

DR. JOHN KING (1614–1681)  
AND DR. ASSUERUS REGEMORTER (1615–1650)

BRETHREN IN THE DUTCH CHURCH AND IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE  
OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON, WITH ADDED REFERENCES TO OTHER  
“DUTCH” CONGREGANTS IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE,  
DR. BALDWIN HAMEY AND DR. GEORGE ENT

by

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This paper is principally concerned with the life and background of the hitherto obscure Dr. John King. However, in telling his story aspects of Dr. Assuerus Regemorter and, to a lesser extent, Dr. Baldwin Hamey and Dr. George Ent, inevitably appear. Between 1634 and 1648, all these men were admitted as Fellows to the Royal College of Physicians of London. During the same period as well, their names appeared on the membership lists of the Dutch Church in London, at Austin Friars. In the cases of both Dr. King and Dr. Regemorter this relationship to the Dutch Church and its community was both intimate and lifelong. Coincidentally, it was also during a similar period, 1634 to 1643, that the Dutch Church faced the greatest threat to its existence in all its 425-year history in England. As Dr. Johannes Lindeboom has written in his history of Austin Friars:

Never has the relationship of the foreigners to the State Church been more difficult and more in the nature of a rope that hurts through being drawn too tightly, than in the days of Archbishop Laud, during the reign of Charles I. The image of the too tightly drawn rope is actually too mild. The attitude of the State Church developed into an effort to strangle the life of the Community entirely, and thus to cause its eventual extinction.<sup>1</sup>

The details of this struggle can be found in a number of sources.<sup>2</sup> Its real significance was in firmly joining the interests of the Dutch Church with the Parliamentary opposition to the Laudian-Caroline State. The Long Parliament was, in every sense of the word, the saviour of the Dutch Church. In January 1643, parliament determined that both French and Dutch communities, “Shall have the Libertie and Exercise of their

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: history of the Dutch Reformed Church in London 1550–1950*, trans. by D. De Jongh, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1950, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Lindeboom, see the contemporary account by the Rev. Jean Bulteel, *Relation of the three foreign churches in Kent caused by the injunctions of W. Laud*, London, 1645. On the close relationship between puritanism and the foreign reformed churches, that contributed to Laud’s attack, there is Patrick Collinson, ‘The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign reformed churches in London’, *Proc. Huguenot Soc. Lond.*, 1958–1964, 20: 528–555.

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Religion and Discipline, as it is used beyond the Seas, in the Reformed Churches in several Nations, And as by Charter of King Edward the Sixth, they have enjoyed it in his Raigne, and since, in the severall Raignes of Queen Elizabeth, and King James; as likewise in the raigne of his Maiesty that now is.”<sup>3</sup>

As will soon become apparent, few men were more closely identified, in life and background, with the fortunes of the Dutch Church than Dr. John King or Dr. Assuerus Regemorter. In this light the election of Regemorter as a candidate in the College of Physicians on 22 December 1642 and King’s similar election exactly a year later on 22 December 1643, takes on added significance. Recently it has been suggested that the College consciously “played politics” in the election of candidates during the Cromwellian Protectorate in order to maintain the goodwill of the State.<sup>4</sup> This may also have been the case in the early stages of the English Civil War. The College’s full co-operation with parliament in 1643 and 1644 is a matter of record.<sup>5</sup> The question of whether this was a victory of expediency over principle is less easily resolved. Whatever their motivation, the admissions of Regemorter and King in 1642 and 1643 could only strengthen the credibility of the College’s loyalty to the newly-emergent power in England, the House of Commons.

I

Till now, the single printed account of the life of Dr. John King has been the brief biographical notice found in Munk’s *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*. It is therefore especially unfortunate that Munk should have confused the identity of Dr. King with another Dr. John King, also of London, who practised during the same period. It is both ironic and puzzling that R. W. Innes-Smith should have, without comment, referred the readers of his own *English-speaking students of medicine at the University of Leyden* to Munk’s account of King. Ironic, because it is among Innes-Smith’s own lists of names, dates of matriculation, and information about medical theses, that Munk’s mistake and its cause can first be perceived. Munk had in fact combined the lives of the two distinct and separate John Kings. Dr. John King, F.R.C.P. (1614–1681) was not, as Munk thought, “entered on the physic line at Leyden 16 February, 1629, aet 24”.<sup>6</sup> The matriculant in this case was Dr. John King (1604–1688), father of Sir John King, lawyer.<sup>7</sup> The rest of Munk’s notice is perfectly accurate, including the information relating to Dr. John King’s graduation from Leyden in 1638. In his more specialized lists Innes-Smith clearly separated the two John Kings. Dr. John King, F.R.C.P., had actually entered Leyden on the philosophy

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Lindeboom, op. cit., note 1 above, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> In Lindsay Sharp, ‘The Royal College of Physicians and interregnum politics’, *Med. Hist.*, 1975, 19: 107–128.

<sup>5</sup> The Annals of the Royal College of Physicians of London, typescript translation in the library of the College (hereinafter referred to as Annals), Book III, pp. 540–541, 550. I would like to thank Dr. Charles Newman, Mr. Leonard M. Payne, and Mr. Geoffrey Davenport for making the Annals and other materials in the College library available to me.

<sup>6</sup> William Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, London, Royal College of Physicians, 1878, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>7</sup> *Dictionary of national biography*.

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line on 23 December 1633, at the age of twenty.<sup>8</sup> Innes-Smith also provided valuable information from the title-page of Dr. King's medical theses of 1638, where "his name is given as 'Regius'".<sup>9</sup> Not provided by Innes-Smith is a crucial corroborative entry in the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians for 3 November 1642 which linked Dr. John Regius of Leyden with Dr. John King, F.R.C.P., of London. The entry referred to Dr. King's initial appearance before the College and read as follows:

John Regius alias King, [as appears from a statement of Dr. Hamey then carrying out the office of Registrar] visited us: he produced a diploma and also showed confirmation of the same at Oxford. Likewise he showed the theses by which he had defended at Leyden his doctorate by a grace; when he had shown these he asked to be examined. Due to the absence of Dr. Prujean one of the censors, it was postponed for another time.<sup>10</sup>

For some undiscovered reason, Innes-Smith did not call attention to Munk's error or pursue the implications of his correct identification of Dr. King. It is hoped that this paper will shed further light on that elusive personality, "John Regius alias King" and place him in his proper historical perspective.

John King was baptized in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars as "Joannes Regius", on 11 September 1614.<sup>11</sup> He was the son of Dr. Joannes Regius, a minister of that church, and his wife Joanne (née Jacobson). On his father's side the young Regius was descended from a family whose members had been pillars of the Dutch Church since at least 1569. His grandfather was the Rev. Jacobus Regius, who was a minister in the London Dutch Church from 1572 till his death in 1601. Four months after Joannes Regius's birth in 1614, another son was born to another minister of the Dutch congregation.<sup>12</sup> The child was baptized on 17 January 1615 as Assuerus Regemorter, after his paternal grandfather. His parents were Dr. Ambrosius Regemorter and Johanna (née de Fray).<sup>13</sup> Remarkably, like Joannes Regius, the young Assuerus Regemorter could boast of both a father and grandfather who had been ministers to the Dutch Church at Austin Friars. It was not the first, nor would it be the last time that the lives of the Regius and Regemorter families would appear to run on parallel paths. The destinies of both had been inextricably bound up with the welfare of the Dutch Reformed Church.

