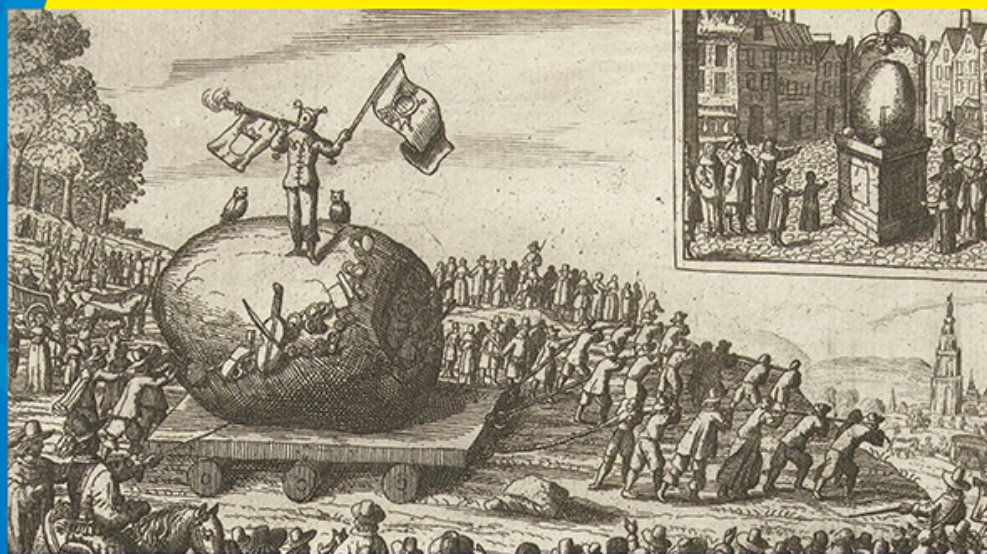


THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN ADVERTISING

Arthur der Weduwen
and Andrew Pettegree



The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 77

The Handpress World

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The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising

By

Arthur der Weduwen
Andrew Pettegree



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Cover illustration: Anonymous, *De Amersfoortse Steentrekking* (1661). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-76.762.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Weduwen, Arthur der, author. | Pettegree, Andrew, author.

Title: The Dutch republic and the birth of modern advertising / by Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2020] | Series: The handpress world ; volume 59 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019046037 (print) | LCCN 2019046038 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004413801 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004413818 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Advertising, Newspaper--Netherlands--History--17th century. | Netherlands--Social conditions--17th century.

Classification: LCC HF6105.N4 W43 2020 (print) | LCC HF6105.N4 (ebook) | DDC 659.13/20949209032--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019046037>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019046038>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-41380-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-41381-8 (e-book)

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Four or five columns of advertisements teach us more about morals and habits, of the material and intellectual state of a society, of its culture and its morality, than a large book may.

Arnhemsche Courant, 24 February 1864

It is my custom, in a dearth of news, to entertain my self with those collections of advertisements that appear at the end of all our publick prints. These I consider as accounts of news from the little world, in the same manner that the foregoing parts of the paper are from the great. ... I must confess, I have a certain weakness in my temper, that is often very much affected by these little domestick occurrences, and have frequently been caught with tears in my eyes over a melancholy advertisement.

But to consider this subject in its most ridiculous lights, advertisements are of great use to the vulgar: first of all, as they are instruments of ambition. A man that is by no means big enough for the *Gazette*, may easily creep into the advertisements ... A second use which this sort of writings have been turned to of late years, has been the management of controversy, insomuch that above half the advertisements one meets with now-a-days are purely polemical. ... The third and last use of these writings is, to inform the world where they may be furnished with almost every thing that is necessary for life.

JOSEPH ADDISON, *The Tatler*, no. 224, 14 September 1710

Contents

Preface	IX
List of Illustrations and Tables	XI
Terms of Use	XVI
Abbreviations of Newspapers	XVIII
1 Newspapers and the Birth of Advertising	1
2 Newspaper Advertising and the Book Industry	35
3 Profit and Opportunity, Networks and Risk	79
4 Commerce and Public Information	110
5 No Saints and Precious Few Heroes	153
6 Disaster and Recovery: Advertising in 1672 and the Williamite Republic	185
7 The Dutch Republic and the Future of Advertising, I: Home Thoughts	228
8 The Dutch Republic and the Future of Advertising, II: Beyond the Netherlands	259
Bibliography	291
Index	304

Preface

This book offers a comprehensive history of the beginnings of newspaper advertising in the seventeenth-century Dutch press. Dutch newspaper publishers were the first in Europe to embrace newspaper advertising and played a fundamental role in its development. The precociousness of Dutch newspaper publishers in pioneering this media transformation was recognised as early as the 1860s, when the Dutch historian W.P. Sautijn Kluit wrote a series of groundbreaking articles on the history of the Dutch press. The Swedish bibliographer Folke Dahl, who catalogued the unrivalled collection of Dutch newspapers in the Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm in the 1930s, also noted the interest of these advertisements. Successive historians of media have highlighted the value of these short advertisements for the insights that they present into the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, but more often than not, as happens with the history of advertising, they have focussed on the eclectic and the humorous. Specialists did produce surveys of newspaper advertisements in the fields of mapmaking and globes (P.C.J. van der Krogt) and medicine (D. Kranen), but a contextualised history of newspaper advertising never materialised.

This lacuna can, in part, be ascribed to the long absence of a general overview of Dutch newspaper publishing in the seventeenth century. It is also in this light that, in 2014, this present volume was first conceived, as a parallel project to the first bibliography of Dutch-language newspapers, 1618–1700. This bibliography appeared with Brill, also in its *Library of the Written Word* series, in 2017. While the bibliography of newspapers stretched until the end of the seventeenth century, we decided to limit the history of newspaper advertising to 1675, covering the first fifty-odd years of its development, concluding with the turbulence of the Year of Disaster (1672) and its aftermath. This scope provided us with a corpus of over 6,000 advertisements and announcements, which we planned to paraphrase into English, and annotate with a scholarly apparatus, multiple indices, and a short introduction to offer context for the user. The volume that is before you today began its life as the short introduction to this reference work, but evolved into a separate publication as we judged that the history of Dutch advertising should not be relegated solely to a brief overview.

The prehistory of this present book is important, because it explains the focus that we have placed on the first fifty years of newspaper advertising in the Dutch Republic. At the same time this book has given us the scope to survey the development, fascinations and peculiarities of early advertising in the breadth that it deserves. This book also allows us to compare the growth of

Dutch newspaper advertising with that of other countries, and chart to what extent the approach taken by Dutch publishers in the early seventeenth century set the tone for the remainder of the early modern period. These later developments are explored in chapters six, seven and eight of this book, while the first five chapters offer a thematic overview of the first half-century of advertising in the Dutch Republic itself.

Throughout this work we quote extensively from Dutch newspaper advertisements, which have all been paraphrased rather than translated directly. These paraphrased advertisements can be found also in the reference survey, published concurrently by Brill (also in *The Library of the Written Word* series) as *News, Business and Public Information. Advertisements and Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1675*. The interested reader may find many more examples, together with extensive indices, in that work.

Since 2014, we have enjoyed the opportunity to present our work on advertisements to attentive audiences on multiple occasions. We spoke on the history of newspaper advertising in St Andrews, Trondheim, Boston, Chicago and Amsterdam, and these presentations were transformed into separate articles in scholarly journals or edited volumes. We are thankful for the comments and feedback received from members of the audience and reviewers, which allowed us to refine our work considerably. Most recently we have been very lucky to attract two talented postgraduate students, James McCall and Jacob Baxter, who have turned to the history of early advertising for their research. We are grateful to both for their comments, and for the many fruitful discussions about newspaper advertising.

We received help from Robbe Devriese, Jan Hillgärtner, Ingrid Maier and Nina Lamal to chase down scans of early newspapers which were not easily available on *Delpher*, the online repository of Dutch newspapers hosted by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. Gary Schwartz kindly kept us on a straight path when we encountered painters and art auctions in the advertisements. During the final stages of this work, we also received generous advice and suggestions from Joop Koopmans, who read a draft of the entire work. Finally, we are especially grateful to Arjan van Dijk, our publisher at Brill, who first encouraged the idea of a survey of newspaper advertising in 2014, who tolerated the repeated changes to the scope of the work, and who has always provided such generous support for the *Library of the Written Word* series.

St Andrews, July 2019

Illustrations and Tables

Illustrations

- 1.1 *Advertisement for Sarum Pie printed by Wiliam Caxton* (c. 1477). Manchester, John Rylands Library: JRL 1409136 4
- 1.2 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, no. 50 (Amsterdam: Jan van Hilten, 13 December 1636). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 7
- 1.3 *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, no. 31 (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 5 March 1621). Erfgoed Bibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp 10
- 1.4 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 10 August 1624). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 11
- 1.5 Attestation and signature of Broer Jansz on a document delivered to the magistrates of Zutphen by one of their messengers (1643). Regionaal Archief, Zutphen 14
- 1.6 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*, no. 24 (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 13 June 1643). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 15
- 1.7 *Europische Courant*, no. 3 (Amsterdam: Mathijs van Meininga, 17 January 1645). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 19
- 1.8 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 49 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 4 December 1663). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 30
- 2.1 *Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 6 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 11 February 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 41
- 2.2 *'t Geestelijck Kruydt-Hofken* (Alkmaar: Jacob Pietersz Moerbeek, 1664). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam 44
- 2.3 *Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant*, no. 10 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 8 March 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 47
- 2.4 Charles Drelincourt, *Dry tractaten om zich te bereyden tot des Heeren avontmaal* (Amsterdam: Johannes van den Bergh, 1667). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam 49
- 2.5 Willem Claesz Heda, *Stilleven met vergulde bokaal* (1635). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-4830 53
- 2.6 Frans Greenwood, *Tamboer op een boerenkermis* (1733). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1937-780 59
- 2.7 Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae* (Leiden: Jacobus Hackius, 1683). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam 63
- 2.8 Hendrick Waningen, *'t Rechte Gebruyck van't Italiaens Boeck-Houden* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1680). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1880-A-4020 66

- 2.9 *Cort verhael, ende perfecte afbeeldinge der stad ende belegeringe van Breda* (Amsterdam: Claes Jansz Visscher, 1624). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-AO-16-110 73
- 3.1 Joan Blaeu, *Grooten atlas, oft wereltbeschryving* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1664). Leiden University Library 86
- 3.2 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, no. 41 (Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient, 11 October 1664). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 93
- 3.3 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren*, no. 7 (Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz Bouman, 15 February 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 98
- 3.4 *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum, D. Jacobi Verhage* (Leiden: Franciscus Hackius, 1645). Leiden University Library 104
- 3.5 Dirck de Bray, *Mannen in een boekenwinkel* (c. 1630-1678). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-T-1884-A-291 109
- 4.1 A broadsheet placard issued by the States of Utrecht on 1 February 1678. Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht 115
- 4.2 Esaias van de Velde, *Herstellen van de doorgebroken dijk bij Vianen* (1624). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-81.070A 118
- 4.3 Anonymous, after Jan van der Heyden, *Toepassing van de nieuwe brandspuitslangen* (1677-1699). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: 1699 RP-P-1910-3632 121
- 4.4 Caspar Luyken, *Bekendmaking van een nieuw soort watermolen* (c. 1691). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1896-A-19368-899 123
- 4.5 Reinier Nooms, *Trekschuit naar Haarlem* (1652-1654). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-20.550 125
- 4.6 *Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant*, no. 11 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 15 March 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 127
- 4.7 *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant*, no. 7 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 16 February 1664). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 130
- 4.8 *Paerde-Marckt, binnen de stadt Gouda* (Gouda: Cornelis Dyvoort, [1670]). Streekarchief Midden-Holland, Gouda 133
- 4.9 *Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant*, no. 43 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 23 October 1660). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 134
- 4.10 *De Amersfoortse Steentrekking* (1661). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-76.762 136
- 4.11 *Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 11 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 16 March 1660). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 141
- 4.12 Jan Havicksz Steen, *De kwakzalver* (1650-1660). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-387 145
- 4.13 Anonymous, after Abraham Bosse, *Gereformeerde school* (c. 1650). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-76.883 148

- 5.1 *Ordonnantie vande wees-kamer over Weesp ende Weesper-carspel* (Utrecht: Amelis van Paddenburgh, 1649). Regionaal Archief Vecht en Venen, Weesp 157
- 5.2 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Nachtelijke moord* (1648–1650). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-12.802 159
- 5.3 *Sententie, by den Raedt van State ghearresteert, tegens Johan Breugel* (The Hague: Hillebrant II van Wouw, 1668). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam 162
- 5.4 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 36 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 6 September 1664). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 165
- 5.5 Jan van Troyen, *Dame en haar dienstmeid, beiden gekleed volgens de mode van 1660* (c. 1660). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-2002-430 168
- 5.6 Nicolaas Verkolje, after Godfried Schalcken, *Vrouw voor een spiegel, bij kaarslicht* (c. 1700). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-17.584 172
- 5.7 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*, no. 43 (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 25 October 1643). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 174
- 5.8 Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, after Cornelis Dusart, *Omroeper* (1776–1777). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1944-36 181
- 6.1 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 28 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 12 July 1672). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 188
- 6.2 *Aanspraak aan de Bataviërs* (S.l.: s.n., 1672). Fagel Collection, Trinity College, Dublin 191
- 6.3 *Memorien, en Gedenk-Tekenen van den Fransen, Engelsen, Keulsen en Munstersen Oorlogh, tegen de Vereende Nederlanden in de Jaren 1672. en 1673 voorgevallen* (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz Doornick, 1673). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-77.336 195
- 6.4 Romeyn de Hooghe, *Spiegel der Fransse Tyranny, Gepleeght op de Hollandtsche Dorpen* (1673). Rijksmuseum: Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.183 197
- 6.5 *The West Indian House in Amsterdam* (c. 1663). Wikimedia Commons 202
- 6.6 *Placard published by the Marquis de Chamilly, French commander of Zwolle* (20 July 1672). Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Zwolle 205
- 6.7 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 36 (Haarlem: Abraham [=Gerard] Casteleyn, 4 September 1696). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm 215
- 6.8 *Opregte Leydse Woensdagse Courant* (Leiden: Jacob van Huysduynen, 13 June 1691). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 219

- 6.9 Pieter van Anraedt (ascribed to), *De Amsterdamse koopman Jeremias van Collen (1619–1707), zijn vrouw en hun twaalf kinderen (1655–1657)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-2416 222
- 6.10 *Loterye. Van yder lot elf stuyvers den inlegh. Voor de verbrande goederen en plaetsen, der armen en onvermogende, tot Grootebroeck (S.l.: .s.n., [1695])*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-76.976 224
- 7.1 Cornelis Dusart, *Boerenkermis (1680–1704)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-99 233
- 7.2 Johannes van Bevoort, *Advertisement for the services of doctor J.M.P. (1700)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1901-A-22233 235
- 7.3 *Notificatie van verkopinge tot Dalen (Zwolle: Gerrit Tydeman, 1698)*. Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Zwolle 238
- 7.4 *Ordre op de post-wagen te rijden van Groeningen over Hasselt en Campen op Amersfoort ende vice versa ([Kampen, s.n., 1665])*. Stadsarchief Kampen 239
- 7.5 *Een wonderlijcke ende van-selfs-loopende wagen te sien (c. 1600–1650)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-2006-262 241
- 7.6 *Uitnodiging voor de begrafenis van Michiel de Ruyter (1677)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: NG-29 242
- 7.7 *Printed tax form slips for the farmer of the tax on imported beer (Kampen, c. 1655)*. Stadsarchief Kampen 243
- 7.8 *'s Gravenhaegse Vrydagse Courant*, no. 71 (The Hague: Stephanus de Groot, 14 June 1765). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-84.600 250
- 7.9 *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyde ghewesten*, no. 12 (Bruges: Nicolaes Breyghel, 24 March 1637). Stadsbibliotheek Brugge 255
- 8.1 Romeyn de Hooghe, *Overwinning van Willem III aan de Boyne, 1690 (1691)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-68.281A 260
- 8.2 *The London Gazette*, no. 2021 (London: Thomas Newcomb, 2 April 1685). Private Collection Arthur der Weduwen 263
- 8.3 *Portrait of George Packwood (1796)*. Wellcome Collection, London 269
- 8.4 *Three eighteenth-century patent medicine bottles, including a bottle of Daffy's Elixir*. Wikimedia Commons 274
- 8.5 *Virginia Gazette*, no. 78 (26 July 1776). Private Collection Andrew Pettegree 278
- 8.6 Caspar Luyken, *Adreskaart van Abraham van Wylick (1706)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1896-A-19368-2441 284
- 8.7 *The Times* (London, 21 April 1926). Private Collection Andrew Pettegree 287

Tables

- 1.1 The rise of advertising in the two leading Amsterdam newspapers, the *Courante uyt Italien* (CID) and the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* (TVQ), excluding special issues and variants 20
- 1.2 Booksellers advertising in Amsterdam newspapers, 1636–1645 23
- 1.3 The Dutch book trade in relation to Amsterdam newspaper advertisements, 1636–1645 25
- 1.4 The number of booksellers and publishers advertising in the newspapers of Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz, 1636–1645 27
- 1.5 Comparison of the number of advertisements and announcements placed in the Amsterdam and Haarlem newspapers, 1656–1666, excluding variants and special issues 31
- 2.1 The language of publication of the books advertised in Dutch newspapers, 1620–1675, excluding book auction or sales catalogues 64
- 3.1 The number of book personnel advertisers and advertisements in Dutch newspapers, 1620–1675 82
- 3.2 The top ten book advertisers from Amsterdam, and the most prominent advertisers from the other significant publishing towns (Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) 85
- 3.3 The number of book auctions advertised in Dutch newspapers, 1638–1675, divided by town, compared to the known number of auctions held in those towns 99
- 3.4 The number of named distributors of auction catalogues, organised by town, 1644–1675 105
- 6.1 A statistical overview of the survival and loss of Dutch newspapers, and the number of advertisements and announcements placed 208
- 6.2 The number of advertisements and announcements found in the most prominent Dutch newspapers of the seventeenth century 209
- 7.1 The advertising revenue of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* for the years 1737–1743, in relation to the overall revenue and profit margins of the paper 251

Terms of Use

Throughout this work we quote extensively from Dutch newspaper advertisements, which have all been paraphrased from the original Dutch, French or Latin, rather than translated directly. These paraphrased advertisements can be found also in our reference survey, published concurrently by Brill (also in *The Library of the Written Word* series) as *News, Business and Public Information. Advertisements and Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1675*.

In paraphrasing, we have tried to maintain a sense of the unique style of the advertisements, which is often formulaic. This calls for a careful balance between interpretability and faithfulness to the source. We have tried to maintain as much as possible every detail of importance to the content of the notification, whilst presenting this in an accessible and standardised form for the modern reader. Our paraphrasing is more interpretative when advertisements or announcements are longer or more complex. While the advertisements found before 1650 tend to be relatively short, often no more than a couple of sentences, the announcements of the 1660s and 1670s are more verbose, and can take up a couple of paragraphs in the original Dutch. In these instances, we have sometimes shortened the text, or intervened more severely in the structure of the content.

Names of individuals are kept as given except when obvious misspellings or inconsistencies have slipped into the advertisements. There are many individuals who appear only once in the newspapers: victims, criminals, sellers and contacts for information, people who have otherwise disappeared from the historical record save for a single notice in a seventeenth-century newspaper. These individuals we have left as they are presented to us. On the other hand, we have standardised the names of prominent individuals, especially authors and political figures, for the convenience of the reader and the indices. In general, if a modern version of an individual's name is more common and acceptable, then we have adopted it. Place names are also standardised and modernised. Names of streets are kept in Dutch, but shop signs are translated into English.

The most common currency found in this volume is the Dutch gulden, provided here in its original Dutch rather than the English guilder. The gulden was the standard currency of the Dutch Republic, and it divided into twenty stuivers. Each stuiver divided into sixteen penningen, but one will not find many penningen in this volume, given their limited value. Most printed works, like newspapers, almanacs or short pamphlets, cost at least a stuiver, the same

price as a tankard of beer. Many of the books advertised in the newspapers would cost anywhere between five stuivers and a couple of gulden.

For many citizens in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, books and prints were affordable, but still considered purchases. The average household income around the middle of the century was 500 gulden, and the average daily wage of an artisan was around 20 stuivers, or a gulden. Browsing through the advertisements and announcements of the 1660s and 1670s, it becomes clear that the advertising public can generally be considered to have earned more than the average household income. Missing financial bonds are regularly worth more than 1,000 gulden, and rewards for the retrieval of lost goods run generally to between 25 and 200 gulden. Then again, some advertisers spoke only of a *drinkpenning*, a 'drinking-penny', possibly equivalent to the four stuivers which would have bought a pint of Bordeaux red in an Amsterdam tavern. Many other advertisers prefer to speak only of 'a good reward', which would allow for a relatively minimal sum to be paid out to the assiduous member of the public who returned a lost watch, child or pet.

Aside from gulden and stuivers, advertisements and announcements often speak of rijksdaalders, worth 2.5 gulden. Others mention ducats, which can be silver ducats, of similar value to the rijksdaalder, or gold ducats, worth five gulden. To make matters more complex, many citizens also used Flemish pounds, common in the Southern Netherlands and also in the Dutch province of Zeeland: this was worth six gulden. For scholars familiar with the currency of early modern England, they will find that in general, one English shilling was the equivalent of 10 stuivers, or half a gulden, so that there were two shillings to the gulden, and 10 gulden to the English pound.

During the seventeenth century, the provinces of the Dutch Republic adhered to two calendars: the Georgian (New Style) Calendar, and the Julian (Old Style) Calendar. Holland and Zeeland adopted the New Style in the 1580s, along with most Catholic countries in Europe, while the other five provinces (Gelderland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel and Groningen) maintained the Old Style until 1700. Throughout the seventeenth century the discrepancy between the two calendars was some ten days. Dutch citizens of the seventeenth century avoided the obvious complications of this dual dating system by using both dates: in the advertisements, especially those from the eastern provinces, dates are often provided as: '16/26 July'. We have maintained New Style dating throughout this work, unless otherwise stated as '(OS)'.

Dutch newspapers are cited throughout the footnotes of this work according to the abbreviations found below. Citations always start with the newspaper title, in abbreviated form, followed by the issue number (if available), and the date of publication.

Abbreviations of Newspapers

Full details of all newspapers can be found in Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2017). For the purpose of clarity, the tri-weekly *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* and *Amsterdamsche Courant* have been separated into their three respective constituent titles, because each part had its own numbering sequence throughout the year.

ADC	<i>Amsterdamse Dingsdaegse Courante</i> (Amsterdam: Matheus Cousaert and Johannes van Ravesteyn, 1670–1675)
ADOC	<i>Amsterdamse Donderdaegse Courante</i> (Amsterdam: Matheus Cousaert, Johannes van Ravesteyn, Otto Barentsz Smient and Casparus Commelijn, 1673–1675)
ASC	<i>Amsterdamse Saterdaegse Courante</i> (Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient and Casparus Commelijn, 1670–1675)
CID	<i>Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.</i> (Amsterdam: Caspar van Hilten, Jan van Hilten and Otto Barentsz Smient, 1618–1669)
EHD	<i>Extraordinaire Haerlemse Donderdaegse Courant</i> (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1667–1675)
EPT	<i>Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe</i> (Antwerp: Willem and Peter Verdussen, 1635–1675)
ODC	<i>Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante</i> (Amsterdam: Joost Broersz, Wille-mijntje Broersz and Johannes van Ravesteyn, 1638–1671)
OHD	<i>Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant</i> (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1658–1675)
OHS	<i>Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant</i> (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1659–1675)
OMWC	<i>Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante</i> (Amsterdam: François Lieshout and widow of François Lieshout, 1638–1669)
ORZP	<i>Oprechte Rotterdamse Zee-en Post-tijdingen</i> (Rotterdam: Joannes and Isaac Naeranus, 1666–1668)
TVQ	<i>Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren</i> (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz and Jan Jacobsz Bouman, 1618–1671)
UM	[<i>Utrecht</i>] <i>Mercurius</i> (Utrecht: Gerard Lodewijk van der Macht, 1658–1669)
WCE	<i>Weeckelijcke Courante van Europa</i> (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1656–1658)

Newspapers and the Birth of Advertising

It is little surprise that a society as innovative and commercially minded as the Dutch Republic should have been a pioneer in the development of advertising. Nor is it a surprise that the impact of these innovations should be most profoundly felt in the book industry. From the first experiment with moveable type in the fifteenth century, ensuring that the new printed books found their customers proved the most enduring barrier to profitability. When Johannes Gutenberg unveiled the first sheets of his printed Bible at the Frankfurt Book Fair of 1454, the printed pages were an immediate sensation. The Bible would be Gutenberg's crowning glory, but his last: he was soon driven out of business by his erstwhile partner, bankrupt and exhausted.¹

That, sadly, is the fate of many pioneers, forced to watch as a business-minded second generation exploit the fruits of their inventive genius. What, however, is less frequently remarked, is that many of this second generation of printers also lost money. Once Gutenberg's secret got out, the new technology spread rapidly. But the problems of print lay not with mastering the mechanical process but bringing the books to a customer base spread throughout Europe. As the new printed books piled up in the warehouse, their publishers were faced with the uncomfortable realisation that the financial outlay connected with the printing of books was not finished with the delivery of stock. In some ways, it had only just begun.²

Faced with mounting bills, to middlemen, carters, road and river tolls, storage, money changers, booksellers and agents, publishers were increasingly aware that the complexities of the new market could ruin them all. The first instinct, as so often in mediaeval guild society, was to limit competition. Publishers would contact industry acquaintances in other cities to notify them that they had in hand the edition of a particular text, hoping thereby to warn them off an expensive project that might spoil the market for both of them.³ This was an explicit recognition that the Latin trade constituted one large transnational market, in which customers were largely indifferent as to whether the

1 Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg. The Man and his Invention* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 170, 171–179.

2 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

3 See for some examples, Barbara C. Halporn, *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach. Early Printing in its social context* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 16–22.

desired text was published in Venice or Paris. As printers began to experiment more with publications in their local vernacular languages, competition was even more damaging and personal: the competing edition might be the work of a print shop two doors down the street. Publishers appealed to the local authorities to protect them from the immediate reprinting of a text in which they had invested heavily, on new type, translation costs or paper. This led to the elaboration of a system of privileges, a limited local monopoly on the production of a particular text, for a stated period of months or years.⁴ Controls on the local press were not, as is often assumed, always imposed by the governing powers, but positively desired by those investing in the business of books.

From the beginning, the advertising of new titles served a double purpose: to alert potential customers to a new title, and to warn off industry competitors from trespassing on their territory. In the Dutch Republic, publishers frequently used a newspaper advertisement to publicise the grant of a privilege. This was information of relatively little interest to potential customers, but a convenient way of communicating with possible rivals, all of whom were likely to have been assiduous readers of the newspapers. The fact that privileges were mentioned in this way so frequently in book advertisements is all the more significant when we consider that the award of privileges for books was comparatively rare in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.⁵

The title-page, the most profound design innovation differentiating the new printed books from their manuscript precursors, was also a form of advertising. The title-page presented, in succinct form, the principal attractions of the book, most essentially the subject matter, along with other enticements: 'wholly revised'; 'corrected of all errors'; 'a new translation', or illustrations. A lavishly illustrated edition of the plays of Terence published in Lyon in 1493 presented itself to customers as 'A most trustworthy interpretation of Terence by Guy Jouenneaux, a native of Le Mans by race, with pictures placed before every scene'.⁶ The imprint, the identification of the publisher or bookseller and his shop, was also, primarily, advertising. 'Printed by William Caxton, at the Red Pale', gave the potential customer all they needed to know in order to obtain

4 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright. The French Book-Privilege System, 1498–1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

5 Marius Buning, 'Privileging the Common Goods: the Moral Economy of Printing Privileges in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling. The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 88–108. See also: Paul Hoftijzer, "A sickle unto thy neighbour's corn". Book piracy in the Dutch Republic', *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp. 3–18.

