

Dutch Travel Journals from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries ⁽¹⁾

By R.M. Dekker

(translated by Gerard T. Moran)

Published in: *Lias. Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 22 (1995), p.277-300.

The Dutch have a reputation as travellers. From early times they have been a nation of merchants who journeyed across the continent by boat and coach and sallied forth in all directions on ships from the many ports on the North Sea. Besides the merchants, Dutch diplomats, scholars, soldiers, sailors and artists explored the entire world. Many of them entrusted their travel experiences to paper. The travel journal is a genre that has flowered in the Netherlands since the late Middle Ages. Such documents form an important source both for Dutch history and that of the many countries visited.

Until the present no overview existed of surviving travel journals. For that reason a project was set up more than ten years ago to inventory such texts in Dutch archives and libraries, as part of a larger project to track down all types of ego documents from the period c. 1500-1814.⁽²⁾

In addition to travel journals, autobiographies, memoirs and diaries were recorded. The search was conducted in public archives and libraries, but not in private collections. As far as the travel journals were concerned we restricted ourselves to texts in manuscript. This quest through Dutch archives and libraries turned up 490 manuscript travel journals, now recorded chronologically in a published list with a short description of the author, the manuscript, the destinations and the motives for writing about the voyage.⁽³⁾

In terms of criteria of selection we limited ourselves to those travel journals that could be defined as ego documents, that is to say that the author had to write about his own experiences or provide personal commentary. Impersonal accounts that were really more like travel guidebooks were not included. The well-known journal P.C. Hooft wrote about his trip to France, for example, was excluded for this reason.⁽⁴⁾ Furthermore, we only selected texts that were written on personal initiative and not in an official capacity. Thus the many diplomatic reports and ship's logs found in government archives were left out of consideration, even though they sometimes contain personal passages. Whenever a diplomat or a ship's captain kept a personal diary in addition to his official record it has been included. It was not always easy to draw the line, which will come as no surprise for a time when the personal and the public spheres were still strongly intertwined. We included, for example, the journal by Jacob Andries van der Velde that he prefaced with the words "personal notes" perhaps because it was his first voyage as captain.⁽⁵⁾ By way of exception we also selected the account that Dutch East India Company (VOC) official Issac Titsingh gave of his journey as member of the Council of the Indies to Peking because he wanted to offer his superiors more than a "meagre exposition" and therefore decided to "depart from the normal fashion of reporting".⁽⁶⁾

Also excluded from our list of travel journals are the manuscripts of authors who kept a diary and went on an occasional trip. Such texts have been included among the other sorts of ego documents. The same holds true for authors who described their travels in their autobiographies. Individual letters written while travelling have not been included; the journal consistently had to concern the whole trip, or in any case, a great part of it. On the other hand we did include a few series of travel letters since they may at times have the character of a journal, especially drafts that were not sent. As a rule, most of the accounts of people who travelled professionally, in particular soldiers on campaign abroad, have been placed with the other ego documents. The same is true for the Patriot and Orangist exiles who left the country for several years in the last decades of the

eighteenth century. The various categories under which we classified the travel accounts included will be elaborated in the rest of this article. As a final criterion for inclusion we retained a minimum length of ten pages.

It should be said that the project has not ended with the appearance of the published guide. In the first place a number of travel accounts will appear in the series of ego documents being published in the Netherlands by Uitgeverij Verloren with the support of the Prins Bernhard Fonds. In the second place, the manuscript material will be made available on microfiche by MMF Publications.⁽⁷⁾ To begin with all the manuscripts in languages other than Dutch have been filmed, thus opening up an important body of sources for further research. Finally, the Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (Institute of Netherlands History) in The Hague has announced plans to make a similar inventory for the period 1814-1940.

In the meantime, the material brought together for the period 1500-1814 gives us a good picture of the development of Dutch travel behaviour and the way in which it was reported about. This is witnessed already in the oldest text in the series, the account the Delft barber Arent Willemsz has left us of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This text is just as typical of its time as the last in the series, the account written in September 1813 by the lawyer Lambert van Eck of his holiday trip to Aachen and Spa. We will now provide a first impression of the results of our research, in which the following questions will be addressed: who wrote these accounts, why and how were they written, what were the destinations and the reasons for travelling, and what changes occurred in the course of time in travelling and in the manner in which it was written about.

In the first chart (figure 1) the big increase in the numbers of extant travel journals from the middle of the eighteenth century can be seen. Presumably the practice of writing travel accounts only became widespread after about 1750. For the rest accounts from this later period have undoubtedly been better preserved. In the preceding period several small peaks can be discerned for which, however, it is not easy to find an explanation. On the other hand we can elucidate the sharp decline after 1795, which is a direct result of the changed political situation that rendered travel for pleasure or educational purposes more difficult if not impossible.

Form, Language and Style

The form in which people kept their journal varied greatly. There are neatly written accounts in good style and there are draft versions that offer little more than a sort of short-hand description. Most authors kept their journals while travelling, but many have been preserved in the form of accounts written down after the fact, or as revisions of the original. At times we have both a draft and a finished version, as is, for example, the case with the account of a grand tour written by the brothers Van der Dussen, sons of a mayor of Dordrecht.⁽⁸⁾ Some writers collected their travel journals. An example is the "travel book" by the Middelburg regent Samuel Radermacher that contains accounts of various trips made in the years 1712 to 1717.⁽⁹⁾ To Johannes Koopmans, an inhabitant of Workum, we owe a small volume of "journeys undertaken...and set down by J. Koopmans", in which he recorded six trips taken between 1736 and 1760.⁽¹⁰⁾ Another volume in the archive of the Groningen family Van Bolhuis contains travel journals of three generations from the years 1680-1740.⁽¹¹⁾

Most accounts were written by people who returned to their place of residence, but in a strikingly large number of cases they left no description of the journey back. Perhaps many travellers developed writer's fatigue half-way through the trip. Other manuscripts have survived only in part and of some we know no more than that they once existed. An example of the latter is the journal of a merchant's daughter from Rotterdam at the end of the eighteenth century from which several passages were published in 1927 in the

Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.⁽¹²⁾ Another example is the account of George Mey written in 1651, part of which was quoted by a Dutch author in the mid-nineteenth century.⁽¹³⁾

