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A Foreigner in the Bookshop of the World

Printing the Works of Sir William Temple in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Abstract

Few foreigners had a better standing in the Dutch Golden Age than the Englishman Sir William Temple (1628-1699). At the beginning of an edition of Temple's *Memoirs*, the printer Adriaen Moetjens described him as 'one of the great men of this century'. This reputation was, in part, a result of the pivotal role that Temple had played in the Republic's foreign affairs. But the Englishman also owed his fame within the United Provinces to print. This article explores how Temple's writings were published in the Dutch Golden Age. Some printers of his works enjoyed a substantial amount of success in the process, while others ended their careers in bankruptcy. Yet, despite these mixed fortunes, more editions by Temple were published in the United Provinces than in his homeland during the seventeenth century. Temple's books continued to prove popular in the Dutch Republic, long after his achievements in diplomacy had faded.

Keywords: Temple, England, diplomacy, memoirs, author

In January 1675, Daniel Elzevier travelled to London.¹ The grandson of Louis Elzevier carried with him a letter that was written by England's then Ambassador to the Dutch Republic, Sir William Temple (1628-99):

I could not refuse this bearer a small recommendation, which he desires upon his going to England . . . His name is Elzevier and he is son of that Elzevier of Leiden, whose print has run through the world with so much approbation. He is both a printer and seller of books at Amsterdam and

This article owes a significant debt to the kindness and patience of Arthur der Weduwen, and to the helpful comments of my anonymous peer reviewer. For ease of reading, I have generally standardised and modernised spelling, punctuation and capitalisation.

¹ M.M. Kleerkooper, 'Daniel Elseviers Betrekkingen met Engeland' in: *Tijdschrift voor boek-en bibliotheekwezen*, 8 (1910), 115-125.

in very good credit there. Some small business with his correspondents in London of the same profession draw him now over, but chiefly a desire of seeing England, where he desired some protection in case he should happen to stand in need of it. I thought he might better deserve it for having shown great readiness and taken some pains, as well as been at some loss, in executing what His Majesty desired during my last embassy here about the suppressing [of] certain scandalous pamphlets wherein the honour of the Royal family was something of interest.²

Temple's endorsement would have likely attracted the envy of Elzevier's countrymen. By 1675, William Temple was one of the most well-known men, and almost certainly one of the most famous foreigners, who lived in the Dutch Republic. Temple had not only played a significant role, as a diplomat, in shaping the destiny of the United Provinces over the course of the proceeding decade. He had also enjoyed success in the Republic as a writer with his *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, which had first been published there in 1673.³ Yet, as far as we can tell, Daniel Elzevier himself never published anything by Temple, despite a good rapport between the two men. With the benefit of hindsight, it could be said that the Dutchman missed out on a lucrative opportunity. In the final three decades of the seventeenth century, William Temple enjoyed a prolonged period of popularity within the United Provinces. This was only partly due to his ambassadorial activity. Literature helped to sustain Temple's reputation, long after his diplomatic achievements had collapsed.

The Dutch book trade, the most productive in seventeenth-century Europe, did not just rely on homegrown authors.⁴ The United Provinces was home to a substantial immigrant population, who had been drawn there by a myriad of different reasons, including war, education, diplomacy, tourism, trade, and religious and political refuge. Some of these foreigners produced works for local printers, from well-known names such as René Descartes, to thousands of students at Dutch Universities, who had to defend publicly a printed dissertation

2 London, The National Archives, State Papers, SP 83/198, Letter from Sir William Temple to Joseph Williamson, 24 June 1692 (OS), 100v.

3 William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*. London: Anne Maxwell for Samuel Gellibrand, 1673.

4 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019, 18.

thesis before they could graduate.⁵ Yet other writers, who did not engage with the Dutch print trade, or who had never stepped foot in the United Provinces to begin with, also found their works being printed in the Dutch Republic. Not all authors reacted with fury when this occurred. When the French writer Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac found out that he had been published in the United Provinces by Bonaventura Elzevier, Daniel Elzevier's father, he wrote 'I have been made a part of the immortal Republic.'⁶

The reproduction of English books was an especially attractive prospect to Dutch printers, publishers and booksellers. As Paul Hoftijzer has demonstrated, both the high prices of English books, which resulted from the oligopolistic conditions of the London book market, and the English language, which was hardly spoken on the continent, made it difficult for English printers to compete with their continental rivals.⁷ The Dutch, with their close geographical proximity, Protestant leanings in religion and, above all else, efficient print industry, were better suited than any of their neighbours to the reproduction of English books. They played, as Jane Stevenson has argued, a 'central role' in the printing of British authors abroad.⁸

This article examines how a range of Dutch men and women went about printing the varied literary oeuvre of a single English author, William Temple. By focusing on a specific writer, it takes a different approach from some other, excellent examinations of the connections between the English and Dutch book worlds, which have offered broad surveys of Dutch translations, as in the case of Cornelis W. Schoneveld; traced the printing of a particular title, as in the case of Hanna de Lange; or investigated a group of printers, as in the case of Hoftijzer and, more recently, Martine van Elk.⁹ By using the author,

5 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, 'What was published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic?' in *Livre: Revue Historique*, (2018), 17.

6 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 272.

7 P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The English book in the seventeenth-century Dutch republic', in: Lotte Hellinga, Alastair Duke, Jacob Harskamp, and Theo Hermans (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473-1941*. 't Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers BV, 91-92.

8 Jane Stevenson, 'British Authors Published Abroad' in: *Literature Compass*, 14 (2017), 7.

9 C.W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600-1700*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983; Hanna de Lange, 'Print and Piracy: The Publication History of John Selden's Mare clausum', in Sjoerd Levelt, Esther van Raamsdonk and Michael D. Rose (eds.), *Anglo-Dutch Connections in the Early Modern World*. New York: Routledge, 2023, 159-170; P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs: De Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse Boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637-1724*. Amsterdam: Holland Universiteits Pers, 1987; Martine van Elk, 'Anglo-Dutch Exchange and Book History: Early Modern Female Stationers Crossing Borders', in: Sjoerd Levelt, Esther van Raamsdonk and Michael D. Rose (eds.), *Anglo-Dutch Connections in the Early Modern World*. New York: Routledge, 2023, 171-180.

rather than language, title, or publisher, as a jumping off point, this article will outline how a variety of approaches were taken to reproducing English works in the Dutch Republic, and the successes and failures that were experienced as a result. Temple, moreover, is an especially interesting case study because, while he usually instigated the publication of his books, he rarely got involved with the printing process. The first English edition of his *Observations*, for instance, carried a note from its publisher which blamed several errors on 'the author' who had 'not concerned himself in the publication of these papers'.¹⁰ Temple, for reasons of either pride, time or nonchalance, isolated himself from the printing process, both at home and abroad.