6 *Gudonis Juvenalis natione Cenomani in Terentium familiarissima interpretatio cum figuris uin-cuque scaeanae praepositis* [Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 1493]. USTC 761743.

their own copy of a book they had admired at the house of a friend, or had seen on a market stall. It was largely this advertising function that caused the imprint to be moved from the end of the text (the colophon), where the artisan responsible had identified their work in the first generation of printed texts, mimicking the manuscript custom, to the front cover.⁷

The first explicit attempts by publishers and booksellers to advertise their wares were, as these examples suggest, in the books themselves. Sometimes publishers would build on the success of a particular title by using vacant space at the end of a book to list other titles they still had in stock. If they took more direct action to promote new titles through posters or fliers, the evidence has largely not survived. We have one celebrated example of a small sized poster from William Caxton, advertising a new title; but in the small English market Caxton was not competing with other printers, but with the possible indifference of a limited customer base.⁸ The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, a fabulous demonstration of the commercial power of the city that involved many from Nuremberg's cultural and commercial elite in its design, composition and production, had an equally elegant advertising poster.⁹ This was a venture where the making of profit played a subsidiary role behind the desire to reclaim the glories of print for its original German homeland, against the competition of Italian (and specifically Venetian) expertise, which threatened to usurp German pre-eminence in the industry.

Otherwise, for much of the sixteenth century, the advertising infrastructure of this increasingly buoyant and inventive industry remained rudimentary. The books had to advertise themselves. Piled up on the book stalls, or in the shops, their appeal was spread by word of mouth, as was the case with Martin Luther's pamphlets, or by booksellers showing off their wares. Booksellers and wholesalers looking at new books at the Frankfurt Fair, the twice-yearly festival of sales and typographical innovation, had to trust their judgement as to what they would carry back to their customers, much as a merchant had to estimate local demand for pepper, silk, or rich cloth. The penalties for misjudging this

7 Margaret M. Smith, *The title-page: its early development, 1460–1510* (London: The British Library, 2000).

8 Copies are present in Oxford, Bodleian Library and the John Rylands University Library in Manchester. USTC 500016. See also Lotte Hellinga, 'Sale Advertisements for Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books For Sale: The Advertising and Promotion of Print since the Fifteenth Century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009), pp. 1–18 and her 'Advertising and Selling Books in the Fifteenth Century', in her *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 20–39.

9 Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976); the advertising broadsheet is discussed on pp. 208–209, with illustration. USTC 746576.

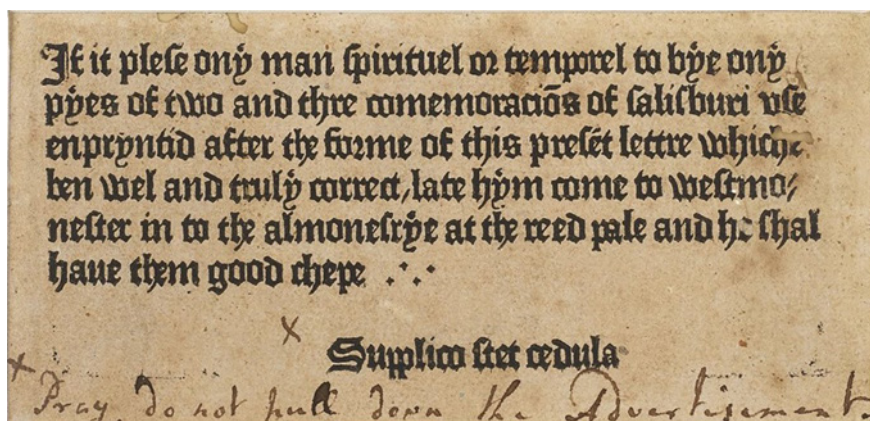


ILLUSTRATION 1.1 *Advertisement for Sarum Pie printed by William Caxton (c. 1477). Manchester, John Rylands Library: JRL 1409136*

The earliest printed advertisement in the English language was a small handbill produced by William Caxton to publicise one of his latest publications, which could be had 'good chepe' at his shop in Westminster. The phrase at the end, 'Supplicio stet cedula', is loosely translated as 'Pray, do not pull down the advertisement': an issue that has always bedevilled advertisers who stick up posters.

demand could be severe: watching your neighbours garnering the profits if you had too few copies for sale, or seeing unsold copies stacked up in your store-room if your estimate of public demand proved too optimistic.

The Newspapers

All of this changed profoundly in the seventeenth century with the invention of the newspaper, and the proliferation of publishers' stock catalogues, now no longer an addendum filling the blank page at the end of a text, but an independent publication. The publishers' stock catalogues took their cue from the catalogues of the Frankfurt Book Fair, a private initiative of an enterprising Augsburg bookseller, Georg Willer. Intended primarily as a help aid for industry figures attending the fair, Willer's listing of the new titles available at each fair soon enjoyed a second life, posted to booksellers who could not attend the fair to use as a tool for ordering the newest stock, or indeed for the richer private collectors building a library. In the print age, collecting was no longer simply a matter of acquiring texts a scholar required for their work, but increasingly a culture of emulation; publishers' stock catalogues pandered to this

desire not to be left behind. The Fair Catalogue, which survives in a virtually unbroken sequence from 1564, was a substantial step forward, since it amalgamated the stock of many different exhibitors, rather than the stock of a single publisher, like the catalogues issued by the great Italian publisher Aldus Manutius at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁰

Aldus was one of the few publishers who could promote his own brand in this way. Most booksellers' and publishers' catalogues in the seventeenth century would follow the Frankfurt model, advertising an array of titles gathered from all over Europe, along with the publisher's own imprints. The Frankfurt Fair catalogues served a double role, orientated to the local trade in German-language books as well as the international market. It required a further major step to devise a cost-effective advertising strategy for other local markets.

This, in the Dutch Republic, was the achievement of the newspapers. The Dutch did not invent the newspaper (or printing for that matter, despite the best efforts of patriotic Dutch humanist historians to suggest otherwise).¹¹ Their genius was to take the inventions of others and trim, shape and refine them to a cost-effective purpose. So it would be with the newspapers. The first printed weekly news serial was published in Strasbourg in 1605.¹² Stylistically, it took its cue from the weekly manuscript news services that had become popular in Italy in the fifteenth century and became generalised in Europe's major news centres over the course of the sixteenth. These *avvisi*, as they were known from their Italian originals, offered dispassionate, factional reports, gathered from Europe's major news hub. The inventor of the Strasbourg venture, Johann Carolus, was himself the publisher of a manuscript *avviso*: he simply adapted the form of his new printed news serial from his existing manuscript subscription service. The *avvisi* style, of short, clipped reports of a purely factual nature, implicitly rejected the more narrative, opinionated interpretation of current events available through news pamphlets, an increasingly popular genre. The publishers of such pamphlets were freed from the discipline of seriality: they could publish their pamphlets whenever public interest was piqued by great events at home or abroad. The need for regularity and seriality

10 S. Graheli, 'Aldo, i suoi lettori e il mercato internazionale del libro', in T. Plebani (ed.), *Aldo al Lettore. Viaggio intorno al mondo del libro e della stampa in occasione del V Centenario della morte di Aldo Manuzio* (Milan/Venice: Unicopli and Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 2016), pp. 151–172, here 154–158.

11 On Laurens Jansz Coster and Dutch attempts to claim the invention of print, see Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg*, pp. 100–106.

12 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know about itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

in the publication of a weekly news service imposed different disciplines, though Carolus did follow the occasional news pamphlets in publishing his new printed news serial in pamphlet form. The *Strasbourg Relation* was a pamphlet in quarto in four or six pages, a stylistic preference followed in other German cities as the new genre took root.

The Dutch chose a different route. The first Dutch news serial was published in Amsterdam sometime before or around 1617, and by 1618 the city had two regular weekly newspapers.¹³ This was already unusual, since in most German cities the newspaper enjoyed a local monopoly. In France, the *Paris Gazette* was in 1631 granted a national monopoly, a unique experiment in news management sustained until the eve of the French Revolution.¹⁴ Competition between the two Amsterdam papers was not intense, since the demand for news in the fast-growing commercial city was sufficient to sustain multiple papers. The proprietors, Broer Jansz, Caspar and Jan van Hilten and their heirs, would sustain their papers, issued weekly, for the best part of fifty years.

From the first, the ruthless Dutch cost-cutting instinct dictated a radical design shift. Rather than pamphlets, the Dutch newspapers were published as a single half-sheet of paper, printed on both sides. Both sides were crammed with text. In this way the Amsterdam newsmen were able to offer almost as much news as the German and French pamphlets, but at a fraction of the cost in paper. This was extremely efficient in keeping the cost of individual copies low, but disastrous for the survival of the early papers. The German newspapers could be bound together in a volume, as was customary with pamphlets since the age of Luther. Some German papers issued a collective title-page at the end of the year, to encourage their readers to add the newspapers to their library in this manner. The first surviving run of the Strasbourg paper, from 1609, survives in this way, in a single volume in Heidelberg University Library. The flimsy single sheets of the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of Broer Jansz and the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* of the Van Hiltens suggested no obvious way of storage and archiving. In consequence, for the first fifty years of their production, more issues of the Amsterdam papers have been lost than survive. Those that do survive, are mostly known today in only a single copy.

13 For what follows, the standard work is now Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2017).

14 Gilles Feyel, *L'annonce et la nouvelle. La presse d'information en France sous l'ancien régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000).

Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c. 1636. No. 50.

VVt Venetien den 13 November 1636.

De Spaensche hebben Piacensa sterck gebloqueert/bien van binnen begint grootelijcks hout te mancuieren. De Schepen Ammade van beyde Coningen liggen op een goede stede/ende passen op malcanderen. De Spaensche marcheren met groote diligencie na Parnia / om deselbe plaats te bezieghen.

VVt Regenburgh den 15 dito.

Men is alhier neersigh besolgerende/op dat dese Oergraderinge eens ten eynde mochte gheuerken/also de Gheschiede haer Doelen verlanghen wederom in huy te reysen: Den roep goet sterck dat de Heur. Doct van Saren/die gheselscheert is sich des krijghs ghelijckich te ontslaen/wel metten eersten persoonlijck alhier comen mochte: Oock dat den 9 des toecomenden maends de Clerie/ende den 12 de Crooninghe voorsker haren voortganc hebben sullen/daer op sal Keyserlijcke Majest. den 16 van hier opbreken/ende wederom na Weenen berrepen/ghelijck dan aen de Schepen daghelijcks sterck gearbeidt woort/ende de toecomende weke al eenighe dinghen voort henen ghesonden sullen werden.

VVt Metz den 16 dito.

In wat manieren Hertogh Carel van Kourthringen Sint Johan de Lhome/gesleghen in 't Hertogghdom Bourgoignien/ belegghet/ende daer voort veel Volcks ende alle sin Geschut verlozen heeft/ is genoegsaem kennelijck/ende soude wel wat wonders weten/haanmer den Generael Gallas de hest van sine Armees wederom in Duytschlandt vechten/te meer sy noch een machtighe Comandelijcke Armees op de helen/ende het water de Soonne ende andere Aluieren tegghen heeft.

VVt Mirecourt in Lotteringen den 18 dito.

Gisteren sijn Vieben uytter Legher van den Cardinael de la Daletie alhier gebajacht/ met tydinghe/ dat het selue al doer in 't verdoelgen van de Gallasche ende Kourthringhesche Troepen/ tusschen Dion ende Sainct Jan de Lhome ghecomen was/ende dewijle sy deselbe plaats/te weten/ Sainct Jan de Lhome/in 't voordp vlugghen met eenen seluen aensal neyden 't overcompen/soo hebben die daer in liggende hun also ghetwillecomt ende afgeschien dat het selue wel duysent a 1200 Mannen daer voort bleuen stont: Ondertusschen sijn hun de Fransche ende Wymerische Armeaden op tijt ghecomen/ende hebben se retireren/ende over een slyen doch een moepelich Waterken te gaen/ghedwonghen/aen welcke passagie sy 100 sijn selgheken overballeen ende gheslagen werden/daer alle haer Geschut ende Wagagie verloren verlaten/wel 6000 Mannen op de plaats verlozen/ende de reste sich hier ende daer in de Steden woken salveren/en also de Switers hun den pas woggheren/om deswelcke sy sterck aenhouden/soo isst te gheloooven dat sie hun wederom na Vissach sullen moeten besghen.

VVt Berlijn den 19 dito.

Op huyden sijn de twaelf hier inne gheschene Swedersche Vandenel Soldaten op

geboht/den welken top 15000 ellen doer/3000 paer schoen/3000 paer houfens/ende duysent sijn daerders aen gele hebben moeten gemen; het commando daer oer heeft den Oversten Calmbach/sullen van daghe vier mijlen marcheren/men vermeent datter op Frantschoot aen den Oer gart. Des Oversten Jans 30000 sijn daer. moeten oock ten volen opghesicht werden.

VVt Breilau den 20 dito.

Den 13 deser is Hertogh Hendrick van Wensels van wegen Keyserl. Majest. alhier ghecomen/om op alles ordie te stellen. Den Hertogh van Ligenis/ Gzave van Wangsfeldt/ Gzave van Erturaz/Oversten Knobels/doop ende andere Officieren/ bewinden hun niebe alhier/doch alle het Kerghs volck te voet en te paerde is na Spoot-Colgan est Ligenis gemareert/om de Passen te versterken/aenghesien de Swedersche trachten haer desen Winter in dese Landen te inquarenieren: Verschepe Regimenten uyt Ouet ende Neder-Steyen sijn niebe by der hand/ende over alle Troepen heeft het commando den Gzave van Wangsfeldt. 32 Compagnien Polacken te paerde liggen tegghenwoonigh tot Gzissenlaghe ende om Albenbael.

VVt Colmar den 22 dito.

Gisteren abondt in der nacht hebben onse parthijen gheboer ende Aulst bescomen/ende inghenomen/ende 60 gheschelde Paerden/oock eenighe Wagghens met sijnghen ende Paerden/beneffens dertiggh Hebuwghen/daer onder enen Luptenant Coyet/daer inne bescomen.

VVt Leypsch den 22 dito.

De Swedersche 200 sterck hebben dat Stedken Auden amboosjens overballeen/ende onsen Oversten Dinger in sin Logement gevanghen beromen/wort van den Generael D'anghel wol gheractert. Alhier wort alles datter mancuieret weerdigh ghemaekt/de Artillerie Paerden die om Coagan opghetocht sijn/verden alhier ghebaht/soo sijn oock 100 Emmeaers Pulver/ende 80 Centenaers Lotten van Deyden gesonden/ende alle het volck wort met nieu ghelweert voorsien. Den Oversten Slagh l'ghe met 500 Dragoners tot Wangsfeldt heeft van Eylven 8000 sijn daer. becomen/wil een nieu Regiment opzichten/daer toe sy verlocht 10000 sijn daer. ende 500 Paerden. Moesburghe ende Hal sullen oock moeten gels gheben.

Den Generael Luptenant Arnhem is den 18 deser savonds alhier ghecomen/ende verstant tot hare Heur. Woosel. Woosel. ontboden/heest by deselbe Woosel. over de twee iuren thors secrete audientie ghehad/daerna zynse t samen ter Tafel ghegaen/ende tot mit dernacht aldere ghebeden. Des anderen daghs na de Predicatie zynse wederom secretegh by malcanderen gheweest/haren handel woort seer verborger gesonden/maer sal metter tijdt wel openbaer worden.

De Swedersche parthijen hebben in der Weymarsche seer qualich huy ghefoudru/sijn heeft den Generael Warner op 't goetsche Landt Sandegardes uitgebeest/ende laet sterck op 't plonderen acht nemen.

ILLUSTRATION 1.2 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, no. 50 (Amsterdam: Jan van Hilten, 13 December 1636). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
A typical issue of the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, one of the two Amsterdam newspapers which appeared from 1618 onwards. The *Courante* of the Van Hilten and the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of Broer Jansz both adopted the same format and style, publishing their weeklies as half-sheet folios, printed on both sides, in double columns, with narrow margins and generally sober typography.

The Birth of Newspaper Advertising

Poor rates of survival bedevil the early history of the newspapers. The first issue we have of the *Tijdinghen* of Broer Jansz dates from 10 February 1619, though we know from a Danish auction catalogue that the newspaper had been published for at least three months before this.¹⁵ For the first years of production we have little more than isolated sheets of the two Amsterdam papers.¹⁶ In consequence, we cannot say with any assurance that the Amsterdam papers carried the first commercial advertisements. If we rely only on surviving copies, they were beaten to the punch by their pugnacious competitor in Antwerp in the Catholic Southern Netherlands, Abraham Verhoeven.¹⁷

Verhoeven adopted the German pamphlet form for his numbered series of news publications, and in consequence they have survived extremely well, with up to six known copies of some issues and an almost complete run in the Royal Library in Brussels.¹⁸ In January 1620, Verhoeven posted at the end of the text of his *Nieuwe Tijdingen* an announcement that the following issue would contain an account of the defeat of the Transylvanians in Hungary by the Imperial army.¹⁹ This modest piece of self-promotion was the first advertisement published in a European newspaper.

In the issues that followed, Verhoeven would build on this tentative beginning with a sequence of advertisements for other of his publications: news pamphlets, maps, and illustrated broadsheet diagrams of the latest sieges or battles. We can imagine that these interesting developments were followed with close attention by the Amsterdam newsmen. Broer Jansz and the Van Hiltens took a very different view of their editorial responsibilities to the ebullient Verhoeven. While Verhoeven was rumbustious, partisan and satirical, often devoting a whole issue to a celebration, in prose and verse, of the latest victories

15 *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum Pauli Johann. Resenii quorum auctio habebitur Hafniae, in ædibus Georgii Holst ad diem Februar. [26.03.]1661* (Copenhagen: Henrici Gødiani, [1661]), f. B4v.

16 The surviving issues are fully described in Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 181–314.

17 For Verhoeven, see now Andrew Pettegree, 'Tabloid values: On the trail of Europe's first news hound', in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 17–34. Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 326–417.

18 See the run in Brussels, Royal Library: III 33519 A.

19 *Waerachtighe goede ende nieuwe tijdinge vanden afgrijsselijcken slach gheslaghen in Hungarijen, teghen den luytenant generael van Bethlin Gabor*, published 8 January 1620. UTC N4-2.

of Catholic forces in the conflicts of the Thirty Years War, the Amsterdammers stayed faithful to the German model of news. Their newspapers were a sequence of sober reports, brief and factual, culled mostly from incoming correspondence and manuscript *avvisi*. Their importance as a source of copy for the newspapers is one reason why the *avvisi* would continue to enjoy a reputation as the gold standard of news long into the eighteenth century. Divided by religion and temperament, Verhoeven and the Amsterdammers nevertheless kept a weather eye on each other's papers, even to the extent of a little mutual teasing and half-hearted abuse. Their latest issues would have been easily obtainable across the porous border between the Southern Netherlands and the new Republic. The potential commercial benefits of Verhoeven's innovation would not have been lost on these shrewd northern businessmen.

Whereas Verhoeven relied heavily on the good opinion of the Catholic authorities in the south, the Dutch newspaper market in these experimental first years was largely unregulated. So long as the papers did not provoke the local magistrates by reporting inconvenient truths, a danger that they mitigated by almost totally avoiding reporting domestic political news, the newspapermen were free to develop their market as they chose. Soon competing newspapers had sprung up in Arnhem (1619), Delft (1620) and Utrecht (1623), plundering quite shamelessly the columns of the Amsterdam newspapers for copy.²⁰ Freedom came at a price. Unlike many German papers, which benefited from a direct subsidy from the local prince, the Amsterdammers were on their own. Nor did they benefit from the access both Verhoeven and the Parisian gazetteer enjoyed to official papers. Maintaining a network of news correspondents was expensive, and the only source of income would initially have been the payments received from annual subscriptions: again, a financial model inherited from the manuscript *avvisi*. But while the *avvisi*, destined for a small circulation list of high-placed clients, could charge a high price for their services, the price of a newspaper was determined by the cost of an equivalent-sized pamphlet or broadsheet: a fraction of the cost of the manuscript service.

In these circumstances, the addition of a second possible income stream would have been extremely welcome. Broer Jansz was already well embedded in the busy Amsterdam book market. So it is no surprise that the first advertisement in a surviving Amsterdam newspaper, in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of 1 March 1621, was for a book. On this day, Broer Jansz advertised

20 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 418–422, 423–425, 426–438. Arthur der Weduwen, 'Utrecht's First Newspaper Re-discovered: Adriaen Leenaertsz and the *Nieuwe Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt ende Nederlant* (1623)', *Quaerendo*, 46 (2016), pp. 1–19.

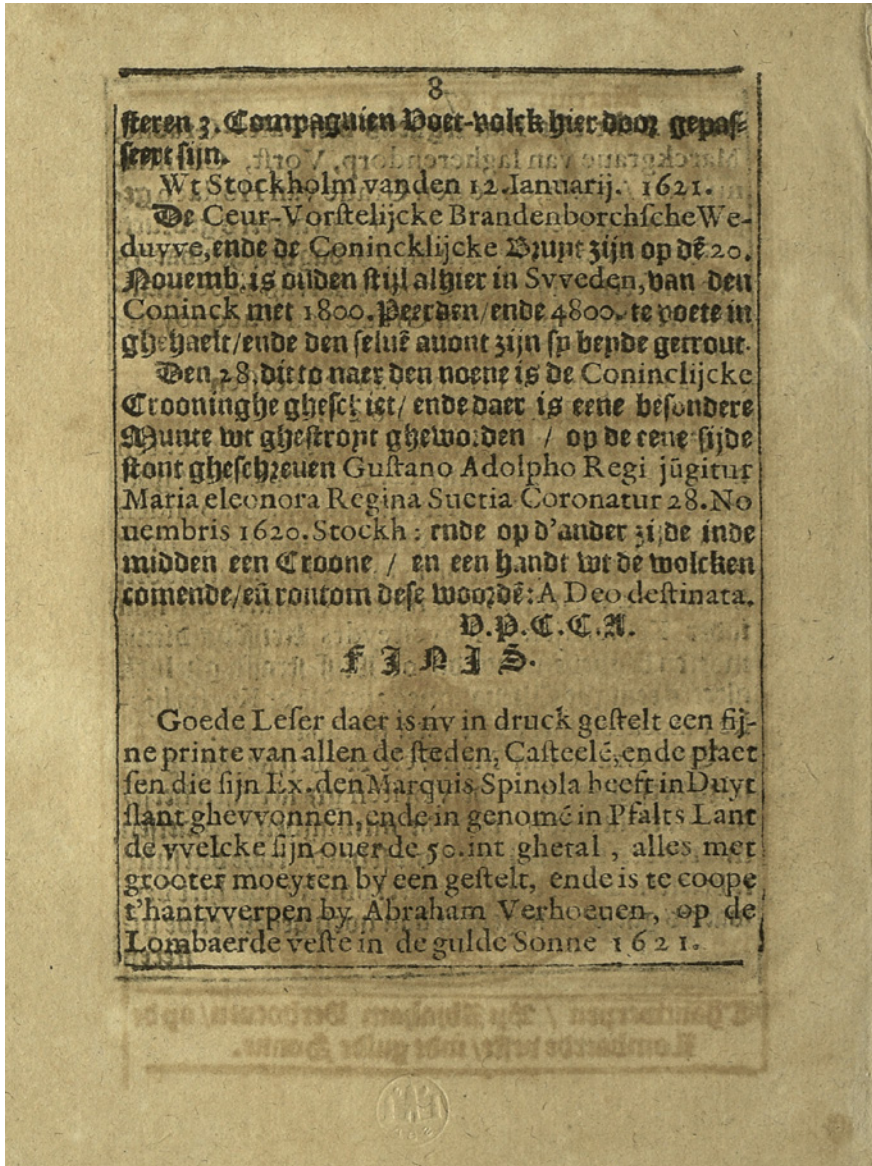


ILLUSTRATION 1.3 *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, no. 31 (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 5 March 1621). Erfgoed Bibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp
 'Dear reader': here Abraham Verhoeven advertises at the end of an issue of his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* an illustrated broadsheet, also available at his shop, the 'Golden Sun' in Antwerp. All of the advertisements placed in Verhoeven's newspaper were for other products of his own press.

the availability of a polemical news pamphlet, relating the tyrannous and barbaric conduct of the Spanish troops in the slaughter of the Protestant population of the Swiss Valtellina, one of the most notorious events of the Thirty Years War. For good measure the newspaper carried a second advertisement, also connected with the German war, for a map of the Palatinate, showing the position of both the Catholic and Protestant armies.²¹

This small, elliptical notice misses some features that would soon be routine in the publication of advertisement – at this point Broer Jansz was still feeling his way. But there are inklings of how the market would soon develop. Firstly, although the news itself was largely factual, the Dutch newspapers did not

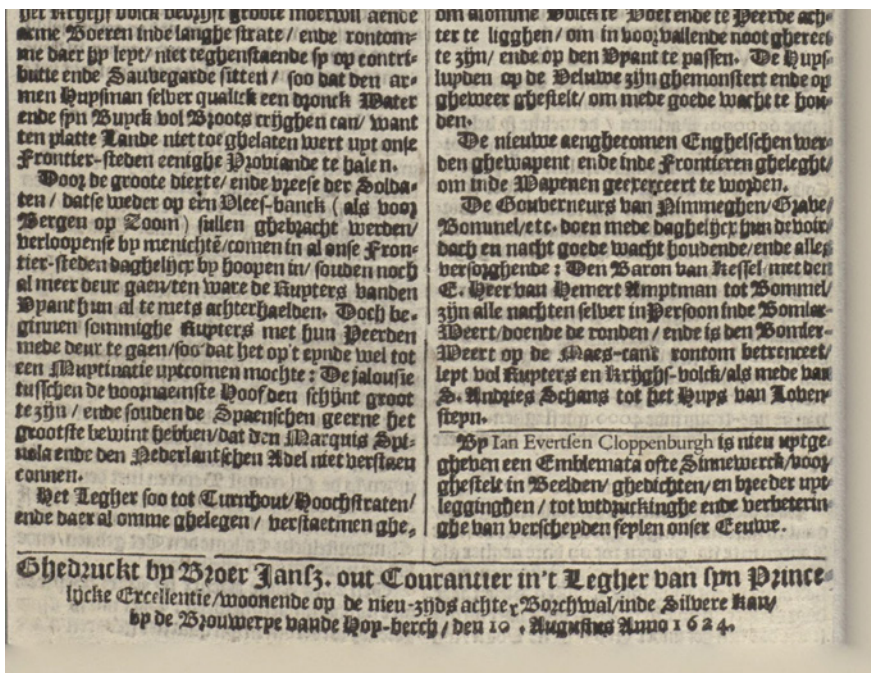


ILLUSTRATION 1.4 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 10 August 1624). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

One of the earliest surviving newspaper advertisements placed in an Amsterdam newspaper, on 10 August 1624. This advertisement by Jan Evertsz Cloppenburg was the first to appear in the *Courante uyt Italien* and the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* simultaneously. It is also the first advertisement to market a book which did not relate directly to news content in the newspapers. Like all early advertisements, it is placed at the end of the fourth column, separated by the reports only by a thin line.

eschew partisanship in advertising these pamphlets for a fervently Protestant audience. Secondly, and in marked contrast to Verhoeven, Broer Jansz and Van Hilten did not limit their advertisements to their own publications. Broer Jansz had copies of the map available at his shop, but it was the work of the well-known engraver, Claes Jansz Visscher. The pamphlet advertised, *De Tyrannije der Spaengiaerden bedreven inde Veltolini aen de Evangelische is schrickelijc om hoore* [The Tyranny perpetrated by the Spaniards in the Valtellina against the Reformed is most terrible to hear], has not yet been traced in a surviving copy. This, too, was utterly characteristic of the sort of books published in the newspapers. Almost forty per cent of the books advertised in the newspapers in the three decades to 1650 cannot now be linked with a surviving edition.²²

The advertising market now developed very quickly. Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten were soon taking notices of new publications from a wide range of their fellow Amsterdam publishers, and indeed, from publishers and booksellers throughout the Dutch Republic. The impact of this on their finances is, frustratingly, difficult to establish with any degree of precision. Studies of newspapers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ascribe a significant role to advertisements in ensuring that newspapers, particularly outside the main metropolitan centres, could remain solvent. Without paid advertisements, it is argued, editors could hardly meet the cost of press work, paper, distribution and the considerable costs of maintaining a decent network of news correspondents through sales of the newspaper alone.²³ More extravagantly, it has been argued that by the nineteenth century, the income from advertisements was so substantial, that it allowed some London newspapers to free themselves from political control and eschew the secret subsidies they accepted from government or opposition. Advertising thus came to play a central role in the optimistic liberal narrative of the birth of a free press.²⁴

This seems overblown. True, the English authorities paid a considerable back-handed compliment to the importance of advertising in the financial underpinnings of the press by introducing a swinging tax on advertisements as

22 There is an Arnhem edition of this book entitled *Voltolynsche tyrannye*, published by Jan Jansz, USTC 1027109. The advertisement does not give a place of publication, and may therefore relate either to the Arnhem edition, or a lost Amsterdam edition.

