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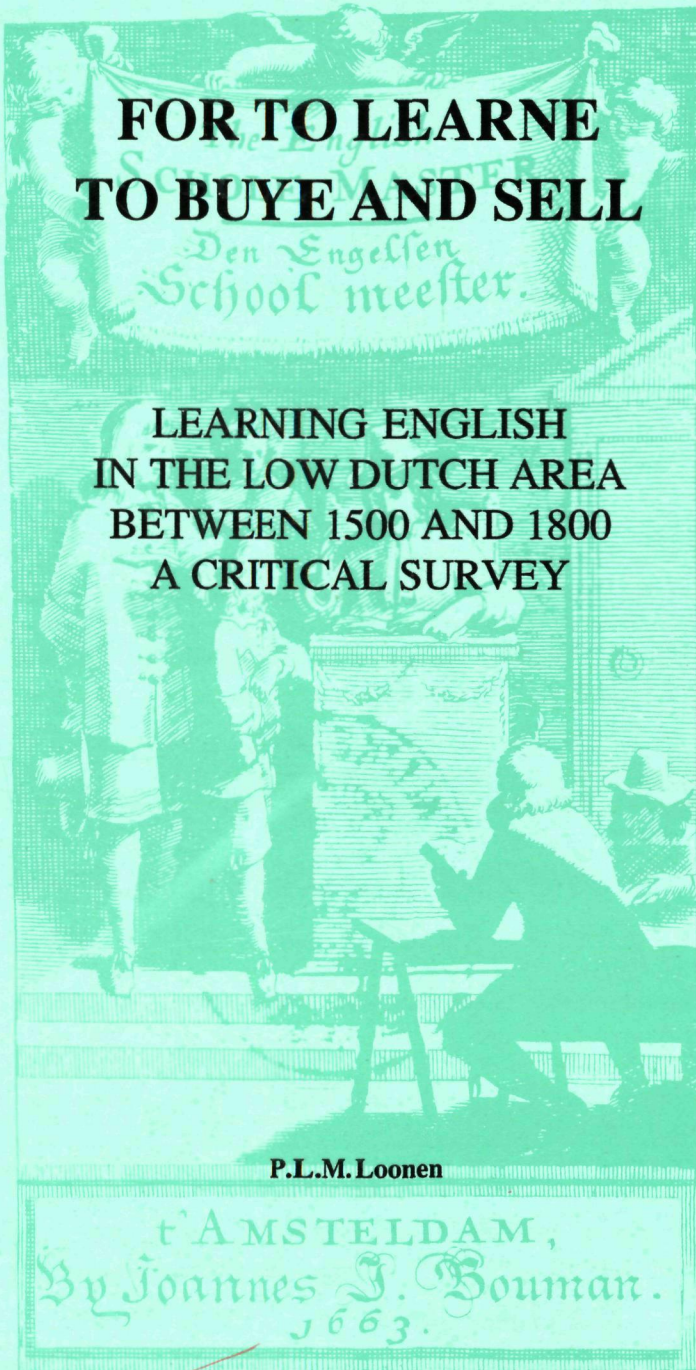
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**FOR TO LEARNE
TO BUYE AND SELL**

**LEARNING ENGLISH
IN THE LOW DUTCH AREA
BETWEEN 1500 AND 1800
A CRITICAL SURVEY**

P.L.M. Loonen

t' AMSTELDAM,
By Joannes J. Bouman.
1663.

FOR TO LEARNE TO BUYE AND SELL



1. Plate 1: Teacher and learners at work
(frontispiece in *The English Schole-Master* 1646, ed. 1663)

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een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Letteren, in het bijzonder de taalwetenschap

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen, volgens besluit van het college van decanen in het openbaar te verdedigen op woensdag 5 september 1990, om 13.30 uur precies, door Petrus Leonardus Maria Loonen, geboren op 5 april 1939 te Bandoeng.

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*'Wat is er veel te lezen als
wij onder data slapen'*

(Chr. J. van Geel)

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abbreviations

- ELL** : English language learning
- ELT** : English language teaching
- EFL** : (learning) English as a foreign language
- FrLL** : French language learning
- FrLT** : French language teaching
- L1** : first language (the mother tongue)
- L2** : second or foreign language

(for more abbreviations see the introduction to Appendix 1)

preface

This study was started for no clear reason; it was pursued with diffidence at first and relief later: diffidence because the outcome was far from certain and some advisors expressed their doubts about the enterprise; relief because it soon turned out to be promising enough, and of course final relief at the end. All the way along there were people more than willing to help me with their expertise whether as administrators, librarians, archivists, colleagues, scholars, or just as hosts to put me up during my visits to far-off places. Particular encouragement came from those who expressed a genuine interest in the progress I was making by simply asking 'how I was getting on'. I was surprised at the quick replies to my letters, even from complete strangers, and at their general readiness to provide the necessary details. It sometimes seemed as if I was dropped, against my will, in an ill-disposed world of computers where I did not belong; but Tjalling de Vries, friend and counsellor at the keyboard, was always there to cheer me up in times of disaster and dismay. He was one of the many people I made friends with on my solitary search for the ultimate truth. My two supervisors were so kind as to let me get on with my work at my own pace and never forced me to find answers to impossible questions; but they were critical enough to tell me where I was obscure or inconsistent or clearly wrong. Colleagues, family and friends bore with my erratic and sometimes prolonged absences, and admirably refrained from making demands on me when perhaps they should have. Four of these absences were financially made possible by generous travel grants from NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research) and the British Council; they enabled me to inspect libraries and archives in places abroad, notably London, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels. The perks coming with this kind of work sometimes repay the efforts more than handsomely: I can still remember the magnificent former Jesuit library at the *Stadsbibliotheek* of Antwerp, the replica of a full-length portrait of John Wallis now at Magdalen College Cambridge, and the organ at the friendly Protestant church of Mijnsheerenland, which I was allowed to play for a while.

I have always looked forward to the moment when I could sit down to write the preface, because it would be the final touch. It has now also been written as an exercise in rhythm and alliteration, two features of the English language I have increasingly come to appreciate as a result of this study, which is after all believed to deal with language.

The history of foreign language learning in Europe has received a good deal of attention in the recent past. Since the nineteen sixties several studies have appeared with general surveys and in-depth treatments for one or more languages and for several language areas - cf. the bibliographical information in e.g. Kelly 1976, Schroder 1980-1985, *Die Neueren Sprachen* April 1980, Stern 1983, Michael 1987 and my bibliography. This development may be explained by an increased interest in foreign language learning after the Second World War, when international communication began to be a necessity for many; also by the highly improved - and still fast improving-possibilities to get access to the source materials in libraries and elsewhere; and perhaps also by new research facilities (until the 1980s) at expanding universities and research institutions.

Before the 1960s foreign language learning in Europe was a much less studied area, although never entirely neglected. Major studies about French language learning and teaching were published in Germany from the end of the nineteenth century and isolated ones in England and the Netherlands at the beginning of the twentieth (for details cf. Chapter 3). In many cases they have to be updated to bring them in line with new data and views. It is not surprising, of course, that French as the major foreign language in most parts of Europe since Renaissance times until the beginning of this century received this early interest in such relative quantity. Other languages were much less fortunate. The learning of English, one of the minor European languages in terms of demand by non-native speakers in the same period, took its share in this general neglect. If it was studied - again mainly in Germany - it was approached from a grammatical or phonetic point of view, with the early exception of Aehle 1938. Outside Germany the crop is extremely limited.

In the Low Countries, where foreign languages have always been an essential part of the diet of school children since the middle of the nineteenth century and a point of interest to many long before that time¹, the study of the history of foreign language learning was largely neglected for all languages except French, whose history was mapped out in a single study by Riemens in his dissertation of 1919. It may be relevant to note that this thesis was submitted at the Sorbonne in Paris; at the time, foreign

¹ 'Ceux des Pays-Bas, dit Luther, ont l'esprit éveillé ils ont aussi de la faculté pour apprendre les langues étrangères. C'est un proverbe que si l'on portait un Flamand dans un sac à travers l'Italie et la France, il n'en apprendrait pas moins la langue du pays' (from Michelet's *Mémoires de Luther* III 302, quoted in Massebieau 1878 132)

languages were not yet accepted as degree subjects in the Netherlands - this happened in 1921 - although it had been possible to study them in preparation for the teaching profession since 1886. Once accepted they may have needed time to establish themselves as serious disciplines, in which there was not always room for foreign language learning and teaching as activities of an essentially practical nature - an attitude shared by some to this day.

One other factor contributing to the scarcity of studies on the subject until recent times is the complexity of its contents. At least four major component parts can be distinguished, each one as important and technical as the others. They are: bibliography, biography, socio-cultural matters and language learning methodology. Bibliography is the first field to move into, since a survey of the materials used for instruction will be needed to conduct any kind of analysis in a historical setting. Such a survey should in principle contain book titles as well as references to other media for the purpose: maps, pictures, cards, exercise books, realia and so on. The second field is biography: biographical notes may tell us about background, conditions, successes, motives, and all those other things that made the teacher or learner the person he/she was. These things cannot be easily dispensed with in a historical context and are certainly not ephemeral in a context where information is limited and our knowledge of the practices concerned patchy. Biography, however faulty, may help us to put things in their proper place. Socio-cultural matters, the third component part, deal with the educational and historical contexts in which the foreign languages were learned and taught, including information about school systems, working conditions of teachers, the demand for the languages concerned, historical developments favouring or hampering instructional activities, linguistic progress and so on. The fourth area, of foreign language learning methodology, is perhaps the hardest to get into: it deals with the interchange between learners and teachers in a large variety of settings, about which most of the contributors were extremely secretive. There is no way for us to sit in on a class taught three hundred years ago nor can we witness the conditions in which the teaching took place there except in the odd picture or description - for some attempts to describe these early settings cf. Schotel 1867, Sabbe 1929 and Boekholt & De Booy 1987. It is a field where interpretation is a hazardous affair, since the approaches were (and still are) almost as varied as the contributors themselves. Written materials as our principal source of information are of limited value here: they do not tell us what actually happened in the learning situation although ideas about it were of course occasionally expressed. Language learning ideas set down by well-known writers like Michel de Montaigne, Amos Comenius, John Locke and others were often not more than ideals and did not create much of a

following.

Anyone entering this vast and complex field may easily be put off by its vastness on the one hand and its elusiveness on the other. In some cases so much material is available that one may get bogged down into it, in other cases there is hardly enough to get even started. Credibility can only be gained by making clear choices. The choices made in this study will be described in the next paragraph, although it should be admitted that, with hindsight, they might have been made differently. It is easy to be wise after the event, particularly in a case like this where the study was like a personal adventure into almost unknown territory.

My first choice was for English as a foreign language (further: EFL) for speakers of Dutch in the Low Countries before 1800. No such study has been made before, but there is today sufficient interest to warrant the attempt, and there is of course a gap to be filled. The second choice was initially to concentrate on EFL methodology and compare it with present-day approaches. This appeared to be impracticable, as so little information was available for the purpose and a survey of the field as a whole not available. In its place, quite logically, I decided to provide that survey and leave the publication of detailed monographs until a later time. This survey was to contain something from the four major areas mentioned above, i.e. it was to have a bibliographical, a biographical, a socio-cultural and an EFL methodological component. The loss in depth - unavoidable in case of a survey - was to be counterbalanced by detailed analyses of some specific areas that caught my special attention. So the object of this study is first of all to draw the available information together and present it in a meaningful framework. In the process new data have been added on the basis of recent publications and of my own findings. Secondly, a first analysis has been made of some of the major textbooks, a rewarding venture that no one has so far engaged in for Dutch textbooks except Smith (1987 etc.). Since the written materials offer almost our only entry into the learning process, this analysis seemed the obvious approach in the context of this study. The third choice was for a chronological approach, as opposed to a thematic one as in e.g. Kelly 1976, based primarily on the written materials available at the present moment. As these materials were limited in quantity and quality, it has been necessary to call on related materials every now and then to bring out certain points more clearly. But the EFL materials always provided the first reason for treatment. A fourth choice had to do with the context in which EFL could develop: it became more and more obvious that I was not dealing with an isolated laboratory situation but with a living 'microcosm' that grew and developed in contact with similar ones at home and abroad. The genesis of ELL in the Low Dutch area has thus been placed in its national and European context, a context in which it was very firmly rooted. Without this

context it would not be possible to determine how the field of EFL developed the way it did. It is important to be aware of these external dimensions.

This study has six chapters. After the first introductory notes in this Chapter 1 the second chapter will deal with the terms of reference occurring in the title and subtitle of this study, as a more accurate definition of its object. Chapter 3 contains a description of the context in which English was learned and taught: the learners, the different conditions in the Northern and Southern parts of the Low Countries, the demand for English and other languages in the Low Dutch area, achievements of ELL in neighbouring countries and of French language learning in England, and brief notes on language learning methodology before 1800. Chapter 4 contains biographical sketches of all those who played a part in the EFL scene in the Low Dutch area before 1800. Usually, sketches are tucked away in an appendix, but they deserve a better place: they give a personal flavour to the dry and factual data collected here, and they often add relevant information to them. Chapters 5 and 6 between them take up a central position in this study: they contain detailed descriptions of the various sections of textbooks and manuals used before 1800 (Ch.5) and an in-depth analysis of four of these books (Ch.6).

The appendices mainly serve as reference material for Chapters 5 and 6. They contain surveys of primary sources for ELL (Appendix 1) and of the primary sources used as a basis for them (Appendix 2). Materials for Dutch as a foreign language published abroad, which were often closely linked to those in App. 1, have been collected in Appendix 3. Appendix 4 cannot claim to be more than a first attempt at an overview of the source materials on which the primary sources were based since, as we shall see, borrowing was common practice and the potential sources were sheer endless. Appendix 5 lists all the names of those who are known to have been teachers of English: it is a short list and many of the people in it will not have been very actively involved in the profession. There is as yet no reason to assume that it will become much longer, so that we may have to accept it as a testimony of the insignificance of ELL before 1800 in the Low Dutch area and probably also elsewhere in Europe.

D	<i>Het is veel te veel</i>	D	<i>It is much to much</i>
L	<i>Ten is seker hoe veel biedt ghy my? biedt my wat ick en salt niet gheuen voor tghene dat ghy my biedt/ biedt my wat</i>	L	<i>It is not trulie how much bid you mee? bid mee som what i wil not sell it for that which you bid mee/ bid mee som what</i>
D	<i>Wat soud'ick daer op bieden? ghy hebbet my te veel ghelooft</i>	D	<i>What should I bid therfore? you have set it at to hugh a price</i>
L	<i>Ick en doe maer ten is niet gheseyt dat ick niet geuen en sal voor min dan ick gheseyt hebbe seght my wat ghyer voor gheuen wilt</i>	L	<i>I have not but it is not saide that i will not sell it you for lesse then i have saide tell mee what you will geeve for u</i>
D	<i>Ick salder af gheuen twaelf stuyuers</i>	D	<i>I will geeve therfore twelve stuyers</i>
L	<i>Voor dien prijs en ist niet te gheuen/ ghy biedt my verlies/ ghy biedt te luttel Ick hebs hier wel dat ick u gheuen sal voor dien prijs/ maer ten is niet soo goet als dat</i>	L	<i>For that price is it not to be solde/ you proffer mee losse/ you bid mee to luttel I have som heere that i will sell you for that price/ but it is not so good as this</i>

(From the dialogue 'for to learne to buye and sell' in BERLAIMONT 1576¹, ed. 1616, based on Noel de Berlaimont's *Vocabulare*, c1530)

<i>Willen wij gaan wandelen?</i>	<i>Shall we walk?</i>
<i>Neen, 't is al te morsig</i>	<i>No, it's too dirty</i>
<i>Wanneer Karel een groote jongen is,</i>	<i>When Charles is a big boy,</i>
<i>zal hij een broek,</i>	<i>he shall have breeches,</i>
<i>en een paar laarsjes hebben,</i>	<i>and a little pair of boots,</i>
<i>dan zal hij in het slijk gaan</i>	<i>then he shall go in the dirt</i>

(from BEMMELEN 1794, ed. 1802:34/5)

These two quotations mark the beginning and end of the long formative years of English language learning in the Dutch-speaking Netherlands. At the outset we have the lively dialogue between adults about everyday subjects in colloquial English; at the end there is a semi-dialogue for children about their world in easy language. In both cases the aim is a translation exercise;

1 Names in capitals followed by a date refer to entries in Appendix 1a

in both cases texts are provided in L1 and L2, although Van Bemmelen's manual was also published in monolingual editions; but while De Berlaimont aimed at an oral command, Van Bemmelen set the exercise as written work. The two writers were teachers of French, the one in the sixteenth century cosmopolitan city of Antwerp² and with a Roman Catholic background, the other in the eighteenth century provincial city of Leyden as proprietor of a Protestant boarding school. Their texts were mainly used for the learning of French as were their teaching methods.

The development from De Berlaimont to Van Bemmelen will be the subject of this study, a development which was curiously marked by progress and regression, change and rigidity, vitality and dullness, perhaps little originality and especially a great deal of imitation. It was fostered by native speakers of English, who had a leading part in it for the benefit of themselves and of 'the natives of the Netherlandes'. It took place at a time when on the European continent the English language rose in stature from an insignificant, ugly and even preposterous language (in the eyes of many) to the language of a world power exercising considerable influence in the fields of commerce, culture and scholarship.

The limits within which this subject will be discussed are set in the title and subtitle of this study; they will be explained and justified in the five sections of this chapter and serve as points of reference for this study as a whole. These limits, it was felt, emerged in a natural way during a long and intensive confrontation with the available source material.

2.1 *Learning English*

In a general sense 'learning' as an activity by the learner to gain knowledge or skill ought to be distinguished from 'teaching' as an activity by the teacher to guide the learning process. The distinction makes particularly good sense in a historical context, when schooling was not widely developed or even, as is the case in this study, only began to emerge slowly as the indispensable foundation for individuals to survive in an increasingly complex and industrialised society. It was not until the nineteenth century that educational systems were set up in most European countries and that a systematic introduction into subjects other than the three R's was offered to all classes of society (boys and men first, then girls and women). Until that time some forms of what is now called primary education had established themselves in local, not national frameworks: they were particularly advanced in the Low Countries³. The impetus had come from the Renaissance interest

² Dutch geographical names will be given in their English form, whenever a common translation is available.

³ Cf. Schotel 1867.75-110, Versluys 1879, Sluys 1912 and Dodde 1983.

in the human individual and from feelings of national pride, but more importantly from religious motives: it was generally accepted that young children ought to be instructed in the principles of their religion and (primary) schools were seen as powerful instruments to achieve this⁴. English did not play a part in these schools nor did it in the so-called French schools or Latin schools which provided the nearest equivalent to what we would now refer to as secondary education⁵. Would-be learners of English had to turn to private teachers (language masters) or to some method of self-instruction, possibly with the help of a native speaker who happened to be around. It was learning rather than teaching that took place in these informal settings; and if teaching is associated with large classrooms, the word would be even less appropriate in our case.

Many of the learners were adults. If they had the means, they travelled to England or lived with rich families and picked up the language in a natural setting, always a short-cut to effective language learning⁶; if they were not so well-off, they may have belonged to those who either lived in England⁷ to carry out a trade and returned after some time, or who went there into exile for their religious convictions to await better times⁸. In all these cases some form of English may have been acquired in a natural way and it was sometimes put to good use in the home country in translation work⁹ or perhaps in teaching. Those who did not have an opportunity to live abroad, might still be in frequent contact with native speakers who abounded in the multinational communities of the major cities on the western seaboard of the Low Countries, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In all these cases, language learning textbooks¹⁰ may have been consulted on an individual basis by those who could read and write; no systematic training courses were available, but in view of the fact that a (passive) command of English was fairly widespread in the Dutch Republic¹¹

4 Schoolmasters would only receive permission to teach if they were Protestant (in the North) or Catholic (in the South) The schoolbooks often contained quotations from the Bible, and religious texts, moral sayings and improving remarks The concluding lines of the preface to SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 are representative for this practice 'you have here this meane piece in the meane time to exercise your selves upon and make you' [i.e. the inhabitants of the United Provinces and Great Britain] 'workers together in the upholding of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the destruction of that Abaddon or Apolyon i.e. destroyer (I mean the man of sin) to the prais of his owne most glorious name, and comfort of his elect, Amen' See also his texts, much of the material by Evans in the eighteenth century, and indeed many of the other works in Appendix 1a

5 The term was first introduced in the Low Countries in the nineteenth century; see Sluys 1912 and Bartels 1947

6 Extensive documentation and interesting details, also for English, are provided by Frank-van Westrienen 1983 in the relevant chapters of her study of the Grand Tour

7 Or Scotland, Wales and Ireland, although documentation is not easily available

8 See e.g. Burn 1846, Moens 1988 and Lindeboom 1950

9 See e.g. the biographies of some of the translators of pietistic writings in the early seventeenth century in Op 't Hof 1987

10 For a definition of this and related terms see Ch 5 2

11 An amazing number of English books and pamphlets was printed in the Dutch Republic in English or in translation after about 1600 Some of these titles were first printed here and then shipped to (or smuggled into) England Others were translated in the same year

learning of some kind must have taken place without the help of the few teachers whose names have been recorded in Appendix 5.

So far 'learning' has been distinguished from teaching. The term is used here in a general sense and is taken to include both learning and acquisition in their more specific meanings as defined by Krashen (1985:1). Krashen's learning is a term for the "conscious process that results in 'knowing about' language", whereas acquisition refers to the 'subconscious process identical in all important ways to the process children utilize in acquiring their first language'. The distinction is one between the conscious learning of the rules of grammar over against the subconscious process of mastering that language in practical situations. The two can never be entirely separated (cf. Stern 1983), but teachers will tend to emphasise one or the other in their language classes. This has always been so. The history of foreign language learning and teaching is one of 'development without progress' (Van Els & Knops 1988:18): it is not a progressive linear movement from one approach to the next, it does not move spirally from crude to refined, it rather tells us of the existence of several approaches side by side at all times, with different emphases according to fashion or individual taste. This is particularly true for the distinction between learning and acquisition. Streuber 1914 has convincingly demonstrated that the inductive and deductive approaches (as he called them) co-existed in the French textbooks in Germany between 1500 and 1800. Numerous scholars, teachers and textbook writers have argued, sometimes passionately, for or against the explicit teaching of grammar¹². The duality is reflected in most language teaching materials until 1800, which typically contain a grammar section to learn and ample practice material to acquire the language. If the textbooks reveal a development at all, it would be one from a more substantial interest in acquisition in the sixteenth century to a general shift in the direction of grammar learning by the end of the eighteenth. We shall have to come back to this rough generalisation and discuss the conditions in which the development took place (Chapter 3). The only area in which clear progress can be detected is the quality of the materials, and even here the progress is not an unqualified one.

The target language of this study is English and, as has been shown, there are several reasons to concentrate on the learning side rather than the teaching side of it. It was hoped, however, that in studying the early English textbooks for speakers of Dutch new ideas about teaching practices could be developed or, failing that, some old ones corroborated. This is not

or shortly after their first date of publication. Examples may be found in the book reviews in the *Boekzaal* (from 1692 until 1862), the many translations of Bunyan's popular works in the collection of some 500 titles in the UVU, Arrenberg 1788, Reesink 1931 (1475 titles on sundry subjects between 1684 and 1709), Hull 1933 (the list of Sewel's translations), Buisman 1975 (with titles of translated popular prose works between 1600 and 1815, with over 150 titles for English), Schoneveld 1983 (with a checklist of translated books between 1600 and 1700), Op 't Hoff 1987 (early religious texts), Jagtenberg 1989 (translations of Swift's works) and other sources.

12 For a survey of some of these see Baardman 1953, Kelly 1976 and Hesse 1975

the case. Almost without exception these textbook writers have ignored to express their views on teaching practices. The prefaces, which could have provided us with useful insights, are disappointingly short and on the whole factual or commercial. The dialogues may contain the occasional reference to classroom practices in sections about 'schools' or 'languages', but then they were usually copied from other sources and there is no way of telling to what extent they reflected their writers' views. Eventually many of these sources prove to be French ones. French language learning materials were available in abundance¹³, in various countries, frequently accompanied by detailed instructions and sound pedagogic advice. They have been the subject of analysis over a long period of time and it is from them that we can learn a good deal about teaching practices¹⁴.

2.2 *The Low Dutch area*

The Low Dutch area is taken to consist of the Dutch-speaking parts of the Low Countries, roughly the present-day Netherlands and the Dutch-speaking parts of Belgium (see Map 1), where the (Nether- or Low) Dutch language was used as mother tongue. Before 1815 the boundaries were subject to considerable political changes, but linguistically they remained fairly stable. In the South¹⁵ the language border between the French- and Dutch-speaking communities suffered only minor changes after the thirteenth century, except for French Flanders, where French became the official language in 1684/5 by order of Louis XIV, but until at least 1800 Flemish continued to be used there as a living language by the local population. Brussels was then still a predominantly Flemish city with a strong French influence, mainly among well-to-do citizens and in government and commerce circles; the latter observation applied with equal force to the whole of Flanders, where bilingualism and Frenchification were sometimes hard to distinguish and French often was the language of instruction even for the Flemish mother tongue.

In the East the linguistic situation was rather more complex. The present national boundaries drawn up at the Vienna Congress may serve as a rough dividing line between the two language areas, i.e. Dutch and German, but there was, and to a certain extent still is, considerable overlap on both sides. There is no clear evidence to prove that one or the other language

13 Some of the older sources for them, not yet updated, are Stengel 1890, Lambley 1920, and for the Low Dutch area Riemens 1919 (and the review of this book, Lemaître 1924), Hendrickx 1961, De la Montagne 1907 (for Antwerp) and Foncke 1926 (for Malines)

14 Interesting studies are Streuber 1914, Lambley 1920, Schmidt 1931, Bouton 1972, and the many references in these works

15 Kurth 1895/8 provides a survey, in minute detail, of the linguistic situation in Belgium in his days, with frequent references to earlier times.



2. Map 1: Map of the Low Dutch area showing places where English is known to have been taught before 1800.

The figures in Map 1 refer to places where English is known to have been taught before 1800, with the exception of 7 (Brussels) and 13 (Haarlem), which have been added as useful points of reference. All place names have been taken from Appendix 5. It should be remembered that in most cases the ELL/ELT activities lasted for short periods only.

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Almelo | 14. Haastrecht |
| 2. Amsterdam | 15. The Hague |
| 3. Antwerp | 16. Harderwijk |
| 4. Arnhem | 17. Hasselt |
| 5. Arnhem | 18. Leyden |
| 6. Bruges | 19. Maarssen |
| 7. Brussels | 20. Middelburg |
| 8. Delft | 21. Mijnsheerenland van Moerkerken |
| 9. Dordrecht (Dort) | 22. Rotterdam |
| 10. Douai | 23. St Omer |
| 11. Elburg | 24. Utrecht |
| 12. Ghent | 25. Veere |
| 13. Haarlem | 26. Vlissingen (Flushing) |

had prestige status: this seemed to depend on social background, register and mode (oral/written; cf. Kremer 1983 and Cornelissen 1984). Moreover, dialect was widely accepted in daily communication. The use of Dutch instructional materials for English cannot be ruled out in most of this border area, but no proof has been found to bear this out. It seems unlikely that ELL took place here on any large scale, since English commercial, religious, military or political influences in these parts were negligible and consequently a demand for English virtually non-existent¹⁶. Farther on, in the seatowns of Northern Germany, different conditions may have applied: places like Hamburg, Kiel and Rostock were regular ports-of-call for English and Dutch traders and a demand for English may therefore be postulated. They were situated in the Low German area, but a considerable Dutch influence and the close affinity of the two languages will have made Dutch ELL material acceptable there, particularly in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when German textbooks for ELL had not yet been developed in any great quantity.

The linguistic situation in Friesland before 1800 warrants inclusion of that province into the Low Dutch area. Although Frisian was used by many in daily life, Dutch had acquired the status of official language at the beginning of the 16th century and was consequently the language of instruction at all levels. It is only from the middle of the 19th century that the Frisian revival movement begins to strive for instruction of and in the native tongue. It seems very unlikely that any Frisian ELL material will have been developed before 1800¹⁷: Low Dutch manuals were available and accept-

16 There may have been an English school at Wesel in Westphalia close to the Low Dutch border (Schröder 1980:34 no 118). If so, this would be an early and rare example of such a school in this border area.

17 The English language was not entirely unknown in Friesland. Osselton (1973:32) reports the presence of Robert Cunningham, schoolmaster in Harlingen around 1605, who may have been engaged in some ELL activities. Anna Maria van Schurman, widely respected scholar and later Labadist, who lived in Friesland towards the end of her eventful life, was

able for that purpose. If this is anything to go by: the Provincial Library at Leeuwarden has an excellent collection of Dutch ELL material from before 1800.

The phrase 'Low Dutch' as a geographical label and as an umbrella term for the language varieties in the Republic and the Spanish/Austrian Netherlands is apt to cause confusion. The EFL writers before 1800 were themselves far from unanimous: they variously used Dutch, Netherdutch, Low Dutch, Flemish or Belgic as translations of *Nederduitsch*, *Duitsch*, *Vlaamsch*, or indeed *Nederlantsch* in rare cases, all of these in sundry spellings¹⁸. In the English language, until about the middle of the sixteenth century, the word 'Dutch' was used to refer to the (West) German(ic) language in all its forms¹⁹; from then on the reference was narrowed down to the language of the Dutch-speaking Netherlands, sometimes including Flanders²⁰. This development coincided with the process of political independence terminating in the establishment of the Republic in the North and the subjection under Spanish (later Austrian) rule in the South. 'Dutch' was then, and still is, the common word to refer to the language in the whole area, although 'Flemish' came a good second in the South. However, English EFL writers in the Netherlands discovered to their surprise that the local people were in the habit of calling their language *Duitsch* or *Nederduitsch* and that *Hoogduitsch* was used to refer to 'German'. In their attempts to come up with a literal translation they coined the term 'Netherdutch' (Basson in his translation of Meurier in 1586; Hcxham in his dictionaries of 1647/8; Richardson in 1677; Evans in his spellingbook of 1747, ed. 1778; and also the Dutchman Van Helderer in 1675), 'Low Dutch' (Hillenius in 1664; Sewel in 1691; Harrison in colonial America in 1730) and even 'Belgick' (in RICHARDSON 1677). However, they were not too happy with the new words and used them erratically even within one and the same manual, wavering between their choice and 'Dutch'. A similar inconsistency may be observed in the large

familiar with a great many languages including English. Large numbers of English-speaking students and teachers matriculated from or were appointed at the university of Franeker and may have offered their services to aspiring learners of English, in much the same way as described in the preface of WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586 (cf. Jensma *et al* 1985). And between 1660 and 1665 Samuel Harnghouk from Bolsward printed English translations of a considerable number of Dutch texts (Reesink 1931:41). See also Salmon 1988.143/4

18 In the preface of his *Anglo-Belgica* 1677 Richardson uses several of these terms indiscriminately, including *Nederlantsch*, Swinnas' political treatise of 1666/8 (see Appendix 1b) carries the title *Engelse, Nederlandse, en Munsterse Krakkeelen* (my underlining). Before 1800 the common form was *Nederduitsch*, while *Nederlands* was the preferred term from the nineteenth century onwards 'Netherlandish', although occasionally used since 1600 (see Llewellyn 1936), has never really caught on except to refer to painting 'Netherlandic' was introduced - also unsuccessfully - by the Dutch government in 1934 in an attempt to avoid anti-Dutch sentiment stirred up by the word 'Dutch' in the productive class of phrases like 'Dutch courage', 'Dutch wife', etc Cf also Van Haerengen 1960

19 The use has persisted into our own time in 'the Pennsylvania Dutch', who are German in origin

20 In Flanders too the language was at times referred to as Dutch in e.g BERLAIMONT 1576 ed 1616 and the anonymous VOCABULARY 1742

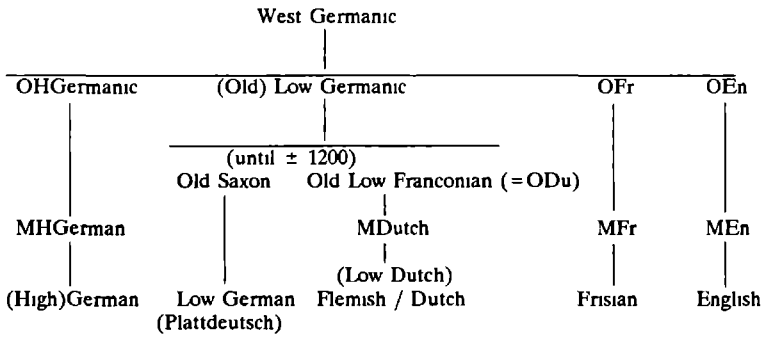
bilingual dictionaries of the time: 'Nether-dutch' is never listed (but used in the title of Hexham's dictionary!), 'Low-dutch' only occurs in Sewel and Buys in the phrase 'the Low-dutch' as a translation of 'de Nederlanders' or 'het Nederduytsch' and as a synonym, it seems, of 'the Dutch'.

Historically, then, 'Dutch' is an acceptable name for the language. But politically, geographically - and perhaps also emotionally - there is a catch here: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English word 'Dutch' came to be associated exclusively with the Protestant Republic in the North, the part that Britain was most in trade with, the part that for a while dominated the political and cultural scene in western Europe, the part also that increasingly determined the linguistic growth of the larger community, the part finally from which the South was more and more excluded. This catch will make it hard to use 'Dutch' unambiguously, in a historical context, with reference to all the speakers of 'Nederduitsch' / 'Vlaamsch' and to the area in which they lived. To avoid any misunderstanding, therefore, the term 'Low Dutch' as a portmanteau word for 'Low Countries' and 'Dutch' will be used in this study as an acceptable alternative, a choice which will more readily allow Flanders to be included and may also do credit to those native speakers who were baffled by the 'Nederduitsche' problem²¹.

In the recent past 'Low Dutch' received a good deal of attention, but there was no agreement about its signification. In his stupendous *Dictionary of the Low-Dutch* [with the hyphen, PL] *element in the English vocabulary* (1926: xv) Bense explains: 'As English is itself a Low German dialect, we prefer to use the term *Low Dutch* [without the hyphen, PL] in reference to the sister dialects of the eastern shores of the German Ocean and the Southern shores of the Baltic Sea: those dialects which are usually distinguished by the names *Flemish*, *Dutch* and *Low German*.' In this view 'Low German' is used both as a generic and as a specific term, which is not very helpful. In his dissertation at Oxford Llewellyn (1936: iv) offers as his definition: 'I have used the term 'Low Dutch' to include all the continental Low German dialects, i.e. the various dialects of Flemish, Dutch, Frisian, and Low German.' Again 'Low German' seems to carry the double meaning; and this definition is inclusive of Frisian, which Bense's is not. If their common source was the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the issue gets even further confused: 'Low Dutch = Low German [Platt Deutsch], that of the North and North-west (including Netherlandish), which has not undergone the High--German consonant mutation, and thus is in form near to English and Scandinavian' (entry under 'Dutch'), a definition in which Netherlandish (= Dutch?) is regarded as a branch of *Plattdeutsch*. Wyld's *Universal Dictionary*

21 'Netherdutch' would not be such a good choice: the word is obsolete and not included in any modern dictionary. It may well be the first English word coined in the Netherlands as a calque to express an untranslatable concept, like 'Dutch herring' = 'Hollandse nieuwe', 'exam slip' = 'tentamenbrefje' or the grammatical term 'free adjunct'.

of the *English Language* (1952) simply equates 'Low Dutch' with 'Dutch'.²² In all these works a satisfactory distinction between the diachronic and synchronic meanings seems to be lacking, as may appear from Table 1 below (synchronic from left to right, diachronic from top to bottom).



3. Table 1
The West Germanic languages until 1800

Traditionally, German, Flemish/Dutch, Frisian and English are taken to belong to the Western branch of the Germanic languages; Low German or *Plattdeutsch* goes back to Old Saxon from which it developed since the thirteenth century. Because of its close similarities with (Low) Dutch, particularly in the early stages, a common source - to be called (Old) Low Germanic - is accepted here to have been the parent language. This distinction between Low German on the one hand and Low Germanic on the other goes some way towards clearing up the confusion brought about by the use of 'Low German' in a synchronic and diachronic sense, as seems to be the case in Bense, Llewellyn and the *OED* above. The influence of (Low) Saxon on (Low) Franconian and its contribution towards the making of the Dutch language has not been acknowledged in the above table.

For the purposes of this study the linguistic boundaries might have been drawn differently: wider or narrower. The wider option would have allowed the whole Low German area to be included, no unreasonable choice since in the period under consideration a fair number of its inhabitants may have had a reading knowledge of Low Dutch; on the other hand the influence of German was of course much stronger and on the increase. There is no way to determine if and to what extent Dutch ELL materials were used in this area; if they were, the competition with German manuals, which began to be developed from 1665 onwards (Schröder 1975), must have been considerable.

²² Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* (1971) has its own intriguing definition of 'Low Dutch': 'a dialect of Dutch spoken in America by immigrants from the Netherlands', but this is of course without relevance to the present study.

The narrower option would exclude the Flemish area, warranted perhaps by the political developments after 1585 and more specifically 1648, when the Low Countries formally ceased to be one nation - if they ever were - and the process of historical divergence between the North and the South continued its course. But before ± 1600 the North had profited from the advanced teaching experience in the South; and later, particularly in the eighteenth century, the exchange went the other way, at least for ELL and ELT: the same materials were used, the same objectives, let alone the same language. There is every reason to concentrate on the linguistic unity rather than the political separation. It is only after about 1800, when the demand for English significantly increased in the North, that the differences began to outweigh the similarities, and from then on two different histories ought to be written.

2.3 Between 1500 and 1800

On the basis of the written source material the time boundaries of this study mark off a fairly uniform period in the history of foreign language learning in general and ELL in particular. Scholars seem to agree on the suitability of these dates: Alston's authoritative bibliography, which deals with ELL in twelve different language areas, covers a period 'from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1800' (Alston 1967); Scheurweghs' study of English grammars in Dutch and Dutch grammars in English includes publications from 'before 1800' (Scheurweghs 1960); Riemens' pioneering work on FrLT in the Netherlands (la Hollande) stretches 'du xvi au xixe siècle', i.e. exclusive of the nineteenth century (Riemens 1919); Streuber's study on FrLT in Germany is an original analysis of textbooks 'im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert', i.e. inclusive of the eighteenth century (Streuber 1914); Schröder's bibliographical work on the teaching of modern European languages in the German-speaking area covers the same period (Schröder 1980-1985); and conversely Kuiper's study of the teaching of German in the Netherlands starts in the nineteenth century (but with interesting observations about foreign language teaching in the preceding period, Kuiper 1961).

There are several good reasons for this: the sixteenth century was not only a time when printed books began to be available in ever larger quantities and played a more and more important role in learning contexts; it was also a time when an interest in the vernacular and in foreign languages other than Latin was aroused and developed. From the first half of the century Latin ceased to be a living language, but its teaching material was often imitated and for a long time used as a point of reference for the new languages - Michael 1985, Vorlat 1975. In the Low Dutch area manuals were written for FrLL to start with, then for the less familiar languages such as Italian, Hebrew, English and German, usually with a view to language learning. In England the vernacular received a good deal of attention from

Smith 1568, Bullokar 1586, Greaves 1594 and others (see Appendix 3 and also Michael 1985). On top of this there was a lively trade in multilingual guidebooks, particularly in the Southern parts of the Dutch-speaking Netherlands, and Latin dictionaries with glosses for the new languages; new bilingual dictionaries appeared in the latter half of the century in surprising quantities (Osselton 1973 and Claes 1974).

ELL did not play a significant part during these infant years²³, but from around 1530 English was gradually included in the multilingual guidebooks of the (Southern) Netherlands and it rose slowly to the status of an important minor foreign language in the eighteenth century.

Around 1800 three developments took place which heralded the beginning of a new era for ELL, particularly in the Dutch (at the time: Batavian) Republic. The first was a nationwide reconsideration of the existing principles underpinning the educational system; in its wake the position of the foreign languages as school subjects was seriously reconsidered, with frequent claims for the inclusion of English and German by the side of French in the school programmes. As a result, English began to be offered as an optional subject in some schools and by growing numbers of private teachers. The amount of learning material increased with the higher demand: there were 8 (perhaps 9) new titles between 1790 and 1800 against at least 15 in the next decade, many of them written by new authors and for the use of children, and 695 during the whole of the nineteenth century against not more than two dozen in the eighteenth²⁴.

Secondly, as a result of this emerging interest in schools, the focus in the manuals began to shift from adults to children, which did not only affect the choice of texts and dialogues but also the methodology adopted in them. One such change was the introduction of practice material other than dialogues: translation exercises, graded exercises, simplified readers, etc. This was nothing new in the French textbooks - French had always been a school subject in the Low Dutch area - but there had never been a need for it with regard to English except in spelling books, of which there were very few. With the advent of the new century, new and different materials began

23 However, some English textbooks without Dutch were printed in Antwerp at a very early time, and they may have served intending learners of English:

Johannes Holt, *Lac puerorum. Anglice Mylke for chyldren* (Antwerp: Adr van Berghen, 1508?; Antwerp Gov. Bac, 1511?), En-Lat.

John Stanbridge, *Longer Accidence* (Antwerp. Jan van Doesborch, 1509?), En only

John Stanbridge, *Shorter Accidence* (Antwerp. Gov Bac, 1510?; Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1515?), En only

John Stanbridge?, *Os, facies, mentum. Vocabularum latino-britannicum* (Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1510?, and without year), En-Lat.

(all of these in Nijhoff & Kronenberg 1965, nrs. 3179, 4440, 1, 3897, 2, 1656 and 3647 respectively)

24 See Appendix 1a and De Breet & Ceton 1982. A similar development took place in the German-speaking area, where Schroder counted 158 titles before 1800 - many of them from the last two decades - against 2296 in the nineteenth century (Schroder 1975)

to appear²⁵.

A third major influence on the textbooks from about 1800 was the emphasis on translation introduced by Meidinger in 1783 for French but soon adopted for other languages too. His ideas caught on quickly²⁶ and were to determine the course of foreign language learning and teaching during most of the nineteenth century, if not long after. Translation did not play such a dominant part in the textbooks before 1800, although it was never neglected and at times advocated as useful practice²⁷. However, with Meidinger it seemed to develop into almost the main activity in the classroom and this was definitely a break with the past. A textbook like G.W. Lehman's *Engelsche Spraakkonst. Gevolgd naar de leerwijze van Meidinger, volgens de Beginzelen der waare Uitspraak van Sheridan en Walker* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart 1805) must, therefore, be said to belong to the new era.

2.4. A critical survey

A full survey of English language learning and teaching in the Low Dutch area is not available for any period of its development. Until 1960 its history until 1800 received cursory attention in short monographs: about side issues such as phonetic detail in Bohnhardt 1889, Löwisch 1889, Holthausen 1889 and 1902, and Matthews 1933; about Van Walraven's *Honourable Reputation* in Barnouw 1935; a first inspection of some early materials was conducted by Dudok in two survey articles (1939 and 1954); and there are the studies about modern languages in general by Rombouts 1937 and Baardman 1953. In 1960 Scheurweghs published his scholarly article about 'English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands before 1800' with new and detailed biographical and bibliographical information; it was the first of its kind and has given the main thrust to further studies. It was supplemented by Alston (1964) and particularly in 1967 by his (Alston's) *Polyglot Dictionaries and Grammars; Treatises on English written for Speakers of ... Dutch ...*, vol II of his monumental *A Bibliography of the English Language from the invention of Printing to the Year 1800* in 12 volumes (1965-1987). A third major study came from Osselton in 1973: *The Dumb Linguists, a study of the earliest English and Dutch dictionaries*. These three principal works were followed by a trickle of short articles: Scheurweghs 1961, Leroux & Scheurweghs 1962, Vorlat 1969, Dibbets 1969 and 1970 (a and b), Gledhill 1976 and Smith 1988 and 1989. Howatt 1984 is disappointingly

25 The change was, of course, a gradual one, how quickly it came after 1800 remains a subject for further study. 'Schools' and 'children' are repeatedly included in the titles until 1814 in De Breet & Ceton 1982.

26 Meidinger's ideas in German textbooks for speakers of Dutch have been detailed in Kuiper 1961:73ff. It should be noted that Meidinger's approach was not limited to translation work only: dialogues played an important part from an early stage in the learning process (Streuber 1914 146), a point ignored by many of his followers.

27 In e.g. WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586, cf. Streuber 1914 passim.

brief about the Low Countries and not always accurate. Snippets of information may be gathered from other sources, but none can be said to deal with our subject at any great length.

One of the objects of this study is to provide a survey of the field in some detail, and to analyse the findings critically, as a first step to further research that may spring from it.

2.5 *'for to learne to buye and sell'*

The title of this study - a quotation from the heading of one of the three dialogues in BERLAIMONT 1576 and in the many editions after it - has been chosen to serve as summary statement of the pages to follow. It is seen as the thread running through the story of ELL in the Low Dutch area for a period of well over 200 years, and with reason.

Dialogues made up an important section of the manuals of the time, taking up dozens of pages and serving invariably as the main practice material. It was believed that they offered structural practice in a contextualised setting, ready-to-use phrases, practice material for pronunciation, and background knowledge about the foreign country. The contents of this particular dialogue provide an excellent example of their kind: it reads as a natural dialogue, consists of short sentences - useful for learners -, deals with a practical situation, and in general is of a high communicative and situational value. Its attraction is the timelessness of the theme and the didactic qualities of its language. It is surprising how comparable in quality many other dialogues are found to be throughout the whole period.

The dialogues in the BERLAIMONT 1576 are of Low Dutch origin²⁸. They were frequently used and copied in other Low Dutch textbooks and possibly also in other languages²⁹, so that we may view them as belonging to a Dutch tradition. In this sense they are quite unique: dialogues were apparently not easy to compose and most ELL material writers, if not all, were in the habit of copying them from other sources, usually French and English ones. In this way the dialogues in the corpus of ELL material of Appendix 1a reflect the language learning traditions of three different areas: Low Dutch, English and French, reflecting as such the position of the Low Countries as a meeting-ground of various cultures; it is fitting to highlight the Dutch contribution in a study of this nature.

Commerce has been a marked incentive for ELL in the Low Countries,

28 i.e. originally written by Noel de Berlaimont in Antwerp, but based on sources from a wider area (cf. Ch. 62). However, they flourished in the Southern Netherlands and spread across Europe from there.

29 This point needs further study: how much did the early (foreign) language learning textbooks in England, Germany and France rely on De Berlaimont, particularly those for French and Dutch? And for that matter, how is this for the FrLL textbooks in the Netherlands?

perhaps even into our own time³⁰. It is frequently mentioned as the main incentive in the textbooks until 1800. Although it would be a serious simplification to state, as popular belief had it, that French was needed for culture, German for horse riding and English for trade, there is some justification in placing 'for to learne to buy and sell' among the main motives for ELL. The majority of Dutch ELL textbooks contain commercial letters, unlike their German or French opposite numbers, and often commercial information as well.

In the English textbooks all these points are stranded together in this one simple dialogue, to which the name of De Berlaimont may be attached. It caught the fancy of some of his later colleagues in the field who in the composition of their material saw fit to copy it in their manuals. At first they copied more of his dialogues, but eventually this one remained as, apparently, eminently suitable. It runs as a 'line of wit' through ELL textbooks from 1646 until 1786 and possibly even 1821 (cf. Table 4 in Ch. 6.2).

30 An indication of the demands for foreign languages today from commercial and governmental institutions in the Netherlands is given in the so-called 'TTS-rapport' (Claessen *et al* 1978) and in Van Els *et al* 1990

The position of ELL in the Low Dutch area before 1800 can only be spelled out with great difficulty: English was not widely learned and there are few first-hand sources bearing testimony to this limited activity. It was largely confined to the private sector, which was not usually documented and, if it was, the documents are few and far between. Close inspection of some of these documents has confirmed the marginal interest in ELL throughout the period. Dudok (1954:178-179) reports his fruitless searches of the Municipal Archives at Amsterdam and does not hold out much hope for other places; but these are of course public records and not perhaps the right places to turn to. The only two school magazines of the eighteenth century Republic available for inspection - the *Boekzaal* for the Latin Schools and Athenea, and the *Maandelykse Mathematische Liefhebberye, met het Nieuws der Fransche en Duytsche Schoolen in Nederland ...* (further: *MML*) - contain a handful of references to English against a great deal more to French, Dutch, Latin and even Italian. Maréchal's study (1972) of foreign language learning in Belgium contains next to nothing about ELL for the period before 1800; the introduction to Van Laar's study (1937-1939) of state education in Antwerp draws a similar blank.

However, there is every reason to trace the rising position of ELL in the Low Dutch area until the beginning of the nineteenth century and to attempt an outline of its exceptional position among other foreign languages. The discussion will be centred around these questions: who were the learners of English? (3.1), what were the differences between the Protestant North and the Catholic South? (3.2), what was the demand for English in relation to other foreign languages? (3.3), what was the position of ELL in the French- and German-speaking areas? (3.4), what was the position of FrLL in England? (3.5), and do we know how languages other than the mother tongue were learned and taught? (3.6). The answers will be looked for in English textbooks to start with and in other relevant material to back up the findings.

3.1 *The learners of English*

Learners make up a vast but often anonymous body of people deserving more attention than perhaps has been devoted to them in the past. The usual approach to the process of language learning in a historical context is through an analysis of textbooks (Streuber 1914, Lambley 1920, Schmidt 1931, Kuiper 1961, Bouton 1972, Jung 1980), school organisation (Schotel 1867,

Sabbe 1929, Post 1954, Schroder 1976, De Booy 1980) or educational theories and ideas (Baardman 1953, Kelly 1969, Hesse 1975). In none of these approaches the learners are dealt with in any great depth: we are not told who and how successful they were, where and how they studied. We are given a glimpse in some contemporary writings by e.g. De Montaigne and Comenius (see Hesse 1975), but we have to wait until Rousseau and after before the emphasis begins to shift from concepts to child¹ and even until a very recent time before the adult learner comes into view. The fact of the matter is, however, that, at least for English as a foreign language, adults were the first to apply themselves to a study of it; in the Low Dutch area, before 1800, there was very little school teaching of English: the teaching that did take place was more often than not an individual activity supervised by private instructors² to some youngsters but mostly to adults. The point is important: it has a bearing on the materials developed and the methodology adopted.

The prefaces of most ELL textbooks give us some idea of the kinds of learners these books were written for. Three kinds are usually mentioned: traders and travellers, scholars, and young people.

Traders constituted the main target group: they are mentioned consistently in almost every manual down from the BERLAIMONT 1576 (see also 6.2). The anonymous 'schole-master' of 1646 reminds us of 'the traffique or Commerce which they [i.e. the Dutch and English] have had and doe yet hold with one another' (preface) and the ensuing need for each other's language. Hexham mentions 'Traffick, and Trading which is betweene our two Nations' in the preface of his D-E dictionary (1648); in 1738 V.d. Bommenaer addresses travellers and seafaring people ('Reyzigers en Zeevarende Persoonen', in 'Aan den Leczer'); Peyton's 'Voorbericht' 1779 mentions the extensive English trade ('uitgestrekte Koophandel der Engelschen'); Holtrop has in mind all traders wherever they are ('alle handeldryvenden, waar het ook zy', in HOLTROP 1780 'Voorbericht'); and Wilcocke (1798) specifies: 'the

1 On the influence of Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) in the Netherlands cf. "Emile" in Nederland. Een studie over het onthaal en de invloed' in *Paedagogica Historica* 2 (1962):424-457.

2 Private tutors were not always favourably depicted: some of them achieved little, others were decidedly unhappy. An impression of their activities is provided in Dudok 1954:190-191, Kuiper 1961:41ff, and particularly Buijsters 1984:86-98, whose article is a first exploration of the subject. From other countries we have the description by Guillaume Herbert, teacher of French in England in the seventeenth century, of his average colleague as 'a *brouillon*, a shuffling fellow, who boasts, dresses well and intrudes everywhere, cringing and offering his services at a cheaper price than the genuine teachers. He can hardly write seven or eight lines of French correctly. Yet men such as this . . . pass for first-class teachers, and some take upon themselves to correct and write books. What is more, they count many pupils, even among the nobility.' (Lambley 1920:325). More descriptions from outside the Low Dutch area are found in Seidelmann 1724 xxiii-xxiv, Schroder 1969:33-38, Schmidt 1931:61 and Herzen 1980:39-43,48,87.

traveller, the sailor, and above all, the merchant and the colonist', particularly the colonists, he adds, 'whose connections now' - i.e. the Napoleonic times - 'for the most part, center in England' ('Preface').

In their own different ways the material writers tried to accommodate these learners by including commercial material in their manuals: commercial letters, specialised vocabulary, information about weights and measures (no luxury at a time when standardisation was still far off), money tables, abbreviations, etc. (see also 5.2.9). All the major Low Dutch ELL textbooks contain material of this kind with a consistency that is not present in other language areas. The tradespeople may also have been in touch with Englishmen residing in the Low Countries: among these, soldiers are sometimes mentioned explicitly (although not by Hexham, who was a military man himself), e.g. in the few manuals published in Flanders in the eighteenth century - see ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA 1742.

Scholars are also regularly made mention of. HEXHAM 1648 refers to 'Divines, Students and others' (preface); Peyton's 'Voorbericht' (PEYTON 1779) praises the English perfection in works of wit and scholarship ('uitmuntendheid in Schriften van Vernuft en Weetenschap'); HOLTROP 1780 addresses all those who love any art or scholarship ('allen die eenige kunst of weetenschap beminnen', 'Voorbericht'). There are other references to the English excellence in works of a scholarly nature and the need to read them in the original. Although these works usually appeared in translation³ - where did the translators get *their* English from? -, the desire to read them in the original will have been with some of the more serious scholars. Among them were at least the four 'lovers of the English tongue' referred to in WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586, and L. v.d. Bommernaer, who had had an attachment to the English language from his youth ('geneegentheyd, die ik voor de Engelsche Taal van myne Jeugt af gehad hebbe', BOMMENAER 1738, 'Aan den Leezer'). If we take the word 'scholar' in its more general sense, as someone with a studious mind or simply 'learner', it may also be taken to refer to the increasing number of Low Dutch educated people taking a general or professional interest in English language and literature. There were many of those, particularly in the eighteenth century⁴. Learners were commonly encouraged to read English books; sometimes names and titles were specified: Milton and Shakespeare (POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b) or 'The Spectator, the Foundling, David Simple, Tatler, Guardian, Freethinker and the Works of Pope and Swift' (SMITH 1752, ed. 1758:304).

Schools are also occasionally mentioned. In the case of Evans this will have been his own school in Rotterdam, where he instructed English and

3 Cf. e.g. Arrenberg 1788, *Boekzaal*, Op 't Hof 1987, and note 11 in Ch.2.

4 An impression of these literary contacts is given in De Hoog 1902-03.

'Netherdutch Youth' (EVANS 1747). In other cases, e.g. RUDIMENTS c1804, which was written 'for use of Schools and private instruction', and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b ('for the use of Schools'), one is not so sure: were they still the small private schools catering for individual learners or were they the national educational establishments where towards the end of the eighteenth century English began to be taught to large classes as an optional subject?

Private instructors, or tutors, were sometimes appointed by families who had enough money to engage them, at home or abroad, to instruct young learners. Examples (but hardly any for English!) are not hard to come by: emperor Charles V was made to learn Spanish, Latin and Dutch, although not successfully; the young Elizabeth is said to have learned French, Italian, Latin, Greek, some Spanish and Flemish from, amongst others, the brilliant Roger Ascham, scholar and teacher much favoured by her; the child Montaigne quickly discovered the uselessness of school knowledge compared to the effectiveness of a stay abroad (Germany in his case) and private tuition; Constantijn Huygens tells us in his autobiography how he was instructed in various subjects including French by several tutors, one of them the Scotsman Eglissham, from whom he may have picked up some English; and in a brief from 'a father' to 'a Schoolemaster' we may read that the latter is expected to instruct his charge 'diligently' in 'all necessary things wherein youth should be taught, namely, reading, writing, ciphcring, casting up of accompts, keeping of merchants books, understanding and speaking the latin, french, dutch, English, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and what els you see good:...' (SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, 202/3); much later there is John Stuart Mill's account of his father's curious ways of imparting knowledge on the boy (Mill 1873). These cases may be complemented almost at random by examples of princes and princesses, courtiers, diplomats, businessmen, clerics and others who were assigned tutors or sent abroad to learn foreign languages as a preparation for their respective offices. There was nothing new about this: a command of foreign languages had always been an asset to any person in a leading position; the printer Arnout Leers tells us that king Mithridates knew up to twenty-two languages, by which he won the hearts of his subjects (preface to HEXHAM 1647/8, ed. 1672). But Mithridates and all the others belonged to the privileged few whose parents could afford private instruction for their children.

Adults made up by far the largest group of learners. The close proximity of the English and Dutch shores had led to commercial and cultural contacts and a mutual interest in each other's language from the earliest time. Bense 1924 (p.1) writes about 'Low Dutch people in the British Isles long before the fifth century, even before Caesar conquered the country'. The traffic

was at first largely from East to West but from the 15th century increasingly also the other way.

These early learners were adults and they picked up the new language in the context of their profession: English was learned for specific purposes and rarely as part of a programme of general education. As we have seen, their practical needs varied: English was needed in commerce by traders, fishermen, bankers, art dealers and colonists; in the armed forces by those who had dealings with the many English and Scottish troops stationed in the Low Countries until well into the 18th century; by men of letters and students who progressively began to read in the vernacular the scholarly, literary and cultural products from overseas. The learning process could take place in Britain or Ireland - but this is not our concern here - or in the Low Dutch area itself. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, when hardly any textbooks were available⁵, native speakers provided the main if not the only source of input and correction. The exchange between 'tutor' and 'learner' was not structured or even consciously planned in most cases, but if a genuine learning context was desired, it would have been set up as Walraven described it in his case⁶.

Jacob Walraven⁷ came to Leyden university to study philology and law in 1579, four years after the foundation of this first university in the Protestant Netherlands⁸ on the initiative of William the Silent. He took a general interest in languages and had had his first brush with English at Antwerp in around 1570. But his English had gone rusty ('nu niets weert, als zijnde meest al gevlogen', p.11) and he now turned for help to George Brooke⁹, who was willing to teach him English in exchange for French lessons by Walraven; they used Latin as their language of instruction. The set-up did

5 In all we have been able to list six ill-assorted titles until 1640, out of these only two were written specifically for learners of English - cf Appendix 1a

6 This case is unusually well-documented in the wealth of introductory material in WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586 The headings of these prefatory remarks (without the original capitals) are

'Cort verhael van de privilegie'

'Den eerzamen, wyze en zeer voorzienige Heeren den Schoutet, Burgemeesteren, Schepenen ende Raedt der stede Hoorn'

(sonnets by I Dousa Noortw and I Dousa Filus)

'Op d'oesprong ende vruchten, beyde van pays ende oorloch, als inhovt dezès boecks' (p.8)

'T Basson, to all friendly readers, upon the translacion of this present booke' (p 9)

'To the gentle reader and lover of the Dytche tonge, health and felicitie' (p 10)

'Duydelick onderwijs, hoe, en waerom de Engelsche tale te leeren' (p 11-15)

'Tot den voortvarenden lezer' (p 16)

'Totten goetwillighen Lezer' (p 72)

'Eerzamen, mijnen gunstige goede heeren ende vrunden, den schoutet ende magistraet der stede Hoorn' (p 74)

'Tot den leergienigen scholier' (p 75)

7 For his biography see Ch 4.2

8 Not the first ever in the Low Dutch area this privilege is reserved for Louvain, whose university dates back to 1425

9 Brooke belonged to the suite of the Earl of Leicester arriving in Holland in 1585

not last long: Brooke left Leyden and Walraven teamed up with Jan van der Does (Janus Douza jr.); the two made the best of a bad job ('maectent t'zamen zo wy best costen', *ibid.*) and were soon joined by two local dignitaries, Jan van Hout and F. van Brouhoven, who had never seen an Englishman or English book before the arrival of the Earl of Leicester in their city but felt the need for some English because of it. They managed to engage the services of Thomas Basson, bookseller at Leyden, to teach them one hour a day, and made good progress in reading comprehension - speaking, he adds, needs time, tongue and practice ('t'spreken moet tijt, tong ende oeffening voort gheven', *ibid.*). A similar arrangement was recommended by Walraven as practicable in other contexts - there is always a native speaker around somewhere - and useful for other interested parties, and it was presented as something quite new ('eñ ooc zulcke Scholen hier noch onbekent zijn ... men vinter al meer, en ghy kent, wildy, ooc lichtelic volgen', *ibid.*).

The dedication of these four men reflected perhaps the youthful enthusiasm of some of the first *alumni* at a flourishing university which was already beginning to cut out a name for itself. In this environment Walraven may have been inspired by this enthusiasm to justify his efforts at great length. However this may be, the happy combination of his love for the English language ('entangled with loue', *ibid.* p.10), of a studious mind and of a budding university has produced an unusual document at a time when hardly a word was said about the subject. We shall return to it further on in this chapter, when English learning and teaching methods will be discussed (3.6.3).

3.2 *North and South*

Although there had been an interest in ELL in France off and on from at least the sixteenth century onwards (cf. 3.4.1 below), for a number of reasons the Protestant Netherlands were the first English language learning stronghold on the Continent: owing to their geographical position and advanced development in trade and industry there were numerous commercial ties between the two nations just as there had been between Flanders and England until 1585 (when Antwerp was finally lost to Spain). Secondly, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards important political connections developed between the two countries for some 150 years. England took an active interest in the Eighty Years' War, the period between 1568 and 1648 when the Low Countries struggled to shake off Spanish rule. The English were sympathetic to the Dutch (Protestant) cause, although diffident to commit themselves too eagerly. They sent troops and diplomats and welcomed

Dutch refugees in exile. There were English and Scottish regiments and garrisons in the Low Countries during the latter part of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries¹⁰. After 1648 rivalry at sea, colonial imperialism and the marital bonds between the Houses of Orange and Stuart¹¹ resulting in William of Orange's dual responsibilities between 1688 and 1702 testified to the close contacts between the two nations. Thirdly, the Low Countries were a place of refuge for those persecuted because of religious, political or ideological convictions in their own countries. A motley array of people fled to these shores: Protestants from the Southern Netherlands, Portuguese Jews, Huguenots, Jansenists, and individuals as diverse as Descartes, Comenius and Locke. During his stay in Amsterdam in 1619 James Howell witnessed this diversity of refugees: 'I believe in this street where I lodge there will be near as many religions as there be houses; for one neighbour knows not nor cares not much what religion the other is, so that the number of conventicles exceeds the number of churches here. And let this country call itself as long as it will the United Provinces one way, I am persuaded in this point there's no place so disunited' (cf. his *Familiar Letters* vol. i [1903]:15). Among them were also English Puritan dissenters, mostly Presbyterians¹², who settled in the Protestant North. They trickled through uninterruptedly over a long period, roughly between 1580 and 1690, and they often came to stay. They had left their home country because they were affiliated to what were considered to be extreme denominations of Protestantism. Stoye (1952:272) observes that 'It would be difficult not to admit that Holland was a splendid seed-bed for experiments in English Protestantism'. Since these extremists were less than welcome in their home country, they often had no choice but prolonged exile. A fourth source of exposure to English came from the universities, some of which attracted large numbers of English-speaking students and occasionally also teachers. Documentation is available for Leyden (Peacock 1883 and *Album* 1875), Franeker (Jensma 1985) and Utrecht (e.g. Kaim,

10 A survey of British military involvement in the Netherlands is provided by Sprunger 1982:34-40 and Ferguson 1899-1901. There is a reference to English troops at Bruges in as late as 1742 (preface to *ENGFISCHEN GRAMMATICA*, Bruges 1742); elsewhere we read that Rev. William Brown, minister at Utrecht, 'resigned his pastoral charge in 1748, joined the British army in Flanders, and, for a short time, acted as chaplain of the regiments' (Steven 1832-1833:341 note).

11 1641: William, son of Frederick Henry, later William II, and Mary, daughter of Charles I; 1677: William III of Orange and Mary, daughter of James II.

12 The terms 'Puritans', 'Dissenters' and 'Non-conformists', which are partly historically determined, can loosely be taken to refer to 'the English Calvinist dissenting movement against established Anglican Reformed religion, dedicated to simplifying and purifying the church along Reformed lines' (Sprunger 1982:457). Presbyterians constituted the largest, but by no means the only, group among them. A good survey of the subtle differences between the various sects, which were frequently in fierce disagreement with one another, is provided by Stearns 1940:1-8. More information may be found in Campbell 1892.

without year). A quick count reveals that appr. 950 English-speaking men matriculated from Leyden between 1575 and 1675. Eminent scholars and literary figures like Thomas Bodley (member of the young *Raad van State* between 1588 and 1596), Henry Ainsworth (well-known linguist and Bible commentator of around 1600), William Ames (professor of Theology at Franeker between 1622 and 1633), the mathematician Pell (at the Amsterdam Atheneum and the Military Academy at Breda), John Locke (on refuge in Rotterdam), Sir Thomas Browne and Oliver Goldsmith (at Leyden), James Boswell (at Utrecht) and many others¹³ spent some of their time in the Dutch Republic or at one of the Dutch universities.

The local population in the North was thus exposed to English from many different sides and at all levels¹⁴. This exposure led to an increased demand for ELL¹⁵. The first bilingual ELL manual was published in Amsterdam in 1646 by an unknown English private teacher, followed shortly afterwards by the first bilingual English-Dutch/Dutch-English dictionary by Henry Hexham in 1647/8. We shall see that these works had been preceded by other materials on which they were partly based, but the authors rightly observe that 'no such work had been written before' (the English 'scholc-master') and 'there was never yet to this day any English and Netherduytch Dictionarie extant' (Hexham). The two pioneers were English: the anonymous teacher probably Presbyterian, Hexham a mildly Anglican army man who had long been active in the Low Countries. In the next 150 years the bulk of the ELL material writers were to be of English descent¹⁶ and closely linked to one of the many Protestant churches.

English language teachers before 1800 were men (no names of women

13 For more names cf Huizinga 1924, also Bense 1924 205/6

14 It is difficult to agree with Stoye (1952 239-241) that most contacts were with tradespeople and their wives. During the greater part of the seventeenth century, and perhaps later too, these contacts took place at all levels of society. The only exception was the aristocracy, but then the essentially middleclass egalitarian Dutch society did not have much time for an aristocracy, so that links at that level were not to be expected, in spite of the two marriages between Stuarts and Princes of Orange. Since Stoye writes about English travellers abroad - and most of these travellers belonged to the upper levels of society -, his surprise about 'the relative neglect of these provinces in the ordinary documents of English travel' (written by representatives of the upper layers of society), 'and the intensive, continuous exchanges of every kind between England and the Low Countries' (p 242) can easily be explained in this light.

15 At first there was also an increasing demand for Dutch. The English were not loath to learn Dutch, as has already been observed. After all Dutch was a major European language throughout much of the seventeenth century and was known to some Englishmen in England, it has been assumed that 'of the last half of the [17th] century it would be true to say that there was hardly a leading man, from Charles II downward, who had not had some experience of Dutch conditions' (Llewellyn 1936 5). The first textbook for English learners of Dutch, *The Dutch Schoole Master Wherein is shewed the true and perfect way to learne the Dutch tongue* from Marten le Mayre (Appendix 2), appeared in London in 1606, 40 years before the *English Scholc-Master* was published in Amsterdam.

16 This was far from unusual in England and Germany, at least until about 1700, most French grammars were written by Frenchmen (see Lambley 1920 and Streuber 1914).

have come down to us¹⁷) and frequently native speakers of English. Traditionally language masters ('taalmeesters') were native speakers of the target language, of whom there were a great many around in the Low Countries. Moreover, in the Northern provinces, from about 1600 onwards, they were affiliated to one of the many Protestant churches of their time, in which they usually played an active part. This is hardly surprising: for one thing, intending schoolmasters had to be granted a teaching licence by the authorities, who only gave it off to adherents of the Protestant faith; for another, the bulk of English refugees pouring into the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century had come for reasons of religion; their native language was one way for them to make a living, if only on the side, and thus inculcate religious and moral values, for which education was considered an important tool¹⁸. Throughout the period the contribution of Low Dutch-born teachers is a modest one gaining momentum only at the turn of the eighteenth century. By that time education had become a general topic for discussion and a matter of some concern¹⁹. In 1782 Van der Palm put forward that language teachers ought to be Dutch and qualified to teach one (not more) foreign language; foreigners, he explains, are not usually familiar with the learning problems of their Dutch students and frequently not trained to be teachers. Admittedly he was probably referring to French teaching - he kept a Low-Dutch and French boarding-school -, but complaints about the level of foreign language proficiency were numerous²⁰. English may have taken up a

17 It is not certain whether Elizabeth Williams and her predecessors at the Girls' School in Rotterdam were themselves teachers of English, but this is not unlikely - see Appendix 3, 1770. Among the many writers of French materials for speakers of German dealt with by Streuber (1914) there is the name of one woman, Mme. la Roche, who wrote a practical textbook in 1705 (p.110).

18 Riemens (1919 62) writes: 'Quelle que fut la nationalité des maîtres, après le triomphe de la Réforme ils devaient être protestants pour être admis'. A similar regulation applied in the Catholic South. In many textbooks and manuals the edifying strain is apparent in the selection of practice material, even the vocabulary - cf. SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 and EVANS 1747.

19 In 1782 the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen at Flushing invited contributions to their suggested improvements for the Low Dutch schools. Among the entries dealing specifically with modern language teaching there was one by K. van der Palm, boarding-school proprietor at Delfshaven - see *Verhandelingen* 1782:229-316. Other more general discussions may be found in the *Hollandsche Spectator* by Justus van Effen, in Hamelsveld 1791 and in De Vletter 1915. Another sign of a heightened interest in educational matters was the foundation of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* in 1784 by Jan and Martinus Nieuwenhuyzen (*Gedenkboek* 1934), although their concern at the time was mainly with primary education; one of their publications was entitled *Algemene Denkbeelden over Nationaal Onderwijs* (1798). Lastly, also in 1798, the first agent of national education ('agent van nationale opvoeding') was appointed, forerunner of the later Secretary of Education: Theodoor van Kooten, quickly to be succeeded by J.J.v.d.Palm (son of K.v.d.Palm above). For more references and a general survey see De Vos 1939:7-13.

20 Many of these complaints were made with respect to French, as may be seen in PELL 1735 (dialogue 8) dutifully copied in Smith 1752 (dialogue XXXII 'Of the Languages'), quoted here from the 1758 edition:

- I have the same design, the chief thing is to begin well; but I find a great deal of

more favourable position since it was not a set subject in schools (unlike French) and was only learned by those who had a need for it, usually adults. Both teachers and students were possibly more motivated to deal with their subject, but there is no recorded evidence of ELL achievements.

In the North, then, the average EFL teacher before 1800 was one of the many English or Scottish refugees residing in the Low Dutch area as practising members of a Protestant church, usually non-conformist. He lived in or near one of the major trading-centres in Flanders (before about 1600) and Holland/Zealand²¹, where English was in great demand among tradesmen, politicians and men of letters. Foremost among these centres were the Rotterdam area (Rotterdam/ Delft/ Dordrecht), Leyden university and Amsterdam; the rest of the area was virtually virgin territory²². It was common practice for him to teach more than one subject, usually two or more languages, and perhaps to take in boarders as well. The examples are numerous (see Appendix 5): Francois Hillenius was an English and Dutch instructor in Rotterdam in 1637 and later; George Smith left Utrecht in 1753 to run a French boarding-school at Woerden; Guillaume Beyer took on French, Flemish, some English, arithmetic and Italian bookkeeping in the middle of the seventeenth century; around 1775 J.-J.Gilbert is found to be a master of Latin, French, English and Low Dutch (in Leyden); in 1758 Joshua van Abra-

difficulty in that
 - How so?
 - Because the most part of Masters who take upon them to teach the Language don't understand it
 - However, there's perhaps no Master of a Language in the world, but flatters himself He understands it perfectly
 - They know perhaps something of the Grounds and how to decline the Noun, conjugate a Verb &c
 - The greatest evil I see in it is, they give us vocabularies, where above half the words are out of use, and it is impossible for a stranger to discover the good from the bad
 - And their Dialogues are still worse, and have scarce any but Proverbial ways of speaking, which are wholly of the dregs of the People
 - In a word, these sort of Masters may be good to make a beginning, but for the perfection of a Language 't is only to be acquir'd by conversing with an able Man
 There is no way of telling to what extent these comments can also be said to be relevant to ELT.

21 An indication of the geographical spread of English-speaking people in the Netherlands at the time is provided by Steven 1832-1833 in his excellent notices of British churches in the Netherlands (pp 259-344), updated in Sprunger 1982 Another indication may be found in the presence of Merchant Adventurers from 1407 (in Bruges) until the last quarter of the seventeenth century in Dordrecht, documented in De Smedt 1950-1954 and Te Lintum 1905 The Scots staple at Veere dates from 1586 - cf also Ferguson 1899-1901 and Bense 1925

22 And if there were any English teachers about, they must have been few and far between Riemens (1919) was unable to find one language teacher at Franeker university in its entire history (1585-1811) despite the fact that English and Scottish students were in the habit of going there to take up their studies Osselton (1973 32) makes an attempt at locating a teacher in Harlingen, by inference And can it be true that Gilles van Breen was able to make a living out of ELT in Harderwijk in 1592, and later in Hasselt, as suggested in Op 't Hof 1987 411?

ham Keyser apparently set himself up to teach Hebrew, Chaldean, Spanish, Portuguese and English in Maarssen; Edward Evans advertised himself as the author of an English and Dutch grammar who could teach 'the Art of true Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick; the principles of the English and Netherdutch Reformed Religion, Navigation, Geography &c. With whom Youth may Board',²³; and in the second edition of his *L'Anti-grammaire* (1681) Barthélemy Pielat calls himself a teacher of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Dutch and English as well as rhetoric, philosophy, theology and medicine²⁴. No wonder some of these teachers were not quite equal to the burden of their formidable tasks! The lives of many of these people may not have been eventful and will certainly be hard to trace. As private instructors they led a solitary life trying to eke out a subsistence through hard and mostly thankless work. Only those among them who took the trouble to put their ideas into writing - and how many of them had the time and energy to do so? - left a record from which sometimes the beginnings of a biography may be pieced together. Even then, the information is scanty, obscure and often defective.

In the South a different situation prevailed: the present-day Dutch provinces of Brabant and Limburg remained Catholic but outside the political influence of Spain and Austria. They were the last to join the United Provinces of the North, a process in which particularly Scottish regiments had been instrumental, but no lasting English settlements seem to have been established there²⁵. In the Flemish-speaking Spanish (until 1713) / Austrian Netherlands the opportunities for ELL were even less readily available than in the North. The reason for this was twofold: the demand for English as a language of commerce and culture was minimal in a country where French took pride of place and dominated the intellectual and educational scenes; secondly, the refugees coming to these parts were Catholics who, like their Puritan counterparts, had fled their hostile native country but unlike them were mostly bent on preparing themselves and others for their return to England and Ireland to perform clerical duties there and/or to keep up the Catholic traditions in general. They did not much mix with the local population, partly for the reason just mentioned, partly because the majority of them, since they belonged to a religious order, set up their own convents or colleges where they could be on their own, and partly perhaps also because

23 'Advertisement' (opposite p.1) in EVANS 1757 (ed. 1778).

24 The reference is taken from Riemens 1919:227. The first edition of this interesting book appeared in Amsterdam in 1673 - see Appendix 3.

25 There were British churches in Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Den Bosch (Bois-le-Duc), Bruges, Brussels and Ostend (Steven 1832-1833:x). In many places short-lived army chapels were set up to cater for the needs of indifferent mercenaries of English/Scottish extraction (Sprunger 1982).

there was a difference in social background between these refugees, who often came from well-to-do families, and the local religious men and women, who often did not. It has been estimated that the number of English Roman Catholic exiles on the Continent never exceeded the figure of 3.000 at any given time (Guilday 1914: xx). Many of them found shelter in one of the Catholic Foundations in the Low Countries, as is shown in Table 2 below:

foundations of men

English Colleges

Douay, Rome, Paris, Lisbon, Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, San Lúcar

Jesuit Colleges, etc.

St.Omer, Bruges, Liège, Louvain, (Ghent Watten)

Benedictine Monasteries

Douay, Dieulouard, Paris, Lamspring, St.Malo

Franciscan Friars

Douay

Dominican Friars

Bornhem-Louvain

Carmelite Friars

Tongres

Carthusian Monks

Nieuport

foundations of women

Benedictine Convents

Cambrai, Paris, Brussels, Ghent, Ypres, Boulogne-Pontoise-Dunkirk

Carmelite Nuns

Antwerp, Lieerre, Hoogstraeten, Bois-le-Duc, Alost, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Münsterfeld, Nürnberg, etc.

Austin Canonesses

Louvain, Bruges, Paris

Bridgettine Nuns

Termonde, Rouen, Lisbon

Franciscan Nuns

Gravelines, Dunkirk, Aire, Rouen, Brussels, Nieuport, Bruges, Paris

Institute of the B.V. Mary

St.Omer, Liège, Cologne, Prague, Vienna, Perugia, Trier, Naples, Presburg, Paris, Munich, Rome, etc.

Dominican Nuns

Vilvorde, Brussels

Canonesses of the Holy

Sepulchre

Liège

4. Table 2. English Roman Catholic Foundations on the Continent
(from Guilday 1914:40)

Few records about teaching activities in the South are extant, despite the fact that many of these refugees were engaged in education: the English Jesuits had set up colleges at Louvain, St.Omer and Bruges (Holt 1979); there were Irish colleges at Antwerp (1619) and Louvain (1624) (Laenen 1922); provisions had been made for the education of English girls at Louvain, Bruges and St.Omer. Moreover, there were English convents dotted about the

country and individual priests had found shelter in sundry places. In 1635 Edward Misselden could write from Antwerp: 'For this Country is full of English priests & Jesuits & nuns ... colledges & cloisters of Jesuits & nuns.' (Sprunger 1982:11). In exceptional cases local boys and girls were accepted in these schools and, one would assume, taught English: there are Flemish names among the boys educated at the Jesuit colleges of St.Omer and Bruges (Holt 1979) and in 1609 Mary Ward founded a day and boarding school for girls at St.Omer, where English was included in the curriculum (Norman 1983), a short-lived affair, however, terminating as early as 1631; in the English convents at Bruges and Louvain English girls from well-to-do families were educated in considerable numbers and although 'the eight years' stay in a cloistered convent abroad, with strange food, language, customs, no holidays, and virtually no communication with home, was a painful exile' (o.c.), this practice had a respectable tradition stretching from 1609 to 1789 in Louvain and from 1629 to 1773 in Bruges with a brief interruption at the time of the French Revolution (Daumont 1935) - there is no evidence, however, that local girls were accepted there at any time during this long period; an attempt to introduce English at the Collège-Pensionnat Royal at Bruges in 1780 proved to be abortive in the same year (Maréchal 1972:41/2); some English masters were active in Antwerp towards the end of the eighteenth century²⁶. Even at the new *centrale scholen* and the *écoles secondaires* set up in 1795 to move with the times English was not one of the subjects (Frijhoff 1983:71 note 147).

Reference should also be made to the English Protestant churches in places like Ostend, Bruges, Brussels and perhaps elsewhere, set up shortly before or even after 1800 (Steven 1832). They were undoubtedly small establishments with few provisions, catering for the needs of mainly travelling compatriots. If they were at all engaged in any kind of instruction, it will have been small-scale and of little use to local people. Their relative unimportance is confirmed by the absence of any recorded material about their histories.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that in the South very little teaching material was developed or at least has been preserved. The English schools for English youngsters would use English materials or as a good alternative French-English grammars. Since the language of instruction in

26 Van Laar 1937/8/9/ (vol.1:42) writes: 'Het verval van het onderwijs te Antwerpen nam toe in de XVIIIe eeuw. In 1789 waren er nog 25 'schrjfmeesters' en 30 ondermeesters: 17 onderwezen Fransch en rekenen; de andere Vlaamsch. Schrjven was hoofdzaak. Enkele meesters gaven Latijn, Engelsch en Duitsch'. There is a similar reference (or the same?) in Sluys 1913:389-391.

Flanders was French in most cases²⁷, these Fr-En grammars, of which there were a great many about (see e.g. Bouton 1972), would be quite acceptable to do the job. It was no coincidence, therefore, that a Du-En grammar developed in these parts was an adaptation of a French original by Mauger & Festeau with revisions by Boyer (and also Sewel, but not acknowledged in the title!); two editions appeared in 1742 in the rival cities of Ghent and Bruges respectively, their only difference being the 'Foreword'; and in the same year another French source was used for the publication of a *Vocabulary*, i.e. Boyer and Pell's double grammars. A third manual appearing in 1793 in two different editions and confusingly called *A New Pocket Dictionary* (based on Sewel, Holtrop and Berry) was in fact a full-fledged textbook. The names of the first two authors - well-known in the North - obviously carried some weight in the South as well. This was the third edition of an apparently successful manual: the two preceding large editions had been sold out quickly ('within a few years') - for details cf. Appendix 1a.

3.3 *The demand for English and other languages*

In the Low Countries, during the period under discussion, the two major languages in international contacts were undoubtedly French and Latin. In the heydays of the Republic Dutch was also sometimes used for this purpose²⁸. Other languages did not play a role of much importance; there is, however, sufficient evidence to prove that some of them were learned by a limited number of people. Among them were - in increasing order of importance - Spanish, Italian, German and English²⁹. Other languages may be ignored here: they were relevant to a restricted community (Hebrew) or they served a limited purpose for scattered individuals (Swedish, Malay etc.).

3.3.1 *Spanish*

In the Low Countries Spanish, as the language of the (former) oppressor, was never in great demand until 1800. In spite of the long presence of Spanish troops, merchants, intellectuals, Jews and magistrates in the Netherlands both North and South until 1713, few traces of this presence have

27 This enforced practice was kept up until 1883, when French was at last replaced by Dutch as the language of instruction for English, German ... and Dutch!

28 See e.g. Müller 1921:161-193, 245-260, 298-309, and also Bense 1924.

29 There was also a scholarly interest in foreign languages, mainly centered around Leyden university. Arabic and some biblical languages received a good deal of attention as did the issue of a universal language. For details see Salmon 1988 and Van Uchelen 1986.

been left in any field. Pirenne's observation that 'Spain, which ruled over Belgium for so many years, has left not a trace behind except for a few military placenames'³⁰ may be an unfounded exaggeration, the linguistic influence was minimal when placed against the presence of hundreds of thousands of Spaniards over the years (Israel 1982). The language was no doubt used in political and administrative circles, by the Jews in their communities in Antwerp and especially Amsterdam, apparently even in theatres by travelling companies who managed to entertain sympathetic audiences (Parker 1985:220). Spanish works were sometimes translated into Low Dutch - but the Dutch translated anyway -: '1485 editions of Spanish books were printed in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1785' (Parker 1985:220). And yet, very few titles of learning material for Spanish have been recorded, except the multi-lingual guidebooks from the sixteenth century (see Appendix 1a), an early *Vocabulario para aprender Franches, Espannol y Flaminco* from 1520 (Van Els & Knops 1988:297; cf. also Bourland 1933) - all of these dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century when the painful experience of Spanish rule had not yet been gone through - and a Du-Sp/Sp-Du dictionary with a brief accompanying grammar from 1659³¹. Apparently, the Jesuits in Antwerp ran a school with Spanish classes for up to 300 children towards the end of the sixteenth century³². Later references to Spanish in a learning context are extremely rare³³, but the subject needs further study to determine whether this indifference in fact existed to such a degree. There may after all have been a genuine Low Dutch interest in Spain, the country, its language, its literary works, and a Spanish interest in the Low Countries as exemplified by e.g. Josseph de la Vega's *Confusion de confusions* about the stock exchange in the Netherlands published as late as 1688³⁴, and other sources.

30 Quoted at the head of Parker's informative review essay (Parker 1985), on which much of the information in this section is based.

31 *Den nieuwen Dictionarius, in Duytsche en Spaenshe [sic] Tale ...* (Antwerp. Jer & Jan Bapt Verdussen, 1659, in *KUB), with a 12 page (folio) grammar in the back: *Den Spaensen Grammatica Seer Bequaem ende Profytelyck voor de Ionckheyt ende Liefhebbers der seluer tale . Grammatica Española Muy prouechosa por la Iuuentud y Amadores de la Lengua Española*. The dictionary is a Dutch adaptation of an original 1624/5 Fr-Sp edition by César Oudin and others (M.Nicod, C.Kilianus, M.Sasbout, G.Meurier, C.Trogney, see title page Sp-Du part), edited by Arnoldus de la Porte from Antwerp. The Du-Sp part is followed by De Berlaimont's dialogue 'For to learne to buy and sell' and some of his letters. Oudin's original *Grammaire et Observations de la langue Espagnolle receuillies et mises en François* dates from 1597.

32 Quoted from Pirenne in Maréchal 1972:32.

33 At Leyden University the number of Spanish masters was always low: two for French and Spanish and one for Spanish alone before 1800, at Franeker University only one master is known to have taught some Spanish (Riemens 1919 141 and 186). For Spanish schoolbooks in, mainly, the nineteenth century cf. De Breet & Ceton 1982.

34 Translated by G.L. Geerts (Geerts 1939) See also Brouwer 1933.

3.3.2 Italian

The Italian language enjoyed a certain degree of popularity throughout the period under discussion, with a heightened interest in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The demand was created by the new Renaissance spirit and by the increase of trade relations between the Low Countries and Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a result of the extended sea trade and of the position of Antwerp, later also Amsterdam, as the financial centres of Europe. In other fields too Italy was an attractive country for the Low Dutch: musicians and painters often went there to learn the tricks of their trade, in the field of letters Italy had a great deal to offer, and of course it was invariably included in the Grand Tour by young prosperous burghers who marvelled at the wonders of civilisation old and new in this fascinating country.

Learners of Italian could well be served by multilingual guidebooks like the *Dilucidissimus Dictionarius* for six, seven or eight languages, or De Berlaimont's *Colloquies*, which had Italian long before English. Or they could use the *Italiaansche spraakkonst, Leerende Op eenen vaste grondt De Italiaansche Taale* (Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang 1672, in *UBA), a full-fledged textbook based on seven sources acknowledged on p.4 of the preface. Other textbooks may be found among the titles for French and Italian published between 1510 and 1660 (Bingen 1987) and among the dictionaries in Claes 1974 and Riemens 1919:270/1. There is also an *Octoglotton* from 1673 by Piélat, which has Italian as one of its languages (see Appendix 1a).

Schotel (1867:97) and Muller (1896-98:371-372) agree that Italian enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the sixteenth and (early) seventeenth centuries³⁵. Riemens (1919:141) found four teachers of Italian and two for Italian and French at Leyden university, and a handful of others at the universities of Franeker and Groningen (all of them before 1700); between 1700 and 1800 these figures increased at Leyden to four (Fr and It) and fourteen for Italian alone (Riemens 1919:186). The list of languages Piélat felt competent to teach in 1681 has Italian high up and English at the bottom: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Dutch, English.

Native speakers were available, if needed, to assist would-be learners. We have at least one interesting account from the hand of Lodovico Guicciardini, an inhabitant of the Southern Low Countries for some 40 years, who published his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* in Antwerp in 1567³⁶. He was impressed by the command of foreign languages, even among people who had never left the country: 'Plusieurs y en a qui parlent allemand, anglais, italien

35 There is a reference to an Italian language master at Amsterdam in 1559 (Dietze 1927:10).

36 For a discussion of this title cf Fontaine Verwey 1976:9-31.

et espagnol, et d'autres langues plus éloignées'³⁷. Apparently foreign languages, including Italian, were taught in some of the (secondary) schools in Antwerp - a city about whose history we are particularly well informed³⁸.

From the end of the seventeenth century the references to Italian as a language for learners become very rare: it is usually included among the languages at private language schools. It seems that with the end of the Golden Age (in the Dutch Republic) the interest in Italian had died away even though travellers and artists continued to visit and admire the country and its people; however, there was, at least in the North, a lively interest in Italian books and writings, testified e.g. by the frequent inclusion of titles in the section *Letteren nieuws* of the magazine *Boekzaal*. Maréchal (1972:32) suggests that in the South the decline of foreign language learning from the seventeenth century onwards was the result of the combined efforts of the Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuits to teach French and Latin only.

3.3.3 German

There are several reasons why German as a foreign language - there were always small pockets of native speakers of German along the eastern border - did not receive a great deal of attention in the Low Countries before 1800, in spite of frequent contacts between members of these two neighbouring linguistic communities. Even after 1800, for some time still, German was by far the least known foreign language, at least in the Netherlands (Kuiper 1961:7). Low Dutch and Low German were cognate languages with (in the early stages) a good deal in common, as is shown e.g. by their widely used appellations 'Nederduytsch' and 'Niederdeutsch' respectively (see further Ch.2.2). This degree of mutual intelligibility created few problems in oral contact - many of the German refugees in the Low Countries came from the Low German regions -, even though the two languages began to divert sharply in the eighteenth century: until 1800 the linguistic overlap remained considerable in the local dialects along the border, many of which were - and to a certain extent still are - spoken with minor differences on both sides.

Another reason for the remote interest in German was the dominant position of the Flemish industrial and cultural achievements in the sixteenth

37 Quoted in Maréchal 1972.27 note 78.

38 On foreign languages see esp. Van Laar 1937/38/39, who quotes a decree from the Municipal Archives at Antwerp (27 March 1557) in which the right to teach foreign languages such as Latin, French, German, Spanish and Italian was restricted exclusively to the *Papenscholen* (vol.1:27). Nevertheless, there were apparently also some French, Spanish and Italian schools for the learning of these specific languages - the majority of these no doubt being French (vol.1:30).

century and the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic in most of the seventeenth. As a result, the transfer tended to be from West to East, with the German lands at the receiving end. This did not only apply to trade and shipping³⁹, but also to cultural⁴⁰ and linguistic (Muller 1921)⁴¹ aspects. In the eighteenth century, when the Dutch were no longer a major political and economic force, the tables were turned, at least culturally⁴².

German language learning took off late and did not step up significantly until after 1800⁴³. In the North the first bilingual textbook was published in 1668 (Knops 1982) and there were only a few to follow until 1800. Kuiper (1961:73-78) has convincingly demonstrated the overriding importance of Meidinger's *Praktische französische Grammatik* (1783), which was used and imitated in the Netherlands during most of the nineteenth century in translation or even in its original Fr-Gn edition. But this was mainly after 1800. No masters of German were appointed at Leyden university before 1700 in spite of the presence of substantial numbers of German students and professors there, but as many as eleven between 1700 and 1800, and one more, who taught French and German (Riemens 1919:186). In the South we know of some German masters at Antwerp in the sixteenth century (Van Laar 1937:-27). Maréchal (1972:42/3) mentions a school in Brussels where German was offered from 1779 (but it is not clear whether as a first or second language) and also some German masters in Antwerp in 1789.

3.3.4 Latin

The position of Latin for purposes of communication was subject to considerable changes after 1500 as a result of Renaissance and Reformation. In the Middle Ages it had been a living second language for scholars and clergy; and although that position was retained during the next few centuries in the universities, where Latin was the language of instruction until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and within the Roman Catholic church, it was permanently crippled by the rise of the new languages, which were

39 For extensive documentation see Heeres 1984. Pirenne notes that the language of communication for members of the Hanseatic League used to be Flemish/Low Dutch, but it was replaced by French during the seventeenth century (quoted in Maréchal 1972:31/2).

40 Cf. Kossmann 1901, Furstner 1956:150ff and Oestreich 1973.

41 ELL textbooks are not known to have been influenced by German sources. This is curious, since French and English sources were used all the more. Here too the influence seems to have gone the other way: RICHARDSON 1677 was consulted by the German Offelen and SEWEL 1705 by Matthias Kramer.

42 See e.g. Huizinga 1948-53:304-331.

43 Even then the number of titles for German language learning in the Netherlands between 1668 and 1917, collected in Knops 1982, do not amount to more than 511, against well over 700 for English in the same period.