Temple's ambassadorial activity has been well-served by two richly-researched books. The first, *An English Diplomat in the Low Countries* (1986) by Kenneth Haley, begins with Temple's early life and ends in 1670.¹¹ It examines how Temple first rose to prominence in the United Provinces with the rapid negotiation of the Triple Alliance between England, Sweden and the Dutch Republic in January 1668. This agreement halted Louis XIV in his attempt to conquer the Spanish Netherlands. For his efforts, the States General of the Dutch Republic voted to give Temple a gold chain and medal worth 6,000 guilders.¹² Two years later, however, the Triple Alliance was rescinded by the Secret Treaty of Dover, which committed England to an attack on the Dutch Republic that finally came in 1672. In the run up to this conflict, Temple was dismissed from his position as England's Ambassador to the United Provinces.¹³

Wouter Troost picks up from where Haley left off in his 'sequel', *Sir William Temple, William III and the Balance of Power in Europe* (2011).¹⁴ After Parliament stopped supporting the Third Anglo-Dutch War, Temple returned to the Dutch Republic in 1674 to broker a peace treaty. He would go onto negotiate the marriage of Mary Stuart to the Prince of Orange in 1677 and mediate the Treaty of Nijmegen between France and the Dutch Republic, which was eventually signed in 1678, ending the Franco-Dutch war. Temple then returned home to serve on the Privy Council. Troost ends in 1681, when Temple was dismissed from this role, amidst the chaos of the Exclusion Crisis.

10 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, A8v.

11 K.H.D. Haley, *An English Diplomat in the Low Countries: Sir William Temple and John De Witt, 1665-72*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

12 *Ibid.*, 181.

13 'Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670', in: Andrew Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents, Volume VIII: 1660-1714*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953, 865.

14 Wouter Troost, *Sir William Temple, William III and the Balance of Power in Europe*. Dordrecht: The Republic of Letters, 2011.

Although they do outline Temple's diplomatic career in excellent detail, Haley and Troost make little room for Temple's literary activity because most of his books were written and first published while the Englishman was away from frontline politics.¹⁵ The Englishman's time as an ambassador shaped a diverse literary output. Temple is best known today, if at all, for his *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, in which he explored why the Dutch Republic had become, as he put it himself, 'the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbours.'¹⁶ It has since proved indispensable to historians of the Dutch Golden Age, with Maarten Prak describing it as 'probably the best contemporary analysis of Dutch society.'¹⁷ But this book was only one component of a much larger oeuvre, which has largely been overlooked. Before his death, Temple completed three memoirs, a history of England, and two collections of essays, which tackled topics ranging from poetry and politics to gardening and gout.¹⁸ This literary output was, unsurprisingly, focused on the Dutch Republic. In his *Memoirs of what past in Christendom*, Temple concentrated as much on Prince William III of Orange as he did on himself.

Temple's books sold well, not only in England, but also in the Dutch Republic. Between 1673 and 1700, at least 39 editions by Temple were printed in the United Provinces (see the appendix). They make up just under half of the total number of editions by Temple that have survived from the seventeenth century, a share larger than those from his homeland (see Fig. 1). With this total of editions from the Dutch Republic, Temple did not, over the same period, compete with some of the great French writers of his age, such as Jean Racine (48) and Molière (185), according to the data of the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN). The Dutch undercutting of the Parisian book market was a central factor in the production of their works in the United Provinces.¹⁹ Nor did Temple match the number of

15 Haley does offer a thorough analysis of the contents of Temple's *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* in the final chapter of his biography, but he has little to say on its publication. Haley, *An English Diplomat in the Low Countries*, 292-312.

16 Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, A3r.

17 Maarten Prak, 'Urbanization', in: Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 15.

18 In the preface to Temple's *Memoirs Part III*, Swift wrote that Temple had 'burnt' the first part of his memoirs. William Temple, *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom, From the War Begun 1672 to the Peace Concluded 1679*. London: Richard Chiswell, 1692. *Memoirs. Part III. From the Peace Concluded 1679 to the time of the author's retirement from public business*, xi. London: Benjamin Tooke, 1709. *An Introduction to the History of England*, London: Richard Simpson and Ralph Simpson, 1695. *Miscellanea*. London: Anne Maxwell, Robert Roberts and Edward Gellibrand, 1680. *Miscellanea, the Second Part*. London: Richard Simpson and Ralph Simpson, 1690.

19 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 272.

editions that had been published by the English cleric William Perkins (123) earlier in the century. But he was more popular than most of his contemporary compatriots, including John Milton (19), John Bunyan (30) and John Locke (8), who lived in the United Provinces between 1683 and 1689.²⁰ Temple also outsold Balzac, who had been so delighted to have had his writings printed by the Elzeviers (24). The only British writer to completely outdo Temple in the Dutch Republic over the final three decades of the seventeenth century was the Scottish cleric Gilbert Burnet. 113 editions of his works were published there, according to the data of the STCN, although the majority (70%) were printed in the years between 1686 and 1688, when Burnet was living in the United Provinces in exile and actively writing on international politics. In contrast, most of Temple's books were printed in the Dutch Republic while the Englishman was not there.

Two especially pertinent points need to be kept in mind, when comparing the edition counts of Racine, Molière and Burnet with Temple. First, the plays of the Frenchmen, and the pamphlets and sermons of Burnet, were significantly shorter than most of Temple's works and required fewer sheets to print. Therefore, the amount of time and effort taken by Dutch printers in publishing Temple's works, as opposed to Burnet's, was much closer than their edition counts would suggest. Second, Racine, Molière and Burnet were much more prolific authors to begin with. Molière wrote over thirty plays. In contrast, just three books account for twenty-eight out of the thirty-nine editions (71%) by Temple that have survived from the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic (see Fig. 2):

- *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (first published 1673).²¹
- *Memoirs of what past in Christendom from the war begun 1672 to the peace concluded 1679* (first published 1691).²²
- *An introduction to the history of England* (first published 1694).²³

They were all first published in English in London, in an environment that was markedly different from the United Provinces. While the British book trade was largely concentrated in one locality, in the Netherlands it was spread out amongst many cities. In 1650, according to the data of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), almost ninety per cent of the books published in the British

20 Calculated using the Short Title Netherlands.

21 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*.

22 Temple, *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*.

23 Temple, *An Introduction to the History of England*.

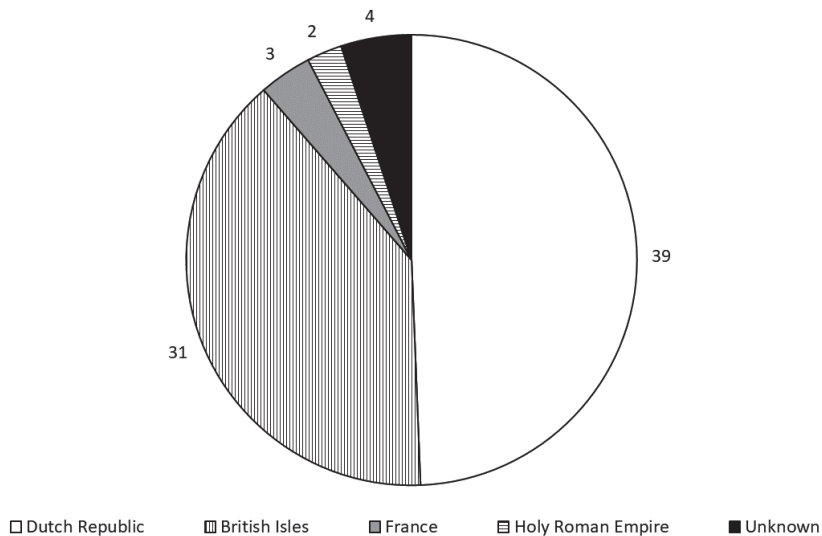


Figure 1. Editions by Temple Published in the Seventeenth Century by Region

Isles were printed in London.²⁴ Just over a third of books published in the United Provinces in the same year were produced in Amsterdam.²⁵ Moreover, in England, the print trade was tightly controlled through both government legislation and publishing cartels.²⁶ In the Dutch Republic, regulations were more localised and, as a result, far easier to evade. A dissident printer in trouble with the authorities of one province could, if they had both the finances and the ability to avoid arrest, establish a new business in a different region of the Republic.²⁷