23 R.M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1965). Victoria M. Gardner, *The Business of News in England, 1760–1820* (London: Palgrave, 2016). Christine Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

24 Ivan Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle*, 1790–1821', *Historical Journal*, 18 (1975), pp. 703–724.

part of the notorious Stamp Act legislation of 1712. Each sheet of stamped paper was taxed at one penny, whereas newspaper publishers had to pay twelve times as much, one shilling, for each advertisement. It was this, rather than the tax on paper, that caused the greatest turbulence in the market. While the competitive London press could absorb the extra cost, the fragile new provincial papers depended heavily on advertising revenue: by the end of 1712 a large proportion of the recently established regional papers had closed. This shock, though profound, proved to be short-lived.²⁵ By the second half of the eighteenth century some provincial English papers carried thousands of advertisements a year, despite repeated hikes in the duty.²⁶ But however lucrative, dependence on advertising would carry its own costs, not least in the withdrawal of advertising when the paper's editorial line drifted too far from the policies favoured by commercial clients. Certainly, in modern times the dependence on advertising income does not encourage the extension of investigative journalism to the workings of big business.²⁷ Eighteenth-century financial records for the Low Countries suggest that advertising revenue played a welcome, but not dominant role in the financial health of the newspaper trade. To many publishers, advertising income was a generous windfall, but most of their revenue came from the sale of the paper.²⁸

In 1620s Amsterdam, all of that lay a long way in the future. We have no information how much publishers paid to advertise their new titles in the Amsterdam papers in the first half of the seventeenth century. Presumably money did change hands, though this was a trade that functioned largely by exchange. It is plausible that some publishers received free space in the paper to advertise their new books in return for taking some other publications of Van Hilten or Broer Jansz on preferential terms or offering them discounted stock to sell in their own shops. Booksellers could also help by stocking a few extra copies of the newspaper to sell to walk-in customers or act as local distributors for the Amsterdam papers. No doubt they would also make a point

25 G.A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700–60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 17–21.

26 Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621–1861* (London: Sutton, 2001), pp. 60–65. Siv Gøril Brandtzaeg, 'Mercury as Merchant: The Advertisement of Novels in Eighteenth-Century Provincial English Newspapers', in Siv Gøril Brandtzaeg, Paul Goring and Christine Watson (eds.), *Travelling Chronicles. News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 254–276, here pp. 258–259.

27 Peter Osborne, 'Why I have resigned from the *Telegraph*', *Open Democracy*, 17 February 2015, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/why-i-have-resigned-from-telegraph/>.

28 Steven Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', *Early Modern Low Countries*, 2 (2018), pp. 88–102. See also Chapter 7, below.

of stocking the books advertised in the newspapers for the convenience of their local customers.

One precious nugget of information was recently unearthed by the present authors in the archives of the magistrates of Zutphen.²⁹ In 1643, the magistrates established a new horse market. To ensure its success, against fierce competition from other existing markets, they took steps to ensure that the new market was advertised through the whole Republic. A poster advertising the market was printed, and messengers fanned out across the country to spread the word. Their itinerary specified which towns they should visit, to proclaim the news, and to post up the announcement. Additional copies were to be posted in the villages between. To demonstrate that they had fulfilled these obligations, the messengers had to ask the officials in the towns they visited to endorse their instructions, to be handed back to the magistrates on their return: which is why they have come down to us today.

When the messenger reached Amsterdam, he presented himself not to the burgomasters, but to the newspaper editor Broer Jansz. The publisher was by

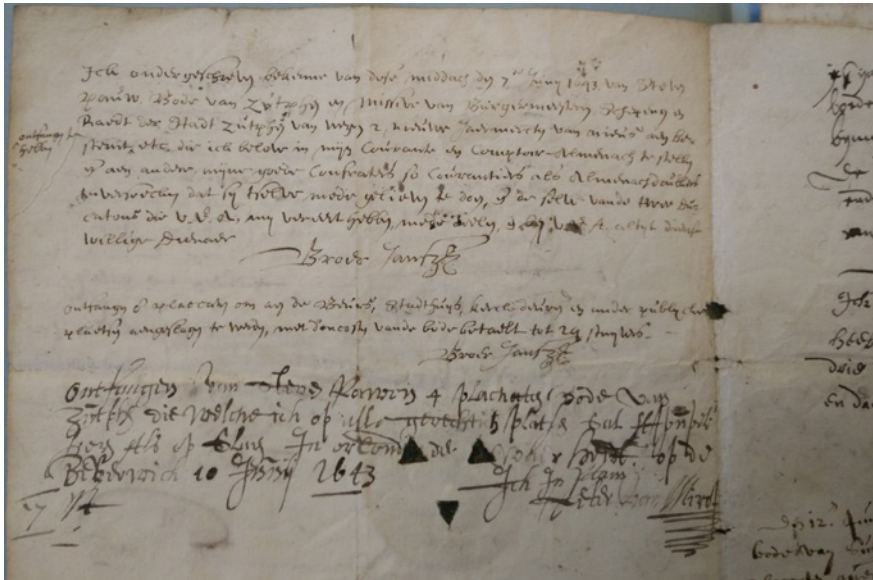


ILLUSTRATION 1.5 The attestation of Broer Jansz for the magistrates of Zutphen, in which he declares that he posted an advertisement for the new Zutphen horse market in his newspaper, and arranged for the posting of printed placards throughout Amsterdam – all for the fee of 24 stuivers. Regionaal Archief, Zutphen

29 Regionaal Archief Zutphen, Oud-archief van de stad (1206–1815), inv. 557.

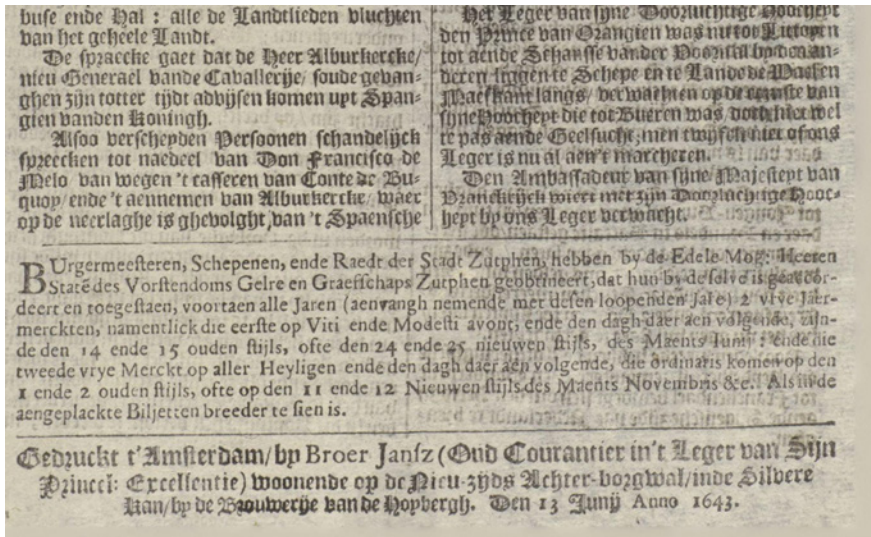


ILLUSTRATION 1.6 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren*, no. 24 (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 13 June 1643). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
 Broer Jansz was true to his word: in this issue of his *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* we find the advertisement for the horse market of Zutphen. This was placed six days after Broer Jansz signed his attestation for the magistrates. The advertisement is also one of the first to be placed across both columns, and it is the first known advertisement for a horse market.

now a figure of some significance in the city: not just as the newspaper proprietor, but as the designated *Stadsdrukker* (municipal printer), which made it his responsibility to print, and possibly post the city's own municipal ordinances. Broer Jansz agreed a package of services: he would post the notice of the new Zutphen market in the usual places around town and advertise the market in his newspaper. He was as good as his word: a generously wordy notice of the new Zutphen market appears in the next Saturday issue.³⁰ For this bundle of services, Broer Jansz charged 24 stuivers. Given what we know of the prices of advertisements later in the seventeenth century, it is likely that the bulk of this payment was indeed for the advertisement itself.³¹

³⁰ TVQ 24, 13.06.1643.

³¹ See Chapter 7, below. Sadly, no copy of the Zutphen placard survives, so we cannot compare the text of Broer Jansz's announcement in the newspaper with the text of the broadsheet.

Competition and Failure

The Antwerp *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was closed by the authorities in 1629. In the absence of further Catholic victories, Verhoeven had become something of an embarrassment. Although he would linger on until 1652, destitute and unlamented by his former Amsterdam rivals, his final newspaper shut down in 1634. Meanwhile, the Amsterdam papers went from strength to strength. Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten continued to enjoy their comfortable duopoly unchallenged for twenty years, reinvesting the profits from their news service in a variety of publishing enterprises. For Broer Jansz this included not only his lucrative appointment as *Stadsdrukker* and as printer of dissertations to Amsterdam's quasi-university, the Athenaeum, but also, in 1639, a biannual collective catalogue of new books published in the Netherlands. This *Catalogus Universalis* was self-evidently modelled on the established Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogue of the same title, and Broer Jansz advertised in his newspaper a regular appeal for publishers to send him notice of their forthcoming titles.³² He advertised the *Catalogus* again when copies were available for sale.³³ This was a help aid for other members of the book industry, especially booksellers who needed to know what titles to stock, and there is considerable overlap between the titles listed here and the books that publishers chose to advertise in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*.³⁴

Jan van Hilten, meanwhile, concentrated on developing the market for news publications, working in partnership with the great engraver-publisher Claes Jansz Visscher to publish some sumptuous illustrated newsheets. He is also believed to have published a French version of the *Courante*, though no copies survive. After the English government banned the production of news books in London in 1632, Van Hilten also intensified his interest in this market, publishing several English-language news books that form part of a now mostly lost serial venture.³⁵

In publishing, as in every branch of commerce, imitation is the compliment business pays to innovation. While the early newspapers in Delft, Arnhem and Utrecht seem not to have been sustained, in Amsterdam other publishers now

32 TVQ 46, 12.11.1639. H.W. de Kooker, *The Catalogus Universalis of Broer Jansz (1640–1652)* (Utrecht: H&S, 1986).

33 CID 36, 07.09.1641, TVQ 26, 28.06.1642, TVQ 4, 24.01.1643.

34 Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, 'Publicity and its Uses. Lost Books as Revealed in Newspaper Advertisements in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 202–222.

35 Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620–1642* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), pp. 280–283.

cast covetous eyes on the success of the *Courante* and *Tijdingen*. Between 1638 and 1645, four new papers were offered to the public, all in Amsterdam. In 1645, news enthusiasts with deep pockets and sufficient leisure time could read ten separate issues of the various Amsterdam papers each week.

The first of the second generation to dip their toes into this market, François Lieshout, was already an experienced publisher when he launched his mid-week paper in 1638, having published newsbooks and illustrated broadsheets since 1625.³⁶ His decision to publish on Tuesdays, avoiding the Saturday publication date of the two established papers, was another milestone for the Amsterdam market, and allowed him to benefit from a growing demand from patrons who wished to have regular digests of news more than once a week. But even before the end of the year his *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante* would be challenged by a second Tuesday paper, the *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante*.³⁷ This was the initiative of Joost Broersz, son of Broer Jansz, thus establishing Amsterdam's second newspaper dynasty, after the Van Hiltens. It is not known whether Joost Broersz was here acting as the agent of his father, Broer Jansz, to spoil Lieshout's market, or striking out on his own. Joost Broersz had run his own shop since 1634 and continued as an active publisher after the establishment of his own newspaper. Like many of the newspaper men, most of Joost Broersz's business was orientated to the news market, and especially in his case, to the English market. With the English Civil Wars convulsing the nation, there was plenty of demand for English news, and a substantial community of English exiles resident in the Netherlands eager to keep in touch with events at home.

Both Lieshout and Joost Broersz were able to pass on their newspaper to their widows as a growing concern when they died in 1646 and 1647 respectively. This was a demonstration of what would be a striking feature of the news market in the Low Countries, the critical part played by capable women editors, proprietors and later as distributors of newspapers.³⁸ The fifth Amsterdam newspaperman, Mathijs van Meininga, a Frisian nobleman of origin, was less lucky. Perhaps he was undone by his ambition, because Meininga's *Europische Courant* (1642–1646) was from the beginning a tri-weekly publication, published on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.³⁹ Unlike the other Amsterdam newsmen, Van Meininga had no evident hinterland in the Amsterdam book world: apart from the *Europische Courant* he published little. His paper also

36 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 481–512.

37 *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 513–542.

38 *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 115–120.

39 *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 543–565.

attracted hardly any advertisements, perhaps reflecting his lack of contacts in the bookseller community. Without this additional revenue, the cost of an extensive network of correspondents, supplying news for the papers, would have been crippling. The *Europische Courant* would close in 1646, only four years after its foundation.

It would not have helped Meininga's cause that from 1644 there was yet another midweek paper on the market, the *Extraordinaire Advijzen op Donderdagh*.⁴⁰ This was the brainchild of Jan van Hilten, and it is interesting that, rather than simply advertising a mid-week issue of the *Courante*, he launched a new title. This may have been in part because the mid-week issue had a substantially different orientation in the source of its news. In contrast to the *Courante*'s very traditional eclectic selection of news from all of Europe's major news hubs, the *Extraordinaire Advijzen* consisted almost entirely of reports from Northern Europe. Van Hilten by now had an unrivalled network of correspondents in England, and frequently carried news from York, other provincial cities in England, and the towns of the south coast. The first surviving issues from 1644 were dedicated almost entirely to English affairs. The final addition to this range of titles was Jan Jacobsz Bouman's *Extra Europische tijdingen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*, a bi-weekly paper, copies of which only survive for 1645.⁴¹

This multiplication of titles would prove to be short-lived. The 1640s were a decade of almost uniquely turbulent politics, with the prolonged negotiations to settle the Thirty Years War, while the contesting parties sought the final victory that would strengthen their hand at the negotiating table, the English Civil War, revolts in Catalonia and Naples and the French Fronde. These were all newsworthy conflicts, in which, crucially, the Dutch were not directly involved. The newspapers could report them so extensively because postal routes to the Netherlands were seldom compromised by the marauding armies. The competition for readers was mirrored in a competition for advertisements. While Lieshout and Joost Broersz fared reasonably well, Van Meininga was starved of this increasingly essential source of funds, and Van Hilten kept most of his advertisements for the established Saturday paper. Thursday editions always seemed to have attracted fewer subscribers, and this made Van Hilten's second venture less attractive also to advertisers. The *Extraordinaire Advijzen op Donderdag* disappeared within two years.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 566–571.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 572–575.

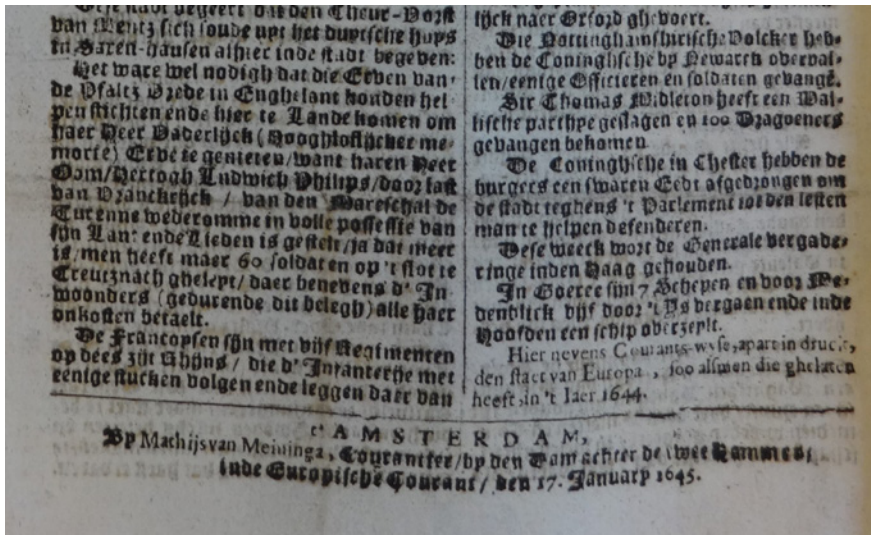


ILLUSTRATION 1.7 *Europische Courant*, no. 3 (Amsterdam: Mathij's van Meininga, 17 January 1645). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

One of the few advertisements found in the issues of the *Europische Courant*, the tri-weekly newspaper of Mathij's van Meininga. The crudity of the notice harks back to Abraham Verhoeven's early advertisements, rather than the longer, more sophisticated commercial advertisements found in the newspapers of Van Meininga's Amsterdam competitors.

A National Network

Despite the indifferent success of some of the newer ventures, for three decades Amsterdam reigned supreme, commanding what was, in effect, a national market. Issues of the Amsterdam papers found their way to all corners of the new state, and found regular subscribers both in other Holland towns, and beyond. As the economic powerhouse of the Dutch Republic, Amsterdam was inevitably also its news centre. Incoming ships brought reports from all quarters of the globe, and its well-functioning postal services brought despatches overland from Italy, France, and the battlefields of Germany.

By the 1630s advertisements had become a regular feature of the papers. They were always found at the end of the back page, set apart from the final news reports by a thin line. Soon, at least every other surviving issue contained one or more advertisements or public announcements.

In the course of two decades, the newspapers achieved a number of milestones: the first advertisement for a book published outside Amsterdam, then outside the province of Holland; the first advertisement for a book auction; the

TABLE 1.1 The rise of advertising in the two leading Amsterdam newspapers, the *Courante uyt Italien (CID)* and the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren (TVQ)*, excluding special issues and variants. The table makes clear that the development of newspaper advertising was rather slow in the 1620s, but expanded very rapidly from 1632 and 1633 onwards.

Year	<i>CID</i> surviving issues	<i>CID</i> ads and announcements	<i>TVQ</i> surviving issues	<i>TVQ</i> ads and announcements	<i>CID & TVQ</i> surviving issues	<i>CID & TVQ</i> ads and announcements
1621	10		31	4	41	4
1622	3		17	1	20	1
1623	3		14	1	17	1
1624	11	2	17	5	28	7
1625	9		15	2	24	2
1626	23	1	26	3	49	4
1627	52	1	3		55	1
1628	50	4	8		58	4
1629	44	6	31	4	75	10
1630	52	5	9	3	61	8
1620s total	257	19	171	23	428	42
1631	51	5	8	1	59	6
1632	51	16	7	2	58	18
1633	53	28	10	1	63	29
1634	52	37	5	4	57	41
1635	45	35	18	15	63	50
1636	17	8	15	5	32	13
1637	28	31	25	21	53	52
1638	52	46	52	33	104	79
1639	49	60	45	44	94	104
1640	49	74	17	13	66	87
1630s total	447	340	202	139	649	479

first advertisement posted by a public body; the first for a commercial service outside the book industry.⁴²

This appearance of diversification is in one respect misleading. In the period until 1650, that is three decades after the publication of the first advertisement, 95% of the notices were for new books, maps and other book industry services. Although many issues of the newspapers have not survived – as many as three in every four issues of some titles are now lost – this indifferent level of survival is unlikely to have distorted this picture. But this does give us the opportunity to examine in some detail the nature of the relationship between the book industry and newspaper advertising: what publishers chose to advertise, and which portions of the marketplace functioned largely without advertising.

The first and most obvious revelation is the proof provided by the advertisements that in this era the Amsterdam papers enjoyed a national readership.⁴³ Most of the advertisements in the Amsterdam papers were placed by publishers in Amsterdam; but they were progressively joined by publishers in Leiden, Dordrecht and Haarlem, and further afield in Utrecht, Leeuwarden, Groningen and Deventer. In 1639, 47 of 108 advertisements featured works being offered by booksellers or publishers outside of Amsterdam: ten from The Hague, seven from Rotterdam, six from Leiden, five from Haarlem and Leeuwarden, four from Utrecht and Dordrecht, two from Arnhem, and one from Hoorn, Delft, Gouda and Middelburg. Leeuwarden printer Jan Jansz de Fries advertised on 26 March 1639 for a second edition of Johan van den Sande's *Decisiones Frisicae sive Rerum in suprema Frisiorum curia judicatarum, libri v*. This large work of jurisprudence was the only work published by De Fries in 1639, and it is likely to have been his major enterprise that year.⁴⁴

For publishers like De Fries, advertisements played a vital role in bringing new and important publications to the attention of potential purchasers throughout the Republic. But the real significance of the advertisements from our point of view is rather different. They indicate that booksellers and publishers far beyond Amsterdam had regular access to the Amsterdam newspapers. Publishers in these far-flung cities would not have invested in such a notice, if they had not known that subscribers in their own cities would have

42 TVQ, 05.06.1621, CID 16, 16.04.1633, CID 21, 27.05.1634, TVQ 40, 02.10.1638, CID 37, 10.09.1639.

43 The following paragraphs draw heavily on Arthur der Weduwen, 'Booksellers, newspaper advertisements and a national market for print in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling. The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 420–447.

44 USTC 1023592. The *Decisiones* was almost 70 sheets long – the first edition was published in 1635 by De Fries.

been able to come by their shops and pick up a copy of the new book they were advertising. At the same time, they were able to publicise their new publications to reading audiences throughout the entire country.

We have tangible evidence of this relationship from a series of receipts dealing with the business relationship between the Leeuwarden bookseller Tjerck Claessen and Jan van Hilten.⁴⁵ Tjerck Claessen ran a bookshop in Leeuwarden, and a printing press, between 1628 and 1641. Van Hilten sent Claessen twelve copies of his *Courante* each week. Claessen was able to sell these copies to local customers and the magistrates of Leeuwarden, to whom he regularly supplied books, ordinances and forms. When Van Hilten printed a special issue of his newspaper on the Dutch victory at the Downs in 1639, he despatched fifty copies to Leeuwarden, as well as twenty-five copies of an effigy of the victorious admiral, Maarten Tromp. On 4 August 1640, Claes Jansz Visscher, a notable engraver and news publisher, advertised an engraving or illustrated broadsheet of Gelderland, portraying the route of the army of the Prince of Orange on his latest campaign.⁴⁶ Claessen wrote to ask for copies to sell on to his customers, and was duly sent a consignment in three days.⁴⁷ Surviving receipts from a seventeenth-century Nijmegen bookseller, unearthed by Paul Begheyn, also reveal that Jan van Hilten regularly sent dozens of copies of his newspaper to the bookseller Abraham Leyniers. Interestingly, Leyniers would receive a larger consignment of copies during the summer months, when the military campaign season was underway, but fewer in winter.⁴⁸

The relationship maintained by Jan van Hilten with these two booksellers in Leeuwarden and Nijmegen was far from unusual. The following table (1.2) displays the location of booksellers and publishers who advertised in Amsterdam newspapers between 1636 and 1645, the period that can be described as the height of Amsterdam's newspaper monopoly. It includes the surviving issues from four newspaper publishers: Jan van Hilten, Broer Jansz, his son Joost Broersz, and François Lieshout. The two other publishers active at the time, Jan Jacobsz Bouman and Mathijs van Meininga, are excluded on the basis of low survival rates and a minimal number of advertisements.⁴⁹

45 H. Borst, 'Van Hilten, Broersz. en Claessen. Handel in boeken en actueel drukwerk tussen Amsterdam en Leeuwarden rond 1639', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 8 (1992), pp. 131–138, here pp. 132–135.

46 CID 31, 04.08.1640.

47 Borst, 'Van Hilten, Broersz. en Claessen', p. 134.

48 Paul Begheyn, *Abraham Leyniers: een Nijmeegse boekverkoper uit de zeventiende eeuw: met een uitgave van zijn correspondentie uit de jaren 1634–1644* (Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Museum Commanderie van Sint Jan, 1992), pp. 29–31.

49 The table is the result of the inspection of 97% of all surviving issues of Amsterdam newspapers published between 1636 and 1645 (1,121 issues out of a corpus of 1,159).

TABLE 1.2 Booksellers advertising in Amsterdam newspapers, 1636–1645.

Province	City	Booksellers advertising
Holland	Alkmaar	2
	Amsterdam	68
	Delft	3
	Dordrecht	4
	Enkhuizen	2
	Gouda	1
	Haarlem	7
	Heusden	1
	Hoorn	2
	Leiden	22
	Rotterdam	7
	The Hague	14
Zeeland	Middelburg	6
	Zierikzee	1
Utrecht	Utrecht	8
Friesland	Franeker	4
	Leeuwarden	5
Gelderland	Arnhem	2
Overijssel	Deventer	3
	Kampen	2
	Zwolle	1
Groningen	Groningen	1
Generality Lands	Den Bosch	1

Between 1636 and 1645 Amsterdam newspapers carried advertisements for books and prints published in twenty-three towns, placed by 168 booksellers and publishers. Unsurprisingly, the most prolific were key economic and political centres with a large number of booksellers. Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, Haarlem, Utrecht and Rotterdam are the most prominent. Yet the newspapers reached far beyond major urban centres. Franeker, with its university, boasted significant book production and consumption. Nearby Leeuwarden provided ample business as the administrative capital of Friesland. Middelburg, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Kampen, Dordrecht and Delft were naval and commercial hubs. Even peripheral centres of the book trade, located at the frontiers of the Dutch

Republic, contributed to the advertising content of the newspapers. Groningen, Arnhem, Den Bosch, Deventer and Zwolle were served by relatively few booksellers and publishers, but their inhabitants were clearly familiar with the newspapers. Operating in small local markets, publishers such as Jacob van Biesen in Arnhem or Hans Sas in Groningen would profit greatly from promoting their works on a national platform.⁵⁰

These tables make clear that the Amsterdam newspapers were fully integrated into the national book market. The Dutch book trade underwent a momentous expansion in the first half of the seventeenth century. The total number of booksellers almost quadrupled between 1600 and 1650, from 68 to 247.⁵¹ Bookselling establishments emerged in numerous towns, some with only a couple of thousand inhabitants. Between 1636 and 1645, thirty-five different cities and towns were served by at least one bookseller. Table 1.3 displays the number of booksellers and publishers active in each town at some point between 1636 and 1645.⁵² The table compares the number of active booksellers and publishers to those advertising in Amsterdam newspapers.

Over two-thirds of booksellers in Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam, Leeuwarden and Franeker used the newspapers to advertise their publications. In some towns, such as Deventer, Arnhem, Heusden and Zierikzee, all booksellers known to have been active in these years advertised their wares in the newspapers. Of the twelve towns which do not appear in advertisements, ten had only one bookseller or publisher. In total, 52% of booksellers and publishers in the Dutch Republic advertised in Amsterdam newspapers between 1636 and 1645.

More detailed analysis of the advertisements posted reveals that although both Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten had cultivated national distribution networks, these networks, though overlapping, had very distinct individual strengths. Publishers with a relatively large and well-known output could afford to advertise in more than one Amsterdam newspaper on a regular basis. The pattern was rather different with booksellers and publishers in the smaller towns. Here, the national reach of the Amsterdam newspapers encouraged the consolidation of local monopolies. Thomas Pieter Baart was a bookseller active in Alkmaar throughout the period 1619–1636. Baart subscribed to Broer Jansz's *Tijdinghen*, which he sold on to local customers. At his death in 1636,

⁵⁰ TVQ 43, 24.10.1637, TVQ 22, 29.05.1638 (Sas); CID 34, 17.06.1634, TVQ 26, 27.06.1637, CID 20, 16.05.1643 (Van Biesen). Van Biesen clearly had some sort of understanding with Van Hilten for his books also to be available at the Amsterdam shop. See CID 25, 20.06.1637.

⁵¹ J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers tot 1700 met Plaatsen en Jaren van Werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop: HES & de Graaf, 1980).

⁵² The statistics on booksellers/publishers come from Gruys and De Wolf, *Thesaurus Nederlandse boekdrukkers*.