'living', as against Latin, which became more and more fossilised. However, it enjoyed status and the privilege of being used and taught in the universities, in Roman Catholic seminaries and in schools. These schools were the so-called Latin Schools⁴⁴ in the North and the *Papenschoolen*, later *Colleges* in the South, which had developed from the old chapter schools and usually came under the authority of the town councils. They were found in almost every major city up and down the Low Countries and experienced a period of almost excessive growth in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when some of them attracted hundreds of pupils for a while from all over Europe - 900 in Alkmaar alone under the renowned Murmellius (Stellwag 1949:47). Soon these numbers dropped, however, particularly in the North⁴⁵; by the end of the eighteenth century many of the schools lingered on with sometimes fewer than 10 pupils in the smaller towns. The reasons for this general decline must be looked for in the diminishing use of Latin but also in the deplorable quality of the teaching in the schools: the timetable included nothing but Latin, some Greek and perhaps Logic from early morning (sometimes 6 a.m.!) until late in the afternoon (5 p.m.)⁴⁶; the emphasis seems to have been on deductive grammar, memorising and translation, even though other teaching methods were vigorously advocated by e.g. Petrus Camper in magazines like *De Denker* and *De Philosoph* (cf. Buijsters 1984:98, note 21); this kind of criticism was nothing new, before him it had been levelled at the practices of Latin teaching in the Low Countries (cf. Fortgens 1958:46 and 126) and abroad by Melanchton, Ratke (Ratichius), Comenius, Hamilton and others. It is not surprising that few boys (girls?) were attracted by these rigours. There were half-hearted attempts to bring the schools more up to date by adding some geography, history or mythology to the classical diet - modern languages were rarely accepted⁴⁷ -, but it took much of the nineteenth century to effect any lasting changes in the

44 'Latijnsche School' or sometimes 'Grote School' An interesting concise survey is provided in Stellwag 1949 43-71, with useful references to the histories of individual schools in the Northern Netherlands The early Latin Schools and their humanist ideals are discussed in Bot 1955 For more references see Bastiaanse *et al* (eds) 1985 15-16

45 In the South Latin continued to enjoy a certain degree of popularity through the efforts of the Roman Catholic church and the Jesuits (see Maréchal 1972 32) For a more detailed account of the quantitative aspects of some of these schools see Frjnhoff 1983 19-20 and Bastiaanse *et al* 1985

46 It is instructive (and depressing) to look at some of the timetables printed in Post 1954 118 and Ekker 1863/4 66-78

47 Some English seems to have been offered at the *Illustere School* of Dordrecht and perhaps also at the Latin School at Almelo - see Appendix 5 See also De Booy 1980 Kuiper 1961 16-25 contains a good survey of the very critical comments of these schools and of the attempts to introduce some foreign language teaching during the first half of the nineteenth century

curriculum⁴⁸.

So the demand for Latin between 1500 and 1800, always restricted to clergy and scholars, was for a while also extended to those who wanted a classical Renaissance education. It dropped considerably after the middle of the seventeenth century, but the language never lost its status and the favourable disposition of the local authorities, who maintained the Latin Schools against their apparent insufficiency⁴⁹.

Schoolbooks were available in considerable quantity; for titles and comments on content the interested reader is referred to Stellwag 1949, Bot 1955 and the sources referred to in these books.

3.3.5 French

From the sixteenth century onwards Latin as the *lingua franca* for scholars and clergy was slowly replaced in many countries by French as an important second language frequently used in international contacts. In the Low Countries French was always the first language of some and the second of most other people; it served as the prestige language for the ruling classes, but it was also frequently used in trade and business particularly in the South. After about 1600 until well into the nineteenth century it was the dominant language in the Flemish-speaking provinces; and although it lost much of its practical use in the independent Northern provinces, where the vernacular could freely develop and rise to a position of European stature for a while, it remained without challenge the first foreign language for many until the second world war⁵⁰.

There was an overwhelming demand for French in many walks of life and this demand did not diminish with time. It was certainly the case in the South: early successful French language teachers in Antwerp and Ghent were Noël de Berlaimont, Claude Luython, Gabriel Meurier, Peter Heyns, Gérard Vivre and others (Riemens 1919, ch. 3 and *passim*), who established what could almost be described as a foreign language learning tradition, which they exported to the North⁵¹. French was learned almost as a second language by many who needed it in their daily life, often during long stays

48 In the North the Education Act ('Hoger Onderwijswet') dealing with the *Gymnasium* was passed on 28 April 1876. English was from then on one of the set subjects in this type of school. In the South one foreign language was compulsory in the Latin Departments of the *Athénée* from 18 July 1869, with English as one of the options (Maréchal 1972:126).

49 Kuiper 1961:22 mentions local patriotism and a petty bourgeois attitude among the authorities as reasons for the new lease of life extended to some of these (virtually extinct) schools.

50 French was widely used throughout Europe - see for details also Lambley 1920:259ff, 391 and *passim*.

51 A description of one of these schools for girls is given in Sabbe 1929.

in French-speaking communities and otherwise in a linguistically rich environment. Maréchal (1972:38) tells us that during the Austrian period 'on étudia encore le français en Flandre, car par suite de la francisation par les idées, la langue française avait fait, dans notre pays, de tel progrès qu'il semblait qu'elle fût en passe de devenir la seule langue du pays, tant le flamand reculait devant lui dans les provinces du Nord'. As early as 1562 a chair of French was established at the University of Louvain, but it was suppressed at the beginning of the eighteenth century)⁵².

In the North French was also the dominant language next to Low Dutch, but more as a foreign than second language. It was learned in daily contacts with native speakers, often refugees from the Southern Netherlands, but also in the so-called French Schools. These schools were at first frequently run by Walloon, French or Flemish immigrants. Although there had been such schools long before 1500⁵³, the first explicit reference to one dates from 1503, when the burgomasters of Amsterdam gave off a licence to teach French and other subjects to Jacob van Schoonhoven from Bruges (Riemsens 1919:15). Slowly but steadily their numbers increased, until in the latter half of the sixteenth and the whole of the next two centuries they were found throughout the Netherlands in every town of some importance (Riemsens 1919:89). Unlike the Latin Schools they had a flexible curriculum (cf. Frijhoff *et al.* 1983:164), in which foreign languages usually had a place; they were attended by large numbers of boys and girls, if their parents could afford the modest fee, and they served a practical purpose; they were also the forerunners of the later secondary schools.

French Schools ('Fransche Scholen') were for boys and girls between roughly the ages of 10 and 15; they could be mixed or single sex, day or boarding⁵⁴. The schoolmaster did not always receive financial support from the local authorities from whom he got his licence, so that the fees tended to be higher than some could afford. Consequently the pupils would be middle class, and the schools were considered to be fashionable. There was no fixed curriculum: possible subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, French, religious instruction, domestic science, Dutch, bookkeeping, etc., and at the end of the eighteenth century also some English and German; Latin was strictly reserved for the Latin Schools, although towards the end of the eighteenth century some *Latijns-Franse Instituten* were set up in an attempt to break the barriers. The amount of French varied considerably: sometimes

52 For more and much more detailed information about the position of French as a foreign language in Flanders see Maréchal 1972 and the many sources quoted there.

53 In the middle of the thirteenth century Count Floris V was sent to school to learn French and Dutch, as we learn from the *Rijmkronyk* by Melis Stoke (quoted in Bloem & Ter Gouw 1861:18): '... ter Scolen gaen Walsch ende Dietsch leeren wel.'

54 Cf. Frijhoff *et al.* 1983:21ff and *passim*.

all the teaching took place in French, but it was also possible for French to be excluded from the timetable; this is why in some cases the existing name of Dutch School ('(Neder)Duytsche School') would have been just as appropriate, the more so since these Dutch Schools sometimes offered some French too (*Verhandelingen* 1782:337).

French was the only modern foreign language regularly taught in schools as part of the curriculum. This led to an astonishing amount and variety of teaching material for children (see note 13 in Ch.2) and to a sensitivity for methodological issues, which has not yet been explored in sufficient detail, at least in the Low Countries.

3.3.6 English

English began to be accepted in the school curriculum at about 1800, but it was to take another 60 years before it found itself a firm place in some types of secondary school in Belgium and the Netherlands through the Education Acts of 1850 and 1863 respectively. Before that time English language learning took place outside the confinements of the school⁵⁵, with a few exceptions. Students and teachers rarely, if ever, worked in large educational establishments and if they did English tended to be an optional subject for beginners only. Still, references to schools and to teaching practice can be found in various sources from c1551 onwards. Walraven informs us that there were no schools for English in Leyden in 1586 until he, as a learner, set up his own - an example that could easily be followed in other places⁵⁶. Hillenius published his *Low Dutch Instructor* in 1664, which seems late in view of what he has to say about himself in the preface (p.3):

'and having occasion by the Profession I have taken up (where I have been Authorized by the Hble Majestates of the City of Rotterdam, in the year 1637) to keep an English and Dutch Schoole here'.

In *The English Schole-Master* of 1646 ('Forward', p.3) the unknown writer refers to

'the earnest provocations of some whom I have my selfe instructed therein upon their understanding the method which I observed in teaching them'

55 In a historical context the word 'school' could designate a building with classrooms for instruction of (large) groups of students - as it is used today - or any other place, often a private house, used for instruction to individuals or small groups

56 See WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586 11 and Ch 3 1 above

On the title page of Evans' *Short and clear Instruction* of 1747 we read that the book was

'chiefly intended for Brush Youth in the Netherlands also such of the Netherdutch Youth, as intend to receive instruction in the English Tongue'

and that the writer was employed 'in the English Boarding-School, on the Glashaven, Rotterdam'. Wildeman claimed that his *Vocabularium* of 1763 was fit to be used for teaching in schools⁵⁷; and the unknown writer of *The First Rudiments* of c1804 aims at a large market, when he tells us that it was written 'for use of Schools and private instruction'.

These and similar statements seem to point to a firmly rooted tradition of English language teaching from at least 1551 onwards. But this is only true in a general sense: many of the activities were isolated enterprises, often for short periods of time and on an individual basis.

Before 1800 English was never an important language in the Low Dutch area: it was generally looked upon as useless. The poor knowledge of English on the Continent in general is a point of frequent comment. In 1578 John Florio, an English linguist of Italian descent, complained: 'English is a language that will do you good in England, but past Dover it is worth nothing.' (*First Frutes*). Later, in 1634, Sir William Brereton when travelling from The Hague to Loosduinen, where a woman was reported to have given birth to 365 children, during his visit to the Low Countries, overheard a small boy saying in jest: 'The dogs bark, the cocks crow, cows bleat like English ones, and the men can speak no English' (Brereton 1844:36). Edward Richardson seems to give more credit to the Dutch language than to his own when he writes: 'and, if any heed may be given to some Prophetical rimes which I have seen of a 100. years standing⁵⁸, this Belgick is likely to be yet far more esteemed of, and usefull than it's Neighbour-Languages' (RICHARDSON 1677, 'To the reader'), or is he only being polite? At the turn of the century the writer John Dennis is reported to have said: 'on peut faire bien du chemin au delà de leurs Isles, sans trouver trois personnes, qui aient une médiocre connaissance de la Langue Anglaise' (quoted in Reesink 1931:44). The absence of much English and even the disdain for it persist into the eighteenth century and after, in spite of what Reesink calls a widespread wave of *anglomania* in the field of letters during the latter part of that century. In 1752 George Smith, writer of an ELL textbook, commented on the contrast between the need for English in his days and the disdain for it in previous times: 'Dus heeft nu de Engelsche Taal haar byzondere nuttigheid

57 'geschikt om in schoolen tot lessen te gebruiken' (title page)

58 These 'prophetical rhymes of a 100 years standing' may have been the remarks about the superiority of the Dutch language and the baseness of English as a derived language from H L Spiegel in his *Twe-spraack* of 1584 (e.g. p 103)

en noodwendigheid, door de onderlinge handelinge [sic] der Nederlanders met de Engelschen; voortyds was die Taal zeer veragt, doe het Volk zelve nog zo aenzieklyk niet was, en zig binnens Lands met de Boere neeringe geneerden' (preface SMITH 1752; the phrase was omitted in later editions). In the seventeenth nineties a member of the senate of Utrecht University could still exclaim: But who, gentlemen, reads English? ('Maar wie, heeren, leest er Engelsch?')⁵⁹. And as late as 1822 B.S. Naylor makes the pitiable position of English a point for discussion in his *An Appeal to the Judgement of the Dutch and French Inhabitants of the City of Amsterdam on the Subject of the English Language*, in which he feels obliged to comment on Bilderdijk's translation of Pope's 'Essay on Man': 'Bilderdijk's *De Mensch* is published in Holland, where the English language is not sufficiently cultivated to draw public censure upon such a disgraceful compilation'.

These and similar observations reflect the humble position of English in the Low Dutch area and indeed on the Continent as a whole⁶⁰, a position which is confirmed by the absence of English in the school curricula and in relevant eighteenth century magazines such as *MML* and *Boekzaal* (cf. sections like *Letterennieuws*, *Akademy- en Schoolnieuws* or *Naemlyst van uitgekomen Boeken*), which contained references to French, Dutch, Latin and Italian but rarely to English⁶¹. It was strengthened by a widespread belief among non-native, and sometimes even native, speakers that the language was far from perfect and even unpleasant to the ear. In c1550 Andrew Boorde from London admits that 'the speche of Englande is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italian, Castilian and Frenche', but hastens to add: 'howbeit the speche of Englande of late dayes is amended' (quoted in Reesink 1931:38). In 1691, in the preface of his dictionary, Willem Sewel, Dutch Quaker, translator and writer with an English background, takes up the cudgels for the English language by praising its richness and power of expression to a nation that had a low opinion of it⁶². Naylor summarises the general attitude towards his native language as follows: it is 'une langue qui a de quoi empoissonner les chiens et les chats; elle est pauvre, dure, sans harmonie aucune, et somme toute idiome impossible auquel personne ne

59 Quoted in Hoftijzer 1987:5/6. Is it surprising that it was not until 1957 that Utrecht as the last Dutch university accepted an English department within its walls?

60 Cf. also Lambley's notes on the neglect of English (Lambley 1920:62,272ff).

61 Although references to the English language are rare, the interest in translated English works on cultural and political subjects is quite noticeable, particularly in the early volumes of the *Boekzaal* - cf. e.g. the 37 English titles in May/June 1701 immediately after the table of contents in the back. Some of the rare references to English as a language occur in May 1793:537, September 1793:325 and January 1794:82, where readers are invited to submit their contributions to an essay competition in (readable!) Low Dutch, Latin, French, High German or English.

62 '. . . welke Taal, schoon zy by velen weynig wordt geacht, echter zo ryk en krachtig in haare uytdrukselen is, dat zy diesaangaande voor geene andere behoeft te wyken . . .'. See also his contributions to *Boekzaal* March/April 1705 and July/August 1708.

comprend rien' (Nayler 1822, chap. 1).

But there was also admiration and pride. In 1586 Walraven calls himself 'a meane Scholer, Freend and Lover of your tonge' (and signs off - proudly, one feels - with the anglicized form of his name: *James Wair*, 'To the Gentle Reader' in WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586). Hexham addresses the dedication of his dictionaries to Sir Bartholomew van Wouw, Knight, who is 'both a Lover of our Nation and Speech, and can both understand and speak it well' (HEXHAM 1648). V. d. Bommenaer had had an attachment to the English language from his youth, a sentiment several times repeated in his 'Aan den Leezer' (BOMMENAER 1738). Holtrop is all admiration when he calls English the language of Europe that is the richest in words, the most explicit and the most pregnant ('de woordenrykste, de nadrukkelykste, en de zinrykste Taal van Europa', in 'Voorbericht' of HOLTROP 1780).

As early as the thirteenth century there had been close contacts between the English and the Low Dutch (at first mostly the Flemish) in the wool and cloth trade and industry (Bense 1924). These lively contacts were maintained by individuals but especially by companies like the Merchant(s) Adventurers and others. The activities of the Merchants are particularly well documented (Te Lintum 1905, De Smedt 1950/4). They had courts and staples in places like Bruges and Antwerp (before 1586), Bergen op Zoom, Middelburg (1586--1621), Delft (1621-1635), Rotterdam (1635-1655) and Dordrecht (1655-1668). Their chapels were found in numerous places. They were part of a much larger English community estimated at some 3.500 in the latter part of the sixteenth century (De Smedt 1950/4:123); later estimates vary from about 2000 in Rotterdam in the first quarter of the seventeenth century - which induced some to call it 'little London' (Carr 1691:7) - to at least 10.000 in the Northern provinces as a whole at a slightly later date (Sprunger 1982)⁶³. Traders had perhaps not come to stay; indeed Merchant Adventurers were not supposed to acquire citizenship in a foreign country. But they needed to have at least a smattering of the foreign language to conduct their business, so language learning was inevitably part of their activities abroad and conversely their Flemish and Dutch colleagues had to dip into English. Since there were so many native speakers around, the foreign language will have been mostly acquired in daily contacts. But some (primitive multi-)lingual

63 These figures are modest compared to the vast numbers of Walloons and Flemings, and the large German community. In the whole of the Netherlands the total number of Spaniards is estimated at 250.000 between 1543 and 1706 (Parker 1985). More information about the early presence of an English-speaking community in the Low Countries is provided by Bense 1925, De Smedt 1950/4, Rooseboom 1910 and many others (see the extensive bibliography in De Smedt vol 1) The *Mededelingen van de Caledonian Society* regularly contain publications about Scottish *poorters* (citizens) at Veere, Scottish garrisons, marriages of Scottish men and women in the Netherlands, etc.

guides were available for those who wanted them and names of English masters are known to us from as early as 1551 (Appendix 5).

However, the need for the Dutch-speaking traders to learn English was not an urgent one: the English were just as ready to learn Dutch and remained so until the end of the seventeenth century. Walraven (1586:10) is clear enough on this point: '... by the arriving of his Excell.' [i.e. the Earl of Leicester] 'in this Low countreyes many of bothe our nations are oftentimes (for lacke of understanding one an other) stayed to demaunde and answerc to buye and to sell: not without great lette and trouble on every syde and therefore no lesse constreygned then desyrous to learne eche others speache.' And in the same work Thomas Basson uses these lines to recommend Walraven's 'matter straunge, it may be saide, the like was neuer hearde':

*For throughe hus paynes, hee there vvith shovves,
Great loue vnto all sutch.
Beside a zealous mynde to those,
That learne for to speake Dutch.
Like-vvyse vnto all them dooth hee,
That Inglishe novv vwill learne:
As bothe, maye vvell perceaue and se,
And hus good vwill decerne.*
(WALRAVEN/WHESTSTONE 1586:9)

In 1646 an anonymous English schoolmaster goes one better when he observes:

'& having seen by occasion of myne owne employments, that there are divers wayes and means wherby we that are of the English nation & inhabiting these Countries may further and helpe our selves in attayning to the knowledge and speech of the Dutch tongue, with lesse trouble than the Netherlanders can the understanding and speech of our tongue'
(SCHOLEMASTER 1646, preface)⁶⁴.

In the eighteenth century the literary and scholarly achievements in Britain created a new impulse to the learning of English: a wave of *anglo-*

64 In the eighteenth century we hear quite the opposite:

-The English Tongue is not very hard for Dutch men.

-The Dutch Language is far more difficult for English men,

-The English Language is very much in fashion now..'

(SMITH 1752, Dialogue 10).

-The English tongue is not difficult for Dutchmen to learn.

-I fancy the Dutch Tongue is much more difficult for Englishmen

-There's no doubt of it...'

(EVANS 1757, Dialogue 1).

These comments from native speakers of English are counterbalanced by this remark from the Dutchman Baldwin Janson: 'Their tongue [i.e. Low Dutch] is so easily acquired by the English, that two or three lessons are sufficient for reading it properly, and a few weeks to understand and speak it. It has this advantage peculiar to itself, that it preserves the exact conformity between the pronunciation in the alphabet and orthography: no variation whatever being admitted in the sound of letters, when formed into words' (preface of Janson's *A Grammar of the Dutch Language* 1792 in UBA)

*mania*⁶⁵ swept the Continent, in its wake English works were read and imitated, and a curiosity in the language was aroused. It is far from easy, however, to determine the impact of this impulse on the demand for ELL. There was certainly a new interest in things English, but translations were provided of all the major works, so that a good reading knowledge of English could be dispensed with. Thus, no English editions of Bunyan's works were printed in the Dutch Republic but numerous translations were available⁶⁶; an equally popular work like Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was translated into Dutch soon after its first release (1719) in 1722 (see DEFOE in Appendix 1b) and often reprinted; and in his dissertation on the reception of Swift's works in the Netherlands Jagtenberg assumes implicitly that these works were read in translation (Jagtenberg 1989:34)⁶⁷. Not infrequently, French translations were provided, among them the numerous ones by Justus van Effen including an early one in 1720/21 of *Robinson Crusoe*, even before the Dutch translation of 1722 (cf. Pienaar 1929:258); the interest in English letters was generally expressed in the many French periodicals published in the Netherlands between roughly 1680 and 1760 - cf. the three magazines studied in Reesink 1931 and also *Bibliothèque Angloise ou l'Histoire Littéraire de la Grande Bretagne* (1717-1728) / *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Angloise* (1755/6), *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne* (1720-1724), *Bibliothèque Britannique* (1733-1747) and *Journal Britannique* (1750-1755) (discussed in Janssens 1975). It is not unlikely that the translations, in French or Dutch, satisfied most readers and that these readers were as little tempted to learn English as we are today to learn, say, Swedish after reading a translated best seller from that language. This idea is confirmed by the slight increase in ELL materials throughout the eighteenth century (although stepped up rather markedly after 1790). A good command of English was not required in the field of letters. If anywhere, it was in the fields of trade and business that it became an even more useful asset than before, since the British began to dominate the seas, expand their Empire and introduce English as the first language in (colonial) America. With their new self-confidence and sense of superiority coupled with the decline of the Dutch Republic they were less willing to learn Dutch (or other foreign languages) and the Dutch more eager to learn English.

65 On this concept of *anglomania* see Reesink 1931 and Green 1929.

66 Checked in the Bunyan Collection of the library at the *Vrije Universiteit* Amsterdam, which contains 550 titles.

67 The 67 titles of books and articles by Swift in Jagtenberg 1989 are all in Dutch or French.

3.4 *ELL in the French- and German-speaking areas*

ELL in the Low Dutch area was not an isolated activity; it was part of a larger development taking place in the surrounding parts of Europe. There was an exchange of ideas and materials with the EFL scene in, particularly, the French-speaking area, but also with the FrLL tradition in England. Some of this cross-fertilisation will be outlined below in an attempt to define more clearly the context of the Low Dutch ELL developments.

3.4.1 *The French-speaking area*

The subject of ELL in France before 1800 has not received, it seems, any attention to date. My attempts to gain access to potential source material have failed to produce useful references. Partly because of this but also on the basis of occasional comments in Lambley 1920, on whose penetrating study much of the following is based, and of the low position of English on the Continent as a whole it may be assumed that ELL/ELT were severely restricted activities in France, at least before 1800 and probably also long after that date. It should also be remembered that the need for Frenchmen to learn English was minimal in view of the superior position of their own language in England (see Ch.3.5 below) and of the interminable political animosity between the two nations⁶⁸. Moreover the French were not in the habit of going to England as much as the English did to France on their Tour of the Continent, and those (Frenchmen) who did go were likely to get by with their French.

Still, those speakers of French who wanted to learn English in France, could turn to at least two kinds of tutors. The first kind was made up of the professional teachers of French in England, who were naturally inclined on occasion to return to France as their native country or who would live there for a while to brush up their French (if they were non-native speakers of the language). Many of these were extremely successful, capable experts in their field, who had often written learning material of a high standard. Some of them are actually known to have lived in France during their careers in England, among them Claude Holyband (or: de Sainliens) at the end of the sixteenth century, Pierre Lainé in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Englishman Jacob Villiers and Claude Mauger towards the end of that century - for more names see Lambley 1920:293. Many others, well-known or more obscure, will have done the same thing as a natural

⁶⁸ The links between Scotland and France in Stuart times produced a heightened interest for English in France - see e.g. F.Michel, *Les Écossais en France et les Français en Écosse* (1862).

extension of their daily work. This is the more likely since some had had a teaching background in France before they went - or were forced to go for reasons of religion - to England and London in particular. Blois was a place from which several impulses for FrLL in England came in the course of the seventeenth century. It was a haunt for 'many lords and gentlemen of divers nations' to learn French; one of the tutors there at the turn of the sixteenth century was Charles Maupas 'well known to be a famous teacher of the French tongue to many of the English and Dutch nobility and gentry' (Lambley 1920:227). He did not go to England but later inhabitants of the same place - Mauger, Festeau, Penson - did and they wrote ELL material that no doubt found its way to France.

A second potential source of English tutors was found among the numerous English sons (and daughters?) in their twenties, who went on a Tour in France to finish their education. These young noblemen went in large numbers, sometimes after a period of study at one of the French educational establishments in their home country. They often visited the same places: Rouen, Orléans, Paris, the Loire towns; if they wanted to study (French) seriously, they would enroll at one of the Protestant universities, particularly the one at Saumur, or at one of the many Huguenot schools, colleges or academies, among the latter of which Montpellier was extremely popular. Catholics would of course prefer places of their own particular denomination, which they could pick and choose. There were always English students in France and just as in the Low Countries they will have offered their services, if only to make a little money, to those Frenchmen who were soliciting their services⁶⁹.

Rouen, as a major trading port with England, may have served as the centre for ELL in France from an early date. Indeed, several textbooks for English were printed and reprinted (Lambley 1920:280) in this busy place close to Boulogne and Dieppe, where incoming Englishmen were wont to arrive. It is not certain whether these books were actually written in Rouen by practising tutors there, but the oldest surviving bilingual English textbook for French learners appeared there in 1553: *Traité pour apprendre a parler François et Anglois*. There was also a *Grammaire Angloise pour facilement et promptement apprendre la langue angloise* printed in Rouen in 1625 but based on an earlier work⁷⁰. Bordeaux may have been another city where English was in some demand owing to its long historical connections with England. Among the works published there we find Mauger's Fr-En grammar of 1689. Other places were Paris and Lyons: early multilingual guides like *Le Dictionnaire des huict langiages* were published in Paris in 1546 and later in

69 Cf. Lambley 1920:341-360 for more documentation about the Tour in France by Englishmen.

70 Its possible printing history is discussed in Lambley 1920:276/7.

many editions in Paris and Lyons⁷¹, as were some of the *Colloques et Dictionnaire* based on De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare* (for editions see Claes 1974) and the *Janua Linguarum Quadrilinguis or the Gate to the Latine, English, Frenche and Spanish Tongues* from the Parisian Jean Barbier printed in London in 1617.

Many textbooks developed in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found their way to the French market through Rouen and other routes. This abundance of material could easily satisfy what market there was and the numerous reprints in France (see e.g. Alston 1967) would seem to suggest that the demand for English was not altogether absent.

The eighteenth century saw the publication of new materials by Englishmen and Frenchmen alike, among them V.J.Peyton *Les Vrais Principes de la Langue Angloise* (London 1756), Thomas Berry *Vraie Méthode pour apprendre facilement à parler, à lire et à écrire l'Anglois* (Paris 1762), J.B.Robinet & J.B.Dehaynin *Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise* (1765), L.P.Siret *Eléments de la Langue Angloise, ou méthode pratique pour apprendre facilement cette langue* (Paris 1773) and J.S. Charrier *Abrégé de la Grammaire Angloise* (1799?)⁷². By that time English had begun to gain in importance if only through its literary achievements, with an ensuing increased interest in it among (some) speakers of French.

In comparison with the Low Dutch area there was ample opportunity for ELL in France, and perhaps even more if we take into account the continual flow of English visitors to that country and the amount of learning material available for the purpose⁷³. There is no saying to what extent this potential was made use of. All we can be sure of is that, as in the Low Dutch area, English was learned from private tutors and that it seems to have been restricted mostly to the higher strata of society. The latter point needs further study, however; if it proves to be true, it will mark a difference with the situation in the Low Dutch area, where English was mostly needed by merchants and traders. Close inspection of the textbooks may reveal that e.g. commercial letters, which were invariably included in the Dutch manuals, are not a regular feature in the French ones and that dialogues about the state of England, gentlemen and gentlewomen, the Court, etc. abound in the French books, while they seem to be distinctly out of place in the Dutch ones although sometimes occurring in them as borrowed material. And were

71 This was an adaptation of the well-known manual for German and Italian developed at the end of the fifteenth century - see *SEPTEM LINGUARUM* 1540 in Appendix 1a and especially Bart-Rossebastiano 1984.

72 For details and more names see Alston 1967. The titles quoted here all found their way to the Low Countries.

73 Alston's list for speakers of French is much longer than that for speakers of Dutch.

women perhaps more likely to apply themselves to a study of English than men? The French textbooks - both for English and French - devote a good deal of space to women and matters feminine, a striking difference with the Dutch ones. Finally it should be noted that the tone of the texts and dialogues in the French manuals tends to be wordy, even frivolous, when set against the decidedly religious and moral streak in the Dutch ones, which might again point to different target groups.

3.4.2 *The German-speaking area*

The field of ELL in the German-speaking area before 1800 has been documented extensively over a long period of time. Two early studies are by Löwisch (1889) on English pronunciation in textbooks before 1750, which also deals with some of the Low Dutch works) and Wüllenweber (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Grammatiken im 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1892). Another important contribution came from Achle (1938) with his study of *Die Anfänge des Unterrichts in der englischen Sprache, besonders auf den Ritterakademien*. However, it was Schröder's thesis of 1969 about ELT in German-speaking universities, which has proved to be the main thrust to a more widespread interest in the subject. It was followed by his survey of textbooks and manuals for ELL until 1900 (Schröder 1975) and by Von Walter's thesis on the history of ELT in (mainly) grammar schools until the same year (Von Walter 1982). Other relevant publications are usefully listed in Schröder & Weller's bibliography in a special issue of *Die Neueren Sprachen* (April 1980:229-231) on the history of foreign language teaching in the German-speaking area; this bibliography is part of a larger 'Bibliographie zur Geschichtsschreibung im Bereich des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und der fremdsprachlichen Philologien', which lists more interesting titles (ibid.:221-232). This special issue also contains an informative analysis by Jung of language teaching ideas expressed in the prefaces of 28 ELL textbooks for speakers of German from before 1800 (ibid.: 161-174).

ELL in the German-speaking area took place in at least four different settings. There was of course the private sector as the most common setting for foreign language learning. Language masters or *Sprachmeister*⁷⁴ acted as tutors in schools of their own or as *Hofmeister* with noble families; they were found in the seaports of Northern Germany, in commercial contexts and later throughout the area. Then there were the *Ritterakademien* (Knight

74 The term 'Sprachmeister' was used in several meanings and became ultimately an unfavourable denotation for a language teacher (Schröder 1969:33-38 and Streuber 1914:17-18); see also Ch.3.6.3 below.

Academies) for young noblemen, where a practical command of foreign languages enjoyed a certain amount of respect (cf. Aehle 1938). This respect was much lower in the universities, the third setting, where *magistri linguarum exoticarum* were appointed but not greatly appreciated, as their activities tended to be mainly skill-oriented. However, during the eighteenth century, and particularly in the last two decades of it, the emphasis shifted significantly in the direction of English literature; the major works and their authors were much studied in lectures and classes (Schröder 1969:80-93), and they created a heightened interest in the English language. The fourth setting were the schools, grammar schools (*Gymnasium*) and secondary modern schools (*Realschule*), where English began to be introduced as an optional subject from about the middle of the eighteenth century (Von Walter 1982). It was not until 1859 when it became a set subject in the *Realschulen*.

The first speakers of German with a need to learn English were probably merchants in the North German sea ports trading with England as members of the Hanseatic League (Schröder 1969:12). They may have learned the language during a long stay in England (Schröder 1980, nrs. 002, 011), but the references are few and far between. From the Northern Low German area ELL slowly spread to the middle and Southern parts, where it began to take root in the eighteenth century. But all this never amounted to very much: documentation is available for some 46 English language masters at 22 German-speaking universities until 1780, mostly in the Northern parts; these numbers rose to more than 200 in the period between 1780 and 1850 (Schröder 1969:38,55). In the period before 1800 some form of ELL took place at 11 Grammar Schools, again mainly in the Low German parts (Von Walter 1982:274-276). It should be remembered that these tentative figures apply to a vast area and do not tell us anything about the extent of these activities, which is likely to have been extremely limited; this assumption is confirmed by the relative scarcity of ELL materials in the same period: Schröder (1975) has 158 titles only, many of which appeared after 1780.

The first English 'school' that we know of may have been the one at Wesel mentioned in Aehle 1938:53; the first recorded language master at a German university was Johannes Saltzmann, who matriculated at Greifswald on 13 October 1686 'linguae Anglicae et Gallicae peritus' (Schröder 1969:20). The first bilingual textbook is Heinrich Offelen's *Zweifache gründliche Sprachlehre ...* (London 1687), based on Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica ...* (1677), although an even earlier manual appeared in 1670 with the title *Clavis linguae anglicanae ...* (Seidelmann 1724:xxxvii).

The development of ELL in the Low Dutch and German-speaking areas between 1500 and 1800 offers some interesting points for comparison. It was

similar in a number of ways: the slow start, the absence of English as a set subject in school curricula and the introduction of it at around the middle of the nineteenth century, the relative scarcity of learning materials and the overall insignificance of it throughout the period. It was different in many other ways. English was learned for commercial purposes in both areas, but in the German context there was a rather marked development of interest in English literature during the eighteenth century, particularly at the universities, which did not take place in the Low Dutch area to a similar extent. It led to the production of reading material (Schröder 1975) unparalleled in the Low Countries, where the main if not only motive for ELL remained a commercial one. This point is confirmed by the spread of ELL across the areas: in the German lands it spread from North to South, where it caught on towards the end of the eighteenth century, whereas in the Low Dutch area throughout the whole period the 'schools' for ELL were mainly confined to the strip of land along the Western seaboard of the Dutch Republic (see Map 1 in Ch.2.2) and a spread from North to South did not take place; nor did the Dutch universities seem to have played any part in the promotion of English. Another point of difference has to do with the character of the practice material, which was moral if not religious in tone in the Republic but much more profane in the German-speaking area; this may partly be explained by the demand for English among the German upper classes, whose interests naturally differed from those of the Calvinist traders in the Republic. Lastly, there do not seem to have been many ELL links between the two areas, in spite of their proximity and of the nearness of the languages. If there were any influences, they went from West to East during most of the period under discussion and only started to go the other way with Meidinger at around the turn of the eighteenth century. Examples of this West-to-East movement were the collections of dialogues based on De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare* (1530?), the reliance of Offelen's textbook of 1687 - first published in London! - on Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* (1677) and of Kramer's grammar of 1746 on Sewel's *Compendious Guide* of 1705. A similar movement may be observed for FrLL, in which field Walloon and Flemish masters operated in the German lands taking with them learning materials by De Berlaimont, Vivier, De la Grue and others (cf. Weller 1980:144-146); later examples are the adaptations of textbooks by D(h)ucz (Leyden) and Pielat (Amsterdam) (Streuber 1914). The only example of a Low Dutch borrowing of German material is the early SEPTEM LINGUARUM 1540, in which the Flemish translation was added to an originally Italian-German source, probably reaching the Southern Netherlands through Germany (cf. Appendix 1a).

3.5 French language learning in England

French was always an important language in Britain, not only after the Norman Conquest, when it was the main language of communication among the nobility and ruling classes until the end of the fourteenth century, but also later when it continued to enjoy a social reputation and the privilege of being used in international contacts often to the exclusion of other languages. Although the French prerogative began to be challenged in the course of the eighteenth century, it never lost its attraction and its usefulness in contacts with speakers of languages other than French until 1800. In England it was learned in a number of ways; this rich and long-standing variety has been described in at least two major studies on the subject until 1700: Kathleen Lambley's *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester 1920) and Bouton's more recent study of *Les Grammaires Françaises de Claude Mauger à l'Usage des Anglais (xviii Siècle)* (Paris 1972). Interesting glosses about Bellot, Holyband and Miège are included in Howatt 1984:12-60⁷⁵. From these books it appears that the study of French in England - between 1500 and 1800 - was a lively affair with interesting results; it seemed to be heavily centred on London, but this may be due to lack of written evidence from other places.

French teachers in England were mostly engaged as private tutors, there was little scope for them in either the universities or the schools for children, an early exception being Holyband, who ran three schools for young children between the late 1560s and the 1590s (Howatt 1984:20-25). They found work in the so-called Academies for girls and women, whose aim it was to provide instruction in the polite accomplishments, or they were employed in private houses as tutors for young children, or they might have to go from house to house as wandering teachers. Their textbooks were naturally geared towards their restricted target groups: they often included instructions about travelling to and from France or about France in general, since many of the students were likely to go to that country.

The connections between England and the Low Countries in the field of FrLL are explicitly commented on by Lambley and Bouton in separate sections (Lambley 1920, see index under *Dutch* and *Netherlands*; Bouton 1972:48-49,59). During the sixteenth century the Flemish and Walloon refugees - much more numerous than the French ones⁷⁶ - brought with them ideas and materials that were used in the new environment. In the seven-

⁷⁵ For more titles see the bibliography in Bouton 1972 and Stern 1983

⁷⁶ Lambley 1920 115 note 3 quotes the following figures. 'in 1567, 3838 Flemish to 512 French, in 1586, 5225 to 1119'

teenth century many of the fresh materials developed in England by teachers of mostly French origin found their way to the Low Countries and were used, copied, translated and printed there frequently and repeatedly⁷⁷. The indebtedness of the vast body of FrLL materials in the Low Dutch area to these English products has not been assessed yet. But the English textbooks for speakers of Dutch relied heavily on these sources - see Appendix 4 on 'borrowing'. This remarkable fact may be explained in a number of ways (apart from the general recognition that borrowing was widely practised everywhere and was perhaps inevitable in a small language area such as the Dutch one). The successes and sheer bulk of these materials in England naturally excited a curiosity in the Low Countries among teachers of French and English; this curiosity may have been fostered by accidental links such as family relations, as in the case of Mauger, who had a Dutch (Flemish?) brother-in-law (cf. Mauger's biographical notes in Ch.4). Secondly, it was not uncommon for one teacher to offer both languages, i.e. French and English, so that these textbooks would serve a double purpose. A Dutch translation was often provided either by the textbook writers themselves or by others, as in the French/Flemish edition of Mauger's grammar printed in Utrecht in 1683; however, a translation was not essential for those learners of English who could already get by in French⁷⁸. Since these works were printed here, sometimes even in their first edition⁷⁹, we cannot fail to be convinced both of the prominent position of Dutch printers at the time and of the existence of a market for these works at home (and of course abroad). The market for ELL textbooks in the Low Dutch area was a small one: writers and printers could not hope to make much money out of it and the number of reprints extending over long periods of time was low⁸⁰. The temptation to borrow from existing successful sources was therefore great, particularly for the dialogues. These Fr-En dialogues were available in such quantities and they were so practical that the trouble to come up with new ones seemed

77 For a reported case of the biographical notes on Beyer in Chapter 4

78 The general knowledge of French among speakers of Dutch, particularly in the South, made Fr-En textbooks acceptable throughout the period. It is perhaps significant that the only English textbook from before 1800 stocked in the *Historische Onderwijscollectie* at the University of Ghent is a French one from L. Siret *Éléments de la Langue Anglaise, ou Méthode Pratique pour apprendre facilement cette Langue*, Paris 1798 (private communication by Prof. K. De Clerck from the *Seminares voor Historische en Vergelykende Pedagogiek*).

79 Eg. John Wodroep *The spared houres of a souldier in his travels, or the true marrowe of the French Tongue* (Dordrecht: Nicolas Vincentz 1623) and Abel Boyer *Dictionnaire Royal François et Anglois* (The Hague 1702).

80 The most successful Dutch textbook, Sewel's *Compendious Guide* of 1705, went through 8 editions in 56 years. Mauger's *The true advancement of the French Tongue* of 1653 had 21 editions in the same time span.

futile⁸¹. It is unfortunate that this reliance on English sources is rarely acknowledged by the borrowing side, which makes it hard to establish the full extent of it.

Dutch textbook writers copying this material were not always critical about their selections. Thus we come across a lengthy 'Dialogue, upon the State of France as it is now governed, between an English gentleman and a Frenchman' in Beyer's *La vraye Instruction ...* of 1661⁸² - a textbook for Fr, En and Du, where the subject of this dialogue sits uncasily; or 'A Dialogue between a Frenchman and an Englishman, about the State of England'⁸³ in Van Helderens's *A new and easy English Grammar ...* of 1675, which is not clearly appropriate for Dutchmen either; or a dialogue 'Between a Lady and a Friend of hers newly returned from France'⁸⁴ in the anonymous ENGEL-SCHEN GRAMMATICA 1742. But these texts were of course relevant to young women and men in London engaged in FrLL and perhaps preparing themselves for a journey abroad.

It is not clear to what extent the French language and its speakers were appreciated by the common people in England. There are reports of aggressive behaviour towards French individuals, who complained that stones were thrown at them and that they were called 'French dogue', if not worse (Lambley 1920:117-118), but this happened at a time, towards the end of the Elizabethan period, when London, East Anglia and the South East were flooded with foreigners in search of shelter and work; an outcry against such an onrush seemed natural enough and need not necessarily be a sign of a more general dislike⁸⁵. But, Lambley (1920:118) adds, 'all these visitors, nevertheless, recognize that the English nobility and gentry and those in authority are 'replete with benevolence and good order' and as courteous and affable as the people are uncivil'. French had always been the language of the upper classes; the common people spoke English and wanted nothing to do with it. This may partly explain the difference in reception.

The position of French in England was that of a first language among the upper classes until the fifteenth century and the first foreign language among them later on. It was looked upon as an essential part of the education of both men and women from these classes. In the Low Dutch area this was different: French was spoken by the ruling classes often as a first

81 To give an idea: the sixth edition of Mauger's French grammar (1670) has 80 dialogues; in 1682 Miège published *One Hundred and Fifteen Dialogues French and English fitted for the use of Learners*.

82 Copied from Mauger 1653.

83 Copied from Festeau 1675.

84 Probably from Mauger & Festeau 1672.

85 A similar dissatisfaction about the arrival of foreigners is reported from Norwich with its influx of large groups of Dutch and Walloon refugees (Moens 1988)

language and by many others as a second language, particularly in the South, throughout the period under discussion. It was taught there fairly generally to large sections of the population in special schools for young children, the French Schools, and was gradually engrained in the school curriculum as time wore on. This was not the case in England⁸⁶: the schools did not usually offer French as a set subject. On the other hand, the private sector was clearly more widely developed than in the Low Dutch area. Consequently, in England French was learned in private institutions by adults - mainly belonging to the nobility and gentry - whereas in the Low Dutch area it was learned by children in regular schools as well as by adults in private institutions, not exclusively from the ruling classes.

3.6 *How was English learned and taught?*

It is not realistic to generalise about foreign language learning and teaching methods in earlier times⁸⁷. Our knowledge about what went on between teacher and learner is limited and patchy, and the methods will have been as varied as they are today. Descriptions of individual cases may offer useful inside glances, but they do not easily lend themselves to acceptable generalisations. Moreover, the contexts in which the learning process took place varied considerably: there were classes for young children, Latin Schools for the slightly older, university settings, classes for adolescent young girls from well-to-do families, individual teaching contexts, self-instruction - these contexts all called for different methods⁸⁸.

Another complicating factor is the discrepancy between views on foreign language learning expressed during the time under discussion and their application by practising teachers. Much paper has been spent on a discussion of the ideas from leading educationalists in the field: from Melancton, Rathke (Ratichius), De Montaigne, Comenius, Locke, Basedow and others⁸⁹. But there is every evidence that these ideas were nothing more than ideals,

⁸⁶ And Scotland perhaps too, although French enjoyed a status of its own there, cf. Lambley 1920 152ff.

⁸⁷ Maréchal (1972:22) writes: 'Nous n'avons aucune information quant à la méthode employée...'. This is an extreme statement which as such cannot be supported. We know enough about the different ways in which foreign languages were learned - Maréchal himself describes the 'direct method' in the lines following the quotation above. What we cannot do with sufficient certainty, is decide which method was favoured at any given time.

⁸⁸ Some excellent notes on foreign language teaching approaches before 1800 are provided by Streuber 1914, Lambley 1920, Van Loey 1933, Kuiper 1961 10-47, Bouton 1972 189-210, Schroder 1969 33-38 and Howatt 1984. See also Michael 1987.16-22 and 278-285 about 'pupils and teachers at work' and 'some C18 and C19 teaching methods' for English as a first language.

⁸⁹ See e.g. Baardman 1953, Closset 1969, Hesse 1975 and Howatt 1984. See also Van Catrysse 1959 for the views on foreign language learning by Mamix van St. Aldegonde, of the Southern Netherlands, discussed further in Frank-van Westnenen 1983.

rarely, if ever, accepted by teachers in their schools⁹⁰.

In the case of ELL in the Low Dutch area it is even more difficult to come up with useful generalisations. There are few records about methodological aspects in the introductions to the textbooks; this sad observation contrasts sharply with the often lengthy explanations and guidelines provided in French and German textbooks⁹¹. The dialogues contain occasional references to learning and teaching practices, but they were usually copied from other sources and therefore reflections on, often, different conditions. Since English was hardly ever taught in schools⁹², the setting was usually highly individualised, as in the case of Walraven described in 3.1 above, which adds to the difficulty of generalisation. Secondary records are not available. It would be futile, therefore, to limit a discussion of English language learning and teaching methodology in the Low Dutch area before 1800 exclusively to the textbooks in hand. A more fruitful angle may be a discussion of certain key concepts gathered from the general literature on the subject, followed by an indication of the extent to which these concepts are corroborated in the English textbooks. Inevitably, this discussion will have to be brief; it should be followed up, at a later stage, by a more general discussion of foreign language teaching methods in the Low Dutch area based not just on English, but also on French and German source materials. The present discussion will be about *how* English was learned and taught; *what* was learned and taught, will be dealt with in some detail in Chapter 5.

The key concepts selected for discussion here are: the role of memory, the importance of grammar, inductive vs deductive approaches, and the relation between ELL and the learning of Latin.

3.6.1 *The role of memory*

There is overwhelming evidence to prove the central role of memory in language learning. Almost every writer on early learning methods comments on it and so do contemporary documents. Lambley (1920:331), writing about

90 Schmidt (1931:53), in his comments on Pielat's innovating *L'Anti-Grammaire*, observes: 'Besonders zu beachten ist, dass sich dieser Fortschritt in der Lehrweise der französischen Sprachmeister selbst entwickelt ohne irgendwelche Anlehnung an die systematischen Pädagogen des 17. Jahrhunderts' In the same study the influence of Comenius' *Janua Linguarum* on some of the French textbooks in Germany is traced in some detail.

91 In German textbooks for ELL before 1800 introductions of 13 to 36 pages were no exception; they served as methodological guidelines and contained a good deal of useful information - cf. Jung 1980, which contains an analysis of 28 of these introductions. Lambley 1920 and Streuber 1914 based their observations on the often lengthy introductions in textbooks for French in England and Germany respectively. But in the Low Dutch area there were none.

92 i.e. 'schools' in the present sense of the word. For the notion of 'school' before 1800 see note 55 above.

FrLL in England, mentions rote learning and makes a distinction between 'grammar and rote' and "'by rote" alone'; about the latter practice she says: 'There were, however, others, and apparently very many, who taught 'by rote' alone without any grammar rules - a common method in learning languages.' In his discussion of Claude Mauger's teaching ideas Bouton (1972) describes a development from memorising at first to a later interest in the skill to imitate and produce: 'Il semble bien qu'au début de sa carrière, Cl. Mauger ait estimé que l'effort principal de l'élève reposait au mémoire' (Bouton 1972:201)⁹³ and later: 'Ce n'est plus uniquement la mémoire qui est mise en cause, mais l'aptitude à imiter, à reproduire' (ibid.:202), but memory still played an important part, for 'La part de la mémoire reste indubitablement fort importante dans cet enseignement' (ibid.:209). Kuipers (1961:43) also mentions the importance of memory learning, not only for long parts of the grammar section but also for prose passages and poems. Michael (1987:320) simply says (about ELL in England): 'In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most pupils, and until 1870 at least some pupils, were expected to learn the grammar by heart'. Is this the practice William Cobbett was familiar with, when he blandly informs us that he learned the newly discovered grammar by heart (Aarts 1986)? The learning of Latin too was to a large extent a matter of memorising: Bot (1955:53-56) comments on the great importance attached to memory training by the Humanist pedagogues, some of whom however objected to mere rote learning and emphasised the need to understand what had to be learned; they also stressed the importance of *repetitio* as a useful technical device. Stellwag (1949) views the learning practice in the Latin Schools as almost entirely a matter of memory training (p.61), at least it took up most of the learning time (p.83); this did not only apply to the dialogues but also to grammar and literature (p.84)- cf. also Streuber 1914:78 and *passim*.

The importance of memory is also emphasised in contemporary sources. Thus, the Spanish educationalist Vives, who lived in the Low Countries and published his *Exercitatio* there in 1538, assigns an important role to memory in the learning process (of Latin) - see e.g. his *De Anima*, books 2 and 3. Constantijn Huygens wrote *Ars Mem. Semina Ling. Anglae De chiffrere varie exercui* (Bachrach 1962:9). Emmanuel Kant has some penetrating views on memory in his educational theory (see Hesse 1975:174ff).

Children in particular were expected to learn by heart: 'Let memory be exercised at an early age; it improves with practice; let many facts be often commended to its care. For that age is not so fatigued by remembering, because it has no labour of reflexion. Thus the memory is strengthened

93 Bouton also refers to Chevalier 1968:400ff for a study on the role of memory for the learning of Latin and foreign languages

without any labour or trouble and it becomes very capacious.' (quoted from Vives in Hesse 1975:108/9). The 'manière de bien estudier' attached to BERLAIMONT 1576, ed. 1577 (*Ghemeyne spraken oft tsamencoutinghen*) contains this piece of advice: 'En allant coucher, tu liras quelque chose dexellence ou digne de memoire, à fin que pensant à cela, tu sois surprins de sommeil: & en t'esueillant, tu le redemanderas de ta memoire'. In school contexts we can read that the children were often expected to 'say their lessons'. The first letter in Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* 1677 is addressed to 'My loving Cousin' and contains the timetable for an average schoolday; it is worth quoting in full, although the section on memory is rather brief:

'First, you must get up every morning at six a clock, and wash your hands and face, then rense your mouth, and rub your teeth, and then you must go into your chamber and pray; after that, you must come into the school, and hear a chapter read, and learn your lesson, then you go down again, and get for your breakfast a piece of bread and butter, and when you have eaten that, go again into the school, and say your lesson to the Master, and write till twelv a clock, when the Maid calls us down to dinner; after dinner you go into the school again, and stay till half an hour past five, and then you play half an hour, and after that, you must come and read a chapter till the supper be ready, then half an hour after that, you must prepare you for bed. thus we live here .

(RICHARDSON 1677 102)

The 'familiar phrases' in SMITH 1752 contain these instructions:

*'Sit in your place,
Where is your Book?
There is your Book,
Read your Lesson,
Study your Lesson,
Get your Lesson by heart,'*

...

*Can you say your Lesson by heart?
Can you say your Lesson without Book?
Not yet,
You must read it thrice over,'*
(no. xxii 'In the School').

One of the dialogues in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 is particularly illuminating on the subject:

*L. That is well said: let us goe and repeat together.
M. What should I repeat?
L. That which the master hath this day written out.
M. Is it not sufficient that I have repeated allone?
L. If you have repeated but once or twice, it is little to learne without book.
M. Yea, I have repeated neare ten times
L. And yet that is not enough.
M. What wil you more then?
L. If you will say your lessen perfectly to the master, it is necessary that you have repeated with some body.
M. I knew not that: but I assent willingly to you. Begin you then who have ad-*

monished mee.

- L. *Goe to, attend diligently, and suffer me not to misse.*
 M. *I am more ready to heare than you are to pronounce.*
 L. *But if the observatour cometh in the mean time, he will thinke that we prate.*
 M. *Why doe you feare where no feare is? If he comes hee shall not find us in idlenes or a bad matter let him if hee will heare our discours.*
 L. *You speak very well: let us sit aside somewhere in a corner, that no body may hinder us'*

(Dial. 4 'Schoole-talke', p.129/30, ed 1663).

The same textbook tells us, in the last paragraph of the grammar section, that the learner should exercise himself in reading and memorising the texts, phrases, proverbs and other discourses following (almost 160 pp.)⁹⁴. More detailed instructions are contained in a French textbook by Nathanael D(h)uëz, *Le vray et parfait Guidon de la Langue Francaise* (Leyden 1639), where the use of the dialogues is discussed: the learner is advised first to translate the French texts into the mother tongue while covering up the L2 translations, then repeat this practice the other way round and in the mean time try and learn most of the texts by heart; the approach is further exemplified in his fourth dialogue (Streuber 1914:65 and Schmidt 1931:42). The reverse order - memorising first, translation later - is recommended by Thomas Lediard in his *Grammatica Anglicana Critica* (Hamburg 1725) for speakers of German:

What shall I do in your absence?

First learn the vocabulary. Then the short familiar phrases. Afterwards the proverbs & familiar dialogues. At times the rules of syntax and their examples. And then proceed to translation.

(Lediard 1725, dialogue between a learner of English and his language master).

3.6.2 *The importance of grammar*

Before 1800 most textbooks contained more or less detailed grammar sections, which often had to be learned by heart. The use of this practice, and the use of grammars as such, did not meet with general consent. There were those who strongly objected to an early thorough familiarity with the rules of grammar: they saw the learning of foreign languages primarily as a matter of skills training to which grammar could contribute little or nothing. They usually had beginner learners in mind, no doubt the majority at the time; for these beginners, it was said, the order should be: practical training first, knowledge later. In fact, the materials from before 1600 did just that, simply because they contained hardly any grammar rules and the limited

94 'dat hy sich in 't lesen ende van buyten leeren der redenen / phrasen / spreekwoorden / en andere volgende discoursen oeffent' (p.36).

grammatical information provided - e.g. conjugations of 'have' and 'be' in the case of BERLAIMONT 1576 - could not have been very helpful. Advocates of this approach were Duwes in his *An introductorie for to learne to rede, to prononce and to speke French trewly* (1533), Joseph Webbe for Latin (1622), Comenius in his *Janua Linguarum* (1631), Pielat in his *L'Anti-Grammaire* (1673)⁹⁵, the Rev. Van Voorst in *Verhandelingen* 1782:370-371, and many others (cf. Streuber 1914 *passim*). Sewel, too, was on their side: in 1705 he could still remember his dismay at the efforts he had to make as a youngster to read through a set of rules that was more apt to bewilder a learner than to help him on⁹⁶. These and similar comments were inspired by two concerns: one for effective learning results and one for the largely pragmatic aim of foreign language learning in general. In neither case did grammar seem to serve a useful purpose.

However, there were others who thought differently. They saw a thorough grounding in grammar as the indispensable foundation for all language acquisition. This view seems to have been fairly widespread. It was strengthened by the general belief that children at a tender age should learn by heart, hence the catechetic grammars, and that adults at university level needed grammars more than anything else. The last point would explain the lengthy grammars produced by academics like Palsgrave in England in 1530 (about 1000 pages) and Richardson in the Dutch Republic in 1677 (cf. Ch. 6.4); it is also reflected in Lediard's textbook, from which we quoted above; in the same dialogue the language master asks his client:

Do you know anything of the English grammar?
Very little I can only repeat the auxiliary verbs, and form a regular verb active
That's a good beginning
Do you know anything of the use & construction of the cases and tenses?
Nothing at all
Nor the particular use of sundry verbs?
No, Sir I know nothing but what I have learn'd by rote
 (Lediard 1725)

The emphasis on grammatical perfection became more and more the concern of the classical teachers, as their languages fulfilled less and less the role of living languages. It was severely criticised by people like Erasmus, Webbe, Comenius and Locke, who all stressed the need for a practical command and

95 'Cachés-vous promptement, ridicule Grammaire,
 Vostre Regne a fini, l'on ne veut plus de vous,
 Puisqu'enfin nous voyons par un destin plus doux,
 Qu'on peut parler François sans votre Ministere'

These introductory words from Pielat 1673, although well-meant, should not be taken too literally, as his textbook contained a grammar too. For similar mismatches of this kind see Jung 1980

96 'dat my nóg heugt, hoe verdneigt 't my voorquam, toen ik jong was, myn hoofd te breeken met het doorleezen van een party régelen, die meer dienden om eenen Leerling te verbysteren, dan om hem voort te helpen' (SEWEL 1705 preface)

for more stimulating teaching methods. These were by and large beyond the means of the classical teachers, who locked themselves up, as time wore on, in their classrooms full of grammar and rote learning. Modern language teachers were in a different position: they served learners with a major interest in skills, not knowledge, and they were often native speakers in possession of those skills. If they nevertheless chose to deal with grammar before anything else, they must have done so not because skills training was useless as in the Latin case, but because it, i.e. the grammar, was easier to teach and because it seemed to structure an otherwise unstructured activity. The point is still relevant today in foreign language teaching methodology; but then as now the influence of Latin teaching practices should not be overrated in this respect, a point to which we shall briefly return in 3.6.4 below. With the introduction of Meidinger's grammar-translation method in 1783, which was amongst other things characterised by translation exercises *into* the foreign language, the issue was firmly decided in favour of grammar. This method was received with general acclaim throughout Europe and set the tune for the following era.

In some cases the teaching of grammar was considered to be more professional than the parroting or parleying methods employed by some governesses and incompetent native speakers. There were not many of these language masters in Low Dutch area, as we have seen above, but their reputation was no doubt familiar with teachers and learners there. In most cases, one part of the grammar section, i.e. pronunciation, received a good deal of attention; it is never denounced in contemporary sources. In fact, the brunt of criticism had to be borne by etymology, the most Latinised and least successful part of all the grammars before 1800. In this section the Latin framework was most clearly retained; however, the lack of contrastive value was felt more and more clearly, and in the course of the eighteenth century the need for a more appropriate treatment was expressed by several writers. One of these was V.J. Peyton, or at least the editor of the Low Dutch edition of his work, who complained in the preface (ed. 1764) that previous grammars had contained very few rules for pronunciation and hardly any for syntax. These sections, the two most difficult parts of the English language ('de twee moeijelykste stukken der Engelsche Taale'), were dealt with at great length in his grammar, and in those by Holtrop (1780) and Ensell (1797) after him. Their grammars were long and detailed: 268, 338 and ± 250 pp. respectively for the four grammar sections, and considered to be of great importance. However, they failed to provide practice material for the etymology and syntax sections; it was precisely here that Meidinger came up with the solution: the practice of grammar rules through guided translation work.

3.6.3 *Inductive vs deductive approaches*

The preceding discussion about the importance of grammar is closely related to another one, i.e. about learning methods. Materials and methods are of course different things: lengthy grammars may be used as pieces of text to be learned by heart or as material for in-depth analysis or as reference grammars or they may be largely ignored. Teachers of all times have been aware of the many possible ways in which foreign languages may be taught and learned, and quite a few of them have implicitly or explicitly expressed their views on the matter. Their methods should be placed somewhere along a continuum between two extremes labelled variously as inductive-deductive, analytic-synthetic, utilitarian-formal, communicative-structural. Streuber (1914:33) characterises induction as the approach in which the learner begins with conversations or dialogues, and may (or may not) proceed to a study of the rules later; deduction is the approach in which the learner deals with the grammar first and then proceeds to conversations or dialogues⁹⁷. Van Loey (1933:193) defines the analytic or natural / practical / inductive method as a method which starts with a mechanistic control of utterances and then leads to rule discovery, whereas synthetic or scientific / deductive learning moves from rule to example. Budde (1906:263), who claims to write about language teaching methodology but in fact deals with language learning aims, uses the term 'utilitarian' for a functional command with language use as its main aim, the term 'formal' for mental training, the term 'realistic' for personal development. Personal development as an aim for foreign language learning really belongs to the period after 1800 and also to the classical languages, the main subject of Budde's article, and may for that reason be ignored here. Budde's other two terms and those from Streuber and Van Loey have all much to do with what we would nowadays like to call the communicative and structural approaches. They are not clearly defined and they contain elements of learning strategies, teaching methods and educational aims. For clarity's sake, the pair inductive-deductive will be used here to discuss the major trends in foreign language learning views between 1500 and 1800.

The inductive approach is sometimes associated with the practices of travelling language masters (*Sprachmeister* in German, *maîtres* in French), usually native speakers, who offered their services to willing subjects. These masters did not usually speak the native tongue of their clients, were not always trustworthy, and in general appeared to be ill-prepared for their task

97 On the same page (33) he specifies deduction as 'den Sprachunterricht, der mit der Grammatik beginnt, zunächst die Paradigmen und wichtigsten Regeln lernen lässt, diese durch Uebersetzungsübungen einübt und das Gelernte durch Sprechübungen praktisch nutzbar zu machen sucht'.

- cf. note 2 of this chapter. They were in the habit of parleying (*parlieren* in German, *balbutier* in French) in their classes, i.e. without the use of instructional materials they 'prattled' in their native tongue, usually French, encouraging their charges to join them in this, they commented perhaps on some literary texts, and aimed at a degree of general fluency. This free-and-easy style was much frowned upon by the more serious teachers, who instead favoured a deductive diet with a good chunk of grammar meat. The two approaches were practised throughout the period, as demonstrated convincingly by Streuber (1914) in his invaluable study. In their extreme form they were mutually exclusive; but extremes rarely occurred.

Three points should be noted here. Firstly, parleying and grammar could very well be combined in one teaching method; the dispute was usually about which of the two should come first, or perhaps: how much of the one should come before how much of the other, i.e. how inductive or deductive should one be? The major aim until 1800 remained the utilitarian one - a good active command - but there was no disagreement about the usefulness of grammar for the achievement of this aim. In the sixteenth century the grammars for the modern languages were still at a rudimentary level, but they improved with time and became more and more contrastive, if not pedagogic. Parleying was used by some as preparation for the grammar work; if structured around a point of grammar, it was identical to our pattern drills - cf. this example of practice in 'la déclinaison des articles':

Qui est là
C'est le valet.
Non, c'est le père du valet.
C'est la servante.
Non, c'est la mère de la servante.
 (quoted in Streuber 1914:134).

A second point about the relation between inductive and deductive approaches concerns their appropriateness with respect to the various target groups. This crucial point, which is often neglected in discussions of early foreign language methodology, had a bearing on the instructional materials - cf. the spelling books for children, the letters for merchants, the dialogues for those who intended to go on a Continental Tour - but no doubt also on the teaching methods. We have already noted that children were expected to learn by heart, hence the emphasis on rote learning. Streuber has come across considerable evidence to prove that the inductive approach was claimed to be suitable for children, beginners in general, sometimes even women, and in private tutorials; the deductive one seemed more appropriate for adults, more advanced learners and academics (Streuber 1914:127 and note 1). All this goes to prove that inductive and deductive approaches existed side by side and that they were used with varying degrees of prominence.

However, with the perfection of the grammars and the increase of classroom instruction at secondary level and especially the advent of Meidinger's grammar-translation method, the deductive approach gained the upper hand; in spite of occasional critical comments (cf. Howatt 1984), we have to wait until the end of the nineteenth century, when the so-called Reformists raised their voice against the dominant position of this approach, before the balance could be redressed and their 'direct method' opened the way to a renewed interest in inductive methods.

A third point has to do with the use of translation for language learning purposes. Translations were in common use throughout the period and mainly, it seems, for inductive learning; there were no adequate grammars and graded vocabularies for a deductive approach, i.e. one in which the rules came first and practice later: the translation process itself was a form of practice, on the basis of which rules could be discovered. The translations had then to be memorised or to be presented orally, sometimes after detailed class preparation. Double translation was advocated sometimes as most effective: in his *The French Alphabet* (1592) De la Mothe describes this method in accurate detail: pronunciation of letters and syllables first, then reading of a few lines per day, then translation of the French sentences into English word by word, then oral translation, then translation of the English sentences back into French, and so on. The dialogues were apparently often used for this purpose - cf. my notes in Ch.5.2.5. Jacob Walraven presented his translation of Whetstone's *Honourable Reputation* as a practical self-study guide for learners of English and Dutch, using a unique notation system to combine word-by-word translation and differences in word order (figures indicate changes in word order):

The Emperour Dioclesian, that illustred Rome with so many triumphant
 De Keyser Diocletianus, die ²vercierde ¹Rome met zo menige trunphante
 victories, was a schriveners son
 victorie, was een schrijvers zoon
 (WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586 13)

Through this method he had himself picked up what English he had; he trusted that speakers of English would profit similarly in their attempts to learn Dutch:

'you shal fynde there bothe / a plaine pathwaye / howe to understande and a true maner / howe to learne by and by our Dutche / even as I my self and other mo / there within mentuoned did the same / (althouge it seemeth harde) in horte [sic] tyme / whereunto the chuefest point of all is this To speake and reade alwayes / and wheresoever you be / to aske fryely Howe call / howe spell / howe pronounce you that Which doying / than I trust / this my Labour / here unto you presented of mere good will / will not be spent in vayne'
 (WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586 10)

Apart from Walraven's clumsily phrased but interesting notes, very few explicit comments on teaching and learning methods have been recorded in the Low Dutch textbooks. Attempts at some interpretation may be read in my detailed analyses of four textbooks in Ch. 6, in each case at section f. (point of view on language learning and teaching).

3.6.4 *The relation between English language learning and the learning of Latin*

There are no indications that the learning of English in the Low Dutch area before 1800 was explicitly modelled after the Latin example. The textbooks and manuals do not contain references to Latin; moreover, there were very few teachers offering the two languages: the only ones we have come across are Lambertus Sylvius, sometime headmaster of the Latin School at Dordrecht, who is reported to have taught some English, Bartelémy Pielat and J.-J. Gilbert (cf. Chapter 4 and Appendix 5). Among the names in Appendix 1 after 1700 only Hexham, Pielat, Richardson and Sewel are known to have been familiar with Latin, but with the exception of Pielat they did not teach. Latin was the prerogative of the Latin Schools and could not be taught elsewhere, unless special permission was granted; the modern languages were not accepted in this type of school, a situation that only began to change in small ways at the very end of the eighteenth century, as in the case of the Latin School at Almelo quoted in Appendix 5 at c1792. There was not much contact, it seems, between the classical teachers and other language masters whether in the private or the French Schools; they enjoyed a different social status testified by the prestige attached to the Latin Schools by local authorities to the exclusion of other schools and by the different magazines in which their school news was advertised: the ambitious *Boekzaal* for the Latin Schools and the more practical *Mathematische Liefhebberye* for the French and Low Dutch Schools. Since most English language learning took place in private settings, contacts will have been even less likely there.

From around the turn of the eighteenth century, with the introduction of the modern languages into the school programmes and the ensuing contacts between all language teachers, a process of mutual influence may have been initiated. In this process it is not unlikely that the modern language teachers emulated the status of the classical languages by adopting some of their practices; at least, there seems to be some agreement that the success of Meidinger's grammar-translation method was partly due to its imitation of a similar approach in the Latin classes (cf. Budde 1906:269; Van Loey 1933:210; Kuiper 1961:38-39,76). If this is so, an explicit relation was largely the

product of the nineteenth century. Before that time, the major influences on ELL had come from the experiences and practices in the French and perhaps even Low Dutch classes: most English masters used to combine their occupation with the teaching one of the these two languages, and most material writers borrowed French materials.

Still, from the sixteenth century onwards Latin had indirectly been a source of inspiration for the modern languages. This came out most clearly in the structure and character of the materials: the composition of most textbooks was taken over from Latin examples, which, like them, usually contained a grammar, dialogues, phrases, vocabularies and proverbs (cf. Streuber 1914:81-82). This example, however, was soon translated into equivalent materials for the new languages, whereby the grammar, especially the etymology section of it, took longest to shake off its Latin ancestry. The ELL material writers moved in step with the traditions of their time, taking their cues from the available French materials, but rarely adopting Latin examples and never using Latin as the language of instruction.

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter notes will be provided for all those who contributed to the ELL scene in the Low Dutch area before 1800. Among them were *teachers of English* i.e. material writers and others who are known to have taught English in the Low Dutch area, *outsiders* i.e. writers of ELL material living and working in the Low Dutch area but not clearly involved in ELT) and *material writers from abroad* i.e. writers whose works were adapted for use in these parts. Foreign writers whose textbooks were published in the Low Dutch area in their original form (i.e. **without** Dutch) have been excluded from this chapter, even though their works may well have been used for the learning of English, as will have been the case with many Fr-En textbooks.

Biographical sources are listed at the head of each entry under bio. They have been screened on details which were thought to be particularly relevant to the ELL/ELT activities of the person concerned; mere summaries of these sources or irrelevant details have been avoided as much as possible. However, in cases where our information is defective or even conflicting, as with e.g. Beyer and Richardson, the entries have been written with considerable attention to detail to ensure that they contain the most recent information. This means that old material has been updated in the light of more recent data and that fresh details have been added wherever possible. As a result the length of the entries varies a great deal and is in no way indicative of the importance of the person concerned. No attempt has been made to be exhaustive except with reference to the sources.

Teachers of English: materials writers and others who are known to have taught English in the Low Dutch area; all the names are taken from Appendix 5.

: no biographical information available
mat.: materials writer (cf. Appendix 1a or 1b)

#Hendrik Leunis
#François Flory
Thomas Basson (mat.)
#Gilles van Breen
Thomas Goldstrey
John Green
Thomas Allen
William Brewster
François Hillenius (mat.)
'the English Schole-master' (mat.)
Lambertus Sylvius (mat.)
Willem Beyer (mat.)

#Daniel Fentrel
 Jan Gosens van Helderer (mat.)
 #teachers at the Scottish School Rotterdam
 (for Edward Evans: see below)
 Barthélemy Pielat (mat.)
 #teachers at Leyden University
 Edward Evans (mat.)
 George Smith (mat.)
 #A. Cerisier
 #Josua van Abraham Keyser
 #Jan Cazelles
 #J.-J. Gilbert
 Baldwin Janson (mat.)
 Jan Holtrop (mat.)
 Jan van Bemmelen (mat.)
 G.Ensell (mat.)
 #B. Thomas (mat.)
 #Maurice Richie M.A.
 #Mr. Cohen
 #A. Stevenson (mat.)

outsiders: writers of ELL material living and working in the Low Dutch area, but not clearly involved in ELT; all the names are taken from Appendix 1a.

Hadrianus Junius (medical doctor/scholar)
 Jacob Walraven (student/writer)
 Henry Hexham (an army man)
 Edward Richardson (minister of the English Presbyterian Church)
 Willem Sewel (translator and Quaker historian)
 Egbert Buys (diplomat and compiler)
 L.v.d.Bommenaer (an amateur)
 #W. Wildeman
 Samuel Hull Wilcocke (minister of the Scottish Church)

foreign writers: material writers who did **not** live in the Low Dutch area, but whose works were adapted for use in these parts; all the names are taken from Appendix 3, unless otherwise indicated.

Claude Mauger
 Paul Festeau
 Guy Miège
 Isaac de Larrey
 William Temple
 Abel Boyer
 Gilbert Burnet
 Thomas Dyche
 John Macky
 #Thomas Dilworth
 Guillaume Pell (Appendix 1a)
 #V.J.Peyton (Appendix 1a)
 Daniel Fenning (published in English only, Appendix 1a)

4.2 Biographical notes (in alphabetical order)

ALLEN, THOMAS (? - 1660)

bio.: Carter 1964

Thomas Allen was made 'coster' (i.e. verger) at the Begynhof Church Amsterdam in 1634 combining this office with that of schoolmaster, sexton and comforter of the sick. Apparently he also taught at the Orphan House of the Church (established in 1651) but gave up all his teaching duties in 1654. He died in 1660¹.

BASSON, THOMAS (1555 - 1613)

bio.: Van Dorsten 1961

The life of Thomas Basson has been described in Van Dorsten 1961. Basson came to Leyden in 1584 to set himself up as a printer and remained there for the rest of his life. In 1586, when Jacob Walraven and his friends wanted to learn some English, Basson acted as their informant (WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:11) - he had a licence to teach English dated 30 January 1586 from the Leyden authorities; he also published a translation of Gabriel Meurier's *Coniugaisons Flamen-François* in the same year (Van Dorsten 1961 and Dibbets 1969) and perhaps some other ELL material². Although he is mainly remembered as a printer, he is also the first licensed teacher of English in the Dutch Republic that we know of and the third in the Low Dutch area as a whole.

BEMMELEN, JAN VAN (1757 - 1808)

bio.: Aa; *NNBW*; Frijhoff *et al.* 1983:97-98

Jan / Johannes van Bemmelen, born at Delft in 1757, was educated at the *Fundatie van Delft*, where he was trained in the sciences, drawing, writing, singing, French and even the art of making firework. During his stay there he cut out a name for himself by instructing some of the younger boys; he also picked up some English from a boarding-school proprietor at The Hague. In 1777 he started his teaching career at the renowned boarding-school of Noordwijk and moved to Leyden in 1782 to open his own *konst- en kost-school*. In the subsequent years he turned out to be a competent boarding-school proprietor, held in general esteem. He was a prolific writer of

1 The Norwich minister Thomas Allen is known to have been in Holland 'on short visits' in around 1637. It does not seem likely that he and the coster/schoolmaster of Amsterdam were one and the same person (Sprunger 1982:168, 285 note, 286)

2 In a letter to Robert Dudley, Basson expressed his intention to 'fulfillle the desire of some well disposed & zeluse mindes which hath desired me for to printe some other bookes for to Excercise themselves thern' [i.e. the learning of English and Dutch] Quoted in Van Dorsten 1961:17

occasional poems and at the same time an active editor of schoolbooks for French, Low Dutch and English, mostly adaptations of French and some English manuals. Apart from the works in Appendix 1a, he published the successful *Kern der Fransche en Hollandsche Talen* with pictures, later entitled *Gemakkelyk en Aangenaam Onderwijs in de Bèginselen der Fransche Taal Met Twaalf Platen, of Twee Honderd Acht en Tachtig Afbeeldingen* (7th ed. 1806, in *UBU), bound in one volume with his adaptation of the *Nouvelle Méthode familière à l'usage de ceux qui veulent apprendre la langue françoise* by Charles Cazelles; he also revised the fourth edition of EVANS 1757 (published in 1806, cf. Appendix 1a) and was responsible for *Abrégé de l'Histoire Sainte, à l'usage des Enfans, par A. Van Den Berg, Ministre à Arnhem, traduit d'après la dernière édition Hollandoise, par J. Van Bemmelen*³. Other works were his revision of P. Marin's *Methode familière pour ceux qui commencent à s'exercer dans la langue Françoise, corr. par J. van Bemmelen* (1797, 1811, 1834, in UBA) and *Het nieuwe vernakelyk Nederduitsch Spel- en Leesboek*⁴. He died in 1808.

A full list of all his works is not available. More titles appear in Cleef 1835.

BEYER, WILLEM (? - 1667)

bio.: Archives of the *Streekmuseum Hoeksche Waard* (Heinenoord, Province of South Holland); Gledhill 1976

When Willem Beyer's *La vray Instruction* was published in 1661, the author introduced himself as someone who had instructed young people for more than thirty years⁵. This puts his date of birth at the beginning of the seventeenth century⁶. His ancestors at the time of William the Silent, i.e. before 1585, included a former burgomaster of Schoonhoven, Adriaen Beyer⁷, and a brave captain, Justus van der Hoeck ('Au Lecteur'). His father, also called Willem Beyer⁸, is known to have been substitute secretary at Mijns-

3 This work is advertised in the front of Holtrop's Du-En dictionary of 1824

4 This title occurs in the *Catalogus van de Paedagogische Bibliotheek des Ned Onderwijzers-Genootschaps*, Suppl.3 (1879, in UBA)

5 'Il y a maintenant au delà de trente ans que je m'exerce en l'instruction de la jeunesse' ('Au Lecteur & plus particulièrement à tous mes Disciples')

6 The register of baptisms of the *Groote Kerk* at Dordrecht contains an entry for an unnamed child of one Willem Beyer, in December 1598

7 Gledhill (1976 4 note 2) adds 'This is presumably Adriaen Huygensz Beyer, who filled several functions in the magistrature, not of Schoonhoven, but of Rotterdam, between 1573 and 1589, including that of burgomaster'

8 Gledhill came across the name of Willem Ghysbrechtsen Bejer in a deed of 1632 (Gledhill 1976.4), this may have been the father, as the son would have been called Willem Willemsen. His profession is that of schoolmaster (1624/25) and even French schoolmaster (1640/1641) (Municipal Archives Mld no 73, fol 32, and no 74 resp). The same archives contain references to Ghysbert Bejer and Ghysbrecht Adriaensz Bejer, also schoolmasters in Mld in 1624 (no 73) It has not been possible to establish the relationships between these several schoolmasters with the same family name

heerenland (Mld) in the island of *Hoekse Waard* halfway between Dordrecht and Rotterdam in 1626⁹. The son was an active member of the local community, not only as French schoolmaster (first reference 1638), but also as a poor-law guardian ('H.Geest - armmeester') between 1645 and 1658 and as a man of property engaged in conveyances of land and real estate; his name crops up frequently in the municipal archives of Mld in connection with land taxation ('lijst verponding') and property tax. On 9 October 1644 Adriaen, son of Willem Beyer and Geertge Carels, was baptised in Mld. If this was his first marriage, it did not last long after the baptism: his tombstone in the church at Mld tells us of the death of Elizabet van der Fyt, his wife, on 3 July 1652. In 1653, on April 20th, Willem Beyer, widower and first French schoolmaster at Moerkerken¹⁰, is betrothed to Geertruyt Joosten of Dordrecht, widow of Jan Coning, a confirmation of which is to be found on 29 June 1653 in her attestation (or declaration of membership of Dutch Reformed Church at change of address)¹¹. His death occurred on 3 July 1667 (tombstone). After his death the public records contain frequent references to his widow (until 1675), his heirs (until 1680), his house (until 1682), his school (until 1690) and his son Willem, who is reported to have run a school in Mld as French schoolmaster in 1674 and tendered his resignation in June 1690, to be succeeded by Jan Gerritsz.

Willem Beyer was not only a respectable citizen but also a man of rank and means. His ancestors had occupied distinguished positions in the local administration of South Holland; he himself, in 1665, owned a house with two fireplaces and at the same time enjoyed the convenience of a house with five fireplaces and an oven (the *Hof van Moerkerken?*), both in Mld. His tombstone in the local church, now cemented in the floor, used to be at a (family?) vault no longer accessible, but its entrance was marked on a separate stone bearing the inscription 'Den Inganck Vant Graft Van Willem Beyer' (entrance to Willem Beyer's vault; stone also in church); the tombstone is by far the largest in the church (158,5 x 172,5 cm) and carries amongst other things the two coats of arms of the spouses, an intriguing decorative representation of - perhaps - the letters of the alphabet and a motto 'Wel Doen' (do well). His *La vraye Instruction* of 1661 is dedicated to his Highness William III, Prince of Orange, a remarkable choice for any

9 For this and other information concerning Willem Beyer I am indebted to Mr J L Verhoeven, voluntary assistant archivist at the *Streekmuseum Hoeksche Waard*, who has provided me with factual data hitherto undisclosed

10 Moerkerken is not a village but the name of a country house in Mijnsheerenland, which used to be called Mijnsheerenland van Moerkerken. The house is also referred to as *Het Hof van Moerkerken* and was built in 1438. It was destroyed by fire in 1660, rebuilt on the old foundations in 1663 and later considerably extended. It is still on the old site and privately owned. See Aa 1839-1851 964-966, 1002

11 *Trouwregister Groote Kerk 1644-1655*, Municipal Archives Dordrecht

humble school teacher. His pupils were 'personnes faites maintenant & avancées au monde' ('Au Lecteur').

One would like to know more about his flourishing school tucked away in the interior rural parts of a thinly populated island; there is every appearance that it was housed in the *Hof van Moerkerken*, an agreeable country house along the river Meuse consisting of a cottage, a dovecote, an orchard, a garden and additional grounds (Allewijn 1952). This description fits Beyer's own recommendation of his school as 'un endroit propre, où il fait fort bien de vivre, & où les jeunes gens ne manquent point de recreations honnêtes, autant qu'il leur faut pour éveiller l'esprit' ('Au Lecteur')¹². It was a French school where apart from the usual subjects such as the three R's, (Italian) bookkeeping, commercial instruction, French and Dutch, some attention was paid to English: '(je) les fais exercer en l'Anglois, pour y orthographier correctement & lire promptement' (ibid.). This interest in English may have been prompted by the arrival of the Merchant Adventurers in Dordrecht in 1655: if so, Beyer must have sensed an opportunity to capitalise on it and so increase the number of his pupils. At any rate, in the introduction to the *Vestibule* of 1662 he tells us that his earlier *La vraye Instruction* had been a great success 'un tres-grand nombre d'exemplaires s'en étans débités en fort peu de téms (sic)', to which he adds '& qu'elle a produit des bons effets en mon école'. He may also have derived confidence for this English venture from the presence of some of his relatives in London: one of the 'familiar discourses' in the *Vestibule* contains a reference to Adriaen Beyer ('I shall tell you that I have received a letter from one of my friends, Adrian Beyer, at London' p.70); and the municipal archives of Mld contain a deed of conveyance by Abraham Sam of Dordrecht on behalf of Adriaen Beijer and Francois Beijer, merchants in London, dated 30 December 1679.

We know the titles of two other books from his hand, for French and Dutch, (see Gledhill 1976:4/5), and of the second edition of *La vraye Instruction* (published in 1681). We also have a reference to an unknown early work in the 'Au Lecteur' of 1661 where he writes: 'le public a vû déjà auparavant quelque chose de ma main; mais celuy qui prendra la peine de confronter l'un avec l'autre en trouvera l'excessive difference, qui se decouvre à chacun à voir seulement le titre de ce livre'. This earlier work was apparently a small practice book for French and Dutch, which was later expanded into the *Vestibule* of 1662 (cf. Appendix 1a); in the introduction to this latter work we read: 'Quant au livret même, outre les discours nouveaux nous y avons inferé encore quelques rudiments, qui avoient vû autrefois le jour, mais apres quelque reformation & apres l'addition par

12 Archives of the house at Moerkerken have not been located; they may contain the necessary references to the old school and previous owners or tenants.

dessus de l'Anglois'. This work and the *Vestibule* seem to be largely original. This is not the case with his more ambitious *La vraye Instruction*, which was based amongst other things¹³ on Claude Mauger's highly successful *French Grammar* (first published as *The true advancement of the French Tongue* in 1653, see Appendix 3). In one of his delightful and instructive letters Mauger tells us of the piratical activities of a Dutchman, reported to him by 'un homme Zélandois'; this letter addressed 'To Sir ... Master of the French Tongue' contains the following passages:

'you had not only the kindnes to own my Concerns, touching my French Grammer which you have found in Holland, defending it strongly in my absence: But they have told me, that you have adopted it, causing it to be reprinted, and honouring it with your Name . . . This Flemish Gentleman' (= homme Zélandois) 'who gave me this report, was desirous to have no other Witnesses but my sixt Edition, for to make known the Author'

(Cl. Mauger, *Les Lettres de Mauger ecrites sur Divers Sujets*, London: Tho. Roycroft, 1671, pp. 222-225; in *BNP)

Although this sixth edition appeared in 1670, it is not impossible that Mauger was referring to Beyer's adaptation of 1661, the more so since Moerkerken is situated on the edge of the province of Zeeland, where the informant came from.

BOMMENAER, L. v.d.

bio.: preface to BOMMENAER 1738

Nothing is known about L.v.d. (sic) Bommernaer except what he writes about himself in the preface of his *A Short (sic) though very Neccesary Rules* (1738). He composed this spelling and pronunciation guide as a hobby out of 'my own Inclination and for the Propensity, which I have had for the English Language from my very Youth' ('To the Reader', p.2), as private notes which he had no intention of submitting for publication until his friends urged him to do so. Both his English and Dutch - and indeed the contents of this guide - are of doubtful quality; thus in the first sentence of his preface we read:

'Although several small Volumes are made Public Concerning the English and Dutch Languages, where by may be very Easly, and with little or no trouble Learne, understand and Prenounced, but in none of them Books, I have found that very neat Regard, nor that Care or Observaon which is highly Necessary to be Observed and Regarded.'

This is a loose and corrupt translation of the Dutch original, which goes a long way towards explaining the quaint error in the English title. He was familiar with some of the ELL material of his time (Sewel, Hillenius, Van Helderer), but he may also have cribbed from Dyche's (1723) and Dilworth's

13 For the sources of his Dutch grammar see Gledhill 1976.

(1740) spelling guides¹⁴. There is one later reference to title and author (L.v.d.B.) of this curiously unreliable venture in Cleef 1835; the publisher there is J.Hendriksen of Rotterdam.

BOYER, ABEL (1667 - 1729)

bio.: DNB; Haag 1846-1859

Abel Boyer, born in Castres (Upper Languedoc), was of Protestant descent and left his country at an early age to finish his classical studies at the University of Francker. He proceeded to London, where he was a private tutor for a while, but soon turned to the full-time (?) writing of books, a magazine, news sheets and pamphlets. *The Complete French Master* was first published in 1694 and often reprinted, sometimes with Miège's *Nouvelle Méthode* of 1685 in their popular double grammar of 1718. He is best known and praised for his *Dictionnaire Royal Français et Anglais* (The Hague, 1702), a standard work of its kind. A survey of his works may be found in the DNB.

BREWSTER, WILLIAM

bio.: Bradford 1946

During their protracted stay in the Dutch Republic at Leyden in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the so-called Pilgrim Fathers were engaged in language teaching activities. Among them there was at least one who may have developed some teaching material. His name was William Brewster, an English Puritan and foremost among the Pilgrims, a 'theological dynamitard' as Arber (1897:196) not unreasonably observes. 'Towards the latter part of those twelve (1608-1620) years spent in Holland ... he fell into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English: and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew Rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner. And many Gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies: some of them being Great Mens's sons' (o.c.:192). 'Although W. Brewster set up a printing-press in the Netherlands and produced several books, mainly such as could not be printed in England, there is no evidence that his Grammar was ever published' (Scheurweghs 1960:129-130). This Puritan press¹⁵ flourished between 1617 and 1619, when it was closed by the English authorities.

14 Some of his lists are identical, though much inferior in quality, to those in EVANS 1747

15 About the Press and the books printed there see Harns & Jones 1922.

BURNET, GILBERT (1643 - 1715)

bio.: DNB; the appendix to the title in Appendix 1b

Gilbert Burnet was born in Edinburgh and became a Presbyterian clergyman of liberal views. He travelled to Holland and France in around 1664, enjoyed the confidence of many leading officials in Scotland and England including the Court and as a result became involved in some of the major political events of his day. He settled in London in 1674, but left Britain at a later time for political reasons finding shelter in France, Italy and (in 1687) in the Dutch Republic, where he even became a naturalised Dutchman. He was in the confidence of William III and landed with him at Torbay on 5 November 1688. Afterwards he became Bishop of Salisbury and a member of the House of Lords. Of his many publications (see DNB) mention ought to be made of the *History of his own Time* published posthumously in 1723 (vol. i) and 1734 (vol. ii) and the sizeable *History of the Reformation* (vol. i:1679; vol. ii: 1681; vol. iii: 1714).

BUYS, EGBERT (? - 1769)

bio.: Aa

Egbert Buys was, among other things, 'consellor of their Poland and Prussian Majesties, &c' (title page of BUYS 1766), but he seems to have been somewhat of a keen compiler as well: besides some historical works he published an art dictionary in 2 vols. (1768) and a dictionary of arts and sciences in 10 vols.: *Nieuw en Volkomen Woordenboek van Konsten en Wetenschappen*. His revision of Sewel's dictionaries - 'this slave-like and most toilsome work'¹⁶ - took place after a five-year stay in England and painstaking perusal of other dictionaries and English books. He claims to have perfected and more than doubled the original, and produced what may be called 'the all-embracing, comprehensive foreign-language dictionary'¹⁷.

DYCHE, THOMAS

bio.: DNB

All we know about Thomas Dyche is that he probably came from Ashbourne in Derbyshire to be a schoolmaster in London. His *A Guide to the English Tongue* (1707) proved to be an immediate success (14th ed. in 1729!) and served as the basis for the later spelling books by Dilworth and Fenning. He also wrote *A Dictionary of All the Words commonly us'd in the English Tongue* (1723, later called *The Spelling Dictionary*) and *A New General English Dictionary* (1735). For his works see Alston 1967 and Michael 1987.

16 'dit slaaf-achtig en allermoeijelykst Wèrk' ('Voorreede', p.2).

17 Osselton 1973:108. For an evaluation of Buys' claim cf. *ibid.*:89-94.

ENSELL, G.

bio.: preface to ENSELL 1797

No information is available about G.Ensell apart from what we can read in the preface to his *Grammar of the English Language* (1797), where he refers to 'his friends in Rotterdam', to 'this country' and 'being frequently importuned to offer these first fruits of my studies to the Public'. All this could point to a long stay in the Dutch Republic. Two of the subscribers to this edition with the name of Ensell are from Wordsley in Staffordshire (in the front of the book). Ensell may still have been in Rotterdam in 1808, when Hendriksen published the 4th edition of EVANS 1747 'much improved by G. Ensell'.

EVANS, EDWARD (1715 - 1804)

bio.: Aa; Archives Scots Church Rotterdam; Steven 1932-3; Scheurweghs 1960

Edward Evans, born at Bristol in about 1715, came to Holland early in life and was for a long time employed by the Scots Church in Rotterdam. The archives of the church are still kept on the premises and provide valuable information about the history of this active community from its inception in 1643 until the present day¹⁸. He was admitted to the church on 1 Jan. 1740 and must have been engaged in some teaching activity in 1747¹⁹, when his *Short and clear Instruction in the Spelling and pronouncing the English tongue* was published in Rotterdam: the book was clearly written by someone with an eye for the needs of his pupils. On 7 Dec. 1752 'Mr and Mrs Evans are appointed Binnenfather' (i.e. housefather at the orphanage) 'and Binnenmother against May 1753 (salary f250,- per annum)' and on 23 April 1755 we read that 'Mr Edward Evans will succeed Mr Murray per 1 May 1755 at the Publick School'²⁰, probably the English Boarding-school on the Glashaven in Rotterdam, which catered for 'British Youth in the Netherlands: also such of the Netherdutch Youth, as intend to receive instruction in the English Tongue'²¹. This school was located on or near the premises of the English Presbyterian church, which was independent from 1622 until 1877, when it was incorporated into the Scots Church. In 1757 he published *A new complete English and Dutch Grammar*, and saw this and his spelling book through at least two editions. 'Growing infirmities compelled him to resign [in] 1789, when he removed to Delft, where two of his daughters ... kept a boardingschool. He died April 14th, 1804, at the advanced age of eighty-nine.' (Steven 1832-33:349). From his works he appears to be a deeply

18 I am grateful to the present archivist Mr D M Akers for allowing me to examine the archives.

19 Cf the preface to EVANS 1747, where he writes about 'my own School'

20 Archives Scots Church Rotterdam, see also Morrison 1981.

21 Title page of EVANS 1747 (edition 1778).

religious person who went about his teaching duties in a professional way.

FESTEAU, PAUL

bio.: Lambley 1920; Bouton 1972

Paul Festeau was a contemporary and sometime friend of Mauger's, who seems to have arrived in London at about the same time and under similar circumstances. He was also engaged in French and particularly English teaching, later in the teaching of mathematics as well; he wrote a French textbook (1667), to which he added a similar one for English (1672). Both books enjoyed a tremendous popularity, at home and abroad. He was one of the 'Blois teachers', but like Mauger modified his views later, when in 1679 he claims to teach the 'Elegancy and Purity of the French Tongue as it is now spoken at the Court of France' (quoted from Lambley 1920:315). In 1693 he is still found to be in London and we do not know whether he ever left the city.