In 1573, another Joannes Regius (probably the great-grandfather of Dr. King and usually referred to as "Jan de Conink") collected with his fellow elders of the Dutch Church a total of £156 17s. 0d. in response to a plea from the Reformed Church at

<sup>8</sup> R. W. Innes-Smith, *English-speaking students of medicine at the University of Leyden*, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1932, p. 134. The age given is taken from the Leyden records. Actually, King was nineteen years and three months of age at the time of his matriculation.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Annals*, Bk. III, p. 535.

<sup>11</sup> W. J. C. Moens, *The marriage, baptismal and burial registers, 1571–1874, and monumental inscriptions of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, Lymington*, The publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1884, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> The London Dutch Church usually maintained three ministers, both for the large size of the congregation at Austin Friars and the often-recurring necessity of supplying experienced ministers at short notice to other Dutch reformed churches in England and on the continent.

<sup>13</sup> Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, pp. 42, 61. The Rev. Ambrose Regemorter was a native of Wesel, while his wife was from Antwerp.

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Antwerp, “their native country”.<sup>14</sup> Dr. John King’s grandfather, Jacobus Regius, was born at Courtrai in Flanders, in 1545.<sup>15</sup> By 1570, upon the conclusion of his theological studies at Geneva, Dr. Jacobus Regius had come to London. His immediate employment by the central Dutch Church of the capital suggests that like other members of both the Regius and Regemorter families (along with others of promising theological ability) the London community had subsidized his religious education. The following attestation of 24 September 1570 showed the Dutch Church realizing promptly the dividends on its investment:

The Ministers and Elders of the Dutch community at London, testify that Jacobus de Kueninck came with good testimonials from Geneva, where he had studied, to London and was by confession of the faith, incorporated into their community and has, since then, conducted himself as a Christian, exercising himself diligently into the word of the Lord. His doctrine, moreover, has been sufficiently examined and tried, as well in the Consistory before the Ministers and Elders, as by public preaching. Wherefore they declare that the said Jacobus is pure in doctrine, salutary in faith, and upright in his behaviour, and requests all believers, and especially the Brethren at Koventrai, who have invited and appointed him to the Ministry of the Word, to regard and receive him as such.<sup>16</sup>

This document is significant for being the sole evidence that a Dutch Reformed Church had ever existed at Coventry. It also illustrates something of the problem of diverse surname spellings that bedevils the historian of Dr. John King and his family. In 1572, Jacobus Regius was finally appointed a minister to the London Dutch Church.<sup>17</sup> Soon thereafter, in October 1574, a son Joannes was born to the young Flemish preacher. The services of the Rev. Jacobus Regius were sorely needed by the London Dutch community. Two of the ministers of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars had already been loaned to their mother churches in Flanders. The shuttling of ministers to and from the continent was a frequent practice among the Calvinist clergy. And finally, in 1577, as a result of the Pacification of Ghent and strong pressures from abroad, the Rev. Regius himself reluctantly returned to Flanders. For the next seven years, until the fall of Ghent to the “Spanish Fury” in 1584, Regius faithfully preached the Gospel, on behalf of the London Dutch Church, to the Protestant Reformed Church of Ghent.<sup>18</sup>

Once undertaken, Jacobus Regius’s enthusiasm for his mission never waned. He

<sup>14</sup> *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, ed. Joannes Henricus Hessels, Cambridge, 1889–1897, vol. 2, pp. 402, 437–440. Hereinafter referred to as *E.L.B.A.* Such pleas from distressed brethren abroad were frequent and the Dutch Church in London usually responded quickly and generously. In 1602, chiefly through the earnest entreaty of their minister, Assuerus Regemorter, the community contributed £310 19s. 3d. to the relief of the Reformed Church at Geneva. Moens, op. cit., note 11 above, p. xxvii.

<sup>15</sup> There are helpful accounts of the Rev. Jacobus Regius, Rev. Joannes Regius and Rev. Tobias Regius by A. A. van Schelven in volume 14 of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Leiden, 1911–1937, and slighter notices of the Revs. Assuerus and Ambrosius Regemorter in volume 5 of the same series (hereinafter referred to as *N.N.B.W.*). Understandably, the emphasis is on the families’ continental experiences, rather than in England.

<sup>16</sup> J. H. Hessels (ed), *Register of the attestations of certificates of Membership, confessions of guilt, certificates of marriages, betrothals, publications of banns, &c., &c. preserved in the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, 1568 to 1872*, London, David Nutt, 1892, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 2, p. 459 n. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Moens, op. cit., note 11 above, pp. xxv, 17.

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kept up a steady stream of correspondence to the Consistory of the London Church and especially to his fellow minister there, Gotfridus Wingius. To the Consistory he wrote glowingly on 30 August 1578, "You have no doubt, heard of the great progress of the Gospel in Flanders, especially round about Ghent, where popery has nearly been exterminated".<sup>19</sup> His fear of the Anabaptists ("who are everywhere"), demonstrated in the same letter, was as great as that of "popery". A recurrent theme in his writing is the need for more and experienced ministers in Flanders. As he wrote to Wingius in 1579, "If your church could send us some capable men. . . . Would that our fellow townsmen in London would help their church rather than accumulate wealth".<sup>20</sup> The fervour and idealism of the Regius family were never at a higher pitch than in the heart of Dr. King's grandfather. Living in the eye of the storm, the Rev. Jacobus Regius wrote feelingly of the last days of Protestant Belgium in 1583: "Everything is very dear here on account of the war and the desolation of the country; it is incredible how the people perish. The misery and poverty cannot humanly speaking, be remedied; may the lord have some day pity on our suffering, as human help is vain, nay damaging."<sup>21</sup>

## II

The experience of the Regemorter family in these dark days on the continent was not unlike that of Jacobus Regius. Assuerus Regemorter, the grandfather and namesake of the London physician, was born in Antwerp, probably around 1560. In May 1579, like Regius, he was entered on the theology line at Geneva, presumably with the backing of the London Dutch Community.<sup>22</sup> In 1581 he came to London to take up his duties as one of the new ministers at Austin Friars. Almost immediately, in 1582, his services were required by the Reformed Church in Antwerp.<sup>23</sup> Regemorter remained in Antwerp till its own fall to Parma in 1585, when he returned to London and to the shared ministerial responsibilities with Rev. Regius, who had returned from Ghent in the previous year. Some sense of the Reformation idealism that inspired the generation of Jacobus Regius and Assuerus Regemorter can be discerned in Regius's letter to Wingius of 11 July 1583; "What you write about me surprises me, as you allowed Daniel and Assuerus Regemortel, who were so devoted to you, to depart. If private affairs were to be regarded who would not willingly hasten away from troubles?"<sup>24</sup>

Jacobus Regius's son, Joannes, seemed to enjoy the blessings of leisure and study to a far greater extent than his father's evangelical generation. Born in London in 1574, he first appears as a student in Leyden on 16 November 1591. However, some time later, on 21 October 1595, he was entered on the theology line at Heidelberg.<sup>25</sup> On 13 December of that year he submitted his theses "De Persona Christi" to his professor

<sup>19</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 2, p. 625.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 636.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 740.

<sup>22</sup> Lindeboom, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> *N.N.B.W.*, vol. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 2, p. 754.

<sup>25</sup> *N.N.B.W.*, vol. 4. The coverage here of Joannes Regius' early life and education is confused. With some additional information from other sources, I have briefly tried to clarify this by my own simplified presentation.