TABLE 1.3 The Dutch book trade in relation to Amsterdam newspaper advertisements, 1636–1645.

Cities (34)	Active booksellers/ publishers (318)	Booksellers/ publishers advertising in Amsterdam newspapers (167, 52%)	Total number of advertisements (758)
Amsterdam	114	68 (59%)	481
Leiden	33	22 (67%)	57
Utrecht	20	8 (40%)	32
Dordrecht	19	4 (21%)	18
The Hague	18	14 (78%)	37
Haarlem	13	7 (54%)	19
Hoorn	10	2 (20%)	6
Middelburg	10	6 (60%)	8
Delft	9	3 (33%)	8
Rotterdam	9	7 (78%)	27
Leeuwarden	7	5 (71%)	15
Enkhuizen	6	2 (33%)	5
Franeke	5	4 (80%)	9
Gouda	5	1 (20%)	1
Groningen	5	1 (20%)	2
Alkmaar	4	2 (50%)	2
Gorinchem	4	0 (0%)	0
Kampen	4	2 (50%)	3
Deventer	3	3 (100%)	4
Zwolle	3	1 (33%)	4
Arnhem	2	2 (100%)	16
Den Bosch	2	1 (50%)	1
Zutphen	2	0 (0%)	0
Bergen op Zoom	1	0 (0%)	0
Beverwijk	1	0 (0%)	0
Harderwijk	1	0 (0%)	0
Heusden	1	1 (100%)	1
Medemblik	1	0 (0%)	0
Nijmegen	1	0 (0%)	0
De Rijp	1	0 (0%)	0

TABLE 1.3 The Dutch book trade in relation to Amsterdam newspaper advertisements, 1636–1645. (*cont.*)

Cities (34)	Active booksellers/ publishers (318)	Booksellers/ publishers advertising in Amsterdam newspapers (167, 52%)	Total number of advertisements (758)
Sneek	1	0 (0%)	0
Tholen	1	0 (0%)	0
Zaandam	1	0 (0%)	0
Zierikzee	1	1 (100%)	2

Baart owed Jansz 154 gulden and 11 stuivers for copies of the paper supplied to him. While three other booksellers were active in Alkmaar during this period, Baart ensured that he was the only bookseller to act as an agent for Jansz. In this way, Baart and Jansz came to an effective commercial understanding: Jansz delegated the sale of his paper in and around Alkmaar to Baart, who then operated a local monopoly on the sale of periodical news. No advertisements from Alkmaar can be found in Jan van Hilten's *Courante*. Broer Jansz was effectively able to corner the local Alkmaar market.

It is possible that booksellers in other locations made similar arrangements. The following table (1.4) displays the number and location of booksellers and publishers advertising with Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz for the years 1636–1645. It is immediately clear that Van Hilten maintained a wider network of advertisers than Broer Jansz. Three publishers from Delft and Deventer advertised in Van Hilten's *Courante*; so did four from Franeker. None of these placed advertisements in Broer Jansz's *Tijdinghen*. Van Hilten also had contacts in Gouda, Heusden, Zierikzee and Zwolle who do not appear in Broer Jansz's newspaper. In larger cities, such as Amsterdam, Haarlem, The Hague, Utrecht and Middelburg, Van Hilten enjoyed a more varied clientele. For his part, Broer Jansz enjoyed unrivalled connections in Alkmaar, Den Bosch, and Groningen. Leiden provides interesting results: out of twenty-two advertising publishers, only four advertised in the newspapers of both Van Hilten and Broer Jansz. The rest advertised in one or the other.

One further piece of evidence of the enduring strengths of these networks comes from an unusual advertisement that appeared in the *Tijdinghen uyt*

TABLE 1.4 The number of booksellers and publishers advertising in the newspapers of Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz, 1636–1645.

Province	City	Jan van Hilten	Broer Jansz
Holland	Alkmaar	0	2
	Amsterdam	57	40
	Delft	3	0
	Dordrecht	4	3
	Enkhuizen	2	1
	Gouda	1	0
	Haarlem	7	4
	Heusden	1	0
	Hoorn	1	1
	Leiden	11	14
	Rotterdam	5	4
	The Hague	13	4
Zeeland	Middelburg	5	2
	Zierikzee	1	0
Utrecht	Utrecht	7	3
Friesland	Franecker	4	0
	Leeuwarden	3	5
Gelderland	Arnhem	2	2
Overijssel	Deventer	3	0
	Kampen	2	1
	Zwolle	1	0
Groningen	Groningen	0	1
Generality Lands	Den Bosch	0	1

verscheyde Quartieren on Saturday 25 May 1658. This was placed by the publisher Otto Barentsz Smient, who, in 1655, had taken over Van Hilten's *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, and reeked of his righteous indignation.

A young man of around 21 or 22 years old, with a good physique, dressed in grey clothes and a cape, and well-spoken, has visited booksellers in various towns to demand payment for subscription to the newspaper of Otto Smient: he has claimed to be Adriaen Smient, saying that he is a nephew of [Otto] Smient; all booksellers are therefore cautioned, not to

give money to any person, unless the bill has been signed by [Otto] Smient; and if any are able to point out the same person [the impostor], they will enjoy a reward.⁵³

Within three years of taking over the paper, in somewhat controversial circumstances, Smient and his associated booksellers had fallen victim to this unscrupulous impostor. This outrageous fraud clearly demonstrates that the *Courante uyt Italien* continued to enjoy a wide distribution network at the end of the 1650s. As Smient used the *Tijdinghen*, a rival Amsterdam newspaper, to warn his clientele, one must presume that the distribution of the *Tijdinghen* remained similarly strong. It must have required dire circumstances for Smient to reveal his humiliation to the world in this way, and not all his competitors would have been altogether sympathetic.

The Eclipse of Amsterdam

As this example suggests, the age of Amsterdam hegemony would endure into the second half of the seventeenth century, through the era of Frederick Henry and the attempted coup of his son, William II, and into the *Stadhouderless* period, when authority was firmly vested in the republican regents of the Holland towns, the era known as the True Freedom. Of the titans of the first generation, Broer Jansz had passed away in 1652, though the paper continued for a further twenty years under the management of his son-in-law Jan Jacobsz Bouman. It was the death in 1655 of his long-term rival, Jan van Hilten, that ushered in the real era of change. Among the news writers who had furnished Van Hilten with his copy was one Abraham Casteleyn of Haarlem. When Van Hilten died, Casteleyn could have offered his services to one of the other Amsterdam papers, or indeed to one of a new generation of papers springing up in The Hague or Utrecht. Instead, Casteleyn decided to start his own newspaper.⁵⁴

Casteleyn's entry into the newspaper market was well prepared. When the first issue came off the press on 8 January 1656 it was accompanied by a small printed manifesto.

Sir. The falseness of the newspapers which nowadays inform us of the movements of this troubled world, had motivated me, on behalf of some interested persons and for my own satisfaction, to write for special

53 TVQ 21, 25.05.1658.

54 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, II, pp. 671–1050.

newsletters from the most important places in Europe, a process which would not have been possible without some trouble and expense. The late Mr Jan van Hilten asked me, when he saw these newsletters at my house, to put them or something from them at his service every week, a thing which I did now and again and which made his newspapers better than those of the others. But after Mr van Hilten died, I judged it better no longer to remain a slave of others, and print news for myself, despite other courantiars requesting my newsletter.⁵⁵


This announcement tells us much about Casteleyn, and the reasons why his newspaper would come to occupy a special place in the crowded newspaper market of the second half of the seventeenth century. As this statement makes clear, before 1656 Casteleyn had found employment, not only in supplying copy to Van Hilten, but as the proprietor of his own manuscript news service. These private news agencies, with their expensive digests of news for privileged customers, continued to be highly esteemed among statesmen, the growing class of magistrates and court officials, and merchants. For men like these, the speedy provision of high-quality accurate news was of vital importance, and they were prepared to pay premium prices to obtain it. Like Carolus of Strasbourg fifty years before, Casteleyn now intended to make this high-grade intelligence available to a wider public, drawing on the network of correspondents he had established for his manuscript service.

Casteleyn's *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* made an immediate impact. By publishing on a Saturday, Casteleyn made a bold claim for Van Hilten's customers. His first editions offered an impressive range of despatches from Europe's major news hubs, still using Van Hilten's single half-sheet format, but with a smaller typeface which allowed him to cram in close to 1,000 additional words per issue. By 1658, Casteleyn was sufficiently confident of his market to add a Tuesday edition; in 1667 the paper would go tri-weekly, with an additional Thursday edition. Like most Thursday papers, this was characteristically the thinnest issue, often with four or five fewer reports than the Saturday or Tuesday papers. This, of course, left more room for advertisements, even if, as seems possible, those advertising had to be persuaded to make do with the Thursday issue by discounted fees.

It is striking that, almost from his first issue, Casteleyn had succeeded in claiming a major share in the advertising market, a considerable feat since the economy of Haarlem was a fraction the size of that of Amsterdam, and its book market and publishing industry were both considerably smaller.

55 Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, Archief Enschedé, OHC 112C.

No: 49

Oprechte Haerlemse  Dingsdaegse Courant.

ITALIEN.

Nacht den 6 Novemb. In dese Stadt regnerde een seer quade krootz; maar noch meest in de Puglia/Corona en Salerno. De Werkinghe van de Soldatesque waer met allen plet doozt geset; en sal byn een considerabele krieghs-marje van hier over-ghesonden werden.

Milano den 7 Novemb. Omme de Werkinghe van de Infanterie en Cavalier ter Specutie te stellen; soo tot bescherminge van desen State; als om nae Spanje te senden; also sijn Majesteit noch gheschreeven is; den Goglogh teghens Portugal; het loof oock tot het wil; doozt te setten; soo heeft oufen Gouverneur aen den Dirc Koning v-n. Nijpels gesonden; omme te lachten; of de daer toe beslofde Penningen baerdig sijn. Modena; niet tegenstaende 't gene doozt desen gheset is; blijft volhandigh by de Weperingh; van gene Feau 'e Soldaten te heimen in quateren; en sal; om dat te machter te demonstereen; den Secretaris Gratiani nae Spanckrijck gaen.

Rome den 10 Novemb. Maendag laetst is den Paus weder van Castel Gandolfo gekomen. De Keyse van den Marquis Matthei nae Ferrare van Boulogne, nu onder 'o'en nu onder 'ander Protect uyt-gheseld; blijft nu op de Naem van Indispositie; tenemael acider. Den Cardinal d'Aragon is desen Morgen ter Audientie by den Paus gheweest; men hout; dat het zy op de Differencie met Vranckrijck; daer van noch seer twijfelichghen wende gesproken; d' een seght; den Paus sal te geven; en d' andere het contrarie; maect beyde de rijd; en 't gew. 18. wachen. Den Pater Ciferriente is de geene; die hier Wegens Portugal Ordi; als Protector van Portugal; heeft hem een Caros met ses Paerden. me-gesonden. Terwijl men hier bezigh was; omme den Keyser 50000 Kroonen; w'te te maecten; komt tydinge van Parijs; dat men een groote Macht veraderde; omme teghens het Voorjaar in Liliën te komen; 't welck dan dese Resolutie heeft doen veranderen; en men heeft een Monfr. Emeris; die om Assistentie hier voor den Keyser aen-houdt; gheseydt; dat het den Paus nu onmogelijck was; maar men heeft sedert andere Sacken voor-gheleyghen; omme den Keyser te helpen; naamtelijck de Tienden der Geestelijck Goederen. Den Ambassadeur van Malha ontfingh Sondagh laetst met expresse Tijdinghe; dat Nic. Les Cettener in sijn Broeders Plaets was verkooren tot Groot Meester van Malha; 't welck de volgende Dag den Paus notificerde; en selden hier eenige Vreugde teeckenen daer over aen.

Roma den 10 Novemb. De Spaensche Ministers hebben met ontsien verlieden; het gader te actameur; dat den Portugigien Minister van den Vroogh van Coscan; Parma en Modena; op sijn Beysse heeft ontfangen; si seijnen daer op te dpingen; dat den Paus sijn 't leven van den tegenwoordighen Koningh van Spanje gerne voorsieninge soude doen van de vacante Geestelijck Plaetsen in Portugal. De Dieners by den Cardinal Imperial hebben hier sijn Paus-taet beginnen te verkoopen; een klere teechen; dat sy hier niet en nispont weder te komen. Den Kestder van Senoua gheset doozt; een Galeje te verbaechten; omme te vertrecken; maar men houdt; dat het alleen daer op siet; omme Don Mario daer doozt te betogghen; tot het af staen van de Hoogerban.

Venetiën den 16 Novemb. Den Cancellier Bellarino schrijft den Ambassadeur van den Pmo Bisther het Hoofst van den eerste Secretaris van Staat van den Grooten Heer hadde doen af staen; en dat alleen op bloote Afschijf; als die sy verpde; dat hem by den Grooten Heer doozt verheert aenkerigen soude hemmen te dreligh sijn; doch ande verpden; dat het alleen om sijn Aluip en Alidelen te doen was; gheset: 't welck moechte mede getuigh; al of den Grooten Heer merder als te vooren begonde te luyfveren nae een Keroort met dese Republijcke; als te ghenoecht siende; dat wellicht aensienende hier met den Keyser sijn meen sal te doen; sijn; Onderstijfchen is den Ingenieur Perlyne doozt den Staat gheschouweret; nae Pail en d' onleggende Plaetsen te trecken; omme te sien; wat daer noodigh te doen is; en speciael aen de Fortresse van Palma; omme daer van Belang aen den Staat te doen. Den Ambassadeur Quirini; die de boozleden Weerh van hier verdrocht nae Rome; seght men; dat den Keedt cruylich bevolen heeft; dat aen den Paus soude remonstrereen; dat aen 't onthomen van Castro de Alf van Italien hingh. Den Keedt heeft sijn Excellentie Caterino Cornaro verhoogen tot Probediteur Generael in Dalmatien. Weden homen Nijebien uyt de Armer; abisferende; dat deselbe was in de Zee van Caranama; en den Generael Sinoich; Generael van de Battaille; op wegh was omme herdochts te homen. Den Contefable Coloma waer met sijn Generael van Rome hier verdocht.

Venetiën den 17 Novemb. Dier Baetke van Dalmatien heeft hier Nijebien aen de Republijck van Constantijpelen ghebracht; sonder dat men daer van wat ontsien; maar het seker brenghet mede ontsien; dat de Alaglachen verlaen behoude de Victorie van den Graef Peter Perini; en dat den Bafsa van Bosnia waer gheslagen; niet niet leedigh hebben willen sijn; maar de Turcken in 't Land sijn gevallen; en hebben 100 Slaven; met goede Dijt te rugge ghebracht. 't Alaglorich; ontreit 16 Slaven van Zara; hebben eenige hant onse getuende Barchen ontmoet; Opentelijck Fussen; daer van sijn het ene mit de Vlucht salverden; maar 't andere geen hang om te onthomen siende; bliechten te Land; maar d' onse hier volgende; seghen sy haer alle gebangen.

VRANCKRYCK.

Parijs den 23 Novemb. Den Cancellier en is in de Besweeringe van de Alliantie mit de Switser niet gheweest; vermits sijn Indispositie; dan is sedert noch niet gebetert; soek dat sich prepareert; omme weder Sit-plaets in de Kamer van Justitie te nemen: Sr. d'Ormesson heeft onderofficieren sijn Bedieninge inde voorste Ceremonie waergenomen. Onder de Tractamenten; die de Switserse Ambassadeurs hebben ghenoten; seght men; een van de traefte gewest te sijn die van Madame de Longueville en den Grave Pol: Dier wi. 1000 4 Silvere Servien en twee vergult in ghebruyck; van welcke Monfr. de Longueville hem oock tot Munter heeft gediend; en daer wierdt niet op godit; als de alleraerste en delicatste Spijs. De Catholijck Switserse Af-ghelanten vertrecken valt; en die van de Gereformeerde sullen apparent oock haer volgen; dan men vertrouwt; dat sy noch iets in faeur van haer Broeders in Piedmont; hier sullen soeken uyt te werken. De Weck is den extraordinairs Deenfien Ambassadeur den Grave Hanibal Zerstid; nae dat hier sithien. Maenden was verbleen; vertracken; zinde van sijn Maest. bechoeken.

ENGELANDT, &c.

Londen den 23 Novemb. De Nijebien van Nijdgrogh hebben; dat alle Weerchen daer Oerghoeringhen waeren gelaert; soo van Nijdgroghen; Ambassadeurs als andere; ten Kuyse van Mr. Crumlan; een Doncofomus; van 2 a 300 Mann; waerom de Regeringe aldaer; omme sulck te verhindern; enige heeft doen verheeren. Op een enighe Plaets heeft men eenen ghewapenendert; die een enighe hadde willen verheeren; dat sijn Majesteit niet langhe als te verpde van de aensienende Maende soude leven. De Doon van Colonel Smith is uyt het doozden; volghens op ontbieden; gehomen; maar nae Crumlan heeft men hem byn laten gaen; als alleen; dat hem bevolen is; niet uyt de Stadt te vertrecken; sonder heruig van de Regeringhe. Dese Nacht is Major Waltes en Carn hier tot Londen ghebracht; Men hout de Bache tenemael doozt sijn Majesteit; sonder ghebaer te wesen. Mr. Henry Daughan; hebden

ILLUSTRATION 1.8 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 49 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 4 December 1663). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

A typical issue of Abraham Casteleyn's *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, which rapidly took over the role of the nation's paper of preference from the Amsterdam weeklies. From the 1660s onwards, the Haarlem newspaper would play a dominant role in an advertising network which stretched throughout the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic.

TABLE 1.5 Comparison of the number of advertisements and announcements placed in the Amsterdam and Haarlem newspapers, 1656–1666, excluding variants and special issues.

Year	Amsterdam surviving issues	Amsterdam ads and announcements	Haarlem surviving issues	Haarlem ads and announcements
1656	8	24	2	3
1657	26	87	4	11
1658	20	49	7	20
1659	10	26	12	25
1660	19	49	23	39
1661	24	85	20	46
1662	26	72	17	51
1663	10	34	6	21
1664	4	16	44	104
1665	20	54	71	96
1666	30	59	104	214
Total	197	555	310	630

But the advertising market was now moving beyond its origins in the book world to encompass a greater range of goods and public services. Local authorities, from all over the Republic, also used the papers to reach a wider public than would routinely hear their ordinances and regulations proclaimed on the streets and marketplaces, or had read the printed versions of these proclamations which they pasted up around the town. For announcements which were addressed to a more widely dispersed clientele, new barge routes and postal services or the change in the date to the local market, newspapers provided the perfect medium to make these known.

In the years and decades ahead, Casteleyn's paper would come as close as was possible to being a national, indeed international, paper of record, recognised as such in the diplomatic capitals of Europe. Casteleyn's reputation as a source of well-informed accurate news was well merited. His long-standing partnership with the English statesman Joseph Williamson provided him with access at the heart of government; at times of war between England and the Republic this exchange of information came close to treasonous discourse.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Jason Peacey, 'Managing Dutch Advices. Abraham Casteleyn and the English Government, 1660–1681', *Media History*, 22 (2016), pp. 421–437.

But Casteleyn, working with his equally capable wife, Margaretha van Bancken, who would continue the paper with great success after Abraham's death, was shrewd, discreet and well-connected. Naturally, the Haarlem magistracy were delighted that their paper was now the heart of the news industry, casting Amsterdam into the shade. They remained faithful even when Casteleyn's ventures into political reporting proved controversial.

Casteleyn posed an existential challenge to the assumed hegemony of the Amsterdam newsmen, not least because the news market had now attracted entrepreneurs in other cities, making further inroads into the national marketplace created by Van Hilten and Broer Jansz. The 1650s witnessed a proliferation of newspapers serving The Hague, the seat of government.⁵⁷ Though none, until the establishment of the *Haegse Post-Tydingen* in 1663, were particularly long-lived, they offered at least the prospect of newsmen with better connections at the heart of power than the second-generation Amsterdam newsmen, since The Hague was a flourishing centre for the production of manuscript news services. The Hague also incubated the extraordinary career of Gerard Lodewijk van der Macht, who descended on the news market, with its unwritten codes of objectivity and discretion, like a tornado. Van der Macht's newspapers were the second wing of a profitable business as a pamphleteer. For these occasional publications, Van der Macht, a dogged critic of Johan de Witt and the True Freedom, could use the cloak of anonymity, so effectively, in fact, that only now many of the pamphlets are being recognised as his handiwork. Even with the newspaper he hoped to disguise his editorial role, but for newspapers an imprint was necessary for the collection of subscriptions, so the unfortunate printer was always vulnerable to retribution, even if Van der Macht attempted to protect himself with a variety of colourful pseudonyms. Banned from The Hague, Van der Macht set up in Utrecht, where he sustained a newspaper through various changes of title and publication day for over a decade.⁵⁸ Much to the fury of the Holland authorities, in Utrecht he was beyond their reach, though even the Utrecht magistrates were sometimes provoked into suspending publication. If this was not enough for the hard-pressed Amsterdam papers, in 1666 the first newspaper was published in Rotterdam, the fast-growing commercial city of the south, and an increasingly important centre of printing.⁵⁹

More irritating still, because closer to home, was the defiance of Nicolaes Jacobsz. After the death of Jan van Hilten, Jacobsz, his son-in-law, expected to

57 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 559–581, 586–637.

58 *Ibid.*, 11, pp. 1051–1071.

59 *Ibid.*, 11, pp. 1166–1130.

be allowed to continue his paper. Instead, the magistrates of Amsterdam appointed Otto Barentsz Smient, who we have already met as the victim of the fraudulent attempt to gather his subscription income three years later. Smient was an experienced publisher, but not a blood relative; this defiance of the accustomed norms of the print trade hit Jacobsz hard. Rather than accept the magistrates' high-handed intervention, Jacobsz removed himself to Weesp, a small town two hours by barge to the east of Amsterdam, where he established an identically titled half-sheet newspaper of his own.⁶⁰ He sustained this venture for four years, draining further customers, and advertising income, from the four remaining Amsterdam papers.

We can see from this incident, and its consequences, that the free-wheeling days of the first pioneers were now over. In Amsterdam the magistrates were increasingly inclined to intervene to secure what they regarded as a well-ordered market. Already in 1654, the Amsterdam council had ordered the four remaining weekly Amsterdam papers to alternate production. Although the newspapers remained independent ventures, they were now instructed to publish fortnightly, with two papers publishing every fortnight on a Tuesday and the other two alternating Saturdays. This resulted in two series, each numbered 1–52, in every year, published by four different printing houses. It is not known what subscribers made of this; perhaps consumer dissatisfaction with this potentially confusing arrangement (and the need to pay for several separate subscriptions) was what prompted Casteleyn to mount his audacious raid on the Amsterdam market from Haarlem.

In 1670 the magistrates intervened again and forced the Amsterdam publishers to amalgamate their ventures into one paper, the *Amsterdamsche Courante*.⁶¹ This arrangement persisted for a further uneasy decade, further reinforcing Casteleyn's position, until in 1682 the *Amsterdamsche Courante* finally came under a single editor. For the first time since 1618, Amsterdam had only a single Dutch-language newspaper, though local readers would certainly have had access to the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, and from 1675 and 1686 respectively, well-financed papers from Utrecht and Leiden.⁶² The French-language press, stimulated by the Huguenot influx from France, also flourished.

This editorial turbulence is an indication that while it was never straightforward to make money from the business of news, the desire to be the proprietor of a newspaper was strong. Both Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten experienced financial difficulties early in their newspaper careers, but persevered. Others

60 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 638–644.

61 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 1160–1380.

62 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 1394–1441, 1446–1517.

tried the patience of increasingly fractious magistrates, particularly in the period of incessant warfare after 1650. But despite the launch and disappearance of new titles, in all forty-nine Dutch-language titles before 1700, the market for advertising continued to grow. First conceived as a service to the book industry, the advertisements would gradually evolve to offer a wide variety of goods and services, and through this, providing us with an increasingly vivid window onto the functioning of this innovative, but unpredictable society. The contrast between the political and diplomatic reports of faraway events, still as much the staple of the newspapers at the end of the century as they had been in 1618, and the tales of neighbourly woe and adventure related in the advertisements, was increasingly glaring. It would be interesting to know which part of the paper subscribers more valued. Did they turn straight to the back of the paper, to the notices of missing children, stolen horses, new schools and barge services, not to mention the many new books offered for sale, as many modern readers would do to find the sports pages? From the eighteenth century onwards, many newspapers would spare their readers the trouble, appropriating the front page for advertisements, and relegating the news to the inside pages. Such was the power of commerce, and the appeal of the parochial and every day, in the developing news values of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

Newspaper Advertising and the Book Industry

Otto Barentsz Smient was certainly not the most fortunate of publishers, but there was no doubting his resilience. By 1674, at which point he could celebrate almost 40 years in the industry, he had certainly experienced his share of bad luck. We met Smient twice in our first chapter: first as the victim of the fraud that deprived him of subscriptions from his out-of-town customers, then trying to fend off the challenge of the aggrieved Nicolaes Jacobsz, selling his identically titled *Courante uyt Italien* into the Amsterdam market from nearby Weesp. Smient had also continued Jan van Hilten's French-language paper, and from 1662 that too had competition, this time in Amsterdam itself. When, in 1670, the publisher of this rival venture, Cornelis Jansz Swol, decided to print his French paper twice a week, a lesser man might have chosen to take a hard-earned retirement.

Yet somehow, in the mid-1670s, Smient was able to regroup and find a way past these tribulations. In 1673 the Amsterdam magistrates brokered an agreement whereby Swol was limited to a single Thursday edition of his French paper. This allowed Smient to propose a favourable settlement. He would close his *Gazette Ordinaire* in return for an annual pension of 200 gulden from his rival, who now had a free run at the Amsterdam French market. Smient had also successfully negotiated the clumsy forced merger of the Amsterdam papers, rebranding his Saturday paper as the *Amsterdamse Saturdaegse Courante*. He would continue as its publisher for the best part of another decade.

Smient came from a bookselling family; he was the son of a printer, with a collateral branch of the family settled in Dordrecht. Family networks like this could be very useful in spreading stock, advertising each other's products and helping tide each other over through extending credit. Before he took over the *Courante uyt Italien*, Smient was a successful publisher, who frequently advertised books in the Amsterdam papers. In 1674, he made the decision to liquidate his remaining book industry assets to concentrate on the newspaper. This sale, too, he advertised in his own paper:

In Amsterdam, at the house of Otto Barentsz Smient, printer on the Reguliersbreestraat, there will be sold around mid-June a print shop, including three printing presses, a great variety of typefaces, illustrations and other equipment. The proofs of the typefaces are available in all cities with the booksellers who receive the newspaper. The sale will take

place on Tuesday 19 June at 9 am, and at 2:30 pm. The bookshop, and the stock of histories, comedies, tragedies, farces, song books, broadsheet songs and history songs, school books, and the entire print run of the *Trouw-rinck* [Wedding-ring], in large 12mo with a Dutch typeface, and many other books, will be sold on the following Tuesday, 26 June, at the same hours.¹

Unpacking this advertisement tells us a great deal about the functioning of the print trade, not least, the many ways to make money in the business of books. First, we note that to encourage interest in buying his print shop, Smient had created a proof sheet with examples of all the typefaces he owned. Making a demonstration sheet of typefaces was relatively routine when a print shop was put on sale with its equipment; what interests us here is the offhand remark that this proof sheet will be 'available in all cities with the booksellers who receive the newspaper'. The creation of this sort of advertising network was a critical feature of the sales infrastructure of the seventeenth-century Dutch book world, as we will see; it also confirms that, despite Casteleyn's success with the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante*, the Amsterdam papers still commanded a broad market.

A week later the stock of the bookshop was sold, with a dazzling range of 'histories, comedies, tragedies, farces, song books, broadsheet songs and history songs, school books', all genres that feature largely in publishers' stock catalogues if not necessarily in the newspaper advertisements. This is a disparity that we will investigate later in this chapter. The only book mentioned by name, an edition of the *Trouw-rinck* by Jacob Cats, was presumably one of Smient's own publications, since he was selling the whole edition before distribution. This book, like so many found in newspaper advertisements, cannot now be linked with a surviving copy.