GOLDSTREY, THOMAS (? - 1609?)

bio.: Carter 1964

Not much is known about Thomas Goldstrey except that he was a member of the newly established English Reformed Church at the Begynhof in Amsterdam and was appointed schoolmaster at the church school there in around 1608. He died shortly before 19 August 1609 leaving 'a large family of small children (a child had been baptised Trial Dayes, a good Puritan name, in April), a number of debts, a considerable library and an extremely truculent widow' (Carter 1964:126), who was unhappy about the financial settlement after her husband's death. He may have been a man of some education (*ibid.*)

GREEN, JOHN

bio: Carter 1964

Even less is known about John Green. Carter (1964:127) tells us that he was appointed schoolmaster at the Begynhof Church Amsterdam on 16 October 1624 to teach the poor of the Church and the children of the members at an annual salary of 150 guilders. 'He could also teach the children of other English people living in the City, and was free to make his own arrangements about fees with the parents'.

HELDEREN, JAN GOSENS VAN

bio.: Aa; Hofstijzer 1987

Jan Gosens van Heldereren was a schoolmaster in Amsterdam, who taught spelling, Dutch and English, and lived in 'Sinter Klaas-straat, het eerste huis

van den Nieuwendijk, in de Stat Delden²². His full name was Johannes Gosens van Helderer, also written as (van) Heldoren/Heldoran/Horen/Hoorn. The only information about him is contained in two other books to his name, about Dutch spelling²³, which appeared in 1679. His English grammar was an adaptation of the successful *Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise* by Paul Festeau, one of the better known French ex-patriots from Blois teaching in London in the seventeenth century. It was later published in London (1690). His name occurs in the prefaces of V.d.Bommenacr (1738) and Peyton (1779).

HEXHAM, HENRY (1585? - 1658)

bio.: DNB; Scheurweghs 1960; Dibbets 1970b; Osselton 1973; Sprunger 1982; Op 't Hof 1987

Henry Hexham was a productive author and translator from and into English, Dutch, French and Latin, with a long and interesting military career in the Netherlands. He was born in the Holland district of Lincolnshire and came to the Low Countries in 1600 to be a page to Sir Francis Vere for six years. After that he remained in these parts almost without interruption until his death in 1658, as an active soldier, later Captain, and writer²⁴. During the later part of his life - probably from 1630 onwards (Osselton 1973:39, note 20) - he lived at Delft, where he was an active member of the local Presbyterian Church as a Deacon (1645) and Elder (1648). Sprunger (1982:158) calls him mildly Anglican and tells us that he had translated Dutch prayers into English for use in the church (*ibid.*, 267).

His fame rests partly on his numerous military works, including the influential *Principles of Art Militarie* in three parts (1637, 1639, 1640) and on his bilingual dictionary, which he must have compiled on the basis of his long experience as a translator. This *Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionarie . . . Het Groot Woorden-boeck Gestelt in 't Engelsch ende Nederduytch* was the first of its kind, to be used, he writes, by god-fearing divines, students and other Dutchmen willing to learn English ('Voor-reden'). The accompanying grammars did not escape the attention of John Wallis, who refers to them in his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1653 (p.XXV) as 'non male'.

HILLENIOUS, FRANÇOIS (1613? - ?)

bio.: Archives Scots Church Rotterdam; Cozens-Hardy *et al.* 1951; Jewson 1952, 1954; Scheurweghs 1960; Vorlat 1969; Moens 1988

22 Cf. 'Aan den Lezer', in J.G. van Helderer *Kortschrift-Boek* (Amsterdam, 1679, p.3). See also Hoftijzer 1987.

23 J.G. van Helderer, *Kortschrift-Boek* (Amsterdam 1679) and *Nederduitse Spelkonst* (Amsterdam 1679). For full titles and details see Hoftijzer 1987.

24 For a list of his works see DNB and Osselton 1973.

The name of François Hillenius is only used on the title page of his grammar. This makes it difficult to write biographical notes about him, since what scanty information we have relates to Francis Hillen or Frans Hille. The first time we encounter this name is on a list of English Congregationalists permitted to leave England: 'June, the 23th 1637. The examination of Francies Hillen: of Yarmouth Limner agreed 24 yeres' (which puts his date of birth at about 1613) 'and Elizabeth: his wife agreed 25 yeres and Anne Wrightt: his Mother agreed. 58 yeres all of Yarmout are desirous to passe into Holland. to inhabitt.' (quoted in Jewson 1954:36). The writer Hillenius was authorised 'by the Hble. Majestates of this City of Rotterdam, in the yeare 1637, to keep an English and Dutch Schoole here' (preface of HILLENIUS 1664). Rotterdam was an obvious port of entry to the Republic and there were strong links between the English church there and Norfolk (Jewson 1952). If the two names refer in fact to one and the same person, Hillenius must have had some knowledge of Dutch to run his school. He says about himself that he had been 'acquainted with both these languages from my very cradle' (preface). It is not impossible that he had a Dutch father: there had been a substantial number of Dutch immigrants in East Anglia from at least 1567, when Protestants were a target of severe prosecution throughout the Low Countries and many of them had to go abroad into exile. At first they were mostly Walloons and Flemings, but later there were many from the Northern provinces too. In 1567 one Cornelis van Hill, bookseller, came from Yper in Flanders to Norwich with his wife and one son (Moens 1988:211). We know from other sources that the renowned Dutch minister and divine Cornelis (van) Hille, or Hillenius, was born at Norwich in 1568 and that he died in Groningen in 1632 after an eventful life in the Republic (NNBW; Rogge 1874, vol.1:317-332 and vol.2:58-65). A Dutch connection with the names of Hille(n) and Hillenius may thus be assumed, particularly in a Norfolk context, but the link with our Francis Hillen is still obscure.

The next reference to him comes from the English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam, where he was admitted as a member on 21 November 1643 (Archives Scots Church Rotterdam, no. 1056). Then in 1645, according to the Church Book of the Great Yarmouth Independent Church, he was received into membership there 'by virtue of his dismission from the church at Rotterdam' and so was his wife Elizabeth in 1646 'by a letter of recommendation from ye church at Rotterdam'. Four of their children were baptised in the Yarmouth Congregational Church between January 1644/5 and October 1650 (Cozens-Hardy *et al.* 1951:9-12). The names of the four children were Salathiel, Johannes, David and Nathaniel. The timing of both his departure from and return to Great Yarmouth points to decisions of a prudent and orthodox Puritan: he left when Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich since 1635, began to enforce Laud's reform policy against Puritanism. He was not among

the first to go, but when he went he took his wife and mother with him. His return occurred some time after the situation in the homeland had begun to look up again: ' after ye glad tydings of a hopefull Parliament called & convened in England was reported to ye Church aforesaid in Rotterdam, divers of ye Church whose hearts God stirred up to further ye light (they now say) by all lawfull means in their native country, not without hope of enjoying liberty there, after much advising with ye Church & seeking God's direction, returned with ye assent, approbation & prayers of ye Church into England with resolution to gather into a Church with all convenient speed where God should please to direct them' ('Church Books of the Congregational Churches of Norwich and Great Yarmouth' quoted in Cozens-Hardy et al. 1951:1). This was 1642. Again, Hillen did not rush into things but went back relatively late, in 1645, first by himself to be followed by his wife Elizabeth in the year after.

The next thing we know about him is the publication of his *Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen Onderrichter* in 1664 (with four virtually identical reprints until 1686). A final note comes from the Municipal Archives of Rotterdam, where 'Lysbeth Hille, wife of Frans Hille, is registered among the deceased' in September 1668 (Scheurweghs 1960:135). So between 1650, when we know that his fourth child was born in Great Yarmouth, and 1664 the Hillens will have returned to Rotterdam, possibly around 1660, when the Restoration was the cause of another major transmigration of Puritans across the seas over a period of more than 100 years. If Edward Richardson's assertion that Hillenius was a public preacher in his day ('To the Reader' in *Anglo-Belgica*) is founded in fact²⁵, his voluntary exile would have been a way to avoid public denunciation of his Puritan convictions under one of the Acts of Uniformity. In 1664 he is still, or again, engaged in teaching as he asserts in his preface: 'knowing also what I have herein' (i.e. in this book) 'done, is within my present Sphere, because within my present Calling' (= profession), to which he adds wearily: 'wherein the providence of God hath set me . . . to do what ever my hand finds to do, with all my might, because there is no work, nor device, nor knowledg, nor wisdom, in the Grave, whither I am going.'

HOLTROP, JAN (17? - 1792)

bio.: Aa; *NNBW*; *Munic. Archives* Dordrecht; Campbell 1870; *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel* 1883, no. 12.; Scheurweghs 1960

Jan/Johannes Holtrop was born in Unna, near Dortmund in Westphalia, where his father was still resident in 1723 (Scheurweghs 1960:142, notes). His

²⁵ Richardson may have met Hillenius when he came to Rotterdam in 1663 or during his brief stay there.

brother Thomas was married at Dordrecht in 1738 and John followed suit in 1749, when he married a Scotswoman, Janet Thoms. Some sources will have it that he lived in England previously to his arrival in Dordrecht²⁶, but we have no proof to bear this out. From his first marriage his son Willem, the later printer of most of his works, was born on 24 October 1751. In 1759 he married Jeneke Kleyn, by whom he had at least five children²⁷. He is believed to have been a teacher of English and other languages²⁸; he also belonged to the English Court at Dordrecht and was a clark and precentor²⁹ of the English Church in his place of residence. He died on 29 October 1792.

Not much else is known about him except of course his linguistic output. This was quite impressive in bulk and quality, and written towards the end of his life, perhaps at the request of his son Willem, who entered the booktrade at about the same time when Holtrop's first work appeared in print. There is no doubt about his authorship of the revised edition of P. Marin's French dictionary in 1773, *The English Grammar Enlarged* (1780) and its revision in 1791 into *A Complete English Grammar* (although carried out by the Rev. Benjamin Choyce Sowden), the *Lettres Marchandes en 7 langues* published before 1788 and the ambitious *New English and Dutch Dictionary* of 1789. There is less certainty about two other works: *The First Rudiments* (c1804), printed by Willem Holtrop and possibly composed from unknown

26 Thus *NBW* and Campbell 1870:633ff. Campbell tells us that the Holtrop family came to Dordrecht from England. Holtrop's first marriage to Janet Thoms of Drummeck near Aberdeen took place in Dordrecht on May 18 1749 (*Gemeentearchief* Dordrecht). The last male descendant of this branch of the Holtrops, Johannes Willem (chief librarian of the Royal Library [=KB] at The Hague), died on 13 Febr. 1870.

27 '1749 After the ordinary publishing of the Banes, John Holtrop, clark of the English Church at Dort, born at Unna in the County of Mart in Germany, single man, and Janet Thoms born at Drummeck near Aberdeen in Scotland singlewoman were married on Sunday by me (signed) Samuel Jay, Minister of the English Church' (*Huwelyksregister English Church 1625-1795*, *Gemeentearchief* Dordrecht). On 24 October 1751 his son Willem was baptised in the *Waaals-Hervormde Kerk* under the names of Guillaume Henr. On 2 September 1759, John Holtrop, widower, married Jeneke Kleyn (*Huwelyksregister English Church 1625-1795*); they had seven children including twins and triplets (*Doopregister Schotse Kerk*, 1760, 1764, 1766, 1769, *Gemeentearchief* Dordrecht).

28 'V66r 1770 woonde te Dordrecht John, Jan of Johannes Holtrop, volgens den heer Campbell een Engelschman van afkomst, en onderwijzer in de Engelsche en andere talen. Van deze zijn de volgende werken bekend:

- J.Holtrop, *Uitvoenge Engelsche Spraakkunst*. Dordrecht en Amsterdam, A.Blussé & Zoon en W.Holtrop, 1780.
- --- , *Koopmans-Brieven in zeven talen*. Amst. W.Holtrop.
- --- , *Engelsch en Nederl. Woordenboek 2 deelen*. Dordr. Blussé & van Braam.

Omtrent het gezin van deezen taalmeester is ons alleen bekend, dat hij een volwassen zoon had, Willem genaamd, die . . . na zijn schoolstudien volbracht te hebben, als leerling in een boekhandel werd opgenomen. Nadat zijn leertyd ten einde was, vertrok hij naar Amsterdam' (in 1779). (Quotation taken from *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, 1883 no. 12, available for inspection in *Bibliotheek Vereeniging* UBA). One of the languages taught by Holtrop may have been French: he revised Picre Marins's dictionary into *Dictionnaire Portauf De Nouveau revue, corrigée et augmentée par Jean Holtrop* (Dort Blussé, 1773 and 1786/7).

29 He is named as 'voorzanger' (precentor) at the English Church of Dordrecht in *MML*, September 1755:127.

Holtrop material; and the *Nieuw Nederduitsch en Engelsch Woordenboek* of 1801, companion volume to the earlier En-Du dictionary, from which not more than 8 pages had been completed when Holtrop died (see 'Preface').

JANSON, BALDWIN

bio.: prefaces to his Dutch grammar 1792 (cf. Appendix 2) and pocket dictionary 1795 (Appendix 1a)

Baldwin Janson was of Dutch origin. Although the Dutch publishers of his pocket dictionary (1795 in *KB) refer to the English as his compatriots ('zyne Landgenooten'), which would point to an English background, he himself writes of 'a twelve years residence in England', of his Dutch grammar 'which I published twenty years ago in Holland, and which has passed through several editions' and 'I have travelled through all the said countries, by the bare assistance of the Dutch Idiom' (all of these in the preface to his *Dutch Grammar* of 1792 in *UBA). He calls himself 'Professor of languages to their serene Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the Dutchess of York' on the title page of this Dutch Grammar. We may assume that these languages included Dutch and English. It seems likely that he lived in the Republic, where his Dutch Grammar was published in 1772 ('twenty years ago'), until 1780, when he must have arrived in England ('a twelve years residence', in edition of 1792). Both his Dutch grammar and his pocket dictionary went through several editions over a considerable period of time and were printed in London and the Dutch Republic (cf. Appendices 1a and 2).

JUNIUS, (H)ADRIANUS (1511 - 1575)

bio.: Aa; *NNBW*; *MEW*; Scholtema 1836; Van Dorsten 1962

The renowned Dutch humanist, philologist, historian, medical doctor and poet (H)adrianus Junius or Adriaen de Jonghe, was born at Hoorn in 1511. He studied medicine and philosophy at Louvain, travelled extensively through Southern and Western Europe including England, received his MD at Bologna in 1540, spent about ten years in England as amongst others things personal physician to Thomas Havardus, Duke of Norfolk, and returned to the province of Holland in 1563 to be city surgeon and Headmaster of the Latin School at Haarlem. After the siege of this city in 1574 he moved to Middelburg in the province of Zeeland, where he died shortly afterwards and is buried in the Choorckerk. Justus Lipsius of Leyden called him the most learned Dutchman after Erasmus. His *Nomenclator*, first published at Antwerp in 1567 and preceded by a *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Basel 1548), did not contain English translations for some of the Latin headwords until 1577. As a scholarly work it had considerable influence over a long period of time, but it was of little use to learners of English. There is a painted portrait of

him in the University of Amsterdam, reproduced in the front of Scheltema 1836.

LARREY, ISAAC DE (1638? - 1719)

bio.: *Nouvelle Biographie*; *NNBW*; Haag 1846-59

Like so many of his fellow believers the Protestant French historian Isaac de Larrey was forced to leave his native country. After his law studies at Caen and a short period of legal practice in Normandy, he escaped to Berlin, returned to France, but left again, first to the Protestant Netherlands where he was appointed historian of the Dutch Republic during his brief stay, then on to Berlin again to be councillor for the Brandenburg Elector, where he managed to make a living as a writer of many books (cf. *Nouvelle Biographie*). His son Henry and his grandson Thomas-Isaac took up high positions in the Dutch Republic. Many of his mainly historical works, which are not always found to be too reliable, were published in Rotterdam.

MACKY, JOHN (? - 1726)

bio.: *DNB*

The Scotsman John Macky acted as a government agent to spy on the Jacobites and on their connections with France. He was stationed in several places including seatown ports on the South-East coast. Later he was imprisoned but released on the accession of George I. He died in Rotterdam in 1726. His *Memoirs on the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.*, published by his son in 1733, provide an interesting timepiece of the political scene in his days. Other works by him are *Journey through England* (1714), *Journey through Scotland* (1725) and *Journey through the Austrian Netherlands* (1725).

MAUGER, CLAUDE (1625? - 1702?)

bio.: Lambley 1920:301 ff.; Bouton 1972

Claude Mauger was born in Blois, where for seven years he taught French to travellers 'the flowre of all Europe', until 1650, when he went to London into exile after an unhappy time of 'intestine distempers'³⁰. Together with other French refugees he started on a highly successful career as a teacher of French and English to men and women of the higher classes in a private school. This group of teachers was united in their belief that the accent of Blois was 'the most famous for the true pronounciation of the language' 'by the unanimous consent of all Frenchmen' (quoted from Lambley 1920:301/2), for which reason they are sometimes referred to as 'Little Blois in London'.

30 The reasons for his departure from Blois are not clear. Lambley (1920) assumes that he was a Huguenot, but Bouton (1972) suggests that he had links with the Jansenists and the grammarians from Port Royal - cf. Bouton 1972 28, note 1, and 31-33

Some of the other members were Paul Festeau, Master Penson and, from an earlier date, Charles Maupas. At around 1680 he is found to be in Paris carrying out the same profession in the fashionable quarter of Foubourg St. Germain. His praises of the Blois accent are now changed to that of Paris 'the centre of the purity of the French Tongue, where the true French phrase is to be found'. His return to London takes place in 1688, partly to be with his relatives, some of whom are known to have lived in that city. His main work is a textbook for English learners of French, *The true advancement of the French Tongue*, first published in 1653 and subsequently revised and augmented by Mauger himself as *French Grammar* in nineteen editions between 1656 and 1702, discussed in detail in Bouton 1972. The book sold very well indeed, in England but also in France and in the Low Countries, where it went through numerous editions in one volume with Festeau's *Nouvelle Grammaire* of 1672³¹. A French-Flemish edition was printed at Utrecht in 1683, when Mauger himself was teaching in Paris, and reprinted at least eight times until 1762, always in the Low Dutch area (Bouton 1972:59). The popularity of his textbooks among speakers of Dutch may be explained by the fact that he had a Dutch (Flemish?) brother-in-law, a painter by the name of Keyser (Lambley 1920:308) or Verbruggen (Bouton 1972:49).

Miège, GUY (1644 - 1718?)

bio.: DNB; Lambley 1920:382 ff., Howatt 1984

Guy Miège, born in Lausanne, was a teacher of English, French and geography in London from about 1669. He first arrived in London at around 1661, when he took up various administrative posts, including that of ambassador extraordinary to Russia, Sweden and Denmark. After a period of travelling abroad he settled permanently in England and became a prolific writer of influential works (cf. the impressive list in DNB), including a number of French dictionaries and FrLL textbooks, an English grammar (1688) and a geographical book on the *New State of England* (1691), later with the Union of 1707, expanded into *The Present State of Great Britain* (1707). His *One Hundred and Fifteen Dialogues French and English fitted for the use of learners* (London: Th.Basset 1682), together with the numerous dialogues in Mauger's - 80 in the sixth edition of his textbook - and Festeau's manuals, were pirated in the Low Countries and elsewhere almost up to end of the eighteenth century; Miège & Boyer's *A New double grammar French-English and English-French* published in the Netherlands in many editions from 1718 had a wide circulation. With Mauger and Festeau and a

31 12 editions between 1672 and 1793, from 1687 (3rd ed.) invariably published in the Low Countries (Bouton 1972:56-57).

few others (see Lambley 1920) he belonged to the group of successful teachers of French and English as a foreign language in Restoration England, among whom he achieved great fame as a teacher of English.

PEL(L), GUILLAUME

bio.: Aa

All we know about Guillaume Pel(l) is that he was 'natif de Londres' (title page PELL 1735). He may have been in some way related to the well-known mathematician John Pell (1611 - 1685), who taught at the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* (1643 - 1646) and the Military School at Breda (1646 - 1652), but no connection has been established so far.

PIELAT, BARTHÉLEMY (1640? - 1681)

bio.: NNBW; Haag 1846-59 (vol. 8:234); De Schickler 1892; Riemens 1919; Leemans 1969-71

Barthélemy Pielat is chiefly remembered as a textbook writer and teacher of French in the Dutch Republic (see Riemens 1919), although he also held ecclesiastical offices, carried the title of 'medical doctor' (title page of *L'Antigrammaire*) and published works like *Études de Medicin* and a biography of Michiel de Ruyter: *La Vie et les Actions mémorables du Sieur de Ruyter* (1678). In the second edition of *L'Antigrammaire* (1681) he calls himself teacher of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Dutch and English, rhetoric, philosophy, theology and medicin. His marginal importance as a teacher of English is amongst other things testified by the publication of his *Octoglotton* in 1673, which includes English, but must be labelled as a multilingual manual of small importance.

He was born at Orange in the South of France in around 1640³²; in 1659 he is found to be a student of divinity in Geneva and later pastor at Meaux; he subsequently fled to England, where he worked as a preacher for the well-known London ministers Hérault, Durel and Primrose, and he must have come to the Netherlands after 1670 (De Schickler 1892: vol.II, 262/3), and in particular to Amsterdam where he published *Secrétaire Incognu* in 1671, *L'Anti-Grammaire ... D'Oude Spraakkonst Verworpen* in 1673 (reprinted 1681 and 1700), *Octoglotton, ou Phraséologie en huict langues* in the same year and some other works including the ones mentioned in the previous paragraph, among which also *Le Secrétaire critique* (1680) in which he is called 'S[ieur] B. P[ielat] dit Du Tonquier'. He died in Amsterdam on 9 October

32 The Municipal Archives at Orange do not contain any reference to Barthélemy Pielat. He may have been related to the 'pasteur Piélat' who died at Orange at the age of 60 (Municipal Archives)

1681. His brother Phinée(s) Pielat was pastor of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam between 1672 and 1698; then he returned to Orange, where he died in 1700 (NNBW).

RICHARDSON, EDWARD (1617 - 1677?)

bio.: BC; Steven 1832-3; *Album* 1875; Venn & Venn 1922-54; Walker 1934; Longdon 1938-52; Scheurweghs 1960; Sprunger 1982; Hoftijzer 1987; and the many references scattered about in these works

Edward Richardson, son of Thomas, was admitted as a sizar to Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1636, where he subsequently matriculated in 1637 and got his BA in 1639/40. There is some confusion here with an earlier Cambridge student of the same name matriculating from Corpus Christi at Easter 1623 and receiving his BA in 1626/7, who was ordained deacon and priest at Peterborough on 12 and 13 April 1627 respectively (Venn & Venn 1922-54 part 1, vol.3:451; Longdon 1938-52 vol.9:189). These dates, however, conflict with later evidence in the *Album* 1875, where the age of Edward Richardson is specified twice as 26 in 1644 and 47 in 1664, which seems sufficient evidence to rule out any identification between the two Edwards as is done in e.g. Nuttall 1978/9:45 and Dobson 1968, vol.1:381. We assume henceforth that only one Edward Richardson came to the Dutch Republic in the middle of the seventeenth century *pace* Venn & Venn, who report a stay in Dutch exile for the two Edwards in similar capacities and in the same period; our assumption is confirmed in the biographical detail provided by Scheurweghs 1960, Matthews 1934 and Hoftijzer 1987. In 1639 he is probably minister of Sawley Chapel, Ripon, where he also seems to have kept a school. Then, in 1643, when the English Presbyterian Church at Delft was in need of a new minister and had great difficulty in finding one, Richardson accepted the offer and came to the Netherlands, but we do not know why he went. During his two years there he married Dorcas Her[r]ing, daughter of Julian Hering of the English Church at Amsterdam, had one son, Edward, who was baptised in Delft on 3 July 1644, and was admitted to Leyden University five days later 'annorum 26'. In 1645 he returned to Yorkshire, first to be minister at Deighton (Sprunger 1982:161) and from 14 July 1647 until 1660 at Ripon. By then his loyalties were firmly on the side of the non-conformists: he signed the *Vindiciae Veritatis* of 1648 and was to remain faithful to them until his death. His wife Dorcas died on 31 August 1651, a monumental inscription of which is to be found in Ripon Cathedral; his second marriage to Susanna Styring took place on 17 July 1655. Matthews (1934:411) tells us that he had five children in Ripon: Edward, Mary, Christiana, Dorcas and Nathaniel, but young Edward must have been the son born at Delft in 1644 since he, 'filius Edwardi Richardson, Doctoris S.T. de Rippon in Agro Eboracensi, annum agens decimum quintum', was admitted to Magdalene College

Cambridge on 29 January 1659 (College Archives Magd. Coll.). After the Restoration the authorities were quick to eject any Puritan minister unwilling to conform under one of the two Acts of Uniformity of 1660 and 1662 respectively. Richardson's uncompromising views led to his early ejection in 1660 together with over 100 other ministers in Yorkshire alone under the two Acts; he was probably succeeded by John Wilkins, whom he calls 'my Successor' and who became afterwards Bishop of Chester in 1668 ('To the Reader' in *Anglo-Belgica*). He probably moved to Harrogate where he kept a medical practice 'but that was but to colour his designe, only hee repaired to Rippon (where his family resided) every Thursday being Market day' to administer his Puritan flock, one would assume (Public Record, London - see Scheurweghs 1960:138, note 45). During this time he received an extralicense from the Royal College of Physicians on 10 November 1662. At this point his religious views seem to have hardened and gained political momentum³³, as they had already started to do in 1648 with his commitment to the *Vindiciae Veritatis*. Resenting his ejection from Ripon, he involved himself in one of the many unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the new order acting as the centre of what is now known as the Yorkshire or Farnley Wood Plot of 1663 (Walker 1934); he was arrested, 'sent to York, but he and his sureties escaped 6 Aug. 1663: crossed to Holland 19 Aug.' (Matthews 1934). His wife was still in York as a prisoner at her brother Alleson's house on 11 March 1664 (ibid.) and we do not know whether she ever joined her husband in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, he embarked on a chequered career in various activities and places, and it is far from easy to pacify all the conflicting evidence. Walker (1934:353, note 4) tells us that 'he practised as a doctor in Rotterdam until 1668, when he became pastor of the English Church at Leyden', but the same *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic series) (CSPD)* from which he took this piece of evidence contains a request from the city authorities for Richardson to leave Rotterdam, whereupon he settled in Amsterdam (Matthews 1934). This is confirmed by Scheurweghs (1960:138). Later he is reported to have lived in Haarlem and Leyden (ibid.) and eventually he is back in Amsterdam. Another source (Steven 1832) mentions his appointment as minister at Haarlem in 1665 in the Chapel of the Merchant Adventurers, where he received 'the sum of 300 guilders and upwards . . . as gratuity for his good services, and the progress he is making in said con-

33 The importance of Richardson's activities within the Puritan community is still far from clear he seems to have been active and prominent, but his name is not mentioned in two major works on the Puritans in England i.e. Gilbert Burnet's *The History of the Reformation in the Church of England* (7 vols., 1679 etc.) and Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans (1732-1738, translated into Dutch as *Historie der Rechtzinnige Puriteinen*, Rotterdam 1752/3)*, these two writers lived and worked in the Dutch Republic for a number of years and may be expected to have known about prominent fellow countrymen of the same denomination living and working in the Republic

gregation' and in 1670 at the Scottish Church at Leyden, where he remained until 1674. He seems to have been 'a popular preacher' (Palmer 1775). When he came to Leyden, he trod familiar ground: he had studied there in 1644, had become a medical doctor in 1664 (whence Doctor Richardson; there is no proof that he ever received a D.D. as some sources will have it) and was made an honorary student on 23 February 1671 (*Album* 1875). 'During his stay there he had come under the influence of the Amsterdam prophet Hans Rothe³⁴, and Rothe (who had earlier been in England) had moved from Fifth Monarchism towards Jakob Boehme and *Spiritualismus*' (Nuttall 1978/9:47). Throughout this period there was no let-up in his religious and political agitations, which caused great concern to the English authorities both at home and in the Dutch republic. Ample proof of this is scattered about in sources such as the *CSPD*, Carr's letters in the *Blathwayt Correspondence* (*BC*), and elsewhere. 'Attempts were made by government agents to get him back to England and obtain reversal of outlawry by turning King's evidence 1663.' (*CSPD*, in Matthews 1934). However, 'as the Dutch had only obliged themselves to surrender regicides, others whose extradition was desired could only be brought to England with their permission. But a public request only had the effect of placing the victims on their guard, as Downing pointed out in the case of Dr. Richardson'³⁵. Later, 'during the third Dutch War (1672-4) he assisted in translating *England's Appeal from the Private Cabal at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation*³⁶' (Walker 1934:353 note 4; for full Dutch title see Hofstijzer 1987:226). At about the same time Carr reports that 'I am of an opinion that such a dangerous booke' (i.e. *The Grand Jury or Inquest of England*) 'ought not to remaine in the Pensionar' (?) 'keeping. It is all write with Doct. E Richardson owne hand ready for the presse ...' (*BC*, folio 68) and in the same letter he complains of 'our English Phanaticks in Amsterdam amongst whome some ought to be made examples of, which if once done would forwarne the rest'. Richardson will undoubtedly have belonged to this group, as did 'Stephen Swart, & Mr Browning two Phanatick Booksellers in Amsterdam who have many scandalous papers sent to their shoppes.' (ibid) and as we know it was Swart who invited Richardson to compose the *Anglo-Belgica* ('The Bookseller to the Reader' in *Anglo-Belgica*). The invitation had to be repeated a number of times - 'I have thereunto often desired the learned and experienced Author' - before Richardson agreed to accept the challenge, for a challenge it must have been for him to embark on such a new enterprise in his late fifties. Swart admits that perhaps 'it was much below his high learning to trouble himself with such a

34 About Johannes Rothe cf. Pennington 1978:310-332.

35 *State Papers Foreign*, Holland 169, p129. Quoted from Walker 1948, an illustrative article on the freedom enjoyed by English refugees in the Dutch Republic.

36 By William Coventry (London 1673).

Work', but Richardson emphatically disagrees: 'I have no cause to look upon this as contemptible, when men of æquall degree, and far greater worth, have thought meet to be exercised in this kind of Grammarwork' ('To the Reader'): he was thinking of Vossius, the renowned classical scholar of the newly established Amsterdam *Atheneum Illustré*, of Dr John Wallis of Oxford and 'yea also, he that made the late *English & Netherdutch Instructor* had been in his day a publick Preacher' (ibid), i.e. Hillenius. His death must have occurred shortly after the publication of his manual, probably in Amsterdam c.1677, when he was still involved in some legal proceedings (Hoftijzer 1987:194, note 76). Unlike his fellow material writers he was engaged in politics; like so many of them he saw the publication of his ELL textbook late in life (for an analysis of this textbook see Ch.6.4).

'THE ENGLISH SCHOLE-MASTER'

bio: preface to SCHOLE-MASTER 1646

The anonymous 'English Schole-master', author of the first fully developed ELL textbook (1646, see Appendix 1a and Ch.6.3), had some experience as a (private) tutor of English to persons of quality and perhaps also as an instructor of young English people entrusted to his charge (preface). He was of English descent: in his preface he writes about 'our Sovereigne Charles', 'our tongue' (i.e. English), 'our Kingdome of great Brittainé', etc. His choice of texts seems to point to a thorough familiarity with biblical and other Christian writings. He had not been keen to put pen to paper: 'It is long since I was first urged hcreunto, but I have hitherto expected, that some moreable' (sic) 'would before this have prevented me of this labour by their more fruitfull observations' (preface). When it eventually came, his English textbook, written 'as a token of my thankfulnes for the friendship and priviledges, which I and other of my Countrymen enjoy in these lands', was 'the first attempt which I have made in this kind' and he claimed never to have 'seen any grounds to the like purpose' (quotations from the preface); however, he was familiar with one of the editions of BERLAIMONT 1576 (possibly the bilingual one published in 1639), which he adapted to his needs and lavishly copied from, and various other sources (see Chapter 6.3b, 'Sources'). We do not know his name; he probably belonged to the community of English refugees living in Amsterdam and scattered about the several Protestant churches there. A possible clue to his name may be found in the second letter of the 'Epistles' section, a father's reply to a letter from his son Robert Jackson, which is headed by these words:

*'The answer to the former letter
To my loving son Robert Jackson,
at the house of Master James Dunckens
Schoole-master in Amsterdam'*

(ed 1663, p 196)

Although it was not customary to use one's own name in a textbook of this nature, could this possibly be an exception³⁷? The contents of the letters seem to fit the Schole-master's occupation; moreover, the idea may have occurred to him when he read through the letters in BERLAIMONT 1576, in one of which the name of Jan van Berlaimont is used; and the two letters referred to above are the first among a large number and may therefore have offered a suitable place for some kind of modest identification. Having said this, it should be added that in a subsequent letter headed:

*'A father sends his son to a Schoolemaster,
and gives him charge to feed and instruct him,
and promiseth to pay him for it'*
(pp.206-208, ed 1663)

other names are used, even though the information seems equally appropriate to our anonymous schoolmaster. It is worth quoting from this letter the lines in which the expected tasks of the schoolmaster are set out:

'My earnest request therefore to you is, that you will please to take charge of him' [i.e. the son], 'and look well to him, that he want no thing needfull for him, and also that you will diligently instruct him in all necessary things wherein youth should be taught, as namely, reading, writing, ciphery, casting up of accompts, keeping of merchants books, understanding and speaking the Latin, French, Dutch, English, Italian, and Spanish, tongues, and what els you see good but espertally I pray neglect not to traine him up in the feare of God, and good manners and behaviour toward men, that by Gods blessing in tme he may be fit to traffique and hold commerce in the world as other men doe, and maje behave himself worthly therein'
(pp.207/8, ed 1663)

SEWEL, WILLEM (1653 - 1720)

bio.: Aa; NNBW; Hull 1933; Kannegieter 1971; Osselton 1973

Willem Sewel, born and bred in Amsterdam, had an English grandfather (a Brownist from Kidderminster in Worcestershire), an English/Dutch father and a Dutch mother. He never left his native town for long - with less than a year of his life abroad³⁸ - making a living there as a writer and translator in both English and Dutch and some French, Italian, German, Greek and Latin. His fame rests primarily on his religious works in the Quaker tradition, but he also wrote textbooks for English and Dutch, and an English-

37 The 'List of Members of the English Reformed Church, Amsterdam, 1649' in Carter 1964 contains the names of *Dunckin, Elizabeth*, and *Dunkings, Jean* (or *Dunkenson*) The name of John Duncan appears in the list of members for 1643 (Municipal Archives Amsterdam, 318 90 nr 255) None of these lists is complete

38 'only a matter of ten months, and that about forty years ago' (in the back of SEWEL 1691, ed 1708), 'want geduurende den ganschen tyd myns leevens ben ik in 't geheel niet boven een jaar buyten Hólland geweest' (W Sewel *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* 1712, 'Voorreede' p 9)

Dutch and Dutch-English dictionary³⁹ with accompanying grammars, which proved to be very successful going as it did through numerous reprints and editions until the middle of the 18th century. His biography was written by Hull in 1933⁴⁰ and need not be summarised here; Osselton 1973 contains an evaluative study of his dictionaries. Sewel is the only Dutch material writer with a full biography to his name and one of the few with some influence abroad (cf. Appendix 1a). He is also one of the few whose picture has come down to us, in an engraving reproduced in his *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* of 1712. It is not certain that he did any English language teaching; he was well versed in Latin and taught this language in his younger days to, amongst others, the Dutch poet and dramatist Pieter Langendijk (Hull 1933:107,145). But his interest was not with the teaching profession: in a letter to his friend William Penn in 1696 he declined the offer of a school-mastership with the Quaker community at Bristol (ibid., p.150). Earlier on, also in a letter to Penn, he wrote: 'although I suppose I understand well enough the German, Italian and Spanish tongues, I do not speak them. Hence, I would by no means promise to teach them accurately. Besides, I am not yet reduced to such narrow straits that I do not know what to do' (English translation from the Latin original, in Hull 1933:106/7). He applied himself almost exclusively to translation work, writing and reviewing⁴¹, in which fields he achieved considerable respect and fame. Many 18th century writers acknowledged their debt to the linguistic works of 'father Sewel', as he is sometimes affectionately referred to.

SMITH, GEORGE

bio.: Aa; Grimes 1930; Scheurweghs 1960

Little is known about George Smith and what we do know is not too complimentary. He came to Utrecht in 1752 to be a reader at the English Church and on September 11th of the same year received permission to open a school for the teaching of English. However, he did not take his duties at the church too seriously - staying away one Sunday without leave - and 'was accused of getting silver watches and books from tradesmen without paying for them and with trying to sell them again' (Grimes 1930:32). Soon after 1753 he may have left for Woerden to try his teaching luck there together with a certain Hambleton Holmes, but we also learn that some time later he

39 In his attempts to dedicate this dictionary to distinguished patrons he wrote letters to William III and William Penn, but they came to nothing (Hull 1933:42/3,91ff).

40 Both Hull and Kannegeter take an interest in Sewel as a Quaker, not as a linguist. Sewel's linguistic achievements are not sufficiently, or even accurately, detailed by these two authors.

41 From 1702 until 1708 Sewel was chief editor of the *Twee-maandelyke Uytreksels van alle eerst uytkomende Boeken, door W'Sewel*, a well-known magazine containing reviews of mainly religious and historical works. Cf *Boekzaal* in my bibliography

returned to London, where his parents lived, to look for work, after applying for a testimonial with his previous employers in Utrecht (unsuccessfully) (ibid.). It does not seem unlikely that his arrival in the Netherlands took place before 1752, when his *Compleat Grammar* was published in Utrecht; his other book, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (referred to in Aa) appeared in London in 1769 (2nd ed), possibly after his return there.

SYLVIUS, LAMBERTUS (1610? - 1698?)

bio.: Aa; *NNBW*; Schotel 1857

Lambertus Sylvius or van den Bos(ch), who came from Helmond in Brabant to the city of Dordrecht to be Headmaster there at the *Illustere Schol* (Latin School) in 1654, was a teacher, translator, dramatist and poet of some fame, although not of much distinction. His numerous works were printed between 1646 and 1698, often translations from one of the many languages he claimed to be familiar with - Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish and above all English. He is said to have taught some English in his school at Dordrecht (Schotel 1857:189). However, in 1671 he was dismissed from the school because of drunkenness and negligence. He then moved to Beverwijk, Amsterdam and several other places, and died towards the end of the century.

TEMPLE, WILLIAM (1628 - 1699)

bio.: *DNB*; Woodbridge Homer 1940; Roorda 1978

Sir William Temple was the English ambassador to the Dutch Republic from 1668-1671 and 1674-1679, a well-known and widely respected diplomat much acquainted with the Dutch political scene and actively engaged in it: he was stationed at Brussels and The Hague and was amongst other things instrumental in the Triple Alliance of 1668 and the marriage between William and Mary in 1677. His book on the history of England until the death of William the Conqueror, although unwieldy in wording and size and not always accurate, has been included in Appendix 1b as a potential source of information for former students of English looking for background knowledge in their native tongue .

WALRAVEN, JACOB (1544? - ?)

bio.: *NNBW*; Prinsen 1927; Barnouw 1935; Van Dorsten 1962

The name of Jacob Walraven is chiefly connected with his translation of George Whetstone's *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1585) and his brief directions on *English Pronovnciation*, published in one volume in 1586, used by amongst others Marten Le Mayre in *The Dytch Schoole Master* of 1606, then never again mentioned until 1935, when Barnouw drew attention to its unique character in his article on 'How English was Taught in Jan van Hout's Leyden' (Barnouw 1935). Walraven was a native from Hoorn, who came

to Leyden to study philology and law in 1579 at the age of thirty-five, which puts his date of birth at around 1544. Previously to his arrival in Leyden he had been engaged in (commercial?) activities abroad in various places including Antwerp, where he had picked up some English, but that was 15 years before the publication of his textbook and by then his English was almost completely forgotten (WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:11). In 1581 he lived at the house of Jan van Hout, town clerk of Leyden. His efforts to brush up his English have been described in Chapter 2. Apart from these few facts little else is known about him; Van Dorsten (1962:140) calls him a poet, but no references to him can be found in the literary handbooks; he knew the Dutch poet Coornhert, who dedicated one of his comedies to him in 1582, and he may have tried his hand at some occasional verses - cf. the *Ode* quoted in Prinsen 1927. He was far ahead of his time, and indeed unique, in his detailed information about his own experiences as a learner (cf. the many prefaces to his textbook), his views on language learning and translation work, and with the material itself, which was novel compared to anything available at the time.

WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL

bio.: Steven 1832; Osselton 1973

Samuel Hull Wilcocke was a minister of the Scottish Church at Middelburg from 1775-1796, when he retired (Steven 1832-33:324). He spent 'upwards of three years' condensing the two bulky Sewel dictionaries - 'no edition of this book has appeared since that of 1766' - into one handy volume and later (1811) even into a pocket dictionary. Both books were published in London, but there is a reference to a publication in Amsterdam of the earlier edition (cf. Appendix 1a). He took the 'uninviting toil of lexicography' upon him to accommodate colonists, merchants, adventurers and mariners, Dutch and English. As justification he modestly points out in the preface of the edition of 1798:

'If a residence of many years in Holland, a mercantile education in that country, and an acquaintance with their best writers, may afford a presumption of his adequacy with respect to the Dutch language, he trusts that his being conversant with English literature from his earliest years, his particular attachment to the study of our poets and historians, and an unremitting industry in the research and accumulation of verbal knowledge, will not leave room for any arraignment of his accuracy in his maternal idiom'

5.1. *Introduction*

Although foreign languages may be learned without books, instructional materials usually play an important role in the process. The nature of these materials may vary, but in order to be useful they will at least have to contain texts in the target language with translations into the mother tongue and preferably also information about that target language written in the native speech of the learner, especially when this learner is a beginner and has to work on his own. The materials in Appendix 1a, relating to the period between 1500 and 1800, have been collected with these principles in mind: they should contain texts in at least English and Low Dutch, and they should have an instructional purpose. This means that bilingual French-English textbooks or other bilingual sources without English have been excluded; similarly monolingual works such as English grammars written in English or the original texts of translated books - there were many of these about - have not been accepted either. There is no doubt that sources like these were used for ELL purposes, especially the French ones, as French was the language of instruction in the Southern Low Countries and very familiar to many in the North; it was also the medium through which information about English life and letters was disseminated into these parts by means of the French periodicals between roughly 1680 and 1750. But they were not specifically written for the target group of this study and have thus been excluded from the Appendix.

A study of these materials is a rewarding activity; it tells us about the ideas behind the texts, the problems their writers had to face, the solutions they came up with, the progress made over the years, and in general many points of linguistic and language teaching interest. There is no better way to evaluate them than by reading and rereading their contents and setting them off against similar texts in other sources or different editions of the same source. It is a time-consuming occupation, not made any easier by the fact that the copies are often located in different libraries. However, gradually when characteristics begin to re-occur and texts to be re-used or reshaped, the materials come to life as products that could only have been written the way they were and with a logic of their own. Apart from solutions a study of this kind also raises questions, more questions than can be answered in this context. The notes that follow may for this reason also serve as a basis for further study.

A second reason for a detailed inspection of the primary ELL sources in

the Low Dutch context is the absence of other kinds of information about the learning of English there. School records, testimonies by contemporary learners, book reviews, professional magazines, helpful comments perhaps by the writers themselves in other contexts - all this is missing. So there is nothing for it but to turn to the sources themselves and see what we can get out of them. And even then do we have to rope in occasionally French and German sources for meaningful interpretations.

In the notes below the contents of all the materials collected in Appendix 1a will be dealt with in a certain amount of detail. A discussion of this kind is not available elsewhere and it may shed new light on early instructional materials in general and those in the Low Dutch area in particular. For this purpose these materials has been divided up into textbooks (5.2), dictionaries (5.3), and spelling books (5.4) as the major categories. 'Borrowing' as a characteristic shared by all of them will be discussed in 5.5. The chapter winds up with a condensed survey of all the materials in a convenient historical framework (5.6), which the reader may wish to inspect before starting on the notes themselves.

5.2 Textbooks

A span of 300 years may seem a long time, but essentially the structure of the bilingual ELL textbooks in the Low Dutch area did not change a great deal during that long period. The sections they contained often increased in size and quality but not in character or in the order in which they were presented. A typical textbook would contain:

- a short preface
- a grammar section
- idiomatic phrases
- dialogues
- personal and commercial letters,

and sometimes also:

- a word list (or vocabulary)
- a table of English money
- a list of abbreviations
- a list of proverbs
- some texts
- other practice material.

None of them included verses, songs¹, plays, pictures, simplified reading material (except the spelling books), graded phrases, 'a few pleasant stories

1 WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:100-101 has two psalms with the music to which they may be sung.

to laugh' etc., as may be found in the numerous learning books abroad² and also in French textbooks in these parts³, but then English was never a set subject in schools and contrary to what was suggested in some of the titles or prefaces the main target group were adults. Some of these missing exercises will also have been considered frivolous and out of keeping with the moral tone of many of the Low Dutch textbooks: thus Coornhert severely criticised the use in schools of '*Amadijs de Gaule, Ovidius Nasonis, ende ander onkuyse Boecken ende Poëterien soo arghelijck voor de jeught, als Machiavel voor de Regeerders*', a censorious statement that may well have been typical of the moral values attached to education in the Republic of his days (quoted in Van Selm 1987:239).

A variety of words was used to refer to these textbooks: 'guide', 'school-master', 'grammar', 'instructor' or even 'academy'. The eighteenth century writers showed a preference for the confusing term 'grammar', a confusion which has persisted in different ways into our own time; they will have taken their cue from the popular FrLL books produced in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century by successful teachers in London such as Mauger, Festeau, Miège and Boyer, who had a considerable influence in the Low Dutch market. In many other cases, down from Lily in England and Van Heule in the Low Countries, the word 'grammar' was used in its restricted sense to refer to morphology (and syntax).

All the textbooks were written in the vernacular: no Latin was used in

2 Festeau 1672 has phrases for beginners, Mauger & Festeau 1672 have 'a few pleasant stones to laugh', Dilworth 1740 has pictures, Fenning's spelling book (1793) has verses, pictures and delightful instructions such as how to make 'good ink' and 'red ink', etc. All these books were known to and used by the Dutch maternal writers, but they chose to ignore these playful exercises

3 Thus we have *Kern der Fransche en Nederduitsche Talen met figuren om gemakkelyk Fransch te leren* (Amsterdam S J Baalde, 1765 in *KB), later corrected and augmented by J van Bemmelen in his *Gemakkelyk en Aangenaam Onderwijs in de Beginselen der Fransche Taal* (Utrecht G T Paddenburg & Zoon, 1806 in *UBU) containing 12 plates and 288 pictures. The French manuals in the Low Dutch area showed a rich variety in teaching material. The auction catalogue of the Amsterdam bookseller Cornelis Claesz of 1610 contains 73 titles of French and Dutch schoolbooks ('School-goedt in frans ende Duyts'), subdivided by Van Selm (1987 238/9) under these headings

- bible adaptations and other improving literature
- instructive or moralising reading passages
- dictionanes, dialogues and idiom books
- proverbs and phrases
- grammars
- books with model letters
- plays
- geography
- secular stories
- spelling/writing books

For more information on the wide choice of French materials the interested reader is referred to Riemens 1919, De la Montagne 1907, Hendrickx 1948 and the notes in these works

any one of them. This is remarkable: Latin continued to be used as a language of scholarly communication until well into the nineteenth century and although language learning guides were considered to be of a practical nature, some of the early ones for French contained Latin introductions, particularly in Germany, until the middle of the seventeenth century⁴. The Low Dutch guides were free from this; at most one or two of them were embellished with a dedication in Latin, but this was not common practice.

The full titles were often bilingual; they were long and detailed, serving almost as a table of contents for the interested reader. Apart from bilingual there were also multilingual, i.e. for more than two languages, manuals used predominantly in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but never gone completely. They were limited in size and content compared with the bilingual ones and used as easy-to-carry phrasebooks, vademecums proving to be good company in foreign contacts or on a journey abroad. Tourists today make use of similar booklets which they will find for sale in (station) bookshops all over the world in various sizes and levels of difficulty, some of them even multilingual. Well-known early examples were the sixteenth century *Dilucidissimus Dictionarius* for seven languages (first edition with English 1540), the *Colloquia et Dictionariolum* based on De Berlaimont's schoolbook for Dutch and French of around 1530 and covering up to eight languages (first edition with English 1576), and John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas* for eleven languages first printed in London in 1617 and perhaps also circulated in the Low Countries. Later, in 1673, Piclat saw fit to compose a small phrase book entitled *Octoglotton, ou Phraséologie*; then in 1735 we have Pell's *The English, Dutch, French, and Latin Vocabulary*; and there is a reference to a *Zakboekje voor de jeugd in 4 taalen en gekleurde afbeeldingen* located in the former *Schoolmuseum* in Amsterdam (Riemens 1919) but now inaccessible for inspection in the storerooms at the UBA and possibly destroyed in the fire there of 1986. Borderline cases are the textbooks for three languages with an English component added on to the original Du-Fr editions. Beyer's *La vraye Instruction des trois Langues* of 1661 and his *Vestibule* of 1662 are cases in point, printed in Dordrecht shortly after the Merchant Adventurers had moved their court there from Rotterdam.

In the next few pages the various sections of the ELL textbooks will be discussed and commented on in their historical development, i.e. a description will be provided of the kind of material they normally contained and of the changes that took place in the course of time. A survey of all the book

4 The second edition of Mauger's *The true advancement of the French tongue* (1656) contains a Latin translation of the French text 'for to render it generally useful to the strangers'.

titles and their sections is attached in Appendix 1a for easy reference.

There is no agreement about a satisfactory terminology to refer to the different types of books. Alston 1967 (Vol.I:viii) makes a bibliographical distinction between 'title' and 'book', the latter being the wider term since a 'book' may contain more than one 'title'; 'book' and 'text' are used as synonyms there and 'textbook' does not occur. Michael (1987:6) writes: 'By a textbook I mean a book used by pupils in class; or a book read out of school in preparation for work to be done in class; or a book used by teacher or parent for practical guidance; or a manual of self-instruction'. Lambley 1920 uses both 'textbook' and 'manual' without much difference in meaning. For the purposes of this study the terminology will be redefined in the following way:

textbook is used here in a general sense to refer to all those books containing the full gamut of major sections written for foreign language acquisition (cf. the first paragraph of this section); in this sense the term excludes spelling books, simplified readers, dictionaries and the like, which had a specific function;

manual, commonly defined as a small textbook, is used to denote the more specific books referred to above;

text is not used here for a book, but for the original words of an author as opposed to paraphrase, or for the main body of a book as opposed to notes, index, etc.;

book is used as a general word to refer to either textbook or manual but not to text;

grammar, with the lower case g, is used in its narrow sense to refer to the structure of the language or to a book on that particular subject alone⁵; it is usually a subdivision of the larger ELL textbooks. Thus 'Sewel's grammar' can only be the grammar part of his *Korte Wegwyzer* (1705) or the identical text in his *New Dictionary* (1691). Similarly 'Holtrop's grammar' refers to a section in his textbook *The English Grammar Enlarged* (1780) dealing with the structure of the English language. The use of 'grammar' as a term to refer to textbooks - as is commonly done - will be avoided here as misleadingly confusing.

5 Michael 1985:149 uses a more technical definition: 'any book which contains at least an enumeration, and some description of, the parts of speech'.

5.2.1 *title page*

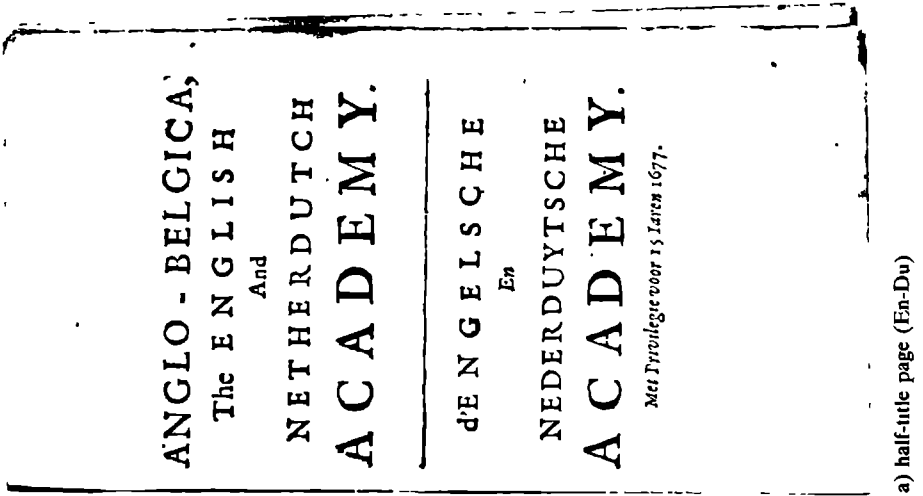
(full texts of title pages are provided in Appendix 1a)

Before 1800 the title page (tp) of a book did not only contain something like a 'title' but often information about contents, quality and other useful details as well. The long text could take up more than one page, particularly when it was given in two or more languages, which was usually the case in foreign language learning textbooks. Moreover, in some cases when the book consisted of more than one part, separate tps were provided for each of these parts, with sometimes a general tp at the beginning; variant spelling forms, names and dates often appeared on these multiple tps within one manuscript or between the same manuscripts from the same or different printers. A half-tp might be prefixed for easy reference. In subsequent editions it was not uncommon for the wording and spelling of the original tp to be altered, and references to the book in related works or catalogues did not always use the same 'title'. For these and similar reasons the title or tp of a book printed before 1800 cannot always be given clearly and unambiguously; for practical reasons the first few words of the first full-length tp are usually selected to serve as a working title and the page from which it is taken is the tp. For manuscripts without a tp the first few words of the text itself, preceded by '(inc.)' in bibliographical references, are used for this purpose,

The example of Edward Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* of 1677 is particularly illustrative of the complexity of this matter. The book contains seven one-page tps (see Figure 1 on pp. 103-106), reproduced below in the order in which they occur in this first edition (1677)⁶:

- 1) half-title page, En-Du
- 2) general title page in English only (immediately after 1)
- 3) general title page in Low Dutch only (next to 2)
- 4) title page for the Low Dutch grammar of Part I, En-Du (after the prelims)
- 5) title page for the English grammar of Part I, Du-En (p. 171)
- 6) title page for Part II, En-Du (Part II p.1, immediately after p.349 of Part I)
- 7) title page for Part III, En-Du (unnumbered first page of Part III, immediately following p.162 of Part I).

⁶ The copy in the PBL has a different order of the preliminary pages, due perhaps to faulty binding. In this edition the tps are ordered 3, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. I am grateful to Mr. Engels from that library for his valuable comments on this matter. The copy in the BLOx has the privilege between 2 and 3.



5 Figure 1: The seven title-pages of Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* 1677, reproduced here in the order in which they usually occur.

ANGLO - BELGICA.

The English and Netherdutch

A C A D E M Y.

In

T H R E E P A R T S.

Containing

The Exactest Grammar-Rules, most Usefull
Discourses and Letters, with a Copious
Vocabular, fitted to the Capacities
of all sorts of Persons

*Being a work brought to greater perfection than
any ever formerly extant; Wherby men
may, with a little pains, speedily attain
to the compleat knowledge of both
the Languages.*

B Y

Doctor EDWARD RICHARDSON.



At AMSTERDAM,

By STEVEN SWART Bookseller, on the
West-side of the Exchange in the Crowned Bible,

1677.

With Priviledge for 15 years.

b) general title page (English only)

ANGLO-BELGICA.

d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche

A C A D E M Y,

In

D R I E D E E L E N.

Behesfende

De Naaukeurighste Grammaticale Regeelen,
Aller-nuttelijckste Discoursen en Brie-
ven, mer een Bondigh *Woorden-Boeck*,
bequaam gemaackt tot het begrijp
van alleley soort van Menschenen.

Zijnde een Werck tot grooter perfectie ge-
bracht als Eeninge opt te vooren geweest
is: Waar door men / mer weynigh
moecten / spoedighlych tot de vol-
kommen heymisse van bepoe de
Calen geraaken kan.

D O O R

Doctor EDWARD RICHARDSON.



BIBLIOTHECÆ

FRISLÆ

J. H. HALBERTSMA.

AMSTERDAM,

By STEVEN SWART Boeckverkooper, aan
de West-zijde van de Beurs, in de Gekroonde
Bijbel, 1677.

c) general title page (Dutch only)

THE ENGLISH
And
NETHERDUTCH
ACADEMY.
THE FIRST PART:

Wherein are gathered and brought together the most Necessary and most Significant GRAMMAR-RULES; whereby men may most speedily attain to the perfect knowledge of the
DUTCH LANGUAGE.

D'ENGLISCHE
Ende
NEDERDUYTSCH
ACADEMY.
HET EERSTE DEEL.

Waar in vergabert en by een gebracht zijn de noodwendigste en duptelichste GRAMMATICALE REGULEN, waar door men als despoedighst kan geraken tot de volkomen kennisse der
NEDERDUYTSCHEN TAAL;
Door Dr. E. R.



AMSTERDAM,

Gedruckt by Steven Swart, 1677.
Met Privilegie voor 11 Jaeren.

d) Part I: title page of the Dutch grammar (En-Du)

D'ENGLISCHE
Ende
NEDERDUYTSCH
ACADEMIE.
HET EERSTE DEEL:

Waar in vergabert en by een gebracht zijn de noodwendigste en duptelichste GRAMMATICALE REGULEN; waar door men allerpoedighst kan geraken tot de volkomen kennisse der
ENGLISCHE TAAL.

THE ENGLISH
And
NETHERDUTCH
ACADEMY.
THE FIRST PART:

Wherein are gathered and brought together the most Necessary and most Significant GRAMMARRULES; whereby men may most speedily attain to the perfect knowledge of the
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

By Dr. E. R.



Tot AMSTERDAM.

Gedruckt by STEVEN SWART, 1676.

e) Part I: title page of the English grammar (Du-En)

The English and Netherdutch
A C A D E M Y.
THE SECOND PART,
Wherein
Are Collected Certain usefull Sentences, Prover-
biall Expressions, Dialogues, Letters, Bills of
Exchange, and other things relating to Mer-
chandise: whereby men may in a short
time attain to the perfect knowledge
of the
D U T C H L A N G U A G E.

d'Engelsche ende Nederduytsche
A C A D E M Y.
HET T W E E D E D E E L.
Waar in
Dergaderet zyn seckere mitte Tijden / Pro-
verbiale Spreekken / t' Danien Spreekken /
Brieven / Wissel brieven / en andere din-
gen noyende het stuck van koopman-
schap: wat doo? men in een korte
tydt geraken kan tot de vollo-
men kennisse der
E N G E L S C H E T A A L.



Tot AMSTERDAM.
Gedruckt by Steven Swart. 1676.

f) Part II: title page of the practice material (En-Du)

The English and Netherdutch
A C A D E M Y.
THE THIRD PART,
Containing
IA VOCABULAR
Of English with the Netherdutch
Words annexed.

d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche
A C A D E M Y.
HET D E R D E D E E L.
Inhoudende
Een VOCABULAAR
Van Engelsche met de Nederduytsche
Woo?den daar by gevoeght.



AMSTERDAM,
Gedruckt by Steven Swart, 1676.

g) Part III: title page of the vocabulary (En-Du)

The working title 'Anglo-Belgica' only occurs in 1), 2) and 3); since all the seven pages have 'The English and Netherdutch⁷ Academy' and/or its Low Dutch equivalent, this second phrase would perhaps be the more appropriate choice for a title. However, 'Anglo-Belgica' occurs at the head of the book, has the monolingual advantage, is brief - a useful asset in a context of lengthy tps - and is commonly preferred in the literature. An additional advantage is the identical spelling in the three cases: the longer phrase above shows spelling variants across the seven tps.

The languages in a title page were usually presented in order of importance with regard to the target group, i.e. in a book written for speakers of English the English text would come first, etc. If we take the two monolingual tps of the *Anglo-Belgica* as belonging together - but printed separately because of their length -, all the tps are then bilingual, En-Du in 1), 2) + 3), 4), 6), 7), and Du-En in 5); the reversed order in 5) makes good sense since it occurs at the head of the English grammar, i.e. for speakers of Low Dutch. On the whole then this textbook seems to have been written with an English readership in mind⁸.

The main body of text on a tp contained valuable information about structure and content of the work. In the case of Richardson we are told that his book consists of three parts dealing with grammar rules, discourses / letters and vocabulary respectively. In other cases this information was sometimes a synopsis of the contents, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century when accurate descriptions were provided in orderly surveys - cf. HOLTROP 1780 and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a and b. Special features were sometimes highlighted as an added attraction; Richardson uses epithets like 'exactest', 'most useful', 'copious' and does not forget to have 'doctor' printed before his name. In other works we find e.g.:

With an Appendix of the names of all kind of Beasts, Fowvles, Birds, Fishes, Hunting, and Hawvking
(HIXHAM 1647/8)

7 'Netherdutch' as a translation of 'Nederduytsch' is quite acceptable, as we saw in Ch 1, but the running title in all the 169 pages of the Dutch grammar has 'The Guid [sic] to the Low-dutch Language' (my underlining)

8 Richardson seems to have been quite sensitive on this point of language order in the whole of Part II (texts, dialogues and letters) there is a consistent alternation between Du-En and En-Du after each page, a practice also adopted by Hillenius before him. This strict impartiality, together with the varying inclusion of one [En or Du] or two [En and Du] grammars across the three editions (cf. Ch 6.3 below), would lead to the assumption that the three editions of the *Anglo-Belgica* (1677 / 1689 / 1698) were each printed in two or even three different batches with the inclusion of one or two grammars. The complexity is enhanced in the 1689 edition in BLOx, which has a Dutch grammar with a tp for the English one.

With a most naturàl and easie method of spelling English, According To the proper pronounciation of the Language in Oxford and London
(HÉLDEREN 1675)

Whereunto is added a small Treatise concerning the Dutch Pronunciation, and the right use of the Dutch Particles DE, DEEZE, and HET, DAT, DIT
(SEWEL 1691)

In welke, onder andere noodwendigheden, de Uitspraak en Woordschikking, de twee moeyelykste stukken der Engelsche Taale, op eene duidelyke en grondige wyze, verhandeld zyn
(PEYTON 1764)

But now, not only reviewed, and more than the half part augmented, yet according to the modern spelling, entirely improved
(BUYS 1766)

Also a Copious Vocabulary Of Words Defining The Sound Of The Letter I
(ENSELL 1797)

It was also quite customary to extoll the quality of the book or to promise instant success, in an attempt no doubt to increase the sale:

. Whereby men may, with a litle pains, speedily attain to the compleat knowledge of both the Languages ..
(RICHARDSON 1677)

seer profielyck alle beminders der Talen
(SEPIEM LINGUARUM 1540)

Wholy new, and brought much nearer to perfectuon, then any hutherto extant
(SEWEL 1691)

Never being Printed ..
(BOMMENAER 1738)

Verciert Met de Grondregels, om natuerlyck te Pronunciëren, Spreken ende volmaektielyck te Schryven
(ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742)

... The Whole Compiled and Digested In A Manner Entirely New ..
(ENSELL 1797)

Similarly, the names of authors on whose works the book was based might be accepted in the tp, partly to do these authors credit but partly also no doubt to enhance the attractiveness of the work⁹; the latter seems all the more likely since the contribution of these authorities was not always clear and other authorities who were also used did *not* get a mention in the tp. A complete list of these authors' names occurring in the tp's of the textbooks

9 The practice was an exception rather than the rule borrowing occurred on a large scale and was rarely acknowledged (cf Ch 5.5) In most cases the inclusion of the names of authorities must be interpreted in terms of sales promotion, for a survey of borrowings in nineteenth century Dutch schoolbooks see Scholten 1984

of Appendix 1a looks like this:

Meurier (MEURIER / BASSON 1586)

Whetstone (WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586)

Mauger, Festeau, Boyer (ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742)

Boyer, Pell (VOCABULARY c1742)

Dyche, Dilworth (EVANS 1747)

Sewel (BUYS 1766)

Sewel (WILCOCKE 1798)

Sewel, Holtrop, Berry (POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a and b)

After the main body of text on a tp we usually find the author's name followed by the imprint, which may contain the publisher's device, place of publication, printer's name and year of publication. The author in the case of the *Anglo-Belgica* was of course Doctor Edward Richardson [2) and 3)] or Dr. E.R. [4) and 5)]. The absence of a name in 6) and 7) may point to the admission that all or most of the material in these parts was straight copy work and could not be in all fairness attributed to Richardson himself. For the same reason author's names may have been excluded from SCHOLEMASTER 1646, Van Helderens *Dictionary* and *Grammar*, the ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742, etc.¹⁰. The printer's name Steven Swart appears on all the tps except 1); the address of his bookshop: 'on the West-side of the Exchange in the Crowned Bible'¹¹, is given on the two general tps only. The year of publication is 1677 on tps 1), 2), 3), 4) and 1676 on tps 5), 6), 7); the year 1676 is also appended to the second preface, 'The Bookseller to the Reader', and to the 'Privilegie' in the prelims¹². Since the text was published in one book, the date of publication can only have been 1677¹³.

In this study the full text of the general title page(s) has been admitted in Appendix 1a; the reader is referred to this appendix for a more detailed analysis of this important material.

5.2.2 preface

Introductions of some kind are found in almost all the textbooks, with different titles such as 'preface', 'foreword', 'voorbericht', 'to the reader',

10 But not from compilations like V. d. Bommenaer's *Korte dog noodige Regulen* of 1738 and Smith's *Compleat English Grammar* of 1752.

11 *t'Amsterdam* on tps 1), 4), 7); *Tot Amsterdam* on tps 5), 6).

12 1676 in the first edition (1677), but 1677 in the second edition (1689).

13 The copies of the second edition all have 1689; those of the third edition have 1698 on all tps except that of Part III, which has 1699.

'Courteous and Ingenuous Reader' (Hillenius), 'courteous Reader and Lover of the English Tongue' (Van Helderer) etc., in English and/or Dutch. In some cases they were preceded by a dedication or *opdracht* to a patron or benevolent authority like the city magistrates, by a *privilegie* granting the exclusive rights of publication and sale to the bookseller/printer concerned for a period of usually 15 years (cf. Ch. 5.2.9 below), and by any other introductory remarks the writer or bookseller cared to make: Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* has a 'from the bookseller to the reader', Smith and Van de Bommenaer tell us that they appended their signature to all the copies of their first edition¹⁴, Evans's textbook contains a brief advertisement in which the author recommends his services to the reader, and Walraven's manual offers no end of introductory material about his views on his material and on language learning in general. Books printed in the Roman Catholic parts may be expected to contain a 'nihil obstat'.

Apart from occasional biographical and historical facts, particularly in the seventeenth century textbooks, the prefaces provide us with information about contents, source material (but not nearly enough for today's scholar), special features, recommendations: 'which will teach thee to understand the said tongue in a short time by easy grammatical rules', HELDEREN 1675; 'om byna zonder eenigen aerbeyt de Engelsche Tael op eenen korten tydt te leeren', ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA 1742, and so on. Unfortunately they do not usually express their writers' views on language and language teaching; rather do they tend to be brief and factual unlike many of the FrLL guides circulating in the Low Countries and elsewhere, whose lengthy prefaces are often a source of valuable information about matters linguistic and methodological. Thus Streuber 1914 based his interesting views about deductive and inductive language teaching to a considerable extent on the prefaces of the French textbooks printed in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Jung 1980 contains an analysis of the prefaces of 28 ELL textbooks from before 1800. This would not be possible with ELL publications in the Low Dutch area. The one exception here is Walraven's early manual (1586) which contains detailed and interesting views. This poor interest in matters of ELT methodology may partly be explained by the limited linguistic and teaching experience of most writers and by the elementary level they worked at; secondly, many if not all these writers lavishly

14. 'Ik agt het noodig den Lezer hier te waarschouwen in het toekomstige geene nieuwe afdruksels van dit Boek voor het eyge werk van den Autheur te erkennen, als die van my eigenhandig onderteekend, en te Utrecht by de Boekverkooper ABRAHAM de KNYFF te bekomen zyn.' This 'Bengt aan den Lezer' uit SMITH 1752 (see Figure 16 in Ch. 6.5) was prefixed to protect the copyright of a book which, as we know, is no more than a pirated edition from six different sources. The idea was later copied by the printer Hendriksen in the fourth edition. Van den Bommenaer's case is no less remarkable.

copied from existing materials and were probably not capable or willing to develop a coherent theory; and since English was widely used for trade and commerce, the emphasis tended to be on practical material of immediate relevance to its users, so that theory could easily be dispensed with.

Some of the prefaces contain polemic remarks voicing e.g. the writer's indignation about the work of some of his colleagues. The clearest example is Buys's surprise and disapproval of the pronunciation of *cl* as /tl/ (thus 'tlaas, tloos' for 'clause, close') in Sewel's grammar¹⁵; Richardson complains of the 'gross faults in other little Books of this sort already extant; in some of which I can compute about three thousand, in others more'.

5.2.3 grammar

Grammar is the art of speaking well
(HEXHAM 1648, Dutch grammar p 1)

Q What is Grammar?

A Grammar is the Science of Letters, or the Art of Writing and Speaking properly and syntactically
(EVANS 1747 155)

The first section in any textbook was the grammar, which in agreement with the classical tradition commonly came in four parts:

1. *orthography and/or orthology*, about spelling and pronunciation; instead of orthology the term orthoepy was sometimes used;
2. *etymology or analogy*, about the parts of speech and in some cases also about word derivation and provenance;
3. *syntax*, about word order;
4. *prosody*, about the rules of versification or about stress.

Of these orthography / orthology and etymology almost invariably received due attention in the ELL textbooks; syntax was briefly dealt with and prosody usually ignored. Although this division was faithfully adhered to, the terms were not always consistently used and sometimes they were even avoided. Thus in some textbooks 'grammar' was replaced by *vaguer*, but perhaps more appropriate, phrases like 'brieve and necessary rules' (HILLENIUS 1664) or 'a compendious guide' (SEWEL 1705); EVANS 1778 has 'necessary information concerning the Pronunciation of the Letters, &c' instead of orthography / orthology; ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742

15 'Want wat den laatstgenoemden' (i.e. Sewel) 'belangt, die heeft zich geweldig vergist in de klank van de CL, zeggende, dat die Letters schier uitgesproken worden als TL' (BUYS 1766, vol II, preface to English grammar)

has confusingly 'Engelschen Grammatica, ofte uytspreecke van de Engelsche Letters', etc. Writers like the anonymous 'English schole-master' of 1646 and Hillenius preferred a division into two parts, i.e. etymology and syntax, but they still started with a treatment of spelling / pronunciation as a subsection of etymology; this scheme went back to Pierre Ramée (Petrus Ramus) in France and to Greaves, Butler and Jonson in England (Kemp 1972:24).

Points of terminology were not the first concern in these language learning textbooks: they served a different purpose from the more full-fledged studies of the mother tongue, since they were basically of a practical nature. However, they frequently relied on these L1 grammars and contained selections from them, and both were based on a solid Latin foundation. Gradually the tradition of foreign language learning grammars with contrastive elements between L1 and L2 gave rise to a new and interesting type of practical grammar that was concerned with effective rather than descriptively accurate rules. These practical grammars have not yet been studied sufficiently, but they contain a great deal of valuable linguistic and language learning information that lies waiting to be explored.

Another important feature of these grammars was their eclectic nature. They consisted of ideas, *verbatim* passages and examples copied from different sources; these sources might be L1 grammars, L2 grammars or earlier contrastive grammars, and could amount to as many as eight or nine for one new grammar alone in the case of RICHARDSON 1677. On top of this the author often decided to add observations of his own based on his experience as a teacher or on views developed in some other way.

Most grammars were presented in continuous prose, in Low Dutch. EVANS 1757 provides interlinear translations after each paragraph, which makes difficult reading. Another favourite method of the time was the catechetic¹⁶ presentation, but in the Low Dutch context it is only found in the copied grammars from two English writers: EVANS in his spellingbook of 1747 copying Dilworth and ENSELL 1797 copying Priestley in part.

There was much uncertainty among the textbook writers how detailed their grammars should be. To what extent was the learner served by explicit grammar rules, to be learned by heart as was the custom in many schools, or rather to be studied and then put into practice? Were these rules perhaps tedious, even counter-productive, and should they be avoided as much as possible? There was no agreement on this point. Very few of the writers tell us explicitly where they stand; but from the fact that their grammars tended to be relatively brief in comparison with the practical sections following

16 i.e. presenting the grammar with questions and answers. The practice of catechetic grammars goes back to Latin and French examples of the previous centuries, cf. Streuber 1914:56.

them and from occasional comments on the usefulness of e.g. the dialogues, it would appear that the grammars were seen to be of limited value. This limitation may also have been caused by the linguistic incompetence on the part of the writer himself and by the weaknesses of the source material he happened to have at his disposal. In the introduction to his *Korte Wegwyzer* (1705) Sewel recalls his frustrations as a young man when he had to rack his brains about a set of rules that was more apt to baffle the learner than to help him on:

'Alles, wat ik voor heb u te zeggen, komt hierop uit, dat my nóg heugt, hoe verdrietig 't my voorquam, toen ik jong was, myn hoofd te breeken met het doorleezen van een party régelen, die meer dienden om eenen Leerling te verbysteren, dan om hem voort te helpen.'

One of the reasons for the inadequacy of grammar rules was no doubt the fact that they were derived from Latin and did not usually fit the modern languages, as Sewel goes on to point out:

'Want de hedendaagsche taalen, inzonderheid de Engelsche, in alles naar de Latynsche Grammauca te schikken, is voor zulke, die Latyn kennen, van weinig óf geen dienst, en voor anderen, die van die taale onkundig zyn, een groote verhundering.'

The process of emancipation from Latin was the main challenge for the textbook writers of language learning grammars, but their indebtedness to it remains obvious until 1800.

Of the fifteen grammars contained in the titles of Appendix 1a thirteen are relatively brief and of a practical nature; two, by Richardson and Holtrop, are more fully developed in the sense that some measure of linguistic perfection has been achieved in them. The most successful grammar in terms of reprints and imitations was no doubt that in Sewel's *Korte Wegwyzer* of 1705, which was brief, practical and well structured.

In the next few pages the four parts of a grammar will be discussed in order to give an idea of the kind of material in them and of some of the characteristics typical of the ELL textbooks before 1800; special reference will be made to SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, RICHARDSON 1677, SEWEL 1705 and HOLTROP 1780, but others will be drawn in when particularly relevant. The subject is more fully treated in Michael 1985, but there the emphasis is on English grammars written in England and on their relation to Latin ones. Although his is an essentially different approach from ours, the book is nevertheless a rich source of information on many of the points dealt with below.



6 Figure 2 Ornamental device representing an angel (*Du engel*) as part of the Dutch adjective *Engelsche*, from the title page of WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586

5.2.3a Orthography and orthology

Orthography and Orthology, that is, right Writing & Pronouncing of Letters, Syllables, & Words
(RICHARDSON 1677 1)

Q What is orthography?

A Orthography teacheth the true Characters and Powers of the Letters, and the proper Division of Syllables, Words, and Sentences
(EVANS 1747 155-156)

In the study of a foreign language, pronunciation and spelling were invariably taken very seriously. Students were advised to approach them before anything else. ELL writers emphasised the considerable differences between the two languages in this respect, and set great store by frequent contacts with native speakers. Beyer's advice at the end of his section on pronunciation is typical of similar comments in other books:

The onely way to attaine the perfect expression of such sounds as are peculiar to this tongue is by frequent hearing the native pronunciation with serious regard, and frequent exercise for imitation
(BEYER 1661 72)

However, There are two reasons why a discussion of this section provides serious problems for the present-day scholar: first, the distinction between pronunciation and spelling, or sound and symbol, was not sufficiently made. This led to confusing terminology thus, 'diphthong' was used for both 'vowel glide' (= two vowel sounds) and 'digraph' (=two vowel letters); even allowing that spelling at the time was much more phonetic than in present-day English there was, and is, of course not always a one-to-one correspondence. Thus SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 includes among his diphthongs, defined as 'een Syllabe van verscheydene Letteren' (p.4), not only ai as in

'braine'
'mountaine'

and au as in

'fauce'
'laud'

but also aa as in

'Baal'
'Isaac'

and ea as in

'leave'
'weare'

(still pronounced as the Dutch /c:/). Richardson's definition makes more sense, but 'sound' and 'syllable' are still equated: 'A Diphthong is a conjunction of 2. Vowels (or is 2. Vowels conjoyned) in one syllable, so having but one sound'¹⁷ (RICHARDSON 1677:6/179)¹⁸. His definition of a letter, based loosely on Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1653, is equally misleading for the modern reader: 'A Letter is a simple indivisible Character of a Sound, whereout (or of which) the Syllables and words consist' (ibid.:173), misleading again since two or more letters may be used to represent one sound¹⁹. Sewel and Holtrop do not bother to define the diphthong at all.

The second serious setback, for them and for us, was their unfamiliarity with a phonetic alphabet. Instead they had to rely on techniques of transcription such as the use of letters symbolizing similar sounds in Dutch:

oak, oar, oath » read 'ook, oor, ooth'
knyfe, know, knowledge » read almost 'nyf or tnyf, t nou, t nouledg'
(SMITH 1752, who was copying Sewel)

or

ease » eaes
glase » glaes
guise » guies
nose » noes
please » pleacs
praise » praies
twelve » twelu
whosc » whoes
(HILLENIOUS 1664:8).

17 The identification between sound and syllable still occurs in some modern dictionaries; *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (New edition 1983) has 'diphthong - two vowel-sounds pronounced as one syllable (as in *ou, mind*)' and the *COD* (New Edition 1977), although more complete, is equally inaccurate: 'diphthong - Union of two vowels (letters or sounds) pronounced in one syllable (as in *coin, loud, side*); two vowel characters representing sound of single vowel (as in *feat*)'

18 This definition is narrowed down further on (p.179), where it says that there are only few proper diphthongs and that aa in English words like 'Aaron', 'Isaac' is a false diphthong.

19 Cf. Kemp's useful comments on this confusion (Kemp 1972:62/3).

404 III. AANNANGSEL.

Laat u do maats ne me, u het uw ver l.	<i>Let me take your calve, if you please</i>	Let mi tak joer u asse, if joo piee.
It sijn gedaan?	<i>Have you done?</i>	Hev joe don?
Ja Mynheer, maar ik heb nog geen voeting.	<i>Yes Sir, but I have no footing yet.</i>	Yes Ser, but y hav noo hynngj.
Ik zal ze u luu- ren	<i>I will lend it you.</i>	I wil send it; oo.
Maar, waar is het stof tot uyn komi zo I ge leuven l	<i>But what is the color of the stuff for my wall use?</i>	Rot e at is biton of the stuff joo mi wastloot?
Dans het Myn- heer.	<i>Blue is it, Sir.</i>	Ther is it, Ser.
Teken wy eens op, hoe we, dat niss bloopst.	<i>Let us reckon, what cost this com- mes to.</i>	Let os rekken, wat aak this kom. toe.
Het maakt... te samen.	<i>It amounts ... together.</i>	It amaunts ... toe geitbar.
Is daar niet het geen gy hebben moet?	<i>Is not there what you must have?</i>	Is nos ther wat joe moest hav?
Ik slanset gepant ik l. dank u Myn- heer.	<i>It is very right, I thank you Sir.</i>	It is veers rjht, y thank joe Ser.
Ik beveel my in uwe gunst, Myn- heer.	<i>I recommend me to your favour, Sir.</i>	Ti ikommend mi in joes favor, Ser.

29. Samenpraak.

Hier is uw kleed,
Mynheer.
O! zyt gy het
Meeater Cabbage?
Ben ik niet een
man van myn
woord?
Gy zoud voor
geen miljoen, u
woord willen bree-
ken.

29. Dialogue.

Sir, here is your
clothes.
Oh! is it you Mr.
Cabbage?
Am not I a man
of my word?
You would not
break it for a
million.

29. Dyalog.

Ser, here is joer
klopts.
Ab! is it joe Mr.
Kabbage?
Am not I a man
of my word?
Joe wold not
brack it for a
mi'jon.

Men

Gemeenzaame en ligte Samenpraaten.

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Men zou u veel doen, voor een milioen, u beet.	<i>One would do us a million, for a million, Sir.</i>	Man woud doe meri' linge, for a million, Ser.
Gaa eers, een tree of twee voert, als het u geluist	<i>Go a sport two, for a tree, if you please.</i>	Goo a step ar toe, for a wood, if joe piee.
Beky u eens in den spiegel.	<i>Look in the glass, a little.</i>	Loek in tbi glas a litted
Saan mijn kleed wilt?	<i>Does my suit fit well?</i>	Dos mi suut fit wel.
Het staat u zeer wel.	<i>They fit you magnificently well.</i>	Tha fit joo myst wel.
Uw kleed staat schietstracig.	<i>Your clothes are very well made.</i>	Joeer kloohts ar veers wael maad.
Is dat waar?	<i>Is that true?</i>	Is that troe?
Waar is u reken- niss?	<i>How is your bill?</i>	Wae i joes bill?
Dans zy, Myn- heer.	<i>Here it is, Sir.</i>	Hier is it, Ser.
Gy zet te veel voor het waak- ken	<i>You reckon too much for the fa- ctum.</i>	Joe rekken toe moest for the fa- ctum.
Ik kryg noote min- der van iemand.	<i>I receive less bills of any body.</i>	I neefter bew let of any bodi.
Ik reken u niet te hoog.	<i>I do not reckon anything too much of you, as what you must have.</i>	I doe nat r. thyn any thing too moost. Tha i is soot joo moest hav.
Daa is het geen u trekt uit.	<i>So, you ought to take nothing off.</i>	Ser, joo nat toe tak noing off.
Gy hebt geen rezen om te blaas- een.	<i>You have no reason for it to explain.</i>	Joe hav noo re- sen toe kumplan.
Mijn heer, ik ben alyd tot uw en dienst.	<i>Sir, I am always at your service.</i>	Ser, I am always at joer servis.
Vertwel, Mees- ter Cabbage.	<i>Farewell Mr. Cabbage.</i>	Farewel Mr. Kab- bag.
Mynheer, hier is de schoenma- ker.	<i>Sir, here is the shoemaker.</i>	Ser, hier is the shoemaker.

Gy

Holtrop keeps this up in the first 120 pages of his *The English Grammar* of 1780 for all the English words, offering transcriptions like:

meat » miet
 bear » bær
 bruut » bruuit
 whither » oeidder or hwidder
 etc.

Similarly, Peyton gives semi-phonetic transcriptions for his dialogues, proverbs, phrases and homophones - see Figure 3 on p. 116. It also led to brave and amusing but sometimes inaccurate attempts to describe the qualities of the sounds: the distinction voiced / voiceless is described as dull / sharp ('dof / scherp') by Sewel (1705) or soft and flat / sharp and short ('sagt en plat' / 'sherp en kort') in HELDEREN 1675; G before a/o/u and before all consonants is pronounced as in Dutch but a little softer ('een weynigh sachter') in Richardson 1676²⁰; SEWEL 1705 refers to the bleating of sheep ('t geblaet der schaapen'²¹) as an indication of the sound a in words like grace, name, place etc. (then still pronounced as /æ/), one of the few things Smith refused to copy in his grammar; Smith and Sewel agree in their description of the pronunciation of th, generally recognised as the most difficult sound for speakers of Dutch, that in pronouncing it the tongue is carried against the teeth as with blowing and thrusting ('dat men de tong in 't uitspreken als met een geblaas of gestoot tegen de tanden voert'); while Holtrop describes the pronunciation of th as putting the tongue between the teeth, like someone who lisps, and then retracting it quickly when other letters (!) follow²². It ought to be pointed out that the writers consistently stressed the need for a good teacher to demonstrate the sounds and that frequent contacts with native speakers were almost a prerequisite for success; and English, they said, was easily the most difficult language for pronunciation because of the off-putting divergence between spelling and sound. Sewel's comment that foreigners are thoroughly disgusted when they discover that English pronunciation differs so very much from the spelling, is telling and amusing ('Doch 't komt aan vreemdelingen geweldig misselyk voor, als zy horen dat de uytpraak zo byster veel van de spelling verscheelt', SEWEL 1705:7). Holtrop is equally critical and makes a strong case for spelling reform complaining that the English have not, like other nations,

20 It is intriguing to read that in certain positions within a word the English g was similar in pronunciation to the Dutch g, which was already a fricative at the time. Richardson is not alone in this. See also p 120 further on.

21 In his grammar of 1633 Chr van Heule tells us that 'de Æ willen de Amsterdamsche Letter konstenaers uytgesproken hebben als het blæten der Schapen'

22 'dat men by derzelver uitspraak, de tong, gelyk een die slabbert of hspt, een weynige tusschen de tanden laat komen, en wannec er andere letters op volgen, dezelve schielyk terug trekt' (HOLTROP 1791 83)

succeeded in making their spelling civilised and more regular ('beschaafd en regelmaatiger', Holtrop 1804:5). In the preface to his Dutch grammar of 1792 Janson praises Dutch for 'the exact conformity between the pronunciation in the alphabet and orthography: no variation whatever being admitted in the sound of the letters, when formed into words'.

This overall lack of phonetic sophistication cannot be explained through absence of phonetic theory. It was precisely in this period that serious studies of the sound systems in various languages were carried out. They were conducted by people like Mattheus Madsen in Denmark in the late sixteenth century, Petrus Montanus in the Dutch Republic, whose *Spreekconst* containing a full system of transcription for Dutch was first published in 1635, and by John Wallis from Oxford, to whose *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1653 was affixed a 'Tractatus de Loquela' with extensive notes on pronunciation. Much earlier, in 1568, Sir Thomas Smith had introduced a simplified system for transcription with e.g. the diaeresis to indicate vowel length²³. The practical implications of these studies may not have been immediately obvious and the systems proposed were, it must be admitted, sometimes contrived; but the example of Bellot, who provided primitive phonetic transcriptions for the French dialogues in his *Familiar Dialogues* (1586) as a special service for his English learners, may go to prove that the practice was not entirely unknown; the only cases in which this approach was adopted in a Low Dutch ELL textbook was PEYTON 1764 (see Figure 3). HOLTROP 1780 gives transcriptions of individual words in the first part of his textbook. Richardson is the only writer who must have been familiar with some of the phonetic theories of his time: he knew and used Wallis's grammar but did not see fit to incorporate much of the phonetic theory into his orthology section. It may be wondered whether in his case this was due to lack of time, to his limited linguistic competence - he was after all a divine and medical doctor and had little teaching experience as far as we know - or to the large gap between theory and practice in those days (as much as in our time). We should also remember that foreign language learning textbooks were supposed to have a fixed pattern and that their contents were to a large extent dictated by tradition and experience. We can only be grateful to the International Phonetic Association for devising a set of phonetic symbols internationally recognised and now used to advantage for teaching and scholarly purposes.

The sections on orthography / orthology usually started off with a list of

23 For more names of early phoneticians see Kemp 1972:39 ff. and Dobson 1968 passim.

the letters of the alphabet²⁴ accompanied by their pronunciation as names of letters:

<u>letter</u>	<u>pronunciation</u>
a,b,c,d,e	» a, be, ce, de, e (Richardson) æ, bi, ci, di, i (Sewel) ai/æ/almost c, bi, si, di, i (Holtrop)

This was followed by a discussion of the pronunciation of the various letters and letter combinations, often in the order of the alphabet. Van Helderer was the first to do this in any detail and the practice was kept up afterwards culminating in Holtrop's 95 pages on this matter alone. Examples were provided and transcriptions attempted. The distinctions between vowels / consonants and monophthongs / diphthongs / thrifthongs were also used as organising principles. Other useful points were considered to be syllable structure, contrastive spelling rules, difficult words, homophones, homographs etc., all of these accompanied by lists of examples (another 40 pages in Holtrop). Stressmarks were occasionally introduced as an additional attractive feature - by Richardson (erratically), Pell, Evans, Holtrop and others. The earlier writers were clearly less confident in this area and restricted themselves to desultory remarks with few examples - 15pp. in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, only 10 pages for both English and Dutch in HILLENIOUS 1664 and a few pages in BEYER 1662. Sewel's discussion of the single letters and digraphs in their alphabetical order has the attraction of simplicity and clarity, but was his authority great enough to produce speakers of English who could seriously tlear their throats and tlench their tnives? Richardson is as usual profuse and verbose, and he carries a ring of scholarly accuracy. Holtrop's analysis is by far the most explicit and advanced: it will have stood the earnest learner in good stead. The second part of Walraven's early book from 1586, 'A Shorte Introduction and waye to the English speache', stands out from all other pronunciation sections in that it provides ample practice material, much like the spelling books; it is built up of one syllable nonsense words to words of two, three, four and five syllables winding up with longer religious texts and two psalms with the notes to which they may be sung. He provides comments on most sounds but makes no attempt at transcription; all his words are accompanied by a translation. Some of these exercises also occur in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 and RICHARDSON 1677.

24 There were 24 or 26 letters depending on the treatment of i/j and u/v. The 26 letter alphabet was not generally accepted until the end of the eighteenth century.

A separate study will have to be made to establish how accurate the pronunciation rules were synchronically. In view of the huge amount of cannibalising, inaccuracies cannot be ruled out. It would also be interesting to determine the extent to which the regional accents of the various English writers were reflected in their works. The only explicit reference to varieties of English comes from Richardson, who discusses some words used in Scotland and the North of England (ed.1677:220-222). Lowisch (1889:7) and Dobson (1968, vol.I: p.381) observe that Richardson's rules contain some elements of Northern English pronunciation. In the absence of a standard pronunciation it would be reasonable to expect more of this to have crept into the orthology sections, albeit inadvertently.

How accurate were the pronunciation rules contrastively? It was frequently claimed that letters were pronounced in English 'as in Dutch', particularly the consonants. This was not always accurate or helpful - cf. rules like :

'de y heeft het tusschengeluid eener Nederduitsche y en w'
 'de w heeft de klank van oe'
 (both in HOLTROP 1791:94).

This area of contrastive phonology was the specialty of these textbooks and it was especially here that new ground was broken²⁵. Given the limitations described at the beginning of this section the progression over the years was quite remarkable, but it is not always easy to see what is meant by the notes provided. An intriguing example is the pronunciation of the letter g. Usually a distinction was made between:

1. g before e, i
2. the digraph (sometimes called consonant diphthong) gh.
3. g before a, o, u

Before e, i the g is said to be pronounced as j (SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:9); as dsh (RICHARDSON 1677:177); as dsj (SEWEL 1754:13); as dsj (HOLTROP 1791:39). The digraph gh is either silent or pronounced as g or f (Sewel, Holtrop); but Richardson (1677:177-8) calls it a grave error to allow the pronunciation of f in words like enough, where it is not much different from the Dutch gh ('alwaer die seer weynigh verschillen van de Duytsche gh'). Before a, o, u, in words like garment, gospel, gum, the g is said to have its own proper sound ('heeft altijd sijn proper of eygen geluyt', SCHOLE-MAS-

²⁵ Evans's notes on pronunciation in his grammar of 1757 are deliberately non-contrastive. 'I shall consider the English Alphabet only as it is in English' (p.6)

TER 1646:9); is the same as in Dutch without a difference ('sonder onderscheit') (HILLENIUS 1664:4); is to be pronounced as in Dutch but a little softer (RICHARDSON 1677:177); is almost as in Dutch, a sound between **g** and **k** (SEWEL 1705); is to be pronounced as in the French word **gand** (HOLTROP 1780). The pronunciation of English /g/ in these positions 'as in Dutch' raises serious questions, as the Dutch **g**-sound was then already a fricative quite unlike the English stop. Richardson's comments on the Low Dutch /g/ are worth quoting in full, as they illustrate the uncertainty about the articulatory description of the Dutch sound and contain English examples only (in a grammar for Englishmen to learn Dutch!):

'g is seldom or never pronounced as ge or je in English, but as go gaan (whatsoever other Letter may follow it) being also aspirated, or as a guttural, spoken through the throat, something like ghost, geest which manner of using g need not seem strange to the English, sith it is so frequent, as before all Consonants to which it is præfixed, so also before the Vowels a, o, u, as in gain winst / games spelen / to gape gaapen / gold gout, and somtimes before e, and t, as to get krijgen / to give geven &c'
(RICHARDSON 1677 3)

A final word must be said about the spelling books - sometimes also referred to as *spelde-boek* or *spelle-boek* in Dutch. In spite of their title they had also much to say about pronunciation and were probably used for the practice of it (cf. section 5.4 below). Among the five spelling books we have been able to trace²⁶, EVANS 1747 deals with accents and has a 'Table of words the same in sound but different in spelling and signification'; RUDIMENTS c1804 explains the pronunciation of vowels, has a list of words ending in silent **e**, pays attention to stress and includes a list of homophones. These and similar points betray an interest in pronunciation as well as spelling. The books were written for children and chiefly used in primary schools; at that level pronunciation needed to be practised, particularly by children with a foreign background or by English children living abroad.

