet', p. 162.

lectures for about two days because of this auction.<sup>154</sup> Even though the auction did not include all books owned by De Laet, since in all probability a certain number was inherited by family and friends, it still gives an impression of the varied contents of his collection.

The catalogue is divided into sections by genre. The first and largest genre of books is theology, making up about a third of the catalogue. The other sections comprise medicine, miscellaneous works, unbound texts and books in the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English and Dutch vernacular. Therefore, there is no separate category for works on, for instance, expeditions and other travel literature. These are classified either under miscellaneous books, if they are Latin works, or under the vernacular they were written in. This may seem odd, since the auction itself is advertised as being of the library of a director of the WIC, clearly marking De Laet's geographical interests. On the other hand, especially books on theology were most numerous in his collection. In addition, since the auction was held in the university town of Leiden, books on theology and medicine must have been more relevant to classify.

The contents of his general library vary widely. Many works by the Church Fathers and other Greek and Roman classical authors occur throughout the catalogue, not only aligning with De Laet's religious convictions and seventeenth-century humanism, but also with De Laet's earliest studies of philosophy and classical languages.<sup>155</sup> In addition, De Laet owned many works on medicine, by both classical and contemporary Dutch authors as well as foreign physicians.<sup>156</sup> The historical and the geographical works De Laet owned facilitated him in research on foreign lands and voyages of discovery. These works include atlases, books on cartography and navigation as well as travel accounts.<sup>157</sup> His other interests range from natural history to a small number of literary works.<sup>158</sup> His multilingualism is demonstrated by the many dictionaries and glosses he owned in various languages. What is

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<sup>154</sup> Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', p. 205.

<sup>155</sup> Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', p. 210.

<sup>156</sup> Dutch scientific works include: Zacutus Lusitanus' *Praxis medica admiranda: in qua exempla monstrosa, rara, nova, mirabilia* (Lyons: J.A. Huguetaan, 1634) and Johan Van Beverwijck's *Idea Medicinæ* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1637). Foreign works include: *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* by William Harvey (Frankfurt: William Fitzer, 1628), which first correctly described the circulation of blood. In addition, Gerolamo Cardano's *De varietate rerum*, a scientific encyclopedia which mentions Leonardo Da Vinci among others (Basle: Heinrich Petri, 1559). All these works were in Latin. Cf. Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', p. 211.

<sup>157</sup> A few examples of these works, in various languages, are: *Theatrum, sive Hollandiae comitatus et urbium* by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (Amsterdam: Henricus Hondius, 1632), *Spieghel der zeevaerdt* by Lucas Jansz. Wagenaer (Leiden: Christopher Plantin, 1584) and *Ethiopia orientalis* by Joao dos Santos (Evora: S. Domingos, 1609). *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>158</sup> *Discours de la methode* by René Descartes (Leiden: Jan Maire, 1637), among other works by him, as well as Dante's *Divina commedia* (Venice: Domenico Nicolino, 1564) are examples of the natural philosophy and literary books owned by De Laet. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

apparent is that De Laet owned a large number of contemporary texts, many of which he presumably bought new. Following the lists of books, the catalogue mentions a globe, watercolours, a series of prints and a large number of packages. These possibly contained dissertations or pamphlets.<sup>159</sup>

The book auction appears to have been quite a success and because of the wide variety in genres and vernaculars, must have attracted many different types of people.

### *The English Books*

Taking into account De Laet's interest in Old English, his correspondence with and family ties to English scholars and merchants, as well as his polyglotism, it is not surprising that over 140 works of his auctioned library are written in the English or Old English vernacular.<sup>160</sup> Unsurprisingly, the English part of his library is as diverse as the general contents of his collection.<sup>161</sup>

De Laet may have not concerned himself with religion as much as contemporary ministers and priests. Still, the majority of his English library is comprised of theological works. Especially books addressing the religious issues in England are listed most frequently. Authors such as John Downname and William Fulke, who have been examined in the first chapter, are present, as well as an English Bible in a remarkably small octavo format. In other fields, the law dictionary by John Cowell is also featured in De Laet's library. Moreover, English poetry, a phenomenon that was not very popular nor easily accessible in the Dutch Republic, is present in the auction catalogue.<sup>162</sup> Chaucer appears, for instance, as well as William Earl of Sterling's *Recreations with the Muses* (1637).

One author overwhelmingly present in the library is Sir Francis Bacon. In all probability, De Laet's time in England had familiarised him with Bacon's ideas on natural philosophy.<sup>163</sup> In the English vernacular, however, only one work remains of Bacon: *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609), an historic fable book which had been written in Latin and translated to English.<sup>164</sup>

Some genres, works and authors require a more in-depth analysis in order to come to an understanding why De Laet owned them and what can be derived from that regarding his

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>160</sup> Certain English works are listed under a Latin title in the catalogue and therefore remain rather more hidden.

<sup>161</sup> As an example, two pages of the English part of the auction catalogue are included in Appendix IV.

<sup>162</sup> Hoftijzer, 'The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581-1649)', p. 214.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>164</sup> H.B. White, *Antiquity Forgot* (The Hague: Springer Netherlands, 1978), Chapter 6: 'Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients"', p. 109.

private and public interests. In addition, it will give a broader impression of what English books were available to learned, well-acquainted men in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century.

### *Fynes Moryson*

Unsurprisingly, De Laet owned many travel accounts and geographical works. These texts will first and foremost have facilitated him in his research and the compilation of his own books, as well as with his responsibilities regarding the WIC. Samuel Purchas, who was a geographer and travel writer just as De Laet and has already been mentioned in the first chapter, appears twice in the English section of the auction catalogue. Many other travel writers and explorers are listed as well. One of them is Fynes Moryson (1566-1630), who travelled across Europe and to Turkey and Jerusalem. Born in Lincolnshire, he commenced his travels after finishing his master's degree at Oxford in 1590. His life's work, which he started writing after his return to England at the start of the seventeenth century, is titled *An Itinerary [...] Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1617) and is comprised of three volumes, of which the third was not yet fully completed when the corpus was published. The works were published in folio format and were translated from Latin into English, in all probability to appeal to a larger audience.<sup>165</sup> It is not clear if De Laet owned all three volumes, since the catalogue states the title as *An Itenerarii of Fynes Moryson*. However, since the last two volumes focus more on the history and exploration of Ireland, De Laet may have been more interested in Moryson's accounts of the Ottoman and Continental European lands, which are mainly described in the first volume.

Moryson's travels brought him to Constantinople and Jerusalem but also to the Netherlands, Italy and Denmark, among other countries. In one of the prefaces of his works, he states: 'From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie [...] but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience.'<sup>166</sup> This account of personal experience is considered one of the most dense and reliable sources about civilisation in both Europe and beyond from the early seventeenth century.

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<sup>165</sup> E.H. Thompson, 'Moryson, Fynes', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19385>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>166</sup> As quoted by J.N. Jacobsen Jensen in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 39 (1918), Chapter 4: 'Moryson's Reis door en zijn Karakteristiek van de Nederlanden', p. 214.

The manner in which Moryson went about his travels is rather unconventional. He states that he is fluent in German, Dutch, French and Italian, which seemed to have helped him in situations where his English nationality or his Protestant convictions may not have been favourable. At certain moments during his travels he passed for a Frenchman, a Pole, a German or a Dutchman, specifically in Catholic Italy and Spain. This brought him into contact with many different people and cultures and made it possible for him to travel relatively far and safe.<sup>167</sup> This aspect of his travels provides an in-depth account of social relationships, cultures, local economy and politics across Europe in his works, which was rather unique for the time. The large published text that resulted from this must have been a useful source for De Laet in writing his own geographical works, as well as for his general perception of other cultures across continental Europe.

### *Walter Raleigh*

Sir Walther Raleigh (1554-1618) is one of the most famous English explorers and travel writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. He was born into a Protestant family in Devon and studied at Oxford before commencing his travels. In 1578, he sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean on the first of his numerous explorations.<sup>168</sup> His connections to the royal court were facilitated by his talent for writing poems, which was greatly appreciated by Queen Elizabeth I. The majority of his private life reads somewhat like a novel: he married one of the Queen's maids of honour and was locked up in the Tower of London for thirteen years for it. However, his professional ventures are more telling for this research.

In 1584, Raleigh obtained a patent for a colonisation venture in the New World. This marks the start of multiple attempts of setting up a merchant business and a successful colony, all of which seem to have failed. In 1595, Raleigh himself set off on a journey to South America, specifically to Trinidad and the Caribbean lands. Many months later, he returned to England empty-handed. During his second voyage to Guinea, Raleigh and his men fought against Spanish settlers, killing many soldiers in the process. This was regarded as a betrayal to the court, which had established relative peace with Spain. As a result, Raleigh was convicted and beheaded at Westminster in 1618.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Thompson, 'Moryson, Fynes', n. pag.

<sup>168</sup> M. Nicholls and P. Williams, 'Raleigh, Sir Walter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23039?docPos=1>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

Raleigh's major work is *The Historie of the World* (1614), which he started writing in 1607 during his imprisonment. The work was intended for public circulation, which is probably one of the reasons it was published in English. De Laet owned a copy of the first edition of this work, which is perhaps surprising. After the work, which was deemed too critical of the royal court of England, was suppressed for three years, it was reprinted again in 1617.<sup>170</sup> It is thus rather unique that De Laet, who did not live in England at the time, still obtained a copy. *The Historie of the World* was intended to be one of five volumes describing the general history of the world. Only the first part was published, spanning from the creation of the world to the second Macedonian War of 146 BC. Philosophical issues are discussed as well as biblical matters. Religion is very much a recurring theme in the work.<sup>171</sup> What may have attracted De Laet to this book is the intensity of references to other contemporary authorities, which, as established previously, was a manner of writing that De Laet used as well.<sup>172</sup> The auction catalogue does not list any other works by Raleigh, such as his poetry or descriptions of his voyages to Guinea and parts of South America, which is striking. Nevertheless, *The Historie of the World* must have contributed to De Laet's religious perception of the creation of the world as well as its early history. It may also have provided him with additional sources for his own works.

### *John Parkinson*

During his lifetime, De Laet had a personal interest in natural history and botany which is proven by his correspondence and exchange of objects with many of his, mostly foreign, acquaintances. John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640) stands out, not only because it is the only English book on botany which De Laet owned, but also since it was published in folio format in three volumes, spanning over 1700 pages.<sup>173</sup>

John Parkinson (1567-1650) was an apothecary and herbalist. He had a pioneering role in establishing botany as an independent discipline, was the apothecary to King James I,

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> N. Popper, *Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp. 95-97.

<sup>173</sup> The book's full title is: *Theatrum Botanicum: The Theater of Plants. Or, an Herball of a Large Extent, Containing therein a More Ample and Exact History and Declaration of the Physicall Herbs and Plants that Are in Other Authours, Encreased by the Accesse of Many Hundreds of New, Rare, and Strange Plants from All the Parts of the World, with Sundry Gummes, and Other Physicall Materials, than Hath Beene hitherto Published by Any before; and a Most Large Demonstration of their Natures and Vertues* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640). Cf. J. Burnby, 'Parkinson, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21372>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

botanist to Charles I and one of the founding members of the London-based Society of Apothecaries. He also owned a popular garden in Long Acre, London which became a work place for various other botanists. In 1629, he had his first and most popular book published: *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*. This work was the first book in the English vernacular solely focusing on gardening. It includes about a thousand plants and flowers.<sup>174</sup> Even though the auction catalogue makes no mention of this work, it is likely that De Laet owned or at least came into contact with this work.

