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The Atlantic World in Paperback: The Amsterdam Publisher Jan ten Hoorn and His Catalogue of Popular Americana

In the final quarter of the seventeenth century, as Dutch imperial aspirations receded in the Atlantic world, a period of reconfiguration and reflection beckoned. New generations of would-be colonists and adventurers directed their increasingly modest territorial ambitions towards Essequibo, Berbice, and Suriname, while new generations of publishers – realizing that future ventures were unlikely to surpass those in the past for narrative quality – embedded familiar stories of the Dutch Atlantic into a discourse of exoticism which imposed itself on the European imagination at the turn of the century. The Amsterdam publisher Jacob van Meurs presented readers at home and abroad with lavishly illustrated coffee-table books on overseas continents, written by a new generation of writers including Olfert Dapper, Arnoldus Montanus, Johan Nieuhof, and Phillip von Zesen, thus setting the scene for a genre which reached its climax in the sixty-six volume extravaganza of Pieter van der Aa's *Galerie agreable* in the 1730s. The images in these books, cherished at the high end of the Old World book market, created powerful stereotypes which exerted substantial influence on Enlightenment Europe's conceptions of overseas societies and cultures.¹

Interest in the Atlantic world around 1700 was not confined, however, to readers with a sizeable income – it never had been after all. In the lower segment of the Dutch book market, not generally studied as thoroughly as the upper echelon with its eye-catching folio's, the publication of Americana was dominated by an Amsterdam publisher who has received very little attention from scholars so far. Between his first "American" publication in 1676 and his retirement in 1699, Jan ten Hoorn published around a dozen affordable yet attractive quarto's, all in the vernacular, which for a generation of readers in Holland and beyond must have constituted a literary survey of the reconfiguration of the Dutch Atlantic world. This essay will focus on Ten Hoorn's catalogue of popular Americana in the final quarter of the seventeenth century. It will demonstrate how with relatively limited means and a keen eye for commercial

1 Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 1–3, 25–81.

opportunity, an Amsterdam publisher could build a more or less coherent and recognizable series of publications on a theme which had long enjoyed a steady interest in the United Provinces. Ten Hoorn became a master in re-using and reframing book illustrations which provided his Americana with, one presumes, considerable popular appeal. Ultimately, this essay argues that Ten Hoorn's publications reflected and shaped the latest fashion in the late seventeenth-century book trade, and demonstrates in an exemplary way the gradual evolution from factual coverage of Atlantic narratives to more fictional stories of an unknown world beyond the horizon.

Jan ten Hoorn and the Invention of the Pirate

After beginning his career as a bookbinder, Jan Claesz ten Hoorn (1639–1714) had been publishing books in Amsterdam since at least 1671.² From his bookshop “In the History-Writer” located opposite the *Oudezijds Heeren Logement*, the upmarket inn on the Grimburgwal in the medieval heart of the city, he produced mainly pamphlets and books in quarto and octavo on history and current affairs. Ten Hoorn's early publications displayed a clear focus on European developments – mainly the aggressive foreign policy of the French King Louis XIV which affected the well-being of the Dutch Republic, and even briefly turned Utrecht into an occupied city where Catholic mass was being celebrated for the first time in almost a century.³ Ten Hoorn's initial interest in events outside Europe appears to have been directed towards the Indian Ocean world. In 1675, he co-produced a book on the Dutch surrender of Formosa – not a topical issue since the Dutch East India Company had lost the island more than ten years before, but still a theme which Ten Hoorn and his colleague Michiel Pietersz estimated would resonate with Dutch readers. Two years later, Ten Hoorn published another work on Asia, an account of the conquest of Makassar (1669) and its aftermath by a certain Gerrit Vermeulen. Both books already displayed the hallmarks of the success of the popular Americana Ten Hoorn decided to embark on around this time: an attractive, engraved title-page, an orderly structure with the text neatly divided into short chapters, and a handful of engraved illustrations to enhance the books' appeal. The travel

2 For information on his life and career, albeit rather succinctly, see M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. van Stockum jr., *De boekhandel in Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw* (2 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1914–1916), I, pp. 273–79.

3 See for example Jan ten Hoorn's 1673 illustrated news sheet *Den ommegank der Roomschesinden gehouden binnen Uytrecht* (*Atlas van Stolk*, nr. 2538; Hendrik Muller, *De Nederlandse geschiedenis in platen*, nr. 2493a).

account also included the candid explanatory letter from “De boekverkoper aan de leser”, signed by Ten Hoorn, which would be a recurring feature in many of his subsequent publications.⁴

Throughout the early 1670s Jan ten Hoorn co-operated closely with his younger brother Timotheus ten Hoorn (1644–1715), who also first worked as a bookbinder before he joined the guild as a bookseller in August 1677.⁵ Together, the two brothers were responsible for a sizeable part of the Amsterdam market in cheap Dutch-language books between 1675 and 1700. In order for both to survive in an increasingly saturated trade, where less than half of all new booksellers managed to stay in business for more than five years, the brothers sharply divided their respective niches.⁶ Timotheus opted to specialize in grubstreet genres like romance and pornography. Even though he occasionally published under a pseudonym, the authorities in Amsterdam traced some of his more unwelcome publications to his workshop, and either fined him or did not allow specific books to be sold. In his later career Timotheus would take editorial control of the *Europische Mercurius*, a respected news serial, and shifted his attention towards medical treatises, a genre for which Jan also displayed an interest. The notorious reputation of Timotheus ten Hoorn may have affected his brother’s standing. The two men, perhaps as a measure of their success, were criticized by Amsterdam colleagues in a 1690 pamphlet for being “miserable worms” who “did everything they could to keep their household afloat” by publishing “all sorts of trash and farce”, sold by peddlars on “sluices and markets”.⁷

In 1676, Jan devoted his attention to the Atlantic world for the first time. In the introduction of *Pertinente beschrijvinge van Guiana*, the anonymous author explicitly connected his work to earlier, authoritative Atlantic treatises by Johannes de Laet, Otto Keye, and David Pietersz. de Vries – texts which had

4 Frederik Coyett, *’t Verwaerloosde Formosa, of Waerachtig verhael, hoedanigh door verwaerloosinge der Nederlanders in Oost-Indien, het eylant Formosa van [...] Coxinja, overrompelt [...] is geworden*. Amsterdam, 1675; *De gedenkwaerdige voyaagie van Gerret Vermeulen naar Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1677).