How could learners profit from all this? Without a tutor, preferably a native speaker, it would be hard for them to make sense of many of the rules: they were far from complete even at beginner level, they were sometimes obscure and occasionally even wrong. On the other hand the differences between English and Low Dutch were much smaller than they are now and by the time they began to increase substantially, towards the end of the eighteenth century new and better books were available on the English market (Johnson,

²⁶ EVANS 1747 and RUDIMENTS c1804 were written for speakers of Low Dutch, FENNING 1793 was intended for English school children but may also have been used in the Low Dutch area WALRAVEN / WHISTONF 1586 and BOMMEVAER 1738 had some of the characteristics of a spelling book but dealt mainly with pronunciation

Bailey, Sheridan, etc.) and may have been preferred.

To illustrate some of the strong and weak points a selection from Holtrop's transcriptions in his textbook of 1804 - the most advanced in this period - is appended without further comment. Stressmarks are as in Holtrop²⁷:

	<u>spelling</u>	<u>pronunciation</u>
<i>today's schwa</i> (or ø realisation)	péople animal treàcherous	piepel animel tretsjerous
<i>final continuants</i>	vines ages his to hiss advice to advise (he) lives	vaains eedsjes hiss hiss edvaais to edvaaiz livs
<i>th</i>	fourth thing bath to bathe this further youth	(almost) foorz t ing baeæz to baed dhiz forder (almost) joes
(written) <i>u</i>	to pull to excludé usual Tuesday fruit	to poeill to exkliuud jiuzuël tjuesdæ fruuit
(written) <i>i</i>	Sir twilight fórtnight ónion cities	sur or ser twaailaait faartnet onjen sitties

5.2.3b *Etymology or analogy*

Etymology teacheth the Derivation and Difference of words; and comprehendeth all the Parts of Speech.

(RICHARDSON 1677:43)

Q. What is Analogy?

A. Analogy teaches us how to know distinctly the several Parts of Speech in the English Tongue.

(EVANS 1747:188/9)

In the Low Dutch grammars of the English language the word 'etymology'

27 For brief notes on the accuracy of Holtrop's transcriptions cf. Matthews 1933.

was commonly used to refer to the parts of speech. It could also refer to word provenance, as e.g. Richardson explains, but this point was usually ignored except by Richardson himself, who devotes four pages to it, and by Holtrop with 15 pp. on the subject. 'Analogy' was sometimes used as a good synonym of 'etymology', but originally the two terms had a different meaning. In the second century B.C. Dionysius made a distinction between 'etymology': tracing the original (inner) significance of words, and 'analogy': demonstration of grammatical analogies i.e. classifying of words which resemble each other in form (Michael 1985:25/6, 35ff). Over the centuries this distinction lost much of its flavour so that the two came to be used interchangeably as e.g. in the quotation above. Whichever term was preferred, the section to which it was prefixed was by far the weightiest in any Low Dutch grammar and easily took up the largest number of pages.

The majority of the Low Dutch textbooks for ELL recognised eight parts of speech usually presented in this order:

<i>noun</i>	substantive and adjective
<i>pronoun</i>	subdivided in different ways
<i>verb</i>	including auxiliaries and impersonal verbs
<i>participle</i>	
<i>adverb</i>	subdivided variously in up to 29 classes (by e.g. Hillenius)
<i>conjunction</i>	with many different subdivisions but not usually co-ordinating /subordinating (Richardson and Sewel have 6 classes, Hillenius 10)
<i>preposition</i>	
<i>interjection</i>	

Hexham has nine (+ article) classes, Holtrop ten (+ article and adjective), some like Hillenius do not bother to tie themselves down to a fixed number. In other contexts this number was liable to considerable variation: Appendix 1 in Michael 1985 contains a list of 56 different combinations of word classes in Latin and English grammars in England alone for approximately the same period. Michael (1985, Ch.8) makes a useful distinction between primary and secondary parts of speech: the primary parts occur as the main parts of speech to which the secondary ones are subjoined. Thus 'noun' had primary status in most grammars, while 'adjective' and 'substantive' were subdivisions of it. Articles were usually treated as secondary in relation to nouns, a practice that was taken over from Latin. The last four classes in the above list are sometimes labelled indeclinables.

The term 'particle' was used as a synonym of 'article' or in the more general sense of 'small word not clearly belonging to any one class in particular'; RICHARDSON 1677 does not only include in this 'class' a / the,

but also more / most, less / least, to before verbs, and even prefixes like dis-, mis-, in- etc. (pp.271/2, 249, 285)²⁸.

The allocation of words to these classes varied considerably and differed frequently from our approach, but even for us it is still an area fraught with problems. There was little disagreement about nouns, adjectives and verbs, but a great deal more about adverbs and the smaller word classes. Thus this/that are said to be particles (Sewel), indefinite pronouns sometimes belong to the adjective nouns (Richardson), much/many in combinations like 'much rain, many showers' are considered to be adjectives (Holtrop), words like oh if, behold, whoop belong to the adverbs (Richardson), hitherto, yet, but be it who will are conjunctions (Hillenius). Both Hillenius and Richardson point out that many adverbs may be used as conjunctions. The participle as a separate word class²⁹ receives little attention, but it is noted by many that the use of -ing forms is an important feature of the English language; what discussion there is, is limited to the present/past, rarely to the perfect forms and even less to continuous forms.

In their treatment of word classes the grammarians were mainly concerned with morphological characteristics, much less with usage: conjugations, declensions, affixes and derivations received extensive coverage, in spite of frequent remarks about the simplicity of English in this respect, as in RUDIMENTS c1804:iv: 'The English language is perhaps of all the present European languages by much the most simple in its form and construction'. Many writers were aware of the insufficiency of the Latin model, especially since English had so few inflectional forms. But the Latin straitjacket was so strong that the Latin declensions and conjugations were slavishly followed for nouns and verbs but occasionally also for adjectives³⁰. In the case of noun and adjective there may have been some contrastive value, since Low Dutch had a modified inflectional system, which had disappeared in English, so that paradigms were helpful to show the differences. But with the verb there was nothing to be gained from the inclusion of e.g. subjunctive and optative moods, which were nevertheless often fully included. It took these grammarians a long time to free themselves of the model they were imitating and to come up with a description of the English language in its own right; they never succeeded in this completely before 1800.

28 In his Low Dutch grammar Richardson accepts the (p)articles (or *ledekens*) as one of the word classes. 'Particles here may seem to challenge a place among the parts of Speech, as being capable of Variation by Declension' (p.46).

29. 'By the time of Dionysius Thrax it' (=the participle) 'is treated as a part of speech which . . . partakes of the nature of verbs and nouns' (Michael 1985:75).

30 HILLENIUS 1664 still gives full declensions of the definite and indefinite articles (p.12), the adjective (p.18), some pronouns (p.28) and the noun (p.30) in their singular and plural forms. He did not create a following, although nouns are found to be declined later in e.g. Van Helderer, Richardson and even Peyton and Holtrop, the latter with the Latin paradigms included.

It may be illustrative to study in detail the information on two points of grammar included in almost all the ELL textbooks before 1800, in order to assess their usefulness for non-native speakers of English and at the same time the progress made over the years. These two points are the degrees of comparison and -ing forms.

degrees of comparison

SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:19/20

- -er/-est or more/most, very (as in great, strong, highe, mighty » mightyer, mightvest);
- all adjectives may be compared with more / most;
- irregular forms: good, evil/bad/naught » worse, worst;
- some comments on diminutives (somewhat, -ish, a little, -ly, -like).

RICHARDSON 1677:271-273

- -er/-est or more/most for all adjectives (as in soft, wise, light, black);
- irregular forms: good, bad/ill, much/many, little;
- diminutives: with less/lest;
- adjectives that cannot be compared: numbers, any, no, each, another, all, own, both, such.

SEWEL 1705:50-52

- -er/-est (as in big, hard, rich, wise, sweet, old, young);
- spelling advice about doubling of consonants;
- irregular forms: good, bad, much/many, little;
- more/most for adjectives ending in -al, -ate, -som, -able, -ible, -ant, -ent, -id, etc.

EVANS 1757 (ed. 1778:50-52)

- -er/-est and more, most/very/exceeding;
- irregular forms: bad, good, little, much/many;
- comparison not possible: any, some, all (implied to be adjectives).

HOLTROP 1780:182-189

- regular forms: -er/-est;
- spelling rules and many examples;
- irregular forms: good, bad, near, much/many, little, for/forth;
- more/most for words of two or more syllables ending in -al, -ate, -est, -ing, -ish, -ous, -some, -able, -ible, ive, -ain, -ant, -ent, -ed, -id, -ful, -less, -dy, -fy, -ky, -my, -ny, -py and -ry (one exception: happy/happier/happiest);
- words regularly compared with -er/-est may also take more/most. Some words taking more/most have -er/-est, e.g. shadiest, virtuousest, famousest, powerfullest, triflingest, etc.; however, these are mostly examples of poetical licence and should not be used in prose;
- some cases take -most (nethermost, lowermost, innermost, etc.).

All these grammarians agree on the formal characteristics of the degrees of comparison: -er/-est and more/most; some allow the use of words like very/exceeding instead of most. All include a list of irregular forms with at least good and bad in it; all except Holtrop give very few examples. Two give a list of (adjectival) words that cannot be compared (numbers and mainly indefinite pronouns); two add information about diminutive comparison with words/suffixes like -ish, less/le(a)st, etc.; two supply spelling rules.

None of them tells the learner to use than after the comparative form - a piece of information that in this type of grammar was likely to be reserved for the syntax but is never found there³¹. Only Sewel and Holtrop distinguish between adjectives taking -er/-est and those taking more/most depending on the number of syllables (Holtrop) or the suffix (Sewel and Holtrop); the others allow the two forms for all adjectives, but the examples are usually of monosyllabic words. Holtrop is by far the most explicit and even comments on poetical forms like powerfullest, triflingest, etc.

The progression of these rules, in a time span of some 150 years, partly reflects the changes in the English language itself, particularly with respect to spelling and to the more restricted use of -er/-est³². In a note on Wallis's treatment of this point of grammar³³ Kemp writes: 'Grammarians of this period do not distinguish most fair from very fair in meaning. The formations in -er, -est were less restricted in Wallis's time than they are now, but were never used with participles. Bullokar, Jonson and Cooper all mention their use with adverbs in -ly (for example, freelier, freeliest-Cooper (1685), p.134). John Greenwood augments Wallis's account by including a list of exceptions which do not take -er, -est (that is, endings in -al, -able, -ing, -ish, -est, -ous, -ant, -ent, -ible, -id, -som, excluding able and handsome)' (Kemp 1972:317, note 105). Already at an early time the different uses of er/est- and more/most may be exemplified from the ELL textbooks; thus, in the BERLAIMONT 1576 we find:

*It is the
noblest
the hardest
the most honest
the wisest
the richest
the most humble
the most courteouse
the most liberall
of the country
(in Verdeyen 1926-97b)*

When copying the dialogue in his textbook of 1664, Hillenius writes:

*Hee is the Noblest
The most hardie
The most renowned
The most honest
The Wisest*

31 RICHARDSON 1677 322 has a brief note on the difference between 'then' and 'than' in the section on adverbs

32 On these changes and on a treatment of the comparison of adjectives in English grammars before 1800 see Poldauf 1948.242-262

33 In the sixth edition of his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1765, virtually identical to the fifth edition of 1699, first edition 1653 (Kemp 1972 71/2)

The Richest
The greatest
The Most Civillest, or gentlest
The most humble
The meekest
of the City or Country.
 (HILLENUS 1664, part II:70-72)

But whatever the synchronic practice of the day, the rules provided were crude and severely limited; Holtrop's treatment is fairly full, but his explicitness all but reaches the point of overburdening. The lack of examples in most grammars and their absence of practice material did not help to clarify the rules. All in all, on the basis of these rules the learner would be able to produce some acceptable forms, but he would be faced with a good many problems that his grammar could not solve.

-ing forms

SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:28

- used as 'participium' (he came running);
- used as adjective (a loving man);
- used as a noun (my loving of thee.)

RICHARDSON 1677:317-318, 347-348

- used as present or past participle;
- used as adjective (no examples given);
- used as noun, when preceded by a/the (the seeing, the hearing);
- examples of how to use them as participles and gerunds.

SEWEL 1705, ed. 1740:92-93, 104

- used as present or past participle;
- used as adjective (no examples given);
- used as noun, when preceded by a/the (the asking, the enquiring, the finding, the teaching);
- used as progressive form; after prepositions; in forms like (I will go a fishing' (p.104).

EVANS 1757, ed. 1778

- used as participle (comes burning);
- 'signifies being' (I was standing);
- 'signifies doing' (I am writing a letter, I was washing my hands);
- often used as a mere adjective (a brawling woman; loving, more loving, most loving).

HOLTROP 1780, ed.1791:190-192, 245-246, 304-305

- they may be active or passive;
- used as adjectives (a knowing man) and nouns (the drawing of wine, let us leave off speaking);
- full conjugation of progressive form = *daadelyke tijd*;
- used for actions in progress ('wanneer men werkelyk aan eene zaak bezig is'): I am writing, he is reading, the book is now printing; also: I am in love (= I am loving).

Formal aspects and the assignation to word classes are the main points of

interest in all these grammars. The dependence on Latin is obvious. Sewel notes that the participles (read: **-ing** forms) are frequently used in English in a way that is not quite known in other languages ('de Deelwoorden, worden in 't Engelsch zeer veel gebruikt, en dat op zodaanige wyze, die aan andere Taalen niet zo eigen is', p.104), but leaves it at that. Evans is the first to point to aspectual features in forms like 'I was standing', 'I am writing', forms that had already been in use long before³⁴. Holtrop is the first to devote some space to the use of the progressive form for actions of limited duration. These forms are virtually ignored in most of the rules above, or they get a passing mention and are so superficially treated that the information seems almost irrelevant. Still, the dialogues in the same textbooks contain examples of them, although not many, since the contents of these dialogues were mostly factual and did not therefore allow for aspectual features like duration, progression etc. Some of these examples are:

I am yet fasting (SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:116)
 I am reading. Whilst I was writing (SEWEL 1740:104)
 Sir, I am rising (SEWEL 1740:169)
 What are you doing? (EVANS 1778:135)

A similar picture emerges when other points of grammar are studied: morphology takes pride of place to the exclusion of important and more useful learning points such as the use of tenses, some/any, shades of meaning within auxiliaries, the use of do, place of adverbs, phrasal/prepositional verbs, etc. It is only towards the end of the eighteenth century that functional and syntactic aspects began to be discussed in any depth, as in EVANS 1778:131 (in the syntax section), where the place of adverbs is briefly treated, and in HOLTROP 1791:264-304, which has a 'Particular Dissertation on the nature and use of Tenses &c. of English verbs', i.e. the use of all the tenses with and without do and with copious examples. Holtrop includes his notes in the etymology section, where they strictly speaking do not belong, so that in this case the dividing lines between etymology and syntax are ignored. Still, there was all in all the overriding influence of the strict Latin model. Within that model syntax had an important part to play; it remains a mystery why syntactic features, which began to be all the more crucial in the modern languages with their loss of inflections, were so generally ignored.

Our conclusions about the relevance of the etymology sections in the ELL textbooks for learning purposes before 1800 will have to be critical:

1. they dealt almost invariably with morphological features, although it was recognised that these were of limited relevance in English;

34 On the early use of **-ing** forms in English cf. Visser 1973, vol.I, part 2, pp.1918 ff.

2. unlike the orthography/orthology sections they contained little contrastive information. Surprisingly enough, contrastive features were more clearly present in the early grammars, notably those by Hillenius and Richardson, that were written in parallel fashion. Richardson remarks that 'there is no likelier way to promote the knowledge of a strange language, than by demonstrating it's agreement with the native and well-known language of the Learner' (1677:26);

3. the rules were crude, limited, and therefore of restricted use;

4. key features, particularly those belonging to the field of syntax and usage, were generally ignored;

5. on top of all this, and partly no doubt because of it, the study of grammar for foreign language learning purposes was sometimes fiercely attacked. If in the schools these grammars were nevertheless learned by heart, this must have been a tremendous waste of time that could have been more fruitfully spent in other ways.

5.2.3c Syntax

Syntax (or Construction) is the due Connexion or joyning together of Words and Sentences

(RICHARDSON 1677 165)

Q What is syntax?

A Syntax is the disposing of Words in their right Case, Gender, Number, Person, Mood, Tense and Place, in a Sentence

(EVANS 1747 253)

Syntax received little attention in the grammars before 1800. It was either dutifully dealt with in a handful of pages or entirely ignored. The reason for this was the belief that syntactic relations were expressed through inflections, as in Latin; since English had few inflections, it did not have much of a syntax. This unproductive view is particularly apparent in the seventeenth century grammars. In the eighteenth century the relevance of syntactic rules for foreign language learning was more fully realised although not by all writers³⁵ and by those who did, in a defective and still haphazard way. At the same time, however, throughout the period syntax was the place where contrastive features were dealt with and it is for this reason that the little information contained in these sections is usually of great interest.

In the Low Dutch area HILLENUS 1664 was the first to take a practical

³⁵ Ensell writes 'the construction of it' (i.e. the English language) 'is so very easy, that our Grammarians have thought it hardly worth while to give us any thing like a regular Syntax' (preface ENSGILL 1797)

look at syntax. He admits that 'the right, and due joyning of Parts of Speech together' (p.79) is largely a matter of applying the well-known rules of Latin, but he adds two things:

1) 'the difference of this Dialect, may easily be perceived by Observation in reading' (ibid.), an expression of the general belief that the proper construction of the language was best learned through familiarisation with the written text - hence the phrases, texts and dialogues following the grammars;

2) 'In this section wee will take notice of, and make observation upon, some words: and onely touch upon their differences which may happen in their Constructions' (p.81); these differences, 49 in this section, turn out to be a mixture of peculiarities of the English language and points of contrastive relevance for speakers of Low Dutch. They are on the whole useful points, like the use of who/which/that/what, beside/besides, to/too, the prepositions of place at/in etc. This was certainly a step forward on the two grammars before him, i.e. SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, which dealt briefly with the differences in word order in the two languages, and that by Hexham in 1647, who was interested in the similarities between Low Dutch and English; they were not nearly so explicit and perceptive as Hillenius.

Unfortunately, his example was not followed by later textbook writers: Richardson, otherwise so explicit, is limited on this point. Sewel has useful, but brief, comments on each of the eight parts of speech; Evans, who is not contrastive, has a longer section; Holtrop refers to his many examples and sees no need for separate treatment, since English words have hardly any inflection; however, notes on the use of the tenses are inserted in the part on etymology. None of these grammars is anywhere near satisfactory. The only exception is Peyton's *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1764), which contains a clear and thorough treatment of the position of words ('in welke ... de uitspraak en woordschikking ... op eene duidelyke en grondige wyze, verhandeld zyn', title page ed. 1779); this treatment of 85 pages consists of a discussion of the position of words from each of the eight word classes preceded by some remarks on word order in general and on the use of gender words in particular, and followed by notes on word derivation and on a good many constructions (genitive, my/mine, who/which/that, shall/will and so on).

The information provided in the short syntax sections of ELL textbooks before 1800 consists of desultory remarks about:

syntactic features of the English language

- position of adjectives before or after nouns (HEXHAM 1648:cap. viii:2; EVANS 1778:128);
- use of be as a subjunctive (HEXHAM 1648:cap. viii:4);
- the use of she to refer to ships (SEWEL 1740:107);
- position of adverbs (EVANS 1778:131);

- simple past/present perfect (SEWEL 1740:102);
- the use of tenses (HOLTROP 1789:264-304).

idiomatic and lexical features

- differences between pairs of words, mainly prepositions and words like no/not, no/none; also about different shades of meaning within one word e.g. about, since, as (HILLENIUS 1664: sct. xxiii);
- score to indicate 20 (RICHARDSON 1677:333);
- difference between in/into (SEWEL 1740:105?);
- differences between few/a few/little (SMITH 1758:275).

the different word order in Low Dutch and English;

- 'He hath well administred hid [sic] office
d.i. hy heeft wel bedient sijn ampt
hy heeft sijn ampt wel bedient' etc.
(SCHOLE-MASTER 1663:35);
- position of the direct object:
'want men seyt in 't Engels niet, 'the Iudge shall him punish', maar 'the Iudge shall punish him' - de Rechter sal straffen hem; 'sixty five'-
sestigh vijf / niet 'five and sixty' - vijf en t'sestigh; niet 'it is half
twelv a clock' - het is half twaalf / maar 'it is half an hour past
eleven' - het is een half uur over elf'.
(all in RICHARDSON 1677:333)

sentence structure

- position of subject and object in relation to the predicate
(RICHARDSON 1677:332/3; EVANS 1778:123 ff; SEWEL 1740:103);
- simple and compound sentences - the term 'clause' was not yet used
(EVANS 1778:123 ff.);
- transposition, i.e. 'the placing of words in a sentence ... out of their
natural order', and ellipsis ('leaving out a word or words in a sen-
tence') (EVANS 1778:133-136);
- the freedom of poets to apply the rules in their own way
(SCHOLE-MASTER 1663:35; HOLTROP 1804:189).

However, these and similar notes were provided gratuitously, almost as a *bonus*, not as essential information. Two quotations may suffice to illustrate this general practice:

'Because Most of the Rules hereof' (i.e. syntax) 'are known by the Latin Grammar, and that the same manner of Expression frequently prevails among the English as is usual with the Netherdutch, It is superfluous, and wholly needless to run over the Method of the Rules of the Syntax: and consequently this Part of the Grammar is but very briefly to be touched. Yet, suth there are some Phrases and transplacings of words in Several Sentences peculiar to the Netherdutch, and differing from the English: It will be of good use to produce some such Observations thereof as at present occur'
(RICHARDSON 1677:165/332)

'Hebbende alle de Spraakdeelen in 't kort doorloopen, schynt de orde te vereischen, dat men ook iets van de Woordschukking zegt: alhoewel een naauwe opmerking, zo in 't leezen al onder 't spreken, niet als het gemakkeelykste middel, maar ook het gebruik als de zekerste regel moet aangemerkt worden. Dies zal ik huer maar kortelyk eenige van de noodtigste Voorbeelden aanwyzen, waarin de Engelsche Spreekwyze van de Nederduitsche verscheelt, zonder my aan de orde der Latynsche Syntax te binden (gelyk ik doorgaans niet gedaan heb) of alles onder diergelyke regelen te brengen'
(SEWEL 1705, quoted from SMITH 1758:86/7)

The main conclusion about the syntax sections in ELL textbooks for speakers

of Dutch before 1800 must be that they are kept very brief and that they are mostly organised in an unsystematic way. The few observations in them are mostly relevant ones for would-be learners but too sketchy to be of great use: they do not go beyond the level of incidental examples.

5.2.3d *Prosody*

Prosodia is the rule of pronouncing words truly long or short
(the Dutch grammar in HEXHAM 1647:1)

.. giveth the true Tone and Accent to Wordes and Syllables, and first of pointing
(ibid., end of grammar)

Q. What is Prosody?

A. Prosody teacheth the true Pronunciation of Syllables and Words, according to their proper Quantities, and Tones or Accents
(EVANS 1747:185-186)

Prosodia or prosody was a term used to refer to the rules of versification and to word stress. In the former sense it was of no use to language learners; in the latter it was more immediately relevant. Whatever the definition, very few grammars have notes on prosody in a separate section; some deal with word stress in other sections; spelling books, too, often contain information on stress patterns. RICHARDSON 1677:241-244 has four pages on word stress in a Chapter 'Van d'Accenten ofte Toonen der Woorden' at the end of the first Part of his grammar on orthography / orthology; the rules contained in them could serve as prosodia ('waar toe de volgende Regulen in plaats van Prosodia kunnen dienen'). PEYTON 1779 has 12 pages on it, all of them dealing with stress, with many examples. HOLTROP 1780 mentions the term prosodia as one of the four parts of grammar but does not deal with it explicitly: instead, on p.337 he refers back to the first 120 pp. of his grammar, in which all the English words are properly accented.

5.2.4 *Phrases, idioms, proverbs*

Most textbooks and manuals contained idiomatic phrases, colloquial expressions, proverbs or sayings as part of their practice material. They were called 'speeches', 'sentences very edifying and profitable', 'familiar / common discourses', 'familiar phrases', 'idioms', 'idiotismi', 'proverbs', and so on. These phrases provided excellent additional illustrations of the living language and could usefully be memorised: they were not only short, they were also more attractive than both the vocabularies, which lacked context, and the dialogues, which were too long. Because of their obvious usefulness they were included in almost every manual and textbook in one form or

another. The first and oldest entry in Appendix 1a contains nothing but phrases, about table manners - a favourite subject of the time - in three languages, probably collected for instructional purposes. The English rhyming couplets seem to have been the original text:

*Upon thy trenchour no fylth thou se
It is not honest I tell the
Ne drynke thou not behynde no mans backe
For yf thou do, thou art to lacke
And neuer be to gredy ne to hasty
Caste not thy bones in the floore
But laye them fayre on thy trenchour*
(TABLE MANNERS c1530, Melbourne copy, recto)

Even at an early time the idioms could be colloquial, if not vulgar:

- <i>It is a man of his mynde.</i>	<i>Tis een man van sinen sinne.</i>
- <i>I maruayl fore it doynge suche a thynge.</i>	<i>Het gheeft mi wonder sulken dinck te doen.</i>
- <i>It is so.</i>	<i>Tis alsoo</i>
- <i>Vvho wolde haue beleued u?</i>	<i>Vvrie soude dat ghelooft hebbe?</i>
- <i>I am sory for his dedes.</i>	<i>Het deert mi synder dinghen.</i>
- <i>Be patient.</i>	<i>Vveest verduldich.</i>

(SEPTEM LINGUARUM 1540)

*1 God knoweth.whither
2. j am wet to th'skan
3 as t'is said
4. t'is an old grudge
5. be quiet
6 this is a prette house
7. pray, be kind to me
8 what plague doe you mean?
9. have you no better manners
10. t'is a pleasant fellow
11. thereabout*
(PIELAT 1673:2)

*j'll have done er that a cat can lick her ear
she is very light of members
j am forced to unbutton
lads, how is't
rot 'um [Fr: puissent ils périr]
z'lid, Joue forgive me that y swear
(ibid., passim)*

The phrases could be presented thematically as in the TABLE MANNERS c1530, in random order as in PIELAT 1673, or even alphabetically as in HOLTROP 1780 (pp. 570-667). Most writers preferred a classified presentation, much like an expanded form of the nomenclator vocabularies, with headings like:

*Of saluting and manners of asking
Of seates, or places to sitte in
Of Losing
Of Pennes*
(BEYER 1662:1-5, 'Common Discourses', obviously written for children in a classroom)

*For to wish a good day to any
For to enter into any house
(ibid :59-61, 'Familiar discourses and communications')*

*To ask something
Expressions of kindness
To thank, Compliment, or Shew a Kindness
To Affirm, Deny, Consent
To Consult or Consider
Of Eating and Drinking
Of going, coming, stirring, &c
(SMITH 1752.230-239, cf. EVANS 1757, Part II for a similar arrangement)*

The phrases might be expanded into short sentences or even short dialogues taking the learner gently from phrase to sentence to discourse. The material was often delightfully fresh, with a liveliness that got lost in many of the later translation books, but has returned in recent years as a result of the renewed interest in communicative language use.

Of seates, or places to sitte in
Who sitteth there?
I. No body.
I sitte here.
John sitteth there.
Whose place is that?
It is mine.
I sitte over against you
(BEYER 1662:2; see also Figure 4, p. 135)

Thus that follow's shows how we should ask our necessary things
I pray, give me somthing for my breakfast.
Give me a piece of bread, if you please
Reach me that white bread.
Cut me some of that great brown loaf.
Give me the crust, give him the crum.
(RICHARDSON 1677, Part II:92; also in HELDEREN 1675a and SEWEL 1705; see also Figure 5, p. 136)

Expressions of Kindness
My Life!
My dear Soul!
My Love!
My Little darling!
My Little heart!
Sweet Heart!
My dear heart!
My little Honey!
My Dear Child!
My pretty Angel!
My Delight!
My Joy!
My hearts delight!
My Jewel!
My all!
(SMITH 1752:231, see also Figure 6, p. 137)

Proverbs were sometimes included in separate lists, with literal translations 'exactly answering one another in both languages'. They may be looked

2 Pourquoy m'appelés-vous ?	Vestibule des trois langues Why doe you call me ?	Watcom roept gy my ?	la Françoise.	l'Angloise.	& la Flammande. 3
<p><i>Des Places à s'asseoir.</i> Qui est assis là ? Moy. Personne. Je suis assis icy. Jean est assis là. A qui est cette place ? Elle est à moy. Je suis assis vis à vis de vous. Je m'assisiez auprès de vous. Je ne puis pas m'asseoir là. Vous ne vous pouvez pas là asseoir. Voulez vous que je m'assee à vostre place ? Nenni : où est ce que je m'as- sérois moy-mêmes ? Il n'y a pas de place à ceste table. Assérez-vous à l'autre table.</p>	<p><i>Of seats, or places to sitte in.</i> Who sitteth there ? I No body. <i>I sitte here</i> John sitteth there. <i>Whose place is that ?</i> It is mine <i>I sitte ower against you.</i> I shall (or will) sitte by you. I cannot sitte there. <i>May I sitte in your place ?</i> No, where should I sitte then ? <i>There is no place at this Ta- ble.</i> Sitte at the other table.</p>	<p><i>Van de Sic-plaetsen.</i> Wie sit daer ? Niemant. Ich sit hier. Jan sit daer. Wiens plaets is dat ? It is de mijne. Ich sitte ower u. Ich sal by u sitten. Ich en hau daer niet sitten. Gy en kunt daer niet sitten. Waech ik in u plaets sitten ? Nien / waer soud ich dan sitten ? Daer en is geen plaets aen die Tafel. Sit aen d'ander Tafel.</p>	<p>Assérez (mettez) vous ici. Vous vous assérez là. Vous estes assis à ma place. Retirez ostez vous de ma place Le m'y suis assis premier que vous, (devant vous) I'ay esté devant vous à l'école Retirez vous un peu. Laissez moy passer. Laissez le passer. Passez. Reculez un peu. Je ne me puis pas reculer. Que Jean se recule. Levéz vous un peu. Ne me poussez pas. (fois. Vous me poussez à chaque</p> <p><i>Des periss.</i> I ne scaurois pas trouver ma boete.</p>	<p>Sitte you here. You shall sitte there. <i>You sitte in my place.</i> Get you out of my place. I have sitten there before you. I have been at schoole before you. Goe back a little. Let me passe by. Let him passe. Passe on. <i>Remove a little.</i> I cannot rec place. Let John rec place. <i>Stand up a little</i> Doe not pussh me. You thrust me every foot.</p> <p>Of Lofing. I cannot finde my box.</p>	<p>Sit gy hier. Gy sult daer sitten. Gy sit in mijn plaets. Gaet uyt mijn plaets. Ich hebber eer geseten als gy. Ich heb booz u schoot getweest. Waecht u wat. Laet my dooz. Laet hem dooz. Gaet dooz. Schicht een weynich. Ich en kan niet schicken. Laet Jan schicken. Stact op een reys. En stoot my niet. Gy stoot my eiche reys.</p> <p>Van 't verliesen. Ich en kan myn Dozt niet bin- den.</p>
		Ac-		4	Cher-

8. Figure 4: Phrases from Beyer's Vestibule 1662

92 d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche

Welcke is de plicht
der Kirump menigers en
der Wond-heckers.

De booz-schijften
der Genees-merstren
te volgen / en te berey-
den en bewaren de
Medecijnen / de stroo-
pen / de balletjes / de
koekjes / de salvingen /
en andere Dyogenen /
die in kistkens / dooffe-
ren / en dofsen oge-
stoten worden.

*This that follow's shows
how we should ask our
necessary things.*

Ik bid u / geeft my
wat booz myn ont-
byt.

Geeft my een stuk
broodts / soo 't u be-
lieft.

Langt my dat witte
broodt.

Snijt my wat van
dat groot bruyn broot.

Geeft my de koest/
geeft my de kruym,

Which is the duty of
Apothecaries (herb-
minglers) and Chyrur-
geons or Surgeons
(wound healers ')

To follow the receipte
(ordeis) of the Doctors,
and to prepare and pre-
serve the medicins, the
syrups, the pills, the ta-
blets or troches, the
salvs, and other druggs,
which are shut up in li-
tle chests, coffeis, and
boxes.

Die navolgende toont
hoe wy onse noodige
saken eyschen sou-
den.

I Pray, give me som-
thing for my break-
fast.

Give me a piece of
bread, if you please.

Reach me that white
bread.

Cut me some of that
great brown loaf.

Give me the crust,
give myn the crum.

Give

A C A D E M Y. 93

Give us some Bread
and Butter.

I would have stale
bread.

Buy us some wheaton
bread.

Let me tast the Ry-
bread.

Let's me have some
meat.

I desire some flesh.

A good dish of stew'd
meat.

A piece of fat beef.

We'll salted (or pow-
der'd) beef.

Bring me a little bit
of mutton.

I would rather have
lean.

Let me have it either
fried, roasted, boyled,
(folden) baked, or
broiled.

Buy for me a shoul-
der, a neck, a breast or
aleg of Lamb.

Please to help me
with a piece of that loun
of Veal,

Geeft ons wat Bro-
ter en Broot.

Ich woude ont bar-
ken broot hebben.

Koop booz ons wat
Certoen broot.

Laat my het Rog-
gen broot proeven.

Laat my wat spys
hebben.

Ich verseeckte wat
bleesck.

Een goede schotel
van gestoofde spys.

Een stukke vet Os-
se-bleesck.

Wel-geoute Osse-
bleesck.

Wringht my een
kleyn beetje Schape-
bleesck.

Ich woude liever
mager hebben.

Laat my het hebben
't zo ghesuyt / gebra-
den / gehoocht / ghe-
baeken / of geroost.

Koop booz my een
schouder / hals / boest
ofte loun Lam-
blesck.

Geeft A. E. my te
helpen met een stuk
van de Kalfs-liden.

T 6

Eni

9. Figure 5: Phrases from Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica*, 1677.

Familiar Phrases, Gemeene Spreek-
wyzen.

I.	I.
<i>To ask something,</i>	Na iets vraagen.
<i>I, Pray you give me,</i> <i>If you please?</i>	Ik, bid je geef my.
<i>Bring me,</i>	Als 't u belieft.
<i>Lend me,</i>	Grenge my.
<i>I thank you.</i>	Leent my.
<i>I give you a Thousand</i> <i>than's</i>	Ik bedank u.
<i>Go and fetch,</i>	Ik bedank u Duyzend-
<i>Pre, ently,</i>	maal.
<i>Dear Sir as me that Kind-</i> <i>ness,</i>	Gaat haalen.
<i>Do me that favour,</i>	I erloof.
<i>Do me that Kindness,</i>	Waarde Heer doe my die
<i>Dear Madam, grant me</i> <i>that favour,</i>	Vriendſchap.
<i>I beſeech you</i>	Doe my die Vriendſchap.
<i>I entreat you to do it,</i>	Waarde Jutrow, ver-
<i>I conjure you to do it,</i>	eer my die Gunſt
<i>I beg it, as a favour,</i>	Ik smeek u.
<i>Oblige me ſo far,</i>	Ik vermaan u dit te doen.
	Ik verzoek het, als een
	gunſt
	Verplicht my zo veel.

II. Ex.

II.	II.
<i>Expreſſions of Kind-</i> <i>neſs,</i>	Vriendelyke uytdruk- kingen.
<i>My Life!</i>	Myn Leeven!
<i>My dear Soul!</i>	Myn waarde Ziel!
<i>My Love!</i>	Myn Lief!
<i>My Little darling!</i>	Myn klyn Froetel-kind!
<i>My Little heart!</i>	Myn Hartje!
<i>Sweet Heart!</i>	Hartje-lief!
<i>My dear heart!</i>	Myn waarde hart!
<i>My little Honey!</i>	Myn klyn Zoetie!
<i>My Dear Child!</i>	Myn waarde Kind!
<i>My pretty Angel!</i>	Myn aardig Engeltje!
<i>My Delight!</i>	Myn Vermaak!
<i>My joy!</i>	Myn Vreugde!
<i>My heart's delight!</i>	Myn harts Begeerte!
<i>My Jewel!</i>	Begeerte van myn Hart.
<i>My all!</i>	Myn Juweel!
	Myn Alles!
III.	III.
<i>To thank, Compliment,</i> <i>or Shew a Kind-</i> <i>neſs,</i>	Danken, Plicht-plee- gen, of een Vriend- ſchap bewyzen.
<i>I thank you,</i>	Ik bedank u.
<i>I give you thanks,</i>	Ik zeg u Dank.

P 4

I g:

upon as extensions of the phrases, but they were of course more fossilised and also moralistic. Some learners were apparently fond of using them, and the fact that they appeared regularly as practice material may serve as an indication of their popularity. Proverbs and biblical quotes may have played a rather more important role in everyday speech than they do now: learners were sometimes encouraged to use them in the foreign language. However, since language learning depended so much on memorising, there was a danger that beginners were satisfied with just saying the sentences they had learned by heart, including the proverbs. This kind of speech would be artificial, if not ludicrous, particularly in the case of the proverbs. Moreover, the use of proverbs was considered to be substandard and therefore objectionable by some writers, e.g. by Pell: 'their Dialogues are still worse, & have scarce any but Proverbial ways of speaking, which are wholly of the dregs of the people' (PELL 1735a:49). A similar comment occurs in Ramm's *Loi de la galanterie* for speakers of German: 'Vous vous garderez surtout d'user de proverbes et quolibets; car si vous vous en serviez, ce serait parler en bourgeois et la langue des halles'³⁶.

Examples of classified proverbs are presented in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 (cf. Ch.6.3e for quotations), HILLENUS 1664 and RICHARDSON 1677; lists of them are found in SMITH 1752, PEYTON 1764 and HOLTROP 1780. Beyer includes them as an extra at the end of his book at the request of his pupils, but does not seem to attach too much importance to them:

*Sir, forasmuch as we have hitherto treated of divers things, but not of Proverbs, may it please you to shew us some of them?
Children, although I have not thought thereon, yet to satisfy your curiosity and desire to learne, I shall propound somewhat of that kinde
He is as poore as Job
It is good to beate the iron while it is hot
He robbeth Peter, to pay Paul
The burned chuld dreadeth the fire
A soft pace goeth farre
(BEYER 1662 108-109)*

5.2.5 Dialogues

Dialogues (*colloquia* in Latin, *t'zamensprekingen* in Low Dutch) took up a central position in the language learning textbooks before 1800. They were always included in them, filled a great many pages and were used for learning purposes in many different ways. As an aid for learner and teacher they imitated and replaced the living language of everyday situations, although retaining an element of artificiality. Of course it was generally

36 Quoted in Streuber 1914 75, for more useful comments cf. *ibid* 73-76

agreed that frequent contacts with native speakers, or a longer stay abroad, were indispensable for a good command of the target language, but the dialogues provided an acceptable alternative.

Their use is almost as old as the practice of foreign language learning itself. Well-known early examples occur in Aelfric's colloquy for Latin from the beginning of the eleventh century containing lively dialogues between a teacher/novice and a ploughman / shepherd / merchant, about their professions; in the anonymous collection of practical dialogues for travellers to France published in East Anglia in 1396 entitled *La manière de langage* (from which the term *manières* as a synonym for 'collection of dialogues' derives, cf. Lambley 1920:35-38); in the dialogues circulating in Northern France and the Southern Low Countries during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (cf. Gessler 1931); in Cordier's popular Latin dialogues for children first published in Paris in 1530; and in Erasmus's famous dialogues for adult learners of Latin from the turn of the fifteenth century, published in hundreds of editions since 1518³⁷.

Unlike today, when dialogues are still in frequent use to illustrate one specific point of grammar or a speech intention, these older dialogues had the more general purpose of providing overall practice material for the learner, who was expected to find in them illustrations of (all) the grammar rules and lexical items he had learned before. Grading of any kind did not usually occur within one manual, although occasional attempts were made by e.g. Beyer in his *Vestibule* of 1662 (for French, Dutch and English). The dialogues were frequently adapted to the needs of the prospective users of the various manuals: children, traders, students preparing for a Continental Tour, and so on. Apart from this linguistic function the dialogues also served to pass on information on all sorts of subjects. This informative characteristic makes them often of the utmost interest to modern readers, as they offer slices of life from previous days included in few other sources. The information could be about the country in which the learner himself was living, but more frequently about the foreign country, telling the learner about it in lively exchanges between brothers and sisters, ladies and waiting-women, a master and his groom, two schoolboys, etc. Since many of the dialogues were copied from French sources, it was not uncommon for information about France to occur in ELL textbooks for speakers of Low Dutch!

In his discussion of French textbooks for speakers of German Streuber (1914:59-65) makes a useful distinction between long and short dialogues. The long ones, of up to 70 pages, were between a large number of characters,

37 On the contribution by speakers of Low Dutch to these early Latin dialogues for young learners see Masseur 1878, especially the chapters on Rudolphus Agricola from Baflo in Groningen and Hadrianus Barlandus from Baarland in Zuid-Beveland

had a high information content and could well be acted out in short drama sessions, although some of them were tediously dry and factual). An example is the 'dynner of ten persons' (39 pp.) in BERLAIMONT 1576, which happens to be extremely lively. The short ones, of two to three pages, contained brief exchanges between two characters whose relationship was usually indicated but not their names, cf. the end of the previous paragraph. Although both groups of dialogues had linguistic and informative value, the long dialogues tended to be informative and instructive, the short ones mainly linguistic, i.e. illustrative of structures, vocabulary, idioms, etc.. The two types existed side by side throughout the period. The Low Dutch textbooks contain examples of long dialogues from Mauger on 'The State of France as it is now governed' (35 pp., used in BEYER 1661) and Festeau on 'The State of England' (twice, 39 pp. and 33 pp., both copied in HELDEREN 1675). Eighteenth century textbooks usually contained dialogues of up to ten pages with occasional outriders as in SEWEL 1705 ('Between several Gentlemen that go merry to be abroad', 31 pp., from Mauger & Festeau 1672), PELL 1735 ('Of Travelling', 26 pp.; 'Of the Court of France', 41 pp.; 'Of Europe', 81 pp., from Boyer & Miège 1718), EVANS 1757 ('Between a Dweller in Holland and his Friend lately arriv'd from England', 37 pp.) and THOMAS 1798 ('A Dialogue on Man', 25 pp.)

Another useful classification derives from a consideration of the tone of the dialogues, which could be moralistic, neutral or frivolous. Moralistic dialogues occur in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, (cf. Ch 6.2), EVANS 1757 and occasionally in other works; the bulk of the dialogues is neutral touching upon everyday subjects like getting up, at dinner, going on a journey, about news, between two school-fellows, concerning bankrupts, between a physician and a 'sick body', and so on; frivolous dialogues were mostly of French origin and not thought to be fit for inclusion in the Low Dutch textbooks: SMITH 1752 took most of his dialogues from Boyer & Miège 1718, but stopped short at the 'Dialogues of wit and humour' with headings like 'Of Love', 'Between a Lover and his Mistress' and 'Of Matrimony'³⁸. The nearest we get to frivolous subjects in the Low Dutch context is in dialogues like 'To go see a Play' (SMITH 1752). Other examples may be found among some of the lively phrases in BERLAIMONT 1576 and even in Erasmus's Latin dialogues which were peppered with deliberate insult (exaggeration as a well-tried teaching ploy!):

38 A similar attitude is expressed in Berry's *La Vraie Méthode* (1788) 'Besides some discourses are too familiar, not fit to be put into a young gentleman's hands, much less a young lady's, having likewise deviated very much in their Dialogues from the idiom of the English tongue' (quoted in Kelly 1976 122)

V. *Good day, you traveller's nightmare.*

R. *And good day to you, you glutton, epitome of greed, gobbler of good cooking.*

V. *My deepest respects, you enemy of all virtue.*

R. *Pleased to meet you, you shining example of uprightness.*

V. *Good morning, you fifteen-year-old hag.*

R. *Delighted, you eighty-year-old schoolgirl.*

(Erasmus, *Colloquiorum Liber* 1524, quoted in Kelly 1976:121)

In a learning context dialogues could be used in a number of ways. Since translations were always provided, they might be studied privately; this did not of course tie in with the nature of these exchanges, but it would guide the student in his study of the language in its practical applications. They might also be read out with fellow learner(s), a teacher or a native speaker to practise pronunciation and fluency, or as a first step towards putting them to memory. They could also be very useful as oral or written translation exercises. In describing Holyband's practice of teaching French in sixteenth century London Howatt writes:

'Each episode provided the basic material for a lesson. The text was read aloud and repeated until the pupils had a thorough grasp of the pronunciation and could produce the sentences fluently. A good pronunciation was one of Holyband's chief aims .. Next, the children practised the text in writing, following the 'double-translation' method made famous by Ascham 'Children, turn your lessons out of French into English, and then out of English into French' By the end of the lesson, they would probably know the text by heart.'

(Howatt 1984:24)

A similar approach was suggested by D(h)uez in his *Guidon* of 1639, also for learners of French, but his time for speakers of German: cover up the German text, translate the French original into German, then the other way round; learn the dialogues by heart in daily practice (cf. Streuber 1914:65). This practice might be criticised, as was done by C.Marcel in the nineteenth century, by saying that 'dialogues, like extracts learned by rote, teach to recite, not to converse' (quoted in Kelly 1976:122). A similar note had been struck much earlier by Festeau in his French textbook for speakers of English (first edition 1667), who obviously speaks as an experienced teacher:

'I have found by experience that those who have learned them' (i.e. the phrases) 'were able afterwards to translate French into English, with the aid of a dictionary and I do maintain that it is not necessary to learn such abundance of Dialogue by heart, it is enough to read and English them, and next to that explain them from English into French, and so doing the words and phrases do insensibly make an impression in the memory and the discreet scholar goeth forward with a great deal of ease'

However, he advocates a different approach for children. It is useful to quote him in full on this point, as the distinction between children and adults is sometimes reflected not only in the teaching methods but also in the materials (cf. BEYER 1662, VAN BEMMELEN 1793, spelling books):

'As for young children I yield that it is good they should continue the Dialogues: but after they have learned short phrases, they must of necessity learn long ones, otherwise they could never attain to the capacity of joyning words together. Beside when a master doth teach his scholar, he must not ask him a whole long phrase at once, he must divide it in parts according to the distinction of points. As for instance, if I will ask this long phrase of a child: *Quand on a gagné une fois / le jeu autre insensiblement / en esperance de gagner davantage. I will ask him at three several times.'*

In this way dialogues could also be put to the guided training of oral communication. As a prop the texts sometimes provided alternative answers for the learner to choose from, much like the substitution tables in some present-day schoolbooks. This practice is again quite old; BERLAIMONT 1576 has examples of it:

A. *What gentilman is that?*
 B. *It is the*
 noblest
 the hardest
 the most honest
 the wisest
 the richest
 the most humble
 the most courteouse
 the most liberall of the country.
 (BERLAIMONT 1576, cf. Verdeyen 1926:97b)

or:

I pray you
Give me / Bring me
some whute bread
a bu of bread
butters
the loaf
a small loaf
a penny loaf
 (Mauger 1653, ed. 1667:200, loosely copied in HELDEREN 1675a)

or:

(dialogue entre un gentilhomme et une Demoiselle qui apprend le français)
 A. *Mademoiselle, vostre serviteur.*
 B. *Monsieur, vostre servante.*
 A. *Comment vous portez-vous?*
 B. *Fort bien, Dieu mercy.*
 A. *Comment se porte Monsieur vostre père?*
 B. *Il se porte fort bien, Dieu mercy.*
 A. *Comment se porte Mademoiselle vostre mère?*
 B. *Elle se porte bien, Dieu mercy.*
 A. *J'en sus bien aise.*
 B. *Je vous remercie.*
 A. *Comment se porte Monsieur vostre Cousin?*
 B. *J'espère qu'il se porte bien.*
 A. *Comment se porte Madame vostre Cousine?*
 B. *Je croy qu'elle se porte bien.*
 A. *Comment de porte Monsieur vostre Oncle?*
 B. *Il ne se porte pas bien.*
 A. *Comment se porte Mademoiselle vostre Soeur?*
 B. *Elle ne se porte pas bien.*
 (Mauger 1653, ed. 1667:395)

or in semi-dialogues like this one:

*Why do you not rise?
 Sir, I'm rising.
 You must rise earlier, you are too lazy.
 Why do you not answer me, when I call you?
 I did not hear you
 Then you Sleep very soundly.
 Make a Fire
 Warm my Shirt.
 Run to the Laundress.
 You must be more carefull.
 You have no care of me.
 Have you been at the Washer Woman's?
 Is my Linnen clean?
 Where are my Slippers [sic]?
 Have you cleaned my Shoes?
 Make clean my Cloaths,
 Call the Taylor to me,
 Bring me some water,
 Do not tarry,
 Why have you tarried so long?
 Bid the Cook come up,
 Bid the Coachman put the Horses to the Coach,
 You must be more diligent,
 Comb my hair,
 (SMITH 1752, ed. 1757:306/7, dialogue xi)*

Alternatives like these are also found among the phrases, but these were probably meant to be learned by heart (see 5.2.4 above).

The dialogues in the Low Dutch textbooks were almost without exception copied from foreign sources. The practice of copying learning material was by no means uncommon (cf. section on 'borrowing', 5.5 below), but it is disappointing to find that in all those 300 years hardly any original dialogue material had been written by the textbook writers for Low Dutch learners of English. This fact alone goes to prove that these writers had a limited teaching experience, since the skill of dialogue writing seems to have been the prerogative of experienced and committed teachers, cf. the examples of De Berlaimont, Mauger, Festeau, Miège. It could also point to the slight importance attached by them to the use of dialogues in a learning context, as a result of which the conversations were added almost dutifully but without much conviction. At any rate, whether through incapacity or indifference, the harvest of original dialogues is poor and is brought in mainly by teachers of French who happened to be involved in ELT on the side. One such teacher was De Berlaimont, who did not himself teach English that we know of, but whose seven dialogues played an important part in the ELL scene (cf. Ch. 6.2). Another example is Beyer, whose *Vestibule* of 1662 contains interesting practice material for (young) beginners, including 24 short 'Childrens Dialogues' (pp. 31-59). This material, he tells us in the preface, should be used before tackling his more ambitious *La vraye Instruc-*

tion (1661); some of it - 'quelques rudiments', probably the dialogues - had been published at an earlier date but now appeared with some revisions and a new English part ('mais apres quelque reformation & apres l'addition par dessus de l'Anglois'). He also added that this material was only a selection of what was available at his school: 'Au reste l'intention n'a point été de rapporter tous les discours [sic] qui se tiennent à l'Escole, mais seulement les plus communs'. Since Beyer entered in the 'Familiar discours' some information about one of his relatives (pp. 70-71) and about his own village (pp. 106-108), we have proof of his capacity to write original material and may assume that this also applied to (some of) his dialogues. Here is an example:

Vingt & quatre Dialogues puerils

Dialogue I.
André, Bernard

- A. *Quelle heure est-il?*
B. *Il est sept heures.*
A. *Il nous faut aller coucher.*
B. *Je n'ay point de sommeil.*

XXIV. Childrens Dialogues

Dialogue I.
Andrew, Bernard

- A. *What a clock is it?*
B. *It is seven a clock.*
A. *We must goe to sleepe.*
B. *I am not sleepeie.*

XXIV. Kinder-Ge spraken

I. Gespreck.
Andries, Bernard

- A. *Wat uer is 't?*
B. *Het is seven uren.*
A. *Wy moeten gaen slapen.*
B. *Ik heb geen vaek.*

Another example of an original dialogue may be the conversation 'Between an English-man, an [sic] a Flemish-man' at the end of ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICAM c1742:65-68 about money, coins and so on. Holtrop may also have tried his hand at dialogue writing, at least in the three dialogues at the end of his textbook of 1780 'Between two School-fellows', 'Between a Master of a Ship and a Broker' and 'Between a Merchant and his Clerks, about some Transactions', which have not been traced back to another source, whereas the preceding 24 dialogues were copied from Boyer & Miège 1718, SMITH 1752 and perhaps also SEWEL 1705. And dialogues 4 and 5 in ENSELL 1797:252-261 contain detailed descriptions of Rotterdam, which again may betray their originality.

5.2.6 Letters

Letters were invariably part of the ELL textbooks in the Low Dutch area before 1800. They were presented with proper layout, almost as standard letters to be copied by prospective users (see Figure 7, p. 145). The demand for letter writing in English was not such that separate books about it had to be written, as was the case for French: for this language the learners could make use of special manuals or *secrétaires* circulating in the Low

Mr. EDWARD BLACK,

London the 7 Jan. 1757.

SIR!

HAVING establish'd myself in this city, and my intention being to serve any Gentlemen that think proper to employ me, in buying or selling Goods, or in procuring Insurances, or any thing else, and being acquainted with your good Character, and that you have it often in your power to employ a House in this city; I make bold to address these few lines to you, with a tender of my best Services: be sure that what ever you think proper to commit to me, shall be executed with the utmost Zeal for your interest; and as for my Character, & fund to promote my business, I shall not enlarge upon that, as you may get proper information about it by any body here. I Remain with Sincere Esteem

Sir!

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

DAVID CLARCK.

De

De Heer EDWARD BLACK,

London den 7 Jan. 1757;

Myn HEER!

MYzelve in deze Stad hebbende terneer gezet, en myn voornemen zynde om een iegelyk die goedvind my te gebruiken, te bedienen in het koopen of verkoopen van Goederen, of in het bezorgen van Assurantien, of eenige andre zaek, en Uw Ed. Character my bewaalt zynde, en dat Uw Ed. het zeer dikwyls in Uw Ed. vermogen hebt om een Huis in deze Stadt te gebruiken; Neme ik de vryheid deze weinige regelen Uw Ed. toe te schikken, met eene aanbieding van myne beste diensten: Zyt verzekert, wat Uw Ed. ooit goedvind my aen te bevelen, zal worden uitgevoerd met den uitersten yver voor Uw Ed. intress. Aengaende myne gesteltenisse en Kapitaal om myne zaken voort te zetten, Ik zal daer over my niet uitbreiden, dewyle Uw Ed. daarvan behoorlyk bericht kan bekomen by een iegelyk alhier. Ik blyve met oprechte aching

Myn Heer!

Uw Ed. D. W. en geboorz. Dienaer.

DAVID CLARCK.

Bis

De

Countries from as early as the sixteenth century, including the *Secrétaire critique* from Pielat (1680). Neither was letter writing presented as an art in itself, a practice that is expertly illustrated by Mauger in his Fr-En *Les Lettres de Mauger écrites sur Divers Sujets* of 1671 (in *BNP). The letter sections in the Low Dutch textbooks used to serve a practical purpose.

Letters could be personal or commercial³⁹. Both types were usually included, but the commercial ones were never missing; and if they were, as in SMITH 1752, they were quickly supplied in a second edition (in this case: 1758). This consistent interest in commercial letters is a typical characteristic of the Low Dutch textbooks not encountered in other language areas to such a degree. It is confirmed by the frequent presence of additional information about weights and measures, 'Words of most use Amongst the Merchants', abbreviations, tables of coins and money, contractions used in writing alone, and so on. These sections must have been of practical value to their readers and may have been a major incentive to consult the books.

The style of almost all the letters was formal, in accordance with the general idea that the written language should be once removed from colloquial speech. The degree of formality varied to a certain extent, but there was a striking difference between the formal tone of the letters and the informal one in the phrases and dialogues, illustrated by e.g. the length of the sentences and the distance between writer and reader created by the use of bookish words. This applied both to personal and commercial letters, particularly the latter because they included fixed formulae. In personal letters it could become almost ritualistic:

(from a son to his father)

Loving and deare father, after myne humble duty remembered to you and to my beloved mother, you may hereby understand that I am at present in health & prosperity God be praised, & do greatly desire to know how it is with you. I have of late written unto you two or three several letters, but have as yet received no answer from you, whereath' (sic) 'I marvaile greatly, not knowing what may be the reason of it, wherefore my mynd is in great perplexaty for you fearing least some evill or misfortune hath happened to you, which you wil not let me know of.
(SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, ed. 1663:198)

or:

(a letter of excuse)

Sir,

Through multiplicity of business, I am forced to untreat you, to bear with my brevity, though withal I do assure you, that I will give you answer, so soon as I am at leisure, to all that you have proposed, in your last five weeks Letters,

Your assured Friend,

Thomas Fox

(EVANS 1757, ed. 1778:388)

³⁹ The ELL textbooks did not contain sections such as 'Letters Galantes, Et autres Déclarations d'amour à une Demoiselle', as in P.Marn's *Nouvelle Méthode* (cf. edition 1790 in *UBA).

Sometimes, reply letters were added to approach real life situations as closely as possible. Fictitious names were used with suitable translations in Low Dutch even for surnames, as was the custom at the time (John Iackson - Jan Jackson, William Goodman - Willem Goetman, William Busybody-Willem Busybody); in other cases initials were preferred. The dates used in the letters were often close to the date of publication of the textbook itself; if the letters were copied, this and the place of publication were often points for alteration. The dating may thus be used to fix time of publication of the textbooks with a certain degree of accuracy: in the case of *The English Schole-Master* the latest date is 11 September 1646 (last letter), so it may be assumed that the book was published in the last quarter of that year; all the dates in Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* are late in 1676 or in the years before it, but there is one letter dated 1 January 1677 (Part II, p.144)⁴⁰, which makes the printing of this part of the book in 1677 a likely assumption.

Commercial letters came in several kinds. They might contain descriptions of commercial activities as letters of advice, consultation etc., drawn up in free language; there were also the formal letters themselves, written in the set phrases of those particular communications. The latter kind was represented in many different forms and in variable quantities: there were bills of lading (after the Dutch and English manner), assignations, bills of exchange, clearings of account, bonds, obligations, contracts and (in EVANS 1757, ed. 1778) a set of bills, bankers notes, book debts and letters of credit.

All in all the letters were of considerable relevance; they took up quite some space (more than 100 pages in EVANS 1757, mostly his own) and deserve our attention more than has been done in the literature so far.

5.2.7 Vocabularies

The word 'vocabulary', 'vocabular' or even 'dictionary' (Du. *vocabulaar*, *woordenboekje* or *vertaalboekje*⁴¹) was used as a count noun to denote 'list of words'. These lists contained English words and their translations in Low Dutch and other languages. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the word is sometimes also found to be used as an umbrella term for all the practical language material, as in De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare* (c1530), *The Great Vocabuler* (1639) and in the title page of Part II of HILLENIIUS 1664,

40 The Dutch letter has : London primo January 177⁶₇, the English one: 'London January the first 167⁶'. Apart from the wrong first 7 in the Dutch date, the difference reflects the new and old style of the calendar (cf. Ch. 6.4).

41 In HILLENIIUS 1690:193, an unusual translation.

where 'vocabulary' occurs in this sense⁴². In the eighteenth century it appeared in the title of *A Vocabulary English, Dutch and French* (c1742), a manual containing word lists but also dialogues and brief notes on the pronunciation of letters. Throughout the whole period vocabularies in the proper sense of 'word lists' were included in many textbooks as pocket dictionaries, for the convenience of students. They were meant to be learned by heart or consulted upon occasion. They came in two main types: alphabetic and nomenclator.

Alphabetic vocabularies contained words followed by a single translation and selected without any clear guiding principle, that is: they did not link up with other material in the same textbook - dialogues, texts, etc. - nor did they usually deal with one particular field. The one exception is the Appendix in HILLENUS 1664, a glossary of 31 pages in which the untranslated Dutch and English words of the first 15 sections in Part I were rendered into the other language. But this was unusual.

A popular alphabetic vocabulary in the Low Dutch textbooks was a 71 page list starting with these words (see also Figure 8, p. 149):

to Abandon	Verlaten
to Abase	Vernederen
Abash't	Verbaast
to Abate	Verminderen
an Abbat	een Abt
to Abbreviate	Verkorten
to Abhor	Verfoeyen
to Abide	Blijven / verblijven
Abject	Verworpen
to Abjure	Verzweeren
Ablative	Af-nemer
Able	Machtigh
to Abolish	Te niete doen
Abominable	Afgrijsselijck
Abortive	Misboren
Above	Boven
to Abound	Overvloejen
About	Om / omtrent,

taken from RICHARDSON 1677 and copied, with minor alterations, in SEWEL 1705⁴³, PELL 1735a, VOCABULARY c1742 and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b. It appears to be a selection from Hexham's En-Du dictionary of 1675, conveniently added because it happened to be around, at least in the case of Richardson, who wrote that his 'Vocabulary' was 'freed from many faults in the former' (cf. Ch. 6.4 under 'sources').

42 At least, in the Leyden copy of HILLENUS 1664, not in e.g. that of the Royal Library at The Hague

43 Editions from 1724 have a new Dutch-English vocabulary, a curious alteration discussed in Smith forthc. The En-Du list was retained in Sewel's Low Dutch guides (cf. ed. 1760 in *UBA)

A V O C A B U L A R.

Een WOORDEN-BOECK.

Ofte *An* weid by de *Engelsche* gebruykt voor een voostellige Artijckel, en beteekent een, als a *Man* een *Mensch*, *an Arm* een *Arm*.

A B

A Bindon *Der*
laten.
10 Abase *Derne-*
deren.
Abash't *Derbaasf*.
10 Abate *Derminde-*
ren.
an Abbat *een Abt*.
10 Abbreviate *Derkort-*
ten.
10 Abhor *Derfoepen*.
10 Abide *Blijven/ber-*
stijven.
Abiect *Derwoopen*.
10 Abjure *Derzweeren*.
Ableuve *Af-nemer*.
Able *Machtigh*.
10 Abolish *Te nucte*
doen.
A on mble *Afgriffen-*
lych.
Above *Mishoren*.
Above *Doben*.
10 Absound *Overbloe-*
sen.
About *Om/ourent*.

A B

Abroad *Buyten*.
Abrogate *Teniet doen*.
Abrupt *Afgrbroken*.
Absent *Afweert/afwe-*
sende.
10 Absolve *Ontsaan*.
Absolutely *Absolute-*
lych.
10 Abstain *Onthouden*.
an Abstract *een kragt*
begrip.
10 Abstract *Uyt tree-*
ken.
Absurd *Onbetamelik*.
Abundance *Overtuot*.
10 Abuse *Mishuyphen*.
10 Accept *Kannemen*.
Acceptable *Luinghe-*
naam.
Access *Toegangh/ac-*
ces.
an Accident *een Toc-*
hal.
Acclamation *Tocroe-*
punge.

to Ac-

A C

10 Accomplish *Dolbryen-*
gen.
an Accord *een Accoord/*
overtenhominge.
According to *Dolgens/*
na.
10 Account, accompt *of*
esteem Achten.
an Account *een keet-*
heningh.
10 Accuse *Beschuldi-*
gen.
10 Accustom *Gewen-*
nen.
an Ache *of pain Pijn*.
head-ache *hoof-*
pijn. tooth-ache
taantpijn/Sec.
10 Acknowledge *Er*
kennen.
an Acorn *een Aker*.
10 Acquaint *Bekent*
maken.
Acquittance *Gemeent-*
same ken nisse.
10 Acquit *Ontlasten*.
an Acquittance *een*
Quittance.
an Act *of Aken een Ke-*
ker ofte Moegen
(Lants).
an Act *een Ordinantie*.
10 Act *Doen*.
as Action *een Actie*

A C

handelingh.
Acute *Scherp/subtyl*.
10 Add *By-doen*.
an Adder *een Edder*.
Addicted *Begeven/ge-*
negen.
Addition *By-boeging*
ge.
10 Adhere *Kankleben*.
10 Adjourn *Uytstellen*
tot een sehere tydt.
10 Admire *Derwonder-*
ren.
10 Admit *Toelaten*.
10 Admonish *Derma-*
nen.
10 Adore *Kanbieden*.
10 Adorn *Decorieren*.
10 Advance *Derheffen*.
Advantage *Doozdel*
avantagie.
10 Adventure *Abentur-*
eren.
an Adverb *een By-*
woort.
an Adversary *een Te-*
gen-partij.
Adversity *Tegenspoet*.
Advice *Kraat/abbys*.
10 Advise *Beraden/ab-*
bysieren.
Adultery *Overspel*.
Affable *Beleef/spreek-*
saam.
H 2 Affec-

12. Figure 8 First page of the vocabulary ('Abandon, Abase, Abash't') in Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica*, 1677.

Nomenclators (or classified vocabularies) consisted of lists of words⁴⁴ arranged as word fields under appropriate headings. These headings could be of various kinds:

1. the parts of speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.: as in *SEPTEM LINGUARUM* 1540 (book ii), *BEYER* 1661, *ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA* c1742 (nouns), *SMITH* 1752, *HOLTROP* 1780, *POCKET DICTIONARY* 1793a/b, *ENSELL* 1797, often subdivided as in 3 below;
2. the number of syllables, i.e. words of one syllable, two syllables etc. (hence a syllabary): as in *HELDEREN* 1675b, *ENSELL* 1797; also in spelling books and pronunciation sections;
3. semantic fields: these were the most common by far. Nomenclators of this type usually started with

'Of God'
'Of the sayntes'
'Of the Pater noster and Ave Maria'
'Of the deuel, of hel and of purgatory'
 (SEPTEM LINGUARUM 1540, book 1)

but went on to more down-to-earth subjects like:

'Of tyme, yeare, moneth, weke and daye'
'Of man and of all parties of hum'
'Of barne and come'
 (ibid).

Other possible headings were:

'Of the World in General'
'Of the Elementis'
'Of the Stars'
'Holy days, and Remarkable times of the Year'
'A Collection of Verbs, to Express the Common Actions'
'To take one's Pleasure'
'Being Sick'
'The sounds of Beasts'
 (all from *SMITH* 1752)

The number of headings varied enormously and could go up to 99, as in *EVANS* 1757.

As words are crucial in language learning, the vocabularies enjoyed a certain amount of popularity because of their accessibility, both to look up words in and to commit them to memory. The lists were frequently copied and used over long periods of time. As we do not know how they had been drawn up in the first place, their quality may well have been very uneven. In the eighth dialogue of his *Nouvelle Grammaire* (1735a) Pell writes this

⁴⁴ Junius's *Nomenclator* (1567) is really a dictionary arranged in this way, providing definitions of the Latin head words and translations into the other languages

comment:

'The greatest evil I see in it is, they' (i.e. incompetent teachers) 'give us Vocabularys, where above half the words are out of use; & 'tis impossible for a stranger to discern the good from the bad.'
(PELL 1735.49)

Comments like this, which have been made about vocabulary books of any time, call for caution in using the lists as testimonies of contemporary language use.

5.2.8 Exercises and texts

Many of the exercises commonly found in coursebooks nowadays do not occur in the early ELL textbooks before 1800. Our practice material was simply not theirs: gap filling, sentences for translation, matching, comprehension questions, true / false questions, substitution tables, picture composition, fill-in tables and so on - none of this was used at all. In fact, the idea of practising in language learning seemed to be restricted to memorising, translation and (oral) imitation. The material for these activities was provided in the phrases, dialogues and texts; the vocabulary and even grammar sections were sometimes also used as practice material, to be learned by heart.

The practical material always followed the grammar section⁴⁵, so the learner was expected first to familiarise himself with the basic rules of pronunciation and grammar before starting on language in context. The material after the grammar section was often presented as material to illustrate the preceding rules and to practise these rules with: SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 tells the learner that it would no doubt be profitable for him to practise himself in reading and memorising the texts, phrases, proverbs and other discourses ('soo sal 't hem ongetwijffelt profijtelijsck zijn / dat hy sich in 't lesen ende van buyten leeren der redenen / phrasen / spreekwoorden / en andere volgende discoursen oeffent', p.36), repeated further at the head of the subsequent sections; Richardson presents his practice material as 'useful for general Instruction, and for the practising the former Rules' (*Anglo-Belgica* 1677, Part II:2) and 'usefull for learning both the

45 This is not the case in POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a/b, where the grammar was probably added later as Part III, this would explain the misleading title of this full-fledged textbook. In his *L'Anti-Grammaire* of 1673 for Dutch learners of French Pielat deliberately reverses the order by first offering easy dialogues and then the grammar. 'au lieu que les Grammanens accablent les esprits de leur disciples avec le grand nombre de leur preceptes, exceptions et sousexceptions, je ne fai que recreer les esprits, en ne les occupant que sur des exemples, à l'occasion desquels ils peuvent sans peine former eux-mesme des preceptes' (preface second edition 1681). But he was an exception.

Languages' (ibid.:23); Smith ends his grammar section by simply observing that it is easier to learn through practice than rules ('En om the sluyten zal ik maar alleen seggèn, dat het lichter is door 't Gebruik dan door Regelen te leeren', SMITH 1752:95).

There are very few examples of material explicitly presented as exercises for points of grammar and they are mainly illustrations (not: exercises) of that particular point. One such example is a small exercise of verb forms, in which the use of tenses, moods, questions, negatives, etc. is illustrated in short sentences at the end of Part I in HILLENIIUS 1664, copied in RICHARDSON 1677; another is 'an application upon the auxiliary verbs with the negative and the adverbs of place' in HELDEREN 1675a:30-37 in his section of phrases⁴⁶; a third is an illustration of comparative forms tucked away in a dialogue of EVANS 1757 (p. 218 in ed. 1778). Drill-like practice material is occasionally inserted in dialogues and phrases, but on the whole practice material of this kind was extremely rare: it was felt that dialogues and texts would satisfy the demand for grammar practice, so that other forms of it could be dispensed with.

Pronunciation and spelling, on the other hand, were fruitful areas for practice. Nonsense syllables were used for this purpose in WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586, SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, RICHARDSON 1677; also long lists of words for the various letters/sounds, lists of homophones or homographs, words of one/two/three, etc. syllables, and so on (cf. especially RICHARDSON 1677 and HOLTROP 1780). Spelling books were of course specifically written for the purpose and since they were used by children they contained a wealth of exercises - cf. 5.4 below.

Texts served a number of purposes. Apart from their instructive, religious or moralistic qualities they were also included as reading material and for translation work. The latter function was of considerable importance and increasingly so towards the end of the eighteenth century. An early example is Walraven's translation of Whetstone's *Honourable Reputation*, offered as a way to learn English or Dutch: 'you shal fynde there / bothe a plaine pathwaye / howe to understande: and a true maner / howe to learne: by and by our Dutche / even as I my self / and other mo / there within mentioned / did the like in your English speache' (WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586: 10). Similarly BEMMELEN 1794 and THOMAS 1799 contain graded En-Du

46 *Have you any Children at London?*

I have three.

Have you any at Amsterdam?

I have none there.

Has the King of France a gallant army?

He has a most powerful one.

Has the Duke of Tuscany any money?

He has a great deal.

texts for translation work, or monolingual Du or Fr texts to be translated into English (cf. note at BEMMELEN 1794 in Appendix 1a). The English text at the end of POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b about the principal towns in Austrian Flanders and Brabant was included 'for those who wish to translate the English into French or Flemish' (title page). As was pointed out before, other bilingual material in a textbook could also be used for translation work, but the texts perhaps more than any.

A vast source of practice material were the scholarly and literary works that learners might wish to read in the original. For some learners they will have been the main reason to start on a study of English, especially in the eighteenth century. Frequently, learners were advised to read books as a good way to improve their English. Most of these work circulated in translation; however, 'the style of many of the most noted English authors, such as Milton, Shakespeare & the *Spectator* is so very different & so very difficult to be expressed in another Language, that no translation can be given of the works of those Authors, so as to preserve the beauties of their respective Originals, which has given occasion to Foreigners, who have read translations of these Books, & have been ignorant of the Language, to form ideas of the works of these Authors, greatly inferior to their merit' (POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b, preface). Examples of translated works have been included in Appendix 1b; among them is one simplified reader, *The History of Robinson Crusoe, abridged*, which probably appeared in around 1800. English simplified readers of this kind became available in the nineteenth century as reading material for school children, but did not circulate much earlier.

5.2.9 Other sections

Most textbooks and manuals contained a variety of additional material and information of marginal value to the contents of the book. Some examples have been listed below in alphabetical order.

abbreviations: these were frequently included and consisted of contracted verb forms ("can't, sha'n't, 't will" in EVANS 1757, p.121 in ed. 1778) or short word forms used as writing conventions (e.g. 'y^r, viz., La^{PP}' [for 'Ladyship'] in RICHARDSON 1677:330), but not usually acronyms. They were inserted in the grammar section, or at the end of the book, or in some other suitable place. HELDEREN 1675b has a two page list of 'nicknames', i.e. shortened first names, after four pages of common abbreviations, at the end of the book. SEWEL 1705 has 'A Table of Contractions Used in Writing, but scarce ever in Print in our Age' (4 pp. in Part III). Assorted abbreviations also occur in PEYTON 1764, HOLTROP

1780 and ENSELL 1797.

advertisements: advertisements in the sense of 'public announcements of news' were sometimes added as personal communications by writer or printer. Evans makes a point of identifying his occupation (boarding-school proprietor ['kostschoolhouder']), the address of his school ('on the Glashaven, Rotterdam') and even the target group ('chiefly intended for British Youth in the Netherlands: also such of the Netherdutch Youth, as intend to receive instruction in the English Tongue') on the title pages and in the prelims of his two books; he also adds 'by the Author, with whom Youth may Board, is Taught, Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, Navigation, Geography &c.' (EVANS 1747, ed. 1778 p. iv). This type of identification, although perfectly acceptable, is unusual in the ELL textbooks, even with those writers who were teachers themselves; in some cases (Beyer, Hillenius) it is included in the preface.

Advertisements of a different kind are found in BOMMENAER 1738 and SMITH 1752, who appended their signature to a short notice in the front of their books to ensure the authenticity of their work, a practice taken over by the printer Hendriksen in the fourth edition of SMITH 1752 (1786). The value of this initiative is subject to severe doubt, as Smith's textbook is an extreme example of sheer copy work (cf. Ch. 6.5) and V.d. Bommenaer's manual is extremely unreliable. It may have helped the printers to protect their products, as they failed to receive a privilege.

In some eighteenth century editions book announcements were added by the printers, in the front or back of the book. They contain useful information for us today about books for ELL and related subjects which are sometimes no longer available. One such list occurs before the preface of Evans's spelling book (1808), with a number of unusual titles, included in Appendices 1a and 1b; another one appears in the front of HOLTROP 1824; a third on the back of RUDIMENTS c1804, which has proved to be useful in establishing the date of publication of this undated manual (cf. Appendix 1a).

appendices: appendices were rare in this kind of material. Hillenius called the glossary for the first 15 sections of his Part I an appendix (HILLENIOUS 1664, pp. 1-31 after PART II). In PEYTON 1764 (ed. 1779) all the practice material is collected in five appendices, after the grammar section.

dedications: dedications were a useful asset to a book. They served to lend some dignity to the work and they might also bring in some financial

benefit. Not many ELL textbook writers in the Low Dutch area managed to get one, however. Walraven dedicated his work to the magistrates of his native Hoorn, Hexham to 'his honored, worthy, and much respected Friend, Sir Bartholmew Van Wouw, Knight, Councillour at Law', Beyer to 'Son Altesse Guillaume III, Prince d'Orange' and Smith to the magistrates of Utrecht, where he lived. Sewel failed to acquire William III's or William Penn's patronage for his dictionary of 1691, as we know (cf. his biography in Ch. 4), but dedicated his second edition (1708) to 'Nicolao Muys van Holy & Gulielmus Arnoldo', while the third was dedicated to 'Joachim van Gent, voornaam koopman te Amsterdam'.

Laudatory poems may also be grouped under this heading. They were written in Latin, Dutch or English, extolling the merits of author and book in often flowery language. WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586 has a Dutch sonnet by I.Dousa with its Latin translation and an English poem from the hand of Thomas Basson; HILLENIUS 1664 is praised and recommended in Dutch by 'T.v.C.' in a poem addressed to 'Mr. Francois Hillenius, Engelsche en Duitsche School-Meester, Residerende tot Rotterdam'. FENNING 1793 contains an assortment of recommendations from several admirers.

errata: it was the concern of both printer and author to present the learners with a perfect text. Errors of whatever kind were of course out of place in books for learning purposes. The point received a good deal of attention throughout the period, not only in first editions through the inclusion of lists of errata, but especially in subsequent reprints, which were often said to be improved, freed from errors, much amended and so on. Usually, these corrections had to do with spelling and printing errors, but sometimes also with language or content. Throughout the long period between 1500 and 1800 the two languages were subject to considerable changes and updating was therefore a matter of course. It took place in various forms and was usually explicitly mentioned as an attractive feature.

Evans (1747, preface) noted that printing errors in books of this nature were damaging ('verderfelyk') particularly for learners, as they (i.e. the learners) were apt to acquire the wrong pronunciation, get confused between right and wrong, take a dislike to the book and be hampered in their efforts to learn the language properly. Smith assured the readers of the first and second editions of his *Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkonst* that all the mistakes in the English language had been corrected; in the fourth edition a sentence was added for Low Dutch to the same effect - the corrections here were indeed considerable: 8 on the first page of the grammar alone and many more to follow.

So, when it came to corrections, the emphasis was mostly on the formal aspects of spelling and vocabulary. This was expressed in phrases like: 'revised and corrected' (HOLTROP 1791, title page), freed from many hundreds 'of gross errors ('op nieus oversien ende ghebetert van vele honderde grove fouten', VOCABULER 1639, title page), 'the gross faults in other little Books of this sort already extant; in some of which I can compute about three thousand, in others more' (RICHARDSON 1677, preface). How serious these errors could be, will appear from a careful study of SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 and particularly BOMMENAER 1738, two works which not surprisingly contained lists with *errata* in their first editions. The latter manual was much concerned with spelling (!); it does not only have a curious title - *A Short though very Necessary Rules of the English Language* -, it is also riddled with spelling, translation and grammar errors, in spite of the claim that it was composed 'according the Nowadays being used of the Niceness writers of Oxford and Cambridge' (preface); the seriousness of these errors appears also in many of its translations, which are often so clumsy that one wonders how they could have crept in:

allowd - tegenstaan
 bawld - uytshreewen
 berry - bessen
 buoy - op helpen (from 'to buoy up?')
 Dane - Deenemarken
 etc.

EVANS 1747 uses similar lists, but his translations are impeccable.

It was mainly in these formal respects that textbooks and manuals were corrected in their successive editions. Their contents changed very little over the years. At most new material was added, as e.g. the familiar phrases and 41 dialogues in RICHARDSON 1689, some commercial letters in SMITH 1758, the omission of the grammar in Evans's spelling book of 1778, the considerable additions ('aanmerkelyke vermeerderingen') in PEYTON 1779, perhaps also the addition of a grammar to POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a/b, and so on. An exception has to be made for the (pocket) dictionaries; they were frequently and substantially revised, corrected, improved and updated (cf. 5.3 below).

privileges: in the Dutch Republic privileges⁴⁷ were granted to protect the rights of printers and booksellers belonging to a guild; authors could also

47 The subject of privileges in the Low Countries before 1800 has not been studied in great detail. Much of the information here is based on notes in Van Eeghen 1978, vol. v:31-34, 193-236, which also contains references to other sources' including Bodel Nyenhuis 1892.

apply for them, but this was rare⁴⁸. The full text had to be included in the publication concerned, but this did not always happen. Privileges were conveyed by either the Provincial States or by the States General, with different legal validities throughout the years, particularly in the Province of Holland, where a rivalry had developed between the two authorities, who both had their seat at The Hague. Another accepted practice of protecting their trade was for printers to advertise their publications in one of the popular local *couranten* (cf. Hoftijzer 1987:75). The number of privileges was not too large and seems to have decreased in the eighteenth century. It is not clear whether this was due to indifference on the part of the booktrade, a critical attitude by the authorities, or both. From 1715 - but also sometimes previous to it - no privileges were given on schoolbooks, i.e. books used in schools recognised by the local governing bodies; this rule did not apply to the private sector to which most ELL belonged; but few titles in Appendix 1a have in fact a privilege. Offenders could be penalised; if a fine was imposed, one third usually went to the authorities, one third to the applicant and one third to the poor. Examples of some notorious cases are given by Van Eeghen (1978) throughout her book; she also points out that privileges were not so much valued as a safeguard against piracy, if they were that, but as the hub around which the practice of copyright turned at that time.

Copyright in the modern sense of the word did not exist and the enforcement of the few rights there were was not always successful. International agreements were even less frequent and did not seem to have had too much influence. This at any rate is the impression created by the widespread practice of borrowing in the field of language learning material (cf. 5.5 below). Privileges were not always extended after expiration of the term or they were applied for with later editions only. Some people seem to have been more particular about privileges than others: both the Leyden books from 1586 in which Basson had a hand (Appendix 1a) had a privilege; so did three of the four ELL titles published by Swart and his widow; both Evans's books have privileges for their first editions - and they were clearly used in his private school.

Swart's example may serve as an illustration. He did not apply for a privilege to his first venture into ELL: Van Heldren's *Grammar and Vocabulary* of 1675, perhaps because they were largely copied from other sources. His second publication, Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica*, has a privilege dated 3 December 1676, covering the term of the first edition

48 About examples of early privileges to translators of Fontaine Verwey 1976 88-89 and note 22 in that chapter, the same chapter deals with an interesting case of privilege 'breaking' by printers at Amsterdam in connection with the first Dutch Bible translation (pp 77-102)

and two years of the second (published in 1689 and carrying the same privilege, although dated 3 December 1677); the third edition of 1698/9 has its own privilege dated 16 October 1698. The third ELL publication from the Swart press was Sewel's dictionary of 1691; its privilege is dated 21 October 1689 and was applied for by Abigail May, Swart's widow, because the printing costs were expected to be huge and some profit-making persons ('baatsoekende menschen') might be tempted to reprint the book or have it printed abroad and sold in this country - a practice the Swarts were well familiar with. Hoftijzer (1987:193, note 62) points out that there may have been a link between this privilege and the one granted to Arnout Leers in 1672 for En-Du dictionaries in general and those by Hexham in particular. The privilege for Sewel's dictionaries was not carried over into subsequent editions, but Ter Beek's edition of 1754 has a new one dated 12 April 1754. This privilege was in fact a combined one for three linguistic editions by Sewel, i.e. his dictionary, his English textbook and his Dutch grammar. The fourth title was Sewel's popular *Compendious Guide* of 1705, which did not have a privilege but the edition of 1706 did; no other privileges were extended except for the editions of 1754 and 1761 by Ter Beek, which carry a privilege dated 12 April 1754 (as for his dictionary); this is two years after the publication of Smith's *Volkomen Engelsche Spraakkonst* at Utrecht, which contained the entire text of Sewel's grammar, a discovery that may have shocked Ter Beek into seeking protection for 'his' publication; however, the privilege was granted by the Province of Holland and West-Friesland and only extended to that province, i.e. not to Utrecht.

Out of all the titles in Appendix 1a privileges were given for:

JUNIUS 1577, dated 4 January 1576 and issued at Brussels (in the front); dated 21 February 1565 and issued at Vienna by the Emperor Maximilian II (in the back) 1565;
 BERLAIMONT 1576, dated 26 May 1575;
 WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586, dated 14 August 1586 and issued by the Earl of Leicester;
 MEURIER / BASSON 1586, dated 11 April 1586;
 HEXHAM 1672, dated 4 April 1672; also ed. 1678, dated 20 December 1678;
 RICHARDSON 1677, dated 3 December 1676; also ed. 1689, dated 3 December 1677; also ed. 1698, dated 16 October 1698;
 SEWEL 1691, dated 21 October 1689; also ed. 1754, dated 12 April 1754;
 SEWEL 1705, ed. 1706 (mentioned on title page but not included); also eds 1754 and 1761, dated 12 April 1754, which was in fact a combined privilege for Sewel's dictionary, his Dutch grammar and his English textbook;
 BUYS 1766, dated 12 April 1754 in some editions and 4 October 1768 in others. The 1768 privilege was for a period of fifteen years starting on 12 April 1769, i.e. on expiration of the 1754 privilege;
 EVANS 1747, dated 6 February 1747;
 EVANS 1757, dated 6 February 1747, issued by the Lords Mayor of Rotterdam.

tables of contents: tables of contents are a useful asset in textbooks and manuals of this nature, especially in view of the complex structure of many of them. They were not always provided. Sometimes, shortened versions of them occurred in an introductory section, as in BERLAIMONT 1576; it was more common, however, for an indication of the contents to be included in the title pages, with the double advantage of a quick reference survey and cheap advertisement. Appendix 1a contains the full text of these title pages: they tell us a great deal about structure and content of the books concerned. The texts on these title pages tended to become more detailed in the eighteenth century, as may be illustrated by e.g. FENNING 1793 and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793 a and b. A survey of all the full tables of contents occurring in the works in Appendix 1a, i.e. those which contain page references, appears in the last column of Appendix 4 under 'index'.

5.3 (*Bilingual*) dictionaries

The period between 1500 and 1800 was a time when dictionaries of many different types began to be developed and perfected. The need for them grew out of the increasing contacts between the nations and the new interest in the vernacular. Latin dictionaries were the first to appear at an advanced level, in monolingual, bilingual and multilingual editions. In the Low Dutch area these included Calepinus' extensive dictionary for Latin with translations for up to eleven languages, Junius's *Nomenclator* of 1567 with glosses for up to seven languages, Plantijn's *Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae* of 1573 with Dutch, French, Latin, and Kiliaan's *Dictionarium teutonico-latinum* (later *Etymologicum*) of 1574 with Dutch and Latin. These Latin dictionaries played a decisive role in the making of their modern language counterparts. Of these, French-Dutch dictionaries were the first to appear in the middle of the sixteenth century and included Mellema's *Dictionnaire ou Promptuaire* of 1587 (cf. Riemens 1921 for a survey of these early Fr-Du dictionaries).

Foreign language learners were at first best served, not by full-size dictionaries, but by short word lists or vocabularies, which served as pocket dictionaries and were used so intensively that few of them have remained. They were usually multi-lingual, at least for Low Dutch learners of English, who could consult works like the *Septem Linguarum* of 1540 and the *Colloques ou Dialogues* of 1576. As we saw in 5.2.7 above, these vocabularies continued to be used later on; they were often included in the larger textbooks but could also appear separately as vocabularies, dictionaries, kleyn woordboekjes, zakwoordenboekjes, etc. Examples of the latter type are

HELDEREN 1675b (bilingual, often bound together with HELDEREN 1675a), PELL 1735b and WILDEMAN 1763? (both multilingual), and probably also Ensell's bilingual vocabulary derived from ENSELL 1797. Like 'vocabulary' the word 'dictionary' was sometimes used misleadingly in the title of a textbook, as in *A New Pocket Dictionary And Vocabulary* (1793a and b), which does not contain a dictionary at all.

Bilingual English-Dutch dictionaries⁴⁹ did not appear before the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1647 Henry Hexham published an English-Dutch dictionary, followed by the Dutch-English companion part in 1648, 'at the request of diverse of my Friends, in consideration of the love and correspondencie betweene our two Nations, but principally, that there was never yet to this day any English and Netherduytch Dictionarie extant' (preface ed.1647). Its size was impressive, with 75,000 entries for the two parts, larger than any English dictionary of the seventeenth century, and its merits considerable; however, it did not prevent Sewel from starting on an entirely new venture in 1688 and finishing his *New Dictionary* in 1691, since 'the complaints of the onely one yet publick' (i.e. Hexham's) 'seem'd reasonable, and there was no hope of a better one from the same hand'. Indeed, he refused to use Hexham's dictionaries, 'which I have been so carefull to avoid borrowing any thing from, that I have never had it in my house, nor once look'd in it elsewhere, since I began to compose this' (preface). This dictionary replaced Hexham's and was to dominate the whole of the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century. It was revised twice by himself, once by Buys in 1766 'not only reviewed, and more than the half augmented, yet according to the modern spelling, entirely improved' (title page) and once by Wilcocke in 1798, who condensed it into a handy volume in two parts. The third bilingual dictionary came from Holtrop in 1789 (En-Du) and posthumously in 1801 (Du-En), largely based on Sewel but greatly improved and updated.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a new type of dictionary began to appear, which must have proved useful for many learners: the pocket dictionary or *zakwoordenboek*, as an extended form of the older vocabularies. It contained many more words than these vocabularies, with modern and economical translations. The idea was new for English but not for other languages: in the Low Countries at least Marin's *Dictionnaire Portatif* had been on the market since 1696 and it was updated in 1773, 1786 and 1787 by Holtrop. The two pocket dictionaries for Dutch and English that came out after 1790 were first published in London and both entitled *A New Pocket Dictionary of the English and Dutch languages*, one by Janson in 1795

49 Much of the information here is taken from Osselton 1973, which contains detailed notes on the bilingual dictionaries by Hexham, Sewel and Holtrop.

and the other by Wilcocke in 1811. Janson's publication also appeared in Amsterdam in the same year 'carefully revised, improved and augmented with a great many words, in both languages' (title page), in two different editions of 573 pages, and was reprinted at least three times until 1831 (cf. Appendix 1a); the Wilcocke edition does not seem to have been published in the Low Countries.