These sharp contrasts between the Dutch and English book trades can be demonstrated by examining the ways in which the *Observations upon the United Provinces*, the *Memoirs of what past in Christendom* and the *Introduction to the History of England* by Temple were printed in the Dutch Republic. All three works demonstrate different aspects of the Dutch book trade that helped to make it one of the most notable aspects of the

24 British Isles: 1406. London: 1244. Calculated using the Universal Short Title Catalogue.

25 Northern Netherlands: 2028. Amsterdam: 755. Calculated using the USTC.

26 Michael Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in: D.F. McKenzie, John Barnard Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 755-76.

27 Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Diane Webb, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 173.

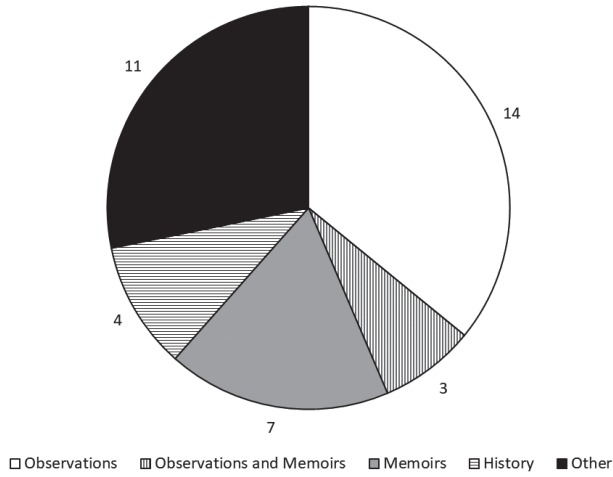


Figure 2. Editions by Temple Published in the Seventeenth Century by Title

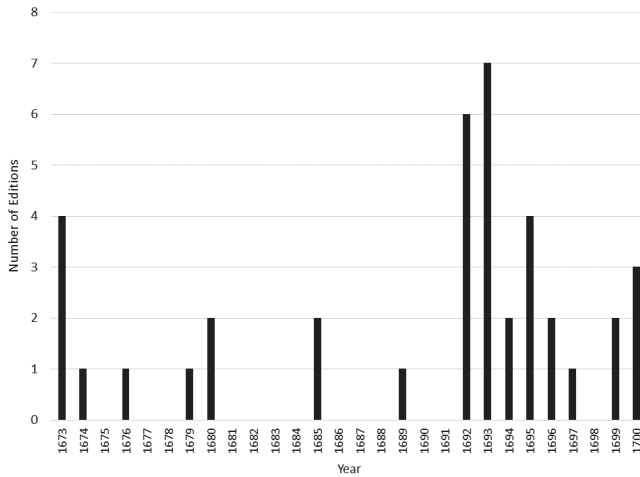


Figure 3. Number of Editions by Temple Published in the Dutch Republic (1673-1700)

Dutch Golden Age. Furthermore, their popularity, especially that of the *Observations* and the *Memoirs*, also show that Temple’s writings left a more lasting legacy than his ambassadorial accomplishments. The peak of his popularity as an author came during the 1690s (see Fig. 3), long after the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678) had collapsed with the outbreak of the Nine Year’s War (1688-1697).

Piracy, Privileges and Partnerships

Temple wrote his *Observations upon the United Provinces* in the Autumn of 1672 and it was first printed in London at the beginning of 1673. It was, apart from a pamphlet and two works of poetry, the first book by Temple to have been published.²⁸ The *Observations* was, in essence, a collection of eight essays in which Temple analysed Dutch history, politics, geography, religion, characteristics, trade, taxation, military affairs and ‘the causes of their fall in 1672.’²⁹ Many of these topics had been explored previously in other English-language books, but Temple offered a perspective in his *Observations* that, up until this point, was unprecedented.³⁰ No one closer to the heart of Dutch politics had written a survey of the United Provinces.

Temple packed his book with a range of insights into the United Provinces that were broadly sympathetic to the Dutch. He dismissed several English stereotypes of their cross-channel neighbours, including their ‘customs of drinking.’³¹ Temple argued that alcohol ‘may not only be necessary to their health (as they generally believe it), but to the vigour and improvement of their understandings’.³² Moreover, he stressed that he had seen ‘very few of their Chief Officers or Ministers of State’ inebriated, except at feasts.³³

The *Observations* soon proved popular in Temple’s homeland. A second English edition of the book was required within months of the first.³⁴ This work was subsequently translated anonymously into Dutch during the second half of 1673.³⁵ It was first printed in Amsterdam by Mercy Arnold (see Fig 4) who, in 1650, had married Joseph Bruyning, the proprietor of a bookshop at the northern entrance of the Amsterdam stock exchange.³⁶ Following the death of

28 William Temple, *Upon the Death of Mrs. Catherine Phillips*. London: Samuel Speed, 1664. *Lettre d’un marchand de Londres*. s.n., s.l., [1666]. *Poems By Sir W. T.* [London: s.n., 1670].

29 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, 135.

30 Jacob Baxter, ‘Admiration, Anger and Envy: Descriptions of the Dutch Golden Age in English Print’, in: Arthur der Weduwen and Malcolm Walsby (eds.), *The Book World of Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Andrew Pettegree, Volume 2*. Leiden: Brill, 2022, 182-210.

31 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, 150.

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*, 151-152.

34 William Temple, *Observations Upon The United Provinces of the Netherlands*. [2nd printing] London: Anne Maxwell and Samuel Gellibrand, 1673.

35 William Temple, *Aenmerkingen over de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche Provintien*. Amsterdam: Weduwe van Joseph Bruyninck [Mercy Arnold], 1673.