The length of the texts varied, most being several dozen pages, but some authors stand out by their industry. Arent Willemsz's account of his pilgrim voyage cited above numbers 320 pages, while Aernout van Buchell filled many hundreds of pages with his various journeys, taking 237 just to describe his trip to Italy in 1587-1588.⁽¹⁴⁾ Martinus van Barnevelt recorded his Italian voyage of 1715-1716 in some 750 pages and eight years later Jan Alsensoon needed 550 to set down his trip to the same destination.⁽¹⁵⁾ Johan Raye's account of his trip to Turkey in 1764-1769 is a good 900 pages long. Pieter Willem baron de Liedel de Well went over the 1,000 pages for his trip through eastern Europe in 1794-1795⁽¹⁶⁾ while Jan Hendrik van Swinden filled 430 folios with his journey to Paris in 1798.⁽¹⁷⁾ The record was set by Rutger Meetelerkamp whose account of a journey through western and central Europe counts more than 1,450 pages.⁽¹⁸⁾

Most travel accounts were written in Dutch, but a number of writers used other languages. In the seventeenth century a few scholars and grand-tour travellers wrote in Latin. In the eighteenth century the use of French became more common. Using foreign languages on a trip could have an educational aspect. The young Delft burger Adrianus van Overschie, for example, reported his grand tour in three languages, writing in Italian in Italy, Spanish in Spain and French everywhere else.⁽¹⁹⁾

It was of course during foreign travel that languages could be practiced, and it was useful to master several.

There are probably relatively many Dutch travel journals written in foreign tongues (see figure 2). The Dutch have traditionally attached great importance to learning foreign languages, which is logical for a small language-area in which trade and navigation were major sources of income. Speaking foreign languages was a matter of survival and the Dutch were also proud of their linguistic abilities. A nice illustration of this point can be found in the travel journal of the Protestant minister and famous opponent of belief in witchcraft, Balthasar Bekker, who describes how on a trip through France and England in 1683 his travelling companions appointed him "master of languages", which meant he could designate the language everyone had to converse in.⁽²⁰⁾

Now and then some authors used a secret language to protect events they did not wish to get out, such as the young Constantine Huygens's visit to a prostitute in Antwerp, or the amorous adventures of his friend Aernout Hooft in Rome.⁽²¹⁾ The Frisian nobleman, Johan Vegelin van Claerbergen, had a more serious reason for using them during the military campaigns he took part in in 1707 and 1716.⁽²²⁾

About a dozen journals written in rhyme have survived. Rhyme was also a popular stylistic device in autobiography, that of Jacob Cats being the best-known example. The earliest account written in verse is that of Johan Farret's journey to Curaçao in 1635.⁽²³⁾ There are further the account of Cornelia de Vassy of a trip through Zeeland and Brabant in 1748, that of the Reverend Willem Chevallerau's journey through Belgium in 1756, and of the Frisian farmer's son Hepke Buma's through Holland in 1783.⁽²⁴⁾ An attorney from Delft, Lodewijk Knotter, wrote an extensive rhymed account of his trip to the German East Frisian island of Noordstrand, where he attended a meeting of the island's owners.⁽²⁵⁾ A noteworthy account is that of the Frisian farmer Douwe Douwes who travelled to Münster in 1746 for the cattle trade, since it was set to rhyme by someone else.⁽²⁶⁾ It may well be an adaptation of an oral account. The longest account in rhyme was written by Jan van Walré, a literary figure from Haarlem, who recounted his journey through the central and eastern Netherlands in 1800 in 104 pages.⁽²⁷⁾ Most of the rhyming accounts were probably based on an earlier prose version, but only in the case

of the poet from Zeeland Pieter de la Rue's account of his trip to Belgium in 1724 do we actually possess a prose version in addition to that in verse.⁽²⁸⁾ For the rest it can be said that rhyme remained popular longer with lower-class authors, just as was the case with autobiography.

A few authors wrote in a comic vein. In 1745 Jean Guépin, a regent in Vlissingen, described what he called "a tragicomic plodding journey...from Rotterdam to Vlissingen".⁽²⁹⁾ Meinard Johan Macaré, bookkeeper for the Dutch East India Company, wrote in biblical style and began a travel account with the words "Eastern style. 1783. Chapter 1, verse 1. And it came to pass in the days that David Gijseling, Le Sage and Jan Anthonij Huysman were mayors...."⁽³⁰⁾ Some accounts have a more literary character than others, such as an anonymous description of a journey along the Rhine of 1800 that opened with musings on travelling in general.⁽³¹⁾

Some travel journals clearly had a private character, such as the one by Aernout Hooft mentioned earlier in which he wrote about his grand tour. Others were intended to be read by others, for example, the family at home or other acquaintances. Thus some writers explicitly addressed their readers or listeners, since a journal could also be read aloud, a common form of communication at the time. The future dairy merchant Jan Pijnappel, for example, who was only nine years old at the time he wrote his account of a journey through South Holland in 1805, specifically mentioned his intention of providing his "readers or listeners" with some moments of diversion.⁽³²⁾

A few eighteenth-century travellers used their texts for lectures before learned societies. In 1788 Nicolaas Cornelis Lambrechtsen, a pensionary of Vlissingen, wrote an extensive account (150 pages) of his trip to France, Switzerland and Germany. He then gave a slightly revised, but hardly shorter version as a lecture to the Zeeland Society [*Zeeuwsch Genootschap*].⁽³³⁾ The historian Hendrik Kluit kept a journal of his voyage to England in 1802, on which he based his lecture the following year to the "Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen" [Society for the Promotion of General Welfare].⁽³⁴⁾ The Protestant minister Jan Scarp gave a series of lectures on his trip to Spa and Kleve in 1809 to the Rotterdam literary society "Verscheidenheid en Overeenstemming" [Diversity and Harmony].⁽³⁵⁾

In terms of content travel accounts distinguish themselves from other types of ego documents in that they often follow a set pattern. As a rule they display several recurring features. Nearly always they inform the reader about the route travelled, means of transportation, inns, objects and places of interest and expenses incurred. They often begin by introducing the travelling companions, in one case even listing a pet, Clasina Cornelia van Nellesteyn's lap dog Bello, who accompanied her to Brussels in 1808.⁽³⁶⁾ Some texts contain appendices in which the relevant details are brought together, at times expanded with a baggage list such as in the account of Martinus Hermannus Geisweit, who travelled to Paris in 1736-1737 to improve his medical knowledge.⁽³⁷⁾ Johan Thijs even appended a list of the clothing and books he took on his grand tour of 1646-1648⁽³⁸⁾, while Adolph van Pallandt, a nobleman from Gelderland, provided his account with a list of the ladies he had met in Geneva in 1765.⁽³⁹⁾