Apart from their size, how much more detailed were these dictionaries and pocket dictionaries compared to the vocabularies that preceded them? If we take the first column of Richardson's vocabulary, copied in 5.2.7 above, and set his first ten entries off against those in four En-Du dictionaries (HEXHAM 1647, SEWEL 1691, BUYS 1766, HOLTROP 1789) and two En-Du pocket dictionaries (JANSON 1795 and WILCOCKE 1798) we get the following picture:

HEXHAM 1647

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. to Abandon, put away, or forsake | - Abandonneren, verlaten ofte versaken |
| 2. to Abase or bring low | - Vermederen, verootmoedigen |
| 3. Abashed | - Beschaemt |
| 4. to Abate, or diminish | - Verminderen, ofte kleynder maken |
| 5. an Abbat | - Een Abt |
| 6. to abbreviate, abridge, or make short | - Tsamen trecken, verkorten |
| 7. to Abhorre, or detest | - Afkeer van eenigh dingh hebben, walgen, versmaden |
| 8. to Abide, or tarrie | - Blijven, Verbeyden, toeven |
| to Abide, or endure to the end | - Volharden, stantvastigh blijven |
| to abide, beare, or suffer | Lijden, verdragen |
| to abide, or stay behinde for a time | Vertoeven, verwachten, beyden op eenige plaetse voor een tijdt |
| to abide, or tarrie for | Blijven, toeven, na yemant wachten |
| to abide fast and firmly | Ergens op vast blijven staen |
| 9. ('abject' not entered, but: Abject of no estimation | Een die verworpen is door versmaetheyt) |
| 10. to Abjure | - Met eede verloochenen, ontsweeren |

SEWEL 1691

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. to Abandon | - Verlaaten, afstaan, wegdoen |
| 2. to Abase | - Vernéderen, verootmoedigen |
| 3. ('abash't' not entered, but: to Abash | Beschaamdmaaken |
| Abashing | Beschaamdmaakende) |
| 4. to Abate | - Afskorten, afslaan, afneemen, verminderen, onttrekken |
| 5. Abbat | - de Abt |
| 6. to Abbréviate | - Verkorten |
| 7. to Abhor | - Verfoeyen, een afschrik hebben, yzen |
| 8. to Abide | - Woonen, blyven, verblyven, harden of duuren, uytstaen |
| Nobody can Abide him | Niemand kan by hem duuren, |

9. *Abject*
10 *to Abjure*

Niemand kan hem lyden óf verdragen
- *Veracht, gering, snood, verworpen*
Afzweeren

BUYS 1766

(see Figure 9, pp. 164-165)

HOLTROP 1789

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>to Abándon</i> (v a. <i>to forsáke, to cast óff - to give up or óver</i>)
<i>to abándon a friend, all hope</i></p> <p><i>to abándon one'sself to pleasure to despair, to all mánner of vices &c</i></p> <p>2. <i>to Abáse</i> (v.a. <i>to hùmbler, or deprèss</i>)</p> <p>3. ('<i>abash't</i> not entered, but <i>to Abàsh</i> (v a <i>to make ashámed, to confóund, to dash</i>)</p> <p>4. <i>to Abáte</i> (v.a. & n)
[many examples given]</p> <p>5. <i>Abbot</i> (s.)</p> <p>6. <i>to Abbréviate</i> (v a <i>to abridge, to contráct, to lèssen</i>)</p> <p>7 <i>to Abhòr</i> (v a. <i>to loath, or detèst</i>)</p> <p>8. <i>Abide</i> (v.a. & n. <i>pret. abided, abóde or abid part. have abóde or abided</i>)
[many examples given]</p> <p>9. <i>Abject</i> (adj. <i>mean, dèspicable</i>)
<i>an àbject</i> (a cast-away)</p> <p>10. <i>to Abjúre</i> (v.a. <i>to renóunce or recánt</i>)
<i>to abjúre an opinion</i>
<i>to abjúre the realm</i></p> | <p>- <i>Verlaaten, loslaaten, overgeeven</i></p> <p><i>een vriend verlaaten; alle hoop opgeeven</i>
<i>zich aan 't vermaak, aan de wanhoop, aan allerlei ondeugden enz. overgeeven</i></p> <p>- <i>Vernéderen, tot onderwerping brengen, onderdrukken; de vlag strijken</i> (bij <i>Zee -l.</i>)</p> <p><i>Beschaamd, verlégen of neérslagtig maaken, verbaazen)</i></p> <p>- <i>Afkorten, verminderen enz</i></p> <p>- <i>Een Abt</i></p> <p>- <i>Verkòrten, in een korter begrip brengen</i></p> <p>- <i>Een afschuw hebben, verfoeijen</i></p> <p>- <i>Verdraagen, lyden, verduuren, uitstaan</i> (to bear, to suffer)</p> <p>- <i>Gering, verachtelijk, laag</i>
<i>een gering of verworpen mensch</i></p> <p>- <i>Afzweeren, verzaaken</i></p> <p><i>een gevoelen afzweeren</i>
<i>zich zelfs voor eeuwig uu 't rijk verbannen</i> (dit wierd eertijds door misdaadigers gedaan)</p> |
|--|---|

JANSON 1795 (ed. 1808 in "BI.) (pocket dictionary)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>Abandon</i></p> <p>2. <i>Abase</i></p> <p>3. ('<i>Abash't</i> not entered, but <i>Abash</i>)</p> <p>4. <i>Abate</i></p> <p><i>to abate the price</i>
<i>the pain begins to abate</i></p> <p>5. <i>Abbot</i></p> <p>6. <i>Abbréviate</i></p> <p>7 <i>Abhor</i></p> <p>8. <i>Abide</i></p> <p><i>no body can abide him</i></p> | <p>- <i>verlaaten, afstaan, v.</i></p> <p>- <i>vernederen, verootmoedigen, v.</i></p> <p>- <i>beschaamen, v.</i></p> <p>- <i>afkorten, afslaan, afneemen, verminderen, onttrekken;</i>
<i>den prys afslaan, of verlaagen</i>
<i>den pyn begint af te neemen</i></p> <p>- <i>Abt, m.</i></p> <p>- <i>verkorten, v.</i></p> <p>- <i>afschrikken, v.</i></p> <p>- <i>woonen, verblyven, harden, duuren, uitstaan, v</i></p> <p>- <i>niemand kan by hem duuren, niemand kan hem lyden of verdraagen</i></p> |
|---|---|

- I will abide by his judgement*
I can't abide to hear of it
 9. *Abject*
 10. *Abjure*

- ik zal aan zyn oordeel verblyven*
ik kan 'er niet van horen
 - *veragt, gering, verachtelyk, laag, adj.*
 - *afzweeren, v.*

WILCOCKE 1798 (pocket dictionary)

1. *Abandon -ed -ing*
to abandon one's self to his
lusts,
 2. *Abase -ed -ing*
 3. (*'abash't' not entered, but:*
Abash -ed -ing
 4. *Abate -ed -ing*
 5. *Abbot s.*
 6. *Abbreviate -ed -ing*
 7. *Abhor -red -ring*
 8. *Abide, abode, abiding*

nobody can abide him,

I will abide by his judgement,
I can't abide it,
to abide the first charge,

- 9 (*'abject' not entered but*
Abject -ed -ing
 10. *Abjure -ed -ing*

- *verlaaten, afstaan;*
zig aan zyne lusten overgeeven
 - *vernederen*

- beschaamen, ter neder slaan)*
 - *afkorten, verminderen*
 - *abt, kloostervoogd, m.*
 - *verkorten*
 - *verafschuwen*
 - *woonen, vertoeven, verblyven,*
volharder, duuren;
niemand kan hem lyden of
verdraagen;
ik zal in zyn oordeel berusten;
ik kan 't niet harden of verdraagen;
den eersten aanval uitstaan
 - *verwerpen)*
 - *afzweeren*

The dictionaries were used as source material for both the vocabularies and the pocket dictionaries, with minor additions and improvements. However, the later pocket dictionaries (particularly Wilcocke's) and the early dictionaries (Hexham and Sewel) were fairly similar in amount of detail - see e.g. the entry for 'abide' in Hexham and Wilcocke. The vocabularies usually had single word translations, the pocket dictionaries were more explicit by providing multiple translations and sometimes examples, the dictionaries contained even more, especially the later ones. Linguistic information - word classes, suffixes, spelling - begins to be included at the end of the eighteenth century (Holtrop, Wilcocke, Janson), but Sewel and Buys have accents for some of the Low Dutch vowel sounds. Selection remains a problem, particularly in the case of the vocabularies: why 'abash't' and not 'to abash', 'abbot' and not 'abbey', 'to abbreviate' and not 'to abridge'? Is it the arbitrary nature of any selection or were certain criteria applied in each case, criteria such as frequency, target group, complementation to other lists, ease of learning and so on?

A C O M P L E A T E N G L I S H A N D D U T C H D I C T I O N A R Y .

A. ABA.

A de eerste Letter van het Alphabet van alle Voikeren, en de eerste van de Vyf Klinkers. Zie van de onderscheidene klanken van deeze, en de overige Klank-letters: *Het beknopt Vertoog wegens de Engelsche Spraak-kunst*: in 't andere DEEL.

A. Een. Een Lédeken dat voor Naamwoorden, die met een Médeklukker beginnen, gevoegd wordt, *als*;

A Man, *Een Man.*

To do a thing, *Een zaak verrichten, iets doen.*

Ook is 't zelve in verscheidene spreekwyzen gebruikelijk, *als*;

Many a Man, *Menig een Mensch.*

So much a week, *Zo veel 's week.*

Twice a day, *Tweemaal 's daags.*

Once a year, *Eenmaal, of eens 's Jaars.*

So much a Man, *Zoo veel voor elk Mensch.*

To go a hunting, *Uit jaagen gaan.*

To be a bed, *Te bedde zyn.*

Dit Lédeken voor een Klinker, of stomme H, komende, voegt men 'er een N by, om het on-aangenaam geluid, dat 'er in twee op makander volgende afgebroken Klinkers is, te vermyden.

An Eagle, *een Arend*, An Hour, *een Uur.*

ABA.

ABAFT, *De spiegel, Het agterste van een Schip.*

ABAIANCE, *Nederbuiging, eerbiedbewyng, geboorzaamheid.*

† **ABALIENATION**, *Verreemding, overdracht van Recht.*

to **ABANDON**, *Verlaaten, afstaan, wegdoen, begeeven.*

I. DEEL.

ABA.

To abandon a friend, *Een Vriend begeeven, verlaaten.*

To abandon all hopes, *Alle hoop opgeeven.*

☞ To abandon one's self to one's lusts, *Zich aan zyne lusten overgeeven.*

Abandoned, *Verstooten, verschoven, verlaaten.*

Abandoner, *Een verlaater.*

An abandonment, *Eene verlaating, verflooting.*

Abandoning, *Verlaaterende.*

De Leezer gelieve eens vooral indagtig te zyn, dat meest alle Engelsche woorden, uitgaande in *ing*, Naamwoorden (*Nomina*), of Deelwoorden (*Participia*) zyn.

An abandoned wretch, *Een overgegeeven Deugniet, een arm verlaaten Schepzel.*

That fellow is an abandoned wrctch, *Die Karel is een overgegeeven deugniet.*

☞ She is indeed an unhappy abandoned wretch, *Zy is waarlyk een ongelukkig verlaaten Schepzel.*

ABANNA GION, } *Eene verbannging*

ABANNITION, } *voor een Jaar.*

ABAPPISTON, of **ANABAPPISTON**, *Een Heelmeesters Werktuig: dus noemde men wel-eer de Trepaan of Panboor.*

to **ABASE**, *Vernederen, verootmoedigen.*

Abased, *Venederd.*

Abacement, } *Vernedering.*

Abasing, } *Vernederende.*

Abasing, } *Vernederende.*

to **ABASH**, *Befchaamd, verlegen maaken.*

Abashing, } *Befchaamdmaaking.*

Abashment, } *Befchaamdmaaking.*

Abashing, *Befchaamd maakende.*

A

ABA. ABB.

to **ABATE**, *Afkorten, afstaan, afneemen, verminderen, onttrekken, slecten, vernietigen.*

To abate something of a sum, *Iets van een som afkorten.*

To abate one's pride, *Iemand's boogmoed smuiken.*

To abate something of one's right, *Iets van zyn recht afstaan.*

To abate the Taxes, *De Lasten, of Imposten verminderen.*

My pain begins to abate, *Myn pijn begint afscneemen.*

* To abate of that Ardour one had for something, *Een gedeelte van de drift, die men ergens toe baat, verzeen.*

→ To abate, (in the sense of the Law) signifies, to beat down, to pull down, to overthrow, to defeat, to intrude, *Nederstaan, omverbaalen, omverwerpen, slecten, indringen, als*;

To abate a Castle, *Een kasteel slecten.*

To abate a writ, *Een geschrift, een Acte berroepen.*

To abate an estate, *Zich in 't bezit van een Overledene indringen, tot naadeel van den rechten Erfgenaam.*

Abated, *Afgekort, afgeslagen, verminderd.*

Abatement, *Afslag, afkorting, ontbessing, als mede: Een indringing in een erfenis, om 'er den naaften Erfgenaam uit te houden.*

Abating, *Vermindering, afslaaning, krenking.*

Abating, *Verminderende, afkortende.*

ABB.

→ **ABBACY**, *Een Abdy. (Low-Term for an Abbey.)*

ABBESS, *Eene Abdiss.*

ABBAY, *Een Abdy.*

‡ **Abbey Lubber**, *Een Ledigganger die dik en vet is als een Morwik.*

AB-

2 ABB ABC. ABD. ABE.

ABBOT, Een Abt.

A regular Abbot, Een reguliere Abt, die het bestier, over het geestelyke en wereldlyke, in zyn Abdij heeft.

A Secular Abbot, Een wereldlyk Abt, die geen Geestelyke is.

Abbotship, Een Abdijstap.

to ABBREVIATE, Verkorten.

Abbreviated, Verkort.

Abbreviation, Verkorting.

Abbreviator, Verkorter.

Abbreviature, Verkortsel.

to ABRIDGE, Besnoeien, intrekken, zie to ABRIDGE.

ABBROCHMENT, Het opkopen van waaren, eer die ter markt komen, om ze in 't klein te verkoopen.

ABBUTALS, Landpaalen, zie ABUTALS.

ABC.

ABC, or Abce, or Christ cross row, Het A, B, C. Alphabet.

A, B, C, Scholar, Een Schooljongen.

A, B, C, Teacher, Een Schoolmeester je, die leert lezen.

AB CEDARIAN, Een Jongen die het A, B, C, leert.

ABD.

to ABDICATE, Verzaaken, verlaaten, afstaan, ont-erven.

Abdicated, Verzaakt, verlaaten.

Abdication, Verzaaking, ont-erving, afstand.

ABDOMEN, De onderbuik.

ABDOMENOUS, Dikbuikig, zwaarlyvig.

ABDUCTION, Wegvoering.

ABE.

→ ABEARING, a Law-Term for Conduct, Gedrag.

To be bound to good a-bearing, Zich verplichten voor het toekomende een goed gedrag te houden.

ABECEDARIAN, Een Schooljongen.

Abecary, Dat tot het A, B, behoort.

ABECHED, Gevoed, verzadigd.

ABED, of A bed, Te bedde.

To be, or to lay a-bed, Te bedde leggen.

ABERRANCY, } Afdwaaling,

ABERRATION, } dooling.

ABESSED, Vermoerd, neêrgeflagen.

to ABEI, Aanzetten, aanmoedigen.

☞ To abet, to maintain, to back, to aid and assist, Handbaaven, ondersteunen, bystaan, helpen.

Abetted, Aangepoord, aangemoedigd, enz.

ABE. ABG. ABII ABI.

Abutting, Aansluiting, Handbaaving.

Abutor, Opbitzer, Stoolebrand, als mède, een Medestander, Medeflichtige.

ABAYANCE, } Verwachting.

ABAYANCE, } Goods or Lands in Abeyance, Goederen of Landeryen die men na de doot van een ander te wagen heeft.

ABG.

To ABGREGATE, Afzonderen, afscheiden.

Abgregated, Afgezonderd.

ABII.

To ABIOR, Verfoeijen, een afschrik hebben, yzen.

Abhorred, Verfoeid.

Abhorrence, Verfoeying, afgryzing, weêrzin.

I have a strange abhorrence to that course of life, Ik heb een wonderlyke afkeer van dat soort van leeven.

Abhorrent, Ijelyk.

Abhorrer, Verfoeijer, enz.

Abhorring, Ysing, weêrzin.

ABI.

To ABIDE, Woonen, blyven, verblyven, lyden, verduuren, uitslaan.

☞ To abide in sin, In zonde volharderen.

☞ No body can abide him, Niemand kan hem verdraagen.

I will abide by his Judgement, Ik zal by zyn uitspraak blyven, Ik zal 'er my aan houden.

I can't abide it, Ik kan 't niet dulden.

I can't abide to hear of it, Ik mag 'er niet van hooren.

☞ To abide the first charge, Den eersten aanval doorstaan.

To abide in the woods, In de Bosjeschen woonen, zich in de Bosjeschen onthouden.

To abide by or in a thing, Zich ergens aan houden.

Abider, Huisvester, wooner, blyver.

Abiding, Wooning, verblyving, verblyving.

An abiding place, Een verblyfplaats.

ABILITY, Vermoeden, macht, bekwaamheid.

According to their ability, Naar hun bekwaamheid.

☞ A man of ability, Een man van maaielen.

AB-IN-TESTATE, (ab intestato,)

ABI. ABJ. ABL.

Een Erfgenaam van iemand, die zonder zyn Testament te maaken gestorven is.

ABISS, Een Afgrond. Zie ABYSS.

ABJECT, Veracht, gering, smood, lastertig, verworpen.

Abjection, (Sacrè) Een verworping, verschooting.

Abjection or abjectness, Verachtheid, geringe staat.

Abjection of mind, Lastbartigheid, neêrslaptigheid.

ABJURATION, Afzweering.

to ABJURE, Afzweeren.

Abjured, Afgezworen.

Abjurer, Afzweerder.

Abjuring, Afzweering, — Afzweerende.

ABL.

(†) ABLACTATION, Het speenen van een kind.

(†) ABLADIUM, Afgemaaid, afgesneden korn.

(†) to ABLAQUEATE, De wortelen der boom onblossen.

ABLATION, Wegneemung.

ABLATIVE, (Een Letterkonstig woord) de Neemer, Ablativus, in de Woordbuiging.

ABLE, Bekwaam, machtig, sterk, vermoogen.de.

☞ Able, (in strength) Sterk, robusht.

Able, (or Capable) Bekwaam.

Able, (in Estate) Ryk zyn, er warm in zitten.

Able, (or Skilful) Bedèndig, gaauw, schrand.

Able, to read and write, Kunnen lezen en schryven.

Able to pay, In staat zyn om te betaalen, geld hebben.

To be able, In staat zyn, kunnen.

☞ I am not able to walk, Ik ben niet in staat om te gaan.

He is hardly able to hold his Eyes open, Hy kan zyne oogen bezwaarlyk open houden.

None is able to come near him for skill, In vernuft gaat by ieder een te boven.

He gives more than he is able, Hy geeft meer dan zyn vermoogen toelaat.

Every one according he is able, Elk na zyn vermoogen.

An able Workman, Een bekwaam Werkmeester, — Een Opzigtter.

Able

5.4 Spelling books

' ... every prudent man intending to erect an Edifice, is careful in the first place to lay a good foundation, on which so weighty a Body may securely rest: even so, he who undertakes to instruct Youth, in the right spelling, and pronouncing of any Tongue (especially the English) ought to furnish his Scholars with the most proper Rules, and exercise the greatest attention, in seeing them put in practice'
(EVANS 1747, edition 1778, preface)

Spelling was, and still is, a skill in which children had to be instructed. Spelling books for the mother tongue were therefore 'adapted to the Capacity of Children, from three Years old and upwards, and yet so full of Sense, that such as can already read, may receive very material Instruction from them' (FENNING 1793, title page); in the foreign language context they served to instruct any beginner, whether child or adult. Since spelling books were basically seen as school books, they tended to be carefully graded and they invariably contained exercises. These qualities make them quite unique as examples of school-bound instructional material, particularly in the ELL context before 1800, in which schools played such a marginal role.

As appears from the quotation at the head of this section but also from the materials themselves, spelling and pronunciation went hand in hand. This is not surprising, since pronunciation was always treated on the basis of the written word (cf. 5.2.3a above). ELL spelling books may be regarded as useful manuals for both spelling and pronunciation, and conversely the pronunciation rules in some grammar sections were just as readily spelling rules: in both cases the letters of the alphabet were the starting point and in both cases single letters (vowels and consonants), digraphs (diphthongs) and syllable structure were points for detailed treatment. Walraven's pronunciation guide, which contains good spelling practice from the middle of its second part, concedes that his adult learner might find the material childish ('dit schijnt al wat kints'), it was nevertheless very useful: a good command of pronunciation and spelling would mean that the course had been more than half run ('want al dit wel gheprononceert, is meer dan thalve spel ghewonnen', WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:75)

Spelling and pronunciation together could be usefully practised in reading sessions, silent reading as a spelling exercise and reading aloud for pronunciation practice. Quite commonly, therefore, texts were added to provide the necessary material for these activities. Again, these texts also occurred elsewhere for similar purposes, e.g. in the phrases and dialogues of the larger textbooks. But most spelling books had texts of their own, often graded in different ways.

In the Low Dutch area five manuals were published before 1800 with spelling practice in one form or another. The graded pronunciation exercises in WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:75-103 include spelling notes after the

first 11 pages of nonsense syllables. Similarly, BOMMENAER 1738, basically a pronunciation guide, has also 'a very Narrow Reguard, of the Spelling, Reading, and Writing, of the same, Language' (title page), with original spelling and punctuation!). The first proper spelling book appeared in 1747 and was from the hand of Edward Evans, schoolmaster in Rotterdam. The book is carefully built up as a syllabary, with a host of examples and many exercises; the first edition also contained a catechetical grammar, but it was omitted in the later editions, which instead had added on to them two sections on capital letters and punctuation and a few religious texts. Fenning's *Universal Spelling-Book* of 1793 was written for primary schools in England, but somehow found its way into the Dutch Republic. It is a collection of varied teaching material, including spelling, grammar, vocabulary, English history and so on. It does not have Dutch translations. The last manual is the anonymous *The First Rudiments* of c1804, 'more than a common Spellingbook' (title page). It is also built up as a syllabary, with attention to stress and spelling and with copious exercises. It winds up with two long texts, one with a Dutch translation, the other with an English version to be translated by the learner.

The material in the spelling books tended to be religious, moralistic and of an 'improving' nature, since schools were considered to be the right place for this kind of material. Walraven, who is otherwise not of the improving kind, adds his texts so that the learner may 'bothe to gether learne, and exercise him selfe in the feare of God, beginning of all wisdome' (WALRAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586:95). EVANS 1747 teems with such words and with biblical and religious texts. And RUDIMENTS c1804, although more varied and anecdotal than EVANS 1747 and written 'for the use of Schools and private instruction', has practice material that would not fit anybody's mind, let alone a child's:

'No less hurtful to many a well formed youth is that affluence which hath been heaped together by parental toil, to gratify parental pride, but which serves either to nourish sloth, by rendering industry needless, or to promote wickedness and vice, by giving a false bent to the mind'

(RUDIMENTS c1804.104/5, practice material for words of three syllables)

Anyway, it is a much less varied manual and much thinner than comparable English ones (e.g. by Fenning or Dyche). If it was copied, like most other works, the choice was not a happy one.

5.5 Borrowing

Borrowing was common practice among textbook writers of language learning

materials before 1800, for English and other languages, in the Low Dutch area and abroad. It is sometimes referred to with less favourable terms like 'copying', 'pirating', 'plagiarising' and even 'cannibalising'; however, there is no saying to what extent the practice should be frowned upon. It was so common and it was practised so unashamedly even by respectable writers that one begins to wonder about the moral implications. There was no scholarly tradition in which borrowings were painstakingly acknowledged in footnotes or otherwise, although the conscientious writers would remember to do this at times; only one writer⁵⁰ saw fit to include a list of all his sources in his preface; others would at most mention some names or, particularly in the eighteenth century, acknowledge innocent details in a footnote - cf. the footnote reference to Sewel's dictionary in SMITH 1752:50, in a grammar section which was entirely copied (unacknowledged) from SEWEL 1705, reprinted in Figure 15 in Ch. 6.5. Sometimes the reference was even uncalled for, as in POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b, which was said to be based on Sewel/Holtrop/Berry but did not contain any Sewel material (but 1793a does). The references, whether correct or not, were never specified; they were couched in general terms like 'Getrocken Uyt den dobbelen Grammatica van d'Heeren Mauger, Festeau, ende Boyer, Taelmeesters' (title page of ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742) or 'Taken out of the Two chiefest Authors Mr. T. Dyche, & Mr. T. Dilworth' (title page of EVANS 1747) or 'cet oeuvre a été écrit originairement en Anglois' (preface to French edition of BEMMELEN 1794). In other cases, even when most of the book was sheer copy work, the author could get away with phrases like 'never being printed' (BOMMENAER 1738), 'het eyge werk van den Autheur' (SMITH 1752, opposite dedication; see Figure 16 in Ch. 6.5⁵¹).

The practice of borrowing (to use the neutral word) was apparently not illegal. This was clearly so in cases when the source book did not have a privilege or when it had been published abroad (protective rights could not usually be exerted outside the home country). In other cases, when a privilege had been granted, copyright was protected to a certain extent but never fully, in spite of explicit warnings in the privilege not to print, or

50 This was Evans in his spelling book of 1747, where he explains which parts were taken from Dyche and which from Dilworth.

51 Schmidt 1931:42 records a similar case about a French textbook for speakers of German: Johann-Jacob Scheubler's *Frantzösische Hauptschlüssel* (1680), apparently copied from Dhuez's successful *Guidon* of 1639, is claimed to be 'eine Grammaire Françoise, oder dergleichen noch niemahls in Druck gewesene Frantzösische Grammatica'. In the preface of the edition of 1662 Dhuez had already complained of other pirated editions published in Frankfurt, Utrecht and Bremen. For England Kelly 1976:122 writes of 'the persistence of the same set of dialogues in a large number of French-English textbooks of the eighteenth century'.

have printed, the whole book or part of it ('en een yder wel scherpelijk verboden moghte werden, 't selve Boek in 't geheel ofte deel in eenigerley formaet na te drukken, te doen nadrukken, uyt te geven, ofte verkopen, of elders nagedrukt in onsen lande in te brengen, ofte te verkopen', privilege RICHARDSON 1677). The problem here seems to have been the notion of borrowing itself: did it only apply to literal copies of a text or also to texts which had been updated, adapted, translated or in any other way doctored with? In most, if not all, cases of borrowing in ELL texts the source material had been altered to varying degrees and may for that reason not have been 'copied' in a legal sense. If this is true, it would explain the resignation with which the practice was apparently accepted. To illustrate the point: SMITH 1752 contained, as we know, an almost literal copy of the grammar in SEWEL 1705, which by 1752 did no longer have a privilege; Jacob ter Beek, the printer of SEWEL 1705 in the editions of 1740 and 1748, did not take any legal action that we know of, but instead attached a new privilege to the 1754 edition (and Sewel's dictionary of the same year, on the rebound), no doubt to stem further calamities.

Borrowing was the concern of the book trade, not the author (cf. 5.2.9 above). Complaints therefore usually came from printers and publishers. The printer of Hexham's Du-En dictionary of 1678 'had complained that owing to the bad times (Dutch war, 1672-1678) the book had not sold well since 1672, and that extracts had been made which had been published as *woordeboeckjes*' (Scheurweghs 1960:146); Pieter Meyer, printer of PEYTON 1764, refers in the preface to scandalous copies of Sewel's textbook ('schaamteloze afschryvingen van zyn Werkje'); Abigail May, printer of Sewel's dictionary, had applied for a privilege specifically to fend off potential plagiarists, cf. the quotation in 5.2.9 above under 'privileges'. But authors too were sometimes sensitive on this point: Mauger's complaints of the unacknowledged Dutch edition of his French grammar has already been quoted in Beyers's biographical notes (Ch.4); Sewel very carefully points out that he did *not* use Hexham's dictionary, did not even have it in his house, when compiling his own (preface SEWEL 1691); Evans tells us repeatedly that his textbook is original, although his assurances may have to be interpreted as 'based on sources hitherto unknown in this country': 'for the most part never mention'd in any Grammar that has hitherto been published' (about his letters, in EVANS 1757 ed. 1778:341) or that he himself had composed and written the entire book in pure English ('De Autheur vindt het niet ondienstig, den Lezer te berichten, dat dit geheele Boek in eene nette styl, door hem zelfs, in de zuivere Engelsche Taal opgesteld en geschreven is' (ibid., p.120). Most printers and writers, however, ignored the subject and went on with their business.

The subject of borrowing has not received a good deal of attention. In the Low Dutch context Lówisch 1889 and particularly Osselton 1973 have

dealt with it in some detail; their observations provide us with valuable information about the nature of textbooks and manuals. The relevance of this information is clear enough: it is one thing to study a particular work on its own merits, it is quite another to attribute the ideas in it to the writer himself. If this writer was satisfied to copy most of his texts, there is no saying to what extent he supported the ideas expressed in the source book. Thus one may be happy to read in SMITH 1752 (Dialogue 32 'Of the Languages'):

'I had a Master in Utrecht, who tho' he had better employments did not despise the profession he makes of teaching the Languages He had among other things the good method of giving me daily Letters upon what subjects I ask'd He wrote them immediately, and I gave next day the answer, which he corrected observing to me where I was out, and giving me the reasons of it, sometimes he made me three or four Letters upon the same subjects, to change the phrases',

only to be surprised when the source turns out to be Pell's *Nouvelle Grammaire* of 1735 (Dialogue 8 'Of the Languages'), were we read:

'I had a Master at Geneva, who for having had better employs, don't despise the profession he makes of teaching the Languages He had among other things this good method, of giving me daily Letters upon what subjects I ask'd He wrote 'em immediately, and I gave next day the answer, which he corrected observing to me where I was out, & giving me the reasons of it Sometimes he made me three or four Letters upon the same subject, to change the speech',

and Pell's source may have been Miège or Boyer, etc. We do not know who this dedicated teacher was and who was the first to write about his teaching methods. Neither do we know whether Smith and Pell supported his ideas, perhaps imitated them or even expressly advertised them in their works. There is every likelihood that none of this was at stake: dialogues like these were selected as useful practice material almost irrespective of their contents. As long as these contents were not offensive or silly, the borrowing side restricted himself to linguistic improvements (as in our case) and adaptations of details like currency, proper names, place names (Geneva-Utrecht) and so on.

Borrowing took place for all the sections discussed in 5.2 above; even prefaces could be copied, as in SMITH 1752, who took his preface from HEXHAM 1648 ed. 1672 (!) and EVANS 1747, and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a, the first page of which occurs in the Ghent edition of ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA 1742. But it was especially the practice material which was copied again and again in large quantities. Close inspection will usually reveal the high degree to which this was so; in fact it is difficult to find any practice material, and particularly dialogues, that may be attributed to the writer himself. The safe approach is to assume that all this material was pirated unless the opposite can be proved, which is not easy and not often

the case. A survey of some of the sources for all the works in Appendix 1a is provided in Appendix 4. It is presented here as a first step: there is no end of potential source material and, worse, the materials are often stocked in different libraries. However, after a while certain phrases sticking to the mind ('Susanna, where are the boys?', 'het geblaet van schapen', 'Oh! is it you Mr. Cabbage?') help to identify the sources. One of the lessons learnt from this has been that practising teachers were more capable of coming up with original texts than all those others who wrote on commission, out of love for the language or just for money. And since experienced foreign language teachers were usually teachers of French, it is not surprising that the bulk of the sources are of FrLL origin. In the Low Dutch context few writers of ELL material were practising teachers, few of them had long experience, many of them were quite old when their books were published, and they all wrote for a severely limited market. This may explain, though not justify, their heavy reliance on other sources.

5.6 Bird's eye view of ELL materials for speakers of Low Dutch 1500-1800

The survey of the ELL material for speakers of Low Dutch before 1800 presented in Appendix 1a as a list of books lends itself to some meaningful structuring on the basis of two criteria: time and importance. On the time scale it may be broken up into four parts, the scale of importance has three divisions.

Periodicity is always an arbitrary matter, but it provides a basis for historical interpretation. In our case the four periods are prompted by the nature of the textbooks or manuals, and they reflect the development of ELL clearly enough.

The first period stretches from 1500 to 1645. ELL was of little importance then: there were very few teachers; the materials were basically multi-lingual as provided by the home market in the Southern parts of the Low Countries; they were not specifically written for ELL; there were no textbooks but only manuals or guidebooks; the contents were mostly non-contrastive. WAL-RAVEN / WHETSTONE 1586 does not quite fit this picture, as it must be viewed as an unusually early venture into ELL; however, it was an isolated publication, whose one edition does not seem to have gone much beyond the Leyden groves of Academe.

The second period starts with *The English Schole-Master* of 1646 as the first ELL textbook and ends in 1690, i.e. the year before the publication of Sewel's dictionary. These 45 years mark the beginnings of English language teaching in schools and by individuals; there was an influx of bilingual ELL materials often composed specifically for that purpose; these materials were

mostly textbooks containing contrastive notes on grammar and pronunciation; many of them were written for two target groups: Englishmen to learn Low Dutch and speakers of Low Dutch to learn English, perhaps even in this order; all of them were published in the Dutch Republic; their writers were Protestant and mostly native speakers of English; the source materials were English, Low Dutch and the FrLL textbooks from England.

In 1691 we enter the third period, which may be called the age of Sewel as it was so clearly dominated by his dictionary of 1691 and his *Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale* of 1705. His influence continued throughout the eighteenth century and stretched even into the next one, but for reasons given below we like to let it end in 1794. Sewel's domination is the main characteristic of this third period; the French materials from England, however, were also heavily pirated as were some English books from the home market. The textbooks were no longer for two target groups in one volume: Low Dutch and English learners were now served by separate publications as in the case of Sewel and the demand for Low Dutch by speakers of English diminished rapidly. The materials did not all come from the Republic: some new editions were published in the South, but they were mostly copied from Northern examples including Sewel. The nature of the materials did not basically differ from that in the previous period, but the contents were perfected. Their diversity increased as did the publication of reprints. There were still few teachers and few schools, but the number of private institutions offering English as one of their subjects seemed to be on the increase.

The last period is a transitional one from the previous three centuries into a new era of ELL, which slowly but steadily broke away from earlier traditions. English began to emerge as a school subject and the materials were adjusted to the new target group, i.e. children; the number of (private) schools with English as one of their subjects also increased. Moreover, new ideas about foreign language learning were introduced and they again affected the materials. As this was a gradual process, its start cannot be as easily marked off as that of the previous three periods, which are much more clearly defined. Materials of the older type (ENSELL 1797) were still produced or frequently reprinted (EVANS 1747, SMITH 1752, EVANS 1757, HOLTROP 1780) but they looked back rather than ahead. A convenient starting point may be Van Bemmelen's *Lessen voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal* of 1794, convenient because Van Bemmelen was so much a schoolmaster and because his booklet was so much written for children; it was also very different from anything published before, reflecting as it did the new belief in translation. The materials of this fourth period were no longer textbooks but manuals composed for specific target groups, usually children. They contained little grammar. The availability of these new materials by the side of many older ones testifies to the transitional charac-

teristic of this period.

The importance of the materials may be determined on the basis of these criteria:

1. number of reprints: after 1645 no book was reprinted more than 8 times (SEWEL 1705), some saw 3 to 5 reprints, many 1 or perhaps 2; the reprints of editions from before 1645 were quite numerous, but cannot be attributed to a demand for English alone;
2. number of editions: most reprints were said to be 'improved', 'greatly augmented', 'revised', etc. This did not usually amount to very much; new editions in the proper sense of the word did not really appear except in the case of the three major dictionaries (Hexham, Sewel, Holtrop), and if they did they tended to contain new material as in Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* of 1689;
3. as a source for borrowing: most books were used by others in one way or another, usually within the Low Dutch area but also outside of it. The borrowing could vary from single sentences, words, terms, etc. to whole pages or entire sections. Some books were used in this way by only one writer, others by many;
4. the quality of the material: 'quality' may apply to content or usefulness. In the former sense it is hard to judge, since it relates so much to the ideas of the time and should be assessed independently of our own views; in the latter sense it can be assessed by external factors like impression, reprints and source of borrowing;
5. uniqueness: works could be unique because of their contents, the time in which they appeared, their special aims or their originality.

On the basis of these criteria I should like to divide the importance factor up into three broad categories:

influential / widely used
of interest
marginal.

A table of all the materials in Appendix 1a, in which the four periods are set off against the three categories of importance, would look like this:

	influential / widely used	of interest	marginal
1500-1645	BERLAIMONT 1576 VOCABULER 1639 MEURIER/BAS. 1586	WALRAVEN/WHETST 1586 SEPTEM LINGUARUM 1540	TABLE MANNERS c1530 JUNIUS 1577 CALEPINUS 1590
1646-1690	SCHOLE-MAST. 1646 HEXHAM 1647/8 HILLENIOUS 1664 RICHARDSON 1677	BEYER 1661 BEYER 1662 VAN HELDEREN 1675a/b	PIELAT 1673
1691-1793	SEWEL 1691 SEWEL 1705 EVANS 1747 SMITH 1752 EVANS 1757 PEYTON 1764 BUYS 1766 HOLTROP 1780 HOLTROP 1789/1801	PELL 1735a POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a/b	PELL 1735b BOMMENAER 1738 ENGELSCHEN GRAMM. 1742 VOCABULARY c1742 WILDEMAN 1763? FENNING 1793
1794-1800	BEMMELEN 1794 JANSON 1795	ENSELL 1797 WILCOCKE 1798 THOMAS 1798 before 1788 HOLTROP	RUDIMENTS c1804 PERRFEIN 1803 DIALOGUES 1803

14. Table 3: Survey of English Language Learning materials

6.1 Introduction

After the general round of ELL materials made in the previous chapter a more detailed study of four selected textbooks will be our concern in the next few pages. An approach like this has not been attempted elsewhere. The nearest to it are Bouton's interesting examination of Mauger's French textbooks, which deals with more than one work (Bouton 1972), and Osselton's *The Dumb Linguists*, which is about dictionaries (Osselton 1973). Other studies of a similar nature are restricted to grammars only: Kemp's introduction to the translation of Wallis's English grammar (Kemp 1972), which apart from analysis also provides the linguistic background against which the book must be read; Dibbets's article about *The Dutch Schoolemaster* (Dibbets 1971) and Gledhill's notes on Willem Beyer and his Dutch grammar (Gledhill 1976). Verdeyen's study of BERLAIMONT 1576 contains much of the approach attempted here but has a strong bibliographical bias as well.

The criteria for our analysis have been derived from two sources: Stern 1983 and Van Els *et al.* 1984. In his discussion of 'The study of primary sources' (pp.87-88) Stern gives a list of six questions that should be found useful in a systematic analysis of older primary sources:

1. What is the subject and point of view of the document?
2. What are the historical circumstances within which the document was written? To whom is it addressed? Why was it written?
3. What view of a) *language* and b) *language learning* does the document reveal?
4. What view of *language teaching* is expressed in the document? In particular, what aims, principles, materials, methods, or institutions are proposed or assumed in it?
5. What was the importance of the document to its own age? How was it received? What was its effect?
6. How is the document to be assessed from the point of view of today?

The first of these criteria returns in the third and fourth; the fifth, although interesting enough, has turned out to be of marginal value in the Low Dutch context, since the sources needed for it are missing in most cases. The remaining points have been accepted as relevant and useful.

Van Els *et al.*, when dealing with the selection of teaching material for use in the classroom today, propose three criteria (with subdivisions) for an acceptable analysis:

1. descriptive analysis, with attention to surface (or formal) elements and in-depth (or content) characteristics;
2. evaluative analysis, i.e. by the users themselves and through an evaluation of the suitability of the material in the classroom;
3. book reviews.

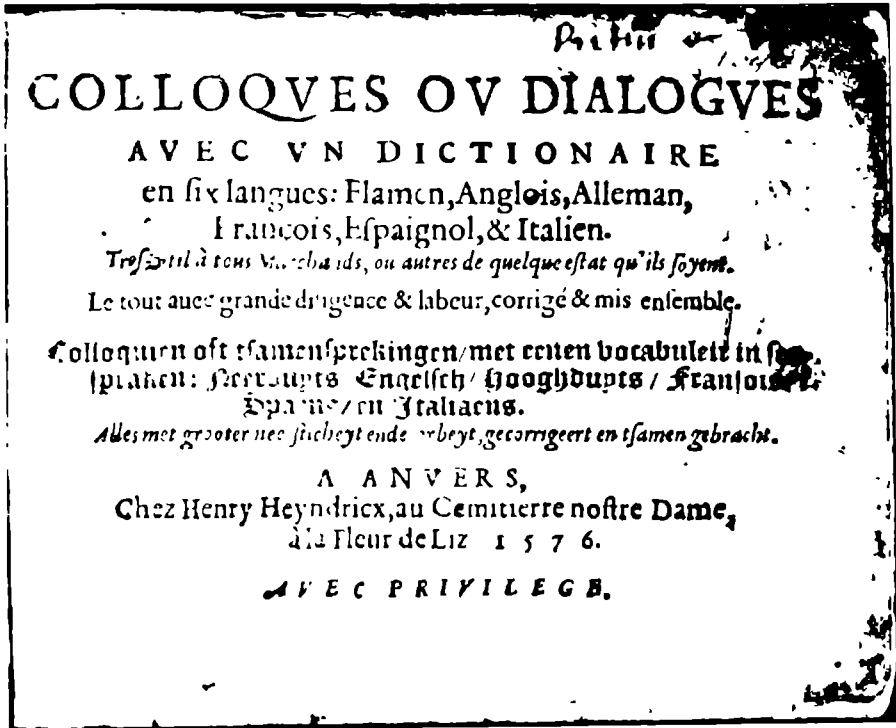
The distinction between descriptive and evaluative aspects of an analysis makes good sense in a historical context. However, since user opinions and classroom experiences have not been recorded, the evaluation has of necessity to be conducted by the present-day student, albeit with great caution. As has already been pointed out, reviews of these textbooks do not exist; and if they had, they would most likely have been lengthy summaries, as was the custom of the period even in ambitious magazines like the *Boekzaal*, and consequently of little value to our cause.

For the purposes of this study then the nine points above have been collapsed into seven criteria, which it was felt would serve best to provide an adequate analysis of the textbooks concerned. In the list below they are followed by references to the points from Stern (S) and Van Els (E), which are covered by them.

- a. printing history (S2, E1)
- b. sources (S2, S5, E1)
- c. target group (S2)
- d. table of contents (S1, E1)
- e. subject matter (S3a, E1)
- f. point of view on language learning and teaching (S3b, S4, E1)
- g. evaluation (S6, E2)

The four textbooks analysed in this chapter have been carefully selected. BERLAIMONT 1576, although not a textbook proper, represents the early language learning tradition of the Southern Low Countries; it was extremely popular over a long period of time and had a noticeable influence on the later ELL textbooks. SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 was the first complete ELL textbook for speakers of Low Dutch and has for that reason been included. RICHARDSON 1677 ranks among the most ambitious textbooks of the whole period before 1800; moreover it does not only lean heavily on its predecessors, its practical material was also carried over into the eighteenth century through SEWEL 1705. The last choice, SMITH 1752, contains Sewel's grammar and a healthy selection of practical material, which makes it a book of considerable value in spite of its many borrowings. Between them, these four books cover the whole period of this study.

SEWEL 1705 has not been included here separately, although it takes up a central position in the eighteenth century. For one thing, all the material of the *Korte Wegwyzer* was shared between RICHARDSON 1689 and SMITH 1752; but secondly, the grammar and its influence on the later ELL materials deserve a separate study, that would exceed the limits of this work.



15 Figure 10: Title page of *Colloques ou Dialogues avec un Dictionnaire*, 1576 (based on De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare*, c1530), the first edition with English.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF *COLLOQUA ET DICTIONARIOLUM SEPTEM LINGUARUM* (edition 1616)

(first published with English in 1576 edition for six languages, see Figure 10)

title (edition 1616):

Colloquia et Dictionariolum Septem Lingvarum, Belgicae, Tevtonicae, Anglicae, Gallicae, Latinae, Hispanicae et Italicae. Liber omnibus linguarum studiosis domi atque foris apprime necessarius.

Colloques ou Dialogues, avec vn Dictionaire en sept langues, Flamen, Alleman, Anglois, Francois, Latin, Espagnol, Italien: nouvellement reueus, corrigez, & augmentez de quatre dialogues, tresprofitables & vtils, tant au fait de marchandise, qu'aux voyages & autres traffiques.

Colloquien oft tsamensprekinghen, met eenen Vocabulaer in seuen spraken, Nederduytsch, Hooch-duytsch, Engelsch, Francois, Latijn, Spaens, en Italiens: van nieuws verbeteret ende vermeerdert met vier Colloquien, seer nut ende profijtelijck tot de Coopmanschap, reyse, ende andere handelinghen.

Antverpia, Apud Franciscum Ficardum, sub signo Angeli. 1616.

The *Colloquia et Dictionarolum* (further: C&D) was a well-known and widely used manual for language learners, particularly during the 16th and early 17th centuries, in the Low Countries and elsewhere in Europe. It was printed in many different editions and under many different titles (cf. Appendix 1a); the *editio princeps*, which has not been preserved but is commonly referred to as *Vocabulare*, contained instructional material for speakers of Flemish intending to learn French and *vice versa*, put together by a Walloon schoolmaster at Antwerp, Noel de Berlaimont¹, who like other well-known fellow countrymen such as Gabriel Meurier and Claude Luython had set himself up in Antwerp to teach French. Little is known about him except that he probably came from the village of Velaines near Tournai in Hainault - the name of Velaines occurs in one of the dialogues - and lived in Antwerp for a long period of time². He is likely to have seen the publication of the first edition of his book shortly before his death in 1531. Its apparent success induced numerous printers and booksellers to provide new editions and sometimes also translations for other languages, in the wake of a long-standing tradition of multilingual language learning material. The name of De Berlaimont was sometimes, but by no means always, included in the title.

The analysis below is based on the edition of 1616 for seven languages, not on the edition of 1576 for six languages, in which English was first introduced, the reason being that the full text of the edition 1616, with critical notes and glossaries, was reprinted by Verdeyen in three volumes between 1925 and 1935 (often bound together in one) and is more easily accessible than most of the original manuals. His authoritative work is beyond praise and has not been improved upon. There are no major differences between the two editions³: the contents of de Berlaimont's C&D remained virtually unchanged in their long history after 1576, when English was first introduced, in spite of frequent alterations in spelling, choice of words and grammar, and occasional omissions of short sections - often a matter of updating or editors' whims.

1 The name is spelled variously as 'Berlaimont', 'Barlament', 'Barlaimont', etc., with or without 'de' - the form used here is 'de Berlaimont' as preferred by Verdeyen and De Vreese (see Verdeyen 1926, XCI note)

2 Details from Verdeyen 1926 lxxvii note 1 and Groote 1967 229

3 The 1576 edition in the BL. only has three dialogues, the 1616 edition has four additional ones ('vermeerdert met vier Colloquien', title page)

a. printing history

The *editio princeps* of this book appeared in around 1530⁴ in Flemish and French. Its presumed title *Vocabulare* is derived from the title of the earliest available edition after 1530, i.e. *Noel van Berlaimont schoolmeester Tantwerpen Vocabulare van nyeus gheordineert* printed in Antwerp in 1536. Translations for more languages and new dialogues were added on in a bewildering variety over a period of some 280 years and included in many different editions: Verdeyen mentions some 150 titles for up to 8 languages between 1530 and 1703⁵ covering 10 different languages including Portuguese and even Polish, and Lambley (1920:243) traced an English edition at Shrewsbury of 1808. Its popularity was considerable: there was a geographical spread across the whole of Western, Central and Southern Europe testified by the places of publication and the languages covered; and for a while the word 'Barlement' or one of its varieties was used as a count noun virtually synonymous with 'language guide' ('I consulted my Barlement')⁶. A relatively small number of these odd-shaped, oblong booklets has been preserved, possibly because they were cheap, widely consulted and quickly worn out through use. English was not included until 1576⁷, after French, Flemish, Spanish, Italian and Latin, which clearly proves its relative insignificance as a major European language at the time. 'English is a language that will do you good in England, but past Dover it is worth nothing.' (John Florio, *First Frutes*, 1578). However, later editions are frequently found to include it, which possibly goes to show its rising importance in Europe after that date. In 1639 an unusual bilingual edition for Dutch and English appeared in Rotterdam under the misleading title (copied no doubt from the *editio princeps*) *Den grooten Vocabulaer Engels ende Duyts: . . . The great vocabu-ler, in English and Dutch* published by Pieter van Waesberghe, a descendant of the well-known family of printers and booksellers who had moved from Antwerp to Rotterdam and had published many other C&D editions; this publication may have contributed to the making of the first English bilingual language guide in the Low-Dutch area in 1646.

4 For a discussion of this first date see Verdeyen 1926 lvi ff., also Riemens 1929, who put 1525 forward as a possible alternative. No copies of this first edition are extant, the earliest edition dates from 1536.

5 See Verdeyen 1926, XCIII-CXV, and Verdeyen 1935, 139-148.

6 See Streuber 1914 19 (note 11) and 75, also Verdeyen 1926 lvi and liv.

7 But the *Gemeente Bibliotheek* in Rotterdam has an undated copy with six languages containing an imprimatur from 1575. It may be identical to the edition of 1579 in Verdeyen 1926 c. For more information about dates and places see Claes 1974 and 1976. Lambley 1920 241 assumes that in England English was added from as early as 1557 in *A Boke intituled Italion, Frynsshe, Englysshe and Laten*. Her book also contains references to early English textbooks for French containing similar material, notably those by Wynken de Worde (1498?) and Du Ploich (1553?) - see pp 40ff and 129ff.

The differences between the various editions were minimal in terms of content, surely an extraordinary achievement for a book that passed through the hands of so many printers over such a long period of time; they were substantial in terms of linguistic form, a point for further discussion below (cf. section e. 'subject matter'). A detailed discussion of the long and complex printing history of these many editions will not be attempted here, as it would lead to unnecessary detail irrelevant to the present subject.

b. sources

Ideas and content of C&D were largely taken from existing sources stretching back into the previous centuries. In many ways this manual may be looked upon as an extension of earlier foreign language learning materials and a most successful one at that: it was a continuation of the multilingual approach adopted earlier on but more and more replaced by bilingual approaches later on (although never entirely relinquished), it contained a large section with dialogues of an educational nature much like the ones with instructions for table manners⁸ and those written by Erasmus for Latin and Greek, it had little or no use for linguistic rules, it attempted to serve a practical purpose, it was essentially non-religious although written by a devout Christian. Verdeyen traced three possible sources: group glossaries like the *Gesprachsbuchlein Romanisch und Flamish* by Hoffmann von Fallerleben, educational tracts about e.g. table manners, and the anonymous *Vocabulair pour aprendre Roman et Flameng* (before 1501). A thorough discussion of this complex matter of borrowing would not be appropriate in this context; the interested reader is referred to Verdeyen 1926⁹.

Some of the names of those who added material on to the original *Vocabulare* of 1530 are known to us, but many more unknown contributors will have had a hand in the various publications, among whom no doubt some of the printers themselves. Thus the verb paradigms were copied from Meurier's *Coniugaisons Flamen-Francois* of 1558; the Latin translation was provided by Cornelius Valerius from the University of Louvain; the Spanish translation came from Francisco Villalobos, Charles V's physician; and the English text may have been translated by a respected Antwerp schoolmaster Assverus Boon 'qui non seulement se contente d'avoir l'usage de plusieurs langues, mais avec ce, aspire à choses plus hautes, et plus ardues, à sçavoir: à la vertu, honneste conversation, et integrité de vie: choses, qui conjointes

8 See e.g. FJ Furnivall *Manners and Meals in Olden Time* (London, 1868)

9 Verdeyen 1926 lvii-lxxx. See also Gessler 1931, who traces a link to the *Livres des Mestiers* from Bruges

avec l'intelligence des dites langues, rendent la personne bien-venue envers tous.' (Verdeyen 1926: xxxvii and elsewhere).

The C&D were also frequently used as source material for related textbooks and manuals. This was the case not only in the Low Dutch area but also abroad (cf. e.g. Appendix 2). Some of the material copied by textbook writers in the Low Dutch area occurs in *Spraeck ende woordboeck inde Maleysche ende Madagaskarsche talen* of 1603 by Fr. de Houtman and in *Den Nieuwen Dictionaris oft Schadt der Duytse en Spaensche Talen* of 1659 by A de la Porte (Verdeyen 1926: xlix note 2; see also Ch. 2.2.2 above).

- 1639 VOCABULER : contains the seven dialogues and the complete vocabulary in updated spelling, e.g.
'A Dinner of ten Persons'
'For to learne to buy and sell'
'For to demand debts'
etc.
- 1646 SCHOLE-MASTER : 'A meale of ten persons' (165-172)
'How to learne to buy and sell' (186-191)
'How to demaund a debt' (191-194)
some letters
- 1664 HILLENIIUS : (part II)
'To learne how to buy, and sell' (13-21)
'A meal, or Feast, of ten Persons, &c.'
(21-53)
'To aske for the way' (53-57)
'Common Talke, being at the Inne' (57-67)
'Communication at the uprising' (67-74)
'Discourses concerning Merchandising' (74-80)
- 1677 RICHARDSON : (part II)
'To learn how to buy, and sell' (44-54)
- 1705 SEWEL : (part II)
'To learn how to buy, and sell' (6-18)
- 1752 SMITH : xii 'To learn how to buy and sell' (310-317)
(last edition 1786; a possible edition of 1821 has not been located; see 6.5 below).

16. Table 4
Borrowed sections from Berlaimont

Further, and most importantly in the context of this study, the main body of ELL material writers in the Dutch Republic wittingly or unwittingly used the dialogues in their manuals up to and perhaps even after 1800. It goes once more to show the popularity and apparent appropriateness of De Berlaimont's work; at the same time it establishes a record achievement of some 300 years of active service for this unique manual in the field of

language learning in the Low Dutch area and elsewhere¹⁰. A survey of the sections borrowed by ELL writers from 1639 onwards is provided in table 4 above.

c. target group

In the edition of 1616 the target group is described as follows:

' fer wether that any man doo marchandise or that hee handle in the Court
or that hee followe the warres or that hee be a travailling man hy should neede to
have an interpretour for some of these seven speakes '
(To the Reader' 4b/5b)

Similar statements are made in the liminaria 'Liber ad Emptores', 'Benevolo Lectori' and indeed on the title page itself in Latin and French (q.v.)¹¹. The merchants, courtiers, soldiers or travellers mentioned in the quotation may have been adults with an interest in an unfamiliar language, but they may also have been children preparing for adult life. Children are mentioned in 'Benevolo Lectori' ('... parentes ... suos liberos ablegant ...') as potential profitable users and also on the title page of an incomplete Du-Fr edition of 1572 (in UBGent), which has: 'most profitable for children' ('den kinderen zeer profijtelick'). Montagne (1907) records the *Colloques* among the school-books used in Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a later English edition, *New Dialogues or Colloques* (1639), published by Michael Sparke jr., children are also explicitly mentioned: 'And if parents use to send their children beyond Sea, to learne the language, and to gaine the learning of forraine Nations, judge what may be said of the Benefit of this Book (I had almost said the necessity of it) which being read doth by

10 In terms of time this popularity was matched by Calepinus' *Dictionarium*, whose printing history stretches from 1502 until 1779, but the two works were no rivals the *Dictionarium* was a scholarly Latin dictionary with occasional translations of the headwords in up to eleven languages and was used in centres of learning (Roman Catholic seminaries and universities), moreover it has nothing of the practical application of De Berlaimont's *C&D* See Labarre 1975

11 From 'Liber ad Emptores' (in hexameters)

Itis in Italiam, vel regna potentis Iberi,
Si petitis fines Angli, nunquamve pietos
Francigenas, si Germanum Iovis alite nuxum
Imperium, Belgasque sitos genialibus aruis
Vos ego secura ducam regione viarum
Flander ero, Germanus ero, Gallusque Brtoque,
Hispanus, nunc Italico dabo verba nitore

From 'Benevolo Lectori'

Et enim (ut saepe usu venit) si parentes studiorum morumve, aut exterorum idiomatum edicendi gratia suos liberos ablegant, vide quid de huius utilitate, ne dicam necessitate, dicendum sit, qui etiam intra ipsos parietes plenam & perfectam variarum linguarum cognitionem quotidiana experientia tribuit

daily experience furnish the Reader with a full and perfect knowledge of divers tongues. I should be tedious, if I should tell you, how pleasantly, morally and politely it is penned' ('To the Reader'). These words may be read as a prompt for the anonymous writer of *The English Schole-Master* of 1646, who took them almost literally to heart e.g. in his 'A letter from a son to a father in acknowledgement of his carefull education of him' and the father's reply.

As a schoolbook it may have been of service in French, Latin and Dutch classes, possibly by the side of a grammar book; the other languages were not much learned by children. Adults would then perhaps be a more likely target group to turned to this material when the need arose.

d. *table of contents*

The table below contains the original English wording and spelling; any text not quoted is placed in round brackets.

2	Liber ad emptores
4	Benevolo Lectori
4	Approbatio (a nihil obstat)
4-9	To the Reader
9-12	Te Table of this Booke
12-51	A dynner of ten persons / to weet: Hermes / John / Marie / Dauid / Peter / Francis / Roger / Anne / Henry / and Luke
51-64	The ij. Chapiter / for to learne to buye and sell. Katherin, Margaret, Daniell
65-71	The iij. Chapiter / for to demande debtes. Morgen, Gualter, Ferrand
71-78	The iiij. Chapiter / for to aske the way / with other familiar communications
78-92	The u. Chapiter / Common talke being in the Inne. Robert, Simon, the Hoste and other
92-99	The vj. Chapiter / Communication at the uprysing. Simon, Robert, Arthor
100-121	The vij. Chapiter / Proposes of marchandise (propose = conversation)
122	The dayes of the weeke
123-146	The viij. Chapiter / for to learne to make letters / conuentions / obligations / and quitances
123	A letter to write to any frinde
127	Answer
130	A letter to write to ones debtours
132	Answer
134	To paye a debt with excusation
135	Another letter
137	A Contract of hyring a house
139	Quitance of hyring an house
140	An obligacion for payementes
142	An obligacion for mony lent
143	A Quitance
144	Superscription of letters
147-149	Heere beginneth the second booke. The Prologe of the second Booke

- 150-198 (word list in alphabetical order for the Low Dutch words, but not within one letter)
 199-204 Heere after followe the Coniugations
 199-201 The Coniugation of this verbe / to Have
 202-204 The Coniugation of this woorde / to Be
 205-216 S'ensuit vn petit Traité, moult propre, & tresnecessaire pour ceux qui desirent bien scauoir entendre, & parler Francois, Italien, Espagnol, & Flamen (about pronunciation)

e. subject matter

The colloquies, conversations between up to ten persons in everyday language, deal with topics relevant to the (travelling) merchant. They are printed in columns, one for each language, on two facing pages in alternating gothic, roman and italic type (see Figure 11 on pp. 185-186).

These conversations take up roughly half the book; they are followed by model and reply letters, personal and commercial. The remaining fifty odd pages contain a dictionary, or rather vocabulary, 'after the order of the A/B/C/ etc. as stuff for to make other sayinges by yourself' (the words in this vocabulary are not taken from the preceding colloquies), the conjugations of 'have' and 'be' and notes on the pronunciation of some of the languages but not English.

The selection seems to have been made on the basis of the practical needs of merchants; this appears most clearly from the subjects of the dialogues - five of them are directly related to this particular target group - and from the letters, which are almost all about financial matters. This is the world of traders, not of scholars or artisans or schoolboys or women; it is the world in which foreign languages were most immediately needed, French first of all in the Flemish context, then Spanish, Italian, German and occasionally also English. Throughout the book the lexical items are kept simple and to the point; the tone is friendly, almost chatty. These two features help to draw the reader into the company of pleasant and inoffensive people. The opening lines of the seven dialogues quickly put him at ease and make him want to read on:

- dial. 1 : 'God geeue you good morrowe John'
 'And you also Hermes / good morrowe geeue you God'
 dial. 2 : 'God geeue you good morrowe gossip / and your company'
 'And you also gossip'
 'What do you heere so earlie in the coulde? haue you ben heere long?'
 dial. 3 : 'Good morrowe my frinde'
 'And you also'
 'You knowe well / wherfore i com hether / do you not?'
 dial. 4 : 'God save you maister Robert'
 'Sir / God geeue you a good life'
 'How doth your health / since i sawe you?'

Flamen.

Dat II. Capit.

Cin te leeren coopen
ende vercoopen.

Lijken, Grietken,
Daniel.

L. God gheue v
goedē d'ich gevader
ende v gheselschap.

M. Ende valloo,
ghuader.

L. Vvar maectt ghy hier
so vroegh inde couve?
hebby hier

Anglou.

Le secōd Cap.

To learne to buye
and sell.

Catherine, marguerite
Daniel.

C. God g'ue pou
good morrowe
ād iour cōpani. (gossip)

M. And pou also/
gossip.

C. What doo pou here
so erly in the coulde?
haue pou benne

Alleman.

Das ander Cap.

Zu lernen Kauffen
vnd vorKauffen.

Catharina/Margareta,
Daniel.

C. Gott geb euch
gute tag geuatter!,
vnd ewre ge selschaftt.

M. Vnd euch auch
geuatterin.

C. Was macht ihr hie
so fru in der Felde?
seid ir lang

Flamen.

langhe ghevveest

M. Ontrent een ure.

C. Hebby
veel vercocht
van desen daghe?

M. Vvar soude ic hebben
alreede vercocht?
icken hebbe noch
geen hantg'ist onsfangē.

C. Noch ick oock.

M. Hebr goeden moet,
is noch vroegh
God sal ons senden
eenighe coopliden.

C. Ick hopet:
hier comt eenen,
hy zal hier comen.

Anglob.

hier longe?

M. Almost one hower

C. Haue pou
much solde
this dape?

M. what should i haue
alreadie solde?

i haue not
peat recepued ernest.

C. No i.

M. be of good corrage
pr is peat to early:
God shall send vs
some marchants.

C. I hope:
hier compthe one/
he shall come hither.

Alleman.

hie gewest?

M. vngesherlich chert stt

C. Habbt ir
viel verkaufft
diesen tag?

M. was solte ich haben
berent verkaufft?

ich hab noch
keine handt'ys befund.

C. Ich auch nicht.

M. habet guten mutt/
es ist noch fru:

Gott wirdt vns etliche
kaufleute zu schicken.

C. Ich hofe:
hie komt einer/
er wirdt her kommen.



Francois.

Le I I. Chapitre.

Pour apprendre à acheter
& vendre.

Catherine, Marguerite,
Daniel.

C. Dieu vous donit
bon seur commerce,
& vostre compaignie.

M. Et à vous aussy
commerce.

C. Que faites vous icy
si matin à la foire? ^{à vendre?}
avez vous longuement

Espagnol.

El II. capitulo.

Para aprender a comprar
y vender.

Catalina, Margarita,
Daniel.

C. Dios os de (dre,
buenos dias cōma-
y à vuestra compaña.

M. Y à vos tambien
commadre.

C. Que hazeis aqui
tan de mañana al frio?
aueis mucho

Italian.

Il Capitolo secōdo

Par imparare à comprare
& vendere.

Catarina, Margareta,
Daniel.

C. Idio vi dia
buon giorno comadre,
& à vostra compagna.

M. Et à vos ancora
commadre.

C. Che fate qui
tanto n' aliso al freddo?
siate stato

Francois.

icy esté?

M. Environ vne heure.

C. Avez vous
beaucoup vendu
ce jour?

M. Je' auroy ie
desia vendu?
se n'ay encore
point receu d'estreine.

C. Ne moy aussy.

M. Ayez bon courage,
il est encore temps:
Dieu nous enuyera
quelques marchans.

C. Je l'espere:
Icy en vient un,
il viendra icy.

Espagnol.

estado aqui?

M. Cerca de vna hora.

C. Teneis
mucho vendido
este dia?

M. Que cosa ternia
ya vendido?
aun no hé
estrenado.

C. Ny yo tampoco.

M. Tened buen animo,
aun es temprano:
Dios nos embiara
algunos mercaderes.

C. Yo lo espero:
aqui viene uno,
aca verra.

Italian.

molto qui?

M. Quasi vn' hora.

C. Hauete
assai venduto
questo gi vno?

M. Che cosa hares
gi venduto?
ancora no hé
la mercia.

C. Ne io ancora.

M. Fate bon animo:
ancora é buon hora:
Dio ci mandara
alguni mercaderi.

C. Io l' spero:
qui ne viene uno,
qua vendera.

- dial. 5 : 'God keep you from misfortune / mine hoste'
'Yee be wellcom Sirs'
'Shall wee well lodge within for this night?'
- dial. 6 : 'Ho / shall wee rise? is it not time to rise?'
'What is a clocke?'
'It is two of the clocke / it is three of the clocke: Boy /
bryng some ligt / and make some fyre / that wee may rise'
- dial. 7 : 'Sirs, what wold you gladly buye? see if I have any thyng
which serueth your turne. I will sell you as good cheape / as
any man with in towne: come in'

There is no clear grading from e.g. simple sentences to compound ones. The wording is direct and concrete suggesting an uncomplicated syntactic structure, but this is deceptive: some of the sentences - particularly in the letters - are long and rather involved; their readability is saved by the use of short clauses, also by the layout and the use of strokes¹² (see examples below). Syntax is not dealt with at any stage, the only grammatical information we get is morphological: full conjugations of 'have' and 'be' after the Latin model, i.e. including forms like 'that I have, that thou hast' and 'God graunt I be, thou be, hee be', etc.

The ideas expressed in the dialogues reflect everyday situations easily recognised by any learner; practical details abound and are sometimes included with a mild sense of humour:

- A. *Where is the chamber pot?*
Where is the priue?
- F. *Follow me /*
and I will
shew you the way:
go up
streight /
you shall find them
at the right hand /
if you see them not /
you shall smell them well enough.
(p. 90b)

- M. *i have*
great hunger:
cut me there
a peece of fleasch. (= meat)
- A. *Have you no handes?*
- M. *Yes / but*
i can not
wel reach
to the platter.
- P. *Wel / i will serue you:*
have you enough?
- M. *I haue yet nothing.*

12 Strokes are only used for the text printed in gothic type: English and German in the 1576 edition, Low Dutch and English in the 1616 edition.

*P Holde there /
have you
enough now?*
*M. Looke
what hee geeveth me /
what may that helpe?
keepe yt for you /
and eate it your self.
Roger / cut me
of that shoulder.
(pp. 42b,43b)*

In this way the learner is introduced to the life and customs of 16th century Flanders. This may not have been of use to learners of English but much of these contents applied to other countries and people or could easily be adapted. The absence of class consciousness will have helped to make these C&D acceptable to a wide range of people: the characters in the dialogues are common people (market vendors, salesmen, etc.) addressed by their first names and using a language specified as polite colloquial by Verdeyen; there are no courtiers among them, they do not dwell in palaces, they meet in inns or market places and talk about subjects common to you and me (food and drink, asking the way, getting up in the morning, buying a house etc.).

Since the bulk of this vademecum is taken up by dialogues and letters (134 pp. in all) against 48 pp. for the word list and 17 pp. for the grammar section, it is obvious that language is viewed primarily as a means for oral and written communication in everyday life. The registers are colloquial (dialogues) or formal (letters); thus we find:

(colloquial)

*M. Good morrowe, my frinde.
G. And you also.
M. You knowe well / wherfore i com hether / do you not?
G. No trulie.
M. How so? knowe you not who i am? do you not knowe me?
G. No who be ou?
M. have you forgotten that you had latelie marchandise of me?
G. It is so indeede.
M. Wel when shall I have my mone?
(pp. 65 and 66)*

(formal)

*Right worship ful and wel beloued father / I recommand mee right humblie to your
good grace / and also in like manner to my well beloued mother: understand that I
am in good prosperitie / ...
(pp. 123 and 124)*

or

*I John of Barlaimont acknowledg and confesse / to have hyred to Peeter Marschall
an howse lying in Antwerp upon the market / called the Hare / with a yearde and a
well / for the terme of six yeares / ...
(pp. 137 and 138)*

Utterances are looked upon as strings of discrete words, not as units of phrases or clauses joined together by syntactic rules. Translation seems an easy job: 'when you have found the woordes you may then joyne them together as you have seen in the first booke', i.e. the dialogues and letters (p.149). Curiously enough this is precisely what happens in the translations: the Dutch original is translated almost word by word, with minor alterations in word order:

*Rogier mijn goede vrient/
ick hebbe ontfangen
uwen brief/
inden welcken
gy my schryft/
dat ick u soude senden
het geldt
dat ick u schuldich ben/
d'welck my is
onmaghelyck
nu te doen
(pp 132 and 133)*

*Roger mon bon amy,
i'ay receu
vostre lettre,
par laquelle
vous m'escruez
que ie vous enuoye
l'argent
que ie vous doy,
ce qui m'est
impossible
de faire maintenant*

*Roger my good frind/
I haue receaued
your letters/
by the which
you write mee/
that I should send you
the monye
that I owe you/
the which is
unpossible for mee
to doo now*

To what extent these renderings can be accepted as (near-)native would require further study¹³; at any rate, the point may only be of interest to linguists, not to desperate businessmen, who were and still are satisfied as long as their utterances are intelligible. De Berlaimont had his own doubts when he came to forms of address ('superscription'): 'Eucry one must heere consider that the Anglishmen, Dutchmen, Latinchmen, Frenchmen, Spanyers and Italians do use other superscriptions: therefore are not these forenamed examples whollie to be followed but are onlie translated for to make the same speakers agree with the Flemmish tounge' (p.146). A similar caveat seems in order for both syntax and spelling of the target languages.

The diachronic variation of the language in the many editions after 1530 has already been referred to earlier on. Spelling, vocabulary and grammar are never the same in any two editions; this may partly be explained by the absence of a standard language for the languages concerned throughout the whole of the printing history of the C&D, but at the same time this variation reflects the linguistic development that took place over a period of almost 300 years. Occasionally, complaints about spelling deficiencies were voiced by printers or publishers like e.g. Michael Sparke jr. in his English edition of 1639, in the preface of which we can read that 'I thought it a matter of good importance, to salve up this deformity, and to supply this defect.' However this may be, the C&D offer interesting and perhaps unique

13 In 1573 Holyband (or de Sainliens), a Frenchman teaching in England, expresses his disgust at the type of French used by Walloon teachers from the Low Countries (Lambley 1920 240/1)

study material for the philologist. As an example of the kind of data to be collected from them a selection of diachronic changes has been made to illustrate the variations in spelling, vocabulary and grammar. The text is the dialogue 'for to learne to buy and sell' as included in three editions of BERLAIMONT 1576 and four ELL textbooks (see table 5 below).

f. point of view on language learning and teaching

De Berlaimont does not explicitly deal with the language learning process. In the preface he tells us: 'And if so be that you may not learne the whole without booke' (i.e. by heart) 'then take out the same that you haue most neede of: This dooing you may with pleasure and in maner of speaking all playing com to the knowledg of many languages'. Memorising was apparently a common way of dealing with this kind of material. Further on we are told that the dialogues are supposed to serve as models ('patrons') to be imitated through the use of common words:

'After that you have seene in the first booke the maner for to learne to speake Dutch, Highdutch, English, French, Latinsh, Spanish and Italian by many common speaches as a patron: so have you now in this second Booke many commun wordes ... as stuff for to make other sayinges by your self'
(p. 147).

The suggestion here seems to be that the would-be learner might use the vocabulary by substituting words from it for some of the lexical items in the dialogues he had learned by heart. Or was he perhaps supposed to consult his vademecum on occasion and juggle the words and phrases around to come up with the required utterance? His contemporaries seemed to know how to get out of the book what they were looking for, since it was reprinted dozens of times apparently to fill a need. But how¹⁴ and how effectively the foreign language was picked up, remains uncertain. The 'grammar' notes at the end are summary and not in need of explanation: they can hardly have been of much use to the learners. Drill practice, or elements of it, occur in certain places, where the learner is provided with a list of options to fill a given slot:

¹⁴ External evidence on how to work with the dialogues is provided by Streuber 1914:36/7. Memorising and frequent contact with native speakers are put forward here as suggestions. Verdeyen (1926:xxii) suggests that Latin was omitted in some editions to make them suitable for use in schools other than the Latin schools, since there was a rule forbidding anyone to teach that language outside the Latin Schools.

<u>Colloquia et Dictionariolum</u> (1576 in BL)	(de Berlaimont) (1584 in BL)	(1616 in PM)	<u>SCHOLE-MASTER</u> (1646 in KB)	<u>HILLENIUS</u> (1677=1664 in BL)	<u>RICHARDSON/SEWEL</u> (Rich 1676 in PBL Sewel: 1706 in BL)	<u>SMITH</u> (1752 in BL)
<u>spelling</u>						
learne	learne	learne	learn	learn	learn	learn
hower	houre	hower	houre	houre	hour	hour
-	handsched (?)	handsale	handsell (-sale)	handsel	handsel	handsel
fleshe	flesh	fleash	flesh	flesh	flesh	-
wryghtig boke	a booke for to write in	writing booke	writhing book	writing Book	writing book	-
stuyver	stuyver	stuver	styer	stiver	stiver	-
to high	too high	to high	too high	-	too high	too high
losse	loose	leese	lose	loose(r)	loose(r)	loose(r)
there	-	there	there	there	there	there
carryed	carryed	caned	carnd	carried	carried	carry'd
<u>vocabulary</u>						
gossip	gossip	gossip	gossip	Sir/Mistress	Sir/Mistress	Sir/Mistress
twentighe stuyvers	-	twentie peyce	twenty styvers	five Shillings	a dollar (?)	half a Guinea or 10 Shillings and Sixpence
wynne	gaine	winne	gain	gain	gain	gain
shent	shent	shent	shent	chidden	chidden	chidden
evill contente	not pleased	evell content	not contented	agneved (or malecontent)	agneved (or malecontent)*	[if you think it is too dear]
monney	mony	smal mony	smal money	small change	small change	small Mony
put out (2x) (= dispose of)	put away (2x)	put/geeve out	put of/away	put off/away	put off/away	-
you boye	boy	you boye	Sirra	Sirra, thou boy	thou boy	Boy
<u>grammar</u>						
nor I	nor I neither	nether yet i	nor I neither	nor I	nor I	nor I
playseth you	will you	pleaseth it you	doe you please	doth please you	doth it please you	is there anything at your Service
looke what thinge yt pleaseth you to buye	look what thing to please to buy	look what pleaseth you to buye	look what you please to buy	look what will serve you & what may be for your turn by it	look what will serve you & what may be for your turn by it	look what will serve you and what may be for your turn - go and try else where
-	-	therby	by it	go, and try elsewhere	go, and try elsewhere	-
goo loke some where elles	go see else where	go looke som where els	goe try elsewhere	that would be a shame	that would be a shame	-
that where my shame	that were a shame	it where shame	it would be a shame	it is needless, (or not necessary)	it is needless	it is Needless
yt is no nede	it is not nede	it is no nede	there is no need of it			

*Sewel: malcontent

18. Table 5
Linguistic variation in seven editions of De Berlaimont's dialogue 'for to learne to buye and sell' (1576-1752)

- A. *What gentelman is that?*
 B. *It is the
 noblest/
 the hardiest/
 the most honest/
 the wisest/
 the richest/
 the most
 humble/
 the most courteouse/
 the most liberall of the country.*
 (p.97)

This kind of drill occurs in other places too and in other textbooks as well.

In the table of contents we learn that 'this booke is very profitable for to learne to reade, write and speake'. The order in which the three skills are presented here makes good sense: reading as a first (receptive) step, then writing for consolidation and finally speaking at the productive stage. Listening is the neglected skill, as in most other textbooks until 1800, but contacts with native speakers are often explicitly mentioned as invaluable for good progress. But speaking seems the most important skill: the table of contents ends with a note about the second part of the book, which 'conteineth many single woordes serving to daylie communication'.

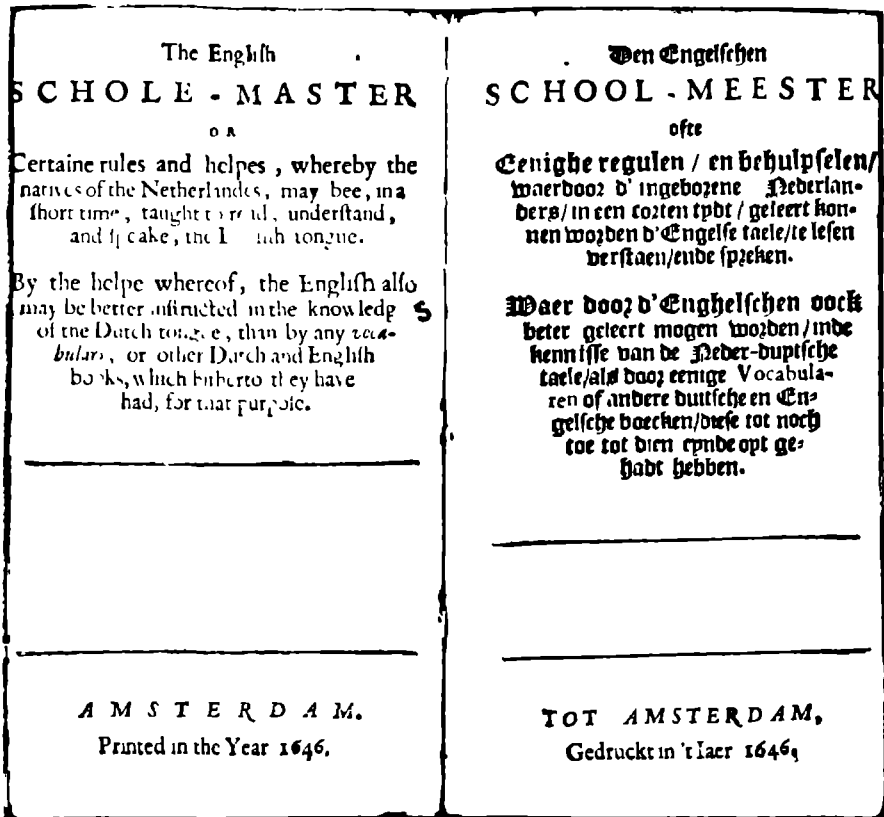
g. evaluation

1. The value of this multilingual guide cannot be overestimated. Through its extensive coverage both geographically and in number of languages and in time it will not have failed to influence large numbers of people;
2. language learning was its only aim: the absence of secondary objectives - moral, religious or otherwise - which as we shall see pervade many of the later English textbooks, made it a straightforward language learning guidebook; and since it was composed by an experienced teacher with a good deal of language practice, it had the character of quality which had stood the test of time (cf. also Van Loey 1933:195ff). In the seventeenth century, when under the influence of Renaissance learning the study of the vernacular took to its wings and bilingual textbooks and dictionaries began to be written (for Latin and French to begin with), the C&D were gradually replaced by more updated material. Pronunciation and grammar were dealt with in more detail, idioms were added on and occasionally also longer prose passages. The new books did more justice to the structure of the language, but until the end of the eighteenth century they contained the same elements as De Berlaimont's manual: dialogues, vocabulary, letters, pronunciation guidelines and rules of grammar with little or no syntax. However, since the C&D contained a minimum of

morphological rules and a modicum of pronunciation guidelines, the emphasis in the learning process was put on contact with the living language, not on a study of grammar points, and its principal aim was 'daylie communication';

3. it has to be admitted that the C&D were mainly used for the learning of French and Dutch, and that their contents and methodological approach were developed outside the field of ELL. Hardly any reference¹⁵ has been found to the use of these manuals in an English language learning context in the Low Countries, school or private. However, the inclusion of these C&D in this study is amply warranted. In the period under discussion the dividing line between the approaches to foreign language learning were marginal and in most parts of Europe, including England, French had taken the lead and served as a model for other languages; indeed, the ideas about foreign language learning expressed in the manuals for French until the middle of the eighteenth century can be and must be considered in the study of other languages. Secondly, English had been admitted to this manual in 1576 and kept its place in the following years; this may be seen as an indication of the need for this language among its users. In the parts of Europe further removed from England, i.e. Central and Southern Europe, English was often dropped from the manual to the preference of the languages of neighbouring countries; this points to a market-sensitive policy among printers and booksellers. Thirdly, the surprising discovery of passages from the C&D in ELL material for speakers of Low Dutch until around 1800 would in itself justify a study of this apparently valuable source.

15 The only clear example is VOCABULER 1639, which was written for speakers of Low Dutch and English.

19. Figure 12. Title page of *The English Schole-Master*, 1646

6.3 ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH SCHOLE-MASTER (first published in 1646; for full text of title page see Figure 12)

The *English Schole-Master* (further: ESM) was the first full¹⁶ bilingual ELL textbook for speakers of Dutch developed and used in the Low Dutch area. There had been two bilingual manuals before it: Walraven/Whetstone's *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* of 1586 and the anonymous *Den grooten Vocabulaer* of 1639, but these were limited in size and content: the first (103 pp.) because it only contained an English text and its Low Dutch translation, pronunciation and spelling rules, and 10 short texts, the second (also 103 pp.) because it was based on *Colloques et Dialogues* 1576, a multilingual manual of the preceding century, containing an extremely limited grammar section (conjugations of 'have' and 'be' only), dialogues, letters and a

¹⁶ 'full' is used here to denote the typical manual as described in the first paragraph of Ch 5.2

vocabulary. The novelty of *this* textbook did not only consist in its size (332 pp.) and content but also in the fact that it was written by an Englishman and teacher as well. His name has not been identified (see Ch.4). He was the first to introduce English teaching material into the Low Dutch market. Although he is quite modest about his achievements - 'I dare not speake any thing, in praise of the work, lest it should not prove as it seemeth' (pre-face¹⁷) -, he stands out as a pioneer in his field¹⁸, whose work created a framework for later textbooks by native speakers of English.

The word 'schole-master' did not of course refer to a person but to the textbook itself: *The English Schole-master, Or Certaine rules and helpes ...*), a common usage at the time; it occurs in the popular *The French Schoole-maistr* by Claude Holyband, first printed in England in 1565, subsequently reprinted and enlarged numerous times until 1668; in Roger Ascham's *School-master* (1570) with guidelines for the study of languages; it is also contained in the title of Edward Cootes's *The English School-master* (1596), in *The English, Latine, French, Dutch Schole-master* (1637, Appendix 1c), and in several other titles. The word did not catch on in the Low Dutch area.

a. printing history

The ESM was printed three times (1646, 1658, 1663) in Amsterdam in virtually identical editions. Writer's and printer's names were not entered in the first edition, which may point to a degree of uncertainty about this venture, as expressed in the preface. The next two editions were printed by Jan and Jan Jacobsz. Bouman of Amsterdam, whose family could also have been responsible for the first edition, as they were in the book trade from 1644 (Gruys & De Wolf 1980). The book circulated among the native speakers of Low Dutch and English in the Dutch Republic; it was superseded by HILLENIUS 1664 and RICHARDSON 1677, who used parts of it in their textbooks; parts of it were also copied in *The Dutch-Tutor* published in London in c1658. There are no references to it in other publications.

17 Quotations in this Chapter have been taken from the edition of 1663 (*KB), virtually identical to the first edition of 1646.

18 In the Low Dutch area, not on the Continent as a whole as Howatt (1984:61) has it: French bilingual materials had been available since at least the middle of the sixteenth century; although these manuals were usually written for FrLL, they could equally well be used (and were) for ELL - see the long list in Lambley 1920.405-407.

b. sources

The composition of ESM was not only 'the first attempt which I have made in this kind', but at the same time a venture into virgin territory in that the author had never seen 'any grounds to the like purpose, from which I might receive any furtherance or helpe herein'. His learners had been hampered by the absence of 'some Dictionary, Grammar, or (at least) some rudiments to help them', but they could now be served by this 'meane piece', composed by an, almost reluctant, author who had 'hitherto expected, that some more able would before this have prevented me of this labour by their more fruitfull observations' (quotations from the preface). Had he waited a little longer, he could have referred them to Hexham's dictionaries (1647/8), which included useful grammars for English and Dutch, but the two authors did not seem to have known one another.

Although new in its kind, the work was by no means original. The title page tells us that 'the English also may be better instructed in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, than by any vocabulars, or other Dutch and English books, which hitherto they have had, for that purpose'. Some of these manuals were used as a basis for ESM and can be traced without too much trouble. The 'vocabulars' were no doubt the popular editions of BERLAIMONT 1576, which were based on De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare*, perhaps more specifically *Den grooten Vocabulaer Engels ende Duyts ... The Great Vocabvler, in English and Dutch ...* of 1639, reprinted in 1644 and 1649, and possibly also published before 1639, from which three dialogues were copied (12. 'A meale of ten persons'; 13. 'How to learne to buy and sell'; 14. 'How to demand a debt') and some of the letters (2. 'From a son to his father longing to hear from his parents' + reply; 6. the third letter 'Another, somewhat shorter, and with severall payments' (starting with 'I A.B. dwelling at Antwerp ...') and further on 'An acquittance for debt' ('I A.B. dwelling at Bridges' = Bruges)¹⁹. To his English sources belonged Lily's Latin grammar (1540) and Butler's *The English Grammar* (1633) as demonstrated in Scheurweghs 1961. According to Dobson (1968: vol.I, p.379) the section 'Van Consonant-Syllaben ende veel noodige observatien ...' seems to be based on S.Daine's *Orthoepia Anglicana* of 1640.

The long section containing 'Certaine moral sayings and familiar (or proverbiall) speeches ... profitable for the exercise of the tongue' (pp. 68-106) will almost certainly have been copied too; this is the more likely since a similar section entitled 'Sentences, very Edifying, and profitable for the exercise of the (English) tongue' occurs in HILLENIIUS 1664 (Part 2, pp. 115-

19 Of the three dialogues only the text of 'How te learne to buy and sell' differs substantially from that in *The Great Vocabvler* of 1639.

136) with virtually identical headings but a different text. This may point to a common source pirated in different ways²⁰.

Dialogues not copied from C&D 1576 may have been taken from an English source, probably one used in English Grammar Schools. This would explain the use of phrases like 'the sixt forme' (corruptly translated as 'het seste school') and 'Grammer-boyes' ('Grammatica's jongens') in Dialogue 4 on 'Schoole-talke ...' (pp. 122 and 123), 'Country schooles' ('dorp-schoolen') on p.162, the frequent references to Latin authors (pp.151, 160, 164, etc.) and prompts like 'yct me thinks there is nothing more profitable than that continuall exercise of speaking latin' (p.159), entirely out of place in a textbook for ELL. It would also explain the central position of children / scholars / boys - girls are never explicitly mentioned - in Dialogues 4 to 12 inclusive (cf. the headings in section 'table of contents' below). And it would make acceptable the tone of moral rectitude and Christian belief pervading the whole of this textbook²¹.

A full survey of the sources would look like this (ed. 1663):

1 - 35 (the grammar)	.(based on) Lily 1540 .(based on) Butler 1633
36 - 67 (texts)	.(based on) Daine 1640 .Old and New Testament, .ecclesiastical texts
68 -106 (moral sayings)	.a Dutch source (?)
107-108 (numbers, days of the week etc.)	.partly also in BERLAIMONT 1576
108-194 (dialogues etc.)	.BERLAIMONT 1576 .a book used in English Grammar Schools
194-224 (letters)	(?) .BERLAIMONT 1576 .perhaps other source

The writer's personal contribution cannot have been substantial. It is quite obvious that he leaned heavily on his sources, from which he copied *verbatim* in many cases. He may have provided (some of) the Dutch translations, which would account for several of the awkward Dutch words and phrases²² throughout the text. He did not produce an accurate piece of

20 The Dutch texts of many of the *Schole-master's* proverbs contain rhyme and rhythm not present in the English equivalents. This would point to a Dutch source. If true, to what extent were the English translations common expressions in the seventeenth century?

21 This unknown English source may in turn have been adapted from an earlier French or even Latin original, cf. the occurrence of Paris (152), Lyons (125), the boy's name of John Fluvian (142), wine (126), and 'the people are now busie in gathering grapes' (155).

22 Cf. the preface, which contains some odd constructions

- *Overleggende d'eenparige dependentie ...* ('Considering the mutuall relation ...')

- *beyde in 't regard van hare Religie ... en traffique ...* ('both in respect of their Religion ... and the traffique ...')

- *dat een ander die beter begaeft is my met hare profyteycker aenmerkangen soude voorgekomen hebben* ('that some moreable would before this have prevented me of this labour by their more fruitfull observations')

work: the overall organisation, particularly of the grammar section, terminology, spelling and translation are shoddy; he was well aware of these imperfections and excused himself in the preface: 'and myne other more weighty occasions permit me not to be so exact herein as otherwise probably I should have bin'. This may well be one of the works Richardson complained of when he wrote of 'the gross faults in other little Books of this sort already extant; in some of which I can compute about three thousand, in others more' (preface of RICHARDSON 1677)²³. To make up for this two pages with errata were added in the back of the 1646 edition, not nearly enough to remove all the 'imperfections'.

The originality of this work lies not so much in the novelty of the material, but rather in the choices made in the compilation of a new type of book which had not been published before; language learning materials from Britain were introduced for the first time and a moral tone was adopted. These features were to dominate the textbooks in the years to come.

c. target group

The ESM was written for 'the natives of the Netherlandes' to learn English and for 'the English' to learn Dutch. This double bill was a common one at the time and in fact a step forward on the much wider target groups of the multilingual guidebooks that came before it. The demand for the two languages certainly existed when the book first appeared, as we have seen in Chapter 2.2.6.; one may even wonder why a textbook like this had not been written earlier on. All the subsequent seventeenth century ELL textbooks for speakers of Low Dutch were written for at least these two target groups, with the possible exception of Van Helderens publications (1675). The break with this tradition came as late as 1705 when Sewel published his *Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale* (to learn English) as a separate companion part to his *A Compendious Guide to the Low Dutch Language* of 1700 (to learn Dutch) - from then on the English were less and less interested in learning Dutch so that the ELL textbooks came to be written for speakers of Dutch only.

-
- *verbum* = 'naemwoord' (25)
 - *Ende soo veel voor 't eerste ofte Etymologicaal deel des Engelschen School-meesters* (an Anglicism from: And so much for the first or etymological Part of the English Schole-master) (34)
 - *in 't verstaen en kennisse* (instead of: in 't verstaen en de kennisse) (36)
 - *saxt forme* = 'het seste school' (122)
 - *Grammer-boys* = 'Grammatica's jongens' (123)
 - etc.

23 Richardson used some of the material in the FSM, but did not acknowledge this source whereas he did express admiration for Vossius, Wallis and Hillenius.

However, the ESM does not deal with the two languages equally well. While the texts, dialogues and letters are all strictly bilingual - with the English sentences on the left and their Dutch translations on the right - the grammar is only in Dutch and provides mainly information about English. This imperfection was spotted by Hillenius (1664) and eliminated intelligently by him when he printed his almost identical Dutch and English grammars side by side on two facing pages. Beyer (1661) wrote separate Dutch and English (and French) grammars, translated each one into the other two languages and had the original with their translations printed in three columns on one page. Richardson wrote very different separate grammars for Dutch and English organised, like Hillenius', in parallel fashion (see Ch.6.3).

It is not easy to determine whether the ESM was meant for adults or children. In his preface the author talks of 'many students in these Countries', 'the desires of many persons of quality', 'some whom I have my selfe instructed therein' (i.e. English): all these phrases could apply to both young and older learners. Throughout the grammar the learner is referred to as 'leerlingh', which can be either 'pupil' or 'learner'. The dialogues are equally inconclusive: 1-3 and 13-15 are about adults, 4-12 about children, often 'schollers'; the four personal letters are exchanges between a father and his son, the remaining commercial letters belong of course to the world of adults. The anonymous author may have been a private tutor of both adults and children, perhaps even a former teacher in an English Grammar School (for boys) who had escaped from his native country and tried to make a living by teaching his mother tongue and possibly also by other means, cf. the obscure allusion to 'myne other more weighty occasions' (in the preface, also top p.34). At any rate, the ESM tells us more about the world of children and schoolboys than any other English textbook for speakers of Low Dutch, a fact that cannot only be explained by the author's reliance on source material that 'happened to be' in his possession.

d. table of contents

The ESM has its own bilingual table of contents in the back (8 pp.) - an unusual but useful feature -, with full headings in English and Dutch, and with page references. It is headed as follows: 'A table of the principall matters conteyned in this little book; by the help whereof the scholler may find out any thing therein for his use either in the learning of the matter or signification of words'. The table below is much shorter; it provides the original wording of the text - not always the same as the wording in the table - followed, if necessary, by English translations from the ESM table {in

braces}. Any text not quoted is given in (round brackets), figures in [square brackets] refer to unnumbered pages. The quotations are taken from the edition of 1663 - for the small differences between this edition and the preceding two see Appendix 1a.

ed. 1663

- [1p.] (half-title page, with engraving in ed. 1663 only reproduced as frontispiece in this study, q.v.)
The English Schole Master. Den Engelsen School meester.
t'Amsteldam, By Joannes J.Bouman. 1663
- [1p.] (full title page, see Figure 12 above for text of ed. 1646)
- [5p.] (preface) To the true naturall inhabitants, and all lovers of the peace and prosperity of the united Provinces of the Netherlands, health, wealth, and happines. (in English and Dutch)
- 1-36 Regelen tot onderwijnsinge Van de Engelsche Tale. By een gestelt tot dienste der gener, die lust ende begeerte tot de kennisse der selve hebben. (in Dutch only)
- 1 Den Inhoudt van 't Werck {The Scope of the Work}
- 1-34 (Het eerste deel - The first part)
Van de Etymologie (Of the Etymology)
- 1-15 (Het eerste deel van de Engelsche etymologie)
- 1-3 Het eerste Capittel. Van de Letteren en hare verdeeling {Of the letters and their distribution}
- 4-6 Capit. II. Van Diphthongen {Of diphthongs}
- 6-15 Capit. III. Van Consonant-Syllaben, ende veel noodige observatie, aengaende 't lesen ende 't geluyt der woorden {Of Consonant-Syllables, and many necessary observations about the reading and pronunciation (sic) of words}
- 16-34 Het tweede deel van de Engelsche Etymologie
- 16-22 Cap. I. Van den nomen Substantivum en Adjectivum {Of the noun substantive, and its particles, numbers, and cases}
- 22-25 Cap. II. Van het pronomen, ofte voor-naem {Of the pronoun and its several kinds}
- 25-31 Cap. III. Van 't verbum (ofte naem-woord)
Of the verb and its conjugation in all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons}
- 32-34 Cap. IIII. Van de deelen der sprake die indeclinabel ofte onveranderlijk zijn
{Of the parts of speech that are undeclinable, to wit: adverb, conjunction, preposition, and interjection}
- 34-36 Het tweede Deel (The second part) (in Dutch)
- 34-35 Cap. I. Van Syntaxis {Of Syntax}
- 36 Cap. II. (without heading) (introduction to the following practical material)
- 36-67 Certaine common scripture-places, and Christian speeches, very usefull for the practise of the former rules (with Dutch translation, as in all subsequent headings)
- 36 The some of the law, taken out of Math.22. vs. 37, 38,39, 40.
- 37 The ten Commandements. Exod. 20. Deut. 5.
- 39 The Lords prayer
The Commission given by Christ to his Apostles Matth. 28. 18. 19.
- 40 The institution of the holy supper of our Lord, taken out of 1.Cor. 11. vs. 23. &c. and 1.Cor. 10. 16. 17.
- 41 Rules of Church-discipline, Matth. 18. 15, &c.
- 42 The 12. articles of the Catholique Christian faith
- 43 The Confession of faith composed in the Council of Nice, in the 325. year after the birth of Christ
- 44 The form of Creed, and Confession of Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria, written in the 333 year after Christs birth
- 48 The 38. and 39. chapters of the book of Iob: and a part of the 40.