*Theatrum Botanicum* describes about 3800 plants, introducing almost thirty new species. Interestingly, the extensive incorporation of research by Parkinson's contemporaries is emphasised multiple times.<sup>175</sup> Therefore, the book was one of the most pioneering works, at least in the English language, on botany at the time. The fact that De Laet obtained this book when it was first published shows his eagerness to gather more information on one of his private interests and hobbies.

#### *Alexander Reid*

De Laet owned many books on medicine and anatomy, which is perhaps surprising for a man who did not seem to concern himself too much with such topics in his writings or acquaintances. However, a full three pages are dedicated to Latin medical works and various English titles appear as well. One of these is Alexander Reid's *The Manuall of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man* (1634), of which De Laet owned an edition in duodecimo.

Alexander Reid (c. 1570-1641) was a surgeon and anatomist from Scotland. The works he published, which were mainly newly updated versions of his first work, *A Description of the Body of Man* (1616), are said to have provided an introductory understanding, in the English vernacular of the work of foreign physicians such as Paré and Bauhin.<sup>176</sup> Undoubtedly, this will have facilitated De Laet with knowledge of medical terms and concepts in the English vernacular that may have already been familiar to him in Latin, since he owned so many titles in this genre published prior to *The Manuall of the Anatomy's* publication date.

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Burnby, 'Parkinson, John', n. pag.

<sup>176</sup> S. Maclean Vance, 'Reid, Alexander', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23323?docPos=1>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

### *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Sources*

De Laet devoted a large part of his career to the compilation of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Unfortunately, this was never published. However, his study materials can partially be retrieved from the auction catalogue of his library. Multiple sources he used are registered, either as part of the English part of his library or as a miscellaneous Latin work, of which the latter were often Latin-Old English glosses. Part of De Laet's resources during his research into the Old English vernacular consisted of borrowed or copied materials from his English acquaintances or other foreign philologists. Therefore, the auction catalogue only presents a small part of the information De Laet used for his own studies. However, it provides a compelling insight in this unusual interest of a Dutch scholar and tradesman.

Numerous works which discuss the Old English vernacular appear in the English language section of the catalogue, of which the following in particular will have facilitated De Laet's research into the Old English vernacular: *The Fower Evangelistes in Olde Saxons and English* (1570), *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament*, of which de Laet owned an edition from 1623, and *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities Concerning the English Nation* by Richard Verstegan, published in 1628. Verstegan is an interesting figure with respect to this study, since he was the grandson of a refugee from the Low Countries who had settled in England. Verstegan's second marriage was with a woman from Antwerp, which instigated his return to the Low Countries. He even published various Dutch epigrams. Apart from an account of early English history, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* contains an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. It would not be surprising if De Laet had come into contact with Verstegan, since it seems that his interest in the Anglo-Saxon language was already established around the time of the publication of this work.

*A Saxon Treatise* was written by Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 950-c. 1010). The edition which De Laet owned may have been a personal copy, which he will have been able to acquire during his time in London where he was granted access to certain Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Ælfric is known for his prolific writings in the Anglo-Saxon language. As Malcolm Godden states: 'He was a conscious stylist, but explicitly rejected the obscure vocabulary and convoluted syntax which was fashionable in contemporary Anglo-Saxon Latin writings and even in the vernacular, and created instead an elegant and balanced prose, using simpler vocabulary and structures.'<sup>177</sup> The surviving works of his hand are often used

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<sup>177</sup> M. Godden, 'Ælfric of Eynsham', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/187?docPos=7>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

as a model for Anglo-Saxon studies, so it is unsurprising that De Laet owned such a publication.

*The Fower Evangelistes in Olde Saxons and English* was published twelve years before De Laet was born, which is rather exceptional for his library since the majority is comprised of contemporary publications. This work must have considerably helped De Laet in his research since the work consists of the four gospels which are printed in both English and Anglo-Saxon in parallel columns. This way, the learning of the unfamiliar language could be done by means of comparison with modern English, which De Laet must have spoken fluently.

In all probability, more Anglo-Saxon glosses, manuscripts and theoretical treatises are listed in the auction catalogue. If so, they are hidden under generic, Latin names, often not specifying that the Anglo-Saxon language is included in the work. Nonetheless, a few of these works have been traced. Henry Spelman's *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (1626) expresses the author's knowledge of Old English and Latin and describes obsolete and forgotten words in many different languages.<sup>178</sup> In addition, proof that De Laet was in possession of certain Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is provided by the entry of a *Chronicon Angliae* (c. 1350) by Thomas of Walsingham, which is registered in the auction catalogue as 'liber manuscriptus'. The text consists of information on the succession of the kings of England and on the Norman Conquest. It is unclear whether this manuscript was written entirely in Latin or if Old English glosses or notes were available.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, the manuscript clearly displays De Laet's interest in the history of England.

### *Conclusion*

Johannes de Laet was not only a student of philosophy and theology, a participant in the Synod of Dordrecht and a director of the West-Indies Company, but also a man with a significant social and intellectual network and extraordinary scholarly interests. His library was probably of an average size of a learned man at the time, but its contents are at times rather exceptional. His scholarly pursuits will have been the main motivation behind the

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<sup>178</sup> S. Handley, 'Spelman, Sir Henry', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26104>> (29 June, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>179</sup> The British Library has digitised a fragment of this manuscript, which appears to be in Latin. However, notes are added in the margins which could signify an English or Old English influence. The manuscript can be found in the British Library with shelfmark Harley MS 3634. Cf. Anon., 'King Edward III, in the 'English Chronicles' ('Chronicon Angliae'), of Thomas of Walsingham', *British Library Online Gallery*, 26 March 2009, n. pag. <<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/harlmanucoll/k/011hr1000003634u00125000.html>> (29 June, 2017).

acquisition of most of these works. However, there is also proof that De Laet purchased certain books for his own leisure. His interest in and ties to England, specifically through his first marriage, as well as his interest in Old-Germanic languages are probably the main reasons why De Laet owned quite a large number of English books.

The travel accounts in the English vernacular which De Laet possessed show not only his interest in the geography and history of the world, but also his preference for contemporary source material. De Laet assembled various works on the New World, but also compiled texts on parts of Europe and Asia for the Elsevier Republics series, and in writing those works he preferred to base himself on newly acquired knowledge rather than on classical authors. This was a rather advanced methodology at the time. Therefore, it is interesting to note that many of the English works on travelling and exploration De Laet owned share the same approach.

De Laet owned many books on medicine, some of which written in the English vernacular. Even though he never published within this genre, it is not surprising he, being a polyhistor with very broad interests, purchased these works as they contained the results of important new research. The same is true for the works on botany and poetry in his library.

During his lifetime, De Laet had a great interest in the Old English language and, consequently, in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Certain manuscripts, glosses and theoretical texts from his library can be retrieved from the auction catalogue, albeit it is believed he owned and borrowed much more source material. Many of these works contain the same text in both Old English and Latin or Modern English, which will have provided De Laet with information for his Anglo-Saxon dictionary on which he was working on during the last decades of his life.

CATALOGUS  
Instructissimæ Bibliothecæ  
D. JUSTI TURCQ  
M. D.

Curia Feudalis quæ est Bergi-Zonii, dum viveret, Prætoris, &  
Marchioni ejusdem Civitatis a Consiliis. &c.

*In qua omne genus exquisitissimorum Librorum, præcipuè Medicorum, Theo-  
logicorum, SS. Patrum, & Literatorum,*

Inter quos etiam exstant

CORPUS HISTORIÆ BYZANTINÆ

Gr: Lat: Typis Regiis XXII. voll.

E T

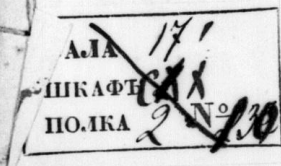
ATLAS MAJOR Belgicæ IX. Voluminibus, nitidissimè  
Compactus, ut & plerique alii.

*Quorum Auctio habebitur Hagæ-Comitis in Officina*

ARNOLDI LEERS,

Bibliopolæ in Platea vulgo dicta *de Hooghstraet* / ad Insigne  
PLUTARCHI.

Ad diem Lunæ 7 Julii St. N. & seqq. 1681. hora octava ante & secun-  
da post Meridiem præcisè.



*Arnoldi Leers*

3000  
1620  
ШКАФЪ  
НО.І.КА  
9 № 311.

HAGÆ-COMITIS,  
Apud ARNOLDUM LEERS, Bibliopolam 1681.  
Alwaer de Catalogus te behoumen is.

NAL OF POOR QUALITY"

Figure 6: The title page of Justus Turcq's book auction catalogue.

## JUSTUS TURCQ

Justus Turcq was born in 1611 in Bergen op Zoom.<sup>180</sup> During his life, he was the physician of William III of Orange, in addition to being a mayor of Bergen op Zoom and, in his leisure time, a poet. Turcq passed away on 26 November, 1680 and the contents of his library were auctioned on 7 July, 1681.<sup>181</sup> In total, about 2250 books were auctioned in various genres and languages, but these do not include the titles his family may have inherited. Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and English works are all included in the catalogue. About one hundred books in the collection are written in English and their contents not only display his professional and private interests, but also reveal the influence of the English language and ideas which may not be very apparent at first. In fact, the historical persona of Turcq remains somewhat hidden in what has been written about him. As he was a man with various occupations, this provides an interesting starting point for an analysis of the contents of his library. This chapter aims to understand what English books Turcq had in his collection, and for what reasons.

### *Family*

The surviving records about Turcq state varying information about his parents. One source claims that he was the son of Hendrick Turck and Dana van Vrijberghe.<sup>182</sup> However, other sources state that he descended from a family of physicians, with his great-grandfather and grandfather – both named Paschasius Turcq – practicing medicine in the same area Justus was born.<sup>183</sup> Since this information can be derived from multiple authorities and aligns with Turcq's own professional life, this latter information appears to be more legitimate.

Turcq's great-grandfather Paschasius Justus Turcq was born in the Flemish town of Eeklo around 1520. He was the progenitor of not only the Turcq's as a family name, but also

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<sup>180</sup> Unfortunately, no portrait of him remains. In addition, his exact date of birth remains unknown. In various biographies, his name is spelled as either Justus Turek, Turcq or Turcaeus. The book auction catalogue registers him as Turcq, which will be used in this chapter. Cf. L. Elaut, 'Dr. Justus Turcq: Hoe zit het eigenlijk met Dr. Justus Turcq (1611-1680) uit Bergen op Zoom?', *Brabantia*, 4 (1955), p. 45.

<sup>181</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae*. [Collected by a Bergen op Zoom magistrate and Doctor of Medicine: Justus Turcq] (The Hague: Arnout (II) Leers, 1681), 4<sup>o</sup>: [53] pp.

<sup>182</sup> N. Japikse, 'Dr. Justus Turck', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1912), p. 1457.

<sup>183</sup> C. de Waard, 'Paschasius Turcq (1)', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1914), p. 1253, and C. de Waard, 'Paschasius Turcq (2)', in P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1914), p. 1253, as well as Elaut, 'Dr. Justus Turcq', p. 45, and L. Elaut, 'Paschasius Justus Turcq: Een zestiende-eeuwse speelzieke jonker en medicus uit Eeklo, lijfarts van de Markies van Bergen op Zoom', *Brabantia*, 1 (1952), p. 196.

as physicians. In fact, he was the doctor of Marquess of Bergen op Zoom Jan IV van Glymes. His influence as a doctor can also be noted when he was consulted to check the health of William I, better known as William the Silent or William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch Revolt, was attacked by Spanish forces in Antwerp in March 1582.<sup>184</sup> Before he commenced his career in medicine, Paschasius travelled through Europe to study in Spain and Italy. Upon his return to the Low Countries, he settled in Bergen op Zoom, where his descendants would live and thrive for many generations.<sup>185</sup> Interestingly, Paschasius wrote a medical treatise on gambling addiction, titled *De Alea Sive de Curanda Ludendi in Pecuniuam Cupiditate* (Basel, 1561), but ironically, he would pass away due to the same ‘illness’ as he had described in this work.<sup>186</sup> The reputation of this ancestor was still alive in 1642, when Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, a professor of history at Leiden University who also came from Bergen op Zoom, published the third edition of the *Alea*, which, by the way, he dedicated to greatgrandson Justus Turcq.<sup>187</sup> And even though Justus would never publish a medical work himself, he wrote several commentaries which also touch on social vices such as gambling.