Some manuscripts include prints and cards purchased en route, such as the account of Martinus van Barnevelt cited earlier and that of Johan Frederik Willem van Spaen, who journeyed to Belgium and England in 1789 and 1791.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Several writers used their pen to make sketches of the things they saw along the way, which were at times included in the text and at others kept separately. Pieter Aeriansen Buijs, a school teacher, drew primitive plans of the places he visited during his trips through Europe and Asia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁽⁴¹⁾ More cultivated authors had had the benefit of drawing lessons in their youth since that was a fixed part of their education. Some were even artistically gifted, such as Constantine Huygens the younger.⁽⁴²⁾ Johannes de Goyer, son of a Utrecht regent, had a great interest in architecture and included a large number

of plans and panoramas in his account of a journey to England 1676-1677.⁽⁴³⁾ The interest in military affairs of Jan François Selonius emerges from the drawings he made of troop formations during the campaign he witnessed in Flanders 1703.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Travelling on board ship there was less to see and artists limited their sketches to silhouettes of islands and fish, such as François de Meijer made during his sea journey to Africa in 1698⁽⁴⁵⁾ and Johan Wichers while sailing to the Cape of Good Hope in the 1770s.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Thomas Gongrijp was not only a town councillor of Sneek, but also an architect and painter of stained glass for churches and illustrated his account of a trip to Belgium in 1761 with thirteen drawings.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The coloured drawings in Johan Raye's account of his journey to Turkey in 1764-1769 are particularly handsome.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It was natural for professional artists to illustrate their journals, as did the painter from Haarlem Vincent van der Vinne (1628/9-1702) in a lavish account of his Italian travels of 1652-1655.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Another example is the Rotterdam painter Gerard van Nijmegen, who among other things visited professional colleagues during his trip to Germany in 1788-1789.⁽⁵⁰⁾ A few wealthy travellers engaged an artist to accompany them, such as Willem Carel Dierquens when he went to Italy in 1778.⁽⁵¹⁾

Authors

In most cases we have information about the social background of the authors. Which social groups did they come from? To answer this question we divided the authors into categories in common use for Dutch society of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, a scheme with six levels. The first is composed of nobles and regents, even though within this elite noble status still formed an important mark of distinction. Below this layer is a second group consisting of big merchants and entrepreneurs, high-ranking civil servants and the top echelons of the military. Then comes the numerically larger third group of people with a university education and professions such as university teacher, medical doctor, lawyer and the middle ranks of officialdom. The next lower group includes independent artisans, shopkeepers, school teachers, and in the countryside, farmers. The fifth group is made up of servants in steady employ, soldiers and sailors, while the sixth and last consists of day labourers and the poor.

As can be seen in Figure 2, most of the authors belong to the upper layers of society, which does not imply that the elite travelled more than the common people. They did, however, travel differently: for pleasure and study or occasionally in professional capacity. Ordinary people on the other hand travelled out of economic necessity, to look for work elsewhere or to enlist for service as soldier or sailor in colonial territories in the East or West. For every ship's captain who may have written an account, there are hundreds of crewmen who could not even sign their names and for that reason left no written record. In the course of time we can observe an increase in the number of authors from the middle groups. But not one author has emerged from the lowest strata of society.

Looking at the period as a whole there is a notable difference in social background compared to authors of other sorts of ego documents, such as diaries and autobiographies. Even though the elite was preponderant there too, there was still quite a bit written by representatives of the middle and lower groups. Writing travel accounts thus seems to be more a part of the culture of the elite.

This is of course what one would expect. Travelling for pleasure or study was expensive and if for no more than that reason reserved to the well-to-do. The nobleman from Gelderland Johan Frederik Willem van Spaen (1746-1827), for example, noted on the cover of his account of his grand tour in 1769-1770, which took him to Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany: "Nota bene, the journey cost me eighteen thousand florins, which I do not regret."⁽⁵²⁾

In other words, this trip cost no less than 36 times the annual income of a labourer.

There are precious few female authors, but this is also true of other types of ego documents. Women participated less in general in written culture and writing was seldom a professional obligation for them. They probably travelled less often than men, having, for example, no reason to make the grand tour. Travel was considered more dangerous for women than for men and it was a simple fact that there were more obstacles for them. Pieter Macaré opened his account of a short trip through Belgium and France in 1807 with the words: "[I travelled] once again alone as my wife had to take care of her baby".⁽⁵³⁾ The most spectacular female travel account is by Elisabeth van der Woude, who went to the West Indies with her father in 1676, but was captured by the French privateer Jean Bart on the way home.⁽⁵⁴⁾

A few travel journals were kept by children. Thus thirteen-year-old Frederik van Dedem set down an account of his journey to Belgium, a official undertaking in connection with tax farming. The boy's presence is less unusual than it seems since he had been appointed tax receiver four years earlier, a not uncommon practice in regent circles.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Another account of a trip to Belgium by a child has survived from 1731.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Further, Bonifatius Mathias Pous, who was later to become a regent in Middelburg, left us a series of accounts that he began to record starting with a journey to Belgium in 1754 when he was ten.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In the eighteenth century we also encounter the first accounts of travels undertaken by travel clubs. Two accounts have been preserved of the "Monday Society", a club for regents in Gorinchem that went on excursion to Belgium in 1766 and 1773.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Further, a whole series of accounts has survived from the Amsterdam club *Semper Idem*.⁽⁵⁹⁾ To this group of club travels we may also reckon the trip taken by the regents of the Catharina and Cecilia Hospital in Leiden, who in 1772 visited Kleve together.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Within the elite the house of Orange is represented by the extensive travel journals the future King William II kept during his exile in Germany and England and during his participation in the allied campaign against Napoleon in Spain.⁽⁶¹⁾ In addition, there are many writers from the regent families in the province of Holland and from noble families in the rest of the country. This picture can be distorted since their accounts are often part of carefully preserved family archives later transferred to public institutions.

Among the earliest authors of humble origin are the school teacher cited earlier, Pieter Buijs, and the East India Company soldier Reynier Adriaensens, who recounted his journey to the Indies in 1679.⁽⁶²⁾ Further we could cite the account written by the school teacher and church sexton Peter de Meulmeester of his trip to Rome in 1686.⁽⁶³⁾ The remaining representatives of the petty bourgeoisie are almost exclusively professional painters, who travelled quite a bit, and lower-ranking officials of the East India Company, such as a surgeon and a clerk.