We have documented advertisements for almost 5,000 books in Dutch newspapers up to 1675.² Since a fair number of these items were advertised twice, this amounts to close to 3,500 individual titles. This represents only a proportion of the books advertised in the Dutch papers in the whole century. We know that more than half the issues of the newspapers published during

¹ ASC 23, 09.09.1674, repeating similar advertisements in ASC 19 and ASC 21. No copy has been identified of this edition of the *Trouw-rinck*, by Jacob Cats: USTC 1532179.

² For a full listing, see Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information*.

the period 1618–1675 do not survive, so this implies a likely total of at least 8,000 books advertised in the newspapers during these years. There were perhaps more, since in the years before 1650, 95% of all advertisements were for books, and in these years the number of surviving issues of the newspapers was particularly low. Considering the number of new newspaper titles in the last quarter of the century, and the increasing number of advertisements carried in them, we can plausibly speak of 15,000 books advertised in the Dutch-language newspapers during the course of the century.

This was a fair portion of all the Dutch-language books offered for retail sale in the Dutch Republic during the century. By the middle of the century, newspapers had become a routine, indeed an essential tool for the publishing industry. The books advertised spanned a wide range, though not all the categories of book mentioned in the sale of Smient's stock were advertised on a regular basis. One of the interesting ways in which we can interrogate these advertisements, is to examine the genres of print that were advertised, and with what frequency, and differentiate them from popular genres, or authors, who were advertised hardly at all. Smient's advertisement omits entirely the most ubiquitous category of books that feature in the newspaper advertisements: Bibles, church books and devotional texts. Perhaps the presence of such texts in a bookshop was so much a matter of course that it scarcely merits mention. Certainly, it is hard to anticipate any bookshop not having in stock a wide range of these core texts.

What follows in the next two chapters explores two interlocking issues: what the advertisements tell us about the books published in the Dutch Republic, and, secondly, how advertising helped underpin the economics of the book world. Clearly, the principal purpose of the advertisements was to alert customers to new titles. But the trade in books, and other services advertised in the newspapers, also allowed booksellers to make a steady income from various ancillary functions: selling newspapers, stocking book catalogues, hosting and conducting auctions, even acting as a point of contact for the return of lost or stolen goods. These additional income sources undoubtedly helped publishers like Smient get through the bumps in the road and helps account for the low levels of publisher and bookseller bankruptcy compared to earlier eras in the history of print. All of this is made vividly clear in the advertisements, where publishers and booksellers are not only customers of the newspapers, placing advertisements for their new books, but protagonists in a complex, expanding world of trade. If Smient could negotiate the slings and arrows of commercial rivalry and ill fortune, then so could others, not least through the opportunity to tap into diverse income streams. It was not only the

size of the book market that protected Dutch booksellers from business failure, but its versatility.³

Trading in Piety

The years 1618 and 1619 were a brutal time in Dutch politics, and much of the savagery came clad in clerical garb. When Prince Maurice of Orange took action to quell the opposition of the Holland towns, culminating with the judicial murder of the elderly statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, this also facilitated a decisive solution to the quarrels which had convulsed the Dutch Reformed Church for the previous decade. These disputes had pitted scholars and ministers who upheld a strict interpretation of Calvinist doctrine against a party of theologians who favoured a more nuanced reading of Calvin's teaching on justification and predestination.⁴ In this new political climate, these dissidents, known as the Remonstrants, were never likely to prevail at the Synod of Dort, the gathering of the international Reformed community called to resolve the issue. The decisive victory of orthodoxy at Dort (Dordrecht) brought the removal of a core of Remonstrants who would not bend, depriving the church of many of its most capable ministers and thinkers. The split would prove enduring, the Remonstrants persisting as a separate congregation throughout the century. But the synod took one further decision which, perhaps unexpectedly, did something to mitigate the long-term impact of these events: the resolution to pursue a new, authorised translation of the Bible. For the new States Bible, when published, was swiftly adopted not only by the Dutch Reformed, both orthodox and Remonstrants, but by Lutherans and Mennonites as well. It was the most important common property of all of the Republic's Protestant congregations. It was also soothing balm for the print industry. The general enthusiasm for the States Bible created a huge reservoir of customers, from which Dutch publishers could draw for decades to come.

It would be twenty years after Dort before the new States Bible was ready for publication, and in that time the fires of controversy had somewhat dimmed. The fiery Dutch divines turned their guns back on the natural enemy, the Catholic church and its secular sponsors. This considerable interlude before

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

4 Carl Bangs, *Arminius. A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1971). Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). A.Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974).

the new translation could be made available owed much to the measured pace of the learned translators, but many of the obstacles emanated from the print trade. For all the profits that publishers would amass from meeting the devotional needs of Dutch congregations, the prospects of gain also inspired baser sentiments in what was, by now, a hugely competitive industry. With the States Bible, the interests of commerce and piety did not initially coincide. The publishers protested that the new translation would render obsolete the huge stock they carried of earlier translations. The slow pace of the translation removed that problem, but as the project reached its conclusion, the publishers fell out over who should secure the lucrative right to publish the authorised edition.⁵

These bitter disputes were resolved by the publication of two competing editions of the States Bible, the approved Leiden version, and an Amsterdam edition published with the support of the Amsterdam magistrates in defiance of the Leiden monopoly. This was the work of a formidable consortium of major Amsterdam publishers, as was made clear in the advertisements in the Amsterdam papers:

Den grooten Bybel na de Nieuwe Oversettinge [The great Bible after the New Translation], in accordance with the decisions of the National Synod of Dort, accurately translated out of the original language. Printed in a large Augustine letter, very useful for those with poor sight (Amsterdam, Jacob Pietersz Wachter, Jan Fredericksz Stam, Theunis Jacobsz, and the widow of Evert Cloppenburgh).⁶

It is our good fortune that these events coincided neatly with the years when the newspapers began to carry advertisements in some abundance, and when we at last have enough surviving copies to be able to follow the process in some detail. This allows us to observe the enormous burst of publishing activity stimulated by the new Bible translation.

The Amsterdam and Leiden publishers fought most passionately for the right to publish the text of the full Bible, particularly the folio pew Bible that would be purchased by every parish church. In the event, they were forced to share it: sometimes a privilege was too lucrative to be observed, even if the authority of the States General stood behind it. But really there were profits

5 This rather tawdry story is told at greater length in Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 125–130.

6 CID 18, 09.05.1643. USTC 1013559. Here there seems to be almost the full 'Company' of printers working in co-operation on one Bible, missing only Broer Jansz.

enough to satisfy everyone. The key to this market was its versatility. Pious households wanted their family Bible, but also smaller volumes to carry to church, New Testaments and copies of the psalms. These too would be republished according to the new translation, and by tacit consent, this market remained free to all publishers. Thus began a decades-long experiment in different formats, typefaces and combinations of text, with editions suitable for those who could read music, or not, those who preferred a more luxurious text to impress their friends, or something serviceable for private reading at home, or even, as with the Amsterdam edition above, those with poor sight. Given the extent to which the Bible was read in the evening in rooms ill-lit by inadequate candles, this was a pertinent consideration, and many Dutch readers had reason to be grateful for the thoughtfulness of the publishers in this respect.

What we learn from this, and the many advertisements for all sorts of church books in the newspapers of this era, is that this was a market which depended on selling multiple varieties of text to the same households, to be read and consulted in different situations, and by different members of the family, adults and children. By 1648 the Amsterdam publisher Paulus Aerts van Ravesteyn, the printer responsible for the first edition of the States Bible, had come up with what he regarded as a winning combination, a New Testament in duodecimo, with the *Psalmboeck en Lofsangen* [Psalms and Songs of Praise], 'convenient to carry in one's pocket'. It was also, according to advertisement, printed on super-fine paper.⁷ Twenty years later a Hoorn publisher sought to capture a part of this same market with a New Testament and book of psalms in octavo, 'printed with a new typeface, on clear and strong paper, with the New Testament set conveniently in two columns, and the psalms with music notes'.⁸ An edition offered the following year by the heirs of Ravesteyn, 'very thin, and easy to bind', offered a different response to the same problem, the desire for convenient, portable texts.⁹

The work most frequently carried to church was a collection of psalms, sung in every service in the Reformed tradition in lieu of hymns. This inspired even more typographic virtuosity from the printers. In 1653, the Amsterdam publisher Cornelis de Leeuw, who specialised in music publishing, posted this eye-catching advertisement:

7 TVQ 41, 10.10.1648, USTC 1019766. Other New Testaments and psalm books advertised as 'suitable to carry in the pocket' appeared in EHD 25, 23.06.1672 and OHD 41, 08.10.1675.

8 OHS 16, 17.04.1666. USTC 1802862 for the psalms sold separately. This combined edition cannot be identified with a surviving copy.

9 OHS 50, 10.12.1667.

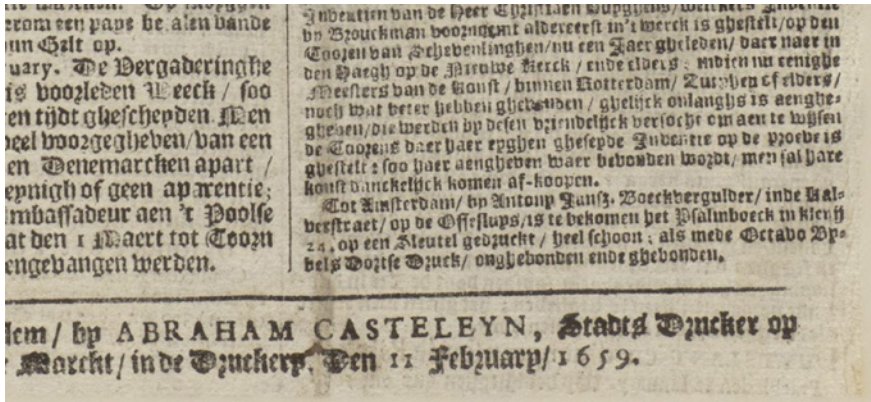


ILLUSTRATION 2.1 *Haarlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 6 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 11 February 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
Newspaper advertisements for psalm books were amongst the most common advertisements found in seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers. In a competitive market, publishers always emphasised the specific features of their editions: in this advertisement, by Antony Jansz from Amsterdam, the reader is enticed to buy a tiny 24mo psalm book, with musical key, 'very beautiful', as well as an octavo Bible, after a Dordrecht printing, both available 'unbound and bound'.

Het Psalm-boeckje [The little Book of Psalms], small 24mo (instead of 32mo, the 24mo provides a more suitable format and is set with a better typeface), with music notes and a short introduction which allows one to sing the psalms with little effort; also available in 40, 80, 12mo, large 24mo and 16mo (Amsterdam, Cornelis de Leeuw).¹⁰

Cornelis de Leeuw was here making this book of psalms available simultaneously in seven different formats. It is quite remarkable that De Leeuw had the necessary musical type to be able to pull this off: and indeed, that the market was so sophisticated that customers would weigh the merits of different small formats, down to the tiny 32mo, where the print would have been very difficult to pick out. The variety of different formats also made extraordinary demands in terms of the paper required. For this, printers depended on specialist paper brokers, who kept in stock a huge range, in different sizes, quality and thickness, as we can see from this stock auction in 1673:

10 ODC 9, 25.02.1653. No copy has been identified of this edition in any of these formats.

On Thursday 28 September there will be auctioned by J. Jacott, paper broker, at 9 am, the following sorts of paper: fine Imperial, Super Royal, Royal, large Median, fine large post paper and small post paper, small Lely and small Arent, as well as all sorts of printing paper, as well as large and small Genoa post paper, and various other sorts of office paper.¹¹

Many customers were not content only with luxurious binding and thick creamy paper, and chose to decorate their pew Testament or psalm book with gold or silver clasps. These are seldom advertised in the newspapers: the customers would normally buy the text from the bookseller, and the clasps would be obtained separately from the silversmith. A rare exception is the sale of the stock of the Amsterdam bookseller Dirck de Blom, which included 'writing books and gilded devotional books'.¹² Otherwise we meet them only in the advertisements when lost or stolen, in the offer of a reward for their return.¹³ But their use among the smarter set, or as a gift to children making their steps to adulthood in the congregation, was sufficiently widespread to call down the wrath of ministers such as Franciscus Ridderus.

Books, like the Bible, do little good when they are not opened. ... I cannot complain of the binding of Bibles: such splendour is appropriate, if it was only motivated by love and honour of God's Word: but some children seem to do so only to carry the Bible or a little Testament to church. The greatest honour is that one should read books, and thereby make use of them.¹⁴

Ridderus condemned this use of God's word for show and ostentation, rather than for contemplation and spiritual enlightenment. But even the most austere ministers made their own compromises with the print industry, Ridderus among them: he was a bestselling author in his own right, with over one hundred editions to his name. The outpourings of the Reformed clergy constituted another major market for the publishers and booksellers, and one that flourished equally in times of trial or prosperity.

¹¹ *OHD* 39, 26.09.1673.

¹² *CID* 39, 25.09.1666.

¹³ *OHS* 35, 28.08.1666. *OHD* 38, 21.09.1666. *ASC* 11, 12.03.1672.

¹⁴ Franciscus Ridderus, *Nuttige Tiedkorter voor reizende en andere luden* (Rotterdam: Joannes Naeranus, 1663), pp. 76–77.

The Tenth Improved Edition

In the seventeenth-century publishing world, the States Bible was the gift that kept on giving: not only in the market for Bibles, New Testaments and psalm books, but with the mass of devotional literature that could be re-issued with their Biblical citations revised in accordance with the new translation. This was a windfall for the industry not unlike the new wealth showered upon 1960s rock stars when their vinyl classics were reissued digitally. In that case the artists were the beneficiaries: in the harsher climate of the seventeenth century, the gains accrued entirely to the printers and booksellers. The authors were left unremunerated, but with the not unwelcome problem of grappling with the glow of pride stirred by their new status as bestselling authors. And bestsellers these were. When Evert Cloppenburgh advertised *Des Swaermoedigen Conscientie Troost* [The Comfort for the Melancholy Conscience] of Otto Casman in 1638, this was the third edition.¹⁵ In the same year the Remonstrant champion Johannes Wtenbogaert published a new edition of his *Meditatie, of Overdenckinge ende Verclaringhe van 't Vader Onse* [Meditation, or Discussion and Explanation of the Lord's Prayer] 'again improved and enlarged': this was the fifth impression.¹⁶ In 1642, Marten Jansz Brandt published a popular work of Willem Teellinck, minister in Middelburg, a set of four sermons on the Eucharist, *Het geestelijck cieraet van Christi Bruylofts-kinderen, ofte de practijcke des heyligen avondmaels* [The spiritual jewel of Christ's Wedding-children, or the practice of the holy evening meal].¹⁷ Teellinck (1579–1629) was an enormously popular theological author with over 150 editions published before 1650. As we see here, his writings continued to enjoy a following after his death: this was the fifth edition, and three more would follow by 1647. The version of Francoys de Knuyt's *Korte Bekentenisse des Gheloofs* [Short Declaration of the Faith] published in Haarlem in 1642 was also the fifth edition, and, according to the advertisement, 'much improved'.¹⁸

One can observe in these advertisements a common thread. First was the frequent insistence, no doubt at the publisher's behest, that the text was improved, enlarged or corrected. Experienced customers no doubt learned to take such inducements, which were as old as print itself, with some scepticism,

15 TVQ 15, 10.04.1638. This is a previously unrecorded work. The first two editions are also unknown.

16 TVQ 39, 29.09.1640 and CID 40, 06.10.1640. Published by Anthony Jansz Tongerloo.

17 CID 42, 18.10.1648.

18 CID 41, 10.10.1648. USTC 1010897. In this case the first four editions can all be accounted for.



ILLUSTRATION 2.2 *'t Geestelijck Kruidt-Hofken* (Alkmaar: Jacob Pietersz Moerbeek, 1664). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam
 Devotional bestsellers were a staple of the Dutch book trade. This edition of the *Geestelijck Kruidt-Hofken*, a pious song book, is proudly marketed as the 'ninth improved edition, enlarged with many exceptional pious songs, never before printed'. Many lost editions of similar books have only come down to us thanks to the newspaper advertisements.

but it must have helped persuade some to replace their older, and possibly much thumbed edition, with one more recent. We have some oblique corroborative evidence for this in the fact that so many of these repeat editions can no longer be accounted for in a surviving copy. And we should not always doubt publishers' claims of enlargement: in the case of a bestselling catechism like that of Gellius de Bouma, frequently reprinted during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the book grew several hundred pages in length between its first publication in 1621 and 1656.¹⁹

Charles Drelincourt was another highly admired author. His *Gebeden en Meditatie[n]* [Prayers and Meditations], translated by the Beverwijk minister Gilles van Breen, was described by its printer in 1639 as 'the fourth improved impression, according to the new translation of the Bible'.²⁰ A fifth edition would follow in 1641 and a sixth in 1644.²¹ Drelincourt's more polemical *Cort begrip ende wederlegginghe der dwalingen van de Roomsche kercke* [Short explanation and refutation of the aberrations of the Church of Rome] was even more popular: the issue published by Johannes Lissius in Leiden was the ninth edition.²² Interestingly, this is the only known occasion when Lissius, otherwise known only as a bookseller, is identified as a publisher. The stock of his bookshop was auctioned off in 1645.²³

Many publishers were involved in the sale of devotional literature, but for some, like the Amsterdam publisher Marten Jansz Brandt, it became both a specialism and a mission. It is not possible to discern the religious affiliations of all publishers from the books they published, but Brandt was a committed Contra-Remonstrant. His publishing of this array of orthodox talent was a matter of personal conviction, happily, in this case, well remunerated. This carefully orchestrated publishing campaign came to a climax in 1643 with one extraordinary advertisement posted in Van Hilten's *Courante*.

For sale, with Marten Jansz Brandt in Amsterdam, by D. Roelof Pietersz, 1. *Het Lof Jesu Christi onses Heeren* [The ode to Jesus Christ our Lord], already published in 1643. 2. *Het Lof der kercke Jesu Christi* [The ode to the church of Jesus Christ], already published in 1643. 3. *t Lof des Woordts*

19 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 143–144.

20 CID 44, 29.10.1639. USTC 1021196.

21 CID 42, 19.10.1641. TVQ 9, 27.02.1644. No copy has been identified of either of these editions. USTC 1515506, USTC 1515591. Surviving editions are from 1639 and 1650 (USTC 1021196, 1514106).

22 CID 51, 19.12.1643. No copy identified. USTC 1515588.

23 *Catalogus variorum et insignium in quavis facultate librorum, in officina Johannis Lissii* (Leiden: Johannes Lissius, 1645). USTC 1122156.

Godts, ofte der H. Schrifte [The ode to the word of God, or the Holy Scripture], [already published in] 1640. 4. *Scherp ende Schilt der kinderen Godes* [Guard and shield of the children of God], an explanation of psalm 91. 5. *De Spiegel der Barmhertigheyt en Gerechtigheyt Gods* [The mirror of compassion and righteousness of God]. 6. *De Enge poorte, ofte de Wegh der Saligheyt* [The narrow gate, or the road to salvation]. 7. *Eenige korte gulden Regelen eenes heyligen levens* [A brief golden rule for a holy life]. 8. *Den Evangelischen Arendt* [The Evangelical Eagle]. All enlarged, reviewed and improved according to the new translation of the Bible.²⁴

Roelof Pietersz (1586–1649) is not well known today, but in the 1640s he was a prolific and popular author. When Brandt had published his *Enge Poorte* in 1639, this was already the sixth edition, all with Brandt.²⁵ We can see that the *Lof des Heeren* went through two editions in 1643, and the edition published in 1642 was already the ninth.²⁶ Brandt's Amsterdam rival Hendrick Laurensz had advertised the fourth edition in the newspapers as recently as 1641, so this was selling almost as quickly as it could be printed.²⁷ As for the *Spiegel der Barmhertigheyt Gods*, Brandt had advertised this in 1640 in two formats, in quarto and 12mo, respectively the twelfth and thirteenth impressions.²⁸ Yet in 1643 there was still room for another.

With the works of Roelof Pietersz as with Drelincourt, Brandt added to his advertisements the insistent refrain, 'reviewed, and improved according to the new translation of the Bible'. Here the work of the translators of the States Bible was turned into clean profit: it should be almost obligatory to replace an older edition with the biblical citations correctly translated. So powerful was this mantra, that it was still being repeated in newspaper advertisements in the 1660s, when the States translation could scarcely be described as new, both for editions of the Bible, and these devotional works.²⁹

24 CID 39, 26.09.1643.

25 CID 53, 31.12.1639.

26 TVQ 43, 25.10.1642.

27 CID 13, 30.03.1641.

28 CID 35, 01.09.1640.

29 As, for instance, William Perkins, *Tractaat van de Conscientie*, 'according to the new translation of the Bible', in ODC 11, 14.03.1651; Phillipe du Mornay, *Grondigh bewijs*, OHS 33, 14.08.1666; Caspar Sibelius, *Christelicke Gebeden*, ODC 27, 05.07.1667. Johann Arndt, *Paradijs-Hofken*, OHD 48, 27.11.1668. A folio Bible with the same recommendation was advertised in ODC 12, 22.04.1661.

metrie/Lantmeeten/ ende de Woffelycke Konst der Aenueken.
 Nocht toegeboeght/ de Proportie ofte Grondtregulen/ waer door
 de principaelste werckstucken der groote Zee vaert kan mede upt
 gereekent werden: Door den selben Aucteur. In 8.

Tot Doordrecht / by Abraham Andriesen Boeckverkooper / is
 gedrukt/en wordt uptgegeven: Verhandelinge van Handt-op-
 legghen ende besetten: dat is / Arrest op Persoon en Goederen:
 Gerijtes beschreiben door Petrum Peckium / voornam Rechts-
 geleerde: Ende nu vertaelt/ende doorgaens met de dagelickse
 Onderhoudinghe van het gheene tot de selve Stoffe / upt de Ne-
 derlandsche Rechts-oeffeninge/ bestaende in allerhande Privile-
 gien/Handbeken/Statuten/Placcaten/Ordonantien/Heure/
 Gewijsdens/ende Gewoonten/ op derhsinnige Belterpels van
 den Aenueken upt de Rechten/ende Rechtsgeleerden/ aenmerke-
 lijk heeft kommen by gebzacht werden/verbefticht/ende vermeer-
 dert / door Mr. Simon van Leiden/ J. C. in 4. Met Privile-
 gie door 15. Jaren.

Nocht worden by den selben uptgegeven / Gysbertii Poetii Dis-
 putacien van Gheestelike Verlatingen: Verbolgh door Jo-
 nes Hozenbeek/ Doctoz en Professozen der D. Theologie/ in de
 Academie/ ende Dienaeren des Heplighen Evangeliums/ in de
 Kercke Jesu Christi tot Drecht. Den derden Druk/ op nieuws
 oversien / vermeerdert/ende verbeterd. In 12.

Aen het Geestelike Harnas / of / Den Croost der Mismoe-
 digen/ bestaende in verschepe nutte Leeringhen/ om een oprecht
 kindt Gods/ in alle Rampsaligheden / Verdukinghen / ende
 Verbolginghen / te leeren verghenoeght wesen. Door Thomas
 Caploz/ Doctoz inde Godtherdi. En upt het Engels vertaelt /
 door Jacob van Oort. In 12.

Aen/ Wotstelende Christus. Godsalige Bedencktinghen/ Noot-
 wendighe Betrachtighen / ober de drieboudige Aenueken /
 Venballen/ ende Versoekinghen / des Suppels omrent onsen
 Heplandt Christus. Door Joh. Vermuyden/Out-Burgemeester
 der Stadt Cholen. In 12.

AM CASTELEYN, Stadts Druker op
zuckerp. Den 8 Maert / 1659.

ILLUSTRATION 2.3 *Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant*, no. 10 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 8 March 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

In this issue of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, the Dordrecht publisher Abraham Andriesz, a specialist of orthodox Protestant literature, is advertising four new editions, including a popular work by Thomas Taylor translated from English by Jacob van Oort. In the 1640s and 1650s it became more common for advertising publishers to publicise three or more books in the same advertisement.

Friends from Overseas

While the bestselling authors were mostly Dutch, publishers were happy to seek inspiration abroad. Drelincourt was minister in Paris, and in a later generation the works of the German pietist Johann Arndt would also be extremely popular. It is also a striking feature of this market in devotional texts, how many of the best-selling titles came from English originals. *Het Heylighdom der benaude Ziele* [The Holiness of the oppressed Soul], published by Antoni de Later of Middelburg, was advertised as translated from the English, 'and reprinted in many editions in England given its popularity'. It was also adorned with six copperplate engravings.³⁰ When Dirck Albertsz printed John Denison's *Een Boecxken van de drievoudighe resolution* [A three-fold resolution, very necessary to salvation] this was already the third impression and it would go through at least three more.³¹ John Preston's *Het Nieuwe verbont* [The New Covenant], published in Amsterdam in 1660, was the seventh Dutch edition of a text first published in English in 1629; only two of these editions can be identified through surviving copies.³² And when in 1666, Baltes Boekholt of Amsterdam published the *Vrage en Bedenckeninge op 't Vader onse* [Meditations and disquisitions of the Lord's Prayer], this was the sixth edition of a text first published in England in 1636. This was, according to Boekholt 'newly revised and enlarged with daily prayers by the author'.³³

The popularity of English authors was a remarkable and enduring feature of Dutch devotional life in this period and embraced many authors who could not plausibly be described as puritans.³⁴ New generations of Dutch authors could also profit from the voracious demand for religious literature. Chief among them was Petrus de Witte, the author of the most popular catechism of the second half of the century. When the Hoorn publishers Gerbrant and Jan Martensz produced a new edition of the catechism in 1654, this was advertised as 'the third impression, improved and enlarged'. Hoorn was not a major centre of printing, and De Witte, a minister in the city church, was here supporting his local industry. For the avoidance of all doubt, the printers added to the advertisement the note that it had been 'published after due visitation and approbation by the Classis of Hoorn'.³⁵ When the same printers came back to

³⁰ CID 47, 19.11.1633.

³¹ CID 36, 09.09.1634. Cornelis W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), no. 211.

³² OMWC 21, 24.05.1661. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic*, no. 492.

³³ OHD 17, 27.04.1666.

³⁴ Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 135–140.

³⁵ CID 1, 03.01.1654.