5 Kleerkoooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel in Amsterdam*, 1, p. 280; Inger Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant: Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2002), pp. 50–52, 178–80, with many further references to Timotheus ten Hoorn.

6 Claartje Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries: The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic, 1580–1800* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), p. 99.

7 Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, p. 175. The pamphlet is entitled *Relaas van de beroertens op Parmassus*, and criticizes the Ten Hoorn brothers (“ellendige wurmen”). “Ze moeten hun huyshouding besorgen, en dat is haar niet te misprijsen, alle middelen daar toe in ’t werk stellen”, including “alderhande prullen en grollen” sold “op sluyzen en markten”. Jan ten Hoorn in 1687 would also print Spinozistic works, which led to a heated discussion with the Amsterdam consistory, see G.F.L. Peeters, “Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and Spinoza’s *Tractaet*”, *Quaerendo* 13.3 (1983), pp. 239–40.

hitherto satisfied the demand for Atlantic knowledge. The book, published in quarto, resembled those earlier texts in making a case for transatlantic migration. The anonymous author of the introduction, possibly Ten Hoorn himself, explained that he had

added at the end of this treatise a calculation of the costs investors have made, their fitting out of servants (*Dienst-booden*), and what they required on a twelve-month voyage, and also the profits which can be expected in the colony. It does not appear strange to us to add this to this historical tale (*verhaeltje*) [...] for those who might have an interest to sail to Guyana, and expect good fortune and the blessing of the Lord, or the opportunity to establish a viable settlement.⁸

The call for settlers who were prepared to seek new opportunities across the Atlantic Ocean was particularly urgent at the time Ten Hoorn's work on Guyana appeared. In 1674, after decades of corruption and makeshift financial policy, the Dutch West India Company had gone bankrupt. In Brazil the Portuguese had continued to outnumber the Dutch, and effectively forced the surrender of the colony from within in 1654. New Netherland had been lost to the Duke of York ten years later after various Puritan groups – all much more numerous than the Dutch – had disputed West India Company land claims for decades. In Suriname under Dutch rule, English planters were encouraged by London to leave for other locations in the Caribbean, and did so in increasing numbers – their exodus reaching its peak in 1675.⁹ Jan ten Hoorn, in other words, was in touch with some of the most pressing political concerns in the Atlantic world at the time of the publication of his *Pertinente beschrijvinge*. The book on Guyana lacked some of the more fanciful features of subsequent works: it did not include illustrations, an exception among Ten Hoorn quarto's

8 *Pertinente Beschrijvinge van Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1676), [*2^rv]: “dat ick den Lezer hier neffens achter dit mijn Tractaet heb bygevoeght een calculatie van de onkosten der Participanten, hun uytrusten van Dienst-booden, en wat sy op een twaelf maendige Reys van nooden hebben, en oock voornamelijk de profijten die de Colonie daer van te verwachten heeft, soo dat dese Stellingen ons niet vreemt en docht om by dit Historisch verhaeltje te voegen; maer voor al, en boven alles, moeten aengemerckt worden de Conditien, die ons de Ed. Groot Mogende Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt hebben doen presentereen, voor die geenen die soude mogen lust hebben om naer Guiana te varen, en haer fortuyn en zegen des heeren te verwachten, of om een aensienelijcke Colonie uyt te setten”.

9 Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), p. 191; Suze Zijlstra, “Competing for European Settlers: Local Loyalties of Colonial Governments in Suriname and Jamaica, 1660–1680”, *Journal of Early American History* 4.2 (2014): 149–66.

of this period, and did not use different fonts to provide a narrative structure and make the reading experience a more easy one. But the work's theme must have been inspiring, or lucrative, or both.

Ten Hoorn's next publication constituted a major shift in his thinking about the potential of popular Americana in the Dutch book market, and put him squarely on the path of exploiting the demand among Dutch readers for spectacular stories and tales of (often unlikely) adventure and hardship. *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* (1678), supposedly an eyewitness account of various buccaneering campaigns in the Spanish Caribbean written by the ship's surgeon Alexander Exquemelin from Honfleur, would rapidly become a major best-seller not only in Dutch, but also in the different languages into which it was translated – German, Spanish, and English within six years.¹⁰ Published by Ten Hoorn in at least two editions, *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* sported an illustrated title-page which promised gruesome tales of death and destruction (Figure 10.1). The book's actual contents subsequently delivered what the title-page had promised. Several loosely connected tales of piracy and privateering meant that Rock the Brazilian, François L'Ollonais, and especially Henry Morgan to whom substantial sections of the book were devoted, became household names in late seventeenth-century Europe. Their feats became synonymous with the cruelties of naval warfare and the dangers of colonial life, and their stories provided a source of inspiration for an extremely successful genre of unbridled freedom and adventure which thrived well into the eighteenth century and, some might argue, continues until today.¹¹

The "Preface from the Bookseller to the Reader", which introduces the volume and is dated 1 September 1678, demonstrates how Ten Hoorn's perspective on the Atlantic world had changed in two years. Whereas he had cited authorities on West Indian affairs in the introduction to his book on Guyana, here he deliberately exoticized the contents of Exquemelin's work by claiming that it was a region "unknown to our fellow-countrymen like no other in the entire world", a bizarre fabrication after decades of Dutch trade and privateering in every corner of the Caribbean and on the Spanish Main.¹² Ten Hoorn's rhetoric

10 John Alden and Dennis Landis, *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1750* (6 vols.; New York: Readex Books, 1980–1997), IV, 568. The Spanish editions were probably produced in Amsterdam. That they were issued anonymously suggests that Ten Hoorn had a privilege for the domestic market which the unnamed publisher of the Spanish translation wanted to circumvent.

11 Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, "The Ship's Surgeon Exquemelin and His Book on the Buccaneers", *Quaerendo* 4.2 (1974): 109–31, with many biographical details on Exquemelin.

12 *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* (Amsterdam, 1678), [*3*]: "Dat gedeelte van America, 't geen onder de Spaensche Heerschappy behoort [...] is aen onse Landtgenooten soo onbekent, als of het selve in de geheele wereldt niet gevonden wierdt".