36 Amsterdam, Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, 5001, 680, Ondertrouwregister, 1648-50, 267 and I.H. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725*. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1965, III, 59.

her husband in February 1672, Arnold continued running the business.³⁷ Both Mercy Arnold and Joseph Bruyning were of English descent. Arnold was the daughter of an English separatist who had moved to the United Provinces at the beginning of the seventeenth century and she had grown up amongst the Brownist community of Amsterdam.³⁸ Throughout her publishing career, which would go on for another decade after she had published Temple's *Observations*, Arnold specialised in translating English books, which often related to current affairs. For instance, in 1673, Arnold also printed a Dutch translation of *England's Appeal*, a pamphlet that argued against the Anglo-French alliance against the Dutch.³⁹

It is unclear how the *Observations* first made it to the United Provinces. The book might have just crossed over as part of the usual trade between England and the Netherlands, or Arnold may have been directed to it by someone in the London book world. But regardless of its origins, the *Observations* soon became a bestseller in the Dutch Republic. By the end of the year, Arnold had reprinted the work on at least two further occasions.⁴⁰ She included marginal annotations in both of these reprints. Arnold had done this in response to Jacob Vinckel, a nearby printer who had pirated her first edition of the *Observations*.⁴¹ In one of her reprints, Arnold added the following warning:

The interested and prudent reader is warned not to purchase and be fooled by a copy [of the present work] that is not the original and principal tract named *Aenmerckingen van den Heer Ridder Tempel*; this [the illicit reprint of *Aenmerckingen*] has been produced by a greedy re-printer with many errors, because they had no time for the revision of the same. For the satisfaction of

37 Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs*, 27.

38 *Ibid.*, 26.

39 *Englands Appeal, From the Private Caballe at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation, the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled*. London: 1673 and *Engelandts Apél en Beroep van de Secrete Cabale of Vergaderinge te Withall*. Amsterdam: Weduwe van Joseph Bruyninck [Mercy Arnold], 1673.

40 William Temple, *Sekere Aenmerckingen over de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provintien*. Amsterdam: Mercy Arnold, 1673 and *Aenmerckingen Over de Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provintien*. [2nd reprint] Amsterdam: Mercy Arnold, 1673.

41 William Temple, *Aenmerckingen Over de Vereenighde Nederlandsche Provintien*. Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1673; Marja Smolenaars, 'Detectivewerk: in Nederland gedrukte boeken met een Engels impressum, 1600-1730', in: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 9 (2002), 65; H.F. Wijnman, 'De Amsterdamse Uitgever en Nadrukker Jacob Vinckel: Een Figuur Uit Vondel's Kring', in: *Uit de Kring van Rembrandt en Vondel: Verzamelde Studies Over Hun Leven En Omgeving*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1959, 166-179.

the careful reader, and in the attempt not to be silenced [by the re-printer], I have gone through the cost and effort to produce a new correction [of the work], including in addition some annotations in the margins for the notable improvement of the work, and have had this reprinted, the same which will now follow.⁴²

In October 1673, the Dutch diplomat Abraham de Wicquefort asked Temple in a letter if he could translate the *Observations* 'and make it known outside of Great Britain', presumably after he had seen the success that the book had enjoyed in Dutch.⁴³ The Englishman, who was then living in retirement at his house in Sheen (Richmond), duly gave his permission adding that it was:

A great pleasure to hear that any memory is left of a person buried in the privacy of a country life. . . . If ever any favourable accident (and this age produces strange ones enough) should bring you here . . . I would make you confess that the fruits of my garden have another taste than those of my closet, and will preserve better [than] those of my embassies.⁴⁴

De Wicquefort could not, as far as we can tell, read English, so he either must have translated the *Observations* from a Dutch edition himself, or enlisted someone who could read the original. He then sent this translation to Johan and Daniel Steucker in The Hague, who had previously printed De Wicquefort's account of a series of French atrocities that had been committed in the United Provinces in 1672 and 1673.⁴⁵

In a relatively rare move for a Dutch publisher, the Steuckers registered the right to print this translation of the *Observations* with the States of Holland on 22 January 1674.⁴⁶ Perhaps, given Arnold's experiences with Jacob Vinckel, they were concerned about unauthorised reprints. But as they were producing

42 Temple, *Sekere Aenmerckingen*, A1v. My thanks to Arthur der Weduwen for his help with this translation.

43 Southampton, University of Southampton, Broadlands, MS 62/BR1/6, Abraham de Wicquefort to William Temple, 25th September 1673, 76.

44 Southampton, University of Southampton, Broadlands, MS62/BR1/7, William Temple to Abraham de Wicquefort, 10th October 1673, changed to 1672, 5.

45 Abraham de Wicquefort, *Advis Fidelle aux Veritables Hollandois. Touchant ce qui s'est Passé Dans les Villages de Bodegrave et Swammerdam*. Den Haag: Johannes and Daniel Steucker, 1673 and Arthur der Weduwen, 'French Tyranny at School. The Disaster Year (1672) and the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd*', in: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 29 (2022), 60-108.

46 William Temple, *Remarques sur l'estat des Provinces Unies des Païs-bas*. Den Haag: Jean Steucker and Daniel Steucker, 1674, 2v.

their edition in The Hague, the Steuckers became aware of another French translation of the *Observations*, which had been printed in Paris by Claude Barbin and Gervais Clouzier.⁴⁷ To obtain a privilege of their own, Barbin and Clouzier had eliminated several sections of the *Observations* from their edition including a chapter on religion in which Temple had praised Dutch tolerance.⁴⁸ The Steuckers condemned this redaction in the preface of their edition:

Although we believe that it [the *Observations*] is perfectly suited to the language in which it was first written . . . this book has been so well received generally, that people of quality in France and Italy (where one has no esteem for anything other than the products of the climate and the land) have wanted to show it in the language of their countries. We had to [therefore] make use of a French translation, which was sent to us, and which we put to press, almost at the same time as we learned that it was being printed in Paris. The little trade that we currently have with France, and the omission of one of the principal chapters there, has obliged us to continue printing it.⁴⁹

The *Observations* became a steady seller for the Steuckers, with new editions appearing in 1679, 1680, 1685, 1690 and 1692. Broadly, they were aimed at three different groups. First, were diplomats who resided in The Hague and used French in their daily business.⁵⁰ Second, were readers beyond the borders of the Dutch Republic. Jean Racine, for instance, obtained a copy for his library.⁵¹ Finally, the Steuckers also looked to a more local audience. This included not only refugees, such as the Huguenots, but also the Dutch themselves, who had become more eager in their reading of French literature during the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵² Reinoldus Alberda, a prominent statesman in Groningen, had a copy in his library, according to the catalogue which sold it

47 William Temple, *L'Estat Present des Provinces Unies Des Pays-Bas*. Paris: Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, 1674.

48 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, 175-84 and Andrew Pettegree, 'The Politics of Toleration in the Free Netherlands, 1572-1620', in: Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 182.

49 William Temple, *Remarques sur L'estat Des Provinces Unies des Pais-bas*. Den Haag: Johan and Daniel Steucker, 1674, *2-*3.

50 Willem Frijhoff, 'Multilingualism in the Dutch Golden Age: An Exploration' in: Willem Frijhoff et al (eds.), *Multilingualism, Nationhood, and Cultural Identity: Northern Europe, 16th-19th Centuries*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017, 109-110.

51 This copy is now in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague. Call number: KW 2201 G 19.

52 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 228.

off in 1692.⁵³ He did not, as far as we can tell, own a Dutch translation of the *Observations*.