Turcq’s grandfather was named Israel Pascasii and he married three times.<sup>188</sup> His oldest son, and Turcq’s father, was again named Paschasius Turcq. He was born on 27 November, 1586 in Bergen op Zoom and matriculated as a student of philosophy in Leiden on 17 June, 1604, after which he progressed to study medicine. Three years later, in 1607, he was promoted Doctor of Medicine, after which he returned to Bergen op Zoom to work as a physician. His political involvement in the town is notable, since he served as *schepen* (alderman) and later mayor. He was also involved in the debate on the defence of the Dutch Republic.<sup>189</sup> Clearly, the different professions Justus Turcq had during his lifetime were directly influenced by the actions of his ancestors.

The identity of Turcq’s wife married remains, again, somewhat ambiguous. In one source, her name is given as Margaretha Hoveniers. However, in another source she is named Margaretha Horemans.<sup>190</sup> It is believed that Turcq had quite at least two sons. Itel Frederik Turcq is mentioned in a Dutch source as the son of Justus Turcq and Margaretha

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<sup>184</sup> De Waard, ‘Paschasius Turcq (1)’, p. 1253 and information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof) (Y.E.Kortlever@bergenopzoom.nl, 27 June, 2017).

<sup>185</sup> Elaut, ‘Paschasius Justus Turcq’, p. 196.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, p. 208.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>188</sup> De Waard, ‘Paschasius Turcq (1)’, p. 1253.

<sup>189</sup> De Waard, ‘Paschasius Turcq (2)’, p. 1253.

<sup>190</sup> The name Hoveniers is stated in the biography of one of Turcq’s sons, in C. de Waard, ‘Itel Frederik Turcq’, in Molhuysen and Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3, p. 1252, whereas Horemans is stated in Japikse, ‘Dr. Justus Turck’, p. 1457.

Hoveniers.<sup>191</sup> He was born in 1651 in Bergen op Zoom and later became a mayor of the town, just like his ancestors.<sup>192</sup> Ludovicus Turcq is mentioned as Turcq's son when Turcq attended to the Marquess of Bergen op Zoom's health.<sup>193</sup>

### *Career in Medicine and Local Politics*

Turcq commenced his studies in Leiden in 1630. It is believed that he studied law and medicine, of which he only finished the latter. However, both studies must have proven helpful for his later career. He was promoted six years later as Doctor of Medicine and, in 1637, was appointed as city doctor in Bergen op Zoom.<sup>194</sup> This also marked the start of a series of municipal functions. Consecutively, he was *schepen*, mayor, *weesmeester*, secretary and pensionary. He also served the marquesses of Bergen op Zoom as their private councillor.<sup>195</sup> Even though his great-grandfather had been a member of the Catholic Church, Turcq was a Protestant.<sup>196</sup> However, religion did not play an overtly prominent role during his lifetime, which, in all probability, was because of his political undertakings in the borderland of Bergen op Zoom.

His political involvement can be illustrated by a small dispute which occurred between Turcq and the municipal council of Bergen op Zoom in 1650. At this time, Turcq was councillor to the marquess and had consequently left his administrative positions in the municipality. Consequently, the board deemed it unnecessary for Turcq to attend their meetings anymore, which Turcq disagreed with. He made his case by providing a list of previous councillors who had been serving the local government at the same time.<sup>197</sup> He used this to prove that a combination of the two functions was, in fact, not as rare as the board thought it to be. The case was put to the Provincial Board of Brabant and in April 1651 Turcq was granted access to the board meetings again. A year later, he was appointed mayor of the area, which solved the case in its entirety.<sup>198</sup> This dispute shows the priority local politics had for Turcq as well as his notable influence on the municipal government.

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<sup>191</sup> Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

<sup>192</sup> De Waard, 'Itel Frederik Turcq', p. 1252.

<sup>193</sup> Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

<sup>194</sup> The letter which officiated this function, as well as the letter of his appointment as secretary and pensionary are still preserved at the Municipal Archives of Bergen op Zoom and are included in Appendix V and VI, respectively. Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

<sup>195</sup> Japikse, 'Dr. Justus Turck', p. 1457.

<sup>196</sup> Elaut, 'Paschasius Justus Turcq', p. 202.

<sup>197</sup> A part of this document is included in Appendix VII. Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

Only a few details are known about Turcq's medical career. Firstly, he was not only the city doctor of Bergen op Zoom, but also the personal physician of prince William III of Orange, following in his great-grandfather's footsteps.<sup>199</sup> In addition, he was the doctor of Marquess Maria Elisabeth II van den Bergh who, after Turcq had attended to her health in 1660, appointed his son Ludovicus as the city's secretary, which establishes the protection by the Marquess Turcq must have enjoyed, especially during disputes such as the one mentioned above. His medical involvement with these distinguished people demonstrates his capabilities as a physician. Moreover, Turcq is known to have concerned himself with trying to find a remedy against the plague, which was still around during the seventeenth century. Mainly, he attempted to find the recipe for a 'plague perfume', which doctors could use for themselves to repel the disease when treating a patient.<sup>200</sup> As far as it can be established, he never published any medical books, nor is anything known about the activities he undertook as part of his career as a physician. However, the contents of his library are proof that he did concern himself with medical affairs and contemporary developments in science and medicine.

### *His Works*

A fact which is perhaps surprising is that Turcq was also a poet and writer. It is known that he wrote at least three collections of poems and one collection of essays. These works are all written in Latin, which proves Turcq's academic education and scholarly interests.

His first collection of poems is titled *Hagana Diverticula* (s.l.: s.n., 1667) and contains twenty-one poems about facts and people involved in Dutch politics.<sup>201</sup> In the same year, *Secessus Spadanus* (s.l.: s.n.) was published, which was written by Turcq during a visit to the waters at Spa in the Southern Netherlands. The contents deals among other things with the peace that had just been concluded between the Dutch Republic and England and

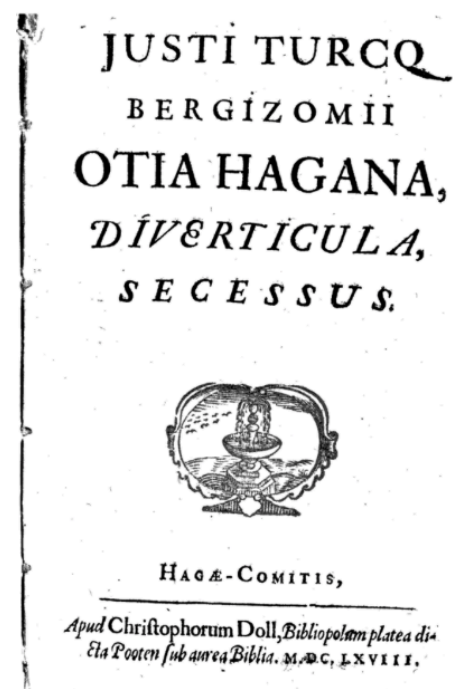


Figure 7: The title page of *Hagana Diverticula*. Source: Google Books.

<sup>199</sup> Elaut, 'Dr. Justus Turcq', p. 47.

<sup>200</sup> Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

<sup>201</sup> The library of Ghent University has an incomplete copy of this work, which on the title-page has the MS annotation by Turcq himself: 'IUSTI TURCQ 1667.'

has verses dedicated to the English envoy Lord Hollis and his wife.<sup>202</sup>

His third collection of poems is titled *Otia Hagana, Diverticula, Secessus* (The Hague: C. Doll, 1668) and was dedicated to Cornelis and Johan de Witt, notable political figures of the Dutch Golden Age and friends of Turcq. This collection, just as his previous two collections which are also included in this work, touches on contemporary political issues and well-known people of the Republic. In addition, comical notations of the more vulgar aspects of society, such as alcoholism and prostitution are included as well.

Turcq's collection of religiously inspired essays *Solitudo Pia, Seu Meditationes Sacrae* (Leiden: F. Hackius, 1669), dedicated to marquess Elisabeth II van den Bergh, is the only prose work by his hand. It contains prayers, biblical stories and thoughts on the emblems of the apostles. The work is described as 'poetic reflections of a physician'.<sup>203</sup> In the foreword, Turcq acknowledges his previous work as a poet and states that he will focus on prose from now on. This gives the impression that he was engaged in writing other texts, but these were apparently never published.



Figure 8: The title page of *Solitudo Pia, Seu Meditationes Sacrae*. Source: Google Books.

### *Turcq's Library as Represented in the Book Auction Catalogues*

The contents of Turcq's library were auctioned on 7 July, 1681, over six months after he passed away. The auction took place in The Hague and the catalogue was printed by Arnout Leers II. There are about 2250 books in the catalogue, which are categorised firstly by format and secondly by genre. Surprisingly, Turcq owned many books in the large folio format. Moreover, in the catalogue there is no distinction between different languages; both Latin and vernacular languages – Dutch, French, English, Italian – are listed throughout the catalogue. Consequently, this gives the impression that books written in Latin were not necessarily preferred over works in the vernacular. However, in all probability it was also easier for Leers to catalogue Turcq's books in the order they had been in in the latter's library. In

<sup>202</sup> The library of Ghent University has a copy which on the title-page has this MS annotation: 'Exemplar hoc propria manu correxit Auctor; quibus cum emendationibus libellus hic recusus est Haga-Comitis, Ao 1668. in 8.'

<sup>203</sup> Information kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof).

addition, it indicates that the majority of the attendees at the auction were able to read various different languages, not surprising in an internationally oriented city like The Hague.

Theology is the first genre of books which is listed. Consecutively, the books on law, medicine and miscellaneous works are described. This last category contains books on philosophy, history, geography and literature, among others. Apart from Latin and a few Greek titles, books in the French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and English vernacular are included. Especially the wide variety of genres in Turcq's collection is remarkable. Even though theology is prioritised in the catalogue, it is not the genre containing the most books. In fact, of the fifty pages the catalogue comprises of, about fifteen cover medical works, compared to thirteen pages of theological works. In addition, six pages of books on law are included. The influence of both his political and medical careers become apparent here.

Unsurprisingly, the books which are listed as miscellaneous are on a wide variety of topics. For example, a copy of *Den Grooten Nederduytschen Atlas of Beschrijvingh des Gehelen Aerdtbodems [...]* (c. 1657) by the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Janssonius appears in folio format in nine volumes, which must have been an expensive purchase. In addition, a remarkable edition of *Terentii Comediæ cum Notis & Figuris Illuminatis* is listed in the catalogue. It is stated that the edition was published in 1496 (probably the illustrated edition Strassburg: Johann Reinhard Grüninger), which makes it one of the oldest books in the catalogue. The collection by the Roman dramatist Terence (c. 195-150 B.C.), contains all his plays.<sup>204</sup> Moreover, many books are included on history, the classical languages, philosophy and geography. Therefore, Turcq owned a wide variety of both contemporary and historical texts.