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at Heidelberg, "Jacobus Kimedoncio". The forty-five theses were dedicated to Joannes Regius's patron, the staunch Calvinist Hadrian Saravia.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly they represented an orthodox statement of Calvinist doctrine against older heresies like Manichaeism and Nestorianism and more modern aberrations like those of the Anabaptists, or Michael Servetus. All the evidence, both here and elsewhere, points to the retention by both the Regius and Regemorter families of a completely orthodox theology in the face of the more liberal theological currents of the day, notably Socinianism and Arminianism. These modern currents were already beginning to sweep through Leyden by 1591 and it is not unlikely that Joannes Regius's removal to Heidelberg was in pursuit of a more congenial Calvinist atmosphere. Similarly in 1604, Ambrosius Regemorter, Assuerus's son, wrote his own Leyden theological theses under the direction of the great defender of Calvinist orthodoxy and foil to the Arminians, Franciscus Gomarus. Not surprisingly, Regemorter dedicated his efforts to the then ministers of the London Dutch community, Dr. Johannes Regius and Dr. Simeon Ruytink.<sup>27</sup> The defence of Calvinist orthodoxy was implicit in the life of Dr. John King's grandfather, the Rev. Jacobus Regius, who was admired by the great Gomarus himself. Between 1603 and 1605 Gomarus personally tutored Jacobus's son Tobias, in his house at Leyden. Since Tobias Regius's religious instruction was financed by the London Dutch Community, Gomarus kept Austin Friars abreast of his progress. On 3 September 1605, the professor happily reported: "Tobias Regius, your pupil, from whom you expect so much for your community, is following the footsteps of his late father in manners and diligence, and gives me no reasons for complaint."<sup>28</sup>

The Rev. Jacobus Regius's active, idealistic and productive life had ended in London in 1601. His son, Johannes Regius, after his student days at Heidelberg, had eventually secured his own congregation in 1597, the church of Biggekerke in Zeeland. Fate, however, seemed to have destined that he and his son-to-be, Dr. John King, should make London their home. The circumstances were thus explained by the Consistory of the London Dutch Church to the Classis of Zeeland, on 29 September 1601:

Our Minister Jacobus Regius died on the 1st of September, to the great sorrow and inconvenience of our Community, which is now provided with only one ordinary Minister. As our brother Joannes Regius came over lately here from Zeeland in hopes of finding his father still alive, and our Community are well pleased with his preaching, our three services have elected him as an ordinary Minister to the Community. He has promised to accept the service as soon as the Classis of Zeeland shall have provided with his present Community of Bekercke with another Minister. Wherefore we request you to do this as soon as possible.<sup>29</sup>

The "one ordinary Minister" referred to in the letter, had assisted in its composition and affixed his signature, "Assuerus van Regemortel".

The pastoral partnership between the Rev. Regemorter and his old colleague's son, Joannes Regius, did not last long. In 1603, it was the turn of "John Regius" and the Dutch Consistory sadly to report the passing of their beloved minister, Rev.

<sup>26</sup> Regius's published theses and dedication are in the British Museum. For Saravia, see the *Dictionary of national biography*.

<sup>27</sup> Ambrosius Regemorter's theses, "De Invocatione Sanctorum" (Leyden, 1604) with the dedication, can be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>28</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 3i, p. 1164.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1069.

Regemorter, in the plague. They wrote on 9 October 1603 to a prospective replacement, Daniel de Dieu: "You have no doubt already heard of the great loss and sorrow of our Community through the death of our brother Assuerus Regemorter, who for so many years has been a faithful diligent dispenser among us of the mysteries of salvation, irreproachable in life, amiable and benevolent to, and beloved by, every one."<sup>30</sup>

While three generations of Regiuses seemed to inspire respect and even, at times, admiration, the three Regemorters, Assuerus, Ambrose, and the physician Assuerus unflinchingly brought forth stronger feelings from all who knew them. On the occasion of the Rev. Ambrose Regemorter's own death in December 1639, Dr. Baldwin Hamey recalled the slender, gentle, fatherly figure who, since 1608, had guided the affairs of the foreign church into which Hamey himself had been born and raised.<sup>31</sup> Finally, on 31 October 1650, Dr. Hamey again, this time as Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians, paused in his duties to announce the passing of his colleague, Dr. Assuerus Regemorter: "On 29 November of the same year, we extolled Dr. Regemorter to whom, most zealous in every way for the continuance of the society, yet it first befell to break through (oh! sad) his swift death, the middle link in the new band of Fellows; he is, however, not forgotten among us, to whom he has bequeathed twenty pounds."<sup>32</sup> It was, above all, the earnest and genuine dedication of the Regemorters, whether to their flock at Austin Friars or to their Fellows at the Amen Corner, that had impressed men like Hamey.

### III

Compared to the uncertain existences of their fathers in the sixteenth century, the lives of the sons in the seventeenth century were relatively secure and peaceful. Joannes Regius was Minister of the Dutch Church, without interruption, for twenty-six years (1601–1627), while Ambrose Regemorter saw thirty-one years of continuous service (1608–1639). Under these circumstances the duties of the minister changed. The need now was as much for capable administrators of a well-settled congregation, as for the zealous reformers of the older generation. A recurrent problem was keeping the community supplied with not one, but three ministers. In 1622, Rev. Regius and the Consistory sought a replacement for their recently deceased preacher, Simeon Ruytinck. Their new minister had to have shrewd, secular abilities, as well as the customary spiritual qualifications: "We want a person who is not only able to preach, but to give good advice in difficult matters, especially when we have to deal with great men, or matters of heresy and false doctrine. We also require a person whose unblemishable life could be an example to others."<sup>33</sup>

An incident of 1604 illustrated the tact and caution that the Rev. Joannes Regius himself exercised in "difficult matters". A young Dutch minister to an English congregation "who, like many others" found it difficult to observe the anti-puritan ordinances

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

<sup>31</sup> Baldwin Hamey, jr., "Dor Worrell ad Sti Botolphi, Bishopsgate; et Ambrosius Regemorter ad Sti Augustini Breadstreet", *Bustorum aliquot Reliquiae ab Anno 1628, qui mihi primus fuit conducti, seorsim a Parentibus, non inauspicato hospitii.* (Royal College of Physicians MS. 149, [n.d.]).

<sup>32</sup> *Annals*, Book IV, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 3i, p. 1297.

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of the English bishops, had asked to be sheltered as a second minister within the Dutch Church at Norwich (where, of course, puritanical doctrine and discipline were the legally-sanctioned norms). Neither the church at Norwich nor at Austin Friars could find any vacancy for the young man in England. The Rev. Joannes Regius counselled discretion and conformity with the bishops in the interests of all the Dutch Churches, as he wrote to Norwich:

Moreover a case like this might cause great difficulties to our Churches, which are now in peace, as it would seem that we encouraged persons disobeying the Ordinances of the Bishops. It would, perhaps, be better to exhort him not to abandon his Congregation without grave reasons, but if he has such reasons for giving up his ministry among the English, and prefers serving in the Dutch Church, perhaps he could try to obtain a ministry in the Netherlands.<sup>34</sup>

Joannes Regius was especially concerned with maintaining a certain degree of uniformity within the Dutch churches of England. To do this he actively advocated regular Colloquies, or conferences, among them. As he and the London Consistory wrote to a provincial church in 1608, 'It is desirable for the ministers to meet occasionally for their own exercise and the strengthening of their mutual love'.<sup>35</sup> As always, there were constant appeals from sister churches abroad to the prosperous Dutch community of London. Regius and the church Consistory continued to meet their needs as far as possible, but with increasing reluctance. Enthusiasm for the universal Calvinist cause had waned considerably since the sixteenth century and Austin Friars, understandably, was growing weary: "We hope that our gift will not attract other churches, as our community which has lately shown its liberality in the restoration of our own Temple, is already burdened enough."<sup>36</sup>

Joannes Regius and Ambrosius Regemorter ministered to an age in which Calvinist orthodoxy was chiefly threatened by the more liberal "Arminian" theology, that had originally issued from the University of Leyden. Unlike the violent doctrinal dissension experienced by the reformed congregations of The Netherlands, the Dutch Church in London managed to maintain a solid phalanx of Calvinist unity and conservatism. In 1617 the Rev. Regius, with other representatives of the French and Dutch churches petitioned the Bishop of London, "As they were anxious about possible infection with the views held by the Arminians, by people coming from overseas: Could the Bishop give them some advice as to what should be done about such people?"<sup>37</sup> Regius and Regemorter were the spiritual leaders of an established and relatively comfortable community. The problems they faced and their responses to those problems were naturally different from those of their fathers. Doing a different kind of service, the records indicate that they performed their duties no less faithfully and conscientiously. On the domestic level, however, there were more similarities to the older generation.