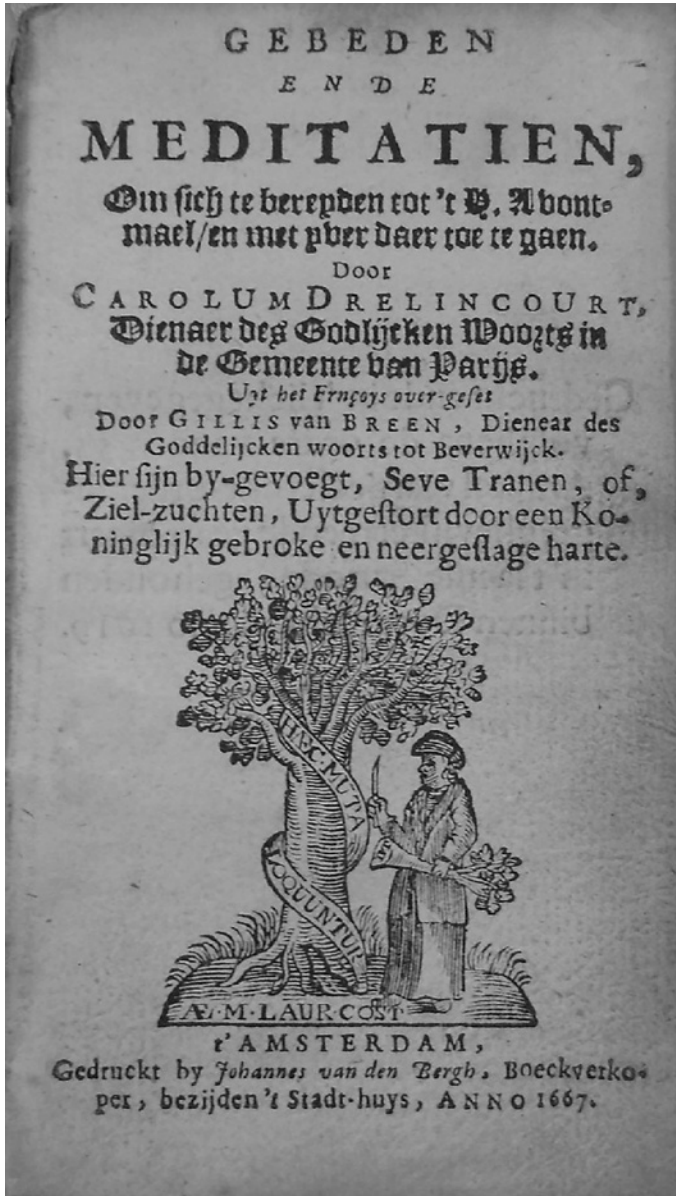


ILLUSTRATION 2.4 Charles Drelincourt, *Dry tractaten om zich te bereyden tot des Heeren avontmaal* (Amsterdam: Johannes van den Bergh, 1667). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam

A surviving edition of Charles Drelincourt's extremely popular *Gebeden ende Meditatie*n [Prayers and Meditations], translated from French by Gillis van Breen. Drelincourt and Van Breen are amongst the most common authors who appear in seventeenth-century newspaper advertisements.

the market in 1664, this is advertised as their sixth edition, although it is the twenty-first edition known since first publication in 1652. It is clear, as this discrepancy shows, that the Hoorn printers struggled to protect their market from competitors in the larger cities, who were responding to the overwhelming demand for De Witte's work. This piracy prompted a stern rebuke from the publishers, endorsed by De Witte: 'The author has only approved the editions of his catechism which are printed by Gerbrant and Jan Martensz in Hoorn, but none printed in Amsterdam and elsewhere'.³⁶ The surviving editions confirm, alas, that this rebuke had little effect on printers in other towns. When in 1670, a new deluxe issue was announced in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, 'corrected of many printing errors by the author and enlarged with indices, printed on beautiful white paper', that was apparently the twenty-third edition, and it was printed in Rotterdam.³⁷

When in 1660 the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courante* offered for sale the *Lof des Heeren* [Praise of the Lord] of Jacobus Triglandius, a rigorously orthodox Amsterdam minister who moved to be Professor of Theology at Leiden, this was already the tenth edition.³⁸ The demand for the works of Triglandius, until his death in 1654 one of the most influential of the mid-century theologians, is not surprising, but the same notice also advertised the work of Bouritius Sibema, at the time of writing minister in Oost-Zanen, a small industrial village in North Holland. This was already the fifth edition of his *Solomons Swaert* [Solomon's Sword], here described as revised and improved.³⁹ We know Sibema served this small parish because the newspaper advertisements are careful to identify clerical authors in this way, as minister in a particular location, or as professor in a specific university. One can only assume that this was because this designation gave status both to the book, and to the author. In the case of ministers in more humble charges, it may have been hoped that their success as an author advertised their credentials for transfer to a larger urban charge; for Sibema it seems to have worked, for shortly after the publication of *Solomons Swaert* he moved to a far more prestigious position in Haarlem.⁴⁰ But not all minister-authors aspired to a leg up. Some were content to serve their time in a small community, where an undemanding congregation would not have intruded greatly on the time required for writing their devotional and instructional texts. Take Frans Esausz den Heussen

36 OHS 10, 08.03.1664.

37 OHD 47, 25.11.1670.

38 OHS 22, 29.05.1660.

39 OHS 22, 29.05.1660.

40 Though interestingly, even this posthumous edition continued to advertise him as minister in Oost-Zanen.

(1599–1679), whose *Den Christelijcken Jongeling* [The Christian Youth] was advertised by Marten Jansz Brandt in 1640.⁴¹ Den Heussen was the minister on the small island of Vlieland, at the entry to the Zuiderzee. He was still there in 1667, when he published his *Gedachtenis van de Engelse furie op de Vlies en der Schellingh* [Thoughts on the English fury on Vlieland and Terschelling], an account of the English raid on the Wadden islands, this time with the Amsterdam publisher Abraham van den Burgh, who had taken over Brandt's business.⁴²

Den Heussen sent his books to be published in Amsterdam, but H.J. Kraegh, the minister in De Waal and Oosterend on the neighbouring island of Texel, was able to have his work published on the island, as we see from this advertisement in the *Tydinge uyt verscheyde Quartieren* in 1666:

H.J. Kraegh (minister in De Waal and Oosterend on Texel), *De droevige staet der kercke, ontrent de komste Jesu Christi ten oordeel* [The sad state of the Church, around the arrival of Jesus Christ]; Item, *Nodige onderwijsinge van de kruycen en kruycfixen, en wie men voor vyanden van het kruyce Christi houden moet* [Necessary instruction on crosses and crucifixion, and whom one should maintain as an enemy of the cross of Christ] (Den Burg [on Texel], Lodewijck Vermeulen, and also available in Amsterdam with Jan Bouman).⁴³

Neither of these books survive; indeed, this advertisement provides the first inkling of the existence of this press. Until this point it was not known that a printing office had been established on Texel. Presumably, in intervals between publishing the minister's tracts, it was kept busy turning out forms and notices for the outgoing fleets, which made use of the anchoring place at Texel before proceeding on their way. This press was reasonably long lasting, as we learn from a second advertisement from 1677, for a work by Abraham Magirus, then the minister at De Koog, another small community on the island of Texel. Happily, we now even know of a surviving edition of a book published for Kraegh during the time of his ministry on Texel. When we first presented these findings, we were contacted by a private collector, who owns an earlier edition of the *Nodige onderwijsinge* printed in 1664.⁴⁴

41 CID 46, 17.11.1640. This was described as the second impression, improved by the author.

42 USTC 1804063: Frans Esausz den Heussen, *Gedachtenisse van d'Engelsche furie op de Vlietstroom, en der Schellingh* (Amsterdam, for Abraham van den Burgh, 1667).

43 TVQ 34, 21.08.1666.

44 USTC 1544918: H.J. Kraegh, *Noodige onderwijsinge van de kruycen en kruycfixen* (Amsterdam/Den Burg: Jan Jacobsz Bouman for Lodewijck Vermeulen, 1664).

Far from Amsterdam or other major cities, such aspiring authors were forced back very much on their own resources. If they collected a reference library to help them with their work, this would have been the only library in the village. Some ministers made use of the extra space in the church to house their library in the sacristy.⁴⁵ To some extent, this personal library became a sort of shared community resource, if never strictly public.

From the advertisements described in this book, we know of books published by the ministers of 102 different cities, towns and villages. This extraordinary virtuosity in the Dutch ministerial cadre characterised Dutch religious publishing much more than the repeated advertisement of a small coterie of well-known bestselling authors. Even the most respected theological authors were advertised relatively infrequently compared to the number of editions we can trace through surviving copies. When an author reached the status of a Triglandius, a Teellinck or André Rivet, booksellers stocking theological books (which would have been most of them) could have been expected to carry a reasonably selection of their works for the walk-in customer. The writings of the theological heavyweights also circulated through the market through the numerous auctions of the collections of deceased collectors.

In this diversity of authors, the market for devotional literature was typical of the Dutch book world as a whole. In our analysis of the advertisements in the Dutch newspapers up to 1675, we document the work of around 1,500 named authors. Of these, only eighteen have their work advertised on more than fifteen occasions. These include nine theologians, Drelincourt, Den Heussen, Ridderus, Roelof Pietersz and Teellinck, who we have already met, along with Jacobus Borstius, Simon Episcopus, Pierre du Moulin and Gisbertus Voetius. To these we should add five literary giants, Jacob Cats, Hugo Grotius, P.C. Hooft, Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos, and, interestingly, four translators or editors: Lambert van den Bos, Gillis van Breen, Jan Hendricksz Glazemaker and Arnoldus Montanus. Even so, a bare fifteen to twenty mentions (sometimes advertising the same title in more than one newspaper), represents slim pickings in a total corpus of more than four thousand books advertised. This was a world that thrived from a diversity of talent, much of it born and bred in the Dutch Republic.

45 In response to a question from visitors about his knowledge of the Formula of Concord, the German Lutheran minister Christian Lehmann replied that his reading had mostly been based on texts from other libraries 'because in 1639 a Swedish army chaplain robbed him of his best books, forty items that had been kept in the church sacristy'. We owe this reference, from the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden to our colleague Bridget Heal (Bestand 10088 Oberkonsistorium, Loc. 1979, fol.1015r).

For the Correction of Error

Among the many classes of literature published in the Dutch Republic, almanacs were one of the most fugitive. Unless an owner used theirs as a personal diary, and retained it as an aide-memoire, the almanac was redundant at the end of the year, and simply discarded.⁴⁶ Sometimes the pages were torn out and used for domestic purposes, although almanacs were often too small for the pages to be used as wrapping paper. The volumes that have been preserved in libraries are often in poor condition, with signs of heavy use. The unbound



ILLUSTRATION 2.5 Willem Claesz Heda, *Stilleven met vergulde bokaal* (1635). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-4830

The fate of many almanacs was to be recycled: in this case, an almanac has been repurposed as a pepper cone. Others would have been used for binding supports, as wrappers, or possibly even as toilet paper. The repurposing of old almanacs has ensured the destruction of many editions which are now only known to us through newspaper advertisements.

⁴⁶ On almanacs see Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw: de almanak als lectuur en handelswaar* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1999). Idem, *Een handdruk van de tijd. De Almanak en het dagelijks leven in de Nederlanden* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997).

sheets of unsold copies could be sold as binder's waste, to pad the bindings of larger books, which is how some broadsheet almanacs, and many fragments, have come down to us.

Some unsold copies were inevitable, for the demand for almanacs was so massive that a publisher would not want to miss out on a thousand sales through underestimating the print run. We know of editions printed in 25,000 or 30,000 copies. This was a market of high demand and easy profits, so, inevitably, highly competitive. In the early days of print, cities tried to bring some order to the market by appointing an official cosmographer to construct their astrological charts. These charts were essential to guide physicians and surgeons to the days propitious for bloodletting according to the orthodox Galenic theories of medicine. All medical practitioners were required to display such a calendar on their walls.⁴⁷ But as the fashion for almanacs spread from medical men to other sorts of tradesmen and merchants, any attempt to limit the market was deeply unpopular. When in the 1620s, the Antwerp authorities awarded a monopoly on the publication of almanacs to a favoured publisher, this caused such bad blood that it was soon abandoned.⁴⁸ In the fast-flowing business world of the Dutch Republic, with many cities producing their own almanacs, often in different sizes and configurations, such regulation was inconceivable.

It is almost impossible to reconstruct the production of almanacs from surviving copies; sometimes we have only one or two editions of an annual sequence maintained for decades.⁴⁹ But we can get a flavour of the sophistication of this market from newspaper advertisements placed by almanac publishers to highlight the unique characteristics of their products. Here is the Amsterdam publisher Gillis Joosten Saeghman in November 1662 setting out his wares for the new year:

Comptoir Almanach [Office Almanac] with the conjunction of the planets, and a prognostication for each month, with all the annual markets, and the times of sunrise and sunset throughout the year, most useful

47 Richard L. Kremer, 'Incunable Almanacs and Practica as Practical Knowledge produced in Trading Zones', in Matteo Valleriani (ed.), *The Structures of Practical Knowledge* (London: Springer, 2017), pp. 333–369.

48 Stijn van Rossem, 'The Struggle for Economic and Political Domination of the Production of Almanacs in the Southern Netherlands (1626–1642)', in W.A. Kelly and G. Trentacosti (eds.), *The Book in the Low Countries* (Edinburgh: Merchison, 2015), pp. 81–120.

49 A serviceable list of surviving copies can be found in K. Hoogendoorn, *Bibliography of the Exact Sciences in the Low Countries from ca. 1470 to the Golden Age (1700)* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1173–1417.

for all citizens, skippers, merchants, and travellers, 40; the same in 8o; the same in 16mo; *De Zaey-Almanach* [The Sowing-Almanac]; *de Vacantien voor den Hoven van Holland, Amsterdam, Uytrecht, &c* [The vacations of the Courts of Holland, Amsterdam, Utrecht, etc.]; *de kleyne Almanach* [The small Almanac], 32mo, in new style and old style, with red and black letters; *de Plack-Almanach* [The Poster-Almanac], with and without illustration, 16mo; *De Nederlantse Waersegger* [The Dutch Prognosticator], 40, everything most correctly printed on clean, white paper, and all to be printed every year.⁵⁰

Saeghman published most of these seven almanacs on an annual basis throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, and though not a monopoly provider, held a dominant position in the market in Amsterdam and the rest of Holland. It is interesting, that of the items listed here for 1663, only the two largest formats of the *Comptoir Almanac* have survived. The quarto edition was a larger volume intended for the desk of a merchant or gentleman, with plentiful space for his own notes.

The publication of the new year's almanac was an event in its own right: in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* of 18 December 1668 Jacob Stichter announced that his new *Schutters Almanachen* [Militiamen's Almanac] would be distributed on the streets of Amsterdam on New Year's Day.⁵¹ Stichter was leaving nothing to chance. By advertising in the Haarlem paper, he would be reaching a wide audience, and anyone going to Amsterdam for the new year festivities would be attracted to his sale by the accompanying drummers. The presence of the drummers gave the distribution of the almanac the formal quality of the issue of a municipal ordinance, perhaps not inappropriately, as the almanacs contained so much information of an official nature. Saeghman's almanacs for 1668, advertised on 29 November 1667, promised 'the correct times of the holidays of the Courts of Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Utrecht and Groningen': clearly, these were intended for a national market. Saeghman offered editions in 40, 8o, 16mo and 32mo, 'all on good writing-paper'.⁵²

Saeghman was here embarked on an ambitious strategy to break down the established tradition of local almanacs with prognostications cast for each individual city. That had perhaps been appropriate for Germany and Italy, where the cities were widely dispersed; less so for a busy, and increasingly

⁵⁰ OHS 46, 18.11.1662.

⁵¹ OHD 51, 18.12.1668.

⁵² OHS 44, 29.10.1667.

integrated commercial market like the Dutch Republic. The same aspiration for a national clientele clearly animated Vincent Casteleyn of Haarlem, who advertised stock of his *Comptoir almanac* for 1667, available in 40, 16mo and 32mo, and also for sale in Amsterdam with Cornelis Dircksz Kool. Casteleyn clearly thought he had a product that could compete with Saeghman: 'printed beautifully with many illustrations, chronicles, prognostications, comedies, etc., and on fine paper'. Casteleyn also offered his almanacs pre-bound: 'in red, black, green, yellow or gilded bindings'.⁵³

The Dordrecht publisher Mattheus van Nispen also took to the pages of the Haarlem paper to advertise his range of almanacs, in 16mo, 32mo and a broad-sheet chart, 'all in red and black, with the placement and features of the planets, meteorological changes and other astronomical speculations, never before printed'.⁵⁴ The claim to novelty is interesting here, and clearly still had some salience in the marketplace. It is interesting also to note the reference to two-colour printing, which must have been extremely complicated in books so small. In fact, almanacs were the genre in which red and black printing was most frequently offered in this period, outside the comfortable folios of Catholic mass books. Another variant in this complex and buoyant market was the *Euwighdurende Kalendier* [Eternal calendar] offered by Dirck Kampen of Gouda. This was meant to allow the buyer, by the adjustment of wheels and dials on the chart, to track 'the trajectories of the sun and moon, the feast days, the zodiac signs, eclipses, etc.' for many years ahead. It must have satisfied its customers, presumably amateur astrologers, since this was Kampen's fifth edition.⁵⁵

This was a sophisticated and buoyant market, and one which crossed many potential pools of purchasers, from the gentleman or student who wished to keep a diary, to the tradesman or merchant plotting their business strategies. Cornelis Jansz Swol in Amsterdam tried to appeal to as many different buyers as possible, by highlighting the sheer miscellany of his almanac, the *Wijse jaer-beschrijver* (Wise Description of the Year). This was

an infallible almanac portraying the passage of the heavens, all holy days, the characteristics of various animals and herbs, observations on house-keeping, agriculture and fishing, and instructions for daily health.⁵⁶

53 OHS 41, 09.10.1666. None of these three editions is known in a surviving copy.

54 OHD 49, 07.12.1666, OHS 50, 11.12.1666 and OHD 50, 14.12.1666.

55 ODC 39, 29.09.1665.

56 ODC 51, 18.12.1657. USTC 1839231.

In addition to the traditional cosmographical information and anniversaries (a natural substitute for the Saints' Days in a Catholic calendar), the almanacs now offered a variety of helpful commercial information, such as barge timetables and market dates. These pages could be continued from year to year, and sometimes the publishers got a little sloppy, failing to adjust a Thursday market to the correct date in the coming year, or checking whether it might have been moved. This was potentially calamitous for both traders and the host city. If a farmer turned up with thirty head of oxen a week early, that was expensive and inconvenient. If they were two days late, this was disastrous, and a good sale became virtually impossible. The magistrates of Deventer in fact established swingeing fines for any who tried to sell horse or cattle in the city ahead of the market. If the sellers had been misled by the almanacs into coming on the wrong day, they would have felt doubly aggrieved.⁵⁷

All through the century there are occasional spiky notices posted by city councils in the newspapers, drawing attention to the fact that the date of their market had been wrongly printed in the almanacs.⁵⁸ For some reasons, in 1666 this grew into a major problem. This was a war year and the publishers had every reason to be distracted, but even so their performance was lamentable. The almanacs attracted a steady stream of complaints:

The magistrates of Gouda give notice that the yearly almanac printed in Gouda has wrongly placed the annual Vastemarkt on 22 March, while the magistrates moved the market to Monday 1 March in a resolution in 1664.

The magistrates of Gouda were so agitated at the potentially ruinous consequences of this information, that they placed this advertisement in three separate papers.⁵⁹ Another announcement was placed by the magistrates of Purmerend, who gave notice

that because 5 May has been designated a prayerday, the ordinary Purmerend horse market will take place on Thursday 6 May, and the cattle and ox markets on Monday and Tuesday 3–4 May, and not on 5 May (as is stated in some almanacs).⁶⁰

57 *ODC* 30, 25.07.1662.

58 *CID* 28, 13.07.1641.

59 *ODC* 7, 16.02.1666; *OHS* 8, 20.02.1666; *OMWC* 7, 23.02.1666.

60 *OHS* 17, 24.04.1666; *OHS* 18, 01.05.1666.

Here the publishers must be excused, since the prayer day would have been called late, and could not have been anticipated in annual publications. Two months later yet another magistracy joined the fray:

The magistrates of Hulst give notice that their annual market will take place each year on 30 August, and the horse market the day after, on 31 August, except if that day is a Sunday, in which case the horse market will take place on Monday. All almanac-writers are instructed to include the new schedule in their almanacs.⁶¹

By this point, the publishers had had enough – their reputation was seriously at risk. In September, the beginning of the season for compiling the new almanac, Otto Barentsz Smient placed this rather pointed advertisement in his own newspaper.

Because numerous complaints have been received these last few years by magistrates from various cities that the dates of their annual markets and festivals are printed inaccurately in almanacs, and because the latest Amsterdam almanac which has just been printed had misprinted the order of the months and contains numerous other mistakes, Otto Barentsz Smient invites all magistrates to send him the dates of their annual events (if paying the postal charge), so that he can print them most accurately in an almanac. This almanac will also be distributed around New Year with the drummers, for the benefit of all merchants, shop owners, market-goers and others.⁶²

This, as we see, placed the responsibility for providing accurate information squarely with the town councils. Reminding the councils to pay the postal charges is a nice touch; usually postal charges for letters would be paid on receipt, but the recipient was within their rights to refuse to accept a letter on these terms. Clearly Smient was not prepared to accept additional expenses when he was providing a public service. Many recipients did indeed refuse to pay for incoming letters in this way, which has been a boon for historians if not for their correspondents, since when letters were returned to the post office they were flung into chests where some, extraordinarily enough, have survived to this day.⁶³ Smient's hardnosed bargaining also illustrated once again the

61 OHS 29, 17.07.1666.

62 CID 39, 25.09.1666.

63 Kees Adema, *Netherlands Mail in Times of Turmoil. Vol. 1: 1568–1795* (London: Stuart Ros-siter Trust, 2010).



ILLUSTRATION 2.6 Frans Greenwood, *Tamboer op een boerenkermis* (1733). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1937-780. In many cities, drummers would accompany the sale of the new almanacs for the year: the fanfare would have stirred many children to follow them along on their route.

ancillary benefits of being the proprietor of a newspaper, using your shop as a clearing office for information, and exploiting this to publish your own almanac. If Smient carried out this plan, the volume, like most almanacs, did not survive.⁶⁴

One might have hoped that these efforts had solved the problem, but alas, not, according to these further notices in 1667 and 1668:

The magistrates of Muiden give notice that several almanacs have misprinted the date of the annual Muiden market and festival, and hereby inform everyone that their market will take place on 28 August of this year, and henceforth always on the last Sunday in August.⁶⁵

The magistrates of Purmerend give notice that their forthcoming cattle and horse market will not take place on Tuesday and Wednesday 1–2 May, as is stated abusively in the almanacs for 1668, but on Tuesday and Wednesday 8–9 May.⁶⁶

Printing offices were busy, crowded places, working to tough deadlines, and frequently with more work than could be accomplished with the manpower available. The errors that crept in would exercise authors and readers through many years more, and especially, as we see, the city councils, for which the innocent misreporting of their annual fairs could easily have dire commercial consequences.

Lessons well Learned

In 1625, the States of Holland published a new school ordinance, regulating the curriculum of the province's Latin Schools.⁶⁷ This apparently mundane piece of legislation would provide the greatest single stimulus to the growth of the printing industry in the Dutch Republic at any point in the seventeenth century. The Low Countries had always been renowned for their strong educational tradition and high literacy rates. This took a further leap forward in the expanding economy of the first half of the seventeenth century. By 1650, Latin schools had been established in fifty towns and cities in the Dutch Republic,

64 USTC 1532786.

65 *OHD* 34, 23.08.1667.

66 *OHS* 16, 21.04.1668.

67 Ernst Jan Kuiper, *De Hollandse 'Schoolordre' van 1625* (Groningen: Wolters, 1958).

even in places with a population as small as one thousand inhabitants, like Borculo and Wageningen in Gelderland. The main purpose of the Latin schools was preparing boys for entry into university, but this was only one part of a network of educational provision, including Dutch schools, teaching basic literacy and arithmetic, and French schools, offering polish and sophistication to boys and girls from more affluent families, as well as instruction in French.

Despite this dazzling array of schools, the Professors of Leiden University were by 1625 concerned that boys entered their institution with insufficient Latin to follow the lectures. The Holland School Order therefore laid down clear guidance on an appropriate curriculum, leading students through basic grammar to Cato, Erasmus and the letters of Cicero, and then on to Terence, Virgil and Caesar's histories. The upper classes tackled Livy, Horace and Homer. The magistrates added heft to these recommendations by commissioning new editions of twenty-three of the recommended texts, annotated and updated by leading scholars. These would each be published in editions of up to 1,000 copies, to be distributed among the twenty Latin schools of the province.

This commission went to the lucky Elzeviers of Leiden, who, it must be said, rose to the challenge. They published a series of elegant volumes with a clear legible type, but in a compact small format (12mo or 24mo) that could survive rough handling in the classroom. These were of course substantially cheaper than the large format editions favoured by scholars or the richer collectors; the new Elzevier editions, and soon those of their competitors, could be purchased for 2, 3 or 4 stuivers apiece. Through successive reprints, they remained in print to the end of the century and beyond and found an unexpected export market. Customers in England, France, Germany and Scandinavia seized on these neat portable texts, as convenient for a gentleman on his travels as for a reluctant pupil at school.⁶⁸

The impact of this massive trade can be traced both in catalogues of publishers' stock, and in the libraries brought to auction after the death of the original collector. Yet these small format volumes were almost exclusively for private use: few found their way into the shelves of public libraries, and for that reason many of the editions listed in catalogues of publishers' stock, or in the auction catalogues of deceased collectors, cannot now be connected with a surviving copy. This buoyant trade, so important to the health of the publishing industry, leaves little trace in the newspaper advertisements. Of the Latin and Greek authors mentioned in the 1625 School Order, Virgil is advertised eight times in the newspaper copies inspected, Terence five times, Cicero three times (all in 1639), Caesar and Horace only once. Suetonius and Homer were

68 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 164–171, 271–272.

not advertised at all, at least in the newspaper copies that survive. Yet some of these authors were published in the Dutch Republic in over 100 editions throughout the seventeenth century.

This is a part of the book world where we can identify a complete disjunction between the vitality of the market and the role of newspaper advertising. Potential purchasers were comparatively well educated and used to frequenting the bookshops. They could expect to find a decent selection of these small format Latin texts wherever they chose to buy; and since the definitive texts were established early in the century, there were few fundamental revisions that required publishers to take space in the newspapers to advertise new editions. When we examine the libraries of serious collectors, we find their purchasing priorities are very different from what we might expect if we relied for our evidence solely on the newspaper advertisements. The French humanist scholar and Leiden University professor Claudius Salmasius was widely respected by scholars and those building a library: we have found 71 copies of the 1656 Leiden edition of his *Epistolae* [Letters] in quarto, in a survey of around 300 contemporary auction and stock catalogues. None of his works are ever advertised in the newspapers. Snapping at his heels was the 1651 edition, again published in Leiden in quarto, of the treatise *Adversus gentes* [Against the Pagans] of the early Christian author Arnobius. This again, is absent from the newspapers.

Newspaper advertisements played an important role in driving sales, but only in clearly defined portions of the market. Publishers by and large reserved their advertising budget for vernacular titles, the sort of books likely to pique the interest of readers of the papers. Only around 12% of new books advertised in Dutch newspapers during the seventeenth century were printed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew or other scholarly languages (see table 2.1, below). The Latin trade flourished by word of mouth and correspondence between collectors or between the collector and bookseller, acting here as the agent to seek out requested texts. All those involved, collectors and booksellers, would scour the catalogues of forthcoming auctions for desired titles, or as a means to shape future collecting priorities. Building a library, particularly at the elite level, was very much a culture of emulation, which is why many studied auction catalogues long after the auction had taken place; some catalogues were even reprinted, to meet this demand for auction catalogues as a guide to the necessary components of a distinguished library.⁶⁹

69 See, for example, the variant editions of the auction catalogue of Nicolaas Heinsius's library, sold in 1683. John A. Sibbald, 'The *Heinsiana* – almost a seventeenth-century universal short title catalogue', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.),

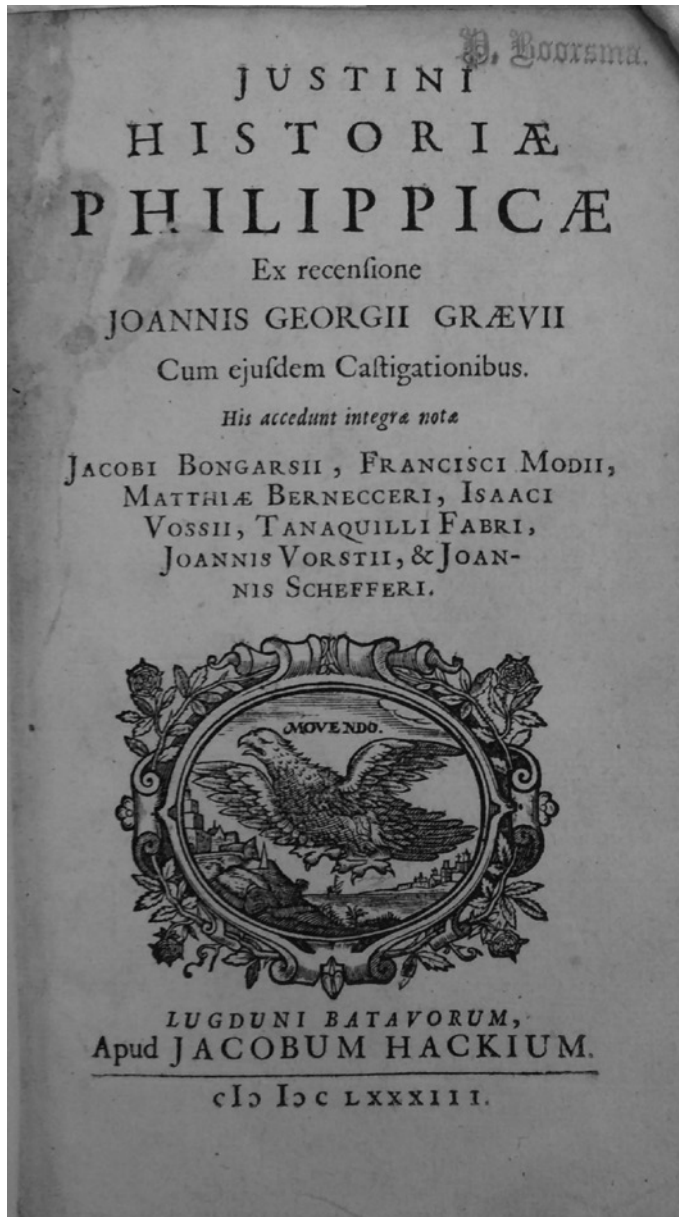


ILLUSTRATION 2.7 Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae* (Leiden: Jacobus Hackius, 1683). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam

A typical example of one of the fine Roman classics issued by Dutch publishers in a small format in the seventeenth century. Although these texts played a vital role in sustaining the health of the scholarly book market in the Dutch Republic, publishers like Jacobus Hackius rarely advertised them in the newspapers.