As his translation continued to be printed, De Wicquefort experienced a collapse in his own reputation. In December 1675, he was thrown in prison by the authorities for selling state secrets abroad, and he remained there until 1679, when he escaped.⁵⁴ While he was in prison, De Wicquefort's own library was put up for auction. Included amongst the over 1,300 books to go under the hammer at this sale, was a single copy of his translation of the *Observations*.⁵⁵ Ironically enough, this is one of the earliest known instances of a book by Temple being sold at auction.

In the same year that De Wicquefort escaped, Edward Gellibrand began selling a fourth edition of the *Observations* in London.⁵⁶ Although it claimed to have been published in London, this book was almost certainly printed in the Dutch Republic. A near identical variant to Gellibrand's was printed in the same year in 'Amsterdam, by Steven Swart on the Westside of the Exchange'.⁵⁷ In 1663, Swart had married Abigail May, the niece of Mercy Arnold, the first person to publish the *Observations* in Dutch.⁵⁸

Unlike previous English editions, which had all been octavos, these two reprints were of a smaller duodecimo size. Hoftijzer suggests that Swart could have alternatively pirated this book of Gellibrand, but this is extremely unlikely.⁵⁹ According to the data of the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), this was the only duodecimo to carry the name of Edward Gellibrand, who remained active in the London book trade until 1682. Swart, in comparison, was a regular producer of the format.⁶⁰ It seems probable that Swart had

53 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Insignis Quam Magno Studio Et Sumptu Sibi Comparavit Praenobilis ac Generosus Vir, Dn. Reinoldus Alberda*. Groningen: Cornelis Barlinck-hof, 1692, 78, lot 429 and Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 291.

54 Maurice Keens-Soper, 'Wicquefort', in: G.R. Berridge, Maurice Keens-Soper and T.G. Otte (eds.), *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, 102.

55 *Catalogus Bibliothecae, Libris exquisitoribus ac eleganter compactis, praesertim Historicis, Variarum Linguarum instructissimae D. Abrhami Wiquefortii*. Den Haag: Gerardus Ameling, 1677, 33, lot 185.

56 William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*. (4th printing) London: Edward Gellibrand, 1680.

57 Both books have the exact same fingerprint: 168012 – a1 A2 few : a2 A7 he\$th – b1 B pa : b2 O7 \$a\$. William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*. (4th printing) London: Steven Swart, 1680.

58 Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs*, 32.

59 *Ibid.*, 66.

60 For instance, Johan Corbet, *Het Interest van Engelandt, in de Materie van Religie*. Amsterdam: Steven Swart, 1663 and Arthur Warwick, *Spare-minutes; or Resolved Meditations and Remediated*

produced the fourth edition of the *Observations* in Amsterdam, with some copies designated for domestic sale, and others for export. Temple's work had inspired a collaboration between two markedly different book trades.

Poetry, Pamphlets and Exports

Temple had written his *Observations*, in part, to show how the Dutch Republic had fallen 'like a meteor'.⁶¹ Right after declaring that the United Provinces were 'the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbours', Temple had stated:

We have this summer past, beheld the same state, in the midst of great appearing safety, order, strength and vigour, almost ruined and broken to pieces in some few days and by very few blows; and reduced in a manner to its first principles of weakness and distress; exposed, oppressed, and very near at mercy.⁶²

Temple never revised this pessimistic tone, even after the Dutch had managed to expel the forces of Louis XIV from their borders. But in his *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, Temple charted the events of the Franco-Dutch war (including the Dutch recovery from the chaos of 1672), along with the protracted discussions at Nijmegen that ended this conflict and a range of incidents from his own life. It was written during the first half of the 1680s and first published in London in November 1691. The *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* was one of the first memoirs by an English statesman to have been printed during the author's lifetime. Temple's main motive for publishing the work was to revive the popularity of William III, which, by 1691, had declined considerably from its highpoint during the Glorious Revolution. Regular mentions are made to the King of England across the work, and he emerges from it as a charismatic and steadfast leader, especially during his battles with the Sun King:

The French themselves . . . made the Prince all the offers that could be of honour and advantageous to his person and family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The bait they thought could not fail

Resolutions. Amsterdam: Steven Swart, 1677.

61 Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces*, 135 [=235].

62 *Ibid.* A3r.

of being swallowed . . . was the proposal of making the Prince sovereign of the Provinces under the protection of England and France. And to say truth, at a time when so little of the Provinces was left, and what remained was underwater . . . this seemed a lure to which a meaner soul than that of this Prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his answers always firm, that he never would betray a trust that was given him, nor ever fell the liberties of his country, that his ancestors had so long defended.⁶³

As with the *Observations*, the *Memoirs of What Past* sold well in England. A second edition was printed in 1692 and a third was produced the following year.⁶⁴ The first Dutch edition of the work was published in Rotterdam in May 1692 by Pieter van der Slaart, a printer who has previously attracted the attention of Paul Abels and Ton Wouters.⁶⁵ In *De Historische Gedenkschriften van den Ridder W. Temple* ('The Historical Memoirs of the Knight W. Temple'), Van der Slaart placed the Englishman's autobiography alongside a new translation of his *Observations*. This was first time that any of Temple's works, which had already been published, were collated together. Both books had been translated by Pieter Rabus, who had worked with Van der Slaart on at least one occasion prior to the publication of *De Historische Gedenkschriften*.⁶⁶ Rabus was a prolific poet and translator of classical works. In 1689 he had received a gold medal from William III for his poem *Britain Liberated*, a celebration of the Glorious Revolution.⁶⁷ The Dutchman

63 Temple, *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, 94-5.

64 William Temple, *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom, From the War Begun 1672 to the Peace concluded 1679*. (2nd printing) London: Richard Chiswell, 1692 and *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom, From the War Begun 1672 to the Peace concluded 1679*. (3rd printing) London: Richard Chiswell and James Knapton, 1693.

65 William Temple, *De Historische Gedenkschriften van den Ridder W. Temple*. Rotterdam: Pieter van der Slaart, 1692. Date is extrapolated from a newspaper advertisement which was printed on 3 May 1692 that said the book would be available in 'eight to ten days'. *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 18, Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 3 May 1692. P.H.A.M. Abels, and A.P.F. Wouters, 'Pieter vander Slaart: Boekdrukker en Boekverkoper in Cicero (1691-1702)' in: Hans Bots, Otto Lankhorst and Cees Zevenbergen (eds.), *Rotterdam Bibliopolis: Een Rondgang Langs Boekverkopers Uit De Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw*. Rotterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1997, 327-363.