*Amsterdam by JAN ten HOORN. Boeckverkoper
over het Oude Heerelogement 1678*

FIGURE 10.1 [Alexander Exquemelin], *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*. Amsterdam, 1678, title-page

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continued by stating that the “brave enterprises and courageous expeditions of the most famous pirates” were no less impressive than the feats of the old naval heroes – men who were the subject of a specific Dutch cult he had helped to build two years earlier by publishing Lambert van den Bosch’s *Leeven en daden*

der doortlichtigste zee-helden (1676).¹³ With this sentence, and the mindset it revealed, Ten Hoorn provided the foundation for the romantic representations of piracy which generations of armchair travelers in early modern Europe would eagerly embrace.¹⁴ The reliability of the tales in Exquemelin's book appears to have been only of secondary importance, and Ten Hoorn's repeated emphasis on the author's credibility undermined rather than supported the text's authority:

Concerning the veracity of these histories, we do not believe they can be doubted because the Author, who has described them in all honesty, has himself been present at the robberies of L'Ollonais and Morgan, and hence has a better and more direct knowledge of their circumstances than someone who would have obtained them second-hand.¹⁵

Exquemelin's original manuscript had been written in French. The Dutch translation's resemblance in language and style to later works published by Ten Hoorn suggests that the publisher, or one of the people in his workshop, exerted considerable influence over the eventual text. A comparison between the Dutch edition of 1678 and the extended French edition of 1686 also based on the ship's surgeon's notes reveals Ten Hoorn's editorial strategy. The French edition, probably closer to the original manuscript than Ten Hoorn's Dutch translation, did not focus primarily on piracy but on matters of interest to natural historians, with many references to geographical and biological curiosities.¹⁶ Ten Hoorn, then, must have made the conscious decision in 1678 to emphasize adventure, thus creating a whole new theme in the European book market.

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- 13 Idem, [*3^v–*4^r]: “Van gelijken het voornaemste leven en daden van de aldervermaerste Zee-Roovers *Francois Lolonois*, en *Johan Morgan*, welker kloekmoedige onderneemingen, en dappere uytvoeringen met alle recht voor geen van de oude Zee-Helden behoeven te wijken”. On the cult of naval heroes and the significant of Van den Bosch's writings, see Cynthia Lawrence, “Hendrick de Keyser's Heemskerk Monument: The Origins of the Cult and Iconography of Dutch Naval Heroes”, *Simiolus* 21.4 (1992): 265–95. See also Chapter 11 in this volume, with further references.
- 14 Kris E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 114–21; Virginia Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp. 101 ff.
- 15 *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, [*4^r]: “Wat de waerheydt van dese geschiedenissen belanght, daer aen geloven wy niet dat iets te twijfelen valt, door dien den Autheur, die dit volgens alle opreghtigheydt beschreven heeft, self in alle de Roverijen van *Lolonois*, en *Morgan* tegenwoordigh is geweest; en derhalven van alle omstandigheden beter en nader kennis hadt, als iemant die sulx uyt eens anders verhael soude moeten weten”.
- 16 De la Fontaine Verwey, “The Ship's Surgeon”, pp. 114, 121.

The Ten Hoorn Formula

The commercial success of *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* shaped Ten Hoorn's thinking about the possibilities of exotic literature. One of the key elements – and one of the elements which underlines the serial nature of the publications coming off Ten Hoorn's presses – was the recognizable format of his popular Americana. All books which more or less belonged to the series were published in quarto, and were introduced to readers by a printed letter from the publisher himself. The texts were divided into short chapters, usually not much longer than three or four pages. Every chapter was prefaced by a succinct list of themes that would follow in the next few pages, printed in italics in a slightly larger font for additional clarity. The chapters were then set in gothic type as Dutch readers of printed works in the vernacular had come to expect. The books were characterized by an attractive engraved title-page, and inside, too, an important role was given to illustrations, invariably small copper engravings made by local artists such as Herman Padtbrugge and Jan Luyken who regularly co-operated with Ten Hoorn. The recycling of engravings across the various publications indicates that from the publisher's perspective as well, the books on the Atlantic world belonged together. But it also suggests that accuracy was increasingly sacrificed for the sake of cost-effective entrepreneurship. Whereas Jacob van Meurs, for his coffee-table books, had custom-made illustrations designed for every new volume, Ten Hoorn, for his "paperbacks", opted to use the same images several times.

The engravings connected Ten Hoorn's publications in surprising ways. *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, alongside four portraits of leading buccaneers and two maps, contained six engravings of murderous campaigns in the Caribbean. Not all of those were exclusively used for Exquemelin's work. The illustration of arguably Henry Morgan's most famous venture, the sack of Maracaibo and subsequent defeat of a Spanish fleet in 1669, was re-used by Ten Hoorn for the second edition of Lambert van den Bosch's *Leeven en daden der Doorlughtige zee-helden* (1683). Here, however, the same image depicted the attack on a fortress on Mozambique by Admiral Paulus van Caerden in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1607.¹⁷ Yet Ten Hoorn's editorial strategy was more refined than using identical engravings for two completely different stories. The real intricacies of his visual manipulations can be found by comparing reworked engravings. Two examples will suffice. The first one is an image, also from *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, of an enslaved labourer kneeling before

17 *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, pp. 102–3; Lambert van den Bosch, *Leeven en daden der Doorlughtige zee-helden* (Amsterdam, 1683), pp. 92–93.