Like his father, Dr. Joannes Regius married twice and produced a large family. Of eleven children born to him between 1604 and 1625, only four were alive at the time of

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1207.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1268.

<sup>37</sup> Lindeboom, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 54.

his own death in 1627. Dr. John King was Regius's first child by his second wife Johanna and the only one of their six children who survived infancy. The burials section of the parish register of St. Peter-the-Poore told a sad tale of the misfortunes that befell the family during the last years of the minister's life. At least five Regius ("King") children died between the years 1623 and 1625. The closeness of the deaths (in one case two children were buried on the same day, 20 August 1625) suggests that the plague, which decimated the Dutch community and caused the Rev. Regemorter's death in 1603, had again taken its toll in the second great outbreak of the century.<sup>38</sup> It may be more than coincidence, therefore, that both Assuerus Regemorter in 1635 and Joannes Regius (Dr. John King) in 1638 chose the subject of fevers for their Leyden medical theses. What went through the mind of the young Joannes Regius between the age of nine and eleven, as he witnessed the deaths of his little brothers and sisters, is a matter for speculation. What is certain is that, during these years, the Regius home in Austin Friars was converted into a house of illness and death, culminating in the death of the Rev. Regius himself, "after long suffering" from the stone, in January 1627.<sup>39</sup> It was perhaps during these unhappy years the *Dr. John King* was really born and not in 1614, as the parish registers testified. More than one doctor has been moulded from similar circumstances.

The younger Joannes Regius was the chief beneficiary of his father's will. His half-brothers, Petrus and Samuel, and half-sister, Hester, received smaller gifts of money and plate since they had already been provided for in the will of their late mother.<sup>40</sup> The Rev. "Johannes de Coninck" gave his son John "threescore pounds sterling" which had been bequeathed to him by his late uncle Jacob Jacobson, as well as fifty pounds sterling "for his whole paternal portion. . . and more two hundred and fiftie pounds sterling. . . for his motherly portion". The bequest was conditional on Dr. de Coninck's present wife, Johanna, bearing no further children to him. In this eventuality, however, the legacy was to be distributed between John and the additional children.<sup>41</sup>

It is probable that part, at least, of this inheritance went into Dr. John King's medical education at Leyden. Careful provision was made in Dr. de Coninck's will for the settling of his library, which appeared to have been sizeable for the day. His fellow ministers "Ambrosius Regemorterus and Mr. William Thilenus" were each given two books "at their choice". The Rev. Regius requested further that Regemorter and Thilenus should divide the rest of his books between his sons John and Samuel. Other bequests of note were: £10 to the poor of the Dutch Church; all the written sermons of his father (Jacobus Regius) to Dr. de Coninck's brother Tobias; and "an optick instrument" to his brother-in-law Rombout Jacobson, co-executor with Dr.

<sup>38</sup> St. Peter Le Poor, General Register 1561–1723 (Guildhall Library MS. 4093/1). Burials, and therefore burial registers, were not made in the Dutch Church till 1675. Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, p. vii.

<sup>39</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 3i, p. 1334.

<sup>40</sup> Johannes de Coninck, will proved 27 January 1626/7. (P.C.C. 4 Skyner).

<sup>41</sup> There may, in fact, have been a posthumous child to complicate Dr. John King's inheritance, at least temporarily. An entry in the Dutch baptismal register for 27 March 1626/7 (Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, p. 15) indicated a son "Joannes", born posthumously to one "Jan de Coninc" [*sic*]. I have been able to discover nothing further about this child, whether it was actually the son of Rev. Regius or whether it even survived infancy to delay Dr. John King's inheritance of the £310 provided by his father's will.

de Coninck's wife of the will. Witnesses and signatories to the will were the Rev. de Coninck's colleagues, Rev. Regemorter and Rev. Thilenus.

In choosing his career, King may well have followed the example set by the Rev. Regemorter's son, Assuerus, who on 4 October 1630, aged sixteen, matriculated on the theology line at Leyden. Ironically, King also matriculated *not* in medicine, as did most medical students, but in philosophy, a choice reflected in his final theses for the M.D. degree, "De essentia omnium Febrium". Matriculating in fields other than that in which they eventually received their degrees, as well as their lack of any previous university training, probably contributed to the unusually long period of five years, which both King and Regemorter spent at Leyden.<sup>43</sup> Most English-speaking medical students at Leyden, matriculating on the physick line, rarely studied for more than two or three years before receiving their medical degrees. Often, especially if they came with some medical background, experience or recommendations, they would write their theses and receive their degrees in the same year in which they had matriculated.

Why the younger Regemorter should have preceded King to Leyden by three years, may have been due to the death of Rev. Regius in 1627. Although not explicitly stated in the minister's will, there are indications that John King, then aged twelve, would have had to wait till he had come of age before receiving his inheritance. "Coming of age" in the seventeenth century usually meant the ages of eighteen or twenty-one. This circumstance, combined with the care of his mother who remained unmarried, and the possible complications in the will's execution by any posthumously born child, may account for Joannes Regius's ultimate matriculation at Leyden at the age of nineteen years and three months. Assuerus Regemorter was more fortunate. With a living father who was keenly solicitous for his education, he was enabled to matriculate at Leyden at sixteen. The Rev. Ambrose Regemorter had already provided his son with perhaps the best tutor in England in Thomas Farnaby and, not surprisingly, the names of both his father and his famous teacher appeared in Assuerus Regemorter's dedication to his theses in 1635. During the years 1633-1635, both Regius and Regemorter studied medicine at Leyden. It is not difficult to believe, with the proven closeness of their families and the similarities in age and interest, that the young men must have had occasional, if not regular, opportunities for mutual association.

The precocious Assuerus Regemorter, M.D. in hand, returned to London and his membership in the Dutch Church in 1635.<sup>43</sup> As always not far behind, came the older Joannes Regius, M.D., with a conventional attestation of probity from a Dutch minister at Leyden to the church at Austin Friars. Dated 15 July 1639, the attestation was accepted as sufficient qualification for Regius's renewed membership in the Dutch Church.<sup>44</sup> Unmarried, he probably returned to his widowed mother and the house in which he had grown up in Austin Friars.<sup>45</sup> Almost certainly beginning

<sup>43</sup> Innes-Smith, *op. cit.*, note 8 above, pp. 134, 191.

<sup>44</sup> London Dutch Church, General Register of Members 1550 to 1694 (Guildhall MS. 7403), p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Hessels, *op. cit.*, note 16 above, p. 45.