TABLE 2.1 The language of publication of the books advertised in Dutch newspapers, 1620–1675, excluding book auction or sales catalogues.

Language	Number of editions advertised
Dutch	2,782
Latin and other scholarly languages	439
French	94
Other vernacular languages (Danish, English, German, Italian, Spanish)	28
Bi- or multilingual	81
Total	3,424

The Latin trade was massive, but newspaper advertisements played a comparatively modest role in prompting sales. This was an international trade: publishers like the Elzeviers, the Hackius and the Blaeus looked for customers across Europe as much as in the Republic. Advertising their new Latin titles in Dutch newspapers would not be a cost-effective means of reaching these foreign customers, which is one reason why the overwhelming proportion of books advertised in the newspapers were in vernacular languages.

Fortunately for the newspaper publishers, the Dutch school system had need of many other books, beyond the staples of the Latin curriculum. In 1633, Gerrit Bartjens advertised in the Amsterdam papers for a new edition of his father’s mathematics textbook, a text much used in schools and as a training manual for those who aspired to a career in commerce. This short advertisement disguises a world of pain. For Gerrit Bartjens, based in Zwolle, had taken out a privilege to protect himself against pirate editions of his father’s text. An outraged preface in the new edition drew attention to this privilege and urged pirates to desist. Alas, the profiteers were not deterred, even to the extent of including Gerrit’s indignant preface in their own unauthorised editions. When, in 1648, Jan Jacobsz Bouman advertised his new edition of Bartjens, he almost added insult to injury by insisting that it was ‘reprinted on beautiful paper and most correct’.⁷⁰

Documenting the early modern book world: inventories and catalogues in manuscript and print (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 141–159.

70 ODC 47, 17.11.1648. Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 149–153.

This was a genuine bestseller, used until deep into the nineteenth century, by which time 'volgens Bartjens', 'according to Bartjens' had achieved proverbial status as according to the laws of mathematics. But in his own day the Bartjens text was only the most successful of a rash of such *Cijfferboecken* with which schoolmasters and mathematicians sought to enhance their reputation and pad their income. For some it clearly succeeded. Daniel van Houcke's *Cijfferboek*, published in Rotterdam in 1639, was already the third edition 'improved and enlarged'.⁷¹ The second issue of David Cocq van Enkhuysen's *Cijffer-Konst* came with the alluring assurance that it was 'never before so detailed and clearly explained, corrected of all misprints, improved and enlarged by the author'.⁷² This was intended to exploit the success of the same author's text on Italian book-keeping, 'useful for students but also merchants and accountants'.⁷³ This, in 1640, was also the second impression; a third would be issued by the same Amsterdam publisher, Hendrick Tjercksz de Vries, in 1641, the same year that Thomas Fonteyn in Haarlem published a competing text on Italian accounting by Jean Belot.⁷⁴ In this crowded market, with so many publishers making grand claims of improvements and additions in almost every edition, advertising new editions in the newspapers was almost a necessity, particularly if, like Gerrit Bartjens, you lived in Zwolle, far from the metropolitan centres of print.

Other schoolmasters made money and reputation by publishing handbooks of calligraphy. This was not an inexpensive enterprise, since the model lettering had to be carefully incised onto copperplates. But if the money could be found, the possession of a beautiful hand could be the gateway to a successful career, as the schoolmaster and diarist David Beck would demonstrate.⁷⁵ Practice books (*Materijboeken*) were among the most widely used books of the seventeenth century, essential for boys and girls who progressed from reading to writing. Schoolmasters would often keep a stock of these books to sell to their pupils, and if they were texts of their own devising, so much the better.⁷⁶ When a schoolmaster retired, or died in harness, attempts to sell the business as a going concern often mentioned stocks of such texts thrown in to sweeten the bargain for his successor.

71 TVQ 5, 29.01.1639. Published by the widow of Mathijs Bastiaensz.

72 TVQ 16, 22.04.1645.

73 CID 48, 01.12.1640.

74 CID 43, 26.10.1641. Belot's work is USTC 1018202.

75 On David Beck see his *Spiegel van mijn leven. Een Haags dagboek uit 1624*, ed. Sv.E. Veldhuijzen (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), and id. *Mijn voornaamste daden en ontmoetingen. Dagboek van David Beck, Arnhem 1627–1628*, ed. Jeroen Blaak (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).

76 CID 37, 10.09.1639. CID 14, 07.04.1640.



ILLUSTRATION 2.8 Hendrick Waningen, *'t Rechte Gebruyck van't Italiaens Boeck-Houden* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1680). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1880-A-4020

Accountants are hard at work with their double-entry book-keeping, an accounting practice that was all the rage in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. An aspiring merchant had the pick of many competing texts, all persuasively advertised in the newspapers, as on the title-pages of the books: 'all most useful and suitable for merchants, agents, accountants, and so forth'.

This discussion of school texts should not end without mentioning a very different sort of book much used in the classroom, a Dutch bestseller through the centuries. Schoolmasters inevitably made use of pious literature to teach children their reading skills. The ABC, the first primer a child would use, was here as in other Protestant countries a compendium of the letters of the alphabet accompanied by basic texts such as the Lord's Prayer. But pupils would also become well acquainted with a much darker text, the *Spiegel der Jeught* [Mirror of Youth]. The creation of a fiercely orthodox Amsterdam bookseller, the *Spiegel der Jeught* retold the story of the Dutch Revolt through a dialogue between father and son, focussing on the alleged atrocities of the Spanish enemy. At the beginning, the son is naively unaware of his nation's foundational struggle: 'was this tyranny as great as they say?' Ninety pages and many graphic illustrations later, through tales of sadistic torture, slaughter, executions and double-dealing, the son is in no doubt. A perennial favourite throughout the century, after the war of 1672 it was even repurposed to excoriate the army of Louis XIV. The French had been none too gentle in their handling of the occupied provinces, as the advertisement of these two titles makes clear:

De France Tiranny [The French Tyranny], consisting of two parts, the first detailing a daily account of French aggressions in Utrecht and Woerden, and the other concerning their cruelties in Bodegraven, Swammerdam, Loenen, Waverveen, Boshol, Abcoude, Nichtevecht and in other places, as well as their advancements in 1673 in Brabant and Flanders. These French cruelties deserve to be read by all inhabitants of these lands for eternal memory; *De Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeught, ofte Fransche Tiranny* [The New Mirror of Youth, or French Tyranny], designed for the youth in schools, and shortly to be published (Amsterdam, Jan ten Hoorn).⁷⁷

Ten Hoorn was not the only Amsterdam publisher to issue this updated school book in 1674: Jacobus Konijnenberg and Jacobus Bouman did the same.⁷⁸ All three editions are now lost. The first surviving edition dates from 1680.⁷⁹ It is one more indication that what survives of these vernacular school books may only be a modest proportion of what was once published.

77 ASC 22, 02.06.1674. USTC 1532744. The *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeught* was re-advertised on its own in ASC 26, 30.06.1674.

78 USTC 1532745 and 1532746. ADC 35, 28.08.1674 for Konijnenberg's edition and ADOC 36, 06.09.1674 for Bouman.

79 USTC 1816334.

There is no literature so politically sensitive as school books, as governments, democratic and authoritarian, have understood into the modern era. By the time they left school, the children of the Republic would have known their letters, and how to handle complex mental arithmetic. They would also have known their enemies.

Expanding Worlds

What then, of the 'histories, comedies and tragedies' that featured so prominently in the stock that Smient offered at the sale of his shop in 1674? These are, with a few exceptions, notably underrepresented in the newspaper advertisements. Most works of history were a substantial purchase; serious collectors would not have looked to the newspapers for help in putting together a set of the canonical Dutch histories that can be found in the auction catalogues of so many private collections. The newspapers were more useful in marketing what might be described as contemporary history, the successive volumes of the works of Lieuwe van Aitzema, and the *Hollandse Mercurius* [Holland Mercury], a highly successful summary of the events of the year just past based on contemporary documents and despatches. Pieter Casteleyn, the first publisher of the *Hollandse Mercurius*, advertised without fail for each successive instalment in the spring, usually in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, the newspaper of his brother, Abraham Casteleyn.

The market in poetry also largely took care of itself. Here, volumes would more likely be bought on impulse or recommended by friends, and everyone knew Vondel and Cats. Although their works were advertised respectively at least twenty and eighteen times in the newspapers up to 1675, their publications went through hundreds of editions during the seventeenth century. Cats's best-known work, *Houwelijck* [Marriage], lavishly illustrated with engravings, was frequently given as a wedding present, and consequently went through numerous editions. Most booksellers would have stocked it without further encouragement, and the same could be said of the ubiquitous song-books. In 1666, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* carried an advertisement for C.J. Wits's *Stichtelijke Bedenckinge* [Pious Thoughts], a genre-expanding collection of songs, poems and wedding songs. This was the seventh edition, 'enlarged by a quarter with new verses', so it was legitimate to alert the public to these new features; for the publishers, based in the North Holland town of Enkhuizen, it was also a relatively risky venture.⁸⁰ As for playbooks, the best

80 OHS 7, 13.02.1666.

advertisements for play texts were the performances themselves. Studies of the London stage at the turn of the seventeenth century have demonstrated how closely aligned were editions of the printed texts with a successful run on the stage.⁸¹ The Dutch public had a difficult relationship with the theatre, not eased by the obdurate opposition of the Calvinist ministers to any sort of commercial acting. Even when a playwright like Bredero achieved some popularity, an advertisement in the newspapers might have repercussions for the publisher which went beyond the fate of this particular text, and generally they steered clear.⁸²

Drama was a special case, but generally books in these sectors of the market needed little help from the newspapers. The songbooks were peddling collections of old favourites, many of them in circulation since the Dutch Revolt, and they would continue to be current and popular for a further two centuries. Instead, publishers focussed their energies on developing the market in new ways. Here we can pick out three in particular: exploiting the demand created by the Dutch voyages overseas, and the incessant warfare that was the inevitable corollary of Dutch ambitions; introducing to the markets new classes of author who would never, in a previous age, have aspired to publish a book; and, not unconnected, feeding the restless demand for self-improvement, educational and social, that was such a perennial feature of the Golden Age. These were new frontiers, at home and abroad.

The inhabitants of Holland were people of the sea. In the fifteenth century, while Flanders and Brabant luxuriated in the wonders of the Burgundian Renaissance, Holland cast its nets into the North Sea for herring. The result was a steady, undramatic increase in population and prosperity. The economy of Holland grew more rapidly in the sixteenth century than it would in the Golden Age. Yet delicious as it may be, and certainly vital to the expansion of Dutch voyaging in the Baltic and Iberian Peninsula, the herring struggles to stir the imagination. The *Een korte beschrijvinghe over die Haringh-Visschery in Hollandt* [A short description of the herring trade in Holland] of D.M. Semeyns enjoyed a certain success – the edition advertised by Jan van Hilten in 1640 was the fourth – but largely because it had the field to itself.⁸³

It was only in the seventeenth century, when Dutch voyages became transoceanic, that the book trade responded. The first need was for accurate

81 Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

82 See *OHS* 1, 07.01.1662, for a notification of the opening of the new theatre in The Hague, 'with several Italian plays, never before seen in The Netherlands'.

83 *CID* 16, 21.04.1640. This edition is USTC 1016590.

maps and charts. This explains the unusual note which Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Doncker adds to his advertisement for two books, *Een nieu groot Stuurmans Zee spiegel van de Oosterse Noortse en Westerse Schipvaart* [A new large Skipper's Sea mirror of eastern, northern and western shipping] and *Een nieuw, groot Straets Boeck inhoudende de Middellantse Zee* [A new large Book of the Straits covering the Mediterranean Sea]: 'Doncker requests improvements and corrections for his *Stuurmans Zee spiegel* and *Straets Boeck* from all skip-pers and sailors'.⁸⁴ This was an echo in the commercial market of the more systematic attempt by the VOC and WIC to collect information from incoming ships to improve the maps and charts of far-flung lands and seas. It was, in fact, a contractual obligation for officers on board the fleet to turn over their log-books and charts, before they hurried off to the print shops to have their own account of their bold deeds and adventures published.

As the Dutch fleets set off for new continents, they knew that they were undertaking a voyage with hazards: fully two-thirds of those who embarked on these voyages would never return home. The same went for the books they carried with them. We have met many classes of books in this study that were used to death; but when books were loaded on board for departure on transoceanic voyages, their chances of survival deteriorated rapidly. The VOC printed proclamations to be exhibited on all its ships, but scarcely any survive today.⁸⁵ The volumes of theological comfort and advice written specifically for mariners also suffered a huge rate of attrition. VOC ships were supplied with a small library for the crew that included twenty-five copies of Adam Westerman's *Christelijke Zee-vaart* [Christian Sea Voyage], but the first edition for which we have a single surviving copy is the eleventh. One can imagine that this was exactly the sort of book stocked in the bookshop of Texel for nervous crew-members needing to reinforce their fortitude before the outward journey.

Nothing was more fatal to books than the damp, humid conditions of the Indies. American soldiers despatched to fight America's most fatal Cold War enterprise knew Vietnam as 'the big muddy', a land of endless humid jungle, and rotting boots, clothes and morale.⁸⁶ The Dutch in Batavia suffered similar privations but have had fewer opportunities to tell us about them. Tales of

84 OHS 4, 26.01.1664. No copy has been identified of either of these texts.

85 An exception is a broadsheet found in the collections of the municipal archives in Rotterdam: *De bewindhebberen van de Generale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, doen te weten: dat 't volck van de schepen verscheide waren weten over te geven om haren handel te dryven*, 21.05.1670 (Amsterdam: Adriaan Wor and the heirs of G. Onder de Linden, [1670]), USTC 1546109.

86 Max Hastings, *Vietnam: an Epic Tragedy, 1945–1975* (London: William Collins, 2018), chapter 16.

heroism made matters for books, but the books that made it to Batavia seldom returned.⁸⁷

The Drums of War

The drums accompanying Jacob Stichter's almanacs on New Year's Day 1669 had a double purpose. They no doubt sold the almanac, but they also advertised its unusual features, for this was a new venture that included 'everything that belongs to an almanac, but also includes a description of the art of military drilling, concerning both the pike and the musket, illustrated with twenty-four figures, cut by the most talented masters of this age'.⁸⁸ The Dutch Republic was a society that had become, somewhat against its best instinct, thoroughly militarised.

We admire the Dutch Golden Age for its sophistication and genteel polish, but this all came at a price. The new nation was born of a rebellion sustained through eighty years of warfare, and the creation of a world empire made enemies of former friends. The Dutch Republic was at peace for only 23 years between 1585 and 1700. The publishers, particularly those whose business was orientated towards a domestic market, could hardly complain.

However much the directors of the VOC may have wished to retain control of valuable cartographical intelligence, the personal narratives of the first explorers, and the heroism of more humble figures like captain Bontekoe, did much to fire patriotic pride in the overseas ventures. The first echo in the newspapers of this new age of adventure is the surge of advertisements for maps, atlases and battle scenes. We have seen that this was a cornerstone of Abraham Verhoeven's first experiments in advertising in Antwerp, and the same hunger for information and patriotic celebration was willingly fed by the Amsterdam publishers. This also offered opportunities for new types of authors. A map of the siege of Maastricht in 1633, 'renewed and corrected' was the work of Quartermaster Pleytner.⁸⁹ Quartermasters were of course well placed to observe the fighting with minimal risk to their lives, though hungry soldiers might have wished them busy with their stores rather than their sketchpads.

87 An exception is the superb volume of ordinances issued in Batavia on its only printing press. The volume in Leiden University Library (1365 F 24) holds the only surviving copies. No doubt there were many other such documents that disappeared on the island itself.

88 *ODC* 51, 18.12.1668.

89 *CID* 50, 10.12.1633.

In the following years, readers of the Amsterdam papers were offered 'a map of the new dyke and entrenchments created by the Spanish between Hulst, Axel and Sas van Gent', and a more strategic overview of the battlefields of Brabant, 'with all its cities, fortifications, castles, villages, monasteries, roads and waterways'. This latter engraving was by the peerless cartographical publisher, Claes Jansz Visscher, more responsible than any other individual for bringing Dutch citizens vicariously to the front.⁹⁰ Engravings of this sort could be published as separate publications, or to enhance longer texts, thus reaching into many markets, from the relatively modest home or tavern where an engraving of victory or a map might adorn the walls in place of a painting, to a stately folio for the library of the wealthy:

Henry Hexham (quartermaster in the army of General Veer), *'t Journael, ofte Beschrijvinghe van de optreckinge des Doorl. Prince van Orangien na de Mase, d'inneminghe van de Steden Venlo, Roermond en Stralen* [The Journal, or Description of the march of the Illustrious Prince of Orange towards the Meuse, and the capture of the cities of Venlo, Roermond and Stralen]. With further descriptions of the siege of Maastricht, the conquest of towns in Limburg, the victorious return of the Prince and a list of all casualties, with an expert map, and published in large median in folio.⁹¹

This was published in The Hague by Hendrick and Willem Hondius, themselves leading figures in the market in contemporary engravings. They also published an English edition of the text: this was published at a date when colonial rivalry had not yet poisoned relations between the two friendly Protestant nations, and this was precisely the sort of book that might find a market across the channel.⁹²

The newspapers had missed the excitement of the first voyages and the foundation of the VOC, which occurred twenty years before their establishment, but they were on hand for the tumultuous battles of mid-century, when the print industry became as much protagonists and cheerleaders, as the solemn recorder of events. The *Afbeeldinge van de victorieuse vierdaagze zeeslag, door de Nederlandsche Vloot bevogten tegens de Engelse op den 11, 12, 13, en 14 Junij 1666* [The portrayal of the victorious four day's battle, fought by the Dutch fleet against that of the English, on 11, 12, 13 and 14 June 1666], was a

⁹⁰ CID 25, 24.06.1634.

⁹¹ CID 4, 22.01.1633. USTC 1031989.

⁹² USTC 1437281.

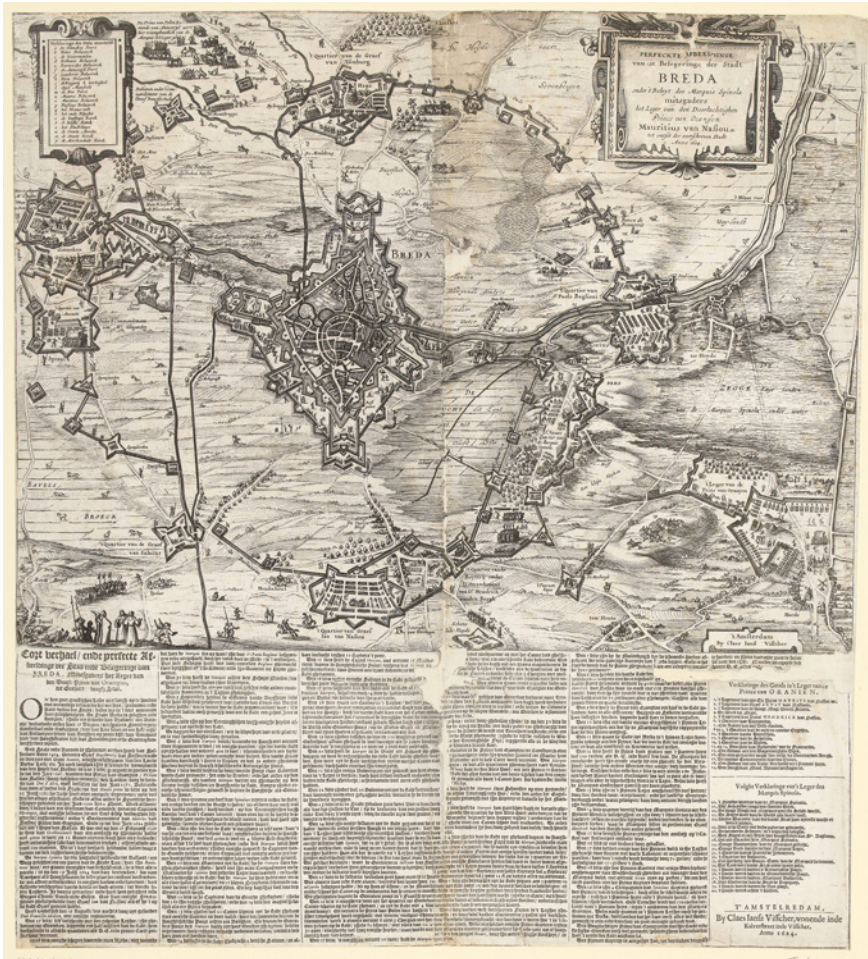


ILLUSTRATION 2.9 *Cort verhael, ende perfecte afbeeldinghe der stad ende belegeringhe van Breda* (Amsterdam: Claes Jansz Visscher, 1624). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-AO-16-110

Claes Jansz Visscher, one of the most talented engravers of Amsterdam, produced numerous magnificent broadsheet maps during the first half of the seventeenth century. He chronicled in close detail the series of sieges of fortress towns by Dutch and Spanish armies, like this view of the siege of Breda of 1624. Visscher was one of the first publishers to advertise in the Amsterdam newspapers, and one of the most loyal advertisers.

typical product of the era, a large-scale engraving depicting the furious excitement of the clash of two great fleets. The great beauty of such an engraving is that it could easily be repurposed for different audiences. In this particular instance, advertised in the recently established Rotterdam paper, the *Oprechte Rotterdamse Zee-en Post-tijdingen*, the text was in Dutch and French. Interestingly the engraving was created in Amsterdam, rather than locally in Rotterdam.⁹³ Publishers were aware that these were fast moving stories and did not hide this from their audiences. A letter from the fleet, *Een Brief van den Vice Admiraal de Liefde* [A Letter of Vice Admiral de Liefde], also published by the Rotterdam paper, was advertised with the note that a new version might be 'published most correctly tomorrow, given that the lists of the sunk and captured English ships and casualties have not yet arrived'.⁹⁴

The advertisements did not disguise the darker side of war. Many would return heroes, but many others would suffer the excruciating agony of on-board operations, and a slow death through gangrene. At least a capable surgeon would give them some hope of survival, especially if they were equipped with the most reliable textbooks, like:

Abraham Leendertsz Vrolingh (surgeon), *Matrosen Gesondtheydt ofte goede Dispositie der Zeevarende Luyden, handelende van allerleye Sieckten en Ghebreecken der Menschen* [The Sailor's Health or good Disposition of the Sailing Folk, concerning all Sicknesses and Ailments of Men], most useful for sailors and surgeons, especially those surgeons working at sea, enlarged with Putman's *Manuael-of Pest-boeckje* [Handbook or Pest-Book].⁹⁵

This was a popular medical tract, of which the earliest extant edition dates from 1646. The first edition, like many other editions published, has not survived the conditions of use on board Dutch ships. And perhaps after all, there was some knowledge best not to be known. When Christoffel and Jasper Doll in The Hague published Emmanuel d'Aranda's *Turckse Slavernye* [Turkish Slavery], 'most interesting to read for all curious persons, and essential for all sailors in order to know what awaits them if they had the misfortune to be captured by slavers', it seems unlikely that many mariners availed themselves

93 By Pieter Arentsz. *ORZP* 18, 22.07.1666.

94 *ORZP* 9, 19.06.1666.

95 *OHD* 19, 11.05.1666. *USTC* 1532382.

of the opportunity to buy.⁹⁶ More likely this was purchased by anxious family waiting at home, and hoping for news and the possibility of rescue or ransom.

New Men

When, in 1666, the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* advertised a forthcoming new book on building, this was not another reprint of the architectural masterworks of the great Italian writers, but a practical text on building houses. The author was one Joost Vermaarsch, described as a master bricklayer in Leiden.⁹⁷ It is hard to think of any other place in seventeenth-century Europe when such a man could have aspired to become an author; but in the Dutch Republic the publishing industry was, to a quite extraordinary extent, open to all. An Amsterdam brewer, Johannes de Planque, put together one of the most considerable libraries of the period, with well over a thousand books.⁹⁸ Cornelis van Leeuwen, who entered the crowded market for mathematical and accounting texts, was the municipal engineer of Amsterdam. Unfortunately, this book attracted some criticism, sparking an angular response from Van Leeuwen. The Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Doncker cheerfully published both sides of the quarrel.⁹⁹

The master bricklayer Vermaarsch was also able to persuade Doncker to take on his project, but a surprising number of authors acted as their own publisher. Many of these were schoolteachers who intended to distribute the books to their own pupils, but other aspirant authors shared the edition with their printer-publisher. An advertisement like the following was by no means unusual in the Amsterdam papers.

Adriaen Valerius, *De Nederlantsche Gedenc clanck, cortelijc openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenis vande Seventien Nederlantsche Provintien, t'sedert den aenvang der Inlantsche beroerte tot den jaere 1625* [Dutch

96 OHD 14, 06.04.1666.

97 TVQ 34, 21.08.1666. *Het eerste deel der boukunst, ofte grondige bewijs-redenen over de sin en practijck*, 40 (Amsterdam: Hendrick Doncker, 1667), USTC 1804151.

98 *Catalogus van alderhande deftige Nederduytse, en Franse Theologise, Regtsgeleerde, en Historische Boecken waer onder seer veele sijn met schoone koopere platen, naergelaten van de Heer Johannis De Planque* (Leiden: Boudewijn van der Aa, 1698), USTC 1847536.

99 Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Aritmetica ofte Reecken-konst*, the first part, 80, USTC 1801131. Claes Hendricksz. Gietermaecker, *Een Bril teghens den Bril*, 40 (1664, no surviving copy), USTC 1532608. Cornelis van Leeuwen, *Antwoordt tegen het lasterboeckje van den Amsterdam-schen belachelijken geometrist en bril-sifter Klaes Hendricksz. Gietermaker*, USTC 1801372.

Memorial Songs, briefly portraying the most prominent historical events of the Seventeen United Netherlands, since the start of the internal troubles until the year 1625], adorned with figures, rhymes, songs and music notes, and the tablature of the lute and cither (to be sold in Amsterdam, by Jacob Dircksz, and in Veere, by the heirs of the author).

This was patriotism of a different kind, and it offered polite bourgeois readers the opportunity to celebrate their national story in a drawing room musical party. The author, Adriaen Valerius (1575–1625), had died the previous year.¹⁰⁰

Many books on mathematics and money matters specifically targeted those with limited formal education. Lodewijck Bruyn's *Verbetert Specie-boeck* [Improved Currency-book] was recommended as 'most necessary and useful for those who receive and spend money daily, but do not understand arithmetic'. Since the publisher, Marcus Willemsz Doornick, recommended it as 'never before printed so extensively, and judiciously calculated and revised', this was clearly a popular text.¹⁰¹ This was the first known edition to be published by Doornick. At least three other editions would follow in the 1670s, but given that all of these editions (and that of 1667) survive only in unique copies, it is likely Doornick published many more.¹⁰² This same advertisement also included *De verstandige Kock, of sorgvuldige Huyshoudster* [The wise Cook, or attentive householder], 'most useful for all households', incidentally the first cook-book to be advertised in a surviving Dutch newspaper. Doornick would publish it again in 1669.¹⁰³

These were popular authors, but for some men like Harman Johan Westerwal of Gouda, bringing out his *Proportionale Tafelen* [Proportional Tables], 'most necessary for merchants, to calculate easily all payments', was only possible if he self-published.¹⁰⁴ Westerwal had taken the trouble to take out a privilege to protect his text, though we have seen already how little the privilege would have been respected by publishers in other cities if the text had been successful. Sadly for Westerwal, this does not seem to be the case. No copy survives of this or any other edition, and Westerwal is known to posterity only through this advertisement. For every Bartjens or Lodewijck Bruyn there were probably ten men like this, their hopes of fame and fortune shattered by the indifference of the reading public.