Henry Morgan at Maracaibo. Unlike the Spanish colonists in the background, who are tortured and murdered in various ways, the African – the only black man in the image – obediently kneels before the English buccaneer, and, so the text confirms, points Morgan and his men towards the location where the Spaniards had hidden their riches from the pirates (Figure 10.2).¹⁸ Three years later, for Edward Melton's *Land- en zeereizen*, the image, now depicting Morgan's campaign in Panama, not Maracaibo, was changed in several important ways. The enslaved man had been removed, and the main scene in the composition's bottom-right corner was now devoted to the practice of making Spanish colonists drink liquid gold to satisfy their thirst for more riches – a trusted trope in Protestant imagery of the Americas. As a whole, the composition now focused even more on the murderous behavior of the pirates, emphasized by the newly added caption engraved in the plate: "The gruesome cruelties of the robbers" (Figure 10.3).¹⁹

Edward Melton's *Land- en zeereizen door verscheide Gewesten des Werelds* (1681) can be regarded as Ten Hoorn's first compendium of knowledge of the world – and as a way to tie the wide appeal of Exquemelin's pirates to the long-standing tradition of printed Americana. Melton, a pseudonym of Godfried van Broekhuizen, did little more than to bring together several well-known stories and images. The sections on Virginia and Florida, including some of the iconography, heavily relied on the first *America*-volumes of Theodore de Bry from the early 1590s, while the account of New Netherland was taken almost verbatim from Arnoldus Montanus' *De Nieuwe en onbekende weerd* which Van Meurs had published in 1671.²⁰ The lengthy description of events in the Caribbean was a reworked version of *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, which now received attention from a slightly more learned readership who had perhaps purchased Melton's work for its (admittedly thin) veil of scholarship.²¹ Ten Hoorn readily appealed to those readers in his opening address "To the Reader", where he pondered how seventeenth-century Europeans had emulated ancient geographers like Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Melton was presented to readers as "an English nobleman" whose "personal notes and letters" Ten

18 *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, pp. 98–99.

19 Edward Melton, *Zee- en landreizen door verscheide Gewesten des Werelds* (Amsterdam, 1681), pp. 206–7.

20 Melton, *Zee- en landreizen*, pp. 136–68 (New Netherland) corresponds to Arnoldus Montanus, *De nieuwe en onbekende weerd* (Amsterdam, 1671), pp. 123–34. The sections on Virginia and Florida (Melton, *Zee- en landreizen*, pp. 178–79) are taken from the texts and captions in De Bry's *America* I and II.

21 Melton, *Zee- en landreizen*, pp. 121–225.



FIGURE 10.2 “An African man points Henry Morgan to the place where he can find his booty”, in: [Alexander Exquemelin], *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*. Amsterdam, 1678, pp. 98–99
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Hoorn had “received and translated” – a pointed example of the excessive editorial liberties the Amsterdam publisher no longer shunned.²²

22 Melton, *Zee- en landreizen*, [*3^v]: “Zelfs is het verschil dikwils zoo groot, en de beschrijving en aanwijzing der plaatsen, welke d’oude Grieken en Romeinen ons nagelaaten hebben,



FIGURE 10.3 “Gruesome cruelties performed by the robbers”, in: Edward Melton, *Zee- en landreizen door verscheide Gewesten des Werelds*, Amsterdam, 1681, pp. 206–7

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zoo geweldig duister of verkeerd, dat de geleerden dikwils jaren lang twisten, om te weten, welke plaats *Strabo*, *Plinius*, of eenig ander Schrijver [...] gemeend heeft. [...] hebben wy goed gevonden, wanneer ons d'eigene Aanteekeningen en Brieven van den Heer *Melton* ter hand wierden gesteld, de zelve te doen vertaalen, in een behoorlijke order stellen”; [A1]: “Engelsch Edelman”.

The second instance where an old engraving was used for a second time, changing context and meaning in the process, was in two later publications of the Ten Hoorn firm. In 1684, Ten Hoorn had published a Dutch translation of the French friar Pierre Dan's *Histoire de Barbarie*. The account fitted well in Ten Hoorn's catalogue of publications, because like *De Americaensche Zee-roovers*, it focused on cruel practices, this time from North Africans on the Barbary Coast at the expense of enslaved Christian sailors and merchants. The publisher added the words "*en des zelfs zee-roovers*" ("and their pirates") to the original title for good measure. The volume's many illustrations, copied for the Dutch edition by Jan Luyken, connected Dan's work to the other books in Ten Hoorn's catalogue. Once again several engravings from Lambert van den Bosch's work on naval heroes featured in slightly altered form as visual representations of Algiers, Tunis, and Salé.²³ One of the newly made engravings in Ten Hoorn's Dutch translation was that of a small boat carrying enslaved Christians from their vanquished ship towards imprisonment on the coast, where they would leave only for substantial ransom money assembled in Europe (Figure 10.4).²⁴ Seven years on, Ten Hoorn would re-use the same engraving for the travel account of Jan Erasmus Reyning, an adventurer and small-time pirate who crossed the Caribbean several times. This time the author himself, with a distinctive hat, was added to the small boat carrying the enslaved Christians, which now represented a small raiding party off the coast of Aruba (Figure 10.5).²⁵

Reyning's personal account had come into the hands of the publisher through the mediation of a friend, a certain David van der Sterre, and the story of how this happened offers a view of how someone like Ten Hoorn obtained attractive manuscripts to put into print. Van der Sterre, a physician on Curaçao, explained in the preface that at first he had found it difficult to convince his friend to put his experiences into writing "because of his modest character" – a "flaw" Ten Hoorn ascribed to his authors so often that it is difficult to be taken seriously every time. Then, when Reyning had penned down his adventures

23 Several images in Pierre Dan, *Historie van Barbaryen, en des zelfs zee-roovers* (Amsterdam, 1684) were copied (and reworked) from Van den Bosch, *Leeven en daden* from the previous year. For example the Siege of Malacca from 1606 (*Leeven en daden*, 150) was reworked to become "Expedition to Algiers" (*Historie van Barbaryen*, p. 105). "Bossu before Amsterdam" (*Leeven en daden*, 38–39) became "View of Salé" (*Historie van Barbaryen*, pp. 202–3).

24 Dan, *Historie van Barbaryen*, pp. 146–47.

25 David van der Sterre, *Zeer aenmerkelyke reysen gedaen door Jan Erasmus Reyning, meest in de West-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1691), pp. 94–95. On Reyning's account, see Basil Kingstone, "Jan Erasmus Reyning, Privateer and Hero", *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 28 (2007): 229–42.