<sup>46</sup> The Rev. Joannes Regius, as well as other ministers of the Dutch Church, usually lived in houses in Austin Friars owned by their congregation. According to an Indenture of 18 August 1621, Regius and his family lived in such a house (Guildhall MS. 7418). The "widow of John de Coninck" is mentioned in a list of Dutch Church members, dated December 1638. *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 3ii, p. 1785 no. 279.

his medical practice among the Dutch community of London, Dr. King seems to have quickly realized that without an English medical degree his chances of being allowed by the Royal College of Physicians to practise in London would be all the more difficult. Incorporation of a foreign medical degree in either Oxford or Cambridge was, more properly, a conventional and relatively easy first step for those who aimed at membership in the Royal College. Dr. King once again had the example of Dr. Assuerus Regemorter to guide him. On 29 March 1636, Regemorter had incorporated at Oxford on his Leyden medical degree. On 14 January 1641, Dr. John King did the same.<sup>46</sup>

#### IV

The Dutch community in London to which Regemorter returned in 1635 and King in 1639, was engaged since 1634 in a death struggle with Archbishop Laud and the Church of England. Laud's desire for absolute uniformity of worship in the dominions of Charles I directly threatened every foreign reformed church in England, with their purer Calvinist forms of worship and church government. Generally tolerated since the early days of Elizabeth I, the French and Dutch communities of England were driven, in response to Laud, to calling a momentous synod which met in London on 15 February 1635. One of the moving forces in the meeting was Dr. Regemorter's father, the Rev. Ambrose Regemorter.<sup>47</sup> Neither petitions to the king, delegations to the privy council, nor influence with men in high places availed with the unyielding archbishop and his co-operative monarch. The dispute lingered on until 1643 and the Ordinance of the Long Parliament of that year which finally brought peace to the Dutch community. Along with Regius and Regemorter, the attack on the Dutch Church also involved two active members of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Dr. Baldwin Hamey, *jr.* (F.R.C.P. 1634), and Dr. George Ent (F.R.C.P. 1639). "Doct. Hamaeus, in Clements Lane" and "Doct. Ente, in S. Laurens churchjard" both appeared on the church membership lists drawn up by the Dutch minister, Timotheus van Vleteren, presumably on 30 January 1640.<sup>48</sup> The Rev. van Vleteren himself vigorously continued the struggle of the Rev. Regemorter against Archbishop Laud and his manuscript history of the dispute can now be found in the Guildhall Library, London.

On 5 July 1639, less than a fortnight after Dr. George Ent had been elected a Fellow, Dr. Assuerus Regemorter made his first appearance before the Ordinaria Comitia of the Censors at the Royal College of Physicians. As the Annals for that date indicated: "Dr. Lawrence, Dr. Kingston and Dr. Regimorter appeared and all asked to be examined by the Censors. They were refused because Dr. Wright one of the Censors was absent: they promised to return on the next Friday."<sup>49</sup> The following

<sup>46</sup> Munk, *op. cit.*, note 6 above, vol. 1, pp. 235, 246.

<sup>47</sup> Lindeboom, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 141. See also, *Les actes des colloques des églises françaises et des synodes des églises étrangères réfugiées en Angleterre 1581-1654*, Lymington, The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1890, vol. 2, pp. 68-71.

<sup>48</sup> *E.L.B.A.* vol. 3ii, pp. 2917-2919.

<sup>49</sup> Annals, Book 3, p. 492. Dr. Regemorter had made a premature appearance at the College on 25 June 1636, at which time he was told by President Foxe that he could not be examined by the

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week the College Registrar, Dr. Meverall, noted: "Dr. Regimorter, Doctor of Medicine of Leyden Holland and incorporated at Oxford on March 29, 1636, was examined for the first time."<sup>50</sup> Finally, on 20 September 1639, after having taken and passed the customary examination of the Censors for the third time, Dr. Regemorter "took the oath of fealty to the King and to the College and thus as a Licentiate he was admitted to the College by the President."<sup>51</sup>

Under the statutes of the Royal College of Physicians, no one but a native-born Britisher could be elected a Fellow. Dr. Baldwin Hamey, *sr.*, a well-educated, thoroughly-qualified Flemish physician could rise no higher than a licentiate within the College hierarchy. Traditionally, the College looked with suspicion on foreigners, and men like Hamey and the Huguenot, Theodore Diodati, earned with humiliation and harassment their right to practise medicine in London. The College's attitude towards foreigners was not uniformly antagonistic, but particular Fellows at particular times could be especially hostile, as in the following case on 17 February 1631: "Dr. Winston complained about the number of foreigners practising medicine here among us on which account he thought they ought to be suppressed by every means."<sup>52</sup> A list was then compiled of licensed and unlicensed foreigners. Dr. Regemorter and Dr. King were no less "foreigners" merely by virtue of having been born in England, although there the College made some distinction as the following note, also on 17 February 1631, made clear: "It was queried in the mean time as to what should be said of those foreigners who were born here." The fact that Regemorter and King were so closely and inescapably identified with the Dutch Church of London would probably, prior to the parliamentary era, have prejudiced their chances of obtaining the honour of a College Fellowship.

For three years Dr. Assuerus Regemorter was content to remain a licentiate of the College and pursue his London practice in relative obscurity. From 1639 to 1642 there is not even the slightest mention of him in the College Annals. Suddenly, on 30 September 1642, he reappeared before the Royal College's Ordinaria Maiora Comitata. On the eve of the Civil War and with London firmly in the grip of a parliament openly sympathetic with the foreign protestant churches, the time was propitious for the son of Rev. Regemorter to make his bid for the coveted Fellowship. Even at this time, so closely did the College identify Regemorter with the foreigners of London that they had asked him, almost without precedent, to bring proof of his English birth:

Dr. Regemorter presented to the college a statement confirming that he had been baptized in England, written in the following words. "These are to certify that upon search we finde in our churchbooke Assuerus son of Ambrose Regmorter [*sic*] baptized in our church the 17 of January 1615. Witnesse this 29 of September 1642

Cesar Calandrin

Minister of the Dutch Church in London.' <sup>53</sup>

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Censors till he had experienced at least four years of actual medical practice. Regemorter, who the Registrar carefully noted was only twenty-two years old at the time, followed this advice to the letter and made his first legitimate appearance before the Censors exactly four years and five months after the receipt of his Leyden doctorate. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, (12 July 1639), p. 493.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 497.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

*William Birken*

Close behind the intrepid Regemorter, on 3 November 1642, “John Regius alias King” made that initial appearance before the College to which reference has already been made (p. 278 above). Events now moved more quickly for the young physicians. On 1 December 1642, before the Censoria Comitia, “Dr. King was examined for the first time” and “Dr. Regemorter was proposed for a Candidate and was thereupon elected by a unanimous vote.”<sup>54</sup> The Censoria Comitia of 3 February 1643 presented a rare spectacle. It was now the Royal College that seemed to be on the defensive against the harassment of the “foreigners”, suddenly given new prestige through the alliance with the all-conquering parliament. The Annals took note of the change in mood:

Dr. King was examined for the third time. He was charged with harming the reputation of our College among foreigners. He denied that he had even as far as he remembered detracted from its credit in the slightest. If however anything had slipped out which could be twisted into such a meaning, he was grieved on that account and begged to be granted pardon by the College for the fault.<sup>55</sup>