### *The English Books*

The influence of the English language and culture on Turcq may not be very apparent thus far. However, during his career as not only a member of the local government but also as the regional physician, he must have encountered many English and Scotsmen. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Bergen op Zoom was a garrison town on the border between the Republic and the Spanish part of the Low Countries.<sup>205</sup> As mentioned

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<sup>204</sup> W.G. Arnott, 'Terence: Roman Dramatist', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 12 June 2013, n. pag., <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Terence>> (5 July, 2017).

<sup>205</sup> For a study on the political situation in Bergen op Zoom prior to the seventeenth century, including the presence of Englishmen and Scotsmen, see W.A. van Ham, *Macht en gezag in het Markiezaat: Een politiek-institutionele studie over stad en land van Bergen op Zoom (1477-1583)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000). The presence of Englishmen and Scotsmen in the Bergen op Zoom area during the seventeenth century is confirmed in the source: R.M. Sprenger, Chapter 6: 'De Thesaurier-Generaal aan zijn Bureau en op Dienstreis', in J. Th.

previously, British troops were settled in and around these types of towns to fight against the Spanish. The presence of these English and Scottish soldiers required a cooperation between the local municipalities and the British military forces. This may have influenced Turcq to gain knowledge of the English language or, if he was already fluent in English, it must have given him a prominent role in the communication between these two parties.

Almost a hundred books in the auction catalogue are written in the English vernacular. The majority of these works are described under the theological books. The second largest genre is English and Scottish history. English books on medicine or politics are surprisingly scarce: Turcq owned most of these in Latin. The wide variety of topics that was observed in the auction catalogue as a whole can also be noticed among the English titles. Since in this catalogue, the titles written in specific vernaculars are listed throughout and not in a separate section, Turcq's multilingualism is perhaps not immediately noticeable.<sup>206</sup> However, the English books he possessed display a good knowledge of the most widely-read works at the time, as well as an individual interest in less circulated English books. Certain authors who have been studied in the first and second chapter, such as the theologian John Downname, the explorer Walter Raleigh and the travel writer Samuel Purchas, were part of Turcq's library as well. However, the various influences on Turcq's life demand an analysis of the less common texts he had in his library, in order to come to an understanding of what Turcq read in the English language, and how this may have been influenced by his double career or personal interests, as well as to obtain an idea what English literature was available to an educated man in the Low Countries in the course of the seventeenth century.

### *Sir Thomas Browne*

Even though Turcq owned numerous books on religion, medicine and popular science by English authors, most of these works are written in Latin. However, there are a few exceptions. Two of these are works by Sir Thomas Browne. Both the *Religio Medici* (1643) as well as Browne's second work, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica or Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenets and Commonly Presumed Truths*, appear in the auction catalogue, of which the latter work Turcq owned both the first and second editions of 1646 and 1650. Thomas Browne (1605-1682) was born in Norwich and, after having travelled in Ireland, France and

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De Smidt (ed.), *Van Tresorier tot Thesaurier-Generaal: Zes Eeuwen Financieel Beleid in Handen van een Hoge Nederlandse Ambtsdrager* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), pp. 164-165.

<sup>206</sup> As an example, two pages of Turcq's auction catalogue are included in Appendix VIII.

Italy, graduated as a Doctor of Medicine in Leiden in 1633, which may have brought him into contact with Turcq. He later settled in his hometown Norwich as a physician. Influenced by Francis Bacon, Browne used modern scientific methods as a means to comprehend the natural world.<sup>207</sup>

*Religio Medici* was Browne's first work, which he wrote around the age of twenty-eight. His findings and statements in this work are still rather naïve and idealistic, indicating Browne's lack of experience thus far.<sup>208</sup> The text does not allow to be categorised easily; it comprises a combination of personal religious convictions, poetry and opinions on contemporary science. He stresses the importance of separating science and faith by stating that 'many things are true in Divinity, which are neither inducible by reason nor confirmable by sense'.<sup>209</sup> The intimate content of the text was not necessarily ready for publication in 1643. As Claire Preston states:

*Religio Medici* is a private thought-experiment among friends, prematurely or inappropriately divulged to the public in uncooperative 1643. [...] [The text] therefore occupies an uncertain ground where the competing ethics of publicity and privacy, each vulnerable to abuses within scientific, intellectual culture, are uneasily in play.<sup>210</sup>

Nevertheless, the book became highly popular among Browne's contemporaries. Especially his tolerant and liberal perspective regarding his Christian faith contributed to the many translations and reprints of the text. The first Latin translation was published in Leiden in 1644.<sup>211</sup> Especially since this edition must have been more easily accessible in the Dutch Republic, it is remarkable that Turcq owned the work in the English vernacular.

*Pseudodoxia Epidemica* was Browne's second published work and consists of seven volumes. It focusses on the exploration of superstitions and misbeliefs of his time. This text is said to be his most notable work, especially since it introduced various new insights in certain aspects of contemporary science. In fact, as R.H. Robbins states, Browne 'subjects to the three determinators of truth, Authority, Sense and Reason, a host of misbeliefs concerning the

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<sup>207</sup> R.H. Robbins, 'Browne, Sir Thomas', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), n. pag., <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3702?docPos=4>> (5 July, 2017).

<sup>208</sup> C. Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 43.

<sup>209</sup> As quoted by J. Gardham, in 'Book of the Month: Religio Medici', *University of Glasgow, Special Collections*, July 2002, n. pag., <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/july2002.html>> (10 July, 2017).

<sup>210</sup> Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*, p. 35.

<sup>211</sup> Gardham, 'Book of the Month: Religio Medici', n. pag.

natural world, human physiology, pictorial representation, geography, history, biblical interpretation, and classical antiquity'.<sup>212</sup> Browne bases his claims partially on numerous experiments he personally carried out, but also cites more than a thousand other authors. Therefore, this work not only brought new knowledge to men in the medical field and beyond, but it also established a manner of research that can still be found in scientific journalism nowadays. Fallacies he addresses include the (non-)existence of unicorns and the phoenix, among other imaginary animals. In addition, sea creatures such as the starfish are named and investigated, whereas prior to the publication of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, it was debated whether these existed.<sup>213</sup>

Not surprisingly, the book still has religious motifs interwoven through it. The manner in which the seven volumes form a certain hierarchy already proves this. The first volume discusses the nature of error, whereas the second to seventh volume consecutively examine the misbeliefs and superstitions in the mineral and vegetable kingdom, the animal world, among humans, and in art, geography and history and astronomy.<sup>214</sup> The build-up of this sequence is based on the idea of the Creation. Other religious motifs are mainly discussed in the first volume, with the fall of Adam being blamed for the nature of man's errors.<sup>215</sup> It is perhaps interesting to see that this work, as opposed to *Religio Medici*, displays more formal religious convictions.

In 1668, a Dutch translation of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* was brought out. However, since Turcq already owned two editions of the work at the time, it will not have been a priority to him to obtain the translation. In fact, since he owned both *Religio Medici* and *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* in the English vernacular, it seems Turcq was eager to acquire the popular works of English authors in the original language, rather than waiting for a Latin or Dutch translation. In addition, it suggests a certain network Turcq must have been a part of, to be able to acquire the first editions of these works, rather than the translations which were more commonly available on the Continent. Nevertheless, the fact that the work was widely available in various languages depicts the influence it must have had on men in the medical field such as Turcq.

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<sup>212</sup> Robbins, 'Browne, Sir Thomas', n. pag.

<sup>213</sup> H. Aldersey-Williams, 'A Bestiary of Sir Thomas Browne', *The Public Domain Review*, June 2015, n. pag., <<https://publicdomainreview.org/2015/06/17/a-bestiary-of-sir-thomas-browne/>> (10 July, 2017).

<sup>214</sup> Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*, p. 84.

<sup>215</sup> Robbins, 'Browne, Sir Thomas', n. pag.

## *Thomas Hobbes*

Turcq owned several contemporary works on philosophy and social theory, one of which was Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (1651). Hobbes (1588-1679) was a philosopher and author of about fifty works during his lifetime. *Leviathan* was his most popular text and focusses on psychology, religion and politics. It was written during Hobbes' stay in Paris during the years around 1650. However, the work was published in England and in the English vernacular, suggesting that it was aimed to contribute to the political debate within the country.<sup>216</sup> The Latin translation of the work appeared in 1668, emphasising the relevance of it being published in the vernacular first.<sup>217</sup>

*Leviathan* contains four parts, focusing on 'Man', 'The Commonwealth', 'The Christian Commonwealth' and 'The Kingdom of Darkness'. Mainly the last two parts elaborate on Hobbes' opinion on religion, whereas the other parts touch on politics and morals in the light of philosophical theory.<sup>218</sup> The name of the book is derived from the biblical sea monster Leviathan, and implies a large and powerful authority, such as a monarchy or state. Hobbes is said to have been one of the founders of the 'social contract theory', which comprises of the idea that the balance between protection by the state and obedience by the individual should be in harmony. More specifically, Hobbes concludes his work by stating that all citizens should obey to the absolute sovereign power.<sup>219</sup> The work is a direct response to the political and religious unrest in England at the time. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, opportunities for a different political system as well as for a shift in the Church of England arose. Hobbes' criticism of Catholicism and his rigorous rejection of the Church's authority over the power of the government was received with mixed sentiments; however, it established his role as a political philosopher.<sup>220</sup>

*Leviathan* was widely popular not just in England, but also on the Continent. It must have been a logical step for Turcq to obtain a copy of such a widely discussed contemporary text. Moreover, the debates between the power of the Church and the authority of government which are discussed in the book were also relevant to the issues of the local

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<sup>216</sup> N. Malcom, 'Hobbes, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13400?docPos=1>> (5 July, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>217</sup> S.A. Lloyd and S. Sreedhar, 'Hobbes's Moral and Polical Philosphy', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 25 February 2014, n. pag. <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/hobbes-moral/>> (10 July, 2017).

<sup>218</sup> P. Springborg, *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007), 'Introduction', p. 2.

<sup>219</sup> Lloyd and Sreedhar, 'Hobbes's Moral and Polical Philosphy', n. pag.

<sup>220</sup> Malcom, 'Hobbes, Thomas', n. pag.

authority in the Low Countries. In addition, Turcq's own works contained political criticism, which indicates an interest towards developments in political theory and critical thinking.

### *Henry Hexham*

Henry Hexham has been mentioned in the introduction as an English soldier in the Republic and as the compiler of the first Anglo-Dutch dictionary. Interestingly, one of his works appears in the auction catalogue of Turcq's library. Hexham's *The Principles of the Art Military* (1642) was first published in 1637. Its full title, *The Principles of the Art Militarie Practised in the Warres of the United Netherlands*, discloses Hexham's relation to the Low Countries and its long lasting struggle with the Spanish monarchy. Hexham (c. 1585-c. 1650) served in the English regiments in the United Provinces for much of his life, in which period he also married a Dutch wife. He was a translator of many works, from religious Protestant texts during the start of his career to mainly military works later. His friendship with Prince Maurice of Nassau must have been one of the reasons Hexham decided to stay in the Republic. In addition, he never ceased to be a part of the English regiment, attaining the rank of captain following the successful relief of Breda in 1625.<sup>221</sup>

*The Principles of the Art Military* signifies an important contribution to war theory. The work includes, as A.F. Pollard states, 'engraved plates representing the drill movements for pikemen, musketeers, and arquebusiers, and were specifically designed for the use of captains in the drilling of their men'.<sup>222</sup> The work was inspired by Hexham's personal experience with the war in the United Provinces. However, since the work was published in English, it influenced the political situation overseas as well. The series of 'bishops' wars', which happened in Scotland during the reign of Charles I as part of the Puritan Revolution, instigated the publication of pamphlets to instruct town militia's. At least one of those, *Direction for Musters* (1638), is known to have been heavily influenced by Hexham's book.<sup>223</sup> As Hexham writes himself, he established his authority to write his military work 'both by the many yeeres experience I have had in the Service, as also though [sic] the

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<sup>221</sup> A.F. Pollard and M.R. Glozier, 'Hexham, Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13160>> (5 July, 2017), n. pag.; see also P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexham (c. 1585-1650), English soldier, author, translator, lexicographer, and cultural mediator in the Low Countries', in Sara K. Barker & Brenda M. Hosington (eds.), *Renaissance cultural crossroads: Translation, print, and culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013), pp. 209-225.