FIGURE 10.4 “Bringing Christian slaves ashore”, in: Pierre Dan, *Historie van Barbaryen, en des zelfs zee-roovers*. Amsterdam, 1684, pp. 146–47
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(“so many miracles, the perils of life, hunger, shipwreck, different battles at sea and on land, cunning attacks, release of people, in short everything which is miraculous and worthwhile”), Van der Sterre “remembered a handshake promise he had made when he was still in Amsterdam, to my bookseller Jan ten Hoorn,

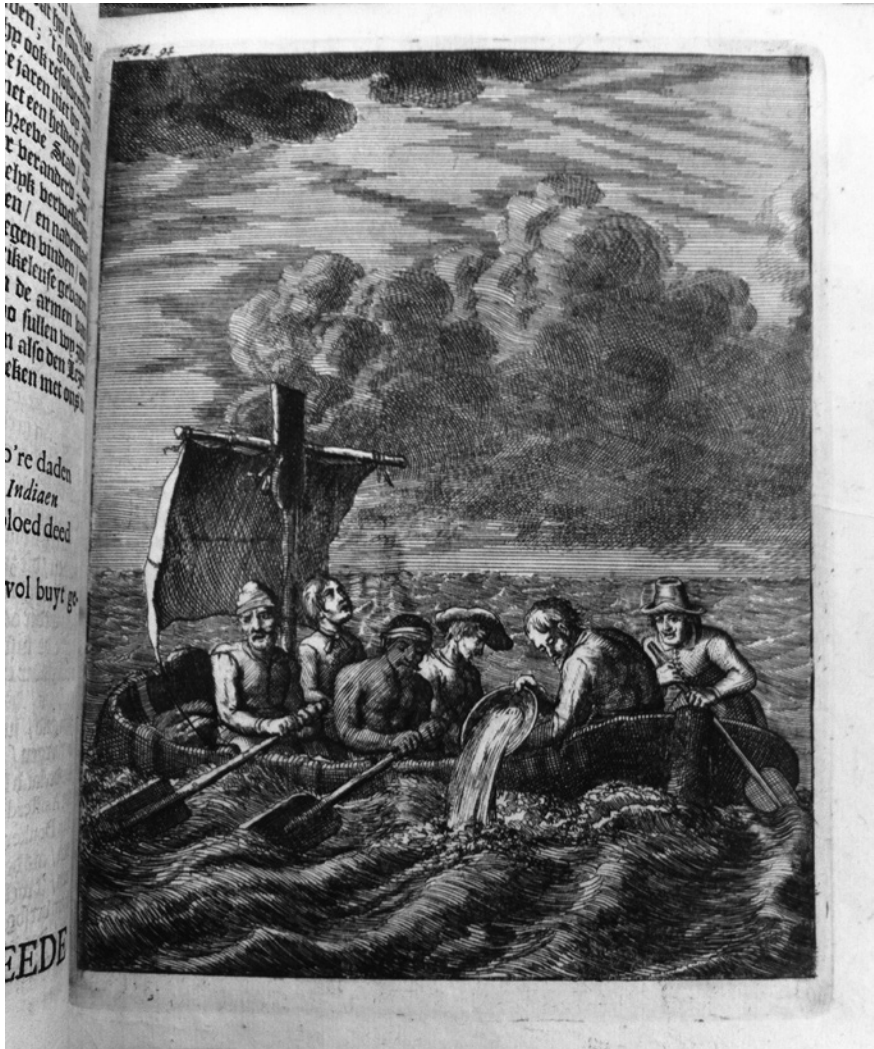


FIGURE 10.5 “Reyning and several of his comrades off the coast of Aruba”, in: David van der Sterre, *Zeer aenmerkebyke reysen gedaen door Jan Erasmus Reyning, meest in de West-Indien*. Amsterdam, 1691, pp. 94–95
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that if I had something special, I would communicate it to him”.²⁶ Reyning’s account did not resonate with a European audience in the way Exquemelin’s

26 Van der Sterre, *Zeer aenmerkebyke reysen*, [*3^v]: “... syn verhaal van soo veel wonderen, perykelen des levens, onderwerpen van hongers-noden, schip-breuken, verscheide battaljens so te water als te land, listige aenslagen, verlossingen der menschen, en in ’t

observations had done, but it is evident that, thirteen years on, Ten Hoorn still tapped into the same sentiments among Dutch readers for spectacular West Indian stories of piracy and shipwreck.

Whether Van der Sterre's account of how he had provided Ten Hoorn with Reyning's text is true is impossible to say, but Ten Hoorn did his utmost to make readers aware of the kind of publications he had already printed and, by implication, similar ones he might be producing in the near future. At the end of the preface to the second edition of Van den Bosch's survey of naval heroes, Ten Hoorn promised more of the same:

Reader: if reading this Work might be no small cause for entertainment for you [...] it will spur us on to share with the world from time to time other niceties, of which the designs have already been made.²⁷

With these kinds of announcements, Ten Hoorn intended to attract returning customers to his bookshop. One year later, he duly delivered on his promise with Dan's *Historie van Barbaryen* which, like Van den Bosch's book, was a more ambitious work in a slightly bigger format than the quarto's the publisher reserved for popular texts.

Another strategy to keep readers reading was to insert stock catalogues behind the final pages of printed books, and Jan ten Hoorn – more than most publishers in late Golden Age Amsterdam – did so with great regularity. Multiple copies of *De Americaensche Zee-rovers* contain a one-sheet (two-page) catalogue of works which Ten Hoorn published, and which were for sale in his bookshop. Titles which were most likely to be of interest for Exquemelin's readers were listed first, forsaking the normal order of seventeenth-century stock catalogues in which theological and juridical books were listed before historical literature. Hence the 1678 catalogue opened with the works of Van den Bosch (including a special version on "fine paper"), the works on Formosa and the Malacca War, and the account of Guyana, all but the last one adorned with "Figures, in 4". The catalogue also mentioned *De Americaensche Zee-rovers*

kort al wat wonderlyk en aenmerkens waerdig genoemt kan werden [...] so dagt ik aen de belofte, die ik, nog tot *Amsterdam* sijnde, aan myn Boekverkoper *Jan ten Hoorn* met handtasting beloofd had, dat als ik iets besonders hadde, het selve aen hem soude mede delen".