Finally, it should be remarked that not all travel journals are ego documents in the literal sense. Some were kept by two or three travellers jointly, such as the journal of the brothers Van der Dussen mentioned above.

Types of travels

Travel was undertaken according to set patterns in which several types can be identified. The traditional medieval journey was a pilgrimage, especially to the Holy Land. For the period between 1500 and the beginning of the Dutch revolt in 1570, only 24 accounts have come down to us, of which no fewer than six were of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. From later times, there are just two accounts of travels to Jerusalem: that of Herman

Jansz. Spaen in 1625-1626, for whom it was an excursion undertaken from Venice; and that of the Amsterdam merchant Carel Quina in 1668-1671.⁽⁶⁴⁾ In the Dutch Republic the pilgrimage fell into disuse and not only because of the triumph of the reformed faith, for everywhere in Europe this type of journey was relegated to the background.

In contrast a type of journey in the ascendent in the seventeenth century is the grand tour. It became common practice for young people from good families to complete their education with a journey abroad, often under the supervision of a tutor. In particular France and Italy were visited, where often some time was spent in study at a university and obtaining a prestigious doctorate. But it was at least as important to acquire the necessary culture and knowledge of the world. In her dissertation on the grand tour, Anna Frank-van Westrienen has analyzed this type of travel account thoroughly.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Her book gives a good picture of travel in the seventeenth century. For her study she consulted many manuscripts, using travel journals as chief source. Our inventory brought 20 accounts written between 1600 and 1700 to light, of which five were previously unknown without counting the account of Laurentius Gronovius, who travelled as the tutor of Andreas Bicker, son of an Amsterdam regent.⁽⁶⁶⁾ When the requirement of visiting Italy is dropped, there are as it turns out many more such accounts to be found.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In the period itself travellers who did not have Italy on their itinerary also used the term "grand tour". Jan Huydecoper, for example, described his trip to France and Switzerland in 1714-1715 with those words.⁽⁶⁸⁾ For the eighteenth century fewer grand-tour accounts are known, only 17. For the first half of that century they number as few as five. This decline becomes all the more striking when set against the total number of surviving travel accounts. For the period 1600-1700 there were 80 of which 20 involved a grand tour; for the period 1700-1795 there are 315 of which 17 were grand tours. Among the eighteenth-century accounts special mention should be made of those that François Fagel the younger and his tutor Frederik Salomon Tavel made of their journey of 1759-1761.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Further we have the first and only travel account of a female "tourist", Agneta Maria Catharina Boreel, who at sixteen accompanied an uncle and her future husband Hendrik Fagel the younger on a journey.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Scholars traditionally had led a peripatetic existence, travelling from one university to another, from one patron to another and from one professional colleague to another. A typical seventeenth-century account of a scholar's journey is furnished by Balthasar Bekker, who travelled to England and France in 1683, visiting various fellow scholars in among other places Oxford. In 1771 Pieter Johan Macaré went to Belgium to research his genealogy.⁽⁷¹⁾ More numerous are accounts of travellers whose interests turned more toward the natural sciences. There are, for example, several accounts written by physicians that have survived. Petrus Camper travelled all over Europe to visit colleagues, view cabinets of curiosities and take part in performing medical operations.⁽⁷²⁾ The personal physician of William V, Wouter van Doeveren, left similar travel journals, also adorned with ink drawings of medical instruments and such.⁽⁷³⁾ Another example is provided by Samuel de Wind who attended a "course in surgery" in Paris in 1765-1766.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Steven Jan van Geuns, physician, biologist and geologist, journeyed through Germany in 1789 in order to visit university towns where he viewed many cabinets of curiosities.⁽⁷⁵⁾

In general the accounts of late eighteenth-century travellers display more attention to the environment. Joan Gideon Loten, for example, wrote an account in English, an exceptional choice of language, of his travels in France and Switzerland in 1763-1764 in which he devoted much attention to the flora and fauna, hiring an artist to depict them.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Growing attention was also given to agriculture and industry, as is shown in the accounts made by Lambert van Eck of trips through Belgium and France in 1788 and

again in 1813, incidentally two interesting years for comparison.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The youthful Jan Pijnappel was already aware that "among the types of activity that pair the amusing with the useful, travelling should certainly be counted first of all!"⁽⁷⁸⁾, an exclamation he wrote in an account of a journey to Kleve in May 1807. Nonetheless very few accounts betray a more profound interest in and observation of countries and peoples, one of them being Johan Meerman's recounting of the trip he took to England in 1786-1787, which contains among others descriptions of the cock fights popular there.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Accounts of business trips are fairly uncommon. The earliest is an anonymous account left by someone who made various journeys to Portugal, Spain and Italy between 1649 and 1654 "in order to settle business there".⁽⁸⁰⁾ The most spectacular was written by a wood merchant from Zaandam, Cornelis Cardinaal, who travelled to Bohemia in 1727, where he bought timber. A huge raft was made of this, with a log cabin, in which he floated down the Elbe to Hamburg.⁽⁸¹⁾ The Amsterdam merchants J. and J.D. Teyssset have also left a collection of travel accounts for the years 1757-1794.⁽⁸²⁾

A number of personal accounts were written by authors who travelled as members of diplomatic missions, such as Abraham Booth, who sojourned in England in 1628 as secretary of an East India Company delegation.⁽⁸³⁾ Comparable accounts have survived from regents who went on military inspection tours, which in peacetime were junkets with a heavy dose of tourism. Many dozens of such accounts have been preserved, especially for the eighteenth century. Another comparable group of travel accounts records trips made to farm out tithes or taxes. Finally there are a few examples of people travelling to visit their seignior, such as the trip of Adriana Sohier de Vermandois, lady of Warmenhuizen, to the village of the same name in 1706.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Religious motives could also play a role. Whoever wanted to be ordained a priest had to go abroad. There is an account, for example, of a trip to Ireland in 1715 undertaken by several men to be ordained. The journey was not without danger since one of them was made prisoner in England on suspicion of "evil practices".⁽⁸⁵⁾ Several clergymen have left accounts of their journeys to Rome, for example, the trip made in 1688 by Theodorus de Cock, pastor in Leiden⁽⁸⁶⁾; that undertaken after his entry into the monastery in 1694 by Gabriël André de Montaigne, former sheriff of Maastricht⁽⁸⁷⁾; and finally the 1770-1773 voyage of Bartholomeus Berenbroek, prior of the abbey of Tongerlo and pastor of Drunen.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Also of interest is the journey to Poland undertaken by the Baptist minister, Hendrik Hulshof to visit coreligionaries there.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The brothers Van der Smissen, also Baptists, travelled through England and Germany in the years 1767-1768 searching for "good Christians".⁽⁹⁰⁾