- and 41. chapters
- 57 The 4, 5, and 6. chapters of the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians: wherein the duty of Christians is largely handled
- 66 Psal. 91
- 68-106 Certaine morall sayings, and familiar (or proverbiall) speeches, very pleasant to the mynd, and profitable for the exercise of the tongue (in En and Du)
(short passages containing proverbs and sayings divided into 45 sections with headings like: Of the feare of God, Of duty to parents and superiours, Of duty to a mans self, Of duty to neighbours, Of repentance etc.)
- 107 The head-number
The ordinall number
The dayes of the week, and moneths of the yeare
- 108-194 Dialogues and ordinary discourses among men (En and Du)
- 108 Morning salutations
- 109 2. Salutations at meeting and parting
- 110 3. Salutations for the evening tide and night
- 112 Another
- 113 Evening prayer
- 114 3. (sic) Childrens talke, of rising up in the morning, and going to schole and other familiar things
- 116 Morning prayer
- 118 A short prayer before break fast
- 119 4. Schoole-talke, about writing, lessons (sic), and the things thereunto belonging
- 131 5. A child relateth orderly to his ussher what hee and his school-fellows have don in their rising up, clothing them, and other thinges. Wherein the names of many thinges bolonging (sic) to the body are spoken of. After that they discourse of divine matters. A sermon is heard but nothing remembered of it
- 141 6. Certaine short dialogues, wherein Schollers ask their master leave to goe forth on severall occasions
- 141 Another
- 143 Another
- 144 Another
- 145 7. A Scholler inviteth his master in his fathers name to walke to the garden
- 146 8. The diligence of a learned father in teaching of his children at home
- 149 9. Two boys compare their age together, The diligence of a learned pedagogue is praised
- 151 10. Two boys count their books. men must read extraordinary books sometimes. It is better to learn late than never. A book that is finely bound is shewed. Some questions about it. We must not provoke God in our jests
- 154 11. All things ought to bee set after heavenly matters. It is shamefull for one to reprove another of that whereof hee himself is guilty. A father giveth the master charge of his son. Correction is necessary, and therefore to be borne. The commendations of Scholasticall discipline. A rare example of a boy that desires of himself to dwel in the Schoole
- 165 12. A meale of ten persons
- 186 13. How to learne to buy and sell
- 191 14. How to demand a debt
- 194-224 The forme of writing letters, and making obligations, acquittances, and other such like things (En and Du)
- 194 1. A letter from a son to a father in acknowledgement of his

- carefull education of him
 196 The answer to the former letter
 198 2. From a son to his father longing to hear from his parents, and to have some mony sent him
 199 The answer to the former letter
 201 3. From a son to his father asking his Counsell and consent in way of marriage
 204 The answer to the former letter
 206 4. A father sends his son to a Schoolemaster, and gives him charge to feed and instruct him, and promiseth to pay him for it
 209 5. One friend counselleth another howe to proceed wel in merchandizing which hee hath newly begun
 214 6. From one friend to another in way of advise about sale and returne of goods
 215 An obligation for debt
 216 Another, somewhat shorter, and with severall payments
 217 An obligation with surety
 218 An agreement for hire of an house
 219 An acquittance for house rent
 220 An acquittance for debt
 A clearing of an accompt
 221 A Bill of lading after the Hollands manner
 222 A bill of lading after the English forme
 223 A Bil of exchange
 224 Another
 An assignation

[8pp.] The table. A table of the principall matters conteyned in this little book; by the help whercof the schollers may find out any thing therein for his use either in the learning of the matter or signification of words
 (En and Du)

e. subject matter

The contents of this textbook are restricted to basic details, as the author repeatedly points out when referring to his work as 'this meane piece', 'this little booke'; he also tells us that more information would make the book cumbersome, hard to study in a short time and too expensive to buy: 'te groot ... om voor een geringe penningh te koopen' (p.15, also p.34). Which are these basic details?

The short **grammar section** comes in two parts: fifteen pages on pronunciation and twenty-two on word classes (Part 1), and two pages on syntax (Part 2). Orthography, loosely defined as embracing punctuation and other writing guidelincs (including spelling?), is ignored since all the rules are considered to be the same for Latin, Dutch and other languages. Prosody does not get a mention at all. This limited grammar section reflects the traditional views of the time without significant modifications. The writer did not aim at a complete grammar ('volkomen Grammatica') and had omitted on purpose ('met voordacht') many observations I have made ('vele observationen die ik aangemerckt hebbe', all quotes from p.1).

Pronunciation and word classes are treated together in the section

'etymology' following the tradition of Petrus Ramus' Latin grammar (cf. Kemp 1972:22 and Michael 1970:187). After an introduction on the 24 letters in general - with useful notes about the i/j and u/v alteration, and about common abbreviations like 'yt' (the), 'yu' (thou), '&c.' (and so forth) - the diphthongs and consonants are dealt with in their usual alphabetical order. Points of interest are his frequent comments on the silent e at the end of words (as in gladde, sawe, staffe etc.), the pronunciation of consonant + h (ch, wh and especially th 'een van de swaerste dingen ... die in onse Engelsche tale te vinden is'), the pronunciation of English /s/ which is lighter and more delicate ('fjinder en dunner' p.12) than in Dutch, the many similarities with the Low Dutch language, and the usefulness of a native speaker as a model. The notes are contrastive throughout, possibly original²⁴, but incomplete and at times inconsistent. Still, they contain sound advice and some practice material for the individual letters. The lack of a system of phonetic notation, of which the writer rightly complains²⁵, was a serious setback for him as for all his colleagues later on, but not, he feels, serious enough to forego the attempt²⁶.

Next we are told that English has eight word classes, which are summarily discussed - except the participle (an odd class in English anyway) - in their usual order in twenty-two pages. The Latin model is strictly conformed to without comments or queries, often with overt references to that language and with the use of its nomenclator (terms are rarely translated into Low Dutch). Apart from the translated examples there are no contrastive notes En-Du. The seven word classes dealt with are:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| (1) the noun | substantive (with six cases)
adjective |
| (2) the pronoun | personal/possessive
demonstrative
relative/interrogative |
| (3) the verb | auxiliaries
full/absolute verbs, divided into personal and impersonal |
| the 'indeclinables' | (4) adverb (ten subclasses) |

24 Not clearly based on Walraven/Whetstone 1586 as suggested in Scheurweghs 1961:147, in spite of the similarity of the nonsense syllables to practise the English sounds (p.7). Dobson 1968 (vol. 1:379) suggests that the section on consonant syllables may be based on S.Daine's *Orthoepia Anglicana* from 1640

25 'omdat het zwaer valt exempelen in andere talen te vinden waer mede men het rechte geluyt van veele Syllaben in de Engelsche tale voorstellen kan' (as it is not easy to find examples in other languages to represent the proper sound of many syllables in the English language), p 12.

26 For more comments on his notes on pronunciation cf. Dobson 1968, vol 1:379-380.

- (5) co-ordinating conjunction
- (6) preposition
- (7) interjection.

This Latin framework is fleshed out with information about English; the inappropriateness of the framework is repeatedly, but never explicitly, demonstrated as e.g. in comments about the accusative and nominative cases which have the same \emptyset ending in English and can only be told apart by the position of the verb in relation to the noun: ex. 'the Master teachoth the Schollar' (p.19). There is little in this section to please the modern reader; it is not contrastive, not creative, not even well organised, and based fully on Latin.

The syntax is brief as usual, with the usual excuse of unnecessary rules, and a few examples of differences in word order between the two languages. It winds up with an introductory paragraph about the practice materials following it assuring the learner that he will profit from a study of them in every possible way.

These **practice materials** consist of religious texts (31 pp.), 'morall sayings and proverbiall speeches' (38 pp.), dialogues (86 pp.) and letters (28 pp.), probably all of them copied from other sources; the Dutch translations may have been partly provided by the writer himself. The texts are moralistic in tone and of an uplifting nature. Apart from the fact that they were considered to be 'very usefull for the practise of the former rules' (36, 68), we are not told how the selections were made: their only guiding principle seems to have been moral suitability for the kind of readership envisaged; or perhaps also their rich lexical content in religious and other areas.

Of the 11 **religious texts** 1-8 occur in the church books of the (Dutch) Reformed Church, 9-11 are straight passages from the Old and New Testament, all of them with the Dutch translations available at the time. The four chapters (38-41) from the Book of Job, with their poetic descriptions of nature and in particular animals, were included because they seemed (again) 'very profitable for the furtherance of the scholler in the knowledge of the tongue' (table of contents), the three chapters (4-6) from Paul's Letter to the Ephesians describe the duties of a Christian, Psalm 91 ('very comfortable for distressed hearts') was well-known and much loved. Further on in the book four prayers from the (Dutch) Reformed Church are inserted in the dialogues at suitable places: evening prayer (113), morning prayer (116), prayer before meat (173), and thanksgiving after meat (184) - the last two as additions to De Berlaimont's 'A meale of ten persons'.

The **moral sayings and proverbs** make up the longest section of their kind in any of the Low Dutch manuals. The text is divided into 45 subsections each with its own heading and (usually) one-line proverbs in English and

Dutch, like this:

24. *Of jestung*
Van jockange.

He that jesteth inticeth

Die jockt / die lockt.

It 's ill jestung with edged tooles.

't Is quaedt gecken met scherp gereetschap.

He that will jest must beare jestung, els it were better let alone.

Die jocken will / moet jock verstaen /

't Is anders beter ongedaen

Au (sic) ape wil bemocking with every one although she can not cover her owne arse.

Een aep wil met een yeder gecken /

Maer kan haer eygen aers niet decken.

(p.86)

Hillenius (1664), who spends 21 small pages on these 'sentences very edifying', uses almost the same headings but different expressions. Richardson (1677) made a selection from the ESM material (without the headings) and added some of his own - 16 pages in all. Lists like these were extremely popular in language learning textbooks, but not usually so long and tediously moralistic as in this case.

After an enumeration of the cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, the days of the week and the months of the year we come to the 'dialogues and ordinary discourses among men'. These are built up of a. salutations (1-3), b. school talk (4-12) - with at the end 'a rare example of a boy that desires of himself to dwell in the Schoole' -, and c. three dialogues from De Berlaimont dealing with the adult world (13-15). Five prayers are added in different places - the four mentioned above and 'a short prayer before break fast' (118). a. and c. have the usual qualities of liveliness and directness characteristic of so many dialogues; b. is different in this respect: the dialogues deal with the life of model schoolboys, whose words do not always ring true to life:

(usher V. talking with his child S.)

V. You must often meditate, how much you are indebted to God the giver of all things who hath given you understanding and such an happy memory.

S. What am I not indebted to him, who hath given me all things?

V. Tell some of his especiall benefis, as I have some time taught you?

S. That heavenly father hath given me a body, a soul, life, a good mynd, good parents, rich, noble, well affected to me .

(p.134)

(two boys N. and O.)

N Why doth your father take so much paines to teach you?

O. That so hee may understand whuther in the schoole wee doe cast away his labour, and mispend the time.

N Wonderfull diligence and providence of man! Oh how much are you bound to your heavenly father, who hath given you such a father!

(p.148)

(two schoolboys R. and S.)

- S. *But I read those (books) sometimes when wee are at leasure, that I may alwayes take on some new thing especially in the latin tongue and good manners*
 R. *You doe wisely my Solomon. O wretch that I am, who have never yet learned, what it is to be studious*
 S. *Learne therefore, for it is better to learne late than never.*
 (p.152)

The unnatural and fossilised ('o wretch') phrases may have been prompted by the context of school and Latin learning. These stilted dialogues were not uncommon, but contrast sharply with the other ones in the manual. They are the only examples of school dialogues in all the Low Dutch textbooks (apart from isolated occurrences in Smith 1752 and Holtrop 1780): acknowledged schoolmasters like Hillenius and Evans did not see fit to accept them in *their* textbooks (because they were so stilted?).

Among the letters we count four personal ones (with reply), all of them from or to 'a son'; and 14 commercial ones: two letters of general commercial advice, three obligations, one agreement (lease), two acquittances, one clearing of account (receipt), two bills of lading after the Dutch and English manner respectively, two bills of exchange and an assignation (warrant for payment). Most of these letters are dated September 1646, the latest being September 15th, and written by or addressed to citizens of Amsterdam.

f. points of view on language learning and teaching

The ESM contains very few clues for teacher or learner. Explicit directions are virtually absent, implicit ones may be derived from the title page, the preface, the headings of some of the texts and the transitional lines between sections. It all adds up to very little and this scarcity may point to uncertainty on the part of the writer with a learning context and clearly with writing about it.

The overall aims of this textbook are, as the title explains, to help speakers of Low Dutch 'to read, understand, and speake, the English tongue'. **Reading** rules or strategies are not provided, but there is of course ample practice material in the texts and dialogues. This material is ungraded as usual; however, the students were expected to be familiar with the biblical texts, so in a sense it could be argued that in their study of the texts they moved from the known quotations to the less known proverbs to the unknown dialogues, and grading of some kind was thus implied. The reading skill was not an aim in itself: it served as a means to purer and more elegant speaking ('maer sal de tale oock veel suyverder en eleganter spreekken', p.36) and would then have to be interpreted as the technical skill of reading (aloud); the more advanced skill of reading comprehension was covered, it seems, by the term 'understanding' (see below). The more

technical aim could be achieved not only through reading itself but also through a memorising of the passages after reading them (p.36). The point is repeated in more general terms when we are told that the texts are profitable 'for the exercise of the tongue' (p.68; pp. 2 and 3 of table of contents). Quotations like these also referred to **speaking**, easily the most important skill to be practised and repeatedly mentioned as such (preface, pp.1, 16, 20, 36). Pronunciation as a subskill of speaking gets of course a good deal of attention in the first 15 pages and the learner would become quite proficient in this area 'indien hy hem aen die voorschreven observatien houdt' (if he sticks to the above observations, p.16); however, he had to do without practical help in his development from sound to word (grammar), from word to structures (syntax) and from structures to texts (passages) apart from the vague recognition of the general usefulness of these areas. **Understanding** ('verstaen') has the double meaning of **listening comprehension** and **reading comprehension** on e.g. p.16, where a distinction is made between understanding-and-speaking by the learner himself and understanding what someone else speaks or writes. But from the fact that listening exercises were not provided and recourse to a native speaker rarely advised we may safely conclude that understanding was mainly a matter of reading comprehension; listening was thus rightly omitted from the title page and is a skill usually neglected in the textbooks of the time. **Writing** does not get a mention on the title page, but is explicitly practised in the letter writing section of the last few pages of the book, as the heading tells us (p.194): 'The forme of writing letters, and making obligations, acquittances, and other such like things'. These model letters could be copied but would need adjusting and therefore required an active input from the writer, who may not have found this an easy task.

g. evaluation

1. the chief merit of the ESM is no doubt that it was the first attempt at a full bilingual En-Du textbook; the writer had no *one* example to fall back on and decided to base his work on a variety of sources. He would not or could not be original in content; his originality lies in the compilation itself and in the mild adjustment of his sources to the Dutch situation;
2. the contrastive notes about pronunciation are probably his own (what else was there for him to turn to?); all the other material is copy work from other sources, mainly English and Dutch ones; no French material was used at this stage yet; in some cases he had to provide his own translations, but his Dutch was not perfect;
3. in comparison with the En-Du textbooks to follow the ESM is unique in

its large amount of dialogue material about school life and in the large number of proverbs;

4. Latin plays an important part both in the grammar and in the dialogues 4-12;
5. many of the texts, letters and comments are deeply religious and moralistic in tone, much more so than in the majority of the textbooks to follow; however, this tone and the writer's Protestant background would turn out to be typical of the En-Du textbooks until 1800;
6. this is a male book: women/girls are not represented except in the three dialogues from De Berlaimont (no names, capital letters only) and in the odd reference to mother/daughter;
7. parts of this book were copied in HILLENUS 1664, which clearly replaced it, and RICHARDSON 1677 in the Low Dutch area; and by the anonymous writer of *The Dutch-Tutor* (c1658) in England.

6.4 ANALYSIS OF *ANGLO-BELGICA* BY EDWARD RICHARDSON
(first published in 1677; for full text of title page see Figure 1 in
Ch. 5.2.1)

Edward Richardson, an English expatriate (for details see Ch. 4), wrote the *Anglo-Belgica* towards the end of his life at the request of the bookseller Steven Swart: 'I (=Swart) have often desired' (approached) 'the learned and experienced Author (though it was much below his high learning to trouble himself with such a Work); I have yet so far prevailed upon his singular goodness, that he hath undertaken the Work: and doubt not but that these his pains shall be acceptable to the Reader desirous of Language' ('The Bookseller to the Reader'). There was every reason to call Richardson 'learned and experienced': he had studied divinity and medicine at Emmanuel College Cambridge and at Leyden; he had composed various religious tracts of a controversial nature; he knew Latin, Greek and some Hebrew, and was familiar with the works of some of the prominent scholars of his time: John Wallis, Gerard Vossius, John Wilkins - he may even have been personally acquainted with some of them. He was also experienced: as a preacher, as a medical doctor, and certainly as an advocate of the principles of non-conformism in a wide sense (cf. his biography in Ch.4). But did his learning and experience also extend into the field of languages? He did not have any teaching experience¹ that we know of; he had, however, picked up Dutch and was quite proficient in it: Palmer 1775 tells us that 'he became very expert in the language'. Being the scholar he was, he will have made use of the available textbooks of his days, notably HILLENIUS 1664 published just after his (R.'s) arrival in Rotterdam and possibly also SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 (which he did not appreciate too much); as a translator and writer in Dutch he must have relied on the only bilingual dictionary for English and Dutch of his days (HEXHAM 1647/8) and perhaps also on monolingual Dutch dictionaries. We also know that he was familiar with grammars of Dutch. His linguistic experience gained over a period of some 14 years in the Dutch Republic may thus have been sufficient to warrant Swart's epithets. But the latter feels obliged to add: 'though it was much below his high learning to trouble himself with such a Work': the writing of ELL material was apparently much (!) below the level of Richardson's other works² and not his

1 He may have kept a school in Sawley near Ripon in 1639, but the reference has not been checked (Scheurweghs 1960 136, note 34, also Longdon 1938-52: xi, 189).

2 He was a prolific writer of letters, pamphlets, sermons and short treatises: he wrote the preface to the second edition of Mattheus du Bois' *Godts Wonder-werck, Voor en in de Weder-gheoorde*, first printed by R.Tinneken in Haarlem in 1665, second edition by A. van

usual occupation. Swart's clause seems indicative of the superiority enjoyed by scholarly and religious works as opposed to those in the field of teaching. Richardson is of a different mind: 'Tis indeed objected, that this is something below those more serious thoughts & profession of things of a sublimer Nature, to which I (at le[a]st) pretend: Whereto *I reply*: that I account nothing dishonourable to me but sin: and however this Book hath cost me much labour yet hath it not disturbed me; well knowing that there is a sacred skill of *exercising our hands* in *temporal* affairs when at the same time our *hearts* may be heaved up above all that is limited by the measures of *time*. ('To the Reader', with original italics); to which he adds: 'Besides this, I have no cause to look upon this as contemptible, when men of æquall degree, and far greater worth, have thought meet to be exercised in this kind of Grammarwork'.

The unusual title 'Anglo-Belgica' - with a feminine ending to match the Latin *academia* - reflects the academic nature of this textbook ; 'Belgic' was and still is an acceptable adjective to apply to the Low Countries (not to be confused with 'Belgian'), but it is not a common word and it carries a ring of confusing accuracy. Richardson reserved it for the title and the odd place in the work itself; in all other cases he is quite happy, and unacademically inconsistent, to use 'Dutch', 'Low-dutch', 'Netherdutch', or 'Netherlandish' to refer to language, country or people. The word Belgic does not occur in any other ELT textbook before 1800. The word 'Academy' in the subtitle is justified by the author as follows: 'That we have presumed to entitle this Book *an Academy*, may receive a favourable Interpretation, when the varietie of its matter, relating to severall sorts of things worthy to be known in Morality, Laws, Medicin & Merchandise, shall be considered, together with the demonstration of the Harmony of these Languages with others, as *Greek, Latin and French*; especially when Books Stuff'd with complements' (=compliments)' and toys' (=twaddle)' assume the same Title.' ('To the Reader'). It is true that the textbook contains some unusual material on the subjects mentioned in this quotation: 14 pages from Epictetus' *Enchiridion* and two letters on philosophical subjects - the second in recommendation of 'the Spagyrical (or Chymical) Science' -, one dialogue on 'commutative or interchangeable Iustice', another 'concerning the Laws', almost 7 pages of extracts 'out of the Register of the Arbitrary Laws of the City of Amsterdam',

de Burgh in Amsterdam in 1667 (also by Joh Boekholt 1680, in UBA and UBVU), he assisted in the translation of the notorious pamphlet *England's Appeal from the Private Cabal at Whitehall* by William Coventry (1663), which appeared in 1673 with Mercy Bruyning in Amsterdam, he had a hand in *The grand Jury or Inquest of England*, referred to in BC (f 68), he is also known to have translated Thomas Bromley's *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* (1655), published by S Swart in 1676 as *De Wegh tot den Sabbath der Ruste* (in UBI, 2nd edition of 1682 in UBA) with an introduction of 70 pages by Richardson himself See also Hoftijzer 1987 for more details

some pieces of medical information, one dialogue on medical matters, two dialogues for merchants, a host of commercial letters and bills of exchange (some 40 pages), 6 pages on weights and measures 'commonly used in England', one page at the end of part II on 'words of most use amongst Merchants' (as a filler?), and an interesting note on 'the Stile of the Year', i.e. the Julian calendar still in use in Britain at the time³, so that e.g. 20 March 1676 in the Low Countries would be 10 March 1675 in England. Thus the Academy assumes an encyclopedic character, albeit of a rather arbitrary nature.

a. *printing history*

The *Anglo-Belgica* has three parts: Part I with a Dutch and/or English grammar, Part II with dialogues, letters etc., Part III with a vocabulary. Of the three surviving editions the first appeared in 1677: the title pages of all its component parts carry the date of 1676 except the two main title pages and the *Guid to the Low-dutch Language*, which have 1677⁴; its Part I has the Dutch and English grammars. The second edition of 1689 appeared in two different forms: one without the English grammar, the other without the Dutch grammar; and both with an amended and enlarged second part⁵. The surviving copies of the third edition of 1699 are similar to the 1689 edition with the English grammar; all the dates are 1698, but Part III has 1699 and Part II is undated. Scheurweghs (1960:152) adds that Parts II and III are bound together with some copies of Sewel's *Compendious Guide to the Low Dutch Language* (1700). These two parts were also added to Sewel's *Compendious Guide to the English Language* (1705). The printer was Steven Swart (1677) and his widow (1689, 1698/9). For more details see Scheurweghs 1960 and Hoftijzer 1987).

b. *sources*

The many sources for this textbook will be indicated here for each of its three parts separately.

3 The present Gregorian calendar was not introduced until 1752, long after Wallis had advised against it in 1692 - see also note 20 below.

4 Cf. Ch. 5.2.1 on title pages.

5 The second Edition, amended and enlarged with a great many new and choice Dialogues' (English title page, ed. 1689). For details see 'Table of contents' below.

A. PART 1: English grammar

A variety of sources was used in the composition of this grammar, but none of them can be said to have had a major influence: Richardson took bits and pieces from all of them, sometimes copying *verbatim*, sometimes following the ideas expressed in them, and always adding his own observations. For convenience sake these sources may be divided into three groups:

1. the scholarly monolingual works by Vossius, Wilkins and Wallis, whose names appear in the preface:

Vossius' *Latina Grammatica* was not of course a useful book to copy from, but its approach to Latin and possibly also some of the examples may have guided Richardson in his ideas about the English language, which leaned heavily on Latin. The name of John Wilkins was mentioned partly because he succeeded Richardson at Ripon in 1663 and the two may have personally been acquainted with one another, but partly also because of his *An Essay towards a real Character* (1668) which contained ideas about a universal language. Although these ideas and those of others⁶ to 'reduce all the known languages to an identity with the Hebrew . . . have proved abortive' (preface in *Anglo-Belgica*), some of this penetrated into the *Anglo-Belgica* in sundry places where Richardson comments on the relation of English with languages like Latin, Chaldean, Hebrew, etc. (ed. 1677:1-2/174, 43/244, 251/2). Unlike these two works which were used only indirectly, John Wallis's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653) served as a direct source, from which Richardson copied certain sections, in spite of the Latin original. He must have known Wallis - they were both at Emmanuel College Cambridge between 1636 and 1640 - and apparently respected his grammar. He did not take over the general design nor unfortunately Wallis's method 'which has its basis not, as is customary, in the structure of the Latin language but in the characteristic structure of our own' (preface, in Kemp 1972:111) nor indeed his lucid views on the sounds of English; what he did take over was the table of pronouns (p.278, Kemp 1972:324)⁷, many of the ideas and examples in Cap. xi on strings of letters and their signification⁸ (pp. 326-328, Kemp 1972:28), perhaps also some of his examples on syllable structure, and other examples throughout the grammar such as paraphrases from Wallis about the comparative forms of adjectives (ed. 1677:271-273, cf. Kemp 1972:317-318). Another possible source may have been James Howell's *A New English Grammar*

6 About contemporary studies of a universal language see Salmon 1988.

7 However, Richardson omits to explain the terms 'recht' (= recto) and 'gebuyghde' (= obliquo) as Wallis does.

8 E.g. str- indicates power as in 'strike', 'strife'. 'strain'; wr- indicates distortion as in 'wry', 'wrest', 'wriggle'; words in -inkle indicate repetition as in 'tinkle', 'sprinkle', 'twinkle'.

(London 1662), about which Lowisch (1889:6/7) observes: 'Hier' (i.e. Cap.3, Afd.1; p.198 in ed. 1677) 'erinnert der erste Abschnitt: 'Van soodanige Syllaben en Woorden, als de Letteren begripen, die men schrijven moet, maer niet pronuncieren' an Howell'.

2. his grammar of Low Dutch

The general structure, a considerable part of the text and a good deal of the examples are identical in the Dutch and English grammars. The idea of writing parallel grammars had been even more rigidly adopted in Hillenius' grammar of 1664, where the grammars were printed alongside each other on facing pages, but Richardson is more flexible. A comparison of the Parts I of the Low Dutch and English grammars - on orthography and orthology - yields the following picture (original wording, capital letters in accordance with modern spelling):

Low Dutch grammar

Ch.1 Of letters simple and compounded

Sct 1 Of the number, denomination, and difference of simple letters (1-4)

Sct 2 Of the division of letters into vowels and consonants (5-6)

Sct 3 Of letters compounded, that is, of diphthongs, and thriphthongs (6-8)

Ch.2 Of syllables

Sct 1 Of the signification thereof (8-9)

Sct 2 Of the partition or dividing of syllables in a word (9)

Sct 3 Particular examples of spelling syllables (9-21)

Ch.3 Rules for the better understanding and forming Nether-Dutch syllables and words (21-40)

Ch.4 Of the accents of words (41-43)

English grammar

Cap.1 Van enckele ende t'samenveoghe Letteren

Afd 1 Van 't getal, benaminge, ende onderscheydinge van

Afd 2 Van de 'tsamenveogde (compounded) letteren, dat is, van tweeklinckers en drie-klinckers (179-183)

Afd 3 Van de dobbelde letteren, voornamentlyck samengevoegde consonanten (183-188)

Cap.2 Van de syllaben

Afd 1 Van de beduydinge der syllaben (188-189)

Afd 2 Van de partitie ofte verdeeling van syllaben in een woort (189-190)

Afd.3 Paticulier exempel van de spellinge der syllaben (191-197)

Cap.3 Advertissementen nopende het recht verstaan, formeeren en pronuncieren van Engelsche syllaben en woorden te samen

Afd 1 Van soodanige syllaben en woorden als de letteren begripen die men schrijven moet, maar niet pronuncieren (198-204)

Afd 2 Regelen noopende 't over-een-komen en onderscheyt tusschen Engelschen en Duytsche woorden (205-228)

Cap.4 Van de gelijkheyt en ongelijkheyt van Engelsche woorden (229-240)

Cap.5 Van d'accenten ofte toonen der woorden (241-244)

Wherever possible, the text in the one grammar is a translation of that in

the other and the examples are the same or similar, always allowing for language specific characteristics⁹. Thus the first two pages of the English grammar are a literal translation from the English text in the Low Dutch grammar except for a definition of the term **letter**, which only occurs in the English grammar (in Dutch and English). Similar observations may be made about the whole of the grammars. Was the one largely translated from the other? Were they perhaps composed simultaneously without the one taking precedence over the other? Gledhill (1976:15) suggests that Richardson cannibalised Hexham's Dutch grammar, but his (Hexham's) Dutch and English grammars differed considerably. The dates on the title pages seem to suggest that the English grammar was finished (1676) before the Dutch one (1677). This conflicts with some evidence that the principal target group were speakers of English, who would be interested in a Dutch grammar, and also that the Dutch texts do not seem to be native. Whichever way this point may be decided, the two grammars were closely linked and no doubt they influenced one another in a number of ways.

3. bilingual ELL textbooks:

Hillenius 1664, referred to in the preface as 'He that made the late *English & Netherdutch Instructor* had been in his day a publick Preacher', was used and sometimes literally copied in some of the last chapters of the English grammar:

	<u>RICHARDSON 1677</u>	<u>HILLENIUS 1664</u>
vii abverbs	318-322	67-73
viii conjugations	322-323	73-75
xii figures	328-329	97-99
xiii abbreviations	329-330	99-101
xiv punctuation	331	101-103
syntax (items 7,8)	334	
A small exercise	335-349	104-115

HELDEREN 1675b proved a handy source for examples, although much of his material had to be amended: Richardson borrowed at least the section on homophones (R.: Part I, Ch.3, Sct. 4; Van H.: after the alphabet in the

⁹ Thus, the alphabetical word lists En-Du (pp.27-32) and Du-En (pp.209-219) are similar but of course with different word order; the lists of words of one syllable, two syllables etc. in the two languages (pp. 10-19; 192-196) are not the same. The discussion of individual letters is different for the two languages, etc.

pronunciation section)¹⁰ and also the words of one, two, three, etc. syllables, which he found usefully grouped together in that way and in large quantities in Van Helderer's dictionary (R.:Part I, Ch. 2, Sct. 3; Van H.: his dictionary).

Hexham's English grammar may also have been of some use, particularly in the section on pronunciation, as was SCHOLE-MASTER 1646.

B. PART 2: the practice material

The second part of the *Anglo-Belgica*, immediately after the grammar, was almost entirely made up of borrowed material. The sources were:

- 2-8 scripture places (from the bible)
- 9-22 sayings (from *Enchiridion* by Epictetus, translation available)
- 23-39 moral sayings (from SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:68-106)
- 40-54 3 dialogues (from HILLENIIUS 1664:1-21)
- 55-92 6 dialogues (unaccounted for)
- 92-94 phrases (after HELDEREN 1675a, II 1-3)
- 95-100 weights and measures (from HELDEREN 1675a, I 37-44)
- 102-147 letters (pp. 116-125 'One friend counselleth another' from SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:209-213; other letters unaccounted for)
- 148-154 registry of Amsterdam (unaccounted for)
- 154-161 bills of exchange (letters starting with 'At double usance', 'Mr. O.N.' and 'This day the tenth of November' from Hillenius 1664:113-115; 'Shipped by the grace of God' from SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:222; others unaccounted for)
- [1p.] commercial terms (unaccounted for)

C. PART 3: vocabulary

The vocabulary [71 pp.] was taken from HEXHAM 1647/8, ed. 1675. Richardson himself acknowledges his borrowing in the brief tables of contents immediately preceding the Dutch and English grammars: 'a Vocabular which may serve for a small Dictionary, freed from many faults in the former' (my underlining). The source itself is not given, but there is a reference to small dictionaries (*woordeboekjes*) in the preface of HEXHAM 1647/8, ed. 1678 (see Ch. 5.5 third paragraph).

Although the Low Dutch grammar is not our concern here, it may be pointed out that it leaned heavily on Hexham's Dutch grammar, and through him or independently of him on the two well-known Dutch grammars of the time: Spiegel's *Twe-spraak* (1584) and Van Heule's *De Nederduytsche Spraec-konst* (1633, 2nd ed. from Van Heule 1625). Much of the Dutch terminology in the English grammar was taken over from these two Dutch grammars, with a

10 Dobson (1968:vol.I,p.379) suggests that Richardson took these homophones from J Strong's *England's perfect Schoolmaster* (1676, 2nd ed.) and E. Coles's *English-Latin Dicuonary*, but HILDEREN 1675b seems a more likely and direct source: both his dictionary and Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* were printed by Steven Swart.

preference it seems for Spiegel¹¹.

c. target group

Richardson himself tells us that this is a book 'fitted to the Capacities of all sorts of Persons' (English title page); further on, on the first page of his grammars, he promises quick learning results to 'such English-men as have a desire thereto'¹² 'soodanige Nederduytsche Persoonen die daar lust toe hebben' (ed. 1677:1/173). The same general reference is found on p.265, where 'den Leerlingh' (the student) is used. A more specific group are children mentioned in a section on spelling, which in other books too is considered to be of particular relevance to them: 'To satisfie the desires of those who would have children accommodated with some helps in right spelling of words of one or more syllables, here are produced Examples of syllables in words of all lengths' (pp. 9/10). The 'Privilegie' refers specifically to merchants in the two countries ('en wel voornamentlijk de commercierende Ingesetenen beyder Landen'). An unexpected target group is found in Innes Smith 1932:194: 'He' (=R.) 'appears' to have acted as 'friend' to many British students who went to Leyden, and in 1677 published for their use *Anglo-Belgica*'.

The contents of the book and particularly the academy element in them would make us believe that only adults with some knowledge of Latin could hope to profit from them; the target group could then be narrowed down to

11 The Dutch terminology in R's English grammar is largely puristic in character. An example may be found in his translations of the terms for the cases of a noun (ed 1677

262)	nominative	noemelycke
	genitive	baarlycke
	dative	geevelycke
	accusative	aanklaaglycke
	vocative	roepelycke
	ablative	afneemlycke

These terms are also used by Spiegel (ed 1584 44 in Caron 1962) and mentioned in Van Heule 1633 36 (ibid), but there expressly rejected as strange and difficult. Richardson's familiarity with Spiegel also appears from his remarks in the preface about 'Propheticall rimes of 100 years standing' according to which 'this Belgick is likely to be yet far more esteemed of, and usefull than it's Neighbour-Languages'. These rhymes may well have been Spiegel's remarks about the excellence of his own tongue compared to the baseness of other languages which he refers to as 'schuymtalen' (Caron 1962 4). This reliance on an older source has also been noted by Lowisch (1889 7), who observes that 'In vielen Punkten tragen die Angaben das Stempel wesentlich höheren Alters, als das Datum der Veröffentlichung angebt'.

12 One such Englishman may have been John Locke, who is known to have learned Dutch during his brief stay in the Republic. In her book *Uit de Republiek der Letteren* (Den Haag M Nijhoff 1967) Mrs C L Thijssen-Schouten reports "In de Lovelace Collection bevindt zich in zijn eigen handschrift een blad met vervoegingen van de werkwoorden 'hebben', 'zijn', 'beminnen' en 'horen'" (p 101). Richardson's 'Guid to Low-Dutch language' contains full paradigms for 'hebben', 'zijn' and 'horen'.

those in a university or with a university background. But this was not apparently Richardson's idea. Did he aim at a mixed bag with little bits for each and everyone? There was certainly something for the general learner, for children, for merchants, for students of medicine, although not enough to single out one of them as the main group. Whatever Richardson's ideas were, the second edition was severely altered: the academy elements were pruned away and some 100 pages of dialogues added (for these alterations see 'Table of Contents' below). The practical element was thus strengthened and although the grammars remained as they were the book was largely forced into line with the more general textbooks of its time.

d. *table of contents*

The complicated structure of this book and the significant differences between the first edition on the one hand and the next two editions on the other warrant a fairly detailed approach. The tables below cover the editions of 1677 and 1689 in the following manner:

- A. a general outline of the preliminary pages and Parts I, II and III in parallel columns for the two editions;
- B. detailed tables for each of the three Parts of ed. 1677, with added references to the 1689 edition.

All texts are literal quotations; words in (round brackets) are my own. Figures in [square brackets] refer to unnumbered pages.

A. general outline:

1677	(in PBLeeuwarden) ¹³ .	1689	(in SBAntwerp):
[1p]	(half-title page, En and Du, 1677)	[1p]	(half-title page, En and Du)
[2p]	(title pages, 1 En, 1 Du, 1677)	[2p]	(title pages, 1 En, 1 Du)
[8pp]	To the Reader (En-Du)	[4pp]	Privilegie (1677)
[2pp]	Privilegie (dated 1676) (Du)	[8pp]	To the Reader
[3p]	The Bookseller to the Reader (dated 1677) (En-Du)	[3pp]	The Bookseller to the Reader (dated 1676 and 1677!)
[2pp]	(2 blank pages)		

The First Part a:

[1p]	(title page of Dutch grammar, En and Du, 1677)
[1p]	(brief table of contents)
1-169	The Guid to the Low-Dutch Language (running title, in En)

13 On the order of the pages in the preliminary matter of this edition see Ch.5.2.1 above.

The First Part b:

- [1p] (title page of En grammar, Du and En, 1676)
- [1p] (brief table of contents, in En)
- 173-349 De Wegh-wijser tot d'Engelsche Taal (running title, in Du; details below)

The First Part:

- [1p] (title page of En grammar, Du and En, 1689)
- [1p] (brief table of contents)
- 1-177 De Wegh-wijser tot d'Engelsche Taal (running title, in Du).

The Second Part:

- [1p] (title page, En and Du, 1676)
- 2-161 (+ 1p) The English and Netherdutch Academy (alternating Du-En and En-Du; details below)

The Second Part:

- [1p] (title page, En and Du)
- 2-261 [+ 2p] The English and Netherduth Academy (alternating Du-En and En-Du in part, otherwise Du-En; details below)

The Third Part :

- [1p] (title page, En and Du, 1676)
- [71 pp] A Vocabular

The Third Part:

- [1p] (title page, En and Du)
- [71 pp] A Vocabular

B. detailed tables:

(references to 1689 edition in {braces})

THE FIRST PART: De Wegh-wijser tot d'Engelsche Taal
ed. 1677: 173-349
{ed. 1689: 1-177}

173-244 *eerste deel:* Van Orthography ende Orthology
{1-72}

173-188 Eerste Capittel: Van enckele ende t'samen-gevoeghde Letteren
{1-16}

173-178 Eerste Afdeeling: Van 't Getal, Benaminge, ende Onderscheydige van Enckele Letteren

179-183 II. Afdeeling: Van de t'samen-gevoegde (compounded) Letteren, dat is, van Twee-klinckers en Drieklinckers

184-188 III. Afdeeling: Van de dobbelde Letteren, voraamentlijck samengevoegde Consonanten

188-197 II. Capittel: Van de Syllaben
{16-25}

188-189 I. Afdeeling: Van de Beduydinge der Syllaben

189-190 II. Afdeeling: Van de Partitie ofte Verdeeling van Syllaben in een woort

191-197 III. Afdeeling: Particulier Exempelen van de Spelling der Syllaben

197-228 III. Capittel: Advertissementen nopende het recht verstaan, formeeren en pronuncieren van Engelsche Syllaben en Woorden te samen
{25-56}

198-204 I. Afdeeling: Van soodanige Syllaben en Woorden als de Letteren begripen die men schrijven moet, maer niet pronuncieren

205-228 II. Afdeeling: Regelen noopende 't over-een-komen

- en onderscheyt tusschen Engelschen en Duytsche
Woorden
- 229-240 Capittel IV.: Van de gelijkheyt en ongelijkheyt van Engelsche
{57-68} Woorden
- 241-244 Capittel V.: Van d'Accenten ofte Toonen der Woorden
{69-72}
- 245-331 *Het Tweede Deel: Van d'Etymology, ofte Oorspronck der*
{73-159} Woorden
- 245-250 Eerste Capittel: Van de Af-komste der Engelsche Woorden
{73-78}
- 250-251 II. Capittel: Van het Onderscheyt (Difference) der Woorden,
{78-79} ofte Deelen des Spraaks
- 251-273 III. Capittel: Van Naam-Woorden
{79-?14}
- 252-253 I. Afdeeling:
Van de Onderscheydinge en Natuur der Naam-Woor-
den
- 253-261 II. Afdeeling:
Van't geen aan te mercken is nopende de Selfstan-
dige Naam-Woorden, en wat daar noch meer toebe-
hoort
- 261-265 III. Afdeeling:
Van de Ledekens, en Buyginge der Selfstandige
Namen, met harer Voorstellingen
- 265-273 IV. Afdeeling:
Van Byvoeghelicke Naam-Woorden
- 274-283 IV. Capittel: Van Voor-Namen
{? -111}
- 274-276 I. Afdeeling:
Van de Namen, en 't onderscheyt der Voor-Namen
- 276-278 II. Afdeeling:
Van de Hoedaanigheyt, ende Beteeckning van de
Voor-Namen
- 279-283 III. Afdeeling:
Van de Geslachten (Genders) Getallen (Numbers) en
Buyginge (Declension) der Voor-namen
- 283-317 V. Capittel: Van Werck-woorden (Verbs)
{111-143}
- 284-285 I. Afdeeling:
Van de Geslachten der Personélicke Werck-woorden
- 285-287 II. Afdeeling:
Van de Wijsen (Moods) en Tijden (Tenses) waar door
de Werck-woorden gebuyght worden
- 287-290 III. Afdeeling:
Van saacken die te mercken zijn omtrent de Buy-
ginge der werck-woorden
- 290-307 IV. Afdeeling:
Van de Buyginge der Helpende Woorden
- 307-314 V. Afdeeling:
Van de Onregelmatige Werck-woorden

- 314-315 VI. Afdeeling:
Van de over-een-komst der Werck-woorden met
Andere Deelen des Spraacks
- 315-317 VII. Afdeeling:
Van d'Onpersonélicke Werck-woorden
- 317-318 VI. Capittel: Van de Deel-woorden
{145-146}
- 318-322 VII. Capittel: Van Help-woorden (Adverbs)
{146-150}
- 322-323 VIII. Capittel: Van de Coppelingen (Conjugations)
{150-151}
- 323-325 IX. Capittel: Van de Voorsettingen (Præpositions)
{151-153}
- 325 X. Capittel: Van Tusschenwerpinge (Interrogations)
{153}
- 326-328 XI. Capittel: Van de Overeenkomste der Uytspraack van de
{154-156} Oude Engelsche woorden, met der selver Beduydinge
- 328-329 XII. Capittel: Van het gebruyck van seeckere Figuren, die de
{156-157} Engelsche met andere gemeen hebben
- 329-330 XIII. Capittel: Van de verkortinge van verscheyde woorden in
{157-158} 't schrijven
- 331 XIV. Capittel: Van de Distinctien ofte Punctatien die men in
{159} het schrijven gebruyckt
- 332-334 *Het Derde Deel: Van de Syntaxis*
{160-162}
- 335-349 Een kleyne Oefening, Waar in alle de Veranderingen der
{163-177} Getijden, der Werckwoorden, en veel Vervoegingen der woorden
en redenen duydelijck aangewesen worden

THE SECOND PART: The English and Netherdutch Academy
(ed. 1676: 1-161 + 1p.; Du/En - En/Du alternating per page;
ed. 1689: 1-261 + 2pp.; 1-82 Du/En - En/Du alternating per page = the
remaining text from the first edition; pp. 83-261 En-Du throughout = new
additional material. Sections marked # are found in both editions)

- #2-8 Certain Scripture places very useful for general Instruction, and for
the practising the former Rules
(partly in ed. 1689)
- 9-22 Some excellent Sayings taken out of the Enchiridion of Epictetus the
Philosopher
- 23-39 Certain Moral Sayings and Proverbs usefull for learning both the
Languages
- 40-101 Here follow Dialogues, that is, discourses or conferences between

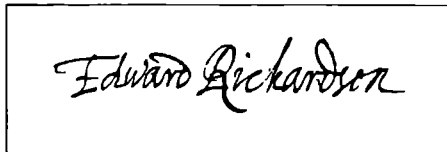
two or more Persons, whereby both the Languages may become more familiar

- #40-42 A Morning Salutation between A.B. and B.D.
 #42-44 A Farewell at the Evening-tide, between G. and H.
 #44-54 To learn how to buy and sell
 #55-64 A Dialogue between a Merchant and his Servants
 #64-73 Here follow more Confabulations of diverse matters
 #74-80 A Discourse concerning Bills of Exchange
 81-83 Discourses of commutative (or interchangeable Iustice)
 83-90 Concerning the Laws
 90-92 Of Medicine, or the Art of Healing
 #92-94 This that follow's shows how we should ask our necessary things
 95-100 Of weights and measures commonly used in England
 101 Of the Stile of the Year
- #102-116 Severall Letters (last letter not in ed. 1689.)
- #116-147 Severall Letters and other things peculiarly relating to Merchandize (only 5 in ed. 1689)
- 148-154 Extract out of the Registry of the Arbitrary Laws of the City of Amsterdam (several examples)
- #154-161 Bills of Exchange
- #[1p.] Words of most use amongst the Merchants

(additional material in ed. 1689; En-Du throughout, except pp. 8 - 7?:)

- 7?-82 The Ten Commandments / The Creed
 83-106 Familiar phrases between a Governess and a young Gentlewoman (from Mauger/Festeau 1672)
 106-253 (41 dialogues between two persons, 1-35 from Mauger / Festeau 1672)
 254-261 A Scheme of Familiar Letters

THE THIRD PART: A Vocabular of English with the Netherdutch Words annexed (En-Du, in alphabetical order, two columns per page)
 #71 pp. in eds. 1677 and 1689.



20. Figure 13: Signature of Edward Richardson, 1639/1640

e. *subject matter*

'us so, that the false spelling of the words is so amended, the whole form renewed, the work so remarkably enlarged, and the Languages so improved, that I may, without vain boasting, commend it to the world as a new, and I hope, more usefull Book than hitherto in this kind hath been seen'
(*'To the Reader'*)

These were no hollow claims:

- **spelling** is a subject Richardson has much to say about. He points out in his English grammar (pp.198ff) that the Dutch tend to pronounce every letter in a word while the English do not; this will easily give rise to confusion and errors, so a sound knowledge of the English spelling rules is a prerequisite for the Dutch learner of English. There are other learners who tend to burden (*bezwaren*) their pronunciation with unnecessary letters; they too stand in need of instruction in the rules of English spelling. Follow some 40 pages of spelling advice;
- the **form** of this textbook is new in the sense that it is presented as an 'Academy', whose novelty has been commented on above;
- in sheer size the *Anglo-Belgica* exceeds all its predecessors:

	Du Gram.	En Gram.	Dial. etc.	Letters	Vocab.
Hexham	44	31			
Schole-M.		36	188	30	
Hillenius	58	58	136	10	25
Beyer	47	31	65		7
Heldren		82 (+27)	83+48		48
Richardson 1677	169	176	100	54	71

(figures refer to number of pages)

The later editions were padded with 100 additional pages in the dialogue section, thus testifying to the considerable importance attached to these dialogues;

- were the **languages improved**? If he was thinking of the grammars, they were certainly more elaborate and more ambitiously put together. They were also much latinised. But at the same time they were much more scholarly than their predecessors and richer in detail. The point will be dealt with below in this section.

The expanded size, in conjunction with the idea of an 'academy', allowed for more and more detailed information on a variety of subjects. In other respects too this textbook may be looked upon as an original venture: until 1800 it was the first, and perhaps only, explicit attempt in the Low Dutch area to integrate linguistic ideas into an ELL textbook. Richardson had an

academic background while his five predecessors had not; he made full use of it. As the classical languages were still the *linguae francae* for scholars, it is not surprising to find in his grammars an assumption of familiarity with Latin and Greek. He is explicit about this in e.g. the section on syntax where we read: 'Because Most of the Rules hereof are known by the *Latin Grammar* ... it is superfluous, and wholly needless to run over the Method of the rules of the *Syntaxis*' (I, 165; similarly in I, 332). In his Part II he is alone among his fellow textbook writers in the Low Dutch area in entering a classical text for practical work - some maxims from the Greek philosopher Epictetus - removed, however, from the later editions. He makes a point of emphasising the similarities rather than the differences between languages, an idea taken from John Wilkins' ambitious work on philosophical language and natural grammar (Wilkins 1668).

Richardson's views on language as expressed in his English grammar are complex: they are based on a large number of different sources and written in parallel fashion to his Dutch grammar. Added to this are his own interpretations and a host of examples. The grammar is neither entirely scholarly nor fully pedagogical; it should rather be labelled as a contrastive practical handbook of English with scholarly overtones. Some of its characteristics will be discussed below.

The structure comes in three parts: orthography/orthology (71 pp.), etymology (86 pp.) and syntax (3 pp.); prosody is not included as the traditional fourth part but briefly dealt with at the end of the first section in a chapter on accents (pp.241-244), where it says explicitly that the rules provided may take the place of prosody ('waar toe de volgende Regulen in plaats van Prosodia kunnen dienen', p.241). This unorthodox placement makes good sense, particularly since in most comparable grammars the prosody section, if included at all, was usually brief and added only to comply with the Latin system; even Wallis does not spend more than 1 or 2 pages on it in his early editions. The subjects in this grammar are treated contrastively throughout with copious examples, definitions and notes in the text. Richardson is particularly sensitive on the point of terminology, in which area he appears to be much more explicit and accurate than any other ELL textbook writer in the Low Dutch area of his time. To rule out any confusion he often provides translations for his terms. On some points he is not afraid to take issue with others by expressing a different mind or approach (cf. pp.190, 199/200).

Both pronunciation and spelling are extensively¹⁵ treated in Part I on

¹⁵ Richardson 'gives us rather more information than any other seventeenth-century grammar of a foreign language' (Dobson 1968, vol. 1:382).

orthography / orthology, defined here as 'right Writing & Pronouncing of letters, Syllables, & Words' (pp.1/173). Special attention is given to syllables, a subject on which many pages are spent. Major problem areas are expected to be the pronunciation of *g*, *h*, *i* and *j* (pp.176-178), diphthongs (pp.179-183)¹⁶ and *ch*, *gh*, *th* and *wh* (pp.184-188). There is a long passage on the silent *e* reminiscent of Wallis's equally extensive treatment (Kemp 1972:241-257) and possibly also in denunciation of the rules for it in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646:8-10; there is also a long section on related Dutch and English words (pp.204-225) with special attention to English dialects (pp.220/1); following it is the list of homophones taken from Van Helderer but in a somewhat extended form (pp.229-240). His pronunciation rules contain Northern features as detailed in Dobson 1968, vol.II:383-4.

Etymology (Part II) is defined as 'the Derivation and Difference of words, and comprehendeth all the Parts of Speech' (pp.43/245). The inclusion of derivation in the definition is quite unusual for his time, but it occurs in Ch. xiv of Wallis's grammar, part of which was copied by Richardson into his (pp.326-328). The subject seems to have appealed to Richardson: it crops up in various places (see pp. 253-257, 266-271, 314/5); six pages are devoted to it explicitly but, he adds, it will not 'be so needfull for the Learner to spend much time thereabout' (pp.43/245).

The bulk of Part II is taken up by a discussion of the eight word classes, closely resembling the Latin model. Nouns, defined as 'words wherewith all persons and things are named, & thereby their natures signified and distinguished' (pp.49/251) and subdivided into nouns substantive and nouns adjective, are dealt with in the usual way, with special attention to word formation and to the articles. The pronoun, defined as 'a Part of Speech, both like a Noun, and sometimes put for & signifies the same with a Noun: whose particular use is in shewing or relating, repeating, or asking quæstions' (pp.82/274), gets full coverage in almost ten pages. Pronouns may be single or compound, dependent or independent, personal or impersonal, and are used as possessives, demonstratives, relatives, interrogatives; many of them, he remarks, really belong to the adjective nouns (p.277) except the ones in a table copied from Wallis (p.278). Eight of them are fully declined. The verb, defined as 'a part of speech declinable by moods and tenses' (pp.95/283), is subdivided into personal and impersonal verbs; personal ones may be active, passive or neuter, i.e. indicating a state and not taking a passive construction (including the primary auxiliaries 'have' and 'do'). There are six moods (indicative, imperative, infinitive, optative, potential, subjunctive) and five

16 'Daer is seer veel aen gelegen aen de rechte kennisse en 't gebruyck deser Diphthongen, alsoo men sonder die de Engelsche Taal niet perfect kan uyt spreken en daarom is de Leere der selve wat langer gevallen'

tenses (present, præterimperfect, præterperfect, præterpluperfect, future); all these receive due attention in full paradigms for 'have', 'be', 'do' and 'call'. Irregular verbs are partly dealt with in the four types of conjugations on pp.287-290 and further on in a section on anomalous verbs (pp.307-314). **Participles** get a brief mention. The **adverb**, defined as 'a Part of Speech not capable of Declension, joynd to another word to help to declare it's signification' (pp.137/318), is said to occur in at least 23 different functions. The **conjugation**, defined as 'an indeclinable part of Speech which fitly coupleth Words and Sentences together' (pp.143/322) occurs in six classes (copulatives, adversatives, disjunctives, causals, conditionals, exceptives); most of the examples belong to the co-ordinate conjunctions. A **preposition**, defined as 'an indeclinable part of speech usefull for the right distinguishing the sense of words' (pp.144/323), may occur before a word (with my friend) or as part of a word (impudent), i.e. as prefix¹⁷; no classes are given, only a list of the most common ones. An **interjection**, defined as 'an indeclinable abrupt & imperfect kind of speech, expressing the affection or passion of the mind, of it self, without dependence on or yielding assistance to another word' (pp.148/325), may belong to one of six classes (admiration, rejoycing, sorrow, detestation, calling, silence).

Appended to this are short observations about the use of letter clusters to convey meaning (str- to indicate force as in 'strike', 'strive'; wr- to indicate something crooked or distorted as in 'wry', 'wreath'; etc.), which are said to be a special feature of the English language; about certain figures occurring in writing and speech (apostrophe, aphæresis, epenthesis, syncope, etc.); about abbreviations in writing; about punctuation.

Part III consists of three pages on syntax, 'the due Connexion or joyning together of Words and Sentences' (pp.165/332). It contains an unsystematic collection of notes on word order and vocabulary and is kept brief because of the assumed familiarity of the learner with the rules of syntax in Latin and Low Dutch.

The last fifteen pages offer 'a small exercise' on verbal forms - tenses, moods, participles, impersonals - in short En-Du sentences. They provide practice material for the grammatical rules explained in the pages preceding them.

Richardson's grammar is unquestionably and firmly based on the Latin models of his time. This must have been a conscious decision as Richardson was familiar with the approach in Wallis's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* away from Latin; he had great respect for 'the renowned Doctor Wallis' ('To the

17 To be distinguished from other prefixes like dis-, mis-, inter-, in- (!), en-, etc. called particles (p 249), which do not occur as prepositons.

Reader') and saw fit to copy from his grammar. Why then did he stick to the unsuitable Latin model and did he not grab this opportunity to start on an original venture? If he had decided to write a grammar of English in its own right, his first problem would have been to provide a translation of Wallis's Latin original and adapt it to the new market; he was certainly up to the translation work, but the adaptation was no mean task, as anybody will know who is familiar with the differences between monolingual and bilingual grammars. Secondly, the choice would have meant that most other source material had to be rewritten in the new light, an unattractive prospect for someone like Richardson who relied so heavily on these other sources; doubly unattractive since some of these sources were already contrastive En-Du and thus eminently suitable. Thirdly, an essential point of his concept for the *Anglo-Belgica* was the composition of two parallel grammars for Low Dutch and English; the move away from the Latin model would have meant either a break with this concept of parallelism or the composition of an entirely new grammar of Low Dutch not based on Latin. It is not unlikely that Richardson felt little equipped for this linguistic challenge. He may also have favoured a more traditional approach, since most learners might be reasonably expected to have a certain command of Latin.

f. point of view on language learning and teaching

Richardson has few explicit ideas about learning and none about teaching. His main concern seems to be with knowledge rather than skill - unlike SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, who claimed to be skill-oriented (cf. section f. in 6.3 above). This appears from some of the title pages, where we are told that with the help of this book we may attain to the complete and perfect knowledge of both the languages. It also appears from a note scribbled in, as it were, among the dialogues in the Academy, where he tells us (my underlining):

'Nota. Men may not here understand by the foregoing Dialogues, or any other in this Book, that it is intended to make men exact Philosophers of Physitians; but these Confabulations are onely brought in, according to the vulgar apprehension, & for discourse sake; also, most especially, for information in the Languages, which is the design of this Book.'
(p.70)

Similarly, in his Dutch grammar, we may told (my underlining):

'There is no likelier way to promote the knowledge of a strange language, than by demonstrating it's agreement with the native and well-known language of the Learner.'
(p.26)

This preoccupation with knowledge is also reflected in the grammars, with

their attention to linguistic detail (see above), their preference for definitions (explicitly labelled as a waste of time by Wallis¹⁸) and their flirtations with the concept of a universal language, with etymology in the modern sense and perhaps also with dialects. It is equally clearly reflected in the Academy, which contains by the side of dialogues information about subjects that could not possibly be useful from a language learning point of view. Obvious examples are e.g. the six pages on weights and measures (pp.95-101), the letter in commendation of true philosophy (pp.11-116), the lists of commodities and their prices (pp.132-137), the calculations (pp.140-144) and the register of the arbitrary laws of the city of Amsterdam (pp.148-155).

Didactic qualities are represented in this textbook by the numerous examples and the occasional exercises provided in sundry places. This was clearly a point of interest to Richardson. Examples are indeed profuse for many of his grammar rules and in the Academy as well; they must have been collected with a great deal of effort 'costing' him 'much labour'. It would be tedious to quote here: a study of almost any section in the grammar will bring out this point without fail¹⁹. Exercises too occur rather more frequently than elsewhere, often presented with great care. An example of this is the text from Exodus 20:1-17 on pp.196-197, inserted as practice material for the use of syllables, in which all the words of more than one syllable are thoughtfully hyphenated. Another example is the small exercise at the end of the English grammar (pp.335-349), in which the verb tenses and other features are practised in an orderly fashion. Richardson is also careful in applying his own rules to his own text - a strong point for any teacher: the four personal letters after the passage about the style of the year²⁰ show the two dates with a difference of ten days; however, this practice is abandoned in the commercial letters further on.

The practical material provides the usual texts without much comment. The Bible passages at the beginning of Part II are considered to be 'useful for general instruction, and for the practising the former Rules' (II,2); the moral sayings are also 'usefull for learning both the Languages' (II,23); and the dialogues are included so that 'both the Languages may become more familiar' (II,40).

18 'It would clearly be wasted labour to explain them,' (i.e. the grammatical terms) 'because they must be familiar to anyone having the slightest acquaintance with the Latin language' (Kemp 1972.277).

19 Sometimes he even apologises for the small number of examples provided, where in fact they are more numerous than in other textbooks - cf. pp. 43/244

20 'The English do not only reckon their day of the month ten days later than the Hollanders; but they begin also the account of the year, two months and twenty five days later: for the Hollanders begin the year on the first of January, or New-years day: but the English not till the twenty fifth of March following So that the twentieth day of March 1676, after the Low-dutch stile, is the tenth day of March 1675, after the old English stile.' (II, 101).

g. evaluation

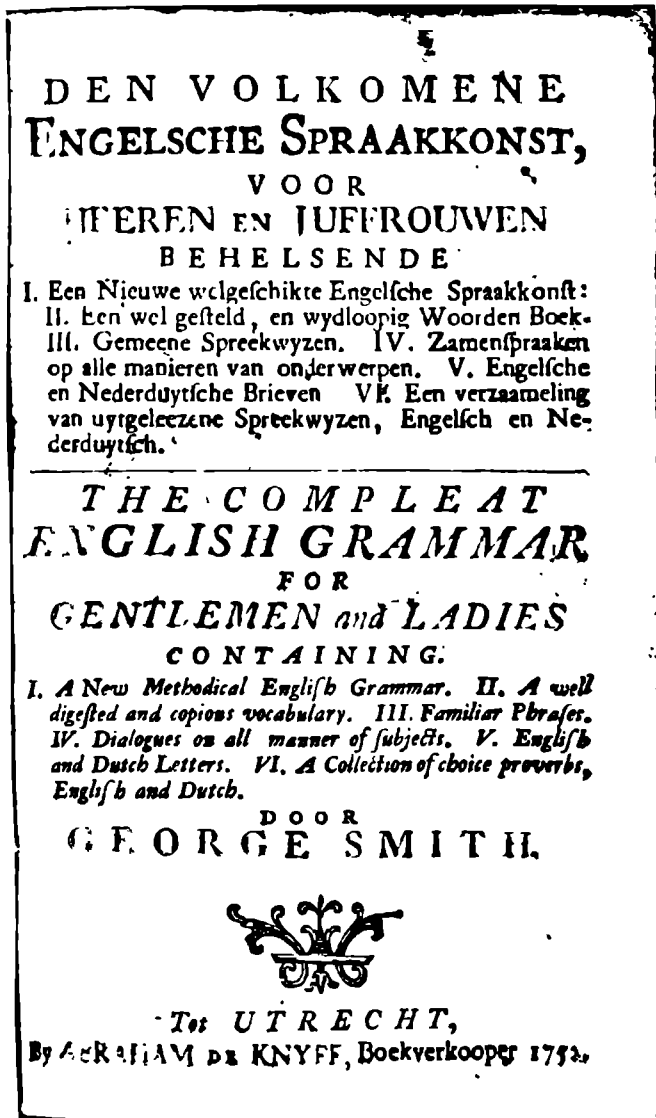
1. Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* is a rich and detailed work containing more information on the subjects it deals with than any other work in the Low Dutch area before 1800;
2. it is a complex, ambitious piece of work with a good deal of originality. Some of the original features are:
 - the idea of extensive parallel grammars (in the footsteps of Hillenius);
 - the inclusion of dialectical and etymological features;
 - the attention to terminology;
 - the many examples;
 - the idea of an academy;
3. it is the only textbook in this period that was clearly based on scholarly works, and the only one that aimed at an academic ('Academy') readership;
4. it does not seem to have had one single target group. The academic qualities, however, make it less suitable for other learners than academics (children, merchants), who are nevertheless explicitly mentioned; this must have been the reason why the the second and third editions were largely adapted to more general needs by the publication of the grammars in separate editions, the removal of the academy elements, and the addition of more than 100 pages of dialogues;
5. the English grammar, still in the Latin framework, has considerable contrastive value;
6. the pronunciation rules contain Northern features;
7. the academy elements in Part I and especially Part II are of an arbitrary nature verging on curiosity;
8. the work as a whole is not innovating; it rather represents ideas from the past (the Latin-based grammar, the traditional terminology with puristic Dutch translations, the religious tone) skilfully combined into a new work. It did not create a following and is rarely referred to in later textbooks;
9. are its claims justified? Limiting ourselves to the title pages we have to come up with a mixed answer:
 - 'the Exactest Grammar-Rules'(general tp): compared with what was available at the time these rules were more detailed and exact; but they were also cumbersome, too detailed, and laborious - this was probably the reason why Sewel preferred to write his own 'easy' grammar rather than polish up Richardson's (see 10 below);
 - 'most Usefull Discourses and Letters' (general tp): the first edition contained rather few discourses; some of these and some of the letters were not very practical; the later editions were improvements

in this respect;

- 'with a Copious Vocabular' (general tp): it was larger than similar word lists in the preceding textbooks;
- 'fitted to the Capacities of all sorts of Persons' (general tp): this is a weak claim for any language learning textbook, that cannot be justified in good faith; it is also the case here (see 4 above);
- 'being a work brought to greater perfection than any ever formerly extant' (general tp): a bold claim but justified within the confines of the Low Dutch area;
- 'whereby men may, with a little pains, speedily attain to the compleat knowledge of both the Languages' (general tp): phrases like these occurred in most textbooks at the time, but should not be taken too literally;
- 'wherein are gathered and brought together the most Necessary and most Significant Grammar-Rules' (tp English grammar): a reasonable claim, but the syntax is rather neglected.

10. in 1691 Sewel did not intend to write his own grammars 'because Dr. Edward Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* or *English & Netherdutch Academy*, which is lately augmented with several pleasant and usefull Dialogues, and the best of that kind hitherto extant, is as good a Grammar, as Learners will have occasion for' (SEWEL 1691, at the end of the section 'Concerning the use of the Dutch Particles' before the En-Du dictionary). However, as we know, he changed his mind and produced his own, more accessible, simplified version.

(first published in 1752; for full text of title page see Figure 14)

21 Figure 14: Title page of Smith's *Den Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkonst*, 1752

During the first half of the eighteenth century Sewel's *Korte Wegwyzer* of 1705 reigned supreme as the most popular ELL textbook for speakers of Low Dutch; in those fifty years it was reprinted five times until 1748, with minor changes. Its only rival was Pell's *Nouvelle Grammaire* of 1735, claimed to be written as an improvement of Sewel and Miège, but falling much short of that claim: its grammar was in French and English and rather brief (55 pp.), the remaining 473 pp. were taken up by word lists and dialogues in French, English and Dutch, and they did not contain (commercial) letters. It was printed in Utrecht in 1735 and never reprinted. However, it was again in Utrecht that the need for another challenge of Sewel's bestseller was felt, by George Smith, when he published his textbook in 1752. This book, first competing with the Sewel reprints of 1754 and 1761, soon replaced them and lived through five editions until 1821.

We do not know why Smith took up the challenge. He only tells us that his book contained more material and was more useful than any published until then ('en nochtans meer in zig bevattende en nuttig tot onderhandeling, dan eenig ander dat voor deze in 't licht gekomen is', preface), but similar claims occurred in other books of this kind. He had been licensed to teach English at Utrecht on 11 September 1752 and a town accountant had paid for an order of 49 copies of his textbook in the same month (Scheurweghs 1960:140). Since the first edition was dedicated to the city council of Utrecht, some kind of commission may be assumed. The book must have been composed in great haste: the first mention of Smith's name in the Utrecht context dates from 11 June 1752, when he is said to be a member of the English Church there, but it does not occur on the list of new citizens until 16 September following. All this took place at around the middle of the year; if the book was published towards September - which is supported by the dates in the letters -, there was little time left for him to complete his task, unless he had been prepared for it. It would certainly explain the complete lack of originality of this otherwise successful textbook.

a. *printing history*

The book appeared in five very similar editions in 1752, 1758, 1775, 1786 and 1821; the editions of 1775 and 1821 have not been located, but they may have been identical to the fourth edition since all three were published by the same printer, Jan Hendriksen. There is one small, but important difference between the first and second editions: the inclusion in the second edition of some commercial letters, which had been missing in the first; other differences between the five editions are mostly of a linguistic nature (spelling, vocabulary), particularly for the Low Dutch texts, as we can read

at the end of the preface of the fourth edition. Smith himself had seen to the corrections of the English texts in the first edition; there is no reason to assume that he contributed to the later editions, so that his note about the English corrections, repeated in the other editions, need not apply there.

The book was printed over a period of almost 70 years, much longer than any other ELL textbook from before 1800. During that long period a handful of similar textbooks appeared on the market, but this one survived them all. Its most serious rival was Evans' *A New Complete English and Dutch Grammar*, whose five editions were printed between 1757 and 1806.

The contents of another publication attributed to G. Smith - *A Short Introduction to English Grammar, with critical notes* (London 1769, 2nd edition) - cannot be checked against his ELL textbook, as the work has not been located. The existence of such a work is not unlikely, as Smith probably returned to London after his Dutch experience, well before the publication of the second edition of his *Den Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkonst* of 1758.

b. sources

Schourweghs (1960:131) calls the grammar section in SMITH 1752 'one of the worst examples of plagiarism'. The phrase can be applied to the book as a whole, but, as we saw in 5.5 above, plagiarism was not exceptional; however, it is the only ELL textbook for speakers of Low Dutch whose sources are known to us in so much detail. At the same time, it should also be noted that the presentation of the material is more attractive than that in SEWEL 1705: the size is 8° against 12° for SEWEL, allowing for more spacing and better reading; the pages are numbered through - SEWEL has 1-107 in Part I, 1-288 in Part II and an unnumbered Part III; the English texts are always printed in italics, the Dutch ones in roman lettering, and they are separated from the Dutch translations by clear vertical lines in bold type wherever appropriate; examples in the grammar section are usually printed separately from the running text, not *in* the text as in SEWEL, definitely an improvement; the dialogues are presented in one batch where SEWEL has them in two blocks¹. Every care has been taken, it seems, to make the material accessible for the learner. The only imperfection in this respect is the absence of a table of contents to back up the information on the title page and in the clear running titles throughout the book (see Figure 15 for

1 All the practical material in SEWEL 1705 had been taken from RICHARDSON 1689. The 41 dialogues at the end of the latter textbook, together with some phrases, had been appended to the available material of the first edition (1677) without any attempt to rearrange it.

Indicative Mood, Toonende wyze.*The present Tense*, De tegenwoordige Tyd.

<i>Sing. Eenv.</i>	<i>Plur. Meerv.</i>
<i>I Love</i> , Ik bemîn.	<i>We Love</i> , Wy beminnen.
<i>Tbou Loveſt</i> , Gy bemint.	<i>Ye Love</i> , Gyl. bemindt.
<i>He Loveth</i> or <i>Loves</i> , Hy bemint.	<i>Tbey love</i> , Zy beminnen.

Deeze zelfde Tyd word ook met byvoeginge van het woordtje *Do* uitgedrukt, met dit onderscheid nochtans, dat deeze t'zaamgevoegde wyze van spreken wat krachtiger van nadruk is (*).

<i>Sing. Eenv.</i>	<i>Plur. Meerv.</i>
<i>I do Love</i> , Ik bemîn.	<i>We do Love</i> , Wy beminnen.
<i>Tbou doſt Love</i> , Gy bemint.	<i>Ye do Love</i> , Gyl. bemint.
<i>He doth Love</i> , Hy bemint.	<i>Tbey do Love</i> , Zy beminnen.

The præter imperfekt Tense, De onvolkomen verleden Tyd.

Deeze Tyd wordt even als de tegenwoordige op tweederlei wyze uitgedrukt, aldus.

Sing(*) Set Sewels Woorden-boek, *Do*, in 't Eerste Deel.

<i>Sing. Eenv.</i>	<i>Plur. Meerv.</i>
<i>I Loved</i> or <i>did love</i> , Ik beminde.	<i>We loved</i> or <i>did love</i> , Wy beminden.
<i>Tbou lovedſt</i> or <i>didſt love</i> , Gy beminde.	<i>Ye loved</i> or <i>did love</i> , Gyl. beminden.
<i>He loved</i> or <i>did love</i> , Hy beminde.	<i>Tbey loved</i> or <i>did love</i> , Zy beminden.

The præter perfect Tense, De volkomen verleden Tyd.

<i>Sing. Eenv.</i>	
<i>I have Loved</i> , Ik heb bemind.	} bemind.
<i>Tbou haſt Loved</i> , Gy hebt bemind.	
<i>He haſt Loved</i> , Hy heeft bemind.	

<i>Plur. Meerv.</i>	
<i>We have Loved</i> , Wy hebben bemind.	} bemind.
<i>Ye have Loved</i> , Gyl. hebt bemind.	
<i>Tbey have Loved</i> , Zy hebben bemind.	

The Præter plusperfect Tense, De meer als volkomen verleden Tyd.

<i>Sing. Eenv.</i>	
<i>I had Loved</i> , Ik hadt bemind.	} bemind.
<i>Tbou hadſt Loved</i> , Gy hadt bemind.	
<i>He had Loved</i> , Hy hadt bemind.	

*D 1**Plur.*

an example of the layout).

The two main sources were SEWEL 1705 and Boyer & Miège 1718; minor sources were HEXHAM 1648 ed. 1672, PELL 1735 and EVANS 1747. All these sources contained texts in English and Dutch with the exception of Boyer & Miège; this was a popular source for many textbook writers, at home and abroad, and since Smith did not feel confident to correct the Low Dutch texts we may assume that a Dutch translation of the book was available, much like Mauger's *Les Dialogues François & Flamends* of 1683.

The material was borrowed in this way:

SMITH 1752	Source
[4 pp.] preface	HEXHAM 1648 ed. 1672; EVANS 1747 ²
1-95 Grammar section	SEWEL 1705 (1-107)
96 A table of English money	unaccounted for
97-122 A table of words (homophones)	EVANS 1747:137-154
123-124 Abbreviations	cf. PELL 1735 for a shorter list
125-208 A vocabulary (nomenclator) (except pp.168-171 'Kitchen Tackling' and 'School Goods')	Boyer & Miège 1718, II:126-184
209-231 A collection of adjectives and verbs	Boyer & Miège 1718, II:185-194
232-277 Familiar phrases*	Boyer & Miège 1718, II:194-229
278-377 33 Dialogues	11-14, 19-21, 27, 31 from SEWEL 1705; 32, 33 from PELL 1735; the remaining 22 from Boyer & Miège 1718
378-391 Personal letters	some from SEWEL 1705
392-405 Collection of proverbs	unaccounted for

*: except pp.263-264 'Walking in a flower garden'; 'Between a governess and a young lady' (250-256) also occurs in SEWEL 1705 but is much longer there (II:97-123) and is based on Mauger & Festeau 1675

c. target group

Smith had been licensed to teach English at Utrecht and later at Woerden. If he had written the textbook for his own students, the school must have catered for adults or, in his own words, 'Gentlemen and Ladies' ('Heeren en Juffrouwen', title page ed. 1752; the phrase disappeared in the later editions); the contents too, particularly the phrases and dialogues, belong to the world of grown-ups. There is nothing in the book to suggest that children were a target group on the mind of the writer, or it must be the two sections of phrases about 'Going to School' and 'In the School' (pp. 270-274); these, however, may well be read as reflections upon a common ex-

2 Almost the whole preface is taken from Arnout Leers' preface in the 1672 edition of HEXHAM 1648, with the substitution of 'letterkonst' for 'woorden-boeck'. The final notes about printing errors occur in the preface of EVANS 1747.

perience:

*Su in your place
 Make a little room for me
 You must read it thrice over
 You are a Sluggard
 He snatcht away my Book
 He spu upon my Cloths
 I'll make you repent it
 He scratch'd my Face with his Nails
 Do not Tear my Book
 Take up this boy, and whup him soundly*
 (SMITH 1752, ed 1758 271-272)

The few other clues we have, occur in the preface; the text itself contains no references to a possible target group, unlike SCHOLE-MASTER 1646 and RICHARDSON 1677, who were more helpful in this respect. These clues seem to stress the general usefulness of a command of foreign languages, and particularly English, for anyone with an interest in learning or business. It is remarkable that commerce is not the main aim put forward in the first edition; it is mentioned almost in parentheses in the dedication and the preface, dutifully as it were:

'Daar is zekerlyk geen Nuttiger kennisse dan die der Taalen, zonder de zelve ging de koophandel verlooren, maar hier door spreekt men met zyne verre afgelegene Vrienden, Men durft verzoeken, klaagen en zyne gedagten uiten Daar is niemant van wat staat of rang hy ook mag zyn, of hem is deeze kennis noodig'
 (ed 1752, dedication)

'Maar nu de Handel is vermeerderd en een Tak des stam Booms uyt Engeland in Nederland geplant, nu tot een stam geworden is, wiens spruiten beginnen uyt te spreiden, die, groote behaagen hebben de Engelsche Taale te doen Bloeyen, en byzonderlyk, na dat zo veel Treffelyke Geleerde Boeken in de Engelsche Taal geschreeven zynde'
 (ed 1752, preface)

Scholarly works are mentioned in particular:

' en alle volkeren tegenwoordig groote begeerte hebben om die Geleerde Boeken in haar eigen Taal te kunnen verstaan, en wat meer is, hebben de Engelsche haar Boeken in haar eigen Taal geschreeven, die alle Wetenschappen bevatten en niet in 't Latyn gelyk andere Volkeren doen, op datze haar Taal in meerdere achtinge zouden doen zien'
 (ed 1752, preface, in a corrupt Dutch corrected later on)

A cultural aim is put forward too: improvement of communication between the various nations. It will be easier, he explains, to live with a dog than with a stranger who speaks a different language ('Men zal, zeide een wys Man, gemeenzaamer leeven met een hond, dan met een Vreemden, wiens Taal men niet verstaat' (ibid.). The book was to be particularly useful for those who, like Smith, set great store by the written word ('letterkonst'), although his claim that a foreigner by studying the written word might in the end be able to pronounce more words than a native speaker is of course an un-

founded exaggeration ('Ik weet niet of men wel ligtelyk iemand vinden zoude, die in zyn Moederspraake, alles kan uitspreken, het geen een Vreemdeling door de letterkunst bekomen kan', *ibid.* p.1).

d. table of contents

The text on the title page suggests a presentation in six, later seven, parts. This is not clearly the case: the sections are not introduced separately and new title pages do not occur; instead, running titles are used for identification. In the survey below all texts are from the original editions. Any text not quoted is given in (round brackets); figures in [square brackets] refer to unnumbered pages. All texts are in English and Dutch unless otherwise indicated.

ed. 1752

- [1 p.] (title page, Du and En)
 [1 p.] Berigt aan den Lezer. Ik agt het noodig den Lezer hier te waarschouwen in het toekomende geene nieuwe afdruksels van dit Boek voor het eyge werk van den Autheur te erkennen, als die van my eigenhandig onderteekend, en te Utrecht by de Boekverkooper Abraham de Knyff te bekomen zyn. (+ signature G.Smith)
 [4 pp.] (dedication to the city council of Utrecht, in Dutch)
 [4 pp.] Aan Den Leezer (preface, in Dutch)
 1-96 Korte Aanleidinge Tot De Engelsche Spraakkonst (English grammar, in Dutch)
 1-16 Van de Letteren (pronunciation)
 16-87 Van De Spraakdeelen, Of The Parts of Speech
 87-96 Of the Syntax, Van de Woordschikking
 97 A Table of English Money, Een Tafel van Engelsch Geldt
 99-122 A Table of Words, the same in sound, but different in Spelling and Signification. Ecn Tafel van Woorden, die de zelfde uytpraak hebben, maar in Spelling en Beteekenis verschillende zyn. (homophones, alphabetic)
 123-124 A Table of Abbreviations, Een Tafel van Woordverkorting.
 125-210 A, (sic) Vocabulary, Dutch and English, Een Woorden-Boek, Nederduytsch en Engelsch (nomenclator, mostly nouns, 54 sections)
 125 Of the World in General
 126 Of the Elements
 126 Of the Stars, &c.
 127 Of the Times
 129 The days of the Week
 129 The Months of the Year
 130 The four Seasons of the Year
 130 Holy Days, and Remarkable times of the Year
 131 Of Mankind
 132 The parts of a Human Body
 135 Inward & other parts of the Body
 136 Excrements of the Body
 136 Certain Accidents and properties of the Body
 138 The five natural Senses and their objects
 139 Of Diseases
 141 Of the Soul
 142 Of Men's Cloaths

- 144 Womens Cloaths
- 146 Of Eatables
- 150 Degrees of Mankind
- 153 Temporal Dignities
- 154 Other Officers
- 155 Of Arts, sciences, Professions or Trades
- 157 Of Lands
- 160 Of Cities and Villages in General
- 162 A House in general
- 164 Household Stuff and some Utensils
- 168 Kitching (sic) Tackling
- 170 School goods
- 171 Of Beasts and Animals
- 174 Of Birds
- 176 Of Insects
- 177 Of Fishes
- 179 Of Metall's
- 180 Of Stones
- 180 Of the Country and Husbandry
- 184 Of Herbs
- 186 Of Fruits, and Fruit Trees
- 188 Fruitless Trees
- 188 The Journey
- 189 Of the Water
- 190 Weights & Measures
- 192 Of Coin or Money
- 192 The Numbers
- 195 Of Colours
- 196 Of Diversions; Play or Gaming
- 197 Of Exercises
- 198 The War
- 199 The Muster Master
- 202 Of Fortifications
- 204 Other Terms of War
- 206 Of Virtues and Vices
- 209 Vicious Persons
- 210-216 A Collection of Adjectives, expressing several Qualities, Een Verzaameling van Bynaamen, die verscheidene Hoedanigheden betkenen
- 216-231 A Collection of Verbs, to Express the Common Actions, Een Verzaameling van Werkwoorden, om verscheidc gemeene Daaden te beteekenen (nomenclator, 12 sections)
 - 216 (common actions)
 - 218 Actions, Natural to Men
 - 221 Actions of the Mind
 - 222 Of Love and Hatred
 - 224 To take one's Pleasure
 - 224 Being Sick
 - 225 Of bargains
 - 226 Of Life
 - 227 Of Motion
 - 228 Handy Works
 - 230 The sounds of Beasts
 - 231 The Birds are used, &c.
- 232-276 Familiar Phrases, Gemeene Spreekwyzen (22 sections)
 - 232 i. To ask something
 - 233 ii. Expressions of Kindness
 - 233 iii. To thank, Compliment, or Shew a Kindness
 - 236 iv. To Affirm, Deny, Consent
 - 238 v. To Consult or Consider
 - 239 vi. Of Eating and Drinking
 - 240 vii. Of going, coming, stiring (sic), &c.
 - 242 viii. Of Speaking, Saying, Doing, &c.

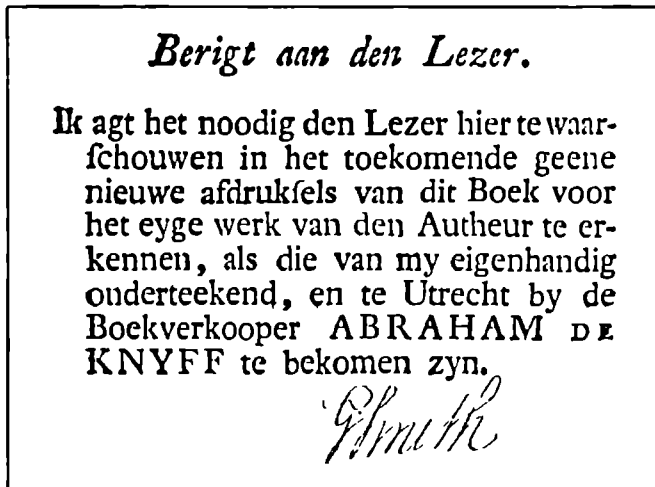
- 244 ix. Of Hearing, Hearkening, &c.
 245 x. Of understanding or apprehending
 247 xi. To ask a Question
 248 xii. Of Knowing, or having Knowledge of
 249 xiii. Of Knowing, &c.
 250 xiv. Of the Age, Life, Death, &c.
 252 xv. Between a Governess & a young Lady
 258 xvi. Of Walking
 263 xvii. Walking in a Flower Garden
 264 xviii. Of the Weather
 267 xix. Of the Hour
 269 xx. Of the Seasons
 272 XXI. Going to School
 273 xxii. In the School
 (a short note about *few* and *little*)
 277
 278-377 English and Dutch Dialogues, Engelsche en Nederduytsche Samen-
 spraaken (33 dialogues)
 278 i. To salute, and Enquire after one's Health
 282 ii. Before going to Bed, and after one is in Bed
 286 iii. Rising in the Morning
 288 iv. To Dress one's Self
 291 v. Between a Lady and het waiting Woman
 294 vi. To make a Visit
 296 vii. To breakfast
 297 viii. Before Dinner
 299 ix. At Dinner
 305 x. To Speak English
 308 xi. Between a Master and his Man
 310 xii. To learn how to buy and sell
 318 xiii. For to speak with a Taylor
 320 xiv. To speak with a Shoemaker
 322 xv. To buy books
 324 xvi. To hire a Lodging
 328 xvii. To Enquire after one
 333 xviii. Of News
 336 xix. Between a Physician, a Surgeon and a Sick Body
 339 xx. The Second Visit
 341 XXI. The third Visit
 343 xxii. Between two young Gentlewomen
 345 xxiii. Between two Gentlewomen
 347 xxiv. Betwixt two Friends
 349 xxv. To go see a Play
 353 xxvi. Of a Christening, a Wedding, and a Burial
 356 xxvii. To speak to a Groom
 357 xxviii. Going upon a Journey
 360 xxix. In an Inn
 364 xxx. To embark in the Packet Boat
 366 xxxi. Of the Nature of Plants between two learned Men
 370 xxxii. Of the Languages
 374 xxxiii. Of Travilling (sic)
 378-391 (personal letters)
 378 My Dear Friend, Having understood that you ...
 380 Sir, Well may the Ancients say ...
 380 Honoured Father, The servant, who according to your order ...
 384 Dear Son, I have understood with great pleasure ...
 386 My Good Lady! I'M honour'd with your Ladyship's Three
 Letters ...
 392-405 A Collection of Proverbs, exactly answering one another in both
 Languages. Een Vezameling van Spreekwyzen, welke in beide Taalen
 naaukeurighk over een koomen. (numbered 1-104, more or less in
 alphabetical order)
 [406] Corrigenda

ed. 1758

- [4 pp.], 1-375 (the same as ed. 1752 except: 'Berigt aan den Lezer' is missing; there are two pages less between 1 and 124)
 376-383 (personal letters: letter 5 'My Good Lady' is missing)
 384-399 (commercial letters):
 384 Mr: John Duncan, ... Sir, I have your Esteemed favour
 386 Mr: Edward Black, ... Sir! Having establish'd
 388 Mr. Thomas Jones ... Sir. The present comes chiefly
 390 Mr. Robert Anderson ... Sir! Last night we had three Mails
 392-396 (three Bills of Exchange starting with) At two usance
 398 Shipped by the Grace of God
 400-413 (proverbs)
 414 (blank page, no corrigenda)

ed. 1786

(the same as ed. 1758 except: there is a half-title before the main title page:
 G.Smith, Volkomen Engelsche Spraakkunst
 (After the main title page appears a note by the publisher:
 Geen Exemplaren worden voor Egt erkent, dan die door den Drukker dezes, J.Hendriksen, eigenhandig onderteekent zyn. (+ signature J.Hendriksen)
 (The dedication is missing.)



23 Figure 16 Signature of George Smith, opposite the 'Dedication' in his *Den Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkunst* 1752

e. *subject matter*

Den Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkunst contains all the sections of an average eighteenth century textbook, with copious material for each section and a presentation in small digestible bits. The ordering is quite new and makes good sense: grammar first, then single words (vocabulary), word

groups (phrases), sentences in context (dialogues), writing conventions (letters), varia (proverbs).

A considerable part of this material is devoted to words, phrases and dialogues in a functional setting. Traditionally, linguistic material of this kind was presented in sections about the house, birds, the elements, parts of the body and so on. These factual data did not reveal how the words could be used in everyday language. A functional presentation offers words in their proper linguistic context by presenting them under headings like 'To ask something', 'Expressions of Kindness', 'To Affirm, Deny, Consent', or by drawing up lists of words that may be used in such contexts: verbs 'Of Love and Hatred', 'Of Motion', etc. Smith, copying material from Miège & Boyer 1718, was the first to introduce material of this kind into the Republic. Some examples may clarify the point:

verbs of love and hatred

<i>to love</i>	<i>liefhebben</i>
<i>to caress</i>	<i>lief-koozen</i>
<i>to fawn on</i>	<i>idem</i>
<i>to flatter</i>	<i>flukflooyen, vleyen</i>
<i>to cajole</i>	<i>idem</i>
<i>to coaks</i>	<i>idem</i>
<i>to make much of one</i>	<i>veel werks van iemand maaken</i>
<i>to shew a great deal of kindness</i>	<i>eene groote vriendschap bewyzen</i>
<i>to embrace</i>	<i>omhelzen</i>
<i>to accuse</i>	<i>betichten, beschuldigen</i>
<i>to excuse</i>	<i>verschoonen</i>
<i>to condemn</i>	<i>veroordeelen</i>
<i>to abuse</i>	<i>misbruyken</i>
<i>to punish</i>	<i>straffen</i>

to thank, compliment, or shew a kindness

<i>I thank you</i>	<i>ik bedank u</i>
<i>I give you thanks</i>	<i>ik zeg u dank</i>
<i>I give you a thousand thanks</i>	<i>ik bedank u duyzendmaal</i>
<i>I'll do it with pleasure</i>	<i>ik zal het met pleyzier doen</i>
<i>with all my heart</i>	<i>met al myn hart</i>
<i>heartily</i>	<i>hartelyk</i>
<i>I'm obliged to you</i>	<i>ik ben aan u verplicht</i>
<i>I'm wholly yours</i>	<i>ik ben ganschelyk de uwe</i>
<i>remember me to him</i>	<i>doe myne groetenis aan hem</i>
<i>remember my respects to him</i>	<i>verzeker hem van myn achting</i>
<i>remember me to Madam</i>	<i>gedenk my by de juffrouw</i>

This presentation - so familiar nowadays to language teachers working within e.g. the notional-functional approach as developed by the Council of Europe in the 1970s - was advocated by Smith in his *Dedication* as particularly motivating for the learning of languages: through the medium of language, he says, one can communicate with his friends and does not feel inhibited to make requests, to complain and to express his ideas ('maar hier door spreekt

men met zyne verre afgelegene Vrienden; Men durft verzoeken, klaagen en zyne gedagten uiten').