27 Van den Bosch, *Leeven en daden*, [*4*]: "Leezer: indien u nu 't doorleezen van dit Werk niet minder mag vermaaken [...] zal het ons aanmoedigen tot van tijd tot tijd meer andere fraaeye dingen, waar van d'Ontwerpen alreeds zijn opgesteld, aan de wereld gemeen te maaken".

itself, suggesting that the same printed sheet could be (and probably was) used in the back of other pocketbooks too.²⁸

The final pillar under Ten Hoorn's marketing strategy was formed by the beautifully designed title-pages. Engraved frontispieces could be used as single-sheet flyers to announce newly published works behind the window of the bookshop, and the compositions typically included the most attractive elements of the stories which were told inside. The most striking title-page is arguably the one Jan Luyken designed for Simon de Vries' *Wonderen soo aen als in; en wonder-gevallen op en omtrent de zeeën* (1687, Figure 10.6). The central figure in the composition is the allegory of Navigation, recognizable from the crown of ships' sterns on her head topped off by the North Star, the necklace of exotic shells, the cornucopia from which the rivers flowed into the sea, and the compass on her lap. She is surrounded by images of some of the most spectacular tales human activity on the oceans could provide – primarily encounters with miraculous sea monsters, and natural disasters including thunder and lightning, a mealstrom, and a waterspout. The frontispiece was such an important anchor for the book as a whole that the text opened with its textual explanation by the engraver, as a visual metaphor for everything the book promised to be. "About all these things", Jan Luyken stressed, "this book will report at length".²⁹ The book's contents – a series of conversations

28 The list is included in the two copies of *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* I inspected – at Leiden University Library, 456 B 8; and at the University of Amsterdam's Special Collections, OTM O 60-828: "Catalogus ofte Register van de boecken die by Jan ten Hoorn gedrukt, en te bekomen zijn: [...] Leven en daeden der Doorluchtige Zee-Helden, met Figuren in 4.; Oock des selfs fijn papier; De Amerikaensche Zee-Roovers, met veel Figuren, in 4.; 't Verwaerloosde Formosa, met Figuren in 4.; Oostindische Voyagie van Gerrit Vermeulen, met Figuren in 4.; Pertinente beschrijvingh van Guaiana, in 4." On the importance of stock catalogues in the early modern book market, see Bert van Selm, *Een menigthe treffelijcke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: Hes, 1987).

29 Simon de Vries, *Wonderen soo aen als in; en wonder-gevallen op en omtrent de zeeën* (Amsterdam, 1687), [*2^v]: "Des Plaet-snyders verklaeringh der titel-plaet: Ghy siet hier de *Verwonderingh*, te gelijk met de *Zee-vaerd*, vertoonend in de gedaente eener *Vrouwspersoon*, hebbende op 't Hoofd een *Steven-kroon*; boven deselve de *Noord-staer*; nevens haer een *Compas*: Door welke *Zee-vaert* de *Wonderen der Zeeën* sijn ontdeckt, en aen 't light gekomen. Haer *Omhanghsel* van Paerlen en andere dingen verbeeld de *Water-gewassen*. De by haer uytgaende *Water-stralen* geven te kennen de *loopende Rivieren*, welcke sigh in de Zee uyt gieten. Aen d'eene sijde nevens haer vertoonon sich *wonderlijcke en vervaerlijcke Zee-monsteren*: Aen d'andere sijde een *Zee-man*, houdende 't *Opschrift deeses Boecks*. Boven haer siet men een *Water-hoos*, waer door een *Schip nae boven in de lught* werd opgetrocken. Voorts, 't *vergaen*, en *Stranden der Schepen*: *Wonderlijcke Landingen*; seldsaeme *Behoudingen*, soo door geringe *Boots*, als op woeste, eensaeme *Klippen*, *Eylanden*, *Platen*, e.s.v. Een verschrickelijcke *Mael-stroom*, *Draey-kolck* of *Swelgh-kuyl*, alles inslockende, werd hier voor-gesteld: En eyndlijck, ee *swaere verduysterde Lught*, swanger van



FIGURE 10.6 Simon de Vries, *Wonderen soo aen als in; en wonder-gevallen op en omtrent de zeeën*. Amsterdam, 1687, title-page
 SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM OG 63-4184

between four people including the armchair traveller Polyector and the seaman Marinus which covered everything from Noah's Ark to the abundance of sea turtles in Brazil – embedded tales from the Atlantic world into a broader

Storm-winden, Donderen en Blixemen, die de *Zee-vaerende* persoonen niet weynighmael in 't uysterste gevaer stellen; en van al welcke dingen dit Werck in 't breede handelt".

maritime narrative, just like the title-page had connected the work to prior publications which were also for sale at the bookshop on the Grimburgwal. At least one surviving copy concluded with another stock catalogue.³⁰

From Fact to Fiction

The gradual evolvement of Jan ten Hoorn's Atlantic publications – from traditional works of migration and settlement to new narratives of piracy and maritime disaster, and from texts by household names of the Dutch book industry such as Lambert van den Bosch, Edward Melton, and Simon de Vries to individually gathered accounts by Jan Erasmus Reyning and Adriaen van Berkel – resulted in a broad and heterogeneous back catalogue which enabled Ten Hoorn to maintain his position as Amsterdam's leading publisher of popular Americana. Van Berkel's *Americaensche voyagien naar Rio de Berbice en Suriname* (1695) was the latest in a series of works on individual American colonies – others included Louisiana and Canada³¹ – which unlike Ten Hoorn's book on Guyana twenty years before emphasized ethnographic rarities and unlikely encounters with wild animals or bearded mermaids rather than more realistic concerns about the everyday problems European settlers encountered across the ocean (Figure 10.7). Ten Hoorn's increasing preference for the spectacular and the marvelous culminated in a treatise on cannibalism, *De wonderlyke historie der Mensche-Eeters* (1696) which was published in octavo without illustrations beyond the attractive frontispiece (Figure 10.8), and which completed the transformation from fact to fiction in his expanding catalogue of books on the Atlantic world.³²

The year 1699 formed a watershed in Jan ten Hoorn's career. The main reason appears to have been that his eldest son Nicolaas ten Hoorn finished his apprenticeship, and on 6 January attained burgher status in Amsterdam – in the records of which he was mentioned as “bookseller”.³³ Nicolaas' name had been mentioned in the imprint of an Amsterdam book for the first time in

30 University of Amsterdam, Special Collections OTM OG 63-4184: “Catalogus van boecken die by Jan ten Hoorn gedrukt en te bekoomen zijn”.

31 Both books were printed in the same year and are often found together in the same con-volute: Louis Hennepin, *Beschryving van Louisiana, nieuwelijks ontdekt ten zuid-westen van Nieuw-Frankrijk*. Amsterdam, 1688; Nicolas Denys, *Geographische en Historische Beschrijving der Kusten van Noord-America*, Amsterdam, 1688. The copy I inspected is in Leiden University Library, 1413 E 26.