This was to be the last note of discord in the relationship between the Royal College of Physicians and Dr. King, till his death in 1681. On 17 October 1643, Dr. Regemorter was proposed for election as a Fellow and “elected by all the votes of everyone.”<sup>56</sup> Finally, on 11 November 1643, Dr. Assuerus Regemorter was admitted a Fellow into the Royal College of Physicians and paid the fees due.<sup>57</sup> On 22 December 1643, Dr. John King was proposed by the President for election as a candidate and was “elected by a majority of the votes.”<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately for Dr. King, four other candidates, Doctors Goddard, Emily, Drake and Trench were elected before him and it would not be till 1648 that a vacancy would be open for King’s formal election as a Fellow. Nonetheless, like Regemorter, Dr. King had passed the major trials of the College by becoming a candidate and his final elevation was only a matter of time and the longevity of the current Fellows. On 5 January 1644, “Dr. Goddard and Dr. King solemnly promised that they would carry out all duties pertaining to the office of the Candidates.”<sup>59</sup>

With the passing of his third and final examination before the College Censors in February 1643, Dr. King could be assured of the unhindered practice of his profession in London for many years to come. He now began to turn his attention to other than medical preoccupations. On 6 April 1643, aged twenty-eight, Dr. “Joannes de Coninck” was married in the Dutch Church to Joanna Marolois, the widow of Jacob de Backer. On 13 December 1643, Dr. “de Coninck’s” was one of thirty-eight names placed in nomination for four deaconships in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars. Also nominated was Dr. Assuerus Regemorter. Once again, King was to finish behind his younger colleague, finding only five supporters on the first ballot while Regemorter gathered fourteen aye votes and eventual election as one of

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 535.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 536.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 544.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 546.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547.

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the deacons.<sup>59a</sup> As the son of a popular minister who had only recently died, and with the further distinction of a fellowship in a respected professional body, Regemorter perhaps had the advantage, but the pattern of superiority which he maintained over King (despite remarkable similarities in experience and background) may lie beyond the historian's analysis in the deeper recesses of character and intellect. From 1643, the details of Dr. Regemorter's distinguished career both in the College of Physicians and in the burgeoning world of science and medicine, can easily be found elsewhere.<sup>60</sup> The remainder of this paper, therefore, will concentrate more exclusively on the much less known, albeit less brilliant, figure of Dr. John King.

V

In 1643, Dr. King and his new wife took up residence in the parish of St. Olave's, Jewry, where he was promptly set down for a weekly poor rate assessment of 4*d.* (18*s.* 4*d.* yearly). The assessment allows some comparison of King's wealth with that of his fellow parishioners. Of seventy-one male householders assessed, only ten were assessed at rates as high or higher than King's.<sup>61</sup> On 8 April 1643, the parliamentary subsidy of eight-fifteenths amounted in King's case to four shillings. Of sixty-four households assessed, seventeen had assessments as high or higher than King. The highest assessment was that of Sir Richard Gurney whose eight-fifteenths came to £2 13*s.* 4*d.*<sup>62</sup> In 1644, Dr. King of "Coleman St., Lothbury" was assessed by the Parliamentary Committee for Advance of Money at £100. The assessment, like the poor rate and the subsidy, indicated a certain degree of comfort, but was understandably below that of older and better-established London physicians like Dr. John Clarke and Dr. Francis Prujean, each of whom was assessed at £250. The prince of English court physicians, the incalculably wealthy Dr. Mayerne, easily led his profession with an assessment of £1,000. Dr. King's assessment of 23 September 1644 was respited for a fortnight. In due course, on 2 October 1644, the committee was fully satisfied by the physician: "His assessment discharged for £51 1*s.* 2*d.* lent, being his proportion."<sup>63</sup> Dr. King, like most members of the Royal College of Physicians (whatever their private feelings), readily co-operated with the parliamentary rule in London. On 2 October 1643, "John King" publicly committed himself to the revolutionary cause by signing the "Solemn League and Covenant" in the Vestry Book of St. Olave's, Jewry. Other notable signers on that day included the primitive Communist, Gerrard Winstanley, and the Flemish merchant-partners, John Frederick and Peter Ent.<sup>64</sup>

Dr. King's domestic life kept pace with his professional progress. On 4 February 1644, Anna Regius, daughter of "Dr. Joannes Regius" was baptized in the Dutch

<sup>59a</sup> Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, pp. 99, 212. London Dutch Church, various papers (Guildhall MS. 7424, p. 65).

<sup>60</sup> *Dictionary of national biography*.

<sup>61</sup> St. Olave's, Jewry, Old Vestry Book 27 June 1574 to 22 September 1680 (Guildhall MS. 4415/1 p. 115).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>63</sup> *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, London, H.M.S.O., 1888, vol. 1, pp. 186, 240, 316.

<sup>64</sup> St. Olave's, Jewry, Old Vestry Book, p. 118.

Church at Austin Friars. It is perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings of first- and second-generation Englishmen like Dr. King, that on 10 February 1644 "Anne King daughter to John King by Joanne his wife" was also baptized in the parish church of St. Olave's, Jewry.<sup>65</sup> On 30 April 1644, Dr. King's signature appeared among those of the vestrymen of St. Olave's. He continued to attend vestry meetings regularly till 19 December 1647.<sup>66</sup> Concurrently, his presence on the parish assessment lists for both the poor and the scavengers (with his original rates of 1643) is continuous till 1648 when he disappeared entirely from the parish records. Among King's fellow-vestrymen in 1644 was the merchant, Peter Ent, probably a relative of Dr. George Ent. It is not unlikely that both vestrymen were present at one of the Royal College of Physicians' great social events for the year 1646. On 10 February of that year, in the church of St. Olave's, Jewry, Dr. Ent, the Flemish merchant's son, married Sarah Meverall, daughter of the President of the Royal College of Physicians, Dr. Othowell Meverall.<sup>67</sup> It must have been as proud a day for the "strangers'" sons Hamey, Regemorter and King, as it was for the families involved. That same year saw the birth of a second daughter to Dr. King, on 17 May. Like her sister Anne, Hester King had two separate baptisms. On the same day, 31 May, she was christened Hester King in St. Olave's, Jewry, and as "Hester de Connick" in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.<sup>68</sup>

1648 was a memorable year in the life of the thirty-four-year-old physician. On 27 April, substantially improving his showing of 1643 with eighteen ayes on the first ballot, Dr. "Johannes de Coninck" went on to be elected as one of the six new Deacons of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.<sup>69</sup> On 5 June of the same year, King's first son, John (who would one day become a professor of Gresham College and a Fellow of the Royal Society) was born. Baptized on 11 June at St. Olave's, Jewry, there is no similar record of a baptism at the Dutch Church, nor for the birth later of a younger brother, James. The baptisms of his daughters and not his sons in the Dutch Church was perhaps Dr. King's way of coping with the problems of assimilation into English society. His growing family and his new responsibilities at the Dutch Church probably forced King's removal back to a house in Austin Friars, where he is known to have been living in 1670.<sup>70</sup> However it was a later day in 1648, 9 August, that provided the crowning moment in Dr. King's professional life. On that day, before the *Extraordinaria Maiora Comitata* of the Royal College of Physicians: "Dr. King of London, was proposed by the President [Dr. Clarke] for election as a Fellow: thereupon he was elected by all the votes of everyone."<sup>71</sup> On 25 September 1648, the two Fellows of the Royal College, Dr. King and Dr. Regemorter, were back in the Dutch Church to resume their roles as fellow-deacons and members of the Dutch

<sup>65</sup> St. Olave's, Jewry, Parish Register (Guildhall MS. 4400/1, p. 145).