The grammar section in SMITH 1752 is a faithful copy of Sewel's with minor changes, which in many cases may said to be improvements; these do not, however, affect the basic structure of the original. One of the improvements is the layout of the text (cf. section b. 'sources' above); another is the addition of more examples; a third the presentation of the grammatical terms in all the headings in the two languages instead of one, as in SEWEL 1705. The minor changes are these (page references to edition 1758)³:

1. e and t are pronounced as 'e' and 'te' (Sewel: 'i' and 'ti'). This may be a misprint, as b, c, d etc. are to be pronounced as 'bi', 'ci', 'di', etc. (p.2);
2. the pronunciation of a is as in Low Dutch words like 'wæreld', 'pærd', 'kærs'; he does not copy Sewel's bleating of sheep ('met een blaetende klank', 'de klank van het geblaet der schaapen');
3. adds for the pronunciation of g: which is very hard ('die zeer zwaar valt'), and at the end: to be pronounced as with us in all words not derived from Latin or French ('G, in alle woorden, niet afkomstig zynde van 't Latyn of Frans, wordt uitgesproken als by ons', pp.6-7);
4. adds for the pronunciation of j: to be pronounced in English with the same force as in French ('spreken de Engelsche met de zelfde kragt als de Franschen', p.9);
5. omits from Sewel's notes on the pronunciation of o: in some words the sound is rather mixed, almost as if combined with 'a' ('In sommige woorden is de klank enigszins gemengd, byna alsof er een A onder gehoord wierd, als God, rod, hot');
6. omits details from the pronunciation of oo and oy;
7. adds a tongue twister at the end of the pronunciation of th: if the learner can pronounce *What think the chosen judges?* correctly, he will be all right for the consonants ('Zo de Leerling maar de regte uitspraak van deze vyf woorden kan bevatten, zo zal hy ook de andere uitspreken. Te weeten: *What think the Chosen Judges?*', p.14);
8. the irregular plural of 'brother' should be 'brethren' (as in SEWEL 1705), not 'brothers' (p.23);
9. omits the Latin paradigm *rex, regis* etc. in the declination of the noun (p.25 ff);
10. adds a full page to Sewel's notes on the genitive: about the form of the genitive after (plural) words ending in -s, about the form after phrases

3 These changes have not been checked here against later Sewel editions.

(‘the King of Spain’s Court’) and about multiple genitives (‘Peter’s Brother’s wife’s Portion’) (from p.26 after ‘Tabbard’ up to p.27 ‘Broeder van Pieter’);

11. calls personal pronouns ‘demonstrative’ (p.34);
12. has a longer list of irregular verbs (pp.64-66);
13. ‘It Freezes ... It Chanceth ...’ not in SEWEL (p.75);
14. his note on ‘no’ and ‘nay’ is not in SEWEL 1705 (pp.77-78);
15. his note on ‘much/many’ does not occur in SEWEL 1705 (p.80); the note on ‘few/little’, which he had forgotten to insert here, appears on p. 277 at the end of the phrases section;
16. the section on ‘from/of/off’ does not occur in SEWEL 1705 (pp.83-85);
17. there are more examples of interjections than in SEWEL 1705 (p.86);
18. there are more examples for the use of ‘at’ (p.94);
19. the final section on the use of *she* to refer to ships has been wrongly placed under the interjections (separately in SEWEL 1705) (pp.94-95).

In an appreciation of the textbook as a whole two characteristics spring to mind: practical and non-religious. The practical nature appears in many different ways. The grammar is contrastive and kept brief, and although a copy of Sewel’s grammar it contains elucidations which are generally improvements upon it. It takes up less than a quarter of the whole book; the remaining 311 pages are devoted to practice material. Care has been taken to provide the everyday language of native speakers and every effort has been made - including proof reading - to eliminate errors in the English language: cf. end of preface and his corrections in the dialogues 32 and 33 borrowed from PELL 1735a. The subjects of his dialogues and indeed of his other material all deal with everyday situations - cf. the table of contents above. Previous writers had been practical too, but they had written for a readership imbued in religious and moral values; this had resulted in e.g. 80 pages of Biblical texts and moral sayings in SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, 30 pages with similar material in HILLENUS 1664, 40 pages of the same and classical moral sayings in RICHARDSON 1677, 6 pages with the Commandments and the Holy Prayer in SEWEL 1705, and a clear preference for ‘approved’ words, sayings and texts in EVANS 1747. Nothing of the kind occurs in Smith’s textbook: religion plays no part in it, the emphasis is on the mundane needs of daily life: ‘to ask something’, ‘to thank, Compliment or Shew a Kindness’, ‘To Salute and Enquire after one’s Health’, ‘Before going to Bed, and after one is in Bed’, and so on. This was not entirely new: some of it had been included in most of the preceding textbooks notably PELL 1735a and BER-LAIMONT 1576, which were also largely free from the religious bias. The novelty rather lies in the consistently fresh selection of non-religious, practical material, after a period when the influence of Protestant (Pres-

byterian) writers had been predominant in the Low Dutch context. George Smith may have been an active church member, although not an exemplary one, he did not see fit to show his religious convictions in his learning material. He moved with the times, no doubt, but he was the first to reflect these ideas in a full ELL textbook for speakers of Low Dutch.

f. points of view on language learning and teaching

As in all ELL textbooks for speakers of Low Dutch, the information about points of language learning and teaching in this textbook is again extremely limited. It has been suggested before that this may be due to lack of experience in the field and to a tradition among these textbook writers to refrain from this kind of information. Although Smith was a teacher with at least some experience ('door eigen ondervinding', dedication in ed. 1752), he is no exception: we only have explicit references in the four pages of the preface (not from his own hand!) and the occasional comments in the dialogues, and implicit ones in the content and structure of the textbook as such.

Since the main object seems to have been familiarity with the written word, or *letterkonst*, it is not surprising to detect in this book a concern for good English. This comes out in three ways. First of all the texts, all of them taken from various sources, were carefully 'improved', with attention to structures, vocabulary and spelling - cf. the quotations in 5.5 above. The short, colloquial sentences in many of the dialogues were entirely to the credit of Boyer & Miège 1718, but Smith adopted a grading system by placing them before the longer ones from PELL 1735a (last two dialogues) and the obligatory formal language of the personal and commercial letters. Secondly, good English, we are told, can only be learned in contact with native speakers and native authors. In the preface a distinction is made between learning through the ear ('door 't gehoor alleen') and through the eye ('de oog'), with a clear preference for the latter, since it will be the most rewarding way ('de rykste overdenking, en de verstandigste ervarenheid'). The learner is encouraged to read and to read good books: 'to learn a Language well, one must above all things apply themselves to good Authors' (end of dialogue xxxii). Or:

Do you understand what you read?

I understand better than I can speak.

What Books do you read to learn English?

The Spectator, the Foundling, David Simple, Tatler, Guardian, Free Thinker, and the Works of Pope and Swift

They are very Good Books.

(from dialogue x. 'To Speak English')

Thirdly, Smith's concern for good English is also testified by his warnings against printing errors in books of this kind; they can be pernicious in three ways: the learner may learn the wrong pronunciation, he may not be able to distinguish true from false, and he may take a dislike to the book⁴. For these reasons Smith had taken the trouble to amend all the errors in the English language of the first edition (see end of preface).

Learners should go about their business in a variety of ways. Smith does not favour one approach; he mentions some of the approved methods leaving it to the reader to choose whichever suits him best. One such method is the trial-and-error one: it will be easier to learn through use than through rules ('dat het licht is door 't Gebruik dan door Regelen te leeren', end of grammar section, also in the introduction to the section on verbs). This is repeated later on:

- a. *Does not your Master tell you, that you must always speak English.*
 - b. *Yes Sir, he tells me so often,*
 - a. *Why don't you speak then?*
 - b. *Who will you have me speak with,*
 - a. *With all who shall speak to you,*
 - b. *I would fain Speak but I dare not,*
 - a. *Believe me, be Confident, and speak without minding whether you speak well or ill,*
 - b. *If I speak so, every body will laugh at me⁵,*
 - a. *Do not fear that, Don't you know, that to learn to speak well, one begins with Speaking ill,*
 - b. *I shall follow your advice,*
 - a. *Then you will do well,*
- (from dialogue x. 'To Speak English')

Among the phrases 'Between a Governess and a young Lady' we find the following admonitions:

*Go and Learn English,
Where have you put your Grammar?
Look for your Book,
What Lesson have you?
What Dialogue have you read?
Read before me,
You do not pronounce well,
Can you say your Lesson by heart?*

4 These three points also occur in the preface of EVANS 1747.

5 The objection is not unreasonable, as we all know. It was confirmed unkindly by Boswell in a doggerel written during his largely unhappy short stay at Utrecht in 1763/4:

'Say, is it possible to laugh too much
At twelve or fourteen young untoward Dutch,
Who come together duly once a week
The English language horridly to speak.'

(quoted in Dudok 1954:182). As early as 1586 Walraven comments on the same point telling the learner to speak freely and boldly, and not to be self-conscious ('T'spreke[n], in zonderheyt gantsch vrymoedich en onbeschreumt: Oftet goet ofte quaet zy zyt niet beschaemt, schaemte is hier al onnut en schaedelic, smijtet vry uyt, verzwegene faute[n] en can me[n] niet gehelpe[n] ..', WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586:103)

You have no Memory.
(ed. 1758:255)

Then there is the letter writing method, in which the learner answers letters from his teacher about subjects proposed by the learner himself - cf. the quotation in Ch. 5.5 above. Lastly, the deficiencies of some of the teachers are discussed in Dialogue xxxii:

- a. ... *the most part of Masters who take upon them to teach the Language don't understand it,*
- b. *However, there's perhaps no Master of a Language in the world, but flatters himself He understands it perfectly,*
- a. *They know perhaps something of the Grounds and know how to decline a Noun, conjugate a Verb &c.*
- b. *The greatest evil I see in it is, they give us vocabularies, where above half the words are out of use; and it is impossible for a stranger to discover the good from the bad,*
- a. *And their Dialogues are still worse, and have scarce any but Proverbial ways of speaking, which are wholly of the dregs of the People,*
- b. *In a word, these sort of Masters may be good to make a beginning; but for the perfection of a Language 't is only to be acquir'd by conversing with an able Man,*

It should be remembered that all these approaches were copied from other sources; there is no saying to what extent Smith subscribed to, let alone practised, them.

g. evaluation

1. Almost all the material in this textbook was copied from other sources, but the selections were made judiciously by someone who must have been familiar with the world of ELL;
2. the whole of Sewel's grammar was copied into it and improved in small points, particularly in presentation and layout; the book soon replaced Sewel's popular *Korte Wegwyzer* by offering more up-to-date and better graded material;
3. the emphasis on reading ('letterkonst') and functional language, combined with the absence of a religious and moral tone, lend it an element of timelessness and directness that may explain the availability of this textbook for almost 70 years;
4. Smith saw to the correctness of his English texts but was less confident about his Dutch; this weak command of Dutch may partly account for his heavy reliance on other sources. In later editions the Dutch texts were significantly improved;
5. in this case, even less than in similar books, can we be certain about the author's views on language, language learning and language teaching.

If Smith was a teacher, perhaps even an experienced one, he refrains from showing this in his texts;

6. This textbook was consulted by Evans and Holtrop but not extensively. There are no indications that it was used by others.

The survey and analyses presented in the preceding six chapters and in the five appendices have primarily been made to explore the field of English language learning for speakers of Low Dutch between 1500 and 1800. Apart from the intrinsic interest of this subject as such, the question may arise what has been added to information already available in other publications and to what extent a gap has been filled; more specifically: which are the new points that this study of Low Dutch materials and of the Low Dutch ELL scene in general has come up with? The question will be discussed here on the basis of the four major areas introduced in Chapter 1 as the four constituent parts of any study of this kind: biography, bibliography, socio-cultural matters and language learning methodology.

biography

Biographical information has turned out to be limited in most cases: teachers and textbook writers often led obscure lives and their professions did not enjoy a great deal of respect. This was particularly so for masters teaching languages other than Dutch or French: they did not have a place in the schools; they were not welcome in the universities, where their occupation as skills trainers was put on a par with that of dancing masters, fencing masters and riding instructors. Employment must have been a huge problem for most of them. Their only hope was the private sector, in their own private settings, or in schools attached to an English church, or in one of the few boarding-schools (mainly eighteenth century) where English was offered as an optional subject; not as governors with rich families, since the well-to-do were only interested in French and perhaps some German. There was little money in the matter and consequently these teachers were not in a position to produce an abundance of rich and varied materials.

An extended search for biographical detail will thus be futile in most cases and will anyway have to be directed to private records, which may not be easily available. Some measure of success may be expected in the case of four teachers listed in Appendix 5: Willem Beyer, who ran an apparently successful boarding-school in Mijnsheerenland at an early time in history - mid seventeenth century - and who appears to have been a dedicated teacher, with an interest in English on the side; Edward Evans, English master at the Scots Church of Rotterdam in the second half of the eighteenth century for some 40 years if not more, an experienced and skilful and deeply religious teacher with an eye for the needs of his pupils; Jan Holtrop, living and working in Dordrecht as a teacher of languages and probably also in other capacities in approximately the same period, with a

considerable output of instructional materials; and Jan van Bemmelen, boarding-school proprietor at Leyden at around the turn of the eighteenth century, who did not perhaps have an original mind but seems to have catered for the needs of the 'average teacher'.

bibliography

The groundwork for the bibliographical section of this study had been done by Scheurweghs (1960) and Alston (1967). Additions and some (rare) improvements have been made in sundry places, particularly through the inclusion of titles which fell outside the scope of these earlier studies. It seems unlikely that many more ELL textbooks or manuals will come to light: the writers of the works that are known to us were invariably well informed about comparable materials and frequently referred to or copied from them; no obscure names or titles have occurred, and borrowings that could not be accounted for, should usually be traced back to foreign sources. Possible new titles may be found among multi-lingual materials, and among school books like BEMMELEN 1794 published at the end of the eighteenth century. But the demand for English was limited and did not increase at a fast rate.

ELL materials for speakers of French and FrLL materials for speakers of English enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the Low Countries and should not be ignored. They were used by material writers as sources to borrow from, but no doubt also by many speakers of Low Dutch with a good command of French as study books. Their availability and impact have not yet been assessed but may have been considerable. Similarly, the interdependence of French and English materials for speakers of Low Dutch has to be determined; apart from obvious cases like De Berlaimont, Beyer, Holtrop and Van Bemmelen, there must have been others - perhaps many others - who could add to our present knowledge. German sources for either English or French do not seem to have been consulted here, for the reasons given in Ch.3.3.3.

socio-cultural matters

During the period under discussion the interest in things English on the one hand and in the English language on the other were two different things. The South (until 1600) and the North (until 1800) were involved in English commercial, political and cultural matters in many different ways, as might be expected from neighbouring states. With it came a linguistic interest but not nearly to the same degree. Until around 1700 many of the contacts took place in French, Latin, English or Low Dutch; the English-speaking partners were quite prepared to use one of the foreign languages including Low Dutch, for which purpose the double grammars of the seventeenth century were written. After 1700, when the English became less willing to adapt

themselves, oral contacts had to take place in English, but it is not clear how significantly they increased; moreover, English writings were invariably translated into Dutch or French, and they were discussed in French magazines edited in the Dutch Republic - a sign no doubt of the general incompetence to deal with the English language. In the literature of the time references to English are few and very far between. All this may explain why the only places where ELL was in some demand, were located in the main trading ports along the North Sea, where English was needed in commercial activities, and even there the English language was almost a curiosity. Commercial information and commercial letters were invariably included in the Low Dutch materials; there are hardly any signs of a cultural or literary interest, as was the case in e.g. the German- and French-speaking areas.

During the sixteenth century the trickle of instructional materials was produced by non-native speakers of English; it was only from the mid-seventeenth century onwards that native speakers began to lend their share and they were at first expatriates, who had not come of their own free will. They ran schools for their children, where English materials were used and gradually also contrastive ones, or they gave private lessons to Low Dutch citizens who wanted to learn their language. During the eighteenth century their contribution remained substantial (Pell, Evans, Smith, Peyton, Wilcocke). The majority of them were attached to an English Presbyterian church; in fact, the rise of ELL in the Low Countries is very much tied up with the presence of a tolerant Protestant church there.

From a linguistic point of view the two most interesting and original areas are the dictionaries/vocabularies and the orthology (or contrastive phonology) sections in the grammars. It was here that creative input was required, which led to some original work. This was not so much the case with the etymology sections: they were usually copies of Latinised models and contrastively less impressive. Syntax, in the sense of 'the due connexion of words and sentences' (RICHARDSON 1677:165), was often treated as a poor relation, but began to look up after about 1750 and offered some interesting contrastive details. Dictionaries were of course important, not only for ELL, but also - and perhaps even more - for the vast amount of translation work that went on during most of the period. The influence of translators on the field of EFL and *vice versa* still has to be assessed. Of all the teachers in Appendix 5 Van den Bosch is the only one with a clear interest in translation work. There may have been more of them; there may have been learners who wanted to be translators; there must have been translators with some teaching practice, if only on the side. Or are we in fact talking about professionals working in two different worlds which hardly, if ever, met?

language learning methodology

The strong foreign language learning tradition in the sixteenth century Flemish parts must have been 'exported' to the North, but we do not quite know how this came about. French textbooks may contain clues to an answer, but so far no leading names have been recorded of a stature comparable to that of De Berlaimont, Meurier, Heyns and the like. The methodologies adopted in the foreign language learning settings were not inspired by the practices and ideas of national exemplary models, it seems. Nor was this the case with the views expressed by acclaimed international experts like Comenius, Locke and others, certainly not for the field of ELL. A similar isolating strain has been detected in the carry-over of linguistic ideas into ELL textbooks: the promising and rapidly developing discoveries in the fields of phonetics and grammar were not clearly accepted in the ELL materials.

The English material writers were rather uncommunicative about their ideas. The reasons for this were varied. Many of them were not teachers themselves or not teachers of English, they all copied the bulk of their material from other sources, they catered for the practical demands of learners interested in commerce, they worked in a small market with few opportunities for extensive practice. Still, the teachers among them were almost invariably also teachers of other foreign languages, and they knew the works of some of their colleagues abroad who were in the habit of prefixing long and detailed explanations to their textbooks. Their reticence is quite extraordinary and seems almost to point to an accepted practice. Sewel was rather an exception, but he was not a teacher: his *Korte Wegwyzer* has a preface of not more than two short pages.

The view of the development of foreign language methodology as 'change without progress' (Van Els *et al.* 1984) can be supported on the basis of the findings in this study. There were those who favoured a thorough grounding in grammar (Richardson, Ensell), there were others who were more cautious in this respect (Sewel); some favoured translation work (Walraven, Van Bemmelen), others oral practice (De Berlaimont, Pielat); the emphasis in the practice materials was variously on dialogues (De Berlaimont, Sewel) or phrases/vocabulary (Smith, Holtrop). However, these varying emphases may partly have to be explained by the different target groups for which the materials were written; if this is true, the materials may reflect different approaches in relation to different target groups, a point deserving further study.

Another common view - the reliance of foreign language methodology on the teaching practices in Latin classes - seems less obvious for the period until 1800. Firstly, contacts between the two groups of teachers were minimal: there was a difference in social status between them and the

teaching of Latin was the exclusive prerogative of the Latin Schools, where foreign languages did not have a place. Secondly, contemporaries tell us that the level of teaching in the Latin Schools was appalling and got worse over the years; an active command, the professed aim for the modern languages, was less and less aimed at in the Latin Schools, so that there was little to be learned from the Latin example in this respect. Thirdly, although the materials were initially modelled after the Latin ones - cf. the grammars and the dialogues -, they soon developed characteristics of their own - cf. the contrastive element, the contents of the dialogues, the emphasis on oral practice. Oddly enough, the Latin example may have become more attractive in the nineteenth century, when translation became the overriding practice in foreign language classes and teachers of classical and modern languages met in the same schools.

APPENDIX 1 A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING MATERIALS, 1500-1800 (primary sources)

Part 1a of this survey of primary sources contains titles of written instructional materials for the learning of English by speakers of Low Dutch, developed and published in the Low Dutch area between 1500 and 1800. Only materials containing at least English and Dutch have been accepted for inclusion. Literary works, usually in translation, have not been listed, but they were available in many editions particularly in the eighteenth century (cf. Buisman 1975 and Reesink 1931) and are likely to have been read by the more advanced learners; some simplified readers and other reading materials have been selected for inclusion in Appendix 1b as an indication of the kind of texts assumed to be suitable for ELL. Information about life in Britain was usually contained in the dialogues or in the numerous (scholarly) English works published and translated in the Northern Netherlands; again some of these titles have been included in Appendix 1b as examples - mainly works about the history of England and about the political relations between the two countries.

In the course of this study Dutch grammars for speakers of English published and used abroad have so often been referred to that it seemed a matter of course to attach a full list of them in **Appendix 2** ('Dutch language learning materials for speakers of English published abroad'). Titles of books on which the primary sources of Appendix 1a were based or which were in some other way related to them, are included in **Appendix 3** ('Related publications'). Every attempt has been made to be exhaustive, but in a work of this nature the claim cannot be fulfilled, in spite of the limited scope of ELL in those days and of the much repeated information in secondary sources. All works are listed by their first known dates of publication or by the year in which English was first used in that publication.

The titles in Appendix 1a are of first editions unless otherwise indicated, with the full text of the main title page(s) in two, three or more languages; they are printed here in run-on lines, i.e. without vertical bars for the original line breaks; spelling, punctuation and capital letters have been retained; new titles and publishers of later editions have been added in Appendix 1a only. Photocopies of some of the title pages are printed elsewhere in this study - see the list of illustrations on p. x. Quasi-facsimile transcriptions of the kind described in Gaskell 1972 have not been attempted, as the main interest of this study is not a bibliographical one; moreover, most titles are accessible in libraries and those that are not, have been

taken from secondary sources. I have tried 'to escape the ultimate absurdity of mistaking the means of bibliography for its end, of practising bibliography for bibliography's sake' (Gaskell 1972:322), but am well aware of the limitations of this choice. The spelling of printers' and publishers' names, when used outside direct quotation, is that in Gruys & De Wolf 1989 and Rouzet 1975.

Some of the libraries where the materials may be inspected are entered under 'lib.'; libraries in **bold type** contain the copy or copies from which the text of the title page has been taken. An 'etc.' at the end of this particular section means that the reader is referred to the main bibliographical works for other libraries. These works are for Appendix 1a: Claes 1974 and supplements for titles before 1600, the *Short-Term Catalogue* for titles until 1640, Alston 1967 and Scheurweghs 1960 for later works. For the other appendices no separate bibliographical works have been consulted; the reader has to resort to the general libraries to check whether the various titles are stocked there. References to biographical information are provided in the section 'bio.', but only for those writers whose biography does not occur in Ch. 4. Wherever relevant, additional notes are entered under 'note'.

In this study the titles of Appendix 1a are referred to by the name of the writer in capital letters followed by the first date of publication. Thus 'SEWEL 1691' is Sewel's *A New Dictionary* of 1691; 'SEWEL 1691, ed. 1727' is the third edition of the same work. Anonymous works occurring in Appendix 1a are referred to in the text with an appropriate catchword in capital letters also followed by the first date of publication: 'SCHOLE-MASTER 1646' is then the reference to *The English Schole-Master* of 1646. The reference code appears in **bold type** at the head of each entry.

abbreviations

*	verified by me
Aa	Van der Aa, <i>Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden</i>
anon	anonymus
B	bibliotheek (library)
bio	biographical sources (if not included in Ch 4)
BL	British Library, London
BLox	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
c	(followed by a date) around
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
GBR	Gemeente Bibliotheek Rotterdam (Municipal Library Rotterdam)
inc	incipit (followed by first words of title)
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag (Royal Library The Hague)
KBB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel (Royal Library Brussels)
KLB	Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Theologische Faculteit (Catholic University Brabant Faculty of Divinity)
lib	library where title is stocked (book/photocopy/microfilm)

MW	Museum Meermano-Westreenianum, The Hague
NNBW	<i>Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek</i>
note	note(s)
PBL	Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland, Leeuwarden (Provincial Library Leeuwarden)
SBA	Stadsbibliotheek Antwerpen (City Library Antwerp)
UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek (University Library)
UBA	UB University of Amsterdam
UBGn	UB Groningen
UBGt	UB Gent
UBL	UB Leiden
UBN	UB Nijmegen
UBU	UB Utrecht
UBVU	UB Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
UCL	University College London

APPENDIX 1a English language learning materials for speakers of Low Dutch published in the Low Dutch area between 1500 and 1800, with texts in at least Low Dutch and English

c1530 TABLE MANNERS

(Table manners) (inc.) *Englysshe. frenche. Dutche.*

Antwerp: Chrstoffel van Ruremund (?), c1530

lib.: **Public Lib. Melbourne, Huntington Lib. San Marino (CA)**

contents: [2pp. Melbourne copy, 3 other pp. Huntington copy] phrases

note: 1. cf Kronenberg 1930 for reprint of remaining fragments and a brief commentary.
For title see also Claes 1974, no.94.

1540 SEPTEM LINGUARUM

anon.

Septem linguarum . . . dilucidissimus dictionarius . . .

Antwerp: Joannes Crinitus, 1540, oblong 8° ; 117 pp

also

Antwerp: Jan van Ghelen, 1569

Septem Lingvarum Latinae, Tevtonicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglica, Almanicae, dilucidissimus dictionarius, mirum quàm utilis, nec dicam necessarius, omnibus linguarum studiosis.

Vocubulaer in seuenderley talen/ Latyn/ Duytsch/ Walsch/ Spaens/ Italiaens/ Engels ende Hoochduytsch/ seer profiteyck alle beminders der Talen

Vocabulaire de sept languages, Latin, Flameng, Francoys, Espaignol, Italiaen, Anglois, & Aleman.

Vocabulario de sette languaies, Latin, Flamenco, Frances, Espaignol, Italian, Englese, y Aleman.

Vocabulista de le seste lingue, Cioe Latina, Tudescha, Franzosa, Spagnola, Italiana, Anglese, & Aleman.

A vocabulary in seven languages/ Latyn, Deutch, frenche, Spantish, Italy, English, and Hye Aleman.

Eyn vocabel buch inn sibenderlay spraachen, Latin, Niderlandisch, frantzosisch, Spangisch, Welsch, Englisch, und Hochteutsch.

Antverpiae Excudebat Ioannes Crinitus Anno M.D.XL.

lib.: (1540) *UBA,BLOx,*UBL (1540?, Antwerp: Heyndrick Peetersen van Middelborch) (1569) *UBL

contents: [102 pp.] vocabulary (classified), [15 pp.] phrases

note: 1. based on a bilingual Italian-German original commonly referred to by its opening words: (inc) *Uesto Libro El Quale* (Venice: Adamo de Roduila, 1477);

2. English and Dutch were also contained in editions with six or eight languages, but they are not known to have been printed in the Netherlands. Titles:

Sex Linguarum . . . dilucidissimus dictionarius , earliest edition 1537 in Southwark: James Nicolson for John Renys;

Le Dictionaire des huict langaiges, with Greek, earliest edition 1546 in Paris: Pasquier le Tellier, and subsequently printed mainly in Paris and Lyons. See Claes 1974/6, Alston 1967

For the history of these interesting language learning manuals see especially Bart-Rossebastiano 1984;

3 see Claes 1974 no.106/108/217; Alston 1967 (plate II).

1576 BERLAIMONT

(Noel de Berlaimont, ? - 1531)

Colloques ou dialogues avec un dictionaire en six langues . . .

Antwerp: Hennicus Hennicus, 1576, oblong 16°; 444 pp.

also:

Antwerp: Henricus Henricus 1579

Antwerp: Henricus Henricus 1583

Antwerp: Jan Withage 1584

and many more editions, cf. note 4 below

Colloques Ov Dialogues Avec Vn Dictionaire en six langues: Flamen, Anglois, Alleman, François, Espagnol, & Italien. Tres vil à tous Marchands, ou autres de quelque estat qu'ils soyent. Le tout avec grande diligence & labeur, corrigé & mis ensemble.

Colloquien oft tsamensprekingen/ met eenen vocabuleur in ses spraken: Neerduyts/ Engelsch/ Hoogduyts/ Fransois/ Spaens/ en Italiaens. Alles met grooter neersticheyt ende arbeyt, gecorrigeert en tsamen gebracht.

A Anvers, Chez Henry Heyndricx, au Cemuetterre nostre Dame, à la Fleur de Liz 1576. Avec Privilège.

lib.: (1576) *BL, Herzog August Lib. Wolfenbuttel

(1583) KBB

(1584) *BL

etc.

bio.: Verdeyen 1926; Riemens 1929

contents: (1576) [3pp.] dedication, [20 pp.] to the reader, [164 pp.] dialogues (3), [72 pp.] letters (personal and commercial), [134 pp.] vocabulary (alphabetic), [18 pp.] grammar, [32 pp.] pronunciation (nor for English), [1 p.] privilege

note: 1. other titles:

Colloquia et Dictionariolum Sex Linguarum

Colloquia cum Dictionariolo Sex Linguarum

Familiana Colloquia cum Dictionariolo Sex Linguarum

Colloquien oft tsamensprekinghen met eenen vocabuleur in ses spraken;

2. based on De Bertaimont's *Vocabulare* (c1530) for French and Dutch; English in editions with six or more languages;

3. first English edition with English (but no Dutch) in England c1567 (see Alston 1967 and Lambley 1920);

4. see Verdeyen 1925-1935; Claes 1974; Claes 1976 no.389; Claes 1979 no.401; Alston 1967; the same sources also for editions with seven or more languages;

5. see my analysis in Chapter 6.1.

1577 JUNIUS

Hadrianus Junius (1511 - 1575)

Nomenclator . . .

Antwerp. Chr. Plantijn, 1577; 8°, 508 pp.

also.

many more editions, cf. note 2 below

Nomenclator, Omnium Rerum Propria Nomina Varis Linguis Explicata Indicans: Multo quàm antea emendator ac locupletior: Hadriano Iunio Medico Avctore.

Antverpiae, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Archtypographi Regj. M.D.LXXVII.

lib.: (1577) *UBA, UBL, BL

etc.

contents: [1 p.] privilege, [6 pp.] notices, 1-376 dictionary (classified), 377-432 appendix of geographical names, [66 pp.] index (alphabetic), [2 pp.] nihil obstat, privilege

note: 1. first edition 1567 (without English). Translations were provided for up to 7 languages in the many editions of this dictionary;

2. few editions with English. First edition with English: 1577. In England the English translations were furnished by John Higgins in 1585 (Lambley 1920 189/190),

3. see Claes 1974, also Claes 1976.

1586 MEURIER/BASSON

Gabriel Meurier (1520 - 1598) / Thomas Basson (1555 - 1613)

The coniugations in Englische and Netherdutch . . .

Leyden. Thomas Basson, 1586, 8°, 54 pp

The coniugations in Englische and Netherdutch, according as Gabriel Meurier hath ordayned the same, in Netherdutch, and Frenche De coniugation in Engelsch ende Nederduytsche/ also de selue door Gabriel Meurier, in Nederduytsche ende Francoyse/ zijn gemaect ende gheo:donneert.

Tot Leyden, By Thomas Basson, woonende op de breede straet, 1586. Met Privilegie

lib.: **Bamberg Stadt B.**

contents: 2-9 prefaces, 10-53 grammar, 54 poem

note: 1. this is an adaptation of Meurier's *Coniugations . . . pour . . . apprendre . . . François, Italien, Espagnol, et Flamen* (Antwerpen. J.Waesberge, 1558),
2. cf Claes 1974, Claes 1976 no. 381; Alston 1964 and 1967; Dibbets 1969 and 1970a, Van Dorsten 1961.

1586 WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE

Jacob Walraven (1544? - ?) / George Whetstone (1544? - 1587?)

The honovrable repvtation of a sovidier . .

Leyden: Jan Paedts Jacobszoon & Jan Bouwenszoon, 1586; 4°; 103 pp.

The Honovrable Repvtation of a Sovidier. VVith a Morall Report of the Vertues, Offices and (by abuse) the disgrace of his Profession. Drawen out of the Lives, Documents, and Disciplines of the most renowned Romaine, Grecian, and other famous Martualistes. By George Whetstone, Gent.

De Eervveerdighe Achtaerheyt van een Soldener. Met een Stuchich Verhael der Deuchdê, Amptê, en (by misbruyc) d'Onucht van zijn Professie. Getrocken uyt het Leven/ Onderwijs/ ende Leeringen van de vernaemste Roomsche/ Griecsche/ ende anderen vermaerden krijchsluyden By Ge. Wh. Gent.

Ende nu, ter liefden den Liefhebberen, beyde des Vaderlants ende dezer talen, verduytscht ende by een ghevoecht, door I. Walraven.

Hier volcht d'Engelsche Pronunciaue.

Tot Leyden, By Jan Paedts Jacobszoon, ende Jan Bouwenszoon. Anno M D Lxxxvi.

Men vintse te coop by Thomas Basson Boeckvercoper/ woonende tot Leyden opte breede-stræet/by de Blauwe steen. Met Privilegie van zes laren

(title page for section on pronunciation, p 73)

English Pronovnciation: Or A Shorte Introdvction And Waye to the English speache, very fitte for all those that intende to learne the same

To the diligent Schooler.

Beare loue and labour in your mynde,

Than, what you seeke you shall it fynde

For Love vanquish, and Labour shall

What first was sowre, sweete make with all.

Engelsche Pronvnciate: Ofte Een Corte Inleydinghe Ende Wech tot de Engelsche sprake, zeer bequaem alle den ghenen die daer trachten om den zelfden te leeren. Nu eerst Niet alleen den Leerlinghen, ter liefden ende profijt: maer oock mede den Leeraers zelf, tot groot gemack ende gerijf, in onze tale vertaelt, Door I. Walraven.

Tot den naerstigen Schoher.

In Liefd' end' Arbeyt wilt volherden,

Dan, wat ghy zoect tzal u geworden

Want Liefd' verwint, en d'Arbeyt doet

Tgunt eerst zuer smaect, haest werden zoet.

Anno M D LXXXVI.

lib.: *KB,*BL,UBCambr.

etc

bio.. (Whetstone) DNB

contents 1 privilege, 2-24 + 74-75 prefaces, 25-71 text (E-D), 76-96 pronunciation, 97-103

texts

- note: 1. this is a Dutch translation of Whetstone's *The honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1585) followed by a guide on English pronunciation also translated from an English original (for possible sources see Barnouw 1935:3/4);
2. in the last paragraph of this manual (p.103) the learner is referred to other materials for reading practice: a *Vocabulare* by I.Paedts, the *Coniugations* of T.Basson, the New Testament and the Psalms (both in rhyme and prose); these works were said to be available in English and Dutch;
3. see Barnouw 1935; Lowisch 1889:23.

1590 CALEPINUS

Ambrosius Calepinus (1440 - 1510)

Dictionarium undecim linguarum . . .

Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri 1590, 2°, 1112 pp.

also:

Leyden: A.Commelini c1649

Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium Vndecim Linguarum, Iam Postremo Accurata Emendatione Atque Infinitorum locorum augmentatione, collectis ex bonorum auctorum monumentis, certis & expressis syllabarum quantitatis notis . . . Respondent autem Latini vocabulis Graeca, Hebraica, Belgica, Graeca, Hispanica, Gallica, Polonica, Italica, Vngarica, Germanica, Anglica . . .

lib.. (1590) SBA
(1649?) KB (nine languages)
etc.

bio: De Backer 1869; Labarre 1975

contents: not consulted

- note. 1. first edition 1502 (without English); numerous editions of this work appeared between 1502 and 1779, but few were printed in the Low Countries with English in it (for the first time in 1649?); copies of the many editions are kept in many libraries, first edition ever with English: probably in 1585. Dutch was included in 1545 for the first time; Dutch and English together not before 1590;
2. the only edition with Du and En ever published in the Low Countries is the 1649? one at Leyden (in KB);
3. see Labarre 1975; Claes 1974, 1976; Alston 1967.

1639 VOCABULER

anon.

Den grooten vocabulaer Engels ende Duyts . . . The great vocabvler, in English and Dutch . . .

Rotterdam. Pieter van Waesberge, 1639; 8°, 103 pp.

also:

Rotterdam: de Wwd. van Matthijs Bastiaens, 1639, fourth impression

Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberghe, 1644

Amsterdam: Jan van Hilten, 1649

Den grooten Vocabulaer/ Engels ende Duyts: Dat zijn ghemeyne Spraken op alderhande manieren/ oock Brieven ende Obligatien te schryven. Met eenen Dictionarium/ende de Conjugatie.

The Great Vocabvler, in English and Dutch: That is to say common speeches of all sorts, also Lettres and Obligations to write. With a Dictionarie and the Conjugation.

Desen lesten Druck/ op meus oversten ende ghebetert/ van vele honderde grove fouten.

Tot Rotterdam, By Pieter van Waes-berge/ op 't Steyghet/ inde Swarte Klock. Anno 1639.

lib.: (1639) *UBL Leid, BLOx
(1644) *BL
(1649) BL?
etc.

contents: (1639) 1-44 dialogues (7), 45 + 63-98 vocabulary (alphabetic), 46-63 letters (personal and commercial), 99-103 grammar
 (1644) [70 pp.] dialogues (7), [1p + 35 pp.] vocabulary, [16 pp.] letters (personal and commercial), [4 pp.] grammar
 (1649) ?

note: 1. this is a bilingual adaptation of BERLAIMONT 1576, but not perhaps the first edition (the Dutch text refers to it as 'this most recent edition'). See also Alston 1967.

1646 SCHOLE-MASTER

anon.

The English Schole-Master . . . Den Engelschen School-Meester . .

Amsterdam, no printer, 1646; 12°; 233 pp.

also:

Amsterdam: Jan Bouman, 1658

Amsterdam: Jan Jacobszoon Bouman (on frontispiece) / Jan Bouman (on title page), 1663

The English Schole-Master or Certaine rules and helps, whereby the natives of the Netherlandes, may bee, in a short time, taught to read, understand, and speake, the English tongue. By the helpe whereof, the English also may be better instructed in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, than by any vocabulars, or other Dutch and English books, which hitherto they have had, for that purpose.

Amsterdam, Printed in the Year 1646.

Den Engelschen School-Meester ofte Eenighe regulen/en behulpselen/ waerdoor d'ingeborene Nederlanders/ in een corten tydt/ geleert kunnen worden d'Engelse taele/ te lesen verstaen/ ende spreken. Waer door d'Engelschen oock beter geleert mogen worden/ unde kennisse van de Neder-duytsche taele/ als door eenige Vocabularen of andere duische en Engelsche boecken/diese tot noch toe tot dien eynde oyt gehadt hebben.

Tot Amsterdam, Gedruckt in 't Jaer 1646.

lib.: (1646) *UBL,*BI,
 (1658) *BL,
 (1663) *KB,*UBA,*BL
 etc.

contents: (1646) [4pp.] preface, 1-14 pronunciation, 15-35 grammar, 36-64 texts, 65-106 proverbs/sayings, 106-107 vocabulary, 107-190 dialogues, 190-219 letters (personal and commercial), 220-226 table of contents, [2pp.] errata
 (1658/1663) [5pp] preface, 1-15 pronunciation, 16-36 grammar, 36-67 texts, 68-106 proverbs/sayings, 107-108 vocabulary, 108-194 dialogues, 194-224 letters (personal and commercial), [8 pp.] table of contents

note: 1. the only printer with the name of Bouman in Amsterdam at this period was Jan Jacobszoon Bouman (1644-1671, Gruys & De Wolf 1989), who may have been responsible for the three editions,
 2. see Scheurweghs 1960,1961; Alston 1964,1967; Holthausen 1889,1902;
 3. see my analysis in Chapter 6.2.

1647/8 HEXHAM

Henry Hexham (1585? - 1658)

A copious English and Netherduytsch Dictionarie . . . Het groot woorden-boeck, gestelt in 't Neder-duytsch, ende Engelsch . .

Rotterdam: Arnout Leers 1647/1648; 4°, 311 pp. E-D dictionary, 381 pp. D-E dictionary.

also:

(E-D dictionary)

Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1647, 1648, 1660

Rotterdam: the Widow of Aernout Leers, 1675

(D-E dictionary)

Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1648, 1658, 1672

Rotterdam: de Weduwe van Aernout Leers, 1678

(E-D dictionary)

A Copious English and Netherduytch Dictionarie, Composed out of our best English Authours With an Appendix of the names of all kind of Beasts, Fowles, Birds, Fishes, Hunting, and Havvkung As also A Compendious Grammar for the Instruction of the learner
Het Groot Woorden boeck, Gestelt in 't Engelsch ende Nederduytisch Met een Appendix van de namen van alderley Beesten, Vogelen, Visschen, Jagerye, ende Valkerye, &c Als oock, Een korte Engelsche Grammatica alles met groote naerstugheyd uyt de beste Engelsche Authouren t'samengevoeght, Door Henry Hexham
Tot Rotterdam, Gedruckt by Aernovt Leers, Anno 1647

(D-E dictionary)

Het Groot Woorden-Boeck Gestelt in 't Neder-duytisch, ende in 't Engelsch Als oock tot dienst van den Leer giengen verrijckt met een korte ende bondige Nederduytische Grammatica Alles met groote naerstugheyd uyt de beste Neder-duytische Authouren t'samen gestelt, Door Hendrick Hexham
A large Netherduich and English Dictionarie, Composed out of the best Netherdutch Authours With a compendious Netherdutch Grammar, for the Instruction of the Learner
Tot Rotterdam, Gedruckt by Arnovt Leers, Anno 1648

- lib (1647) *KB+*PBL+*BL
 (1648) *BL,KB,*UBL,*UBVU,UCL
 (1658/60) *GBR+*UBL+*BL
 (1672) *UBVU+UBA+BL
 (1675) *UBL+*UBVU,*UBA
 (1678) *UBL+BL,
 etc
- contents (E-D 1647, 1660) [2 pp] dedication, [2 pp] preface, [1-276] dictionary + appendices, [31 pp] English grammar
 (E-D 1675) [1 p] privilege, [2 pp] dedication, [464 pp] dictionary, [18 pp] appendix with words of birds etc., [32 pp] English grammar
 (D-E 1648, 1658) [2 pp] dedication, [2 pp] preface, [316 pp] dictionary, [18 pp] appendix of foreign words, [43 pp] Netherdutch grammar
 (D-E 1672, 1678) [1 p] privilege, [2 pp] dedication, [4 pp] preface (printer to the reader), [623 pp] dictionary, [20 pp] appendix of foreign words, [43 pp] Netherdutch grammar
- note 1 editions are variously in one or two volumes,
 2 title of D-E editions 1672/1678 (in Dutch only) *Dictionarum, Ofte Woorden-Boeck, Verbeterd, ende met een groote menighe Woorden ende Spreucken Vermeerdert, Door Daniel Manly,*
 3 title of E-D ed 1675 (in English only)
A Copious English And Netherdutch Dictionary Amended, Enlarged, and Enriched with many Words, By Daniel Manly,
 4 the E-D edition of 1678 has a new privilege dated 20th December 1678, about which Scheurweghs notes 'the printer had complained that owing to the bad times (Dutch War, 1672-1678) the book had not sold well since 1672, and that extracts had been made which had been published as *woordeboekjes*' (small dictionaries),
 5 in the *Catalogus Universalis* by Broer Jansz this work is referred to as 'Dictionanum Engelsch ende Nederduyts, en Nederduytisch ende Engelsch door Hendrick Hexham' (1647) (xi, no 96 in De Kooker below) and 'Dictionaris in Engelsch en Nederduyts door Henry Hachman' (1648) (xii, no 74) The data in this catalogue are not very reliable, cf the introduction of *The Catalogus Universalis, A Facsimile Edition of the Dutch Booktrade Catalogues Compiled and published by Broer Jansz Amsterdam 1640-1652* ed by HW de Kooker (Utrecht HES 1986),
 6 see also Osselton 1973, Scheurweghs 1960, Leroux & Scheurweghs 1962, Alston 1967, Dibbets 1970b

1661 BEYER

Beyer, Willem/Guillaume (? - 1667)

La vraye instruction des trois langues

The right instruction of three languages

De

rechte onderwyzinge van de Fransche, Engelsche en Nederduitsche talen

Dordrecht Jasper and Jan Goris, 1661, 8°, 220 pp

also

Dordrecht Wed van Jasper en Dirck Goris, 1681 2nd ed

La vraye Instruction des trois langues La Francoise, l'Angloise, & la Flamende Proposee en Des regles fondamentelles & succinctes, Un Assemblage des mots les plus uusez, & Des Colloques utiles & recreatifs, ou, horsmis d'autres discours curieus, le gouvernement de la France se deduit Historiquement & Politiquement Mise en ces trois langues par Guillaume Beyer

A Dordrecht, Chez Jasper & Jean Goris MDC LXI

(another page)

The right Instruction of three languages, French, English and Dutch. Consisting in Succinct fundamentall Rules, a Collection of most usuall words, and Profitable and pleasant Dialogues, in which, among other, there is an Historicall and Politicall discourse of the present government of France Set forth in these three languages by Willam Beyer

De rechte Onderwyzinge van de Fransche, Engelsche en Nederduitsche Talen Bestaende in Kortbondige Groni-regels/ Verzameling der gebruikelikke woorden/ en in nutte en vermakelikke Zamenspraaken, alwaer/ onder andere/ de jegenwoordige regeringe van Vrankrijk / Historisch en Staets-wijze verhandelt wort In deze drie talen gestelt door Willem Beyer

Tot Dordrecht, Voor Jasper en Joannes Goris 1661

lib (1661) *KUB,*KBB,*BL,
(1681) *BL,
etc

contents (1661) [2pp] dedication (in Fr), [2 pp] preface (in Fr), 1-64 French grammar (Fr-En-Du), 65-72 English pronunciation (En-Fr-Du), 73-96 English grammar (En-Fr-Du), 97-144 Low Dutch grammar (Du-Fr-En), 1-7 vocabulary (Fr-En-Du, classified), 8-31 phrases (Fr-En-Du), 31-72 dialogues (3) (Fr-En-Du), (1681) identical to ed 1661 except that the preface precedes the dedication

note 1 the text is always printed in the three languages, in three columns on the same page,
2 see also Alston 1967, Riemens 1919, Osselton 1973, Geldhill 1976

1662 BEYER

Beyer, Willem/Guillaume (? - 1667)

Vestibule introduisant à la vraye instruction des trois langues Portall leading to the right instruction of the three languages Voor-hof leydende tot de rechte onderwyzinge van de Fransche, Engelsche en Nederduitsche talen
Dordrecht Jasper and Jan Goris, 1662, 12°, 141 pp

Vestibule, Introduisant à la vraye Instruction des trois langues, La Francoise, l'Angloise & la Flamende à l'usage de l'Ecole De Guillaume Beyer
à Dordrecht, Chez Jaspar & Jean Goris MDCLxi

(another page)

<i>Portall, Leading to the Right Instruction of the three languages, French, English and Dutch For the use of the Schoole of William Beyer</i>	<i>Voor-hof, Leydende tot de Rechte Onderwyzinge van de Fransche / Engelsche en Nederduitsche Talen Ten dienste van de Schole van Willem Beyer</i>
<i>At Dort For Caspar and John Goris MDCLxi</i>	<i>Tot Dordrecht, Voor Jasper en Joannes Goris MDCLxi</i>

lib BNP

contents [1p] preface, 1-30 phrases, 31-59 dialogues for children (24), 59-122 phrases, 123-140 texts (prayers)

note 1 extended version of an unknown previous work, to which English was added for

- the first time (preface);
2. although printed one year after the previous work, it was in fact used in Beyer's school as introductory material at beginner level (preface);
 3. contains discourses and short dialogues, and is not 'merely a vocabulary' as suggested in Gledhill 1976 5;
 4. title and content are reminiscent of Comenius' *Januae Linguarum Reseratae Aureae Vestibulum* of the 1640s.

1664 HILLENIUS

Hillenius, François(1613 - ?)

Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduitschen onderrichter . . . The English, and Low Dutch Instructer . . .

Rotterdam: Bastiaen Wagens, 1664; 8°, 326 pp.

also:

Rotterdam: Bastiaen Wagens, 1671 and 1677

Rotterdam: Isaac Naeranus (in BL) and Rotterdam: Johannes Borstius (in KB), 1678;

Rotterdam: Reimer van Doesburg, 1686

Den Engelschen ende Ne'erduischen Onderrichter, Gheschukt in Twee Deelen, Van welcke 't Eene begrypt korte ende Noodtwendighe Regulen tot Onderwysinghe van de Engelsche Sprake 't Ander, 'tZamenpraatjes/ gemeene Redenen/ Discoursen/ Zendt-Brieven/ ende Zinspreuken; om daar door tot de wetenschap/ ende 't aanstaan der zelve ghereffelijk te komen.

The English, and Low Dutch Instructer, Disposed, in to Two Parts, The First, whereof containeth, Brief, and Necessary Rules, for the Instructing of the Dutch Tongue. The Second, Common dialogues, Communications, Discourses, Letters, and Sentences readily for to come thereby to the knowledge and liking of the same By Francois Hillenius.

Tot Rotterdam, Gedrukt by Bastiaan Wagens, Boukverkooper, op 't Steyger. In 't Jaar 1664.

lib.: (1664) *GBR,*UBL,*KB,*BL
 (1671) *UBL*,*KB,*BL,
 (1677) *KB,BL,
 (1678) *BL,*KB
 (1686) *BL
 etc.

contents: (1664) [1p] poem, [6 pp] preface, Part I: 2-10 pronunciation, 10-114 grammar, 116 errata; Part II 2-92 dialogues (11), 93-98 texts, 99-115 letters (commercial), 115-146 proverbs /sayings (classified), 147-172 vocabulary (classified); Appendix 1-31 glossary

(1671) identical to ed. 1664 except: Part I, 116 blank (no errata)

(1677) identical to ed. 1671 except Part II, 115-154 proverbs/ sayings (147-154 are new), 155-180 vocabulary (classified)

(1678, 1686) no prelims, 2-11 pronunciation, 11-119 grammar; Part II: 122-224 dialogues (11), 224-230 texts, 231-249 letters (commercial), 249-292 proverbs/sayings (classified), 293-323 vocabulary (classified), 324-360 appendix

- note: 1. the grammar section (Part I) has the English grammar on the left hand side and the Dutch grammar on the right;
2. the name of Hillenius has been omitted from the 1686 title page; text on tp is slightly shortened;
3. see also Alston,1967; Vorlat 1969; Holthausen 1889.

1673 PIELAT

Pielat, Barthélemy (1640? - 1681)

Octoglotton, ou phraséologie en huict langues . . .

Amsterdam. Jacob van Velsen, 1673, 8°; 83 pp.

Octoglotton, ou Phraséologie en Huict Langues Sçavoir en Francois, Latin, Espagnol, Portugais, Italien, Alemand, Flamend & Anglois

lib.: Niedersächsische Landesbibl Hannover, *BL.
 contents: [1p.] preface, [2pp.] dedication, 1-80 phrases (4 languages per page)

1675a HELDEREN

Helderer, Jan Gosens van

A new and easy English grammar . . . Een nieuwe en gemakkelijke Engelsche spraak-konst . . .

Amsterdam: de wed. Mercy Bruyningh, 1675; 8°; 264 pp.

also:

London: John Miller, 1690; bound together with J.Browne's *English Examiner*, London: Edw. Jones, 1692

A New and Easy English Grammar, Containing Brief fundamental Rules, usual Phrases pleasant and choice Dialogues concerning the present State and Court of England. Whereunto is added a Nomenclature, English and Dutch.

Een nieuwe en gemakkelijke Engelsche Spraak-konst, inhoudende Korte bondige Grondregels, gebruikelyke Spreuken, vermakelyke en uitgelesen Samenspraken, betreffende den tegenwoordigen Staat en 't Hof van Engeland. By 't welke gevoegt is een Naam-Boekje, Engels en Duits.

t' Amsterdam, Gedrukt by de Weduwe Mercy Bruyning, op de Beurs-Stuys, 1675.

lib.: (1675) *UBA,*UBU,*BL
 (1690) *BL
 etc.

contents: (1675) [2pp.] preface, 1-82 grammar, 83-166 dialogues (2), 1-48 phrases (classified), 1-48 vocabulary (classified)
 (1690) 1-78 grammar, 81-142 dialogues (2), 143-192 phrases, 193-238 vocabulary (classified)

note: 1. the name of Van Helderer does not occur on the title page; it is appended to the preface as 'J.G. van Heldoren' (1675).

1675b HELDEREN

Helderer, Jan Gosens van

An English and Nether-dutch dictionary . . . Een Engels en Nederduits woorboek . . .

Amsterdam: de wed. Mercy Bruyningh, 1675; 8°, 217 pp.

An English and Nether-dutch Dictionary, Composed out of the best English Authors, With a most natural and easie method of spelling English, According To the present proper pronounciation of the Language in Oxford and London. The first Edition.

Een Engels en Nederduits Woorboek, By een gevoegt uyt de beste Engelse Schryvers, Met een natuurlyk en gemaklyk Berigt om Engels te spellen. Over een komende Met de tegenwoordige uytpraak der taal in Oxford en Londen. Den eersten Druk.

t'Amsterdam, Gedrukt by de Weduwe Mercy Bruyning, op de Beurs-stuys, 1675.

lib.: *UBA,*UBI,*BL,
 etc.?

contents: [4 pp.] preface, [27 pp.] pronunciation, [181 pp.] vocabulary (syllabary), [3 pp.] abbreviations, [2 pp.] 'nicknames'

note: 1. Van Helderer's grammar and dictionary are usually bound together in one volume.

1677 RICHARDSON

Richardson, Edward (1617 - 1677?)

Anglo-Belgica. The English and Netherdutch Academy . . . Anglo-Belgica. d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche Academy . . .

Amsterdam: Steven Swart 1676/77; 12°; 595 pp

also:

Amsterdam: de wed. van S.Swart 1689

Amsterdam: de wed. van S Swart 1698/9

Anglo-Belgica. The English and Netherdutch Academy In Three Parts Containing The Exactest Grammar-Rules, most Usefull Discourses and Letters, with a Copious Vacabular, fitted to the Capacities of all sorts of Persons Being a work brought to greater perfection than any ever formerly extant; Whereby men may, with a little pains, speedily attain to the compleat knowledge of both the Languages. By Doctor Edward Richardson. At Amsterdam, By Steven Swart Bookseller, on the West-side of the Exchange in the Crowned Bible, 1677 With Privledge for 15 years.

(another page)

Anglo-Belgica. d'Engelsche en Nederduytsche Academy, In Drie Deelen Behelsende De Naaukeurighste Grammaticale Regelen, Aller-nuttelyckste Discoursen en Brieven, met een Bondigh Woorden-Boeck, bequaam gemaackt tot het begryp van allerley soort van Menschen. Zynde een Werck tot grooter perfectie gebracht als Eenige oyt te vooren geweest is: Waar door men/ met weynigh moeyten/ spoedighlyck tot de volkomen kennisse van beyde de Talen geraken kan Door Doctor Edward Richardson. t'Amsterdam, By Steven Swart Boeckverkooper, aan de West-zyde van de Beurs, in de Gekroonde Bybel, 1677.

lib.: (1677) *UBL,*PBL,*BL,BLOx

(1689) (no Dutch grammar) *UBA,*SBA,*BL
(no English grammar) BLOx

(1698/9) (no Dutch grammar) *BL
etc.

contents: (1677) [11 pp.] prefaces, [2 pp.] privilege, Part I: 1-169 Low Dutch grammar, 173-244 pronunciation of English, 245-349 English grammar; Part II: 2-22 texts, 23-39 proverbs / sayings, 40-80 dialogues (6), 81-92 texts (academy), 92-94 phrases, 95-101 texts (academy), 102-147 letters (personal and commercial), 148-154 texts (academy), 154-161 commercial letters, [1p.] vocabulary (commercial); Part III: [71 pp.] vocabulary (alphabetic)

(1689, 1698/9) cf. 'printing history' in Ch. 6.3

- note: 1. the English grammar (in Part I) and Parts II and III all have 1676 ; the Dutch grammar (in Part I) and the general title pages all have 1677;
2. eds 1689 have either the Low Dutch or the English grammar; eds 1698/9 have the English grammar only;
3 this textbook was used by Heinrich Offelen in his *Zweifache grundliche Sprachlehre, für Hochdeutsche, Englisch und für Engellander, Hochdeutsch zu lernen* (London: Nathaniel Thompson 1687) - cf. Lowisch 1889:18 and Viëtor 1887;
4. see my analysis in Ch. 6.4.

1691 SEWEL

Sewel, Willem (1653 - 1720)

A new dictionary English and Dutch . . . Nieuw woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche taalen . . .

Amsterdam: de wed. van Steven Swart, 1691; 4°; F-D: 735, D-E: 453

also:

Amsterdam: de wed van Steven Swart, 1708;

Amsterdam: Evert Visscher, 1727;

Amsterdam: Jacob ter Beek, 1735, 1749, 1754

(E-D dictionary)

A New Dictionary English and Dutch, Wherein the Words are rightly interpreted, and their various significations exactly noted Enriched with many elegant Phrases and select Proverbs: And for help to the English, the Particles DE and HET placed before the Dutch Nouns. Whereunto is added a small Treatise concerning the Dutch Pronunciation; and the right use of the Dutch Particles DE, DIE, DEEZE, and HET, DAT, DIT.

Nieuw Woordenboek Der Engelsche en Nederduytsche Taale, Waar in de Woorden eygentlyk vertaald, en de verscheydenereleye betékenissen der zelve naauwkeurighlyk aangewezen zyn: Verrykt met veele nette Spreekwyzen, by de hedendaagse Engelsche Schryveren gebruykelyk, en doorgaans met fraaije Spreekwoorden verzien: Zynde daarenboven, ten dienste der Engelschen, de Lédékens DE en HET voor de Nederduytsche Naamwoorden

gestéld. Waar by nõg gevoegd is een korte Verhandeling van de uitspraak der Engelsche Taale; beneffens een Bericht van de Nederduytsche Spel-konst Alles tõt groot nut der gener, die begeertg zyn om die Taale te leeren, van neuws op t'zamengesteld, door W^m. Séwel.

t'Amsterdam, By de Weduwe van Steven Swart, Boekverkoopster in de Beurs-straat in de Gekroonde Bybel 1691.

(D-E dictionary)

Nieuw Woordenboek Der Nederduytsche en Engelsche Taale, Waar in de Woorden eygentlyk vertaald, en de verscheydenerteley betékenissen der zelve naauwkeurglyk aangewezen zyn: Verryka met veele nette Spreekwyzen, en doorgaans met fraaije Spreekwoorden verzien: Zynde daarenboven, ten dienste der Engelschen, de Lédekens DE en HET voor alle de Nederduytsche Naamwoorden gevoegd.

A New Dictionary Dutch and English, Where in the Words are rightly interpreted, and their various significations exactly noted. Enriched with many elegant Phrases and select Proverbs: And for the help of the English, the Particles DE and HET placed before all the Dutch Nouns. Wholly new, and brought much nearer to perfection, then any hutherto extant. By W^m Sewel.

At Amsterdam, By the Widow of Stephen Swart Bookseller, on the West-side of the Exchange at the signe of the Crowned Bible With Priviledge for 15. Years.

- lib.: (1691) *UBVU,*UBL,*UBN,*BL,
 (1708) *BL,*BL,*GBR,
 (1727) *UBA (E-D only),*UBL,UBN,*BL,UCL
 (1735) *UBL,*UBA,
 (1749) *UBU
 (1754) *UBN,KB
 etc
- contents. (1691) [1 p.] privilege, [6 pp.] preface, 1-728 E-D dictionary; [2pp] preface, [20 pp.] notes on D and E pronunciation and spelling, 1-431 D-E dictionary, (in BL copy). 1-32 English grammar, 33-72 Dutch grammar
 (1708) [4 pp.], dedication, [15 pp.] preface, [1p.] abbreviations, 1-36 English grammar, 37-84 Dutch grammar, 85-92 on Dutch spelling, 1-674 D-E dictionary, 675-677 names of men and women, 678-680 text (on excellence of Dutch poetry)
 (1727, 1735) [4 pp.] dedication, [5 pp.] preface, [1p.] abbreviations, 1-538 E-D dictionary; [5 pp.] preface, [1 p.] abbreviations, 1-30 English grammar, 31-74 Dutch grammar, 75-80 on Dutch spelling, 1-550 D-E dictionary, 551-553 names of men and women, 554-556 text (on excellence of Dutch poetry)
 (1749) identical to ed. 1735 but: no dedication, 1-548 E-D dictionary, 1-522 D-E dictionary
 (1754) [2 pp.] privilege, [6 pp.] preface, [1 p.] bergt, [1 p.] abbreviations, 1-548 E-D dictionary; [2 pp.] privilege, [5 pp.] preface, [1 p.] abbreviations, 1-30 English grammar, 31-74 Dutch grammar, 75-80 on Dutch spelling, 1-521 D-E dictionary, 523-525 names of men and women, 526-528 text (on excellence of Dutch poetry)
- note: 1. the 1691 edition contains pronunciation guides for the two languages, but no grammars (except the copy in the BL, which has the two grammars inserted; for a possible explanation see Smith 1989,
 2. titles from 1708: *A Large Dictionary English and Dutch . . . Groot Woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche Taalen*, with brief Dutch and English grammars and some notes on Dutch spelling;
 3. editions from 1727 often in two volumes;
 4 see BUYS 1766 and WILCOCKE 1798 below;
 5. see also Osselton 1973.

1705 SEWEL

Sewel, Willem (1653 - 1720)

Korte wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale . . . A compendious guide to the English language . . .

Amsterdam: de wed. van Steven Swart, 1705; 12 °; 466 pp

also:

Amsterdam: de wed. van Steven Swart en zoon, 1706;
 Amsterdam: Janssonius van Waesberge, 1724,1735;
 Amsterdam: Jacob ter Beek, 1740,1748,1754;
 Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer, 1761

Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche Taale; Behelzende de noodigste en weezendlykste Letterkonstige Regelen, om spoedig zonder veel moeite tot kennisse dier taale te geraaken. A Compendious Guide To the English Language; Containing the most necessary and essential Grammar-Rules, whereby one may speedily & without much difficulty attain to the knowledge of the aforesaid Language Door W^m. Sewel. T'Amsterdam, By de Weduwe van Steven Swart, Boekverkoopster, in de Beurssteeg, in den gekroonden Bybel, 1705.

lib.: (1705) *UBVU,
 (1706) *BL
 (1724) Helsinki Univ.
 (1735) *BL,*GBR,
 (1740) *BL,*UBL,
 (1748) *UBL
 (1754) *UBL,*KB
 (1761) *KB,*KBB,
 etc.

contents: (1705, 1706) [2 pp.] preface; Part I: 5-27 pronunciation, 27-107 grammar; Part II: 1-47 dialogues (7), 48-50, phrases, 50-51 vocabulary (merchants), 52-89 letters (personal and commercial), 90-96 texts, 97-122 phrases, 123-288 dialogues (41); Part III: [71 pp.] vocabulary E-D (alphabetic) (1724, 1735) as ed. 1705 but: Part III [89 pp.] vocabulary D-E (alphabetic), [7 pp.] abbreviations (1740) Part I as in previous editions; Part II: 1-45 dialogues (7), 45-47 phrases, 47-49 vocabulary, 50-82 letters, 83-89 texts, 89-113 phrases, 113-288 dialogues (41); Part III as in ed. 1724 (1748, 1754) [4 pp.] privilege (only in ed. 1754), [2pp.] preface; Part I: 5-25 pronunciation, 25-95 grammar; Part II: as in ed. 1740 but: 113-264 dialogues (41); Part III: as in ed. 1724 (1761) [4pp.] privilege. [2 pp.] preface; Part I: 9-33 pronunciation, 33-108 grammar; Part II: 1-45 dialogues (7), 46-49 phrases, 49-53 vocabulay, 54-86 letters (personal and commercial), 87-92 texts, 93-117 phrases, 117-268 dialogues (41); Part III: as in ed. 1724

- note: 1. the pronunciation section is identical to the one in the first edition of Sewel's dictionary (1691 above). The grammar section is copied in the later editions of this dictionary (from 1708 onwards);
 2. Arrenberg 1788 has editions of 1760 printed by J.Wessing Wz. in Amsterdam;
 3. used by Johann Matthias Kramer in his *Kurzverfasste Anleitung zur englischen Sprache, worinnen die nötigsten und wesentlichsten grammatischen Regeln nach der besonderen Lehrart des weitberühmten Herrn Wilhelm Sewels also angewiesen werden* (Hamburg: Hertel 1746); see about this see also Jung 1980:165 ff.;
 4. the 1706 edition mentions a privilege on the title page, but the text of this privilege does not appear in the book;
 5. this textbook is briefly advertised in *Boekzaal* 1705 (Sept./Oct.):380-381;
 5. see ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICCA c1742 and POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a/b below.
 6. see also Smith 1987, 1989, forthc.; Holthausen 1889.

1735a PELL

Pel(I), Guillaume

Nouvelle grammaire pour apprendre l'Anglois . . .

Utrecht: Etienne Néaulme, 1735, 8°; 537 pp.

Nouvelle Grammaire: Pour apprendre l'Anglois. Par G.Pell Natif de Londres. A Utrecht chez Eüenne Neaulme, MDCXXXV.

- lib.: *UBU,KBB,*BL,*BNP
etc.
- contents: [2 pp.] preface; (Part 1) 4-20 + 50-52 pronunciation (Fr), 21-49 + 52-55 grammar (Fr), 56-62 vocabulary (En-Du); (Part 2) 1-80 vocabulary (alphabetic, En-Fr-Du), 81-102 vocabulary (classified, Fr-En-Du); (Part 3) 1-371 dialogues (15, Fr-En-Du)
- note: 1. the grammar part is in French with Dutch translations for some of the words, the vocabulary and dialogues are in French, English and Dutch;
2. Riemens 1919 has 'Grammaire nouvelle Franç., Angl. et Holland. (Utrecht, 1735)';
3. The photocopy edition in the BL has a dedication to the Lords Mayor of Utrecht.

1735b PELL

Pel(l), Guillaume

The English, Dutch, French, and Latin vocabulary . . . Englisch, Duytsch, Fransch, en Latynsch kleyn woordenboek . . .

Utrecht: Etienne Néaulme, 1735; 8°; 668 pp.

The English, Dutch, French, and Latin Vocabulary: wherein is shewn, the great affinity of the three last Languages with the first: in which, the English words are accented: and Remarks made, to facilitate the learning a great number of words in the said Languages. Whereto is annex'd, a small sketch on the Art of Travelling.

Engelsch, Duytsch, Fransch, en Latynsch kleyn Woordenboek: waar in aangewezen word, de groote overeenkomst der drie laatste taalen met de eerste: de Leezer zal ook Engelsche woorden met een klankteken gesteld vinden: mitsgaders verscheyde Aanmerkingen, dienende om gemakkeelyk een groot getal woorden van de voornoemde taalen te kunnen leeren. Par G.Pell, Auteurs de la Grammaire pour apprendre l'Anglois. A Utrecht Chez E. Neaulme MDCCLXXXV.

(2nd title page)

Le Vocabulaire Anglois, Flamand, François, & Latin: ou l'on montre, la grande convenance des trois dernières Langues avec la première: on a aussi accentué les mots Anglois, & ajouté des Remarques; pour apprendre facilement un grand nombre de mots de ces Langues.

Vocabularium Anglo-Belgico-Gallico-Latinum: in quo, trium posteriorum Linguarum cognatio cum prima ostenditur: præterea vocibus Anglicis accentus adscripti sunt: atque Observationes adjunctæ, ut copiam verborum facilius addiscere, queant harum Linguarum studiosi. Par G.Pell. Auteurs de la Grammaire pour apprendre l'Anglois. A Utrecht Chez E.Neaulme. MDCCLXXXV.

- lib.: *KB,*UBL,*KBB,*BL
etc.
- contents: [1 p.] preface, 1-197 vocabulary (alphabetic, En-Du), 200-485 vocabulary (alphabetic, Fr-En), 487-658 vocabulary (alphabetic, En-Lat); 1-9 text
- note: 1. Arrenberg 1788 has 'Engelsch/Duitsch/Fransch en Latijnsch Woordenboek, waar in aangewezen word de groote overeenkomst der drie laatste Taalen met de eerste (Middelburg: W.&J.Abrahams, 1735)';
2. the English words are accented;
3. cf. Lowisch 1889:17/8; Riemens 1919.

1738 BOMMENAER

Bommenaer, L. v.d.

Korte dog noodige regulen van de Engelsche taale en deszelfs eygentyke uytpraak . . . A short though very necessary rules of the English language, and its proper pronunciation . . .

Amsterdam: de wed. van Jacobus van Egmont, 1738; 12°; 414 pp.

also:

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, without year

Korte dog Noodige Regulen van de Engelsche Taale En deszelfs Eygentyke Uytpraak, Door in agt neeminge der regte Klank en nette bewoording, benevens een naauwe waarneeminge

van de Spellinge, Leezinge en 't Schryven der zelve Taale, Als meede Een Nieuw en zeer Accuraat Vocabular Woord-Boekje, In de Duytsche en Engelsche Taalen; inhoudende: De benaaminge van Hemel, Aarde, Schepzelen, Kleedingen, Wooningen, Spyzen, Drink, Staaten, Ampten, Koopmans-, Scheeps-, Winden- en Oorlogs- Benaamingen, Tyden, Stonden, Getallen, Metaal en Dierbaare Steenen, &c. Boomen, Moes, Bloemen, Medicinaale Kruiden, Couleuren, Maaten Gewigten, Munten, als ook die by de Hebreen en andere Volken gebruykelyk waaren; der zelve Maanden, Tyd-Rekening, &c. Noou voor deezen gedrukt, Door L.v.d.B. t'Amsterdam, By de Wed: Jacobus van Egmont, op de Reguliers Breestraat, 1738

(another title page)

A Short though very Necessary Rules of the English Language, And its Proper Pronunciation, By an Observation, of their right Sound and quaint Expressions, besides a very Narrow Reguard, of the Spelling, Reading, and Wrting, of the same, Language. Also A New and very Accurate Vocabular, Containing, the Denominations of Heaven, Earth, Creatures, Appari, Habitations, Meat, Drink, Dignities, Offices, Marchands, Shups, Winds, and Warlike Names, &c. Times, Terms, Number, Mettles, and Precious Stones, Trees, Herbs, Flowers, and Physicians, Worts, &c. Colours, Measures, Coin, also which was in Use, Amongst the Hebrew, and other Nations, and their Months, Chronology &c. Never being Printed. For L.v.d.B.

Printed at Amsterdam, By the Wed Jacobus van Egmont, upon the Reguliers Broad-street, 1738.

lib.: *KB,
etc.

contents: [16 pp.] prefaces, [4 pp.] table of contents of part I; Part I: 1-108 pronunciation; Part II: 1-275 vocabulary (classified); [8 pp.] register, [3 pp.] errata

note: 1. Cleef 1835 has 'Regelen (korte doch noodige) van de Engelsche taal, door L.v.d.B. 8vo, Rotterdam, J.Hendriksen' without year

c1742 ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICCA

anon

Engelschen grammatica . . .

Ghent: Michiel de Goesin & Jan Meyer, 1742?; 8°; 70 pp.
also.

Bruges: Andreas Wydts en Zoon, 1750?

Engelschen Grammatica, Inhoudende Waerachtige ende lichte Onderwysingen om in korten tydt de selve Tael te leeren. Verciert Met de Grondt Regels, om natuerlyck te Prononci-eren, Spreken ende volmaecktelijck te Schryven, ende oock eenige curieuse profytige en vermaekelycke Dialogen. Getrocken Uyt den dobbelen Grammatica van d'Heeren Mauger, Festeau, ende Boyer, Tael-meesters

Men vintse te Coopen tot Ghendt, By Michiel De Goesin, recht over den Raedt, in de Druckerij van 't groen Cruys, Jan Meyer, woonende op d'Hoogpoorte in 't gekroont Sweardt.

lib.: 1742?: (ed. Gent) *UBGt,*KB,*BL
1750?: (ed. Bruges) *UBGt,BL

contents: [2 pp.] preface, 1-14 pronunciation, 14-23 vocabulary (nouns), 23-29 grammar, 29-36 phrases, 36-59 + 65-68 dialogues (10), 59-65 letters (commercial = 'The x. Dialogue')

note: 1. the title page does not give a date, but the copy of the Gent edition in UBGt has an *imprimatur* which reads: 'Imprimi potent. Datum 20. Julii 1742, A.E.F. Oudenaert Libror. Censor.'. For possible date of the Bruges edition see Alston 1967,

2. the two editions are identical except for the preface and an additional English title page in the Bruges edition, preceding the Dutch one. The text on this title page runs: *English Grammar, Which Contains True and easy instructions, for acquireing (sic) in a short tume the use of these two Languages Enriched With fundamental and short Rules, for pronouncing them naturally, for wrting and reading them perfectly; and also with many curious and profitable Dialogues.*

*Drawn Out of the double Grammar M^r Mauger, Festeau, and Boyer, Professors of those Languages
In Bruges, Printed by Andrew Wydts an Son, Town Printer living in the Breydel Street at the Sign of Saint Anthony;*

3. see POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a below.

1742 VOCABULARY

anon.

A vocabulary English, Dutch and French . . . Engelsch, Vlaemsch en Fransch vocabulair of kleyn woordenboeck . . .

Gent: de wed. van Petrus de Goesin, 1742?, 12°; 109 pp.

A Vocabulary English, Dutch and French Engelsch, Vlaemsch En Fransch Vocabulair Of Kleyn Woorden-boeck, Met verscheyde noodige t'Samen spraeken Getrocken uyt de dobbele Grammairen Van D'Heeren G.Boyer en G.Pell.

Gant, At the Widow from Pitter de Goesin, dwelling in the Velt-straete. Tot Ghendt, By de Weduwe van Petrus de Goesin, woonende in Veltstraete.

lib.: *UBGt,*BL

contents: [1 p.] preface, [9 pp.] pronunciation, 1-63 vocabulary (alphabetic, En-Du-Fr), 64-79 vocabulary (classified En-Du-Fr), 80-98 dialogues (6)

1747 EVANS

Evans, Edward (1715 - 1804)

Short and clear instruction in the spelling and pronouncing the English Tongue . . . Kort en klaar onderwijs in het spellen en uitspreken der Engelsche taal . . .

Rotterdam: Hendrik van Pelt & Adnaan Douci, 1747; 8°; 273 pp.

also:

Rotterdam: Jan de Leeuw & J.Dekkers Mz., 1778 2nd ed.;

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, no year 3rd ed.?

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, 1797 4th ed.;

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, 1808 4th ed. 'much improved by G.Ensell'

Short And Clear Instruction in the Spelling and Pronouncing the English Tongue, &c. Taken out of the Two chiefest Authors Mr. T.Dyche, & Mr T.Dilworth, By E.E. To which is added the Signification of each word in the Netherdutch Tongue.

Kort En Klaar Onderwijs in het Spellen en Uitspreken der Engelsche Taal, enz. Byeen verzamelt (sic) uit de Twee voornaamste Auteurs Mr. T.Dyche, en Mr. T.Dilworth, door E.E. By welke gevoegt is, de Betekenisse van elk Woordt in de Nederduitsche Taal.

Te Rotterdam, By Hendrik Van Pelt, en Adrianus Douci, p.z. 1747 Met Privilege.

lib.: (1747) Univ. of Pennsylvania,*BL
(1778) *GBR+*BL,
(1808) *UBL,
etc.

contents: (1747) [1 p.] privilege, [12 pp.] preface, 1-154 pronunciation + exercises, 155-261 grammar (catechetical)

(1778, 1808) [8 pp.] preface, 1-159 pronunciation + exercises, 160-171 texts

- note: 1. In 1747 Evans had intended to publish two books, or one book in two parts, as we may read in his preface: 'I design shortly to add a Second Part: by way of Dialogue. Short; and yet more comprehensive, and Useful for Business, than any heretofore publish'd: first design'd alone for, (and hitherto Used in) my own School, with great Success' This intention is confirmed in the privilege, which also refers to a Part I (spelling and grammar) and a Part II (dialogues). This Part II turned out to be his textbook of 1757 (see EVANS 1757 below), since the two books carry the same privilege;
2. this edition contains 'A Practical English Grammar' with questions and answers, copied from Dilworth; it is omitted in later editions as Evans considered his own Grammar (of 1757) more appropriate (see preface to ed. 1778);

- 3 title of editions from 1778: *A Clear, Natural, And Easy Method Of Instruction In The Spelling, And Pronunciation Of The English Tongue . . . Een Klare, Natuurlyke, En Gemakkelyke Leerwyze In 'T Spelden En Utspreken Der Engelsche Taal*;
4. half-title in ed. 1778. *English Spelling-Book. Engelsch Speldenboek*; in ed. 1808: *English Spelling-Book. Engelsch Spelle-Boek*;
5. SMITH 1752 ed. 1786 (in UBA) has in the back: 'Engelsch Speldenboek voor Eerstbeginnende (J.Hendriksen)' without year;
- 6 Arrenberg 1788 lists 'Engelsch en Duitsch Speldeboek / Rotterdam / J.Hendriksen, 8' without year;
7. Cleef 1835 has the reference to the 4th ed. of 1797.

1752 SMITH

Smith, George

Den volkomene Engelsche spraakkonst voor heeren en juffrouwen . . . The compleat English grammar for gentlemen and ladies . .

Utrecht: Abraham de Knyff, 1752; 8°; ?? pp.

also:

Rotterdam: Jan Daniel Beman, Hermanus Kentlink & Jacobus Bosch, 1758 2nd ed.;

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, 1775 3rd ed.

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, 1786 4th ed.

Rotterdam: Jan Hendriksen, 1821, 5th ed.

Den Volkomene Engelsche Spraakkonst, voor Heeren en Juffrouwen Behelsende I. Een Nieuwe welgeschikte Engelsche Spraakkonst. II. Een wel gesteld, en wydloopig Woorden Boek. III. Gemeene Spreekwyzen. IV. Zemenspraaken op alle manieren van onderwerpen. V. Engelsche en Nederduytsche Brieven. VI. Een verzaameling van uygeleezene Spreekwyzen, Engelsch en Nederduytsch.

The Compleat English Grammar For Gentlemen and Ladies Containing. I A New Methodical English Grammar. II. A well digested and copious vocabulary. III Familiar Phrases. IV Dialogues on all manner of subjects V. English and Dutch Letters. VI. A Collection of choice proverbs, English and Dutch. Door George Smith. Tot Utrecht, By Abraham De Knyff, Boekverkooper 1752.

lib.: (1752) *UBU,*BL,
(1758) *KB+*MW+*UBL+*GBR,
(1786) *UBA+*UBVU+*KB
etc.

contents: (1752) [1 p.] advertisement, [4 pp] dedication, [4 pp.] preface, 1-16 pronunciation, 16-97 grammar, 99-122 homophones, 123-124 abbreviations, 125-231 vocabulary (classified), 232-276 phrases (classified), 277 note, 278-377 dialogues (33), 378-391 letters (personal), 392-405 proverbs (alphabetic), [1 p.] corrigenda

(1758, 1786) [4 pp.] dedication, [4 pp] preface, 1-16 pronunciation, 16-95 grammar, 97-120 homophones 121-122 abbreviations, 123-229 vocabulary (classified), 230-275 phrases (classified), 276-375 dialogues (33), 376-399 letters (personal and commercial), 400-413 proverbs

- note: 1. title in eds 1758 and 1786 (English text given here only): *The Compleat English Grammar, Containing . .* (sections I. through V. as before) *VI. Letters concerning the Commerce. VII. A Collection of choice proverbs, English and Dutch*;
2. references to editions 1775 and 1821 are taken from Arrenberg 1788 (under 'Smit (G.)' and Cleef 1835);
3. the 4th ed. is advertised in *Rotterdamsche Courant* 25 August 1789
4. there is a reference to *A Short Introduction to English Grammar, with criucal notes* (London, 1769 2nd edition corrected, 8°) in *Aa and Catalogus der Bibliotheek der Maatschappij van de Nederlandse Letterkunde* p.399 (in UBA), but a copy has not been located;
5. see Holthausen 1902;
6. see my analysis in Chapter 6.5

1757 EVANS

Evans, Edward (1715 - 1804)

A new complete English and Dutch grammar Nieuwe en volkomene Engelsche en Nederduitsche spraakkonst

Rotterdam Philippus Losel, Hendrik van Pelt, Adriaan Douci, & Jakobus Losel, 1757, 8°, Part 1 146 pp., Part 2 320 pp., Part 3 112 pp

also

Rotterdam Jan de Leeuw, 1778 2nd ed

Rotterdam Jan Hendriksen, 1792 3rd ed

Rotterdam Jan Hendriksen, 1793 4th ed

Rotterdam Jan Hendriksen, 1806 4th ed, 'exactly corrected and altered after the modern spelling by J van Bemmelen, Master of a Boardingschool at Leyden'

(English title from 2nd ed in UBL, as it is missing in the only known first ed in BLOx)

A New Complete English and Dutch Grammar, Wherein is comprised all that is requisite to perfect the Learner in the English Tongue Consisting of Three Parts Containing I An English Alphabet with necessary observations on each letter, but especially as being connected with one another, as also of such words as are pronounced otherwise than that they are written, together with an explanation of the eight Parts of Speech, &c II An extensive Vocabulary, Familiar Phrases, and several Dialogues, altogether new, on several Subjects, but especially adapted to the use of Merchants and Shopkeepers III The chief things occurring in merchandising, as also a sufficient number of Letters, on several occasions, &c Composed for the benefit of the Learner, by Edw^d Evans English Schoolmaster in Rotterdam The Second Edition, corrected, and enlarg'd Rotterdam, Printed for J de Leeuw, Bookseller in the Hang by the great Market, 1778

(another title page, from ed 1757 in BLOx)

Nieuwe En Volkomene Engelsche en Nederduitsche Spraakkonst, Behelzende al het geene noodig is, om den Leerling te volmaken in de Engelsche Taal Begreepen in Drie Deelen Inhoudende I Een Engelsch Alphabeth, met de noodige Aanmerkingen op alle de Letters, zoo als dezelve elk in 't byzonder, en in 'tsamenvoegunge met andere worden uitgesproken, als mede van zoodanige Woorden, welke anders uitgesproken als geschreven worden, misgaders een Verklaring van de agt Spraakdeelen, enz II Een wyd uitgebreid Woordenboek, en een goed aantal van Nieuwe Samenspraken, over verscheidene Onderwerpen, maar voornamentlyk geschikt ten gebruike van Kooplieden en Winkeliers III Het voornaamste dat in den Koophandel voorkomt, benevens 51 brieven, by verscheide gelegentheden gebruykelyk, enz Alles tot gemak der Leerlingen 'tsamengesteld, Door Edw^d Evans, Engelsche Schoolmeester te Rotterdam Te Rotterdam, By Ph Losel, H van Pelt, A Douci, en J Losel, 1757 Met Privilege

lib (1757) BLOx,
(1778) *UBL, *BL,
(1792) BNP
(1806) BLOx,
etc

contents (1757) [1 p] privilege, [8 pp] preface, Part I 3-24 pronunciation, 25-137 grammar; Part II 1-119 vocabulary (classified), 120-320 dialogues etc, Part III 2-107 letters (personal, commercial), [5 p] table of contents
(1778) [12 pp] preface, [1 p] advertisement, Part I as in ed 1757, Part II 1-120 vocabulary (classified), 121 abbreviations, 122-162 phrases (classified), 163-339 dialogues (26), Part III 341-451 letters (personal, commercial)
(1792) [13 pp] preface, Part I as in ed 1757, Part II 141-477 vocabulary, phrases, dialogues, Part III 480-589 letters (personal, commercial)
(1806) [13 pp] preface, Part I 3-125 pronunciation + grammar, Part II 129-237 vocabulary (classified), 238-432 phrases + dialogues, Part III 2-103 letters (personal, commercial)

note 1 the year on the title page reads '1757', with an 8 printed over the second 7, but the preface is signed 15 September 1757,
2 Arrenberg 1788 has 'Engelsche en Nederduitsche Spraakkunst/ 1757, Rotterdam/ J Hendriksen 8',
3 half-title in ed 1778 *Engelsche En Nederduitsche Spraakkonst, In drie Deelen,*

4. advertised in the back of Smith 1786 (UBVU) as printed by or to be available from ('gedrukt in Getalle te Bekomen by') J Hendriksen;
5. an En-Fr edition was published by J.Hendriksen in 1792: *A New Complete English and Dutch Grammar . . . Nouvelle Grammaire Complete, Anglaise et Françoise*; Cleef 1835 seems to suggest that the English and French editions were also published separately;
5. Cleef 1835 has. 'Engelsche en Nederduitsche spraakkunst. 4de druk, 3 stukken, 8vo. 1793. Rotterdam, J Hendriksen'

c1763 WILDEMAN

Wildeman, W.

Vocabularium . . .

Amsterdam. Steven Jacobus Baalde, 1763?

Vocabularium, dat is beknopt woordenboekje in het Fransch, Engelsch en Nederduitsch, geschikt om in de schoolen tot lessen te gebruiken . . . Woordenboek in het Fransch, Engelsch en Nederduitsch

- note:
1. the reference is taken from Riemens 1919; Arrenberg 1788 has 1759 and 8;°
 2. details about this manual and its author have not been traced. *MML* (March 1762.142) contains a note about Jan Wildeman and his son Aart, both schoolmasters at Kesteren

1764 PEYTON

(Peyton, V.J.)

Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst . . .

Amsterdam: Pieter Meyer, 1764; 8°, 326? pp.

also

Amsterdam: Pieter Meyer, 1779 2nd edition;

Amsterdam: J.C. van Kesteren, without year, 3rd edition

Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst, Ten Dienste Van Uitheemschen, Door Den Heer Peyton, Te Londen Uutgegeeven, En Nu, Ten Gebruke Der Nederlanderen, In Hunne Taal Overgebragt In welke, onder andere noodwendigheden, de Uitspraak en Woordschukking, de twee moeijelykste stukken der Engelsche Taale, op eene duidelyke en grondige wyze, verhandeld zyn.

Te Amsterdam, By Pieter Meijer, Boekverkooper vooraan op den Vygendam, 1764.

lib.: (1764) Boston Atheneum

(1779) *UBA

contents: (1764) [2 pp.] preface; 1-82 pronunciation, 82-85 abbreviations, 85-97 prosodia (stress), 97-193 grammar, 194-284 syntax, 285-330 (near)homophones (alphabetic), 331 phrases, 331-363 dialogues, 364-397 proverbs, 379-318? idioms ('idiotismi'), [6 pp.] table of contents

(1779) [2 pp.] preface, 1-80 pronunciation, 81-92 prosodia (stress), 93-182 grammar, 183-268 syntax, 269-296 (near)homophones (alphabetic), 296-327 phrases (classified), 328-416 dialogues (30), 416-430 proverbs, 431-470 idioms ('idiotismi'), [6 pp.] table of contents

- note.
1. Cleef 1835 has. 'Engelsche Spraakkunst. 3de druk gr. 12mo. Amsterdam, J.C. van Kesteren';
 2. see Alston 1967; Arrenberg 1788; Howatt 1984; Lowisch 1889.

1766 BUYS

BUYS, EGBERT (? - 1769)

A compleat dictionary English and Dutch . . . Volkomen woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduitsche taalen . . .

Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer, 1766, 2 vols; 4°; 954 pp. volume 1, E-D; 1100 pp. volume 2, D-E

(Part 1)

A Compleat Dictionary English And Dutch, To which is added a Grammar, for both Languages. Originally compiled by William Sewel; But now, not only reviewed, and more than the half part augmented, yet according to the modern spelling, entirely improved; by Egbert Buys, Consellor of their Poland and Prussian Majesties, &c. The First Volume.

Volkomen Woordenboek Der Engelsche En Nederduitsche Taalen; Névens eene Spraak-konst van dezelve, Oorspronkelyk saamengesteld door Willem Sewel; Doch nu niet alleen overgezien, en meer als de helft vermeerderd; maar ook naar de hedendaagsche Spelling, in allen opzichten verbeterd, door Egbert Buys, Hofraad van hunne Poolsche en Pruisssische Majesteuten, &c. Eerste Deel.

Te Amsterdam, By Kornelis De Veer, MDCCLXVI. Met Privilegie van de Ed. Gr. Mog. Heeren Staaten van Holland en West-Friesland.

(Part 2)

Title page of volume 2 is identical to the above, except that the Dutch text precedes the English one and 'The First Volume . . . Eerste Deel' is *The Second Volume . . . Het Tweede Deel*. The imprint is in Dutch.

- lib.: (1766) *UBA,*KB,*PBL(En-Du),*GBR,*UBL,*UBGt,*KBB,*BL,*UCL etc.
 contents: (volume 1) [2pp.] privilege, [6 pp.] preface, [1p.] errata, [1 p.] abbreviations, 1-946 E-D dictionary.
 (volume 2) [2 pp.] abbreviations, 1-40 English grammar, 41-80 Dutch grammar, 81-86 on Dutch spelling, 1-1007 D-E dictionary, 1008-1010 names of men and women, 1011-1012 abbreviations
 note: 1. this is an adaptation of SEWEL 1691;
 2. Arrenberg 1788 has an edition printed by J.Wessing Wz. (1766);
 3. the privilege, when included, is usually attached to Part 1 but shows different dates: 21 April 1754 in volume 1 *PBL and volume 2 *UBL and *UBGt, or 4 October 1768 in volume 1 *UBA, *UBGt and *BL (see further Ch. 5.2.9 on 'privileges');
 4. see Osselton 1973.

1780 HOLTROP

Holtrop, Jan (17? - 1792)

The English Grammar enlarged . . . Uitvoerige Engelsche Spraakkonst . . .

Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Abraham Blussé en Zoon & Willem Holtrop, 1780; 8°; 743 pp.

also:

Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Abraham Blussé en Zoon & Willem Holtrop, 1791 2nd edition;

Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Abraham Blussé en Zoon & Willem Holtrop, 1804 3rd edition

The English Grammar Enlarged; And Explained In Dutch; Wherein it is attempted to show, in the most methodical, clear; and comprehensive manner, the true Spelling, Réading, Writing, and Spéaking of the English Language; the acquisition wherof, is as necessary to the Schólar, as to the Mérchant. To Whuch Are A'dded: I. A Cópious Vocabúary. II. An Alphabétical List of Law-terms. III. A Colléction of Nouns A'djective. IV. A Colléction of Verbs. V. Familiár Phrásés. VI. Dialógues on várious súbjects. VII. A Colléction of I'dioms, or an English and Dutch Phraseólogy. VIII. A Colléction of Próverbs. IX. A Colléction of Epístles or Létters, Bills and óther wrítings, móstly rélatíng to mércantile affáirs. By John Holtrop.

Dort and Amsterdam, For A.Blussé and Son, and W.Holtrop. MDCCLXXX.

(another page)

Uitvoerige Engelsche Spraak-Konst; In 'T Néder-Duitsch Ontvouwd; en waarin men getracht heeft, op de geschikste, duideykste, en vollédigste wyze aan te toonen; hoe de Engelsche Taal, waarvan de kennis-verkryging, den Letter-oefenaar zoo noodig is, als den Handel-dryvenen, recht gespeld, gelezen, geschreeven, en gesproken moet worden. Waarby Gevoegd Zyn: I. Een Wydloopig Woordenboekje. II. Eene Alfabétische Lyst van Rechts-benaamingen. III. Eene Verzameling van Byvoegtyke Naamwoorden. IV. Eene Verzameling van Werkwoorden. V. Gemeenzaame Spreekwyzen. VI. Samenspraaken over verschullende onderwerpen. VII. Eene Verzameling van Eigenaaruge Spreekwyzen, of Engelsche en Duitse Taal-eigenschappen. VIII. Eene Verzameling van Spreuken, of Spreekwoorden.

IX. Een Bundel van Brieven, Rekeningen, Wisselbrieven en andere Schriften, meestal tot den Koophandel betrekkelijk Door Johannes Holtrop.

Te Dordrecht en Amsterdam, By A.Blussé en Zoon, en W.Holtrop MDCCLXXX.

- lib: (1780) *KBB,
(1791) *KB,UBA,*MW,UBU,
(1804) *BL,
etc.
- contents: (1780) [4 pp.] preface, 1-150 pronunciation, 135-337 grammar, 337-472 vocabulary (classified), 473-483 phrases (classified), 483- 569 dialogues (27), 569-668 phrases (alphabetic), 669-681 proverbs, 682-727 letters (personal, commercial), 728-739 table of contents
(1791, 1804) [4 pp.] preface, 1-150 pronunciation, 151-338 grammar, 339-474 vocabulary (classified), 474-485 phrases (classified), 485-571 dialogues (27), 571-667 phrases (alphabetic), 668-680 proverbs, 681-727 letters (personal, commercial), 728-739 table of contents
- note: 1. title from 1791: *A Complete English Grammar, In which the Method of Spelling, Reading, Spéaking and Writing the English Language is taught in the easiest and most comprehensive manner . . . Revised and Corrected by Benj: Choyce Sowden, Minister of the English Episcopal church in Amsterdam . . . Uitvoeringe Engelsche Spraak-Konst . . .* Benj. Choyce Sowden was minister at the Church of England in Amsterdam from 1781-1801, when he died (Steven 1832),
2. see also Matthews 1933; Arrenberg 1788; Cleef 1835.

before 1788 HOLTROP

Holtrop, Jan (1710? - 1792)

Letres Marchandes en 7 Langues . . . Koopmans Brieven in zeven Taalen . . .