Others travelled for their health. The first account we possess of a visit to the springs at Spa was written in 1661 by Adriaen Schagen, mayor of Alkmaar.⁽⁹¹⁾ He was only the first of many. There is further an anonymous account of 1755 from a man who took his ailing wife to Geneva in the - vain - hope of a cure.⁽⁹²⁾

The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of modern tourism characterized by journeys of one to three weeks during the summer months or the spring or fall, very often with Spa or Kleve as destination. The journals written about these trips are usually brief, the authors often speaking themselves of "a pleasant little trip", as Theodorus Beckering did in 1740.⁽⁹³⁾ Other terms used were "a little frolic" and "an entertaining journey", "a playful jaunt" or "a diverting excursion". The term "vacation" was not yet used, except in an anonymous account from 1774, but that was written in French and entitled "Les losirs d'une grande vacance".⁽⁹⁴⁾ The history of trips to Kleve has recently been illuminated by Ruud Lindeman.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The social composition of the travel groups should be further investigated, but it seems on the one hand that the pattern of travel within the elite changed and on the other that the middle groups had discovered travel as a leisure activity.

A modern variant, disaster tourism, was already in existence then, as appears from an anonymous account of the trip six people from the Zaan area made to Leiden in 1807 to see the havoc wreaked there by the explosion of a munitions barge.⁽⁹⁶⁾ On the other hand, accounts of honeymoon voyages are completely lacking for they had not yet become current. Only the trip the just married Martinus van Marum took with his wife in 1782 through the Belgian and German border regions could perhaps be considered a precursor.⁽⁹⁷⁾

A separate genre is formed by the failed journey, which we also owe to Ruud Lindeman for pointing out. It were precisely those trips that departed from the normal pattern or even ended disastrously that inclined the travellers to set down their experiences in writing. Captain Bontekoe's journals describing his shipwreck in the East Indies are the classic example, but many more can also be given. In 1678 Cornelis Stout ended up in captivity in Algiers instead of reaching Surinam.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Travelling to the same intended destination in 1692, Jan Reeps was shipwrecked and held prisoner by the Portuguese.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Also in the West Indies, Philip Jacobszoon was captured by the Spanish in 1699 and, as a Jew, turned over to the Inquisition.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Gijsbertus Finjé described how the survivors of a shipwreck in the East Indies in 1751 made their way back to the inhabited world.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In 1779 Aris van der Mieden was taken prisoner by the English in the West Indies, but managed to escape and en passant witnessed an uprising on a slave ship.⁽¹⁰²⁾

But there were also risks closer to home. Gillis Vermeersch described in 1720 how he nearly suffered shipwreck on the Zuiderzee.⁽¹⁰³⁾ In 1668 Gilles Abrahams got lost in the Veluwe and feared dying of hunger and thirst when a passing cart driver refused to take him along. He regarded his miraculous rescue as a sign from God and his travel account is actually one of a conversion.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The comparison between the lost traveller and the person seeking God was often made in emblem books such as the *Leerzame zinnebeelden* by Adriaan Spinneker of 1714.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Destinations

The destinations travelled to have been touched on here and there in the preceding pages. Here a systematic presentation will be given of the countries visited in the journals. For each journal all the countries visited have been noted and for that reason there are more destinations than there are journals. Only the countries actually described, however, have been retained here, classified according to their present borders and names. Domestic journeys have been left out of consideration. Furthermore, within Germany the trips to Kleve were counted separately. Taking the period from 1500 to 1814 as a whole, we arrive at the following classification:

Belgium 158
Luxembourg 3
Kleve 68
Germany 158
France 134
England 52
Austria 25
Switzerland 43
Italy 62
Spain 19
Portugal 11
Greece 5
Cyprus 3
Malta 2
Turkey 7
Eastern Europe/Russia 23
Scandinavia 10

Israel 8
North Africa 6
Rest of Africa 10
East Asia 18
West Indies 16
North America 3
South America 2

Naturally changes over time can be discerned. Journeys to Jerusalem disappear almost completely in the seventeenth century. Traditionally England was little favoured by Dutch travellers, but it did become more popular in the late eighteenth century. A striking shift took place between France and Germany (not including Kleve). Up to 1750 more accounts were written of journeys to France; after that date the balance swings in favour of Germany. After 1780 the number of travel journals dealing with Germany increases so strongly that the country surpasses France as destination in the totals for the whole period. The development of travels to Kleve is also clearly visible. Up to 1720 only three accounts are known; thereafter no fewer than 65. An explanation of this boom will be offered below.

Motives

The authors' reasons for setting down their experiences can in most cases be inferred from the text. Here, however, we will restrict ourselves to 45 texts in which the authors write explicitly about their motives. To be sure a primary reason is that the traveller wants to remember his experiences. The Rotterdam painter Gerard van Nijmegen noted at the beginning of his account of a trip to Germany the following: "I write for myself and for my worthy wife and travel companion, in order that when we are old and the only place we can travel to together is heaven, we can sit in our armchair in a corner by the fireplace and in the intervals between bouts of coughing, gout, rheumatism or all these at once read once again or have read to us everything we saw, heard and did on our journeys and for that reason I will even give attention to trifles."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Only a very few travel accounts are of a purely private nature. One of them was written by Pieter Aelbecht von Daehne, who fell into a period of depression after the death of his wife and his eighteen-year-old son Willem Frederik in 1832 and "in order to shorten the idle hours as much as possible...came upon the idea of describing my experiences", which involved a voyage he made between 1793 and 1795 as a cadet on a warship in the Mediterranean.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The origin of this account, just as the fact that it was set down on paper so long after the events, is exceptional. On the other hand personal crises did often form a reason for writing an autobiography or a diary.

Some authors kept a journal for themselves that later turned out to be destined for others. Jan Carel van Bijlandt, for example, kept a journal since leaving the country in 1795 for political reasons. He began the account for his own use in order to remember better the places he visited, but soon expanded it and sent it to an otherwise unnamed person in the hope that he "might find some enjoyment in it".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The opposite also occurred. In 1791 Jean Louis Mackay wrote an account of his trip to London. The text began as a letter intended for a cousin, but apparently was never sent. It developed into a most charming account of among other things little details of life in England that struck him.