<sup>66</sup> St. Olave's, Jewry, Old Vestry Book, pp. 120–137.

<sup>67</sup> St. Olave's, Jewry, Parish Register, (Guildhall MS. 4400/1, p. 82).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148. Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> London Dutch Church, various papers relating to the London Dutch Church (Guildhall MS. 7424, p. 68).

<sup>70</sup> London Dutch Church, Deeds of the Dutch Church (Guildhall MS. 7418, indenture of 21 December 1670).

<sup>71</sup> *Annals*, Book 4, p. 8.

community. The occasion was a collection undertaken on behalf of the Dutch community of Colchester, suffering from the siege of the rebellious town by General Fairfax. Regemorter subscribed £4 and King £2.<sup>72</sup> The efforts of the doctors need not be seen as a political gesture. By making their contributions to a beleaguered sister church, King and Regemorter were doing no less than engaging in one of the traditional activities of the London Dutch Church, an activity sanctioned by the many similar collections in previous years.

As a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Dr. John King never approached the model of dedication that Dr. Regemorter had been from 1643 to his untimely death in 1650. Nonetheless, King managed to attend at least one College meeting a year, continuously from 1648 to 1674. Between 1675 and 1679 he was completely absent from the College records. However, he was still sufficiently respected in 1680 to be named to the important and honoured position of an Elect. In 1681, the year of his death from jaundice, neither his presence nor his passing is mentioned.<sup>73</sup>

Dr. King was always faithful in his responsibilities to the Royal College and his attendance was impeccable during the years for which he was elected a Censor, 1651, 1659, and 1661.<sup>74</sup> With his family's strong academic and scholarly background and, in particular, the omnipresence of books in his father's household, the College probably made a wise selection on 23 December 1650, when, as the Annals noted: "The charge of the library was handed over to Dr. Catcher and Dr. King."<sup>75</sup> On 1 June 1651, Dr. Catcher died, necessitating the College's action of 25 June 1651: "Dr. Ent was given charge of the library together with Dr. King."<sup>76</sup> The extent of the period during which Dr. King and the universally-learned Dr. Ent enjoyed this trust is not known. It probably lasted till 1654 when the new library donated by Dr. Harvey, and under the keepership of Dr. Merret, was finally opened to the members of the College. It was almost certainly for this occasion that Dr. King presented the College with a handsome gift of books, the four volumes of the *Historiae naturalis* (Frankfurt, 1650–1653) by the Polish physician, Joannes Jonstonus (1603–1675).<sup>77</sup> These books were among those saved by Dr. Merret from the Great Fire of 1666 and still reside, in excellent condition, in the library of the Royal College.<sup>78</sup>

From 1652 to 1659, King was an unsuccessful candidate for the eldership of the Dutch Church in five separate elections.<sup>79</sup> The elections themselves also illustrated

<sup>72</sup> E.L.B.A., vol. 3i, p. 2134.

<sup>73</sup> Munk, *op. cit.*, note 6 above, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>74</sup> In 1661, Dr. King served out the term of another Censor as the Annals (but not Munk) state on 1 March 1660/1: "Dr. Baber who argued the necessity of absence, requested and obtained a discharge from the office of Censor, and Dr. King was immediately chosen in his place." (Annals Book 4, p. 108).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37. Sir George Clark seems to have misunderstood the immediate reason for Ent's replacement of Catcher in his *History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964–5, vol. 1, p. 285.

<sup>77</sup> Charles Goodall, "A Collection of College Affairs" (Royal College of Physicians MS. 128), p. 130.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>79</sup> London Dutch Church, various papers (Guildhall MS. 7424, pp. 71–80). A number of these elections are identified in the Guildhall Library Catalogue of MSS as elections for the deaconship, but a check of Moens' lists of elders and deacons clearly matches the winners of the elections (in which

some of the various forms of King's name, by which he was known in the Dutch Community. In 1652 he was nominated as "Dr. de Conink"; in 1654 as "Dr. Coninck"; in 1655 as "Dr. de Koning"; in 1657 as "Dr. Joannes King"; and finally, in 1659 as "Dr. Johannes de Koning". Why King was so uniformly unsuccessful in these elections is a matter of speculation. Perhaps his years as a vestryman in St. Olave's, Jewry, the second baptisms of his daughters, or the seeming neglect of the baptisms of his sons in the Dutch Church, raised doubts about the genuineness of his commitment to the Church. Whether King himself maintained his membership in the Dutch Church during the Restoration, with all the penalties and hindrances which the Clarendon Code placed on non-conformity, is doubtful. Despite the baptism of a third daughter, Maria, in the Dutch Church on 1 July 1660, King does not appear on any of the church membership lists after that date.<sup>80</sup> Certainly, neither of his sons, John or James King, has left any evidence of a connexion with the London Dutch community. Indeed, it probably would have been impossible for John King to have been a member of the Dutch Church and still take his M.B. from Cambridge in 1670.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, although Dr. King probably died in a house in Austin Friars owned by the Dutch Church, his name cannot be found in their burial registers (kept after 1675), but rather in those of St. Peter-the-Poore, the parish in which Austin Friars was located. Neither did he leave any money to the Dutch Church or its poor, nor even mention the Church in his will of 1681. If King's interest in the church of his forefathers waned after 1660, he would not have been alone. A general lassitude in the period towards religious matters noticeably undermined attendance at the Dutch Church, and a doctor would have been particularly susceptible to secularization.<sup>82</sup> While King's connexion with the Dutch Church proper, in the Restoration, seems highly suspect, it is equally clear that he maintained strong relations with the London Dutch community outside church walls.

On 10 October 1665, a minister of the Dutch Church, Philippus op den Beke, wrote to the Dutch Consistory in London from Barnes in Surrey, in order to excuse his absence from the church services. The plague was raging in London and the minister feared for his health. He had company in Barnes. Sad to say, Dr. King may well have been one of those members of the Royal College who ignobly deserted the plague-ridden city at the time of the crisis. There is a gap in his attendance at College meetings from 26 June 1665 to 12 July 1666. Recalling the experience of the Regius family in the last great plague year of 1625 might make the modern reader more understanding of Dr. King's apparent flight. Conversely, however, his expertise on fevers would surely have made him more valuable in the capital than in the countryside, where the Rev. op den Beke's letter clearly placed him: "I now declare that,

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King was so unsuccessful) with the elders of the Dutch Church and *not* the deacons. Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, pp. 209–212.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42. See the membership lists in: Dutch Church, Austin Friars, Deacons Memoranda 1615–1741 (Guildhall MS. 7410). Since occasional conformity was often practised after 1660, it is still, of course, possible that Dr. King continued to attend Dutch Church services quietly and discreetly, although no evidence for this has yet been discovered.

<sup>81</sup> John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: from the earliest times to 1751*, Cambridge University Press, 1922.

<sup>82</sup> Lindeboom, *op. cit.*, note 1 above, p. 167.