Amsterdam: Willem Holtrop, 12°

- note: 1. in Arrenberg 1788 (under 'Koopmans Brieven'); Cleef 1835 (under 'Holtrop (J.)'); in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL. This manual was apparently published before 1788.

1789 HOLTROP

Holtrop, Jan (17? - 1792)

A new English and Dutch dictionary . . . Nieuw Engelsch en Nederduitsch woorden-boek . . .

Dordrecht/Amsterdam. Abraham Blussé en zoon & Willem Holtrop, 1789; 8°; 934 pp.

also

Dordrecht: Blussé & van Braam; Amsterdam. Jan Steven van Esveldt Holtrop; 1823

A New E'nglish And Dutch Dictionary; Wherein the Inital E'nglish Words are accented, according to the Dutch Pronunciátion; and álso expláined by Synónima's, and a Variety of Phrásés. To which are ádded. Cátalogues of the Chrístian Námes, both of Men and Wómen; and álso of the Chief Cóuntmes, Cines, Nátuons, &c. of the World. By John Holtrop. The First Vólume, Contáining The English befóre the Dutch

Nieuw Engelsch En Néderduitsch Woorden-Boek, Waarn de Engelsche Begin-woorden, naar de Néderduitsche Utspraak getékend zijn, en naar gelijkbeduidende Woorden, en zeer veele Spreekwijzen verklaard worden Agter-aan zijn gevoegd: Naamlijsten der Doopnaamen, zoo van Mannen als Vrouwen; ook van de Voornaamste Landen, Steden, Volken, enz. der Waereld. Eerste Deel, Behelzende Het Engelsch vóór het Néderduitsch
Te Dordrecht en Amsterdam, Bij A.Blussé En Zoon; en W.Holtrop. 1789.

- lib.: (1789) *KB,*UBA,*GBR,*PBL,*UBL,*BL,
(1823) *KB,*UBA,*KUB,*BL,
etc
- contents: (1789) [2 pp] preface (incl. abbreviations), 1-923 E-D dictionary, 924-925 Christian names, 926-932 geographical names
(1823) [4 pp] preface, 1-1025 E-D dictionary, 1026-1027 Christian names, 1028-1032 geographical names

- note: 1 title of 1823 edition: *John Holtrop's English and Dutch Dictionary, Revised, enlarged and corrected by A Stevenson . . . Engelsch en Néederduitsch Woordenboek Van J Holtrop, Herzien, vermeerderd en verbéterd Door A. Stevenson*. The revision had in fact been commissioned to 'Mr. A Stevenson, who has resided several years at Dordrecht in the capacity of English teacher, and [to] a Dutch literary Gentleman' (preface ed 1823.iv);
2. see HOLTROP 1801 below for his Du-En dictionary;
3. see also Osselton 1973; Cleef 1835.

1793a POCKET DICTIONARY

anon.,

A New Pocket Dictionary and vocabulary of the Flemish, English and French languages, by Wm. Sewel, J.Holtrop and Th. Berry . . . The first volume . . . Nouveau dictionnaire et vocabulaire portatif des langues Flamande, Angloise et Française . . . Nieuwen dictionnaire en vocabulaire of woorden-boek der Vlaemsche, Engelsche en Fransche taelen

Dunkirk/Ghent: Ph & P.Gimblet, 1793 3rd edition; 8°, 462 pp.

also:

Dunkirk/Ghent: Ph. & P Gimblet, 1794 3rd edition

(the first volume)

A New Pocket Dictionary And Vocabulary Of The Flemish, English And French Languages, By Wm Sewel, J.Holtrop and Th.Berry In Three Parts, The thurd Eduon, revised and very much augmented. The First Volume

Dunkirk, And sold at Ghent, by Ph and P.Gimblet, Brethren, Book-sellers, Corn-market. 1793

Nouveau Dictionnaire Et Vocabulaire Portatif, Des Langues Flamande, Angloise et Française, Par Wm.Sewel, J.Holtrop & Th.Berry. En Trois Parties, Troisième Edition, revue & considérablement augmentée Tome Premier

A Dunc(?)erque, Et se vend à Gand chez Ph & P.Gimblet, Frères, Imprimeurs-Libraires, sur le Marché aux Grains, 1793

(another page)

Nieuwen Dictionnaire En Vocabulaire Of Woorden-Boek Der Vlaemsche, Engelsche en Fransche Taelen, Door W.Sewel, J.Holtrop en Th.Berry. Begreepen in dry Partyen Inhoudende: I Den Nieuwen Dictionnaire ofte Woorden-Boek dese dry taelen. II Den Vocabulaire, behelsende 65 verscheyde Artikelen van 3423. Selfstandige Naem-woorden, of Substantiva, de welke de noodsaekelykste zyn in dese dry Taelen. III.De Grammaire, ofte Nieuwe Engelsche Spraek konst, behelsende eene seer gemakkelyke wyse om in korten tyd sonder veel moeyte de selve Tael te leeren. Vercierd met de noodtigste en wesendlykste Grond-Regels om de Engelsche tael natuerehlyk uyt te spreeken, leesen en volmaektelyk te schryven; als mede de Syntaxis of Woorden-schikkange: En ook acht-tien curieuse, profytige en vermaekelyke Saemen-spraeken, met verscheyde Koopmans-Brieven, betrekkehlyk tot nut van den Koophandel, gesteld in dese dry Taelen Eerste Deel. Derden Druk, oversien en merkehlyk vermeerderd.

Tot Duyinkerken. Men vind-se te koopn tot Gend, by Ph. en P.Gimblet, Boekdruckers en Boekverkoopers op de Koornerk 1793.

lib.: (1793) *UBGt, KBB

(1794) *UBGt

etc.

contents: [2 pp] preface; Part I: 1-208 vocabulary Du-En-Fr (alphabetic); Part II: 1-96 vocabulary Du-En-Fr (classified); Part III: 1-17 pronunciation, 17-88 grammar; 1-46 dialogues Du-En-Fr (18), 46-49 proverbs Du-En-Fr, 49 abbreviations En-Du, 50-64 letters Du-En-Fr (commercial), [4 pp] table of contents

- note: 1. this is the title of the third edition 'revised and very much augmented'; 1st and 2nd editions have not been located. It is not clear whether Part III was not attached to the first volume until this third edition ('Men heeft in dit eerste Deel bygevoegd de Nieuwe Engelsche Spraek-konst', preface ed 1793a);
2. the preface is partly copied from ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742;
3. cf also 1793b POCKET DICTIONARY below

1793b POCKET DICTIONARY

anon,

Nouveau Dictionnaire et vocabulaire-portatif des langues anglaise, flamande et française, par Wm Sewel, J.Holtrop & Th Berry . . . Tome second . . . Nieuwen dictionnaire en vocabulaire ofte woorden-boek der Engelsche, Vlaemsche en Fransche taelen . . . A new pocket-dictionary and vocabulary of the English, Flemish and French languages
Dunkirk/Ghent: Ph. & P.Gimblet 1793, 3rd edition; 8°; 491 pp.

(the second volume)

Nouveau Dictionnaire Et Vocabulaire-Portatif Des Langues Anglaise, Flamande et Française, Par Wm. Sewel, J.Holtrop & Th.Berry. En Trois Parties. Contenant: I. Le nouveau Dictionnaire de ces trois Langues. II. Le Vocabulaire, consistant en 65 différents Articles de 3423 Noms Substantifs, qui sont les plus usités dans ces trois Langues, avec un Traité de la vraie Prononciation Anglaise, très-nécessaire, & où la juste mesure de chaque Syllabe est déterminée, par J.Holtrop III Une nouvelle Méthode courte & claire pour apprendre facilement aux François à Parler, à Lire & à Ecrire l'Anglois, en peu de tems, ou la Grammaire Anglaise, avec la Syntaxe, un Vocabulaire, des Phrases Familières, des Dialogues utiles, & quelques Lettres relatives au Commerce, en François & en Anglois Enrichie d'une courte Description des principales Villes de la Flandre & du Brabant Autrichien, des Eglises notables, avec leurs Tableaux les plus remarquables, & les Noms des Peintres illustres de ces mêmes (sic) Tableaux, écrite dans la Langue Anglaise, pour ceux qui souhaitent d'apprendre facilement à traduire de l'Anglois, en François ou en Flamend. Tome Second. Troisième édition, revue & considérablement augmentée

A Dunkerque, Et se vend à Gand chez Ph. & P.Gimblet, Frères, Imprimeurs-Libraires, sur le Marché aux Grains 1793

Nieuwen Dictionnaire En Vocabulaire Ofte Woorden-boek Der Engelsche, Vlaemsche En Fransche Taelen, Door Wm.Sewel, J.Holtrop en Th. Berry. In Dry Partyen. Derden Druk, oversien en merkelyk vermeerderd Tweede Deel

Tot Duynerken, Men vind-se te koop en tot Gend by Ph. en P.Gimblet, Boekdrukkers en Boekverkoopers, op de Koornmerkt. 1793.

(another page)

A New Pocket-Dictionary And Vocabulary Of The English, Flemish And French Languages, By Wm Sewel, J.Holtrop and Th.Berry. In Three Parts. Containing: I. A New Pocket-Dictionary of the three Languages. II. A Copious Vocabulary, consisting of 3423. of the most useful Substantives in the three Languages; disposed under 65. different heads. A plain and concise Treatise of the true Pronunciation of the English Language, wherein the exact force of each Syllable is determined. Familiar Phrases and Dialogues upon entertaining and unstructive Subjects; very useful for those who desire to speak English correctly and in a short time. III A short new Method for Frenchmen to learn English or English Grammar: Wherein is comprised all that is requisite to perfect the Learner in that Language. Also a short Description of the principal Towns in the Austrian Flanders and Brabant, and of the chief Churches with their remarkable Paintings and the names of their most noted Painters; written in the English language for those who wish to translate the English into French or Flemish. The whole laid down in a manner so clear and methodical, as to render the study and attainment of the three Languages easy to every one's capacity. The third Edition, revised and very much augmented. The Second Volume.

Dunkirk, And sold at Ghent, by Ph. and P.Gimblet, Brethren. Book-sellers, Corn-market 1793.

lib · UBGt

contents: [3 pp.] preface; Part I: 1-83 vocabulary En-Du-Fr (alphabetic), 83-144 vocabulary En-Du-Fr (classified); Part II: 1-96 vocabulary En-Du-Fr (classified), 97-174 pronunciation En-Du-Fr (alphabetic), 175-184 phrases (classified); 1-26 dialogues En-Du-Fr (6), 27-56 text; Part III 1-7 pronunciation Fr only, 8-72 grammar Fr only, 73-78 phrases Fr-En, 79-87 dialogues Fr-En (8), [1 p.] table of contents for part III; 1-8 letters (commercial), [8 pp.] table of contents En, Du, Fr

note: 1 cf. POCKET DICTIONARY 1793a above.

1793 FENNING

Fenning, Daniel

The universal spelling-book

Rotterdam 1793, 37th edition, 8°, 164 pp

also

Rotterdam Jan Hendriksen without date, 2nd edition

The Universal Spelling-Book, Or, A New and Easy Guide To The English Language Containing I Tables of Words in one, two, three, and four Syllables, with natural and easy Lessons in each, adapted to the Capacity of Children, from three Years old and upwards, and yet so full of Sense, that such as can already read, may receive very material Instruction from them Comprehending a Variety of Passages both on moral and divine Subjects, as also Fables and pleasant Stories, in order to improve the Mind and the Understanding II A very easy and rational Guide to English Grammar by Way of Question and Answer, for the Use of Schools as well as private Persons, by which any one may very soon become acquainted with the English Tongue, with very little Trouble and Application III A Collection of near 5000 of the most useful Words of two, three, and four Syllables, viz Nouns Substantive, Adjectives, and Verbs (placed alphabetically under their respective Heads) which are accented and explained for the better Instruction of Youth, and the Information of such Persons as would know the Meaning of what they read and write, being an useful Instructor for the School, Shop, or Compting house IV Many useful Things necessary to help the young Beginner, and inform the more grown up Youth, with a Variety of Alphabetical Copies and Writing pieces, both in Prose and Verse, &c V Chronological Tables of the Succession of the Kings of England, and many of the most memorable Occurrences in sacred and profane History, with some short Remarks upon the seven Stages of Life, which are not only improving to the Mind and Morals, but may be of great Service to prevent Youth from falling a Sacrifice to the common Temptations of Life, and their unbridled Passions The Thirty Seventh Edition, With Additions By Daniel Fenning, Late Schoolmaster of Bures, in Suffolk, and Author of the Use of the Globes, Practical Arithmetic, Guide to Algebra, Royal English Dictionary, Young Man's Book of Knowledge, and a New Grammar of the English Language Rotterdam, Printed for L Bennet M DCC XCIII

lib . *UBA, KB
etc

contents [1 p] dedication (dated 1755), [4 pp] preface (dated 1767), [3 pp] recommendations, 1-67 spelling and pronunciation, 67-86 grammar (catechetic), 87-135 syllabery, 136-152 'several things necessary to be known', 153-156 postscript

note 1 the first edition appeared in England in 1756 (copy in *BL),
2 see Cleef 1835 (under 'Fenning (G)') for the reference to the 2nd edition, see also Michael 1987

1794 BEMMELEN

Bemmelen, Jan van (1757 - 1808)

Lessen voor eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche taal

Leiden Abraham and Jan Honkoop, 1794, 16°, 275 pp

also

Leiden Abraham and Jan Honkoop, 1802?, 2nd ed

(text from 2nd ed)

Lessen voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal verdeeld in vier Classen Vertaald en Uitgegeeven door J van Bemmelen Kost Schoothouder te Leyden Tweede verbeterde druk Te Leyden By A en JHonkoop

lib (1802?) *UBVU

contents (1802?) 3-5 preface, 6-275 D-E texts

note 1 contains Du texts with English translations,
2 the same manual appeared in 1795, with Dutch texts only, as *Gemaklyke en Leerzaame Lessen, geschikt ter Vertaaling in 't Fransch of Engelsch. verdeeld in vier Classen* (Leiden A & JHonkoop, 1795, idem, 1812, 3rd corr edition, 'ter

- drukkery van J.Brill te Leyden', in *KB) 16°;
3. also in 1795, with French texts only: *Leçons faciles et instructives, destinées à être traduites en Hollandois ou en Anglois. divisées en quatre Classes. publiées en François.* (Leiden. A. & J.Honkoop, 1795); idem 4th edition 1813, 16°, in *UBA; idem 5th edition (Leiden: II [sic] & J.Honkoop, 1832, 8°). The same book? The latter reference occurs in the supplement to Cleef 1835;
 4. another title (in Cleef 1835): *Lessons for beginners in the English tongue; Engelsch en Nederduitsch, 2e druk* (Leiden: A. & J.Honkoop, without year) 16° and (under 'Lessen'). 'Lessen voor eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche taal, vertaald door J. van Bemmelen. kl. form. 1794. Leyden, A. en J.Honkoop'. The same book? See also *Bydragen* 1815, which has the same title with 1814 as date of publication.

1795 JANSON

Janson, Baldwin

A new pocket dictionary of the English and Dutch languages . . . Nieuw zak-woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche taalen . . .

Amsterdam: Daniel Jean Changuon, 1795 (*UBA), 'a new edition'; 8°; 573 pp.

Amsterdam: Bartholomeus Vlam & Daniel Jean Changuon, 1795 (*KB), 'a new edition'; 8°; 575 pp

also:

Amsterdam: Bartholomeus Vlam & Daniel Jean Changuon, 1808

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1819; new edition improved by R. van der Pyl

Dordrecht Blussé & Van Braam, 1831; third edition 'again augmented and improved'

A New Pocket Dictionary Of The English And Dutch Languages, In Two Parts. I. Dutch-English. II. English-Dutch. Containing All The Words Of General Use, And Authorized By The Best Modern Writers. Also The Terms Of Commerce, Navigation, Arts, Sciences, &c. &c. By Baldwin Janson. A New Edition. Carefully Revised, improved and augmented with a great many words, in both languages.

Amsterdam, printed for Changuon. MDCCXCV.

Nieuw Zak-Woordenboek Der Nederduitsche En Engelsche Taalen, In Twee Deelen. I. Nederduitsch-Engelsch. II Engelsch-Nederduitsch. Waarin Gevonden Worden Alle de woorden die in de daaghyksche verkeerung voorkomen, benevens die, welke op de Koophandel, Zeevaart en verder Kunsten en Wetenschappen betrekking hebben. Alles Volgens De Beste Schryvers In Beide Taalen, Door Baldwin Janson. Nieuwe Druk. Naauwkeurig naargezien, verbeterd, en met eene menigte woorden in beide Taalen vermeerderd

Te Amsterdam, By D.J.Changuon. MDCCXCV.

lib (1795) *UBA,*KB,UCL
(1808) *UBL,*KBB,*BL
(1819) *KB
(1831) *UBA
etc.

contents: (1795 UBA) 1-263 D-E zak-woordenboek; 1-310 E-D pocket dictionary;
(1795 KB) 1-310 E-D pocket dictionary; [2 pp.] preface, 1-263 D-E zak-woordenboek,
(1808) 1-263 D-E zak-woordenboek; 1-316 E-D pocket dictionary;
(1819) 1-270 D-E zak-woordenboek; 1-331 E-D pocket dictionary;
(1831) 1-282 D-E zak-woordenboek; 1-341 E-D pocket dictionary

note: 1. this 'new edition' is enlarged from a first edition published in London in 1795 ('in het begin deezes jaars'), cf. preface to D-E dictionary in KB;
2. Blussé & Holtrop are referred to as printers in HOLTROP 1780, ed.1804;
3. see Cleef 1835 under 'Janson, J', where the 1819 edition is said to be 12mo and in 2 vols;
4 ed 1819 is corrected and augmented by R. van der Pyl;
5 ed 1831, 'a third edition', is 'again augmented and improved'.

1797 ENSELL

Ensell, George

A grammar of the English language Engelsche spraak kunst
 Rotterdam Jan Hendriksen, 1797, 8°, 629 pp

A Grammar Of The English Language, With Notes And Observations To Which Is Subjoined A Vocabulary Of Nouns Substantive, Adjective And Verbs Also A Copious Vocabulary Of Words Defining The Sound Of The Letter I With An Explanation In The Dutch Language The Whole Compiled and digested In A Manner Entirely New By G Ensell
 Rotterdam, Printed for the Author, and sold by J Hendriksen, in the Highstreet MDCCXCVII

(another title page)

Engelsche Spraak-kunst, Waar By Gevòdgd (sic) Is Een Klein Woordenboek Van Zelfstandige Naamwoorden, Byvoeglyke Naamwoorden, En Werkwoorden Als Mede Een Klein Woordenboek, Waar In De Klank Van De Letter I Word Aangetoond 'T Welk Alles In 'T Nederduitsch Word Verklaard, En Samengesteld Is Op Eene Gantsch Nieuwe Wyze, En Verrykt Met Oordeelkundige Aanmerkingen Door G Ensell
 Te Rotterdam, Gedrukt voor den Auteur, en te bekoomen by J Hendriksen, op de Hoogstraat MDCCXCVII

lib *UBU,*BL

contents [12 pp] preface, [5 pp] list of subscribers, 2-21 + 213-226 + 527-604 pronunciation, 22-206 + 278-340 grammar (catechetic), 207-212 abbreviations, 227-238 phrases (classified), 239-263 dialogues (6), 264-273 texts (fables), 274-277 about capital letters, 341-526 vocabulary (syllabary nouns, adjectives, verbs), [7 pp] table of contents

note 1 Cleef 1835 has 'volledige Engelsche spraakkunst, gr 8vo, 1797 Rotterdam J Hendriksen',
 2 in Cleef 1835 and in the front of EVANS 1747 ed 1808 in UBL there is a reference to G Ensell 'vocabulary in Dutch and English, 2de druk, kl 8vo Rotterdam, J Hendriksen' without date This may be a separate publication of the vocabulary section in ENSELL 1797, which is 186 pp long A copy of this work has not been traced,
 3 see Holthausen 1889

1798 WILCOCKE

Wilcocke, Samuel Hull

A new and complete dictionary of the English and Dutch languages Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche Taalen
 London C Dilly & T Boosey, 1798, 8°, 654 pp
 also
 Amsterdam Jan van Gulik, 1799

(Part 1)

A New And Complete Dictionary Of The English and Dutch Languages, With A Vocabulary Of Proper Names, Geographical, Historical, &c In Two Parts, I English And Dutch, II Dutch And English Compiled chiefly from the Quarto Dictionary of William Sewel, And containing not only all the Words to be found in that Dictionary, But also numerous and important Additions, collected from the best Authorities in both Languages Distinguishing the Preterits and Participles of all the Verbs, as well in English as in Dutch, With the Genders of the Dutch Substantives and their Diminutives Including Also, In The Second Part, All such Foreign Words of general Use as have been incorporated into the Dutch Language, And which have never before appeared, as Part of it, in any Dictionary By Samuel Hull Wilcocke
 London Printed for C Dilly, in the Poultry, and T Boosey, Old Broad Street MDCCXCVIII

(Part 2)

Nieuw Fn Volkomen Woordenboek Der Nederduitsche en Engelsche Taalen, Benevens Een Waereld En Geschuedkundige Lyst Van Eigene Naamen In Twee Deelen, I Engelsch En Nederduitsch, II Nederduitsch En Engelsch Gevolgd na het Groot Woordenboek van Willem

Sewel, Bevatende niet alleen alle de Woorden van hetzelfde, Maar ook talryke en aanmerkelyke Vermeerderingen uit de beste Woordenboeken en Schryvers in beide Taalen, byeengebragt: Aantoonende In 'T Byzonder, De Onvolmaakte Voorleedene Tyden, en de Deelwoorden van alle de Werkwoorden, Zo wel in 't Engelsch als in 't Nederduitsch, Met de Geslachten van de Nederduitsche Zelfstandige Naamwoorden, benevens hunne Zilverminderende Uitgangen; En In Het Tweede Deel Mede Behelzende Alle de Onduutsche Woorden die thans door het algemeen gebruik in de Nederduitsche Taal als ingehyfd, En die voorheen nimmer in de Woordenboeken, als gedeelte van dezelve, ingebragt, zyn. Door Samuel Hull Wilcocke.

Te Londen: By C.Dilly, in the Poultry, and T.Boosey, Old Broad Street. M.DCC.XCVIII.

lib.: (1798) *PBL,*BL

contents: (Part 1) [11 pp.] preface, [1 p.] abbreviations, 1-291 E-D dictionary, 293-302 appendix of geographical and historical names;
(Part 2) [11 pp.] voorrede, [1 p.] verkortzelen, 1-317 D-E dictionary, 319-327 appendix of geographical and historical names [1 p.] advertisement of Dutch Grammar by C.Schuiers

note: 1. Cleef 1835 (under 'Wilcocke (S.H.)') has '1799, Amsterdam: J. van Gulik';
2 see SEWEL 1691 above; see also WILCOCKE 1811 in Appendix 2 below;
3 see also Osselton 1973.

1798 THOMAS

Thomas, B

Lessen en zamenspraaken, in het Nederduitsch en Engelsch . . . Lessons and dialogues, in Dutch and English . . .

Rotterdam. Jan Hendriksen 1798; 12°, 168 pp

also.

London D Brewman, 1800 2nd edition

Lessen en Zamenspraaken, in het Nederduitsch en Engelsch, Geschreeven om de kennis van beide Taalen te bevorderen; en geschikt, niet alleen voor Kinderen, maar ook voor de geene van meerder Jaaren, die genegen zyn om zich in deeze Taalen te oeffenen. Door B Thomas, Onderwyzer in de Nederduitsche en Engelsche Taalen, te London. Tweede vermeerderde en verbeterde Druk.

Lessons and Dialogues, in Dutch and English, To Facilitate The Aquirement Of Either Language; and calculated for children As well as Young Beginners Of Mature Years. By B.Thomas, Teacher of the Dutch and English Languages in London. The Second Edition, corrected and augmented.

London: Printed for D.Brewman, Old Bailey, 1800.

lib.: (1800) *UBA,*BL

contents: [1 p.] preface, 1-121 + 149-167 D-E texts, 123-148 dialogue (1)

note: 1. 'een onmisbaar Leesboek' in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL;
2. Cleef 1835 has another entry for B.Thomas: *Engelsch Leesboek*, (Leeuwarden: J.W.Brouwer, 1814) 8°. The same book?;
3. see Cleef 1835 for reference to edition of 1798.

1801 HOLTROP

Holtrop, Jan (1710? - 1792)

Nieuw Nederduitsch en Engelsch woorden-boek . . . A new Dutch and English dictionary . . .

Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Abraham Blussé en Zoon & Willem Holtrop, 1801; 8°, 1032 pp.

also:

Dordrecht. Blussé & Van Braam / Amsterdam: Jan Steven van Esveldt Holtrop, 1824

Nieuw Néderduitsch En Engelsch Woorden-boek. Agter-aan zyn gevoegd: Naamlysten der Doopnaamen, zoo van Mannen als Vrouwen; ook van de Voornaamste Landen, Steden, Volken, enz. der Waereld Door Johannes Holtrop Tweede Deel Behelzende Het Néderduitsch vóór het Engelsch.

A New Dutch And E'nglish Dictionary, To which are added Catalogues of the Christian Names, both of Men and Women; and also of the Chief Countries, Cities, Nations, &c of the World The Second Volume Containing The Dutch before the E'nglish Te Dordrecht en Amsterdam, By A Blussé En Zoon, en W Holtrop 1801.

- lib : (1801) *UBA,*PBI,*UBU,*BL
(1824) *KB,*UBA,*BL
etc.
- contents: (1801) [2 pp] preface, 1-1012 D-E dictionary, 1013-1016 names of men and women, 1017-1022 geographical names, [2 pp] advertisement of books
(1824) 1-1020 D-E dictionary, 1021-1024 names of men and women, 1025-1030 geographical names
- note: 1. this is the companion part to Holtrop's E-D dictionary of 1789. Holtrop died in 1792 'toen er nauwelijks agt bladen van dit Deel afgedrukt waren' (when not more than eight pages of this part had been printed), it took his successors 9 years to finish the job but 'niet dan na het te boven komen van nieuwe wederwaardigheden, zo van de zijde der Schrijvers als der Drukkers' (not without overcoming new setbacks on the part of both the authors and the printers) (quotations from the preface);
2. title of ed 1824 *Nederduitsch En Engelsch Woordenboek Van J.Holtrop, Herzien, vermeerderd en verbeterd Door A Stevenson* . *John Holthrop's Dutch and English Dictionary, Revised, enlarged and corrected By A Stevenson, . . .*,
3 see HOLTROP 1789 above for his E-D dictionary;
4. see Osselton 1973; Cleef 1835.

1803 PERREIN, J.

Perrein, J

Engelsche, Hoog- en Nederduitsche zamenspraken

Amsterdam. Willem Holtrop, without year, 8°

- note: 1. title taken from Cleef 1835 and from the back of RUDIMENTS c1804 above (in *UBA). Also in Cleef 1835 (under 'Dialogues'): 'Dialogues (English, German and Dutch), a guide to conversation. gr 12mo, 1803 Amsterdam, W Holthrop'

1803 DIALOGUES

anon.

Dialogues Français, Hollandais et Anglais, sur des sujets familiers

Rotterdam: W Locke et Comp., 1803, 12° oblong

- note 1. see Cleef 1835 under 'Dialogues'.

c1804 RUDIMENTS

anon.

The first rudiments of the English language . . . De eerste beginselen der Engelsche taale . . .

..

Amsterdam. Willem Holtrop, without date; 8°; 183 pp.

The First Rudiments of the English Language, for the use of Schools and private instruction More than a common Spellingbook.

De Eerste Beginselen der Engelsche Taale, tot School- en Huis-onderwijs. Meer dan een gewoon Spelboek.

Amsterdam by W.Holtrop, kalverstraat n. 36

lib · *UBA,*BL

contents [4 pp] table of contents, 1-6 introduction, 1-38 words of one syllable (+ exercises), 39-88 words of two syllables (+ exercises), 88-133 words of three syllables (+ exercises), 134-142 words of four and more syllables, 143-179 four texts (three English, one Dutch)

- note: 1. half-title on the spine of this edition. *Engelsch Spel-Leer- en Leesboek*,

2. the date of publication is given as 1798 by Alston, 1804 by Cicef and the UBA catalogue. As the third edition of HOLTROP 1780 (which appeared in 1804) is advertised on the back of this book, 1804 or later seems to be the correct date;
3. this work is attributed to John Holtrop? by Alston, but Holtrop died in 1792. There is no proof of an earlier edition, so that Alston's suggestion cannot be easily accepted. It is not impossible, however, that W. Holtrop used some of his father's material for the publication of this work.

? anon.

Zakboekje voor de jeugd, of Eerste Onderrichting . . . door aanschouwing van voorwerpen in de natuur, met derzelven benamingen in vier taalen en gekleurde afbeeldingen . .

Amsterdam: Evert Maaskamp

lib.: former Schoolmuseum Amsterdam

note: 1. the four languages are Dutch, French, English and German;
2. see Riemens 1919

APPENDIX 1b Some texts, books about Britain, and novels, in Low Dutch or English

This appendix contains a selection of texts, books about Britain and about the political relations between the Dutch Republic and Britain, and some novels. It was customary for works like these to appear in translation - did the original works circulate here at all? They may have served as an aid to background information for interested learners of English. This selection is far from complete; it is added here as an indication of the kind of work that would qualify for this purpose. More titles are contained in e.g. Reesink 1931, Buisman 1972 and Schoneveld 1983.

1649ff. Rederijkerskamer (Chamber of Rhetoric) 'De Fonteinsten' in Dordrecht published poems and prose passages about English history, e.g. 'Cromwel de verrader', 'Het valsche engelsche volk', 'Stuart's ongeluckige Heerschappye' etc.
note: 1. see Schotel 1857:105.

1651ff SYLVIUS/ BOS(CH), LAMBERTUS van den (1610? - 1698?)
He wrote a large number of books and plays about English history. Some examples:

Roode en wite Roos of Lankaster en Jork, blyeindend trsp . . .
Amsterdam. D C Houthaak, 1651, in *BL.

note: a translation of parts of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, 1593/4.

Engelsche Florus of kort begryp der Engelsche geschiedenissen . . . tot de doot van Koningh Karel de Eerste . . .
Amsterdam, 1652, in *BL

Verhaal van het leven en de Doot van sijn doorluchtige Hooghey Oliver Cromwel . . .
Amsterdam. Jan van Doesbergh, 1659; in *UBVU

Dordrecht: A. Andriesz, 1659

note: a translation of S. Carrington, *The History of the life and death of . . . Oliver Cromwell*, 1659

Herstelde Zeegtriumph van Karel de tweede . . .
Dordrecht, 1660

note: Sylvius is one of the contributors.

Historie van sijn Majesteyt Karel de II . . .
Dordrecht. Abraham Andriesz 1660; in *UBVU

note. a translation of John Dauncey, *The History of his secret Majesty Charles the II.*

Britannias of herstelde majesteyt . . .

note: in Van Oort 1661; in *UBGn, *UBVU, *BL.

Het Leven en Bedryf van Willem de Darde . . .

Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1694; in *PBL, *BL

- note
1. these and other titles, stocked in many libraries, are entered variously under 'Bos', 'Bosch' or 'Sylvius';
 2. see Schotel 1857, who also notes that some of his works were reviewed in Rabus's *Boekzael van Europa*;
 3. see also Ch. 4 for brief biographical notes.

1652 anon.

Engelsch Praetjen, Tusschen een Parlementarsche, Koningsche, Nederlandsch Koopman, en een Bootgesel. Vervatende kortelyck den ganschen handel der Republycken van Engeland/ en 't Vereenigde Nederland.

Tot Middelburg, gedrukt in 't Jaar 1652.

Middelburg, without publisher, 1652

lib.: *UBVU

note: a pamphlet of 16 pages.

1666-8 SWINNAS, WILLEM (1620 - 1672)

Engelse, Nederlandse, en Munsterse Krakkeelen, Door Willem Swinnas M.D . . .

Rotterdam. Joannes Naeranus, 1666-1668, 3 vols.

lib.: *UBVU (three different editions)

bio.: Lindeboom 1984

note: this is a publication dealing with the political differences between the Dutch Republic, England and Munster.

1673 SMITH, THOMAS (1513 - 1577)

Het Parlement van Engelandt, met het sitten, en de macht van het selvige . . . Uyt het Engels vertaelt . . .

Amsterdam: Philips van Eyck, 1673

lib.: *MMW (2 copies)

bio.: DNB

note: translation of Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1583).

1674 RIDDERUS, FRANCISCUS (1620 - 1683)

Historischen Engels-man, In Bysondere Engelsche, Schotse, en Yersche Geschiedenissen, Gepast op de onderdruckte staet van ons lieve Vaderlandt. Door Franciscus Ridderus.

Tot Rotterdam. By de Weduwe van Arnout Leers, Boeck-verkoopster by 't Oude Hooft. 1674.

Rotterdam: de weduwe van Arnout Leers, 1674

lib.: *KB

bio.: Aa

note: a publication about historical events relating to the Dutch Republic and England, Scotland and Ireland.

1682 BUNYAN, JOHN (1628 - 1688)

Eens christens reyse na de eeuwigheyt . . .

Amsterdam: Joannes Boekholt, 1682; 12°

lib.: UBVU

bio.: DNB

note: an early translation of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (part 1 1678, part 2 1684). More titles and editions are listed in the catalogue of the Bunyan collection of the *Vrije Universiteit* of Amsterdam, where more than 550 titles are stocked.

1695 TEMPLE, WILLIAM (1628 - 1699)

Inleyding tot de Historie van Engeland, Zynde een beknópt, dóch naauwkeurig verhaal van de aaloude toestand van Britannie, hoe het zelve door verscheydene vólken van tyd bemagtigd, en eyndelyk voor 't meerendeel tot een beschaafde regeeringe gebragt wierdt, tot den dood van Willem de Veroveraar Door Sir William Temple, Baronet. Uyt het Engelsch vertaald, door W: Séwel.

Amsterdam: de wed. van Steven Swart, 1695

lib.: *UBVU,*MW,

note: 1. original title *Introduction to the History of England . . .* (London, 1695);
2. another translation (by P.Rabus?): *Inleidinge tot de Historie van Engeland*

(Rotterdam. P.v.d. Slaart, 1695)

1727 SWIFT, JONATHAN (1667-1745)

Reisbeschryving na verscheyde afgelegene natien in de wereld Reys na Lilliput . . .
The Hague Alberts & Van der Kloot, 1727

lib.: UBA

note: this is the first Dutch translation of Swift's *Gullivers's Travels* of 1726. More translations of his works are collected in Jagtenberg 1989 (67 in all).

1728-1730 LARREY, ISAAC de (1638? - 1719)

Geschiedenis van Engelandt, Schotlandt en Ierlandt; Met een kort begrip der aanmerkelykste zaken, in andere Ryken en Staten voorgevallen In het Fransch beschreven door Den Heere de Larrey, Hof- en bezendings-Raadt van zyne Koninklyke Majesteit van Prussen. In het Nederduitsch uitgegeven, en uut de Openbare Gedenkschriften van Engelandt en de allernaauwkeurigste oude en nieuwe Schryvers merkelyk vermeerdert en verandert door Jan Lodewyk Schuer. Met heerlyke afbeeldselen en landkaarten versiert Te Amsterdam, By Joh. Coÿvens en Corn Mortier, MDCCXXVIII Met Privilegie van de Edele Groot-Goedinge Heeren Staaten van Hollandt. en West-Vrieslandt.

Amsterdam: Jan Covens en Corn. Mortier, 1728-1730, 5 parts in 4 vols.;
Amsterdam. Salomon Schouten, 1741, fol.

lib.: *UBVU,*MW,

note: 1. original title *Histoire d'Angleterre, d'Écosse et d'Irlande* . . . (Rotterdam, 1697-1713, 4 vols),
2. another translation was provided by P.Langendijk.

1735 MACKY, JOHN (? - 1726)

Korte Beschryving van Engelandt, door John Macky, Schildknaap. Uit het Engelsch, volgens den vyfden Druk, vertaalt door P. van der Meersch Eerste Deel.

Amsterdam: J.Ratelbandt, 1735, 2 vols. with illustrations; 8°

note: 1. translation of John Macky's *A Journey through England* (London 1714, 2nd ed. 1722, 3rd ed. 1723/4 and 1732),
2. for a review of parts 1 and 2 see *Boekzaal* 40 (1735):567-582 and 41 (1735):192-207.

1735 BURNET, GILBERT (1643 - 1715)

De Geschiedenis van Engelandt, vervattende de Gedenkwaardigste zaken zo in de Kerk als in de Staat, sedert het jaar 1689 tot het sluiten van den Utrechtschen Vrede in het jaar 1713. voorgevallen onder de Regeringen van Willem en Maria, en Willem alleen, en Anna Door G Burnet, Bisschop van Salisbury. Waar achter gevoegt is het Leven van den Schryver. Uit het Engelsch Vertaalt door M. de Ruuscher, R.G. Vijfde deel.

Te Leiden, by Samuel Luchtmans, en te Amsteldam by Harmanus Uitwerf.1735

Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans; Amsterdam: Harmanus Uitwerf, 1735; 12°

note: 1. parts 5,6,7 and 8 were published in 1735 and reviewed in *Boekzaal* 41 (1735).174-191, 438-460, 604-619, 692-697 resp.;

2. a translation of parts 1,2 and 3 of this(?) work appeared in London in 1725 under the title: *Memoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Grande Bretagne sous les Regnes de Charles, II. & de Jaques II - &c - Dat is: Gedenkschriften om te dienen tot de Histone van groot Brittanje, onder de Regeeringe van Karel den II en Jacob den II; Met eene Inleiding tot het beging (sic) van de Regeering van Jacob den I. tot aen de herstelling der Koninklyke Familie. Vertaelt uit het Engelsch van Gilbert Burnet, Bisschop van Salisbury. Te Londen by T.Ward 1725.*
Reviewed in *Boekzaal* (part 1) 20 (1725):411-425, 563-590, 677-694 en (part 3) 21 (1725).77-99, 197-214, 312-325

1750 FIELDING, SARAH

De Verstandige Engelsche Leermeester of Kweekschool van Jonge Jufferen naar 't Begrip der tedere Jaren tot Vermaak en Onderwys der Jeugt van goeden Huize en ter Bevordering ener deftige Opvoeding; beschreven door den schryver van David Simple. Volgens den Tweeden Engelschen Druk vertaalt, door Pieter Adriaan Verwer. Te Haarlem by Izaak en Johannes Enschede en Jan Bosch 1750

Haarlem: I. en J. Enschedé & J. Bosch, 1750

Amsterdam: P. Swart, 1758; 8°

lib.: (BL for English original)

note: 1. a translation of S. Fielding *The governess; or Little female academy Being the history of Mrs Teachum, and her nine girls* (London: the Author, 1749);
2. see *Boekzaal* 47 (1751):184-199; Arrenberg 1788; see also Kuiper 1961:41 note 3 for the title of a similar work by Fordyce.

1781 anon.

Engelsche catechismus . . . (in *UBVU)

lib.: *UBVU

note: a satirical sketch, in question-and-answer form, of the repulsive characteristics of foreigners, particularly the English.

1791 SMOLLET, TOBIAS (1721 - 1771)

'Historie van Engeland, sedert de omwenteling van 1688, tot den dood van Koning George II; naar het Engelsch.'

Utrecht: B. Wild & J. Altheer, 1791; gr. 8°

note: cf. Cleef 1835.

1793 SMITH, CHARLOTTE (1749 - 1806)

'Emmelina; uit het Engelsch, 4 deelen, met platen'

Leyden. P. H. Trap & J. van Thoir', 1793; gr. 8°

note: 1. cf. Cleef 1835;

2. there is an advance notice of the publication of parts I and II of *Emmelina* (parts III and IV to follow) by J. J. Honkoop at Leyden, in *Boekzaal* of November (1793):607.

1794 advertisement of the 4th edition of *De Historie van Engeland verkort, zedert het jaar 800 tot op deze tyd*, by J. C. Leeuwestyn at The Hague, a translation from an English original.

note: cf. *Boekzaal* (January 1794):68-69.

? DEFOE, DANIEL (1660 - 1731)

The History of Robinson Crusoe, abridged &c.

Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen

note: 1. in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL;

2. for a review of an early Dutch translation see *Boekzaal* (July 1721):58-93, (August 1721) 183-207, (September 1721):305-326, (October 1721):437-463; also *Register* 1732;

3. another Dutch translation had appeared in 1721/22: *Het Leven En de wonderbare Gevalen van Robinson Crusoe* (Amsterdam: Janssoons van Waesberghe, 3 vols, 1721/22, small 8°). The reference has been taken from Buisman 1975;

4. see also Staverman 1907.

? anon.

Zinryke en Vermakelyke Fabelen voor de Jeugd, in het Engelsch en Nederduitsch

Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen

note: in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL.

? anon.

The Mother's Catechism for Young Children

Rotterdam: J.Hendriksen

note: in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL.

? anon.

The Short Catechism of the Reverend Assembly of Divines &c.

Rotterdam: J.Hendriksen

note: in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL.

? anon.

Paraphrases in Verses of Several Passages, of Sacred Scripture

Rotterdam: J.Hendriksen

note: in the front of EVANS 1747 ed. 1808 in UBL.

APPENDIX 2 DUTCH LANGUAGE LEARNING MATERIALS FOR SPEAKERS
OF ENGLISH PUBLISHED ABROAD, 1500-1800 (primary
sources)

1537 anon.

*Sex Linguarum, Laune, Teuthonice, Gallice, Hispanice, Italice, Anglice,
dilucidissimus dictionarius.*

*Vocabulaer in sesterley talen, Latyn, Duytsch, Walsch, Spaens, Italiaens,
& Engelsch, seer profiteck aller beminders der talen*

Southwarke: James Nicholson for Johan Renys, 1537, 8°

lib.: Sidney Sussex Coll. Cambridge, UBBremen

note: see Claes 1976, no. 362, 389; also SEPTEM LINGUARUM 1540
in Appendix 1a above

1557 anon.

A Boke intituled Ffrynsshe, Englysshe and Duche . . .

London: John Alde, 1569

lib.: not located

note: 1. one of the editions of De Berlaimont's *Vocabulare*
(BERLAIMONT 1576 in Appendix 1a above); many more
were published since this date
2. see Alston 1967, Lambley 1920:410/1, *The English, Latine,
French, Dutch Schole-master* 1637 below in this Appendix
2.

1585 Junius, H (1511-1575)

*The Nomenclator or Remembrancer of Adrianus Junius . . . Written by
the said Adrianus Junius in Latine, Greek, French, and other forrein
tongues, and now in English by John Higin . . .*
(London, 1585)

bio.: (Higgins) Lambley 1920 189 ff.

note: 1. on the Continent English words were added from 1577
onwards, see NOMENCLATOR 1577 in Appendix 1a above.

1606 Le Mayre, Marten

*The Dutch Schoole Master. Wherein is shewed the true and perfect way
to learne the Dutch tongue, to the furtherance of all those wich would
gladlie learn it Collected by Marten le Mayre professor of the said
tongue, dwelling in Alchurchelane. At London Printed by George Elde
for Simon Waterson. 1606.*

London: George Elde for Simon Waterson, 1606; 8°

lib.: *KB,*BL,
etc.

note: 1. based on Meurner 1558 (see MEURIER/BASSON 1586
above), MEURIER/BASSON 1586 and WALRAVEN/
WHETSTONE 1586;
2. see Dibbets 1971; Giedhill 1976; Alston 1964

1617 MINSHEU, JOHN

*Ductor in Linguas. The Guide into Tongues Cum illarum harmonia et
etymologus, Originationibus, Rationibus et Derivationibus, in omnibus his
undecum linguis, viz. 1. Anglica, 2. Cambro-Britanica, 3 Belgica, 4.
Germanica, 5. Gallica, 6. Italica, 7. Hispanica, 8. Lusitanica seu
Portugallica, 9 Latina, 10 Graeca, 11. Hebraea.*

London: Joannem Browne, 1617; 2°

lib.: *BL (in many editions)
 bio.: DNB
 note: see Lambley 1920:169 note 3.

1637 anon.

The English, Latine, French, Dutch Schole-master. Or, an Introduction to teach young Gentlemen and Merchants to travell or trade . . .
 London: Michael Sparke, 1637; 8°

lib.: *BL
 note: 1. 'An addition of the work by N. van Barlement, originally published with the title 'Vocabulare' and subsequently with the title 'Colloquia' (*General Catalogue* BL); see also *A Boke intutled* 1537 above in this Appendix 2;
 2. see Gledhill 1976:1.

c1658 anon.

The Dutch-Tutor; or, A New-Book of Dutch and English. Containing Plain and easie Rules for the ready Pronouncing, Writing, Speaking, and understanding the Dutch-Tongue . . .
 London: William Fisher 1658(9?),1660(?),1669,1674; 8°

lib.: (1658(9?),1669) *BL
 note: 1. published by the Scolar Press no.249;
 2. based on BERLAIMONT 1576 and SCHOLE-MASTER 1646; grammar section also based on HEXHAM 1647/8;
 3. see Gledhill 1976:14 note 18; Lambley 1920:169 note 3; Alston 1964; Dibbets 1977.

[not published abroad but very influential:]

1700 SEWEL, WILLEM (1653 - 1720)

A Compendious Guide to the Low Dutch Language. Containing the most necessary and essential Grammar-Rules, whereby one may speedily & without much difficulty attain to the knowledge of the aforesaid Language, and the right use of the Dutch Particles DE and HET, so much wanted hitherto.

Korte Wegwyzer der Nederduytsche Taal. Behelzende de noodigste en weezendlykste Letterkonstige Regelen, om spoedig en zonder veel moeite tot kennisse dier Taale te geraaken. By Wm. Sewel.

Amsterdam, Printed for the Widdow of Stephen Swart. Bookseller on the West-side of the Exchange, at the signe of the Crowned Bible. 1700.

Amsterdam: de wed. van S.Swart, 1700, 1706, 1712; 12°
 Amsterdam: Jansoons van Waesberge, 1725;
 Amsterdam: Jacob ter Beek, 1740, 1747,1754;
 Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer, 1760;
 Amsterdam: J.Morterre, 1783,
 Amsterdam: W.Vermandel, 1788,
 Amsterdam: H.Gartman, 1814;

lib.: (1700) *BL
 (1706) *BL
 (1725) UBA
 (1740) *BL
 (1747) *BL,UBU
 (1754) *UBL,*BL
 (1760) *BL,*UBA

(1814) KB,*BL

etc.

- note: 1. see Scheurweghs 1960;
 2. not based on Spiegel 1584 or Van Heule 1625 (see Sewel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* ed. 1712, 'Voorreede' pp.2-4;
 3. Sewel also published a *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* in 1708, partly derived from the work above.

1728 GRANDPRÉ, J.

The traveller's interpreter in four languages . . . viz. English, and Low Dutch, French and Italian . . .

London: B. Creake, 1728; 8°

- note: the reference taken from the *Monthly Chronicle* (June 1728), quoted in Alston 1967 revised ed. (in BL).

1730 HARRISON, FRANCIS

De Engelsche en Nederduytsche School-Meester . . . The English and Low-Dutch schoolmaster. Containing alphabetical tables of the most common words in English and Dutch. With certain rules and directions . . .

New York: W. Bradford, 1730; 8°

lib.: Philadelphia Free Library

note: Romig 1959; Edelman 1974; Alston 1974.

1762 WEITENAUER, IGNATIUS s.j.

Hexaglotton geminum, docens linguas, Gallicam, Gallicam, Italicam, Hispanicam, Græcam, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Anglicam, Germanicam, Belgicam, Latnam, Lusitanicam, Syriacam: . . .

Augustæ Vind. & Friburg Brisg: sumpt. Fratrum Wagner, 1762; 4°

lib.: Besançon Municipal Lib.

note: cf. Alston 1967.

1792 JANSON, BALDWIN

A Grammar of the Dutch Language; Wherin the Rules are laid down in so Easy and Conspicuous a Manner, that the most moderate Capacity may attain it in a very Short Time without the Assistance of a Master.

London: T. Vernon, T. Boosey and the Author, 1792, 1798, 1803; 8°

lib.: (1792) *UBA, *BL

(1798, 1803) *BL

- note: the preface contains a reference to an earlier Dutch grammar by a certain Morris, but title nor copy have been traced.

1794 WILLSON, JAMES

The soldier's pocket-dictionary, or friend, in need . . . expressed in six languages, viz. English, German, Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish . . .

London: R. Hindmarsh, 1794; 12°

lib.: BL

- note: Alston 1967, which also mentions a book with the same title published in London by J.S. Jordan, also in 1794.

1797 NEMNICH, PHILIPP ANDREAS

Waaren-Lexaon, in zwolf Sprachen der Hamburgischen Commerz-Deputation.

Hamburg: Licentiat Nemnich, Leipzig Adam Friedrich Bohme, 1797; 8°

lib.: BL, etc

note: this vocabulary contains commercial terms in German with translations in English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Polish and Latin An English edition appeared in 1799 (London: J Johnson, I.Remnant, & W.Remnant (Hamburg), reprinted in Hamburg in 1821), cf. Alston 1967

1799 SCHWIERS, Conradus

A Grammar of the Dutch Language . . .

London: G G. & J.Robinson, 1799; 8°

lib.: *BL,
etc.

bio.: Lindeboom 1950:163 (Eng. ed.) and 155 (Du. ed.)

note: 1. there is an announcement of this book in the back of WILCOCKE 1798 in PBL: 'May 1798 Preparing For The Press, And with all convenient Speed will be Published, A New And Complete Grammar of the Dutch Language; Formed Upon A Plan Of William Sewel's, (Which is allowed to be by much the best ever yet published of that Language) And Adapted To The Improvements Of The Best Writers, By C Schwiers, D D To be printed for C Dilly, in the Poultry';
2. cf Alston 1964.

1811 WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL

A New Pocket Dictionary of the English And Dutch Languages; with A Vocabulary Of Proper Names, Geographical, Historical, &c. In Two Parts; I. English and Dutch, II. Dutch and English. Containing All words of general use, collected from the best Authorities in both Languages Carefully revised and constructed upon the plan of the Octavo Dictionary By Samuel Hull Wilcocke

London Printed for J.Mawman, T.Boosey, and John Richardson 1811

(another title page)

Nieuw Zak Woordenboek der Nederduitsche En Engelsche Taalen, Benevens Een Waereld- En - Geschiedkundige Lyst Van Eigene Naamen. In Twee Deelen; I. Engelsch en Nederduitsch, II. Nederduitsch en Engelsch. Behelzende Alle Woorden In Algemeen Gebruik, uit de Beste Woordenboeken En Schryvers In Beide Taalen, Byeengebragt Zorgvuldighyk overgezien, en op hetzelfde plan opgesteld als het Octavo Woordenboek Door Samuel Hull Wilcocke.

Te Londen: By J.Mawman; T.

Boosey, En John Richardson. 1811

London: J Mawman, T.Boosey & John Richardson, 1811

lib : *BL

note: 1. see WILCOCKE 1798 in Appendix 1a above;
2 see Osselton 1973.

APPENDIX 3 RELATED PUBLICATIONS, 1500-1800 (primary sources)

This appendix contains titles of primary sources used in the composition of the textbooks and manuals of Appendix 1a. It has short titles only, limited references to libraries and to sources for biographical information, and some notes.

1540 (attributed to) LILY, WILLIAM (1468? - 1522)

An Introduction of the Eyght Parties of Speeche, and the Construction of the Same, Compiled and Set Forthe by the Commaundment of Our Most Gracious Soverayne Lorde the King . . . (1540)

lib.: *BL (from 1515),
etc.

bio.: DNB

note: 1. the first edition of this very popular grammar written in Latin was probably published around 1512. The title of the edition of 1515 in the BL is: *Absolutissimus de octo rationis partium constructione libellus* (Argentorati, 1515) 4°. It became a royal grammar in 1540 (cf. title above). The book was reprinted and revised until 1858;
2. see Schcurweghs 1961.

1558 MEURIER, GABRIEL (1520 - 1598)

Coniugaisons, regles, et instructions, mout propres et necessairement requises, pour ceux qui desirent apprendre François, Italien, Espagnol, & Flamen . . .

Antwerp. J. van Waesberghe 1558

bio.: De Vreese 1897

note: 1. used in *Colloques ou Dialogues* 1576 and WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586; also in Le Mayre 1606 (Appendix 2);
2. cf. Dibbets 1969, 1970a, 1971

1568 SMITH, Sir THOMAS (1513 - 1577)

De recta & emendata linguae anglicae scriptiōne, Dialogus

Paris, 1568; published by the Scholar Press no.109

lib.: *BL,

bio.: DNB

note: 1. see Alston 1967, vol VI (1969);
2. this is the title referred to in the preface of WALRAVEN/WHETSTONE 1586.

1584 ?SPIEGEL, HENDRICK (1549 - 1612)

Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst, ofte Vant spellen ende eyghenscap des Nederduitschen taals . . .

Leyden: Christoffel Plantyn 1584

lib.: *UBG

bio.: Aa; DNB; MEW

note: 1. probably referred to by Richardson in the preface of his *Anglo-Belgica* (1677);
2. cf. Caron 1962.

1586 BULLOKAR, WILLIAM (1531? - 1609)

William Bullokarz Pamphlet for Grammar: or rather too be saied huz abberuation of hiz grammar for English, extracted out-of huz grammar at-larg . . .

London: Edmund Bollifant, 1586

lib BL

bio.: DNB

note: 1. edited by J.R.Turner in *Leeds Texts and Monographs* no. 1 (Leeds: The Univ. of Leeds, School of English 1980);
2. see Funke 1938.

1594 GREAVES, P.

Grammatica Anglicana, praecipue quatenus à Latina differt, ad vnicam P.Rami methodum concinnata . . .

Cambridge. Iohannis Legatt, 1594; published by Scholar Press no 169.

lib *BL

- note: 1. used by Hexham,
2. see Leroux & Scheurweghs 1962.

1625 HEULE, CHRISTIAEN VAN

De Nederduytsche Grammatica ofte Spraec-konst, Waer in de gemeyne deelen der Nederduytsche spraeke (nae de manier der Grieken ende Latynen) beschreven zijn.

Leyden: D.Roels 1625; revised in 1633

lib.: (1625) *KB,*BL,*UBG

(1633) *KB,*UBG

bio.: Aa

- note: 1. used by Hexham, Hillenius and Beyer for their Dutch grammars, see Gledhill 1976;
2. title 2nd ed.: *De Nederduytsche Spraec-konst ofte Tael-beschrijvinge*;
3. edited by W.J.H.Caron and published in *Trivium*, vol.1, part 1 and 2. (Groningen, 1953).

1626 VOSSIUS, GERARDUS (1577 - 1649)

Latina Grammatica . . . in usum scholarum adornata . . .

Leyden: A.Elzevier; first ed. 1626, last ed. 1827

lib.: *BL(1644)

bio.: Aa, *NNBW*

- note: 1. consulted by Edward Richardson (see 1677 above);
2. this grammar was based on a similar work by the sixteenth century Dutch scholar Ludolphus Lithocomus.

1627 DAFFORNE, RICHARD

Grammatica ofte Leez-leerlings Steunsel. T'zamen ghestelt Door Richard Dafforne.

Amsterdam: Jan Everts. Kloppenburgh, 1627

lib.: *UBA

bio.: Holtzappel 1943

- note: 1. used in the Dutch grammars of Hexham (Dibbets 1970b) and Beyer (Gledhill 1976);
2. calls himself a 'teacher of English and Dutch, residing in London' in his *The Apprentices Time-Entertainer accomptantly* (London: R.Young, 1640, in *BL).

1633 BUTLER, Charles (1560? - 1647)

The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English Tongue. Whereunto is annexed an index of words like and unlike . . .

Oxford: William Turner, 1633

lib.: *BL

bio.: *DNB*

- note: 1. used by SCHOLE-MASTER 1646;
2. edited by A.Eichler (Halle 1910);
3. cf. Vorlat 1975; Scheurweghs 1961.

1653 WALLIS, JOHN (1616 - 1703)

Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae. Cui praefigitur, de loquela sive sonorum formatione tractatus grammatico-physicus . . .

Oxford: Tho. Robinson, 1653; published by Scolar Press no.192

lib.: *UBU,BL

bio.: *DNB*, Kemp 1972

- note: 1. used in RICHARDSON 1677 (see Appendix 1a above);
2. see especially Kemp 1972; also Michael 1987.

1653 MAUGER, CLAUDE (1625? - 1702?)

The true advancement of the French Tongue, or A new method, and more easie directions for the attaining of it, then ever yet have been published . . . By Claudius Mauger, late professor of the French tongue at Blois and now teacher of the said tongue, here, in London.

London: Tho. Roycroft, 1653; etc.

lib.: BL

bio.: see Ch.4

- note: 1. this is the first edition of Mauger's successful textbook for French (26 editions until 1751); title from 2nd ed. (1656) onwards: *French grammar*;

2 used in BEYER 1661 (cf Appendix 1a above)

1668 WILKINS, JOHN (1614 - 1672)

An Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language

London Sa Gellibrand & John Martyn, 1668, printed by the Scolar Press no 119

lib *UBL,*BL

bio DNB

- note 1 part III 'Concerning Natural Grammar' contains an interesting section on phonetics (with drawings),
2 John Wilkins was Edward Richardson's successor at the Collegiate Church of Ripon in 1663

1672 FESTEAU, PAUL

Nouvelle Grammaire Angloise Enrichie de Dialogues Curieux touchant l'Estat, & la Cour d'Angleterre Et d'une Nomenclature Angloise & Francoise

London Thomas Thornycroft, 1672, etc

lib (1675,1676,1678) *BL

bio see Ch 4

- note 1 parts of this textbook were copied from his *A New and Easie French Grammar* (London Thomas Thornycroft, 1667, printed by the Scolar Press no 282),
2 used in HELDFREN 1675a (see Appendix 1a above)

1672 MAUGER, CLAUDE (1625? - 1702?) / FESTEAU, PAUL

Nouvelle double grammaire française angloise & angloise française

Dernière édition

New double grammar French English and English French

London Th Roycroft?, 1672, etc

lib (1690) *BI

(1693) *KBB *UBGt

(1703) *KB,*UBGt

(1715) *KB

bio see Ch 4

- note 1 based on Mauger 1653 and Festeau 1672 above, the English grammar is from Festeau, many editions between 1672 and 1793, editions from 1687 all printed in the Low Duch area,
2 ed 1715 'corr et augm sur celle de Mr Boyer',
3 frequently used as a source for EIL material,
4 for dates and editions cf Bouton 1972 56-57

1673 PIELAT, BARTHELEMY (1640? - 1681)

L'Antu Grammaire, of D'Oude Spraek-konst verworpen, Door de Heer Bartel Pielat Seer bequaem voor alle Spraek en Schoolmeesters, en alle liefhebbers der Talen, om de Fransche en Nederduytsche Tale te leeren

Amsterdam Joannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1673,1681, 1687, 1700

lib (1673) *UBGt,UBA,*BL

(1681) *UBGt, UBA

(1687) *UBU

bio see Ch 4

- note 1 for a discussion of this manual see Schmidt 1931 51-54

1683 MAUGER, CLAUDE (1625? - 1702?)

Les Dialogues François & Flamends de Claude Mauger

De Fransche en Nederduytsche

Samenspraken van Claude Mauger

Utrecht Johannes Ribbuis, 1683

lib *BNP

bio see Ch 4

- note 1 contains 84 dialogues

1688 MIÈGE, GUY (1644 - 1718?)

The English Grammar or, The grounds, and genius of the English tongue

London J Redmayne, 1688, edited by the Scolar Press no 152

lib *KB,*UBU,*UBG,*BL

bio see Ch 4

- note: 1. cf. Alston 1967 vol.I; Howatt 1984:52-60;
2. cf. 1718 BOYER / MIÈGE below.

1707 DYCHE, THOMAS (? - 1733?)

A Guide to the English Tongue. In two parts, . . .

London: Sam. Butler, 1707; etc. Published by the Scholar Press no. 92

lib.: (1707) *BL
(1796) *GBR

bio.: DNB

- note: 1. used by EVANS 1747 (see Appendix 1a above);
2. see Alston 1967 (vol. IV); Löwisch 1889 22; Michael 1987.

1718 BOYER, ABEL (1667 - 1729) / MIÈGE, GUY (1644 - 1718?)

A New double grammar French-English and English-French, By Mr. A. Boyer and Mr. Guy Miège. The last edition, which contains true and easy Instructions for acquiring in a short time the use of these two Languages . . . Nouvelle double Grammaire Francoise-Angloise et Angloise-Francoise . . .

Amsterdam: R.G.Wetstein / Rotterdam: J.Hofhout, 1718; etc. 8°

lib.: (1718) *BL
(1740) KBB
(1756) *KB
(1775) *UBL,*UBU

bio.: see Ch.4

- note: 1. printed in the Dutch Republic only until 1740, then in Paris and elsewhere in many editions until 1796 (27 entries in Alston 1967);
2. used in SMITH 1752, EVANS 1757, HOLTROP 1780 (see Appendix 1a above);
3. based on G.Miège *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre L'Anglois* (1685) and sometimes also on A.Boyer *The Compleat French Master* (1694);
4. see Alston 1967; Lowisch 1889:18

1740 DILWORTH, THOMAS

New Guide to the English Tongue . . . in five parts . . .

London: Henry Kent, 1740; etc. Edited by Scholar Press no. 4; 12°

lib.: (1751) *BL

- note: 1. used in EVANS 1747 (see Appendix 1a above);
2. see Alston 1967 vol. IV; Michael 1987.

1756 PEYTON, V.J.

Les Vrais Principes De La Langue Angloise: Où se trouve développé Tout ce qui est nécessaire aux Etrangers Pour apprendre facilement A Parler, Lire, et Ecrire L'Anglois . . .

Londres: J.Nourse, 1756

lib.: (1756) Troyes Bibl. Nat.

- note: 1. used in PEYTON 1764 (see Appendix 1a above).

1762 BERRY, THOMAS

Vraie Méthode pour apprendre facilement à parler, à lire et à écrire l'Anglois; . . .

Paris: Augustin-Martin Lottin, 1762; etc.

lib.: (1762) BL,*UBGt

- note: 1. used in POCKET DICTIONARY 1793b (see Appendix 1a above);
2. see Alston 1967.

1783 MEIDINGER, JOHANN VALENTIN (1756 - 1822)

Kurzgefasste und sehr deutliche praktische französische Grammatik, wodurch man die Sprache auf eine ganz neue und sehr leichte Art in kurzer Zeit gründlich erlernen kann

Frankfurt am Main, 1783

lib.: BL (1795)

- note: 1. for a discussion of content and merit see e.g. Kuiper 1961:73-118 and Junker 1904.

This survey shows all the titles of Appendix 1a followed by

- 1 the sections contained in them (columns 3-12).
- 2 a tentative list of primary sources from which material was borrowed into them (column 13), no attempt has been made to specify these borrowings e.g. by page references, as this would confuse the survey beyond reason. For examples of the complicated nature of this matter the reader is referred to the sections b ('sources) in Ch 6 2 - 6 5.
- 3 a tentative list with my own comments and with references to secondary sources to be consulted for further information (column 14)

year	author/short title	p e c e	r n	g m	a s	d l	t s	v i	e e	o x	d c	i d	n	borrowed from	references/comments
1530	TABLE MANNERS				x										Kronenberg 1930
1540	SEPTEM LINGUARUM				x					x				e German-Italian original	Bart-Rossebastiano 1984,
1576	BERLAIMONT	x	(x)	x		x	x			x				Hoffmann von Fallersleben, educ tracts, Vocabulaire pour apprendre Romain et Fleming	pron not for English, cf Ch 6 2 Verdeyen 1926,
1577	JUNIUS	x								x	x	x			
1580	CALEPINUS									x					in alphabetical order, Labarre 1975,
1586	MEURIER/BASSON	x		x										Meurier 1558	Dibbets 1969 and 1970a,
1586	WALRAVEN/WRETSTONE	x	x									x		Whetstone, The Honourable Reputation (1585)	for possible sources of pron guide see Barnouw 1935,
1639	VOCABULER				x	x	x			x				BERLAIMONT 1576	
1646	SCHOLE-MASTER	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				grammar Lily 1540, Butler 1633, S Daine Orthoepie Anglicana 1640 (?), other BERLAIMONT 1576 / VOCABULER 1639	Scheurweghs 1961, Dobson 1968, vol I p 379, cf Ch 6 2,
1647/8	HEXHAM	x		x								x		grammar Van Heule 1633, Dafforne 1627	Leroux & Scheurweghs 1962, Dibbets 1970b, Gledhill 1976, Osselton 1973,
														dict 1st ed Rider-Holyoke 1640 (En-Lat). Mellema 1636 (Du-Fr). 2nd ed Wase 1662 (En-Lat), Gouldman 1664 (En-Lat), Van den Ende 1663 (Du-Fr)	
1661	BEYER	x	x	x	x	x				x				dialogues Mauger 1653, Dutch grammar Van Heule 1633, Dafforne 1627	Gledhill 1976,

<u>year</u>	<u>author/short title</u>	<u>p</u> <u>r</u> <u>e</u> <u>f</u>	<u>p</u> <u>r</u> <u>o</u> <u>n</u>	<u>g</u> <u>r</u> <u>a</u> <u>m</u>	<u>p</u> <u>h</u> <u>r</u> <u>a</u>	<u>d</u> <u>i</u> <u>a</u> <u>l</u>	<u>l</u> <u>e</u> <u>t</u>	<u>t</u> <u>e</u> <u>x</u> <u>t</u>	<u>v</u> <u>o</u> <u>c</u>	<u>d</u> <u>i</u> <u>c</u> <u>t</u>	<u>i</u> <u>n</u> <u>d</u> <u>x</u>	<u>borrowed from</u>	<u>references/comments</u>
1662	BEYER	x			x	x		x				---	---
1664	HILLENIUS	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			grammar Van Heule 1633, other SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, BERLAIMONT 1576	Vorlat 1969, ---
1673	PIELAT	x			x							---	---
1675a	HELDEREN (textbook)	x		x	x	x			x			Festeau 1672	---
1675b	HELDEREN (dictionary)	x	x						x			pron + nomenclator Festeau 1672, HEXHAM 1647/8 Strong England's Perfect school- master, Coles English-Latin Dictionary	ordered by number of syllables Dobson 1968, vol I p 413, ---
1677	RICHARDSON	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			grammar Wallis 1653 Wilkins 1668 Vossius 1636, HILLENIUS 1664, HELDEREN 1675b, HEXHAM 1647/8, ed 1675, other SCHOLE-MASTER 1646, HILLENIUS 1664, HELDEREN 1675a, HEXHAM 1647/8, ed 1675 eds 1689/1698 Mauger/Festeau 1672 for dia- logues	Smith 1989, Geldhill 1976 14, note 18, Dobson 1968, vol I p 382ff, cf my Ch 6 4, used as a source by the German H Offelen, ---
1691	SEWEL (dictionary)	x	x	(x)						x		Coles 1679 (En-Lat), Robertson 1681 (En-Lat), Phillips 1670 (En), Van den Ende 1681 (Du-Fr) Winchooten 1681 (du) on genders G Brandt (cf Sewal <i>Nederduyt sche Spraakonst</i> , ed 1712, Voorreede p 6)	Osselton 1973 grammar in all editions from 1708 onwards, and in some 1691 editions (cf Smith 1989) for eds 1708 ff Osselton 1973 Lowisch 1889 8 ---
1705	SEWEL (textbook)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			grammar his own in Dictionary, practice material RICHARDSON 1677 ed 1689	Smith 1987 and 1989, used as a source by the German M Kramer ---
1735a	PELL (textbook)	x	(x)	(x)		x			x			Miege 1718 SEWEL 1705	pron and grammar are mainly for French only Lowisch 1889 17/8 ---
1735b	PELL (vocabulary)	x							x	x		SEWEL 1705, Miège 1718, RICHARDSON 1677	---
1738	BOMMENAER	x	x							x		mentions SEWEL (dict) HILLENIUS 1664 ed 1671 HELDEREN 1675b also Dyche 1707 (?)	---
c1742	ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			grammar/dialogues SEWEL 1705, Festeau?, nouns Boyer/Miège 1718	---
c1742	VOCABULARY	x	x			x				x		PELL 1735, RICHARDSON 1677	---
1747	EVANS (spelling book)	x	x	(x)				(x)				Dyche 1707 grammar Dilworth 1740	grammar omitted in eds from 1778, when texts were added, ---
1752	SMITH	x	x	x	x	x	x*		x			preface HEXHAM 1647 ed 1762, EVANS 1747, grammar SEWEL 1705 practice material Boyer/Miège 1718 PELL 1735, RICHARDSON 1677, EVANS 1747	* commercial letters in eds from 1758 onwards, perso- nal letters in all eds , see Ch 6 5, ---

year	author/short title	p r e f	p r o n	g r a m	p h r a l	d i c t i o n a r y	t e x t	v o c a b u l a r y	d i c t i o n a r y	borrowed from	references/comments
1757	EVANS	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	Boyer/Miège 1718, SMITH 1752, an English source	
c1763	WILDEMAN							x			
1764	PEYTON	x	x	x	x	x			x	PEYTON 1756, Miège 1718, Festeau 1672	Löwisch 1809 19,
1766	BUYS	x	x	x					x	SEWEL (dict), Boyer 1764 (En-Fr), Littleton 1735 (En-Lat), Marin 1752 (Du-Fr), Halma 1758 (du-Fr)	Osselton 1973,
1780	HOLTROP (textbook)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	spelling Sam Johnson's dictionary 1755, other Boyer/Miège 1718 (dial), SMITH 1752 Peyton 1764	
before 1788	HOLTROP						x				
1789 + 1801	HOLTROP (dictionaries)	x							x	BUYS 1766 (En-Du/Du-En), Johnson 1786 (En) 1736, 1783 (En), Marin 1787 (Du-Fr)	Osselton 1973
1793a	POCKET DICTIONARY (Du/En/Fr)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	preface ENGELSCHEN GRAMMATICA c1742, ed Ghent. Part II Holtrop 1780, Part III Sewel 1705	
1793b	POCKET DICTIONARY (En/Du/Fr)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Part I VOCABULARY 1742 Part II HOLTROP 1780, Part III Berry 1762	
1793	FENNING	x	x	x			x	x			Dyche 1707,
1794	BEMMELEN	x						x		an English source	
1795	JANSON	(x)							x	BUYS 1766	dict is pocket dictionary,
1797	ENSELL	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	HOLTROP 1791 (homophones), partly on J Priestley's <i>The Rudiments of English Grammar</i> (first ed 1762)	
1798	WILCOCKE	x							x	BUYS 1766 Entick 1796 (En), Sheridan 1797 (En), Barclay 1792 (En), Johnson 1797 (En), Meijer 1745 (Du) Binnart-De Wilde 1744 (Du-Lat), Marin 1773 (Du-Fr)	Osselton 1973, dict is pocket dictionary,
1798	THOMAS	x			x		x			BEMMELEN 1794 (texts)	
1803	PERREIN					x					
1803	DIALOGUES					x					
c1804	Rudiments	x					x		x	HOLTROP 1780	

APPENDIX 5 **TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AND THEIR 'SCHOOLS' (for native speakers and others) IN THE LOW DUTCH AREA BEFORE 1800**

The list below contains the names of all the schoolmasters who are known to have taught English in the Low Dutch area in the period before 1800. Some of them were appointed to teach the children of English parents, e.g. in schools attached to the English churches in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, but Dutch children may also have attended these schools particularly in the eighteenth century. Names of schools have been added wherever appropriate, even though in some cases their teaching staff cannot be specified. Biographical notes for all teachers, except those marked with #, have been provided in Chapter 4. Square brackets are used to indicate 'schools' with an uncertain attendance of speakers of Low Dutch; round brackets indicate source references.

c1551 #HENDRIK LEUNIS - Antwerp
(Groote 1967:278).

c1570 #FRANÇOIS FLORY - Antwerp
(Groote 1967:254).

[± 1570 GABRIEL MEURIER - Antwerp
wrote language learning material for French and English, probably for English speakers to learn French; may have taught some English (also to speakers of Low Dutch?).]

1586 THOMAS BASSON - Leyden
authorised to teach English by the Leyden authorities. He is included here as a worthy representative of all the nameless private tutors.
(Van Dorsten 1961:15).

1592 #GILLES van BREEN - Harderwijk
moved to Hasselt in 1603.
(Op 't Hof 1987:411).

1593-1773 Colleges of English Jesuits - St Omer (1593-1762) and Bruges (1762-1773) (and at Douai from 1568).
(Holt 1979).

[1608-1651 School of the English reformed church - Amsterdam
THOMAS GOLDSTREY (1608/9)
JOHN GREEN (1624? - ?)
THOMAS ALLEN (1630s - 1651)
(Carter 1964:125-137).

There was a hospital attached to this Church. The fathers were expected 'to teach the children to write, to read and the grounds of religion'. Some names:

#Robert Bradshaw (1652)

#Charles Pinkney (1654)

#Robert Craske (1656)

#T. Ivy (1665)

#Jan van der Brugge (1670).

(*Municipal Archives* Amsterdam, nr. 318 306 p.67)].

[1609-1631 #MARY WARD's Day and Boarding-school - St Omer.
(Norman 1983)]

c1615-1620 WILLIAM BREWSTER - Leyden
(Arber 1897).

- [1620s **RICHARD DAFFORNE** - teacher in Amsterdam wrote a Dutch grammar in 1627 (cf. Appendix 3); calls himself 'teacher of English and Dutch in London' in a publication of 1640 (ibid.), but may have been engaged in similar activities in his Dutch period].
- [1626-1973 Boarding-school for English girls - English Convent at Bruges. (Daumont 1935)]
- 1637- ? School where **FRANÇOIS HILLENUS** was licensed to teach - Rotterdam ('Voorwoord' in **HILLENUS** 1664).
- c1646 The 'English Schole-master' - Amsterdam (preface of **SCHOLE-MASTER** 1646).
- 1654-1797? Illustere School - Dordrecht
LAMBERTUS SYLVIUS / van den **BOS(CH)** (1654-1671) assistant headmaster, well versed in Spanish, English and French
 #**MAURICE RICHIE, M.A** (? -1797)
 was minister at the English Church in Dordrecht from 3 September 1797-1801; died in Rotterdam on 15 October 1801. (Schotel 1857:98-105 and 189, Osselton 1973:29/30; Van Dalen 1932, vol. II).
- ± 1660 **WILLEM BEYER** - Mijnsheerenland van Moerkerken teacher of French, Dutch, English etc. (1630s? - 1667). (cf. biography Beyer in Ch. 4).
- 1662 #**DANIEL FENTREI** - Amemuiden taught French, English and German; came from Vlissingen, where he apparently held a similar position. (Riemsens 1919:110 note 4).
- c1675 **JAN GOSENS van HELDEREN** - Amsterdam teacher of spelling, Dutch and English. (Hoftijzer 1987)
- 1676- ? Scottish School - Rotterdam
 #**GILBERT DUFFIR** of Aberdeen (1676-1680)
 #**GAWIN BLAIR** of Borrowstounness (1680-1686)
 #**GEORGE RENNIE, M.A** of Borrowstounness (1692-1697)
 #**ALEXANDER JOHNSON** (1698-1708)
 #**THOMAS WILSON** of Carnden (1708-1752)
 #**WILLIAM BRIDGES**, 'for the advanced boys'
 #**WILLIAM MITCHELL, M.A.** (1752-1753?)
 #**WILLIAM MURRAY** (1753-1754)
EDWARD EVANS (23/04/1755-1789)
 #**ROBERT SCHULTZE** (1827- ?). (Steven 1832:348-350)
- 1681 **BARTHELEMY PIELAT** - Amsterdam calls himself a teacher of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Dutch and English as well as rhetoric, philosophy, theology and medicine, on the title page of the second edition of his *L'Anti-Grammaire* 1681 (first published in 1673).
- 1687- ? Leyden University
 #**LUCAS PASLEDOIT** for French and English (25/09/1687), 'gratis inscriptus'
 #**EDMUND QUARLES** for English (21/05/1688)
 #**JEAN OBLED** for French and English (10/03/1711)
 #**ETIENNE COUJET** who calls himself a teacher of French and English on the title page of his grammar of 1726
 #**PIETER BOYER** for English and French (30/04/1727)
 #**JOHANNES LAWFORDE** for Italian and English (01/03/1729)
 #**JOHN GREY** for English (09/09/1747)

#JOHN PEZE for English and French (05/06/1752)
 #WILLIAM WALKER for English (17/03/1753)
 #CHARLES CASTIGLIONE for Italian and English (05/11/1754)
 #GEORGIUS LUBECKEN for Dutch ('Germanicae') and English (18/04/1755)
 #ANTONIUS CRAVEAU for English and French (20/09/1755)
 #JOSEPH WOLFF CARPELES for English (01/05/1789)
 #JOHN MOESBY for English (25/09/1790).

Dates in brackets are dates of appointment. There are no references to English at other universities; even the teaching of French at Leyden was never a great thing in this period.

(*Album* 1875; also Riemens 1919:139 and 183-189).

1750 'Frans en Engels Kost-School' (for girls only?) in Wijnstraat Rotterdam opposite the 'Duyvel- of Draeybrug-Steeg' run by Miles Calis and Rabiét - advertised in local newspaper of 22.10.1750. Name of English master not specified. (Kipp *et al.* 1987:12).

c1750-1790 JAN HOLTROP (17? - 1792) - Dordrecht
 said to be 'onderwijzer in de Engelsche en andere talen' in Dordrecht.
 (cf biography Holtrop in Ch.4).

1752- ? School(s) in the city of Utrecht
 GEORGE SMITH (02/10/1752-1753, then in Woerden)
 #A. CERISIER (1775- ?)
 In 1799 this school is referred to as a French and English school in De Booy 1980:196.
 (De Booy 1980:220 note 28, see also *Utrechtse Courant* of 10/08/1770 for more names of teachers in private boarding-schools)

[1755 A list of schoolmasters and cantors includes the names of (without further specification):
 #Daniel Smith (English Church, Middelburg)
 #Pieter Cartier (English Church, Flushing)
 #David Crambie (Scots Church, Veere)
 (*MML*, Dec. 1755:288)].

1758 #JOSUA van ABRAHAM KEYSER - Maarsse, (9 June 1758 - ?)
 for Hebrew, Chaldean, Spanish, Portuguese and English.
 Could this be the school at the residence *De Sluisoord* near Maarsse in the province of Utrecht as described in Riemens 1919:195? There is a similar reference in Fortgens 1958:90 about a seminary called *Phulanropin* at Sluisoord in Maarsse founded by Johannes Godofredus Ernestus ab Schaumbur in 1782, eight boarders were instructed there in Latin, French, mathematics, history, geography and law (but not in English).
 (De Booy 1980:220 note 28).

1758 #JAN CAZELLES, junior - Middelburg
 reader in the Walloon Church, and French and English Boarding School Proprietor.
 (*MML*, July 1758:277).

1758 The French and Dutch Boarding School at Haastrecht, run by Willem Visser, offers English as an optional subject ('Men kan ook des begeerende, onderwys in de Engelsche Taal, en Tekenkonst bekomen').
 (*MML*, April 1758:179)

1770 Girls' school at the Wijnhaven Rotterdam run by #ELIZABETH WILLIAMS, successor of Miss Hammerton and Miss Landale - advertised in local newspaper of 05.04.1770 ' . . . presenteerde haar dienst aan Ouders en Voogden, om jonge Juffrouwen in de heele of halve Kost te nemen, dezelve in de Engelsche Taal te onderwyzen, en allerhande soorten van Engelsch Naaldwerk te leeren'
 (Kipp *et al.* 1987:13)

- c1775 #J-J GILBERT - Leyden?
 master of Latin, French, English and Low Dutch
 (title pages of P Marin *Nouvelle Methode*, eds 1775 and 1790 in *UBA, also Riemens 1919 229)
- c1775 A private boarding-school proprietor at The Hague, from whom Jan van Bemmelen learned his English
 (cf biography Van Bemmelen in Ch 4)
- before 1780 BALDWIN JANSON
 is said to be 'Professor Of Languages To Their Serene Highnesses The Prince And Princess Of Orange, And The Duchess Of York' on the title page of his *Grammar Of The Dutch Languages*, (1792), in the preface of this textbook he says about himself 'That I am qualified for the undertaking [i.e. his Dutch grammar], I appeal to the testimony of those several respectable pupils, whom, in the course of a twelve years residence in England, I have had the honor to instruct' He was of Dutch origin
 (cf his biography in Ch 4)
- 1780 College-Pensionnat - Bruges
 only for a few months, prefect Rev Fleming
 (Maréchal 1972 40/1)
- 1782 There is a reference to schools in the Dutch Republic where Latin, French, English and German were taught, although there were very few schools for English and German
 (*Verhandelingen* 1782 231-232)
- 1789 Jean-Salomon Fallenstein announces a new day / boarding-school in Amsterdam (?) for young people, where English will be taught by the side of many other subjects
 (Riemens 1919 195/6)
- c1789 There is a reference to some English masters at Antwerp in 1789 ('Enkele mesters gaven Latijn, Engelsch en Duitsch') in Van Laar 1872, vol 1 42, similarly to some English teaching, also in Antwerp, at the time of Napoleon I, in Sluys 1913 389-391
- c1792 There is a reference to some progress in French, English and German at the Latin School of Almelo 'Voorts gaven ook de overige Scholieren blyken van hunne vorderingen, in de Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche taalen, Geographie en Histone, onder welke voornamelyk de jongen Heer van Hamel, van Zutphen, uitmuntte, die dan ook door den Heer Rector, en wegens zyne vorderingen in de moderne Taalen, en wegens zyn deugdzaam gedrag en goede zeden, na verdienste geprezen wierd'
 (*Boekzaal*, August 1792 216-217)
 The Latin School at Almelo was in fact a combined Latin-French School set up to meet the demands of a new period (cf Frijhoff *et al* 1983 10, 34 note 43, see also C Eldernk, *Een Twentsch fabriqueur van de 18e eeuw, uit brieven en familie papieren samengesteld*, Hengelo 1977)
- end of C18 until 1808?
 JAN van BEMMELFN (1757 - 1808) - Leyden
 kept a boarding-school at Leyden, where he taught French, Dutch and possibly also English Wrote some translation books for ELL
 (cf his biography in Ch 3)
- 1796 A municipal commission at Elburg recommends the foundation of a 'Kunst- en Kostschool', where subjects like French, High German, Low Dutch, English, Latin, Greek etc were to be taught It is not clear whether English was in fact introduced here (or at the later *Instituut Van Kinsbergen*) at this early date
 (Bastiaanse *et al* 1985 331-335, also G Westernk *Instituut van Kinsbergen, In*

stituut van Opvoeding in Elburg, Zutphen 1976).

- c1797 G.ENSELL - Rotterdam
The preface of Ensell's *A Grammar of the English language* (1797) seems to suggest that the author had some teaching experience. He may have spent a good number of years in the Rotterdam area - cf the biographical notes in Ch. 4 and dialogues 4 and 5 in his textbook (pp 252-261), which are all about Rotterdam.
- [c1798 #THOMAS, B. - London
'Teacher of the Dutch and English Languages in London'.
(title page of THOMAS 1798)].
- c1799 French-English boarding-school - Arnhem
This expensive school, run by J.Brown, offered Latin as one of its subjects.
(*Algemeen Rijksarchief, Staatsbewind* 523).
- ? ? From the end of the sixteenth century the syllabuses at the *Rutteracademies* (Knight Academies) [from 1795: *Militaire Scholen* (Military Schools)] included subjects like horseriding, fencing, dancing, mathematics, fortification, languages, history and geography. It is not unlikely that English was one of the languages offered, in view of the strong military links between Britain and the Dutch Republic, cf. also the German *Rutterakademien* as described in Achle 1938. (Frñjhoff *et al.* 1983.115ff).
- ? ? There was 'a flourishing boarding-school' attached to the English church at the Hague in 1803, with the Rev. Thomas Prince, DD., as its conductor. (Steven 1832:311).
- 1806 #Mr COHEN - Amsterdam
private tutor, for some time Jan Pijnappel's teacher of English at ten 'stuver'per hour.
(De Booy 1978:329).
- 1811 In their report on state education in Holland the French inspectors Cuvier and Noel mention 'ces sortes d'écoles privées, soit françaises, anglaises, juives ou autres, désignées dans l'usage par les noms d'instituts, de pensionnats, ou par tel autre titre que ce soit...'. They counted 2 English boarding-schools for girls at the Hague and 3 English Schools at Rotterdam (excluding the Scottish School listed above).
(Cuvier & Noël 1811, also Frñjhoff *et al.* 1983 24-25).
- c1823 #A.STEVENSON - Dordrecht
'Mr. A Stevenson, who has resided several years at Dordrecht in the capacity of English teacher'.
(HOLTROP 1789, ed. 1823: preface p vi).

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Samenvatting

Om te leeren coopen ende vercoopen. Het onderwijs Engels in het Nederduitse taalgebied tussen 1500 en 1800, een kritisch overzicht.

In deze studie wordt een schets van het onderwijs Engels in het Nederduitse taalgebied vóór 1800 gegeven, waarin bibliografische, biografische, sociaal-culturele en vakdidactische aspecten aan de orde komen. De inhoud laat zich in vier stukken opdelen: een beschrijving van de randvoorwaarden voor dit onderwerp (Hfdst. 1-4); een centraal gedeelte, waarin het lesmateriaal van die tijd wordt geanalyseerd (Hfdst. 5 en 6); de conclusies (Hfdst. 7); vijf bijlages met titels en namen van personen die op het onderwerp van deze studie betrekking hebben.

De Hoofdstukken 1 en 2 bevatten een beschrijving van de aanleiding tot deze studie en van het kader waarbinnen zij is opgezet, mede aan de hand van titel en ondertitel. Daarna volgt in Hoofdstuk 3 een uitgebreide beschrijving van de culturele en didactische context waarin het onderwijs Engels plaatsvond. 'Context' is hier ruim opgevat: het vreemde-talenonderwijs in binnen- en buitenland ontwikkelde zich in nauwe onderlinge samenhang, waarbij met name het onderwijs Frans in de Nederlanden en in Engeland voor het onderwijs Engels van groot belang is geweest. De biografische gegevens in Hoofdstuk 4 dienen als bijlage bij het voorafgaande hoofdstuk te worden gelezen: zij helpen mede de context te bepalen door hun beschrijving van de persoonlijke geschiedenissen van zoveel uiteenlopende personen; tevens verschaffen zij de lezer een persoonlijk, en daardoor wellicht ook helder, beeld van de moeilijke omstandigheden waarin het onderwijs Engels in die tijd plaatsvond.

Het centrale gedeelte van de tekst bevat gedetailleerde analyses van het lesmateriaal Engels in het algemeen (Hfdst. 5) en van vier Engelse leer-

boeken in het bijzonder (Hfdst. 6). Deze analyses, bedoeld als kennismaking met vaak ongewoon leermateriaal, zijn geschreven na grondige lezing en herlezing van de primaire bronnen vermeld in de Bijlages 1-3. Zij zijn tevens exemplarisch bedoeld: de voorgestelde aanpak zou op vergelijkbare werken, en wellicht op historisch lesmateriaal in het algemeen, kunnen worden toegepast.

In Hoofdstuk 7 worden enkele conclusies getrokken naar aanleiding van de gegevens uit de voorafgaande zes hoofdstukken.

In de Bijlages 1-3 wordt een overzicht gegeven van alle primaire bronnen voor deze studie; het hoofddaccent ligt hierbij op Bijlage 1, waarin onder andere de volledige titels van al het tot nu bekende lesmateriaal Engels voor Nederlandssprekenden uit de periode van 1500 tot 1800 zijn opgenomen. Bijlage 4 bevat een overzicht van de boeken die, voor zover nu bekend, een rol hebben gespeeld bij het schrijven van de titels in Bijlage 1. Tenslotte zijn in Bijlage 5 de namen verzameld van alle taalmeesters en 'scholen' die, wederom voor zover bekend, betrokken zijn geweest bij het onderwijs Engels in het Nederduitse taalgebied tot 1800. Tezamen vormen deze bijlages het feitenmateriaal waarop de tekst in de voorafgaande zeven hoofdstukken berust.

Bij een studie als deze zijn een secundaire bibliografie en een index van groot belang. Ze zijn daarom met grote zorg samengesteld.

Curriculum vitae

Piet(er) Loonen werd geboren in het voormalige Nederlands Indië. Na repatriatie doorliep hij met wisselend succes verschillende vormen van opleiding en onderwijs maar alleen die voor het gymnasium- β diploma op regelmatige wijze. Tijdens zijn studie Engels (doctoraalexamen 1968 aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam) bracht hij één jaar in Engeland door, o.a. aan een kostschool te Old Windsor, Berks.. Van mei 1966 tot augustus 1971 was hij verbonden aan een aantal scholen voor voortgezet onderwijs. Daarna behaalde hij in 1972 met een beurs van de British Council een MA in Linguistics aan de Universiteit van Reading, Berks., waarna een benoeming volgde tot docent Engels aan de Nieuwe Lerarenopleiding Ubbo Emmius, toen nog onderwijs verzorgend in Groningen (vestigingsplaats) en Leeuwarden (administratief centrum). In die hoedanigheid was hij in de gelegenheid ruime ervaring op te doen met veel inhoudelijke en organisatorische aspecten van zijn vakgebied, waarbij zijn belangstelling zich gaandeweg ontwikkelde in de richting van de vakdidactiek. Hierbij werd hij onder andere gestuurd door zijn activiteiten binnen de Vereniging van Leraren in Levende Talen als achtereenvolgens sectieredacteur, sectiebestuurslid en lid van het dagelijks bestuur; ook zijn betrokkenheid bij het Leraren Informaticentrum te Groningen heeft in deze een belangrijke rol gespeeld. Sinds november 1987 is hij als universitair docent verbonden aan de vakgroep Engels van de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen, met speciale verantwoordelijkheid voor de 1e-graadslerarenopleiding. De afronding van deze disseratie is in niet geringe mate aan deze aanstelling te danken.

Stellingen bij het proefschrift van Drs. P.L.M. Loonen

'For to learne to buye and sell. Learning English in the Low Dutch area between 1500 and 1800. A critical survey'

te verdedigen aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Nijmegen
op 5 september 1990.

1. Engels wordt in hoge mate verworven **buiten** en geleerd **in** de scholen. Dit is altijd zo geweest *pace* Krashen.
2. Tijdgenoten berichten ons dat het onderwijs op de Latijnse Scholen vaak notoir slecht was. Toch is de (elitaire) Latijnse School, in tegenstelling tot bijvoorbeeld de Franse School, het best bestudeerde schooltype in Nederland. Hiermee zou de stelling kunnen worden onderschreven, dat wetenschapsbeoefening vaak een elitaire bezigheid is.
3. De zin 'Volgens sommige onderzoekers was tot de 18e of 19e eeuw onderwijs volgens de natuurmethode gebruikelijk' uit Sciarone 1988:15 is typerend voor de ongenueanceerde inhoud van het boek als geheel. Dit betekent nog niet dat deze titel nu al terecht voor f 4,90 in de ramsj ligt.
(A.G. Sciarone, *Met de mond vol tanden. Het failliet van het vreemde-talenonderwijs in Nederland*, Meppel/Amsterdam 1988)
4. In ons land dient het vreemde-talenonderwijs in de doeltaal plaats te vinden, al het andere onderwijs in het Nederlands.
5. De historische didactiek geniet in Nederland weinig aanzien, hetgeen onder meer komt doordat zij geacht wordt 'nergens bij te horen'. Binnen de Stichting Taalwetenschap dreigt zij nu ook haar bescheiden financieringsmogelijkheden te verliezen. Dan hoort zij echt nergens meer bij.
6. Dat Nederland tussen Duitsland en Engeland ligt blijkt onder andere uit de onzekerheid over de spelling van woorden als:
vreemde + talen + onderwijs
2e + fase + lerarenopleiding
leerstof + jaarklassen + systeem.
7. Bij het zingen van Barokmuziek hoeft het gebruik van de authentieke uitspraak niet te worden aangemoedigd.
8. Regelmatige beoefening van tenminste één buitensport bevordert de snelle voltooiing van een promotieonderzoek.