32 *De wonderlyke historie der Mensche-Eeters* (Amsterdam, 1696).

33 Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *De boekhandel in Amsterdam*, 1, p. 280.



FIGURE 10.7 Adriaen van Berkel, *Americaensche voyagien naar Rio de Berbice en Suriname*. Amsterdam, 1695, title-page

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, 1367 E 13

1695, but it was only after 1699 that he began to publish titles with great regularity. Although his father's name continued to appear on title-pages of printed books after the turn of the century, the number of re-impressions and new editions increased dramatically. New titles from the Ten Hoorn firm were mainly published by Nicolaas, who continued to use the address at the Grimburgwal



FIGURE 10.8 *De wonderlyke historie der Mensche-Eeters.* Amsterdam, 1696, title-page
SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM OK 61-580

with which readers had become familiar. In an advertisement in the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant* of 16 May 1699, Jan ten Hoorn announced the impending sale of his back catalogue – first on 19 May his theological, medicinal, and historical treatises, and then three days later his unbound books and other assorted papers.³⁴ It is not entirely clear where this left Nicolaas ten Hoorn, as his father's back catalogue would have made for a nice start in the Amsterdam book market, but perhaps not all of Jan ten Hoorn's possessions were sold at the public auction. The number of re-impressions in later years suggests that at least Ten Hoorn held on to his privileges and his copper plates, and occasionally he did issue new books – but the primacy of the family business had now certainly shifted to the son.

Regarding the publication of popular Americana, Nicolaas ten Hoorn continued on the path set out by his father. Intriguingly, and perhaps tellingly, one of the first titles he published as a bookseller in his own right was a new version of Alexander Exquemelin's tales of piracy, although the work was by now called *Historie der Boecaniers, of vrybuyters van America* (1700, Figure 10.9). "We believe it is unnecessary", he wrote in the preface, "to introduce this work to you, because several years ago part of it has already appeared to great acclaim in the service of the common good".³⁵ Nicolaas ten Hoorn's edition, however, was not based on his father's original work of 1678. In the intervening years, Exquemelin's writings had tripled in size, and Nicolaas followed the most recent English translation which had been printed in London the previous year.³⁶ In terms of content, the focus had shifted from Jan ten Hoorn's appraisal of leading buccaneers like Henry Morgan and Samuel L'Ollonais to stories of geography which Exquemelin had added to his manuscript after the first edition of 1678, and which also came to the fore in accounts which Nicolaas added to Exquemelin's work. The illustrations were made anew as well, by the young Amsterdam engraver Jan Lamsvelt. The fondness of spectacular tales remained, however, with episodes on human fights with crocodiles (Figure 10.10) and travels along

34 *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, 16 May 1699: "Jan ten Hoorn, Boekverkoper t'Amsterdam over 't oude Heeren-Logement, sal Dingsdag, den 19 Mey, verkopen verscheyde rare, meest nieuwe en welgeconditioneerde Godgeleerde, Medicijnse en Historise; en Vrydag, den 22 Mey, sijn ongebonde Boecken en sortering".

35 *Historie der Boecaniers, of vrybuyters van America* (Amsterdam, 1700), [*3^r]: "Wy oordeelen het teenenmaal onnoedig, om by wyze van een Voor-reeden, veel van het volgende Werk te spreken, nademaal al eenige Jaaren geleeden, een gedeelte van 't zelve met een algemeene toejuychinge ten dienste van 't gemeen in 't licht is gebracht geweest".

36 De La Fontaine Verwey, "The Ship's Surgeon", pp. 126–27. See also Henriette Korten, "Boeck-eniers zijn gaeuw in het schieten: Jan ten Hoorns uitgave Americaensche zee-roovers" (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2011).



FIGURE 10.9 [Alexander Exquemelin], *Historie der Boecaniers, of vrybuyters van America*. Amsterdam, 1700, title-page

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM O 66-228

American rivers on a raft selected for depiction.³⁷ The popularity of the pirates' tales – this is still how Nicolaas decided to market the book – had not waned, and in 1709 he produced a re-issue of his own extended edition.

37 *Historie der Boecaniers*, I, 138 (Gevegt van een Boecanier met een Crocodil) and III, p. 116 (Groot gevaar der Boecaniers, in't afvaren van een Rivier, op hout-vlotten).

Yet Nicolaas followed not only the tricks of the trade he had observed in the workshop of his father, but also those which had made the reputation of his uncle Timotheus. In 1708, Nicolaas published the fictional *Beschryvinge van het Magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* – a prelude and inspiration to the Robinsonades of Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift.³⁸ Like the early novels in Timotheus ten Hoorn's catalogue, some of which dealt with the discovery of fictitious lands, *Krinke Kesmes* was printed in octavo (Figure 10.11).³⁹ The physical appearance of the book, in other words, distinguished it from the popular Americana of Nicolaas' father. In addition to being a model for *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), however, *Krinke Kesmes* must also be understood as the natural follow-up to the increasingly fantastic popular Americana which Jan ten Hoorn had published in the 1680s and 1690s. *Krinke Kesmes* explicitly appealed to the readership of, principally, Exquemelin's tales of piracy by introducing the novel's main character as someone who had long sailed in the West Indies, more specifically to Spanish strongholds like Panama and Portobelo which had regularly featured in the histories of the buccaneers. The (fictional) author occasionally returned to Holland – just like Exquemelin and Jan Erasmus Reyning had done – meeting his friend with whom he shared his stories outside the bookshop of Nicolaes (II) Visscher, where the latter was looking for a recently published map.⁴⁰ Yet the contents of the novel, the “discovery” of the mythical Terra Australis, and the author's encounters with the local ruler, the Garbon, belonged more to the literary traditions of the early Enlightenment than to the more popularizing trend of the final quarter of the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

The Amsterdam publisher Jan ten Hoorn played a crucial role in disseminating a popular “paperback” idea of the Americas in the United Provinces in

38 David Faussett, “Tall Ships, Tall Stories: Travel Liars and the Case of *Krinke Kesmes*”, *Dutch Crossing* 19.1 (1995): 58–70.