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apart from the weakness in my head, which prevents me from rendering the services, which you expect from me, I was attacked, some days ago by a looseness which brought on a feverish distemper; which none of the doctors who are to be had here, and not even Dr. King, whose advice I asked, have as yet been able to remove.”<sup>83</sup> The Rev. op den Beke was himself a London neighbour of Dr. John King, in Austin Friars, at least by the year 1670. Other close neighbours were Samuel Biscop, another minister in the Dutch Church, and Gerard Van Heythuisen, a merchant and close friend of the physician, who was named by Dr. King as one of the executors of his will in 1681. Van Heythuisen had served for some years to 1670, as one of the merchant trustees of the church land on which he and King resided. He became an elder of the Dutch Church in 1662 and a deacon in 1692, and was buried in the north aisle of the church at Austin Friars, on 11 March 1693 aged seventy-five.<sup>84</sup>

Outside the Dutch community, in the last years of his life, King’s circle of friends included his older colleagues at the Royal College of Physicians: the President, Sir George Ent; Dr. Jonathan Goddard; Dr. Francis Glisson; and Dr. William Stanes. One of the main concerns of the College during these same years was the rebuilding of its house, that had been destroyed by fire in 1666. To this end, Dr. King subscribed £25 in September 1670. This was perhaps a little less than might have been expected from a senior member of the College. Sir George Ent had set a fine example with a total subscription of £170. Dr. Glisson was even more generous at £180, while Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir John Micklethwaite, Dr. Paget and Dr. Stanes had each offered £120, and Dr. Goddard a respectable £80.<sup>85</sup> It is likely, however, that Dr. King had been as liberal as his circumstances allowed. In his will, written in 1681, he referred to his “great losses by the fire and otherwaies”.<sup>86</sup> For their new house in Warwick Lane, the College of Physicians had commissioned the prodigious talents of Robert Hooke. For this purpose, Hooke was in frequent communication with the Fellows of the College who, in the interim, met wherever they could, usually at the house of their President, Sir George Ent. In his diary, Hooke recorded a number of conferences and social gatherings with the Fellows. Three of these occasions are of particular interest: Thursday, 26 June 1673. “Dind at Dr. Godderd with Sir G. Ent, Dr. Glisson, Whistler, Staines, King”; Friday, 8 August 1673. “Dind at Sir G. Ents with Drs. Glisson, Staines, Scarborough, Collins, Cox, Godderd, King, Messenger”; and Wednesday, 1 July 1674. “Dind at Dr. Godderds, with Sir G. Ent, Dr. Staines, Dr. King, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Cox”.<sup>87</sup> The “Dr. King” referred to by Hooke has been identified by the editors of his *Diary* with Sir Edmund King, who became an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College in 1677. It is, in fact, more probable that “Dr. King” was Dr. John King of London and Austin Friars. The years 1673 and 1674 were the last in which Dr. King is known to have been actively involved in the affairs of the College. On 10 July 1673, for instance, midway between Hooke’s dinners of 26 June

<sup>83</sup> *E.L.B.A.*, vol. 3ii, p. 2522.

<sup>84</sup> Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, p. 169.

<sup>85</sup> Goodall, *op. cit.*, note 77 above, pp. 149–156.

<sup>86</sup> John King, will 1681 (P.C.C. 166 North).

<sup>87</sup> Robert Hooke, *The diary of Robert Hooke 1672–1680*. Transcribed from the original in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London (Guildhall Library), ed. by Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, London, Taylor & Francis, 1935, pp. 48, 54, 110 & “King” in index.

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and 8 August, Dr. John King was present at the College's Comitia Majora Extraordinaria, at the house of Sir George Ent.<sup>88</sup> On 22 December 1674, Dr. King was appointed to a College delegation, along with Dr. Goddard and Dr. Whistler, sent to see the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Robert Visser,

To pray and as far as possible to beseech him together with those citizens in whose charge the matter lay that we should be granted the privileges of their city wall to the adornment of the College and of the city, and that we should have the right through him to eject the water dripping from the gutters and the kitchen waste into the public privy. [An apparent reference to the new College building at Warwick Lane.]<sup>89</sup>

There would have been no reason in 1673 and 1674 for Edmund King to have dined with the physicians Hooke mentioned, all of whom, like Dr. John King, were senior members of the Royal College of Physicians. Edmund King was neither a member of their society at that time, nor even mentioned in the College records till 16 January 1677, when his bid for a Honorary Fellowship was at first politely declined by President Ent and the Censors.<sup>90</sup> Until proven otherwise, the weight of the evidence would seem to identify Robert Hooke's "Dr. King" with Dr. John King and *not* Sir Edmund King.

On 3 March 1680, according to the College Annals: "The President, Dr. Ent, Knight, Dr. Coxe, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Scarborough and Dr. Witherley, the Elects met and, after the customary required examination, constituted Dr. King an Elect in place of Dr. Stanes, deceased."<sup>91</sup> It was a well-deserved final honour for King, who, if he had not been the most enthusiastic Fellow of the College, had yet, for over thirty years, faithfully and conscientiously carried out all the duties required of him. On 28 October 1681, Dr. John King died at his house in Austin Friars. He was buried in the parish church of St. Peter-the-Poore, where his father had been buried, on 3 November 1681.<sup>92</sup> For all his family's 110 years in England, the will that Dr. John King wrote on 4 October 1681 was as much the last request of a "Dutchman", as it was of an Englishman. To his eldest son John King "(who is now settled in Gresham College)" he gave "all my East Indian Actions in the Chambre of Amsterdam", £100 sterling, "and alsoe my Studie of Books". To his other son, James King "(who is now at Surat in the East Indies, and well settled there)" he left another £100.<sup>93</sup> The rest of the doctor's estate was to be divided between his surviving daughters, Hester King and Mary Philipps, wife of Richard Philipps. Special provision, however, had to be made for Hester in addition to her regular inheritance:

Whereas my said daughter Hester is verie weak impotent and infirme by reason of a melancholick Distemp[er] upon her, and thereby is disabled to helpe or mainteyne herself, Therefore for her competent maintenance during her naturall life I doe hereby give and bequeath unto my verie

<sup>88</sup> Annals, Book 4, p. 165.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>92</sup> Munk, *op. cit.*, note 6 above, p. 246. St. Peter Le Poor, General Register (Guildhall MS. 4093/1).

<sup>93</sup> John King, will 1681 (P.C.C. 166 North). A codicil to the will gave John and James King £106 apiece from a debt owed to Dr. King by "Edward Backwell, Esqr."

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good friend Mr. Gerard Vanheythusen and Mr. Daniell Demetrius of London Merchants the Summe of ffoure hundred pounds sterling, upon this spetiall Trust and confidence.<sup>94</sup>

Dr. King further enjoined his son-in-law, Richard Philipps, and his wife Mary, “desiring them both to be kinde and carefull of their Sister, and if she will, to let her cohabite with them on the allowance aforesaid”. Named as executors of the will were King’s friends, Vanheythusen and Demetrius.

Dr. John King was not a great man, as greatness is usually judged. Much of his life could be characterized as conventional, even dull. But for the historian, men like Dr. King are valuable. No less than the life of a Dr. Harvey, the lives of the Dr. Kings reflect their times. More than that, they *are* their times, against which the greater men are bound to perform their roles.

#### SUMMARY

The life and background of Dr. John King (1614–1681) are discussed. The career of King’s colleague, Dr. Assuerus Regemorter (1615–1650), was in many respects parallel. Both physicians were members of families prominent in the Dutch Reformed Church at Austin Friars, London, during a critical period in that church’s history. King and Regemorter both obtained their M.D. degrees at Leyden and incorporated the foreign degrees at Oxford. They were both eventually elected Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and were active in the affairs of the College. King was three times elected a Censor, and was for some years in charge of the College’s library. During the same period, two other members of the Dutch Community, Dr. Baldwin Hamey *jr.* and Dr. George Ent, were distinguished Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians.

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<sup>94</sup> Daniel Demetrius, like Gerard Van Heythusen, was an important member of the London Dutch Church, elected a deacon in 1661 and an elder in 1678. Moens, *op. cit.*, note 11 above, pp. 209, 212.