<sup>222</sup> Pollard and Glozier, 'Hexham, Henry', n. pag.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

manifold discources I have often heard, wherein this businesse have beene diversly debated; but especially by the many books I have read and translated touching this subject'.<sup>224</sup>

Turcq had the second edition of *The Principles*, published in 1642, in his library. This edition was dedicated to prince William II of Orange, which underlines the interconnected political and social network that existed in the Republic at the time.<sup>225</sup> As mentioned above, Turcq was the personal physician to the son of Willem II, which marks the importance of the possession of this particular edition. In addition, Turcq may have been personally acquainted with Hexham as well, since they both were involved in the political affairs of the Low Countries.

### *Edward Reynolds*

Edward Reynolds (1599-1676) was bishop of Norwich and the author of over thirty books. Turcq owned two English titles by him: *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640) and *Explication of the Hundreth and Tenth Psalme* (1642). Especially the former work has been noted to describe early-modern convictions on religion.

*A Treatise of the Passions* touches on the concept of passions and emotions within the divine being as well as within humans. Rather uniquely, Reynolds states that Christ still embodies temperance and, even though only he can keep his emotions in moderation, he still experiences them. Therefore, Reynolds emphasises the importance of emotions, since they appear in Christ himself. Interestingly, G.K. Paster establishes that this modern manner of thinking facilitated contemporary playwrights and poets with the possibility to incorporate their faith into their works. More specifically, the thought-process behind the embodied emotions which are characteristic of Shakespearean dramas can be retraced in *A Treatise*. As Paster states: '[The fact] that the emotions are given authority and rendered legitimate through the example of Christ establishes a theological and symbolic import for representations of the passions'.<sup>226</sup>

Turcq's possession of this work displays not only an interest in the religious convictions of an English Anglican bishop, but also, in a broader sense, shows his appetite in educating himself on contemporary notions of Christianity. In addition, since Turcq wrote poetry himself and showed an interest in studying dramatic poetry and prose by other authors,

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<sup>224</sup> As quoted by D.R. Lawrence in *Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 104.

<sup>225</sup> Pollard and Glozier, 'Hexham, Henry', n. pag.

<sup>226</sup> G.K. Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 6-7.

the link between this work and convictions by contemporary dramatists must have appealed to him.

### *Benjamin Jonson*

Since the first works published by Turcq were poetic texts, it is not surprising that his library contains various collections of poetry as well. However, poetry in the English vernacular was not widely read by Dutch citizens at the time. Nevertheless, Turcq owned a collection of poems by Benjamin Jonson, simply listed as *Poemes of Ben Jonson* without a date or other publication information. However, a compilation of Jonson's poetic work was published in London in 1616, which may well have been the book Turcq had in his library.

Benjamin Jonson (1572-1637) was a poet and playwright. He was a contemporary of Shakespeare, whom he is often compared to. However, Shakespeare appears even less so in Dutch libraries of the seventeenth century, including that of Turcq. Perhaps Jonson's activity in the Low Countries contributed to his appearance in Turcq's library. Around 1591, Jonson had begun his first trip to the Low Countries as a member of the English military force. He spent about a year fighting against the Spanish, an experience which influenced numerous of his poems, as can be read in his *Epigrams* (1612). He returned to England at the end of 1592. Around twenty years later he travelled to the Continent again, including the Republic, this time in the company of Walter Raleigh, son of the author mentioned in the second chapter. During this visit, in which he also visited Brussels and Antwerp, Jonson acquainted himself with scholar and poet Daniel Heinsius in Leiden.<sup>227</sup> Interestingly, Turcq dedicated at least one of his own poems to Heinsius, establishing not only Turcq's social network but also his (indirect) connection to certain Englishmen.

Jonson's poems reveal much of his personal sentiments. Not only does he include his own name in various verses – and thus writes about himself –, he also writes to himself in certain poems.<sup>228</sup> In addition, his writings are characterised by his knowledge of the language and literature of classical Rome. He acquired this knowledge during his early education; Jonson did not come from a wealthy family and therefore never enjoyed any university education. However, this did not limit him in the creation of his plays and poems. In fact, as Barrett Wendell states: 'The thing he could do supremely well was to turn the lifelessness of

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<sup>227</sup> I. Donaldson, 'Jonson, Benjamin', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15116?docPos=1>> (5 July, 2017), n. pag.

<sup>228</sup> I. Donaldson, I., *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 9.

the classics into terms of contemporary vitality'.<sup>229</sup> Therefore, the combination of classical literature with contemporary values and fashions characterises Jonson's writings.

Since Turcq's own poetry mainly focusses on contemporary political and societal issues, he must have been inspired by Jonson's interpretation of these concepts. In addition, Turcq probably enjoyed reading poetry in general and since he was able to read in the English vernacular as well as to keep up with the current English developments, it is not strange that he owned a poetry collection by a celebrated English writer.

### *Conclusion*

Justus Turcq concerned himself with different types of careers. Not only was he involved in the local government of his hometown Bergen op Zoom as mayor and alderman, he also became its city doctor next to being the personal physician to the marquess of Bergen op Zoom and to prince William II of Orange. In addition, Turcq published four works of poetry and prose. The auction catalogue of his library displays the wide variety of fields he was interested in. During his lifetime, he acquired well over 2000 books. A part of this collection comprises of books written in the English vernacular. Even though direct motivations for his interest in the English language and its works remain ambiguous, various books facilitate a more in-depth understanding of why Turcq enjoyed reading in the English vernacular.

The highlighted books in this chapter naturally only give a small impression of the entirety of Turcq's (English) library. Nevertheless, the selection displays the wide variety of books Turcq owned. A large part of the English works are contemporary publications on politics, religion and modern science. This displays both the interest had Turcq in new information on these topics, as well as his ability to acquire these texts in English, which must not have been easy at times. Therefore, it depicts a curiosity of Turcq in popular English contemporary texts.

The mutual influence of Anglo-Dutch relations on literature is also apparent in the English books in Turcq's library. Numerous works are listed written by men who had served the English army in the Low Countries. Therefore, the political situation Turcq found himself in influenced his library as well. When and where Turcq acquired his knowledge of the English language is unknown; however, the intense relations between England and the

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<sup>229</sup> B. Wendell, 'Ben Jonson (1572-1637): A Critical and Biographical Introduction', in C.D. Warner et al. (eds.), *The Library of the World's Best Literature: Online Edition* (New York: Warner Library Co., 1917), <<http://www.bartleby.com/library/prose/2900.html>> (5 July, 2017), n. pag.

Netherlands during the seventeenth century must have affected his fluency of the language as well as his interest in reading in the English vernacular.



## CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the presence of English books in the libraries of three well-read Dutchmen in the seventeenth century. With the use of book auction catalogues, the contents of the libraries of Balthasar Lydius, Johannes de Laet and Justus Turcq have been studied in order to come to an understanding of what English works were read by Dutchmen, whether any variation between men of different professions could be detected and to study the reasons why these men had English works in their collections at all. In addition, different decades throughout the century have been highlighted, in order to obtain a more varied impression of English book owners in the Dutch Republic. The analyses of the English literature that the three men owned contribute to the knowledge of the presence of printed English texts in the Dutch Republic and to the composition of Anglo-Dutch relations in general.

The three men that have been examined display both similarities and differences from one another. Whereas De Laet involved himself in mercantile businesses and educated himself and others on the New World, Lydius was much more occupied practising and preaching his religion, whereas Turcq is the only man in this study who had a significant role in the medical field. Nevertheless, all three men display an interest in politics, in writing their own works and in reading books in multiple languages. In addition, seemingly personal interests cause for certain books in the English collections to overlap regardless of their professions. For example, the majority of English books Lydius owned are on English Puritanism, which undoubtedly has been influenced by his career as a Reformed minister in Dordrecht and the political and religious situation of both countries at the time. Many religious refugees from England settled in the Low Countries throughout the century and brought with them new, Puritan, theologian ideas. In turn, Dutch settlers in England brought their religious experience as a suppressed Catholic or Protestant, for instance. In the English part of Lydius' library, especially the works by John Downname are well represented. Interestingly, both De Laet and Turcq show an interest in Downname's works as well, demonstrating the influence of English theologian ideas on well-read men in the Dutch Republic. In addition, Lydius and De Laet both took part in the Synod of Dordrecht, which not only brought them, in all probability, in contact with each other, but also with the particular religious convictions of that time. Moreover, multiple books on travelling and law are included in Lydius' library, which also displays similarities with both De Laet's and Turcq's library. Specifically the works by Samuel Purchas were owned by all three

Dutchmen, which establishes the popularity of Purchas' travel writings during the seventeenth century.

Another example of the similarities between the three men can be found in the contents of De Laet's library. These did not only facilitate him in the writing process for his own accounts on the New World and his work for the Dutch West-Indies Company, but also provide an insight in his various other interests. In fact, various English medical works are included, displaying his curiosity for new developments in scientific matters. Even though he never practiced medicine, his interest in it aligns with Turcq's activities in the medical field. All the same, Turcq's interest in poetry is not only displayed by his own publications but also by his ownership of works of several (English) poets, such as Jonson. De Laet displays a similar interest in English literature and owned works by Chaucer, among others.

Turcq's interest in contemporary science and social theory can be, as part of his English library, marked by titles of authors such as Thomas Browne and Thomas Hobbes. Especially Browne was influenced by the ideas of Sir Francis Bacon. Interestingly, De Laet owned multiple (Latin) works by Bacon. This depicts a similar interest in contemporary scientific developments and critical thinking, even though Turcq was thirty years younger than De Laet. In addition, the continuous debate on religion which characterises the seventeenth century can be found in Turcq's English library in the shape of works by Edward Reynolds, for example. This interest in theologian discussion is, as established above, something De Laet and Lydius concerned themselves with during their lifetime.

Therefore, even though the three men seemingly have a rather different background, career and character, in addition to being born in different timeframes, there are works on various topics which occur in all three of their libraries. Consequently, many interests are seemingly similar. On the other hand, particular influences and the individuality of their character also depict differences in contents of their collections. For instance, De Laet's English connections and his stay in London has influenced him in a different manner than Turcq's probable contacts with English soldiers in the Low Countries and Lydius' connection to English theologians, as can be depicted by the English works in the three case studies as well. Nevertheless, the many similarities between the English literature these men owned depict a certain standard for well-read and learned men of the Dutch Golden Age. In addition, the biographies of all three men has guided this research in different ways. Where more information was known, the existing English literature in their libraries was examined through interests and career established previously. However, when limited information was available, the library becomes more telling of the man's personal and professional activities.

This way, the study of the English part of the libraries of Lydius, De Laet and Turcq is a constant back and forth analysis of their character and the works they owned.