66 Petrus Johannes Beronicius, *Quæ Extant*. Rotterdam: Pieter van der Slaart, 1692.

67 Pieter Rabus, *Verlost Britanje, Door de Komst van Hare Altans Regerende Majesteiten Koning Wilhem, en Koningin Maria*. Rotterdam: Isaac Naeranus, 1689 and Peter Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe' in: J. Bots (ed.) *Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe 1692-1702*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam: Holland Universiteits Pers 1974, 14.

included a brief poem at the beginning of *De Historische Gedenkschriften* that was dedicated to Temple:

Do you not wish to go
 To this Temple? The path is open.
 Go forth, and when you have gone through,
 You will find a wonder to behold.
 And the Oracles now no longer
 Just sound for the Britons' ears,
 But you now have them in Dutch too,
 Which is a great honour.
 Those who know writing ...
 Say that this is the pinnacle of memoirs.⁶⁸

The twenty-three year-old Van der Slaart had only been established in the book trade for two years by the time he published *De Historische Gedenkschriften*. As with Arnold, Van der Slaart focused on titles that related to England. Just over half of the one hundred titles advertised in a 1693 catalogue of his shop were either in English, or English in origin.⁶⁹ Furthermore, it is almost certain that Van der Slaart had some sort of partnership with Richard Chiswell, the publisher of the *Memoirs of What Past* in London, who John Dunton would go onto describe as someone 'who well deserves the title of Metropolitan bookseller of England, if not all the world.'⁷⁰ One-fifth of the books in the 1693 catalogue involved Chiswell, more than any other London bookseller.⁷¹

Another edition of the *Memoirs* and the *Observations* in Dutch had been published in Amsterdam by the end of July 1692.⁷² With the exception of Van der Slaart's dedication, and Rabus' introduction and poem, this book followed the Rotterdam edition word for word. Its publisher was Johannes Broers. At the beginning of the 1690s, Broers had taken over the shop at the Amsterdam stock exchange that had once belonged to Mercy Arnold.⁷³ He was also married

68 Temple, *De Historische Gedenkschriften*, [*5r].

69 *De Historische Gedenkschriften* also appears in the catalogue. *Catalogus Librorum, quos Petrus vander Slaart, Bibliopola Rotterodamensis*. Rotterdam: Pieter van der Slaart, 1693, [a4]r.

70 P.G. Hoftijzer, 'British Books Abroad: The Continent', in: John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume IV, 1557-1695*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 741 and John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London*. London: S. Malthus, 1705, 280.

71 John Feather, 'English Books on Sale in Rotterdam in: 1693', in: *Quaerendo* 6 (1976), 365.

72 William Temple, *De Historische Gedenkschriften*. Amsterdam: Johannes Broers, 1692.

73 Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs*, 47-8.

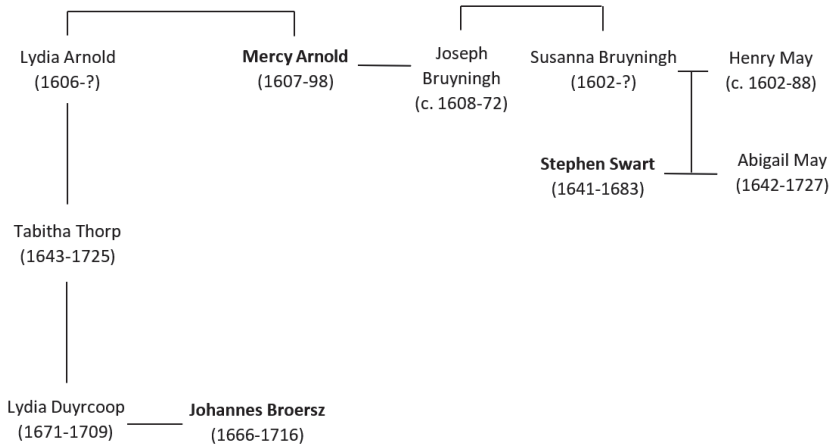


Figure 4. Simplified family tree, showing the relationships between the printers of Temple's works in the Dutch Republic. Everyone in bold is an individual named on the title-page of a book by Temple

to Lydia Duyrcoop, the daughter of one of Arnold's nieces (see fig. 4), which meant that he also had familial ties to Seven Swart and Abigail May.⁷⁴

Broers distributed the tri-weekly *Amsterdamsche Courant* and he advertised his *De Historische Gedenkschriften* in the newspaper.⁷⁵ An unbound copy of the book would cost its reader sixteen stuivers, which was slightly less than a daily wage for an artisan and around the same price as an evening meal in a Dutch tavern, with beer and wine included.⁷⁶ But for those already in possession of Temple's *Observations*, the *Memoirs* could be purchased separately from Broers, presumably for a lower price.

The first French translation of the *Memoirs of What Passed in Christendom* was also printed in 1692.⁷⁷ The *Memoires de ce Qui s'est Passé Dans la Chretientè* was published by Adriaen Moetjens in The Hague, a specialist in the importing, printing and selling of French literature in the Dutch Republic.⁷⁸ In a catalogue

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Amsterdamse Courant*, 91, Amsterdam: Casparus Commleijn, 29 July 1692, USTC N43-3354 and Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2017, 1163.

⁷⁶ Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 18.

⁷⁷ William Temple, *Memoires de ce qui s'est Passé Dans la Chretientè, Depuis le Commencement de la Guerre en 1672, Jusqu'à la Paix Conclué en 1679*. Den Haag: Adriaen Moetjens, 1692.

⁷⁸ Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 228.

of his shop, he devoted over 170 pages to titles in French, while works in Latin, Dutch, English and Spanish were given only fifty-five.⁷⁹

Moetjens dedicated his edition of the *Memoirs* to Huybert Roosenboom, a member of the Supreme Court of Holland and Zeeland.⁸⁰ In his preface, Moetjens offered Roosenboom a clear indication of just how highly Temple was regarded in the United Provinces:

For a long time I have been looking for an opportunity to offer you something, which could show the gratitude that I owe you for the many kindnesses you have shown me. . . . My good fortune willed in the end that a work by one of the great men of this century, illustrious by the great jobs he has done and by the esteem in which he has been held by several of the great Princes of Europe, should have fallen into my hands.⁸¹

Between 1692 and 1694, Moetjens printed at least six different editions of the *Memoires de ce Qui s'est Passé Dans la Chretienté*. It had taken over a decade for the *Observations* to reach the same number. Moetjens was also a leading seller of Catholic books in the Dutch Republic, and his shop hosted the auction of several Catholic libraries.⁸² This made Temple, an Englishman who was, in all outward appearances at least, a Protestant, an outlier in the bookshop of Adriaen Moetjens. He was evidently famous enough in the United Provinces for Moetjens to deviate from his usual stock.

As with, the Steuckers, Moetjens looked not only to Dutch readers and local diplomats, but also an international audience. The sheer quantity of editions that he produced in the 1690s, along with the fact that no printer within France attempted to produce their own version of the *Memoirs*, suggests that the Dutchman was able to export Temple's autobiography into the realm of Louis XIV. In the eighteenth century, one of his copies even ended up at the centre of French power in the library of Madame du Pompadour.⁸³

79 *Catalogue des Livres de Hollande, de France, et des Autres Pays Etrangers, Qui se Trouvent A Present Dans La Boutique D' Adrian Moetjens*. Den Haag: Adriaen Moetjens, 1700.

80 Joke Spaans, "A Vile and Scandalous Ditty": Popular Song and Public Opinion in a Seventeenth-Century Dutch Village Conflict', in: Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn and Elsa Strietman (eds.), *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 251 and J.H. Hora Siccama, *Aanteekeningen en verbeteringen op het in 1906 door het Historisch Genootschap uitgegeven Register op de journalen van Constantijn Huygens den zoon*. Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1915, 592.