Most of the journals seem to have been intended for a more or less limited audience. Young travellers probably often wrote for their parents. This is certainly the case with the account P. van Zuylen van Nyevelt wrote of his journey to Surinam in 1800. He seems to have departed with reluctance for his opening lines read: "On this long and most probably very unpleasant voyage I have the intention of making time seem as short as possible".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Among other subjects he wrote of the homesickness he was suffering from.

The journey was far from happy since the ship ran aground in the harbour of Paramaribo. But the worse was yet to come and the author did not survive his stay in the western hemisphere. His parents wrote on the cover: "Journal of our tenderly loved, too young departed son". Eva Magdalene Gavanon, the daughter of a Walloon minister opened her account of an excursion to Kleve in 1791 with the words: "My dear father having granted me permission to go on a pleasure trip...on condition of writing a journal describing our route for him...".⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Conversely parents often wrote for their posterity. Cornelis Stout wrote an account of his calamitous voyage to Surinam, his sojourn in slavery in Algiers and his return to Rotterdam in the years 1678-1686.⁽¹¹¹⁾ It was intended "as a remembrance and lesson for his children". In 1816 Johan Wichers wrote on the cover of the travel journals he had kept forty years earlier: "These notes written down in my own hand while on my travels are given as a keepsake and remembrance to my grandson...from his grandfather".⁽¹¹²⁾

Now and again we also encounter a more general dedication. Pieter Aeriensen Buijs, the school teacher in Bennebroek cited earlier, described in old age the voyages he had undertaken in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The result is a volume with travel accounts, songs and notes. He recounts his sailing with the war fleet to the Mediterranean sea, an engagement with Turkish ships and his stay in North Africa. In addition the volume contains a short account of a journey through Germany, a song inspired by his voyage to the East Indies in 1629, and notes concerning a stay in Rome.⁽¹¹³⁾ As his reason for setting all this down, Buijs wrote: "I, Pieter Aeriensen Buijs, have written and compiled the following journals because I have made all these voyages filled with marvellous adventures that will amaze one that a man could survive such calamities and dangers, beseeching all those who shall read my journals to accept this work in thanks and to think of the dangers I have survived; therefore I do dedicate this work to my next-of-kin and friends and desire that they will value my work after my death."

Often a journal was written for family members who stayed behind, whether it concerned a journey to distant places or a short vacation outing, such as the account Johan Pieter Bourjé was expressly asked to write of his excursion through Belgium in 1811. It begins with the following lines: "'Nephew, won't you write a journal of our trip' asked uncle, as we sat at our breakfast in the cabin of the yacht...." But the author himself also found it agreeable to read again now and then about "the pleasure enjoyed".⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Just as frequently a journal was meant for one's travelling companions in order that they could once again call the journey to mind. In 1774 Protestant minister Frans Cornelis Hoogvliet described a trip with relatives to Zeeland. In the dedication he solemnly wrote: "These pages are dedicated to the highly-esteemed initiators of and fellow companions on this journey to Zeeland. By their honours' grateful, humble and willing servant F.C. Hoogvliet."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Some authors addressed, even in manuscript, an anonymous reader. Michiel Abraham van Peene recorded a journey through Belgium in 1800 that he dedicated "to the reader", commencing with the explanation: "Since this travel account has only been written for my own memory and for good friends, I request the latter to excuse my grammatical mistakes and shortcomings".⁽¹¹⁶⁾

He wished to bring to mind "the pleasures of the sights they had enjoyed". Perhaps these authors considered having their work published. In any event now and then the usual modest disclaimers crop up, such as in the introduction to Willem Hendrik Jacob van Westreenen van Tiellandt's account of his Rhine excursion in 1802: "...should [these notes] in any way be found of interest it is completely due to the subject described and

not in the least to the scribe".⁽¹¹⁷⁾ However that may be, the account is certainly interesting especially for its description of the painting gallery in Düsseldorf.

The East India Company soldier Reynier Adriaensens wrote an account of a sea voyage to Batavia and stay in the East Indies from 1679 until 1689 in order to inform "enthusiasts" with the same plan "better about everything they will have to endure and survive".⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The story does indeed include everything that could happen to someone travelling to and staying in the East with as unexpected details an execution for sodomy, the unmasking of a female soldier, a Chinese funeral and people who had run amuck (murderers). His observations on the causes of death of Dutchmen in Batavia must also have been enlightening for those at home.

We have already seen how some authors used their travel notes to give lectures at home, such as Jan Scharp, the minister cited above. He wrote that he had promised before his departure "that I would make notes daily of the noteworthy things I saw and when I returned would relate my experiences orally to my friends". A few individuals went further and published their accounts in revised form, such as Rutger Meetelerskamp whose extensive travel journal has been discussed above. Without doubt many published accounts, which here remain further outside our consideration, had their basis in original manuscript versions.

Although printed travel literature swelled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not everyone was happy with what was available, which could be a reason to take up the pen oneself. In 1772 three naval officers jointly wrote an account of their visit to Naples where the warship "Thetis" lay at anchor.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ As reason they declared that in Naples there were guides to the sights on sale in many languages, but they all contained mistakes. Therefore "we the undersigned have assumed the costs and the difficulty of making a personal inspection and recording everything daily each in turn and reporting accurately everything that is mentioned in the preceding pages, the truth of which we confirm with our signatures". Such checking and correcting of the data in guidebooks occurs often enough in the journals, even if limited to mentioning that a certain inn did not live up to expectations.

Dissatisfaction with existing travel literature thus led to new travel literature, creating a spiral effect that we can witness to this day. The relation between published and unpublished travel literature, and between reading behaviour and actual travel was probably closer than might be suspected. It was no accident that the boom in travels to Kleve followed on the appearance of Claas Bruin's *Kleefsche en Zuid-Hollandsche Arkadia* in 1716. The travel accounts of a personal nature analyzed here should therefore be seen in a broader context. It is clear that travelling and acquiring experience abroad were an important part of Dutch culture. For those who were not tied to the sea because of their occupation, terrestrial travel was remarkably enough more common than maritime.