There exists a Dutch saying which roughly translates to ‘Show me your bookcase, and I will tell you who you are’.<sup>230</sup> Even though this idea provided the starting point of this thesis, the phrase simultaneously displays the caution that this research should be approached with. Even if the auction catalogue is an accurate representation of the man’s library, which in many cases it is not, then there is still no proof what books he preferred over others, or which he never read but still had on his bookshelf. In addition, it was rare to own English book at all during the seventeenth century, which the focus on these three men may distort. Further studies in the ownership of English books in the seventeenth century could potentially incorporate quantitative research, in order to examine if the three men of the case studies in this thesis were unique in their possession of English works, or owned a rather average collection. In addition, the difficulty of defining one’s personality or interests by their books, and the other way around, has been attempted to overcome by creating parallels between the man’s life and interests and the contents of the English part of his library. Even though this has not provided a complete impression of the character of the person examined, it nevertheless contributes to the understanding of the ‘what’ and ‘why’ regarding English book ownership in the Dutch Republic. Moreover, this research exemplifies the circumstances of Anglo-Dutch relations, in addition to underlining the culture, scientific advancements and general politics of the Dutch Golden Age. In the end, a man’s bookcase is not only telling of his own character, but also of his country’s momentum.

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<sup>230</sup> ‘Toon mij uw boekenkast en ik zeg u wie u bent’.



## LIST OF FIGURES

**Figure 1:** The title page of Balthasar Lydius' book auction catalogue.

Source: Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogvs van verscheyden uytnemende Duytsche, Hoogduytsche ende Engelsche boeken*. [Collected by a Dordrecht minister: Balthazar Lydius] (Dordrecht: Widow Peeter Verhaghen, 1630), 4°: [18] pp.

**Figure 2:** The title page of Balthasar Lydius' *Waldensia* (Rotterdam: Berewout, 1616).

Source: *Internet Archive*, 'Waldensia' <<https://archive.org/details/waldensiaidestco00lydi>> (19 July, 2017). *Waldensia*, Internet Archive.

**Figure 3:** The title page of Johannes de Laet's book auction catalogue.

Source: Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogvs bibliothecae*. [Collected by a director of the West India Company (WIC): Johannes de Laet] (Leiden: Franciscus Hackius, 1650), 4°: [50] pp.

**Figure 4:** The title page of Johannes de Laet's *Compendium Historiae Universali Civilis et Ecclesiasticae* (Leiden: Franciscus Hegerus, 1643).

Source: *Google Books*, 'Compendium Historiæ' <<https://books.google.nl/books?id=saVZAAAAQAAJ>> (19 July, 2017).

**Figure 5:** The title page of Johannes de Laet's *De Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1625).

Source: *Ga Het Na*, 'Johannes de Laet' <<http://www.gahetna.nl/het-verhalenarchief/johannes-laet>> (19 July, 2017).

**Figure 6:** The title page of Justus Turcq's book auction catalogue.

Source: Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae*. [Collected by a Bergen op Zoom magistrate and Doctor of Medicine: Justus Turcq] (The Hague: Arnout (II) Leers, 1681), 4°: [53] pp.

**Figure 7:** The title page of Justus Turcq's *Hagana Diverticula* (The Hague: Christophorum Doll, 1667).

Source: *Google Books*, 'Justi Turco Bergizomii Otia Hagana' <[https://books.google.nl/books?id=emIPZHqRoE8C&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbg\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.nl/books?id=emIPZHqRoE8C&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbg_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)> (19 July, 2017).

**Figure 8:** The title page of Justus Turcq's *Solitudo Pia, Seu Meditationes Sacrae* (Leiden: Franciscus Hackium, 1669).

Source: *Google Books*, 'Justi Turcq Bergizomatis, Solitudo pia, seu Meditationes sacrae'

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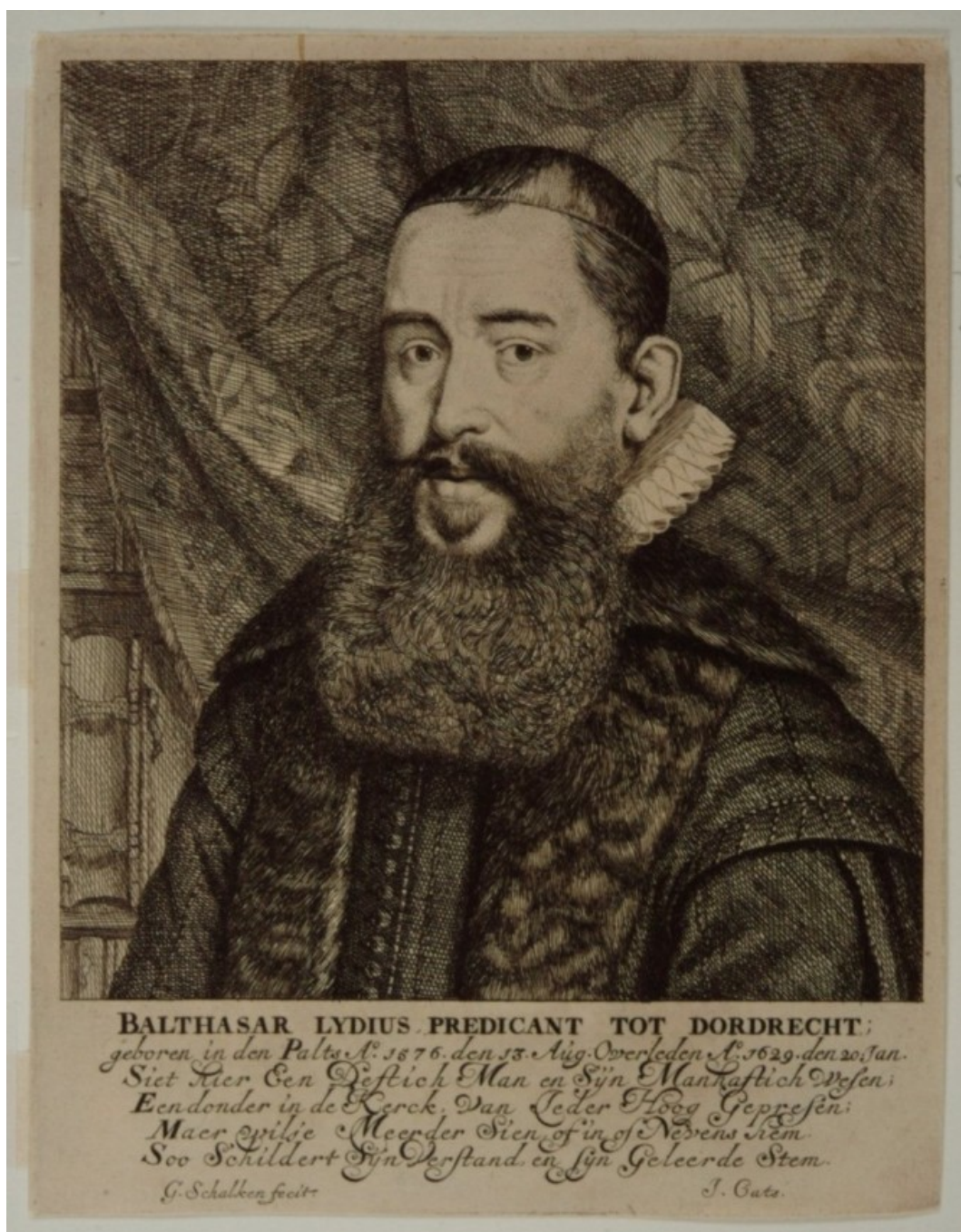
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## APPENDIX

I.



Portrait of Balthasar Lydius.

Source: Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, 'Balthasar & Jacobus Lydius'

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III.