81 Temple, *Memoires de ce qui s'est passé dans la chretienté*, *2v.

82 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 341.

83 *Catalogue Des Livres de la Bibliothèque de Feue Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, Dame du Palais de la Reine*. Paris: Jean-Thomas Herissant, 1765, 347, lot 3217.

In 1692, one of Moetjens' editions provoked a furious reaction from the French diplomat Joseph August du Cros. He outlined his fury over how had been portrayed in a *Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros, a Mylord ***** which, despite its title-page stating that it had been published in Cologne, was almost certainly produced in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁴ Du Cros was especially enraged by Temple's description of him as a former 'French monk' who had since 'left his frock for a petticoat'.⁸⁵ 'Does Monsieur Temple', Du Cros argued, 'think he can dishonour me, in reproaching me for leaving a profession which he thinks is worthy of contempt?'⁸⁶ The Frenchman, furthermore, criticised Temple's diplomatic achievements and claimed that the Englishman had not retired voluntarily, but had instead been 'driven away by the King's secret dissatisfaction with his services.'⁸⁷

This began a furious pamphlet debate that would play out in both England and the United Provinces. A rebuttal of Du Cros' criticisms, which was most likely written by Jonathan Swift, was printed in both London and The Hague in 1693.⁸⁸ The *Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet* offered several personal attacks, including 'writing justly and solidly are none of Monsieur du Cros' talents'.⁸⁹ It also rebuked a number of the Frenchman's accusations. For instance, it stressed that Temple had never written that it was 'scandalous to be a monk' and that Du Cros', knowing that 'he was unable to carry on the war much longer at his own expense', had decided 'to fight his battles with the whole body of the regular ecclesiastics'.⁹⁰

Temple's literary successes was not enjoyed without backlash. In England, with its strict laws of censorship, public criticism of a prominent statesmen, who was so well-acquainted with William III, risked arrest. But in the United Provinces, where controls on the print trade were more decentralised, attacks on Temple's work were allowed to flourish and cross borders.

84 Joseph August du Cros, *Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros, a Mylord **** Afin de Servir de Réponse, aux Impostures de Monsieur le Chevalier Temple*. Cologne [=Dutch Republic]: s.n., 1692.

85 Temple, *Memoirs of What Past*, 335.

86 Du Cros, *Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, 21.

87 *Ibid.*, 16.

88 *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*. London: Randall Taylor, 1693 and *Reponse de Mr. le Chevalier Temple, a un Libelle Diffamatoire Intitulé Lettre de Mr. du Cros à Mylord*. Den Haag: Johannes Aelberts, 1693.

89 *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*, 14.

90 *Ibid.*, 30.

Images, Foreigners and Bankruptcy

The final book by Temple that was published during his lifetime was *An Introduction to the History of England*. This survey of the English past, from just before the Roman Conquest to the death of William the Conqueror, was first printed either in or just before November 1694.⁹¹ Temple hoped that it would 'encourage some worthy spirit, and true lover of our country' to put together 'a good or general History of England' that had not yet appeared from 'so ancient and noble a nation as ours'.⁹² But the *Introduction*, like the *Memoirs*, also functioned as a defence of William III.⁹³ Across the work, Temple drew implicit parallels between the Norman Conquest and the Dutch Invasion of 1688. Take this description of William the Conqueror which, upon first glance, could be equally as applicable to William III:

No prince ever came so early into the cares and thorns of a crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in difficulties and toils, in hardships and dangers. His life exposed to the arms of enemies, the plots of assassins. His reign embroiled by the revolts of his subjects, the invasions of his neighbours, and his whole life, though very long, spent in the necessary and dangerous defence of his own title and dominion, or in the ambitious designs of acquiring greater. Yet none ever surmounted all with more constancy of mind, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune, by all which, he seems born to have been rather a great prince, than a happy man.⁹⁴

The first French translation of this book, which had been printed in Amsterdam by the beginning of 1695, is one of the earliest extant books to have been printed by Jean Louis de Lorme.⁹⁵ When he registered as a burgher, De Lorme stated that he had been born in Corinth and his wife subsequently declared that he was a

91 Temple, *An Introduction to the History of England*. For more on the publication of this book, see Robert C. Steensma, "'So Ancient and Noble A Nation": Sir William Temple's History of England', in: *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 77 (1976), 95-107 and Michael F. Suarez, 'Making History: William Temple and the Politics of Publishing', in: *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 68 (1993), 43-59.

92 Temple, *An Introduction to the History of England*, A2r.

93 Steensma, 'So Ancient and Noble A Nation', 105-6.

94 Temple, *An Introduction to the History of England*, 93-4.

95 William Temple, *Introduction a l'histoire d'Angleterre*. Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme, 1695 and *Amsterdamse Saturdaagse Courant*, 1, Amsterdam: Willem Arnold and Jacomijntje van Duijveland, 1 January 1695, USTC N43-3757.

Turk.⁹⁶ It appears that De Lorme had come to the Dutch Republic during the early 1690s via Paris.⁹⁷ His edition of the *Introduction to the History of England* contained twenty-four engraved images of English Kings, along with a picture of Temple himself (see Fig. 5). De Lorme explained in his preface that he done this because Temple 'had not mentioned the reigns of several Kings' and he thought that 'many people would be well advised to know those who have held the Crown'.⁹⁸ As Isabella Henriëtte van Eeghen has shown, these images were almost identical those in the anonymous *Abregé de l'histoire d'Angleterre*, a much broader history of England that was printed in The Hague in 1695 by Etienne Foulque.⁹⁹ Whether De Lorme borrowed, bought or copied these images from Foulque, or vice versa, is unclear.

As with Steucker's edition of the *Observations* and Moetjens' edition of the *Memoirs*, De Lorme's translation of the *Introduction* allowed the work to circulate beyond the British Isles and the Dutch Republic. In September 1696, a Latin review of the book was published in *Acta Eruditorum*, a monthly Latin journal that was printed in Leipzig.¹⁰⁰ At some point in the same year, De Lorme also produced a smaller, duodecimo version of the *Introduction*, which was popular enough to inspire, or was perhaps done in response to an act of piracy from an anonymous printer.¹⁰¹ According to its title-page, they had produced their edition of the *Introduction a L'histoire D'Angleterre* in London 'at the expense of the author'. This was an extremely unlikely scenario, given Temple's attitude to the publication of his works. It was almost certainly printed in the United Provinces.

Two Dutch editions, with different translations of Temple's prose, were also printed in 1695. One was produced in Amsterdam by Abigail May, who, as seen earlier was related to two different printers of the *Observations*. After Steven Swart's death in 1683, May continued running the family business.¹⁰² To translate Temple's prose, May enlisted the Quaker Willem Sewel, with whom she had collaborated with on a number of previous occasions,

96 I. H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725. Deel 1. Jean Louis de Lorme en Zijn Copieboek*. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960, 15.

97 *Ibid.*, 19.