Written reporting of travel experiences was an important part of this culture. Those who remained at home shared in the experiences of the travellers; and indirectly they too could thereby improve their knowledge. On the other hand, through their accounts travellers served as a model. Whoever went on a journey already knew quite a bit about the pleasures and dangers that awaited him. The travel accounts collected give a good impression of the way in which the travellers informed the home front. They cannot, however, be used without qualification as a source for the actual travel comportment of the Dutch, if only for the reason that the authors came almost exclusively from the elite. At the least they do give a good indication of shifts in travel practices from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century.

1. This article appeared earlier as: 'Van "grand tour" tot treur- en sukkelreis', *Nederlandse reisverslagen van de 16e tot begin 19e eeuw*, *Opossum. Tijdschrift voor Historische en Kunstwetenschappen* 4 (1994), pp.8-25.

2. R.M.Dekker, R.Lindeman and Y.Scherf, 'Verstopte bronnen: egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders uit de 16de tot 18de eeuw', *Nederlands Archieven Blad* 86 (1982), pp.226-235. For an overview of the results of this research, see: R.M.Dekker, 'Egodocumenten van Nederlanders uit de zestiende tot negentiende eeuw', *Driemaandelijks Bladen voor Taal en Volksleven in het Oosten van Nederland* 45 (1993), and a contribution to the thematic issue 'Egodocumenten' of *Opossum. Tijdschrift voor Historische en Kunstwetenschappen* (1993). Cf. for Friesland: Gosse Blom, *Repertorium fan egodokuminten oangeande Fryslan* (Ljouwert, 1992).

My thanks go to Manon van der Heijden and Ingrid van der Vlis for their help in making the figures in the present article.

Abbreviations used: ARA = Algemeen Rijksarchief [General State Archives], The Hague; CBG = Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie [Central Bureau for Genealogy], The Hague; GA = Gemeentearchief [Municipal Archives]; HA = Huisarchief [House Archive]; FA = Familiearchief [Family Archive]; KB = Koninklijke Bibliotheek [Royal Library], The Hague; PB = Provinciaalbibliotheek = Provincial Library]; RA = Rijksarchief [Provincial State Archives]; UB = Universiteitsbibliotheek [University Library].

3. *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst*, ed. R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf and R.M. Dekker (Rotterdam, 1994). This publication can be ordered from: Stichting Egodocument, Westerhoutstraat 28, 2012 JS, Haarlem, The Netherlands. Previously published: *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst*, ed. R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf and R.M. Dekker (Rotterdam, 1993).

4. J.de Lange, *P.C.Hoofts Reis-heuchenis naar de autograaf uitgegeven, ingeleid en toegelicht* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1991).

5. ARA I coll. Admiraliteitscolleges XXVII (verz. Van der Velden) 17. This is an account of a voyage from the Nieuwe Diep to the coast of West Guinea in Africa and the West Indian colonies on board the ship the "Boreas". Among others the author provides information on the slave trade.

6. UB Leiden BPL 2177, publication: *Handelingen en Geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap te 's Gravenhage* 7 (1860).

7. MMF Publications, PO Box 287, 2160 AG, Lisse, the Netherlands.

8. KB 131 C 20.

9. RA Zeeland FA Schorer 494.

10. PB Friesland Hs.1200.

11. RA Groningen FA Van Bolhuis 5.

12. 'Onder de menschen', in four instalments, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* [NRC] July 1927.

13. 'Gezantschap van Cats, Schaap en Van de Perre in 1651 naar Engeland, in: G.D.J.Schotel, Geschied-, letter-, en oudheidkundige uitspanningen (Utrecht, 1849), pp.205-214, and idem, Oude zeden en gebruiken in Nederland (n.d., n.p.), pp.28-29.
14. UB Utrecht coll.hss.798.
15. GA Gorinchem, Arch.Gemsecr. H(fst) 7-60.; UB Amsterdam coll.hss. XV E 25.
16. RA Limburg coll.hss.364, 704.
17. KB 78 F 6.
18. KB 73 F 17.
19. KB 71 H 5.
20. KB 131 G 29.
21. Hooft's journal will appear in an edition by Ellen Grabowski in the series "Egodocumenten" published by Verloren.
22. RA Friesland FA Van Eyssinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen 102.
23. Ned. Scheepvaartmuseum [Netherlands Maritime Museum], Amsterdam, bibl. S 254.
24. GA Utrecht FA Martens 264; UB Leiden Ltk.399; RA Friesland coll. copieën van elders.
25. RA Utrecht Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezij 861-862.
26. PB Friesland 159 Hs. 'Verhaal van een reizje gedaan naa Munstertland, door Douwe Douwes, berijmt door Gerben Sjoerds.'
27. GA Haarlem hss.verz.137.
28. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. XVII E 32.
29. Zeeuwsche Bibliotheek [Provincial Library Zeeland] coll.hss.4202.
30. CBG KNGGW FA Macaré voorl. B1059.
31. PB Friesland Hs.1210.
32. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. XVII E 12, pp.87-88.
33. RA Zeeland FA Snouck Hurgronje I, 102.
34. UB Leiden Ltk.1359.
35. GA Rotterdam hs.3660-3661. Cf. R.A.D. Renting, 'Een achttiende eeuws toeristen-reisje van enige rotterdammers naar Nijmegen en Kleef', Rotterdams Jaarboekje (1960) 263-272.
36. RA Gelderland HA Ruurlo voorl.1672.

37. RA Zuid-Holland Coll.Geisweit van der Netten 446a.
38. UB Leiden Thijs. 106 bis I.
39. RA Gelderland HA Keppel 318.
40. RA Gelderland FA Van Spaen, tak Biljoen 123.
41. RA Noord-Holland Archief Losse Aanwinsten 1560.
42. J.F.Heybroek, *Met Huygens op reis* (exhibition catalogue Rijksmuseum Amsterdam) (Zutphen, 1983).
43. UB Utrecht coll.hss.763 (5 H 14).
44. RA Gelderland FA Van Randwijck 51.
45. ARA II coll. Delprat 106a.
46. GA Groningen FA Quintus 125.
47. Fries Scheepvaart Museum [Frisian Maritime Museum] bib G. 136.
48. KB 133 M 59-62.
49. B.Sliggers, ed. *Dagelijckse aentekeningen van Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne* (Haarlem, 1979).
50. Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam, 30 F 28.
51. Reisjournaal in aquarel, ed. J.W.Niemeyer (Zwolle, 1986).
52. RA Gelderland FA Van Spaen-tak Biljoen 118. Inventory nos. 120-122 contain a draft version of this account.
53. CBG KNGGW FA Macaré voorl.B 534.
54. RA Noord-Holland coll. Semeijns de Vries van Doesburg 816; S.P.l'Honoré, ed., *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (1928), pp.214-236.
55. ARA II coll. Van Dedem de Gelder aanw. 1931 no.185.
56. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. 31 E 7.
57. RA Zeeland FA Mathias-Pous-Tak van Poortvliet 127.
58. GA Gorinchem FA Van Hoey 6 and 7.
59. I.H.van Eeghen, 'Het 18de eeuwse Amsterdamse reisgezelschap Semper Idem', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 45 (1958), 97-104.
60. KB 128 F 6.