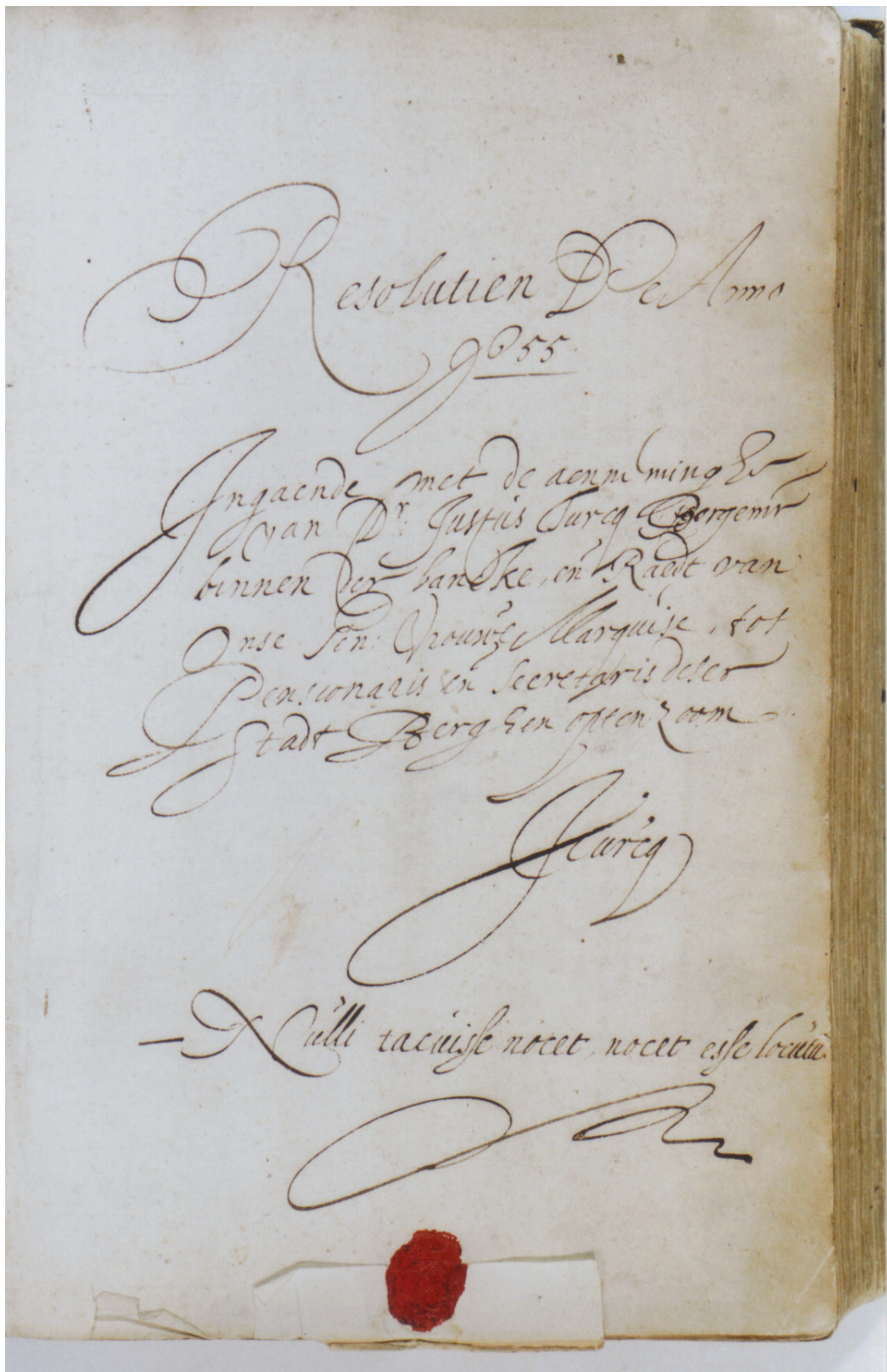
*Portrait of Johannes de Laet.*

Source: Digitale Bibliotheek voor Nederlandse Letteren, 'Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius. Deel 15'  
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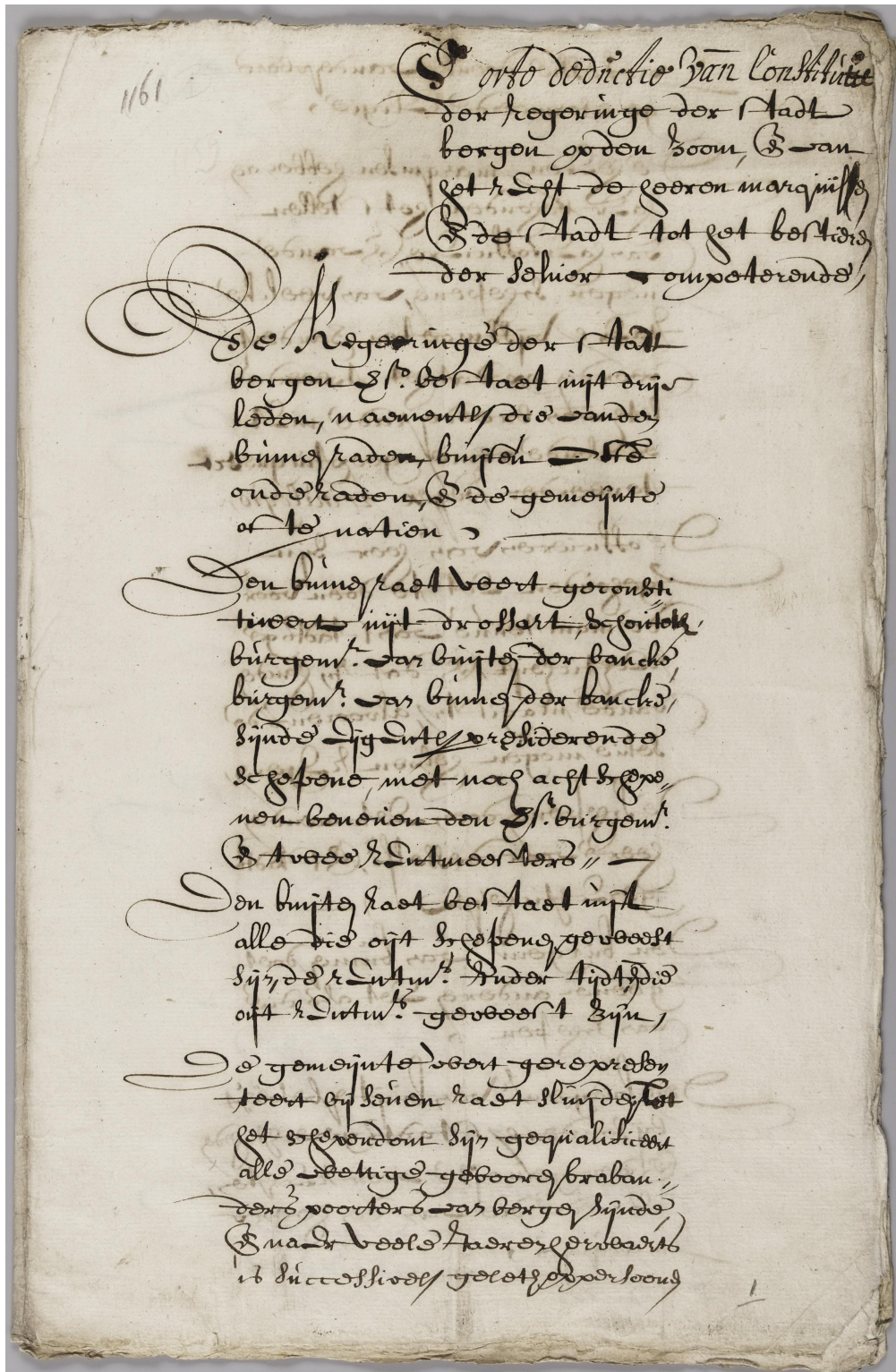
<p><b>M</b> 10 <i>Libro das Grandezas de Lisboa, em Lisboa 1620</i>  11 <i>Lucio Fanno delle antichità di Roma.</i>  12 <i>Historie di N. Machiavelli, 1539</i>  13 <i>Cofe de Turchi, apud Aldum.</i>  14 <i>Costumi &amp; la vita de Turchi, in Florentia 1551</i>  15 <i>Difretto di Napoli.</i>  16 <i>Auracana Alonso de Ercilla.</i>  17 <i>Confessio.</i>  18 <i>Benivoglio della guerra di sanetra, 3 volum.</i>  19 <i>Historia della China.</i>  20 <i>Tesaurum Novum, Italice 1576</i>  21 <i>Carrasco, 1633</i>  22 <i>Secreti diversi &amp; miracolosi, Venet. 1565</i>  23 <i>Don Quixote de la Mancha.</i>  24 <i>Il Petrarca.</i>  25 <i>Successi principali della monarchia di Spagna, apud Plam. 1540</i>  26 <i>Discorsi della vita sobria, in Parigi 1646</i>  27 <i>Pietra del paragone Politico, 1640</i>  28 <i>Rivas de Luis de Camoes 1629</i>  29 <i>Os lucidos de Luis de Camoes.</i></p>	<p><b>A</b> 1-15</p>	<p><b>B</b> 1-15</p>	<p><b>M</b> 1-7</p>	<p><b>Libri Anglici in Folio.</b></p> <p><b>T</b> 1 <i>The booke of Martyrs, by Maister Iohn Foxe at London 2 volum. 1566. em 1597</i>  2 <i>The historie of the holy warre by Thomas Felley, in Cambridge.</i>  3 <i>Some yeeres Travels in to Africa &amp; Asia, by Th. Herbert Esq. London 1638</i>  4 <i>The Collection of the History of England, by S.D. London 1621</i>  5 <i>Nero Caesar Monarchie, London 1624</i>  6 <i>The old Lawes and constitutions of Scotland, at Edenburrow 1609</i>  7 <i>A Collection of the English statuts, London 1598</i>  8 <i>The historie of the life and Death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland, London 1624</i>  9 <i>The Sierrey of Christs sufferings, &amp;c. by Th. Bilson Bishop. of Wylich, London 1604</i>  10 <i>The Union of honor Collected, by James Terke, London 1641</i>  11 <i>A Generall view of Popishrie, &amp;c. London 1614</i>  12 <i>A replie to Iesuit Fubers, &amp;c. by Francis White, London 1624</i>  13 <i>Two severall translations of the New Testaments with a Constatation of errors. by VV. Fulk D. in divinitie, London 1601</i>  14 <i>The description of Leicester shire, by VVilliam Burton, London.</i>  15 <i>The workes of King James, London 1616</i>  16 <i>An history of the Civill warres of England betweene the two houses of Lancastier and York, London 1641</i>  17 <i>A description of the Persian Monarchie, by Th. Herbert, Lond. 1634</i></p>	<p>18 A <i>Relation of a Journey containing a description of the Turkin Empire of Egypt of the holy Land, &amp;c. London 1611</i>  19 <i>The workes of Mr. Richard Greenham, London 1601</i>  20 <i>Verulamii silva silvarum Anglice, London 1631</i>  21 <i>Recreations with the Muses, by VVill. Earle of sterline, London 1637</i>  22 <i>The Diet of the discipul, &amp;c. by James Hart, London 1633</i>  23 <i>A Replie unto Mr. Hardings answeres, by Iohn Jewel Bishop, London 1604</i>  24 <i>Seaven Treatises called the practise of Christianitie, by Rich. 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London 1640</i>  37 <i>The Historie of the world, by Sr. VValter Raleigh, London 1614</i>  38 <i>The workes of Geoffrey chaucer Poet, London 1602</i>  39 <i>The Historie of Edward the fourth, Lond. 1640</i>  40 <i>The Historie of great Britains, London 1623</i>  41 <i>Quadruple Dictionaire containing source sundrie tongues, Lond. 1580</i>  42 <i>The generall Historie of Virginia, New England, &amp;c. London 1632</i>  43 <i>A necesserie introduction to the Archbishop of Cant. his tryall, Lond. 1645</i>  44 <i>A New Survey of the VVest-indies, Lond. 1648</i>  45 <i>A breviare of the life of VVilliam Laud, Lond. 1644</i></p>	<p><b>Libri Anglici in Quarto.</b></p> <p><b>E</b> 1 <i>Inquiries of the diverseitie of Languages and Religions, by Ed. Breerewood, Lon. 1614</i>  2 <i>Episcopacie by devine Right asserted, by Ioh. Hall London 1640</i>  3 <i>Via recta ad vitam longam Anglice, by Io. Vermes Doctor of Physice, Lond. 1637</i>  4 <i>North-west Fox or Fox from the North-west passage, &amp;c. London 1635</i>  5 <i>A double Centurie of Resolves by Owen Fesham, London 1636</i>  6 <i>The lives of VVil. the first, VVil. the second and Hen. the first, by I.H. London 1613</i>  7 <i>A voyage into the Levant, &amp;c. London 1638</i>  8 <i>The Answer of Rob. Bish. of Winchester to Iohn Fekingham concerning the Oath of the supremacie, London 1566</i></p>	<p>F 3</p> <p>9 The</p>
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Lintas ingegan februarij 1636 tot uytma  
 Septembere daer aan,  
 Als dat mijn Ed. Berre ydellike arde Ed. Mo: Berre to  
 verommalden in toeroc wande keranche bagijn,  
 Vergaderinge ghesonden bij mijne Ed  
 Berre in warden binnen stede der  
 x. s. februarij 1637  
 In dese vergaderinge heeft Sus Doctor Justus Turcis  
 mit Collegio van mijne Ed. Berre in verfoel sijne  
 beuene van promotie gdaen binnen wijden in dato  
 19. s. Nooemb 1636 onderz. Adolphius Vorstius &  
 Ende is dervolgende geroutinert in sijne sijnctie  
 oede sus tractie hie uwer volgende,  
 Versteijck dat si sal ghesonden zijn soo wael by dage als  
 bij maeste alle keranches te wistenen daer toe werpelt  
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 Een sal gemeten van elck water te besien waelck te  
 sijns sijnctie gdwijst wort drey s. waelck mit gear  
 sijste gemingst is,  
 Ende dit alle vde gage was twee hondert vijfties  
 van guld s. H. tuerd s. daer offe si ghesonden wort den  
 beuere s. it te wistene s.

The Appointment of Justus Turcq as city doctor of Bergen op Zoom.  
 Source: Kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof)  
 (Y.E.Kortlever@bergenopzoom.nl, 27 June, 2017).



The Appointment of Justus Turcq as secretary and pensionary of Bergen op Zoom.  
Source: Kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof)  
(Y.E.Kortlever@bergenopzoom.nl, 27 June, 2017).



The document which settled the dispute between Justus Turcq and the city council.  
 Source: Kindly provided by Drs. Yolande Kortlever (Museum De Markiezenhof)  
 (Y.E.Kortlever@bergenopzoom.nl, 27 June, 2017).