98 Temple, *Introduction a l'histoire d'Angleterre*, †r.

99 *Abregé de l'histoire d'Angleterre*. Den Haag, Etienne Foulque, 1695 and Isabella Henriëtte van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725. Deel 2. Uitgaven van Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn familieleden*. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1963, 50-1.

100 *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig: Widow and Heirs of Johann Grosse II, Johann Thomas Fritsch and Johann Georgi, 1696), pp. 420-5, VD-17 547:691608X.

101 This edition only survives in one known copy, which is in the private collection of Arthur der Weduwen. William Temple *Introduction a l'histoire d'Angleterre*. Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme, 1696 and William Temple, *Introduction a l'histoire d'Angleterre*, s.n.: s.l., 1696.

102 Hoftijzer, *Engelse Boekverkopers bij de Beurs*, 32.



Figure 5. An Image of Temple from Jean Louis de Lorme's edition of the *Introduction to the History of England*. Caspar Luyken, Portrait of William Temple, Statesman and Diplomat, 1695. Copy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1896-A-19368-1024

including an English-Dutch dictionary, which was published in 1691.¹⁰³ His translation contained little in the form of additions, apart from a subtitle that described the book as 'being a concise but accurate account of the ancient state of Britain, how it was controlled by different peoples from time to time, and finally brought to a civilised government, until the death of William the Conqueror.'¹⁰⁴ This pointed toward the more contemporary elements of the *Introduction*.

The other Dutch edition of the *Introduction to the History of England*, which was published a few months before May's, was printed in Rotterdam by Pieter van der Slaart, who once again enlisted Pieter Rabus to translate.¹⁰⁵ In his forward Rabus argued that 'even if I said nothing else other than that the knight William Temple was the author of the work, I would have had enough to recommend it, to my inquisitive compatriots, who have often been delighted by the fruits of that refined ingenuity.'¹⁰⁶

Van der Slaart published his *Inleidinge tot de Historie van Engeland* at the height of his powers. But during the second half of the 1690s he began to struggle, overburdened with stock and debt. At the beginning of the eighteenth century his business collapsed. On 30 September 1702, to pay off a debt of 1,000 guilders, Van der Slaart sold most of his remaining stock, which included 700 copies of his *Inleidinge tot de Historie van Engeland*, which were worth seventy-two guilders in total.¹⁰⁷ Such a large number of books being sold off for the price of two stuivers per unit, does indicate that the *Inleidinge* flopped in the United Provinces. After all, it had very little to do with the Dutch themselves, unlike the *Observations* and the *Memoirs of What Passed in Christendom*. Then again, given that the original number of copies produced remains unknown, the severity of Slaart's loss is hard to ascertain. Moreover, as Abigail May's edition required forty per cent fewer sheets of paper to produce, it could be likely that the Dutchman was outdone by a cheaper edition. Regardless, Van der Slaart evidently thought that Temple was popular enough amongst Dutch speakers to gamble on a large print run.

103 Willem Sewel, *A New Dictionary English and Dutch . . . Nieuw woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche taale*. Amsterdam: Abigail May, 1691.

104 William Temple, *Inleyding tót de Historie van Engeland*. Amsterdam: Abigail May, 1695, title-page.

105 William Temple, *Inleidinge tot de Historie van Engeland*. Amsterdam: Pieter van der Slaart, 1695 and *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 5. Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1 February 1695.

106 *Ibid.*, *3r.

107 Abels, and Wouters, 'Pieter vander Slaart', 327-363.

A Swiss Traveller

Despite Van der Slaart's bankruptcy, books by Sir William Temple continued to be published in the Dutch Republic well into the eighteenth century. This included reprints of the *Observations* and the *Memoirs*, and new works that were published posthumously.¹⁰⁸ This kept the memory of Temple alive, long after his death and long after the Dutch Golden Age had faded. In 1788, for instance, a rather crude image of Temple appeared in a school textbook that was entitled *Histories of the United Netherlands: For the Patriotic Youth* (see Fig. 6). He was the only non-Dutchman to be depicted in this work.¹⁰⁹

Temple was, to a certain extent, aware of the success that his books enjoyed abroad. Roughly two decades after Daniel Elzevier had journeyed London, a Swiss traveller by the name of Béat Louis de Muralt arrived in England. He ended up visiting Temple at his home in Moor Park in Surrey. Muralt subsequently wrote that he had spoken to Temple 'about his writings.'¹¹⁰ The Englishman asked him 'whether I had read them in English or in French'.¹¹¹ When Muralt responded with French, Temple 'complained of the translation, saying, that they had cruelly murdered it.'¹¹² Clearly, Temple was aware and had even seen some of these foreign editions. His disapproval, as told by Muralt, was likely an act of false modesty.

Through the works by Sir William Temple that were published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic we can see a number of different aspects that made the region home to one of the most dynamic and vibrant book markets in early modern Europe. The printing of the *Observations* in United Provinces inspired acts of piracy, and cross-border collaboration. The *Memoirs of What Passed* demonstrated the sheer power that the Dutch Republic enjoyed as an exporter of books, and how its relatively low levels censorship could enable the development of a pamphlet debate. The *Introduction to the History of England* showed the substantial amount of risk that booksellers took in their trade. Together, these three different works demonstrate the complex

108 William Temple, *Remarques sur l'estat des Provinces Unies des Pais-bas*. (9th printing) Utrecht: Anthony Schouten, 1701; *Memoires de ce qui s'est Passé Dans la Chretienité, Depuis le Commencement de la Guerre en 1672, Jusqu'à la Paix Conclüë en 1679*. Amsterdam: Isaac Troyel, 1708; *Nouveaux Memoires du Chevalier Guillaume Temple*. Den Haag: Johannes van Duren and Adriaen Moetjens (II), 1729.

109 Jacobus Kok and Jan Fokke, *Geschiedenissen der Vereenigde Nederlanden. Voor de Vaderlandsche Jeugd. Negende Deel*. Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1788.

110 Béat Louis de Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les voiaages*. Cologne: 1725, 98.

111 *Ibid.*

112 *Ibid.*



Figure 6. Reinier Vinkeles (I), after Jacobus Buys, Portret van William Temple, 1788. Copy: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-62.575

family dynamics that shaped the Dutch print trade and the role that foreigners had to play in the industry. The “Bookshop of the World” was a multinational endeavour.

The popularity that Temple achieved as a foreign author during the Dutch Golden Age was unprecedented, and made all the more remarkable by the fact that most of his books were written and published in Britain, and then carried over to the United Provinces with little help from the author himself.

Other Englishman, such as Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes, and foreign statesman, such as Cardinal Richelieu and Oliver Cromwell had their works published during the Dutch Golden Age.¹¹³ Yet few could compete the scale and longevity of Temple's fame within the United Provinces. Diplomacy had provided a foundation for this reputation, but literature helped to maintain it. No other English statesmen matched his popularity on the European continent.

Appendix – Editions by Temple Published in the Dutch Republic, 1673-1700

Aenmerckingen over de vereenighde nederlandsche provintien. Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, [1673]. STCN 842338047.

Aenmerckingen over de vereenighde nederlandsche provintien. Amsterdam: Mercy Arnold, [1673]. STCN 852229542.

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