61. Koninklijk Huisarchief[Royal House Archive], The Hague, Archief Koning Willem II (A 40), no. IV 52-64.
62. Ned. Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, A IV-2 122. An edition is in preparation by Bert Paasman.
63. Abdij [Abbey] Berne, Archief parochie [Parish Archive] Bokhoven 470.
64. ARA I, coll. Aanw. aanw. 1891 20c; Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap [Royal Antiquarian Society], Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. For a complete overview of primarily printed texts, see: Ben A.J.Wasser, 'Die peregrinatie van Jherusalem: Pelgrimsverslagen van Nederlanse Jerusalemgangers in de 15e, 16e en 17e eeuw: Ontstaan en ontwikkeling', *De Gulden Passer* 69(1991), pp.5-72. Quina's account will be appear in an edition by Ingrid van der Vlis in the series "Egodocumenten" (Verloren).
65. Anna Frank van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour. Tekening van de educatieve reis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983).
66. KB 76 H 27.
67. A number of the eighteenth-century travel accounts are discussed in: R. de Leeuw (ed.), *Herinneringen aan Italië. Kunst en toerisme in de 18de eeuw* (Zwolle, 1984), but there too not all the accounts are cited. An earlier survey of published works is provided by A.H.Luijdjens, 'Chronologische lijst van beschrijvingen van Italië en Rome tot 1900 in de Nederlanden geschreven of verschenen', *Mededeelingen vn het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome 2nd Series*, 1 (1931), pp.205-229.
68. RA Utrecht FA Huydecoper 445.
69. ARA I FA Fagel 162, 163, 164.
70. ARA I FA Boreel 226; ARA I FA Fagel 194, 195, 196.
71. CBG KNGGW FA Macaré voorl.A 6.
72. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. II F 36 and 37; B.W.Th.Nuyens ed., *Opuscula selecta* (Amsterdam, 1939).
73. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. IV A 5(3).
74. Zeeuwsche Bibliotheek coll.hss. 8003.
75. GA Utrecht FA Van Geuns 357.
76. GA Utrecht FA Grothe 505-506.
77. RA Gelderland FA Van Eck 45 and 96.
78. UB Amsterdam hs. XVII E 13 e.
79. Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum FA Meerman, etc. S 147.
80. KB 76 H 28.

81. GA Zaanstad bibl. 00.717.
82. Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief [Netherlands Economic History Archive], Amsterdam, KA 369.
83. The papers have been dispersed; KB 131 H 30; UB Utrecht coll. hss. 1196, 1197, 1198. uitgaven: D.H.Smit., ed., Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap 57(1936) 62-109; A.Merens, ed., Een dienaar der Oost-Indische Compagnie te Londen in 1629 (The Hague, 1942).
84. RA Gelderland HA Waardenburg and Neerijnen 532.
85. RA Utrecht Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezij 1599.
86. RA Utrecht Archief Oud-Bisschoppelijke Clerezij 766.
87. RA Limburg coll.hss.79.
88. UB Nijmegen.
89. RA Overijssel, Archief Doopsgezinde Gemeente Borne 138-139.
90. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. VIII C 12.
91. Ned. Scheepvaartmuseum bibl.coll.Warnsinck.
92. GA Utrecht FA Grothe 682.
93. GA Nijmegen coll.hss.II a.51.
94. ARA FA Collot d'Escury 208.
95. R.Lindeman, Ego in Clivia. Korte en gemakkelijke inleiding tot de studie van de vroegmoderne Nederlandse egodocumenten alsmede de traditie der Kleefse reizen. Met een bijlage over het Kleefse reisjournaal van Willem de Clercq 1835 (Amstelveen, 1990). Amstelveense Gastcahiers no.1.
96. GA Zaanstad bibl. 04.803.
97. Hollandse Maatschappij der Wetenschappen, Haarlem, coll. Van Marum, MS 16-1; R.J.Forbes, ed., Martinus van Marum Life and Work II, (Haarlem, 1970), 13-30.
98. KB 131 C 5.
99. KB 131 C 14.
100. KB 120 B 10, XVI E.
101. GA Utrecht FA Finjé 2.
102. CBG.
103. KB 76 D 28 no.7.

104. RA Noord-Holland, coll. losse aanw. 1575.
105. Adriaan Spinneker, *Leerzaame zinnebeelden* (Haarlem, 1714), p.76. On this see also: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), pp.28-34.
106. Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam.
107. UB Amsterdam coll.hss. XX A 3,7,4,5,6.
108. RA Zuid-Holland FA Van der Staal van Piershill 789. The inventory cites Carel Jan van Bijlandt as author, but this name does not appear in the genealogy for this period.
109. ARA II coll. Van Zuylen van Nievelt 37.
110. ARA coll. Aanw. aanw. 1887 B XXIVb.
111. KB 131 C 5.
112. GA Groningen FA Quintus 125.
113. RA Noord-Holland Archief Losse Aanwinsten 1560.
114. Zeeuwse Bibliotheek coll.hss. 6498.
115. UB Utrecht coll.hss. 1244. Remarkably enough this text has been published twice: P.J.Meertens, ed., 'F.C.Hoogvliet: Korte beschrijving van een zomer-reisje door Zuid-Beeveland, Schouwen, en Walcheren', *De Navorscher* 75 (1926), 82-93, 99-108, and 177-182; J.H.Kluiver, ed., 'Een reis door Zeeland in 1774', *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (1980), 134-158.
116. KB 132 G 32.
117. Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum familiepapieren [family papers] Meerman, etc. S 27.IV.
118. Ned. Scheepvaartmuseum A IV-2 122. An edition is in preparation by Bert Paasman for the series "Egodocumenten" (Verloren).
119. GA Alkmaar coll. Aanwinsten 314.