- 34** **Antwerpen banden Wert-bloot.**  
599 — de Mortu Solis.  
600 Martini Disputationes Physicæ.  
601 Sennerti diotismus Linguarum Orientalium.  
602 Regii Opuscula varia:  
603 Clavius in Spheram Joh: de Sacrobosco & Apiani Cosmographia.  
604 Tolerus de octo Libris Physicorum.  
605 Regii Logica.  
606 Eyndii Pœmata.  
607 **Monta Politica ad SR: Imperii Principes.**  
608 Toleti Logica.  
609 Porphyrii Institut: ad Chrysostrum  
610 Collegium Connimbrense 2 voll.  
611 Befoldi Pentas.  
612 Ars Typographica Bern: a Mallinkrot, a Item Boxhornius de Inventione Typographi:  
613 Erpenii Hist: Saracenicæ.  
614 Dinotus de Bello Civili Belgico.  
615 Paraphrasis Themistii in Aristotolem.  
616 Gebri Arabis Alchemia.  
617 Hermolaus Barbarus Castigationes Plinii.  
618 Vite Patrum.  
619 Erasmi Quærela Pacis.  
620 Didoclivii Altare Damascenum.  
621 Vallæ Elegantiz.  
622 Gomari variaz Disputationes.  
623 Pomelli Methodus Sylogistica.  
624 Hoornbeek Examen Bullæ Papalis.  
625 Marefi Refutatio Papiini.  
626 — Collegium Theologicum.  
627 Thomasi Dictionarium.  
628 **La véritable Politique du Prince Charles, par Hüb: Mangis.**  
629 **Recueil des diverses pieces pour servir à l'Histoire.**
- Libri in Quarto.**  
630 **L'Art Militaire par Ouseander.**  
631 **Le Jardin de Recreation par Gomes de Trier.**  
632 **Advis de Mademoiselle de Gonnony.**  
633 **Declaration du Roy Jacques I. contre l'Hanogue du Cardinal Ferron.**  
634 **Histoire de Troubles arrivez en France, par Maribeu.**  
635 **Recueil des Rois de France par M. du Tillot.**  
636 **Les Commentaires de Cesar, par B. de Vigenere.**  
637 **Moulin Paix de l'Amè & contentement de l'Esprit.**  
638 **Discours Politiques des Rois, par Sadery.**  
639 **Les Memoires de Nic. de Castellaneau.**  
640 **L'Histoire de Dion Cassius de Nicèes, par A. de Bandole.**  
641 — à Herodian.  
642 **Ambassades de Figuroa en Perse.**  
643 **Trefor des Antiquitez par Strada.**  
644 **Bohin des Sorciers.**  
645 **Tribeme Polygraphie & universelle Ecriture cabalistique.**  
646 **Histoire de la vie de Messire Philippe de Morisy.**  
647 **Les Oeuvres de Balzac.**  
648 **The Martyrdom of King Charles.**  
649 **Poemes by I. D. Wrib.**  
650 **A Treatise of the passions of the soule of man by Edw: Reynolds.**  
651 **Three treatises of the vanity of the Creature by Reynolds.**  
652 **Speeches and passages of his great and Happy Parliament.**  
653 **Indication of King Charles by Edw: Simons.**  
654 **Leycesters common-wealth.**  
655 **A conference between the late King of**
- England, and the late Lord Mar- quesse of Worcester.**  
656 **Explication of the Hundreth and tenth Psalm by Ed: Reynolds.**  
657 **A treatise concerning Policy and Religion, by Th. Fitzherbert.**  
658 **Seven Problems concerning Anni- versaries, written by Alex. Noper.**  
659 **Rider Dictionaire corrected by Fr: Holyoake.**  
661 **Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical up Armes abainst their Sovereignes by Dudley Diges.**  
662 **The History of England by Samuel Daniel.**  
664 **Lectures upon the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians by Robb. Rollob.**  
665 **Historia d'Italia di Franc. Guicciard.**  
666 **Historia della Vie de sommi Pontifici di Platina.**  
667 **Relations universels di Botero.**  
668 **Exercitatio de Perfection Virtutes religiosas por Rodriguez.**  
669 **Il Cavallerizzo di Claudio Corte da Pavia.**  
670 **Il Pastor Fido d' Bapstisa Guarini Brux. 1672.**  
671 **Discorsi Politici di Paolo Parata.**  
672 **A Governi di Stato del Sr. Spontone.**  
673 **Guerra di Fiantra di Cesi: Campana.**  
674 **Elenchus motuum nuperorum Antonia.**  
675 **Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, Florentina 1519.**  
676 **Rapinius de Hortis.**  
677 **Botii Philof: Naturalis reformata.**  
678 **Morus de Optimo Reipublicæ Statu & de nova Insula Utopia.**
- Libri in Quarto.**  
679 **Milioni defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salmatum.**  
680 **La maniere de nourrir les Enfans par Simon de Vallambert**  
681 **Den Staat der Kercken midtsigders de Nieuweijste Insettingen der Pausen door Jan Crospin.**  
682 **De vrees Boogschan Edward Poppings.**  
683 **Bezhacht van de Onschutteringe gebaert aen eenigse gequalificeerde Burgers der Stadt Leyden.**  
684 **Abravetti Medtine der Ziele.**  
685 **Ordnunge der Gersogmeerde Nederlantische Kercken.**  
686 **Kunp de Gheoes Dorchbing der Hollandische Godes-dienst mit inder ander-Tractaten.**  
687 **Karel Strebens en Ilibants Lautwiltunge en Hoede.**  
688 **Politieke Discoursten door D: C. Verschinde Placcaten buygens den Koningshaan Spanien.**  
690 **Porthou Jerebantische Historien.**  
691 **Vofiti Annales Holi: & Zelandiz.**  
692 **Boeclerus in Tacitum.**  
693 **Zingressii Emblemata Ethico-Politica, Heid. 1666. cum fig.**  
694 **Bellum Scythico Colacicum, Danici 1652.**  
695 **Origine des Dues & Duché de Brabant. Brux. 1672.**  
696 **Remonfrance au Roy.**  
697 **Valdeius de Arte Grammatica, furri. 1626.**  
698 **Les Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche. Brux 1616.**  
699 **Volfius Arte Grammatica, Amst: 1635.**  
700 **Achillis Bocchii Symbolicarum Questionum de universo genere, quas serio ludebat Libri V. Bononiz 1584. cum fig. aneis. E 2**

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 Perambulation of Rene, &c. by W. Lambarde, London 1596  
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 Richard Seild of the Church, by Robbert Naunton 1606  
 Regnum Regalia Anglice, by Robbert Naunton 1641  
 Antipathie of W. Frynne. Papa confutatus, Lat. & Angl. Lond. 1580  
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 Short Parsons subversion or a treatise of three conversions of England, Lond.  
 W. Symonds Pischah Evangelica, London 1605  
 A Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament, I.  
 Rod Blossoming, &c. Of church Governement, by  
 A Treatise of the true church, by Iohn V. White, London 1612  
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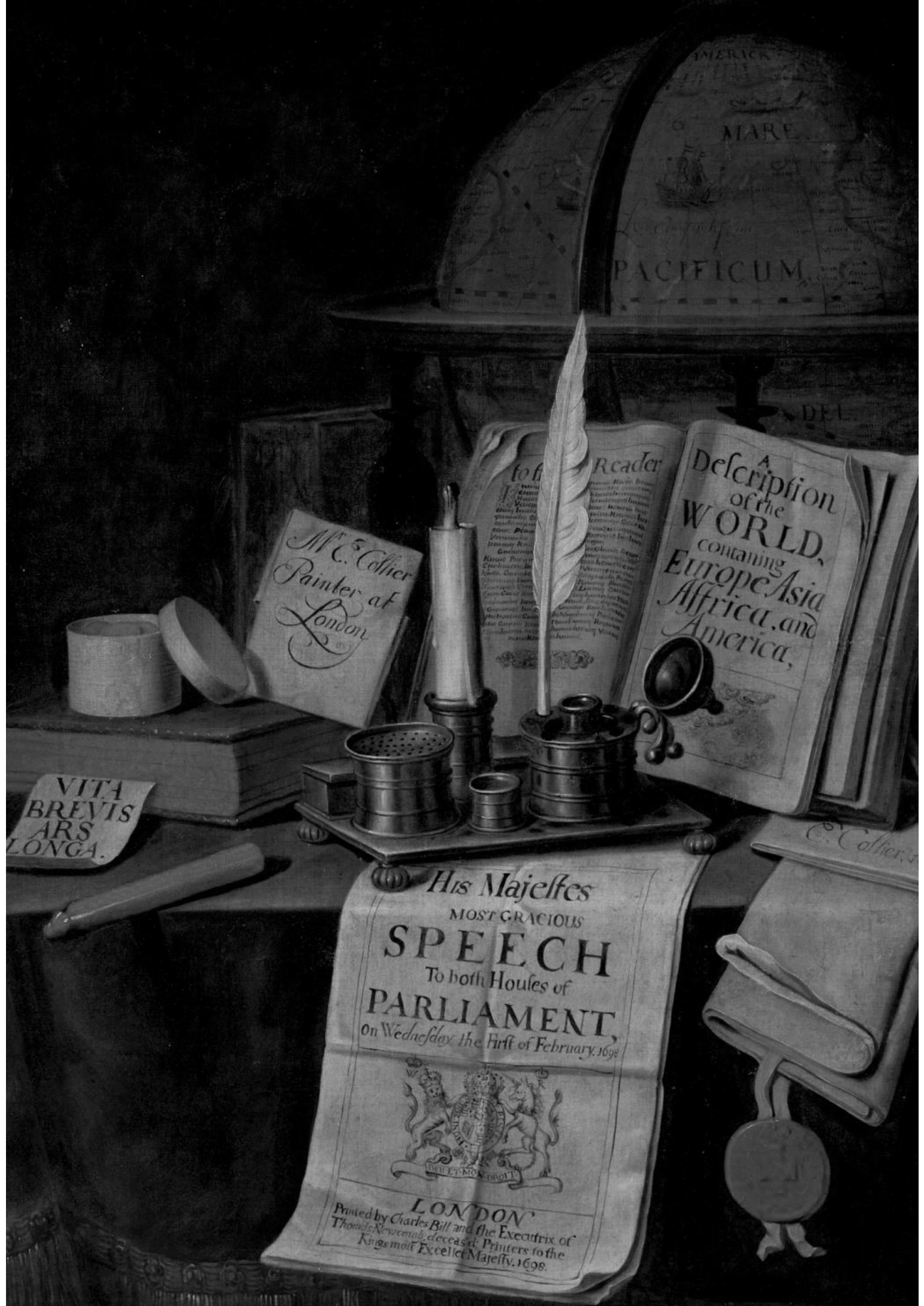
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 A Treatise of the usage of America, Lond. 1643  
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 A Treatise of the orderly Communion betwixt the Protes Churches, Lond. 1641  
 A Treatise of the first Martyr with an Alarum to the subjects of England, 1604  
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**Libri Anglici.**

- A Fulke upon the New Testament against the Papist of Rhemes. at London 1602. in Fol.
- B The booke common prayer, with the Psalter, Lond. 1607. in fol.
- 1 Dictionarium Latino-Anglicum unà cum Græcis vocabulis & phrase per Gulielmum Morellum, Londini 1583. in fol.
- 2 The Bible with annotations and concordances, at London 1585.
- 3 The Newe Testament translated by Beza, with the booke of P London 1596. in 4.
- 4 Common places of Christian Religion gatheret by Musculus, 1578. in 4.
- 5 George Giffart sermons upon the booke of Reuelation, London 1611. 3 Volum.
- 6 Defense of the reformed Catholicke of Perkins by Robbert

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 Church in case of deprivation, by Iohn Sprint: London 1609.  
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 Volumini tertio adjunct:  
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 The true ancient Roman Catholicke, London 1604.  
 Peters Prophecie of these last daies written by Iohn Downam, at I  
 The true ancient Roman Catholicke, London 1604.  
 Peters Prophecie of these last daies written by Iohn Downam, at I  
 The true ancient Roman Catholicke, London 1604.  
 Peters Prophecie of these last daies written by Iohn Downam, at I



*M. Collier  
Painter at  
London*

VITA  
BREVIS  
ARS  
LONGA.

to the Reader  
A Description  
of the  
WORLD,  
containing  
Europe, Asia  
Africa, and  
America,

His Majesty's  
MOST GRACIOUS  
SPEECH  
To both Houses of  
PARLIAMENT  
On Wednesday the First of February, 1698



LONDON  
Printed by Charles Bill and the Executrix of  
Thomas Newcomb, deceased, Printers to the  
Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1698.

*M. Collier*