39 Timotheus ten Hoorn, as early as 1682, published Denis Vairasse, *Historie der Sevarambes, volkeren die een gedeelte van het darde vaste-land bewoonen, gemeenlijk Zuid-land genaamd*. In 1708/9, so at more or less the same time as his nephew's *Krinke Kesmes*, Timotheus issued Richard Bonhomme, *Huwlyks-eiland, zijnde een nieuwe ontdekking van't zuiden* (1708/9). See Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant*, p. 278.

40 Hendrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het Magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (Amsterdam, 1708), p. 19: “Ik kwam toe tot Amsterdam in de maand Juny 1696. Hier vond ik mijn ouden trouwen Vriend voor de deur van *N: Visscher* staan, siende na een nieuw uitgekoomen Kaarte”.



FIGURE 10.10 Jan Lamsvelt, "Fight between a buccaneer and a crocodile", in: *Historie der Boecaniers, of vrybuyters van America*. Amsterdam, 1700, I, p. 138
SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM O 66-228

the period that the Dutch West India Company had been dismantled and the imperial moment of Dutch expansion in the Western hemisphere had receded. With a series of low-cost, small-sized books in the vernacular, all adorned with simple copper engravings, he contributed to the shift in thinking about the

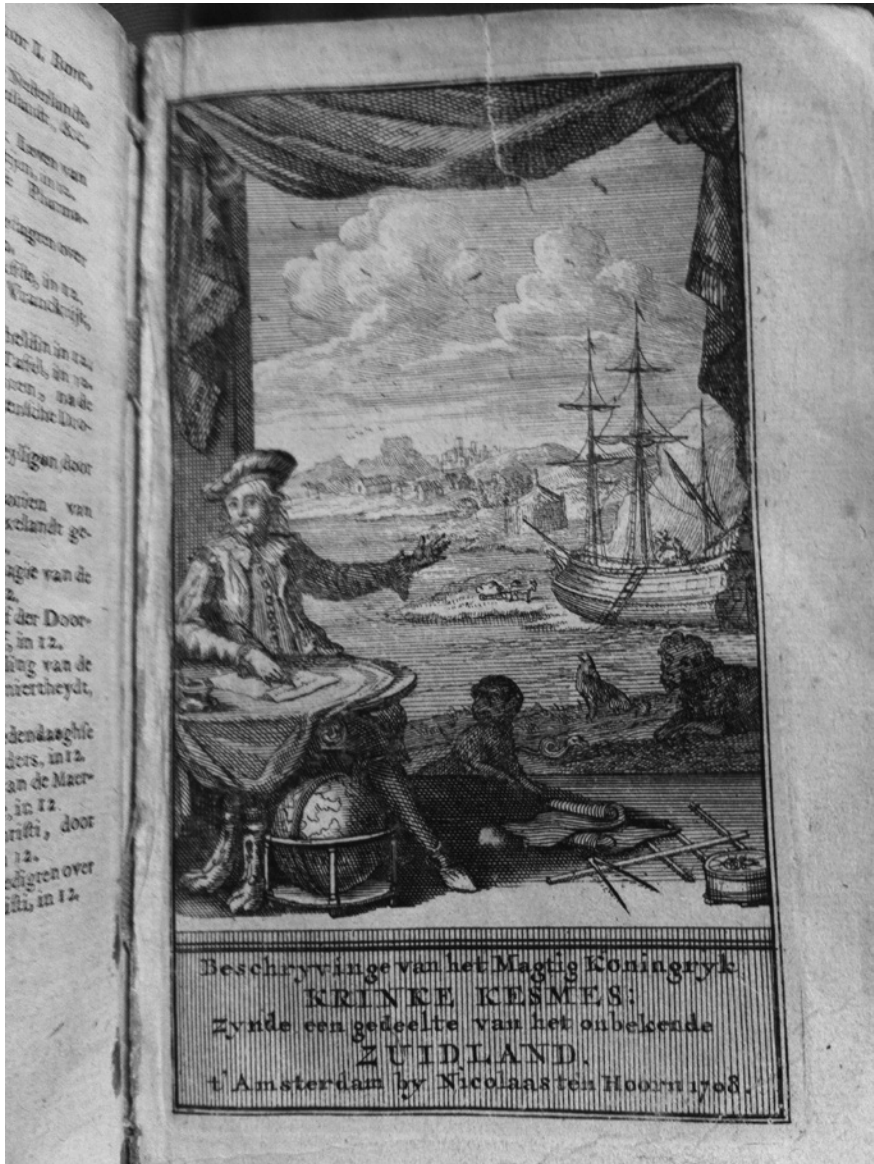


FIGURE 10.11 Hendrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het Magtig Koninkryk Krinke Kesmes*. Amsterdam, 1708, title-page

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, OTM O 63-6152 (3)

Atlantic world no less than his colleague Jacob van Meurs did with the coffee-table books he issued at the same time. Ten Hoorn started his production of Americana with an ordinary travel account, as so many booksellers during the Dutch Golden Age had done. After the publication of Alexander Exquemelin's

hugely successful *De Americaensche Zee-roovers* in 1678, however, Ten Hoorn increasingly focused on spectacular tales of adventure, gradually shifting to a market formula in which fact and fiction were intertwined in a way that made it difficult for his loyal readership to gauge what was true and what had been made up.

The books in-quarto on the Atlantic world, sometimes appearing several years apart, were carefully placed together in Ten Hoorn's sales catalogues to suggest a sense of editorial cohesion, and were connected by having the same recognizable format, with graphic title-pages and short chapters that were preceded by summaries to create an easy reading experience. The relatively expensive copper engravings were used multiple times to illustrate different episodes in the various accounts. Hence, with only minor readjustments, a vessel carrying Christian slaves along the coast of North Africa could be transformed into a party of Dutch buccaneers in the Lesser Antilles, and an enslaved labourer on the Venezuelan coast could be turned into a greedy Spanish colonist in Panama, if this was what a new publication required. Jan ten Hoorn's editorial strategy was apparently so successful that his son Nicolaas continued in the same vein. His first book on the Americas, too, was an extended edition of Exquemelin's best-seller. In 1708, he completed the gradual shift in his father's catalogue of Americana by producing the first entirely fictional account of the Atlantic world, *Krinke Kesmes*, which not only became a minor literary classic in the United Provinces, but also inspired the genre of Robinsonades that would reach its glorious and lasting peak in England two decades later.