100 CID, 28.11.1626. USTC 1027328. The book was printed in Haarlem.

101 OHS 29, 16.07.1667. USTC 1804107.

102 USTC 1815163, 1815165 and 1815166.

103 USTC 1804051 (1667). USTC 1805735 (1669).

104 CID 11, 15.03.1631.

The medical market was also one with room for new men. A man without a medical degree could not practice as a physician, but they could certainly share their nostrums with the public, and with some success. The edition of Jacob Ruffen's *Vroetswijfs-Boeck* [Midwife's Book] advertised in 1648, a general handbook of midwifery, was the fourth to be published in Dutch. Ruffen had been the city doctor in Zürich, so clearly this was a text with international appeal.¹⁰⁵ We have seen already that specialists in subjects like maritime surgery such as Abraham Leendertsz Vrolingh were often practitioners with no university education: necessarily so, since no physician would have given up the easy life of society drawing rooms for the cramped, uncomfortable working conditions of a ship of war. But print did do something to erode professional boundaries between the separate ranks of the medical profession. The medical establishment could not disguise the fact that the most successful medical author of the sixteenth century had been the French surgeon, Ambroise Paré, a pioneer in battlefield surgery, as can be verified by the rather gruesome woodcuts of his many surviving works.¹⁰⁶ One of the most learned texts on uroscopy in the Dutch Republic, *De Ontdekking der Bedriegeryen vande Gemeene Pis-besinders* [Discovery of the deceptions of the ordinary piss-examiners], was the work of an oculist. In a world where learned medicine did not seem to make people better, citizens in pain were increasingly impatient of the pretensions of physicians, whose pompous self-regard was frequently mocked on the Amsterdam stage.

Of course, social aspiration came at a price. The upwardly mobile could buy houses and horses, but the ability to converse in polite society, or write letters in an appropriate style, was not so easily acquired. Needless to say, the publishing industry could help. Wilhelm Baudartius's collection of Biblical phrases, *Apothegmata Christiana* [Christian Apothegms], had an appeal for all ages, from the struggling school child or student, to the new member of a congregation keen to impress the elders and pious neighbours. The new issue published in 1640 by Cloppenburgh in Amsterdam was the seventh; an eighth followed in 1649, published by a rival Amsterdam consortium and apparently 'corrected of many mistakes'.¹⁰⁷ This was certainly not an environment in which you wanted to make mistakes, so perhaps the owners of the seventh edition, duly warned, replaced it.

105 TVQ 43, 24.10.1648. The publisher was Broer Jansz, advertising in his own paper.

106 Janet Doe, *A Bibliography of the Works of Ambroise Paré: premier chirurgien & conseiller du roy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

107 CID 40, 06.10.1640. ODC 35, 24.08.1649. The eighth edition was published by Broer Jansz, Willemijntje Broers, Paulus Matthijsz, Jan Jacobsz Bouman and Compagnie.

Moving from conversations at the church door, to the smart dining room or writing desk, what could be more useful than Franciscus Heermans's *Gulde Annotatien* [Golden Annotations], a handy collection of historical sayings and phrases suitable for all occasions? This was a popular text printed at least twelve times between 1631 and 1650, mostly in Leeuwarden and Franeker. Again, it was heavily marketed in the newspapers. In 1642, Ids Albert of Franeker offered the sixth edition, 'enlarged by the author by more than half, in roman letters'.¹⁰⁸ Three years later, Joost Hartgers in Amsterdam offered the eighth edition, also (and perhaps less plausibly) 'greatly enlarged by the author'.¹⁰⁹ Such claims were easily made, but in a portion of a crowded market populated by less experienced buyers, always worth a try.

108 CID 29, 19.07.1642.

109 CID 46, 18.11.1645.

Profit and Opportunity, Networks and Risk

Cornelis Claesz (c. 1546–1609) was a pivotal figure in the development of the Dutch publishing industry. It is therefore a cause for some frustration that the career of this most accomplished networker should have run its course before the age of the newspaper. Claesz, like so many of the first generation an immigrant from the south, was one of the first publishers to settle in Amsterdam after it belatedly joined the Revolt (1578). He swiftly built a formidable business, publishing mostly books in Dutch, in a wide range of genres. He carried a large stock of maps and engravings, and what his customers needed that he chose not to publish himself, he imported from elsewhere in Europe. When, towards the end of his life, he produced a set of catalogues of his stock, this amounted to over five thousand titles.¹ These were, incidentally, the first catalogues of a book-dealer's stock to be published in the new Republic. They announced Amsterdam as a major new nodal point in the international book market, a role that would be steadily reinforced during the following decades.

Claesz thrived not least because he managed risk so effectively, by developing a network of co-operative relationships with other industry professionals on a scale not seen since the great days of Antwerp in the 1540s. Claesz outsourced work first to colleagues in Amsterdam, then to printers in other cities in the province of Holland, and beyond. During his career, books bearing his imprint were published in thirteen other towns and cities, including Franeker in Friesland and Utrecht.

When Claesz died in 1609 he left a considerable legacy. Many of the future greats of Dutch publishing had trained in his shop: Hendrick Laurensz, Jan Jansz Orlers and Dirk Pietersz Pers were all his apprentices, and Laurensz took over the shop after his death. Another of the great names of Dutch printing, Willem Jansz Blaeu, bought heavily at the auction of his remaining stock. Most of all, Claesz's career, and the canny organisation of his business, pointed the way to financial and professional success in an increasingly crowded book world. His career illustrates several of the key themes of this chapter: the complex relationship between Amsterdam, Leiden and the other Holland towns, and between Holland and publishers in other provinces; the dense web of

1 Bert van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijcke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987), pp. 174–333. Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 37–44.

interlocking relationships through which publishers and booksellers cycled books and maximised profit; the marshalling of family relationships to mitigate risk and raise capital. The Dutch made money partly because, like Claesz, they availed themselves of new opportunities to make money in the business of books, of which we find plentiful evidence in the newspaper advertisements. Teasing out these relationships and new business practices will be the purpose of this chapter.

That said, as we will see in this and following chapters, advertisements can be as revealing for unexpected absences. Some of the best-known dynasties of the Dutch publishing industry scarcely feature. The Blaeus, the Elzeviers and the Commelin, the most luminous participants in the international trade, are notable absentees from the newspaper advertisements. This was because the newspaper advertisements were so orientated towards the domestic trade. Throughout the seventeenth century, Dutch newspapers circulated extensively abroad, and almost half of the surviving copies can now be found in foreign repositories, in London, Stockholm, Paris and St Petersburg, where they were preserved among incoming diplomatic correspondence. But they were valued principally for their news; advertisers, even for books, did not rely on foreign customers to move new stock, even if customers abroad did sometimes make use of the newspapers to spot desired new titles.² We know that Samuel Hartlib in London studied the advertisements in Dutch newspapers to keep up to date with scientific developments, sometimes transcribing the book notices for the interest of his scholarly correspondents.³

Businesses orientated mostly to the international trade, like the three families listed above, made less use of the newspapers because they were less dependent on domestic sales. Johannes Janssonius, one of the biggest figures in the Amsterdam trade of the generation after Cornelis Claesz, made some use of the newspapers in the early years while his business was becoming established, but much less when his energies were directed to the international trade, and the family were seeding a network of bookshops in Germany and Scandinavia.

Figures like the Elzeviers will not be absent from this discussion: they still needed to develop a bookselling network to move their books to domestic customers, and the apportionment of resources around the family remained

2 Marika Koblusek, 'Michel le Blon and the Transmission of Political Information to Sweden in the 1630s', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28 (2003), pp. 205–213. Alex Alsemgeest, 'Dutch Connections in Swedish Collections' (MA thesis, Leiden University, 2016).

3 See, for an example, letter 8/9/2A-B (1659), in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and M. Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*, accessible online at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib>.

an issue. But for the most part newspapers cast the spotlight on a different stratum of the industry, the middle-range publishers, touting for business, eager to explore any new avenues for profit and to improve their cash flow. Poring over these entrails is a large part of the fascination of the notices in the newspapers.

Dynasty

The history of printing can always be told in two ways. One is to celebrate the breath-taking speed with which the new innovation spread through Europe in the fifteenth century; this is the feature of the birth story of print that most scholars have chosen to emphasise, echoing contemporary enthusiasts.⁴ Or one can note that many of these early print shops failed and print quickly disappeared from many of the places where presses were established in the fifteenth century. In this counter-narrative, print owed its eventual success to a rapid consolidation of the industry into Europe's established commercial hubs.⁵

The print world of the Dutch Republic shows the same Janus-face. This is a story that can be told as the glorification of Amsterdam, the new business metropolis of northern Europe, engrossing the trade of the known world. This included much of the book production of the new Republic, and indeed much of the book trade of the whole continent. Eventually Amsterdam would be the centre of Europe's trade in paper, and the heart of a large domestic industry of paper manufacture, a stunning transformation in a country that until the seventeenth century had imported all of its paper. Or, again, one can note the remarkable resilience of publishing in towns and cities elsewhere in the province of Holland and throughout the seven provinces (and the conquered territories of North Brabant, known as the Generality Lands).

The newspaper advertisements, unsurprisingly, support both interpretations. If we examine all the book advertisements up to 1675, including advertisements for auction catalogues, publishers in Amsterdam are responsible for approximately sixty per cent of the total. This mirrors quite closely the sixty per cent that Amsterdam contributed to the tax revenue of Holland, and the sixty per cent that Holland contributed to the federal budget of the Republic. During the period under study, over 700 publishers advertised books for sale in the

4 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

5 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010), especially pp. 43–64.

newspapers, 282 of whom were based in Amsterdam (some 40% of the total). As the statistics in table 3.1 make clear, publishers from Amsterdam tend to advertise more regularly: many of the publishers in the more dispersed print towns appear only with one or a handful of books.⁶ Yet notwithstanding Amsterdam's great advantage, as the centre of the international book trade, and until the arrival of Abraham Casteleyn the indisputable leader in the newspaper industry, publishers in other cities also make a considerable contribution to the placing of advertisements. Leiden, The Hague and Utrecht are extremely well represented, as are to a lesser degree, the other leading Holland towns. All told, by 1675 the newspapers carried advertisements for publishers and booksellers in a grand total of forty-seven different places in the Dutch Republic, and another fourteen in the Southern Netherlands and further afield. It is quite difficult to find a location where printing is known to exist, where there were no advertisements despatched to Amsterdam or Haarlem for inclusion in the papers.

TABLE 3.1 The number of book personnel advertisers and advertisements in Dutch newspapers, 1620–1675. Towns are provided alphabetically by country.

Town	Number of publishers advertising	Number of advertisements	Ratio of advertisements per publisher
Alkmaar	4	7	1.75
Alphen aan den Rijn	2	3	1.5
Amersfoort	1	1	1
Amsterdam	282	1,944	6.9
Arnhem	3	29	9.7
Beverwijk	2	2	1
Bolsward	1	7	7
Breda	1	1	1
Brielle	1	1	1
Culemborg	1	1	1
Delft	14	44	3.1
Den Bosch	2	4	2
Den Burg	1	1	1

6 For a full list, see Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information*.

Town	Number of publishers advertising	Number of advertisements	Ratio of advertisements per publisher
Deventer	7	9	1.3
Dokkum	1	1	1
Dordrecht	26	101	3.9
Enkhuizen	11	24	2.2
Franeker	4	16	4
Goes	4	4	1
Gorinchem	5	33	6.6
Gouda	8	14	1.75
Groningen	13	19	1.5
Haarlem	28	131	4.7
Harderwijk	2	2	1
Harlingen	1	9	9
Heusden	1	3	3
Hoorn	13	28	2.2
Kampen	2	3	1.5
Krommenie	1	1	1
Leeuwarden	18	44	2.4
Leiden	62	198	3.2
Medemblik	1	1	1
Middelburg	19	60	3.2
Nijmegen	1	1	1
Rotterdam	35	176	5
Schiedam	2	4	2
Schoonhoven	1	1	1
The Hague	48	220	4.6
Tiel	1	1	1
Utrecht	38	136	3.6
Veere	1	1	1
Vlissingen	4	10	2.5
Wormerveer	1	1	1
Zaandam	2	3	1.5
Zierikzee	1	2	2
Zutphen	2	3	1.5
Zwolle	3	11	3.66
Antwerp	1	50	50

TABLE 3.1 The number of book personnel advertisers and advertisements in Dutch newspapers, 1620–1675. Towns are provided alphabetically by country. (*cont.*)

Town	Number of publishers advertising	Number of advertisements	Ratio of advertisements per publisher
Bruges	2	2	1
Brussels	2	2	1
Ghent	2	9	4.5
Mechelen	1	1	1
Copenhagen	1	1	1
Saumur	1	1	1
'Germany'	1	1	1
Bremen	1	1	1
Emden	2	4	2
Hamburg	3	4	1.33
Herford	1	1	1
Frankfurt	1	1	1
Nuremberg	1	1	1
Wesel	3	3	1
Total	705	3,398	4.8

All this goes to show that this was very much a national market, even for those whose business was orientated very largely to the export trade. Daniel Elzevier is a case in point. Inheriting both the innovative spirit of his Leiden progenitors, and the strategic location of the Amsterdam shop, Daniel made his name with the great catalogue of 1674 that he launched into the European market.⁷ This became an indispensable guide to purchasing for bookshops throughout the continent, and for private collectors. Daniel advertised only one of his own publications in the Dutch newspapers in the years covered by this present volume: a French Bible, in folio, in 1669.⁸ Yet when he died in 1681, he left a ledger documenting the sums owed to him by some 220 booksellers,

⁷ *Catalogus Librorum qui in Bibliopolio Danielis Elsevirii venales extant* (Amsterdam: Daniel Elzevier, 1674).

⁸ OHS 10, 09.03.1669.

TABLE 3.2 The top ten book advertisers from Amsterdam, and the most prominent advertisers from the other significant publishing towns (Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht).

Town	Advertising publisher	Advertisements placed
Amsterdam	Marten Jansz Brandt	84
	Johannes van Someren	67
	Pieter Arentsz	54
	Cornelis Jansz Swol	42
	Marcus Willemsz	42
	Doornick	
	<i>Broer Jansz</i>	41
	<i>Jan van Hilten</i>	40
	Hendrick Laurensz	39
	Jan Rieuwertsz	37
Dordrecht	Jacob Lescaille	35
	Abraham Andriesz	26
Haarlem	Pieter Casteleyn	22
Leiden	Paulus Aertsz van	27
	Ravesteyn	
Rotterdam	<i>Joannes Naeranus</i>	31
The Hague	Johannes Tongerloo	47
Utrecht	Johannes Ribbius	16

Note: The names of newspaper publishers are italicised. Together the top ten Amsterdam advertisers, out of a field of 282 individuals, account for a quarter of all advertisements from that city (481 out of 1,944). The sixteen advertisers specified above (2% of the total number of advertisers) account for 20% of all book advertisements.

drawn from all around Europe, about a third of them in the Dutch Republic.⁹ Forty of these were in Holland, principally in Leiden and The Hague. The nineteen in Utrecht included his relative, Pieter Elzevier. Utrecht operated as the hinge between the Holland trade and the road to the eastern provinces and Germany; it is unlikely the local population alone could have sustained a market this size. Even with this strong presence in Utrecht, Elzevier also dealt directly with booksellers in the more distant provinces: twelve in the north,

9 Reproduced in B.P.M. Dongelmans, 'Elzevier addenda et corrigenda', in B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2000), pp. 53–58.

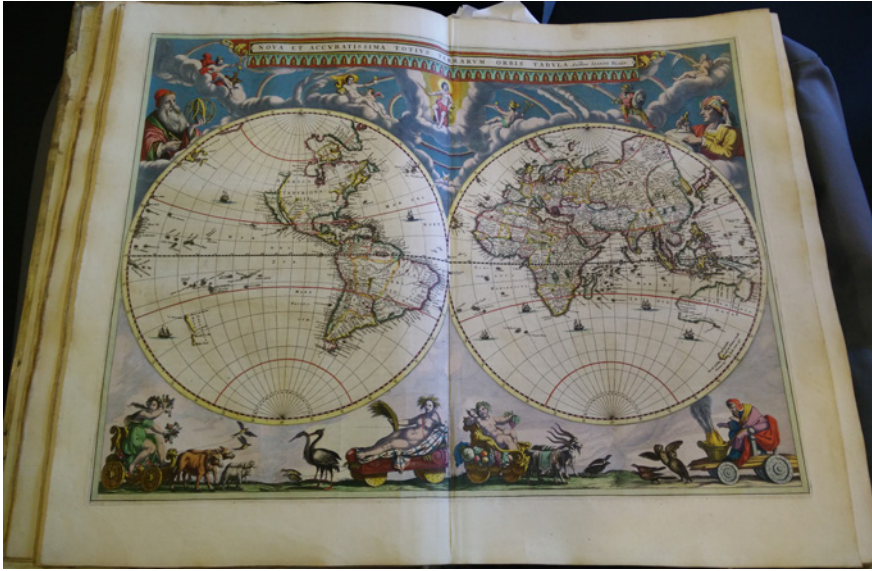


ILLUSTRATION 3.1 Joan Blaeu, *Grooten atlas, oft wereltbeschryving* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1664). Leiden University Library

The publications for which the Dutch Golden Age is generally admired, like the brilliant Blaeu multi-volume atlases, rarely made it into the newspaper advertisements. Although Willem Jansz Blaeu and his son Joan advertised several times in the 1630s, when they first started publishing atlases, Joan Blaeu did not advertise for his magnificent *Atlas Maior*, which appeared in the early 1660s.

principally in Groningen, and ten in the east, divided between Arnhem, Deventer, Kampen, Nijmegen and Zutphen. He was owed the considerable sum of 610 gulden by Gilles Horthemels in Middelburg, who probably traded in Elzevier's books with England. He dealt with two booksellers in Den Bosch, in the Generality Lands to the south. Many of these 86 dealers listed in Elzevier's accounts can also be found in the newspaper advertisements, or the lists of booksellers who helped distributed auction catalogues. This was a very connected world, and not even a Daniel Elzevier could ignore these domestic networks even if his main ambitions were to see Elzevier books selling in London, Paris or Copenhagen.¹⁰

The virtual absence of some of the titans of the trade from the book advertisements, can partly be explained by the fact that it was never the practice to advertise stock bought in from abroad. This is by no means a matter of course;

¹⁰ The list records debts owed by five booksellers in Copenhagen, nine in Hamburg, sixteen in Paris, nineteen in London and seven in Oxford.

it would have been quite logical to take out an advertisement to describe a consignment of international imprints lately fetched from the Frankfurt Fair, or arrived from Paris, just as a general merchant might make known an incoming cargo of East Indian goods. But this never seems to have caught on. New books, or older stock brought in from France, Germany or Italy was mostly advertised in a stock catalogue. So far, we have only one exception: a curious advertisement apparently placed by Joan Blaeu in 1639. This was singular in a number of ways: Joan Blaeu seldom advertised in the papers, it was unusual to advertise old stock (in this case works published by his deceased father), and a good half of the works, though this is not stated in the advertisement, were Catholic texts, published in Amsterdam with a false Cologne imprint.¹¹ Blaeu may have felt desperate to get rid of the stock; whatever the motive the experiment was not repeated.

Whether orientated towards the domestic or international market, the publishers who stayed in business were those who had a good nose for opportunity, while understanding risk management. They made the most of an expanding market, while avoiding the pitfalls of overambition. This was a profession that welcomed new men of talent; inevitably so, as it was a new craft. But it also did not forget the values of mediaeval craft society, the need to avoid mutually destructive competition, and the need to exploit the most precious resource of any craft business: family.

Family lay at the core of many of the printing networks that animated the trade. Family members could be enrolled to cover during periods of sickness; family could also provide loans to ease cash flow when one branch of the business was dangerously over-exposed. Family could help circulate books through the market, particularly if, in the second or third generation, it was possible to establish different members of the clan, performing different roles, in different cities. The Elzeviers provide the most striking example of this careful resource management. Louis I Elzevier, the founder of the Leiden office, had five sons.¹² One, Louis, would continue the business in Leiden, before handing over to Isaac, oldest son of Matthieu, the first-born son of Louis I. The Leiden office would pass to Abraham, Isaac's younger brother, and his uncle Bonaventura, the youngest son of Louis I. This was the partnership that would establish the Elzevier brand and open up the French market. Matthieu's youngest son, Jacob, established a business in The Hague, primarily as an auctioneer

¹¹ TVQ 36, 03.09.1639.

¹² On the Elzeviers see Dongelmans, Hoftijzer and Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier*.

and bookseller, rather than as a printer. When Abraham and Bonaventura passed away in 1652, the Leiden shop passed to their respective sons, Johannes and Daniel. When Daniel subsequently moved to Amsterdam, he worked there with Louis III, son of the fourth son of the original Louis, Joost. The Leiden shop, meanwhile, was continued after Johannes's death by his widow, and then by his son, Abraham II. A fourth branch was established in Utrecht by Pieter the younger, grandson of Joost. Pieter was a bookseller rather than a printer, and a respected local citizen. As a fervent supporter of William of Orange, he would play a pivotal role in assisting William in restoring control of Utrecht after the French occupation of 1672.

Although the Elzeviers had their critics, not least towards the end of the century when Abraham II had the privilege of printing student dissertations, within the family this all seemed to be remarkably harmonious. Family remained a bulwark of the business through a century of success as printers, publishers, booksellers and auctioneers. The family network of the Elzeviers were echoed in a minor key in several other families in the Dutch Republic, as we can see from the advertisements. We have spoken of the family Smient, working in Amsterdam and Dordrecht, and we can also note the success of the Hackius family, Pieter and Cornelis in Leiden and Jacobus in Rotterdam. In 1666 they appear together in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* as joint publishers of a series of popular legal textbooks. For Symon van Leeuwen's *Manier van procederen, soo in Civile als Criminele Saecken* [Handbook of Prosecution, in Civil as in Criminal Cases], they had been prudent enough to take out a fifteen-year privilege.¹³ When Jacob Savry in Dordrecht published a lavish new edition of Flavius Josephus in 1665, he was venturing into a crowded market, since this was a book much beloved of artists, for whom the images served as models for their history paintings. Savry made a clear pitch for their custom, drawing attention to the 250 engravings with which the new edition was adorned. Savry had also taken out a privilege, but we have seen how little they were respected; so it was no doubt reassuring that he had a ready-made consortium not only to manage sales, but also to spread the risk through financial investment. According to the advertisement, this edition was published by Jacob Savry, 'and also available in Amsterdam with Salomon Savry, in Haarlem with Levinus Savry and in Rotterdam with Johan Boenes and Guillaem van der Sluys'.¹⁴

All print shops were at their core family businesses. While the husband and father was normally the titular head of the business, there were roles for all. The son would normally be apprenticed with a view to inheriting the press and

13 OHD 43, 26.10.1666.

14 OHS 27, 04.07.1665.

daughters could be put to work as proof-readers, and assist their mother, who normally acted as the office manager, keeping order and providing sustenance to nourish the work-force during a long working day. The wife would also be expected to help keep an eye on the young boys who ran errands, helped wash type and hung up the printed pages to dry. If there was a shop associated with the business, the wife and daughters would also take a turn behind the counter. When the daughters grew to adulthood, they too often married within the trade. A trusted son-in-law would be brought into the business, and could eventually take over management of the office, in the absence of the adult sons, thus protecting the inheritance rights of the daughter.¹⁵

In this way many women had long years of familiarity with the shop before they took over management of the family firm on the death of their husbands; either in default of adult male children, or as the most qualified person. In our advertisements, we can chart thirty-seven different women who placed advertisements in the papers for new publications; women like the widow of Jan Hendricksz Boom, who advertised fifteen new books between 1664 and 1669. If they continued to publish under their husband's name, this was out of respect for the brand, rather than through any lack of confidence in their own abilities. If we need any confirmation of this, then we have only to consider the career of the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw. The widow Van Wouw not only succeeded her husband as official printer to the States of Holland and States General, but expanded the business considerable, causing outrage when she slipped in and carried off the exclusive rights to print the new States Bible from under the noses of the established Leiden publishers.¹⁶ When she retired from her offices, she was one of the richest inhabitants of The Hague. All readers of the newspapers also have reason to be grateful to Margaretha van Bancken, who carried on the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* for close to fifteen years after the death of Abraham Casteleyn, without any diminution of its influence or quality, and always under the name of her late husband.

Centre and Periphery

Even in the well-financed Amsterdam press, there were some texts that entailed so much expense that it made sense to share the investment costs. No publisher,

15 Paul Hoftijzer, 'Women in the early modern Dutch book trade', in Susan van Dijk, etc. (eds.), *Writing the History of Women's Writing* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2001), pp. 211–222.

16 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 128–130, 195–196.

however successful, wanted to be brought down by a single bad decision. This was not uncommon in the first age of print and helps explain why some ostensibly successful and well-funded shops could experience calamitous failure as if from nowhere.¹⁷ We see a number of examples in the advertisement where printers have clearly taken steps to ameliorate risk in advance, in order to underwrite an expensive project. When Pieter Soutman of Haarlem published Petrus Scriverius's history of the Counts of Holland, the ground was carefully prepared. This was a major production, adorned with forty engravings, and printed on royal paper. So while Soutman took on the major responsibility for the edition, he ensured that it was also available in Amsterdam with Joan Blaeu and Claes Jansz Visscher, in The Hague with Abraham Elzevier and Anthony Jansz Tongerloo, and in Leiden with Jacob Lauwick.¹⁸

A similarly ambitious network was constructed by the author-publisher Joost Vermaarsch, for a major architectural text, Vincent Scamozzi's *De 3 eerste Deelen der Bouw-konst* [The first three parts of the Art of Construction]. Architectural books were notoriously difficult to bring to the market, with their many illustrations and technical diagrams. Vermaarsch ensured availability with Abraham and Daniel van Gaesbeeck, in Haarlem with Jan Casteleyn, in Amsterdam with Hendrick Doncker, in Delft with Arnout Bon and in The Hague with Daniel Geselle.¹⁹ The edition of Joannes de Palafox et Mendoza's *Charta Pastoralis*, was an even more singular project, published by Jean Jaye in Mechelen in the Southern Netherlands. But given the expense (the text had been translated from Spanish into Latin by the Dutch scholar Dirck Graswinckel) it made sense to ensure its smooth distribution in the Dutch Republic by bringing in capable partners, in this case Theodoor Duurcant in The Hague, Pieter Hackius and Felix Lopez de Haro in Leiden, Jacob Lescaille in Amsterdam and Joannes Naeranus in Rotterdam.²⁰

In 1668, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant* advertised Stanislaw Lubienieccki's *Theatrum Cometicum* with an uncharacteristically long description of the contents:

Stanislaw Lubienieccki, *Theatrum Cometicum*, in two volumes, in folio. The first volume contains the correspondence of the author, maintained with around 40 scholars around Europe, concerning the appearance of

17 Lucas Burkart, 'Early Book Printing and Venture Capital in the Age of Debt: the Case of Michel Wenssler's Basel Printing Shop (1472–1491)', in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 23–54.

18 ODC 29, 18.07.1651. USTC 1833088.

19 OHD 1, 05.01.1666.

20 OHD 42, 18.10.1667.

the latest comets, accompanied by 58 engravings of the observations made in Rome, Cologne, Ingolstadt, Copenhagen, Danzig, Paris and in other places. The second volume contains a history of all comets since the deluge, 412 in total, with 24 engravings, and also contains a universal history. The book is printed and published in Amsterdam, and is available in Amsterdam with Blaeu, Elzevier, Waesberge, Ravesteyn and Van Someeren, in The Hague with Johannes Tongerloo and Jasper Doll, and in Haarlem with Abraham Casteleyn.²¹

Major projects like this, which required the development of an ad hoc consortium of this nature, were relatively rare in the corpus of advertisements discussed in this volume. The texts were in Latin, and most involved significant additional expense, new engravings or the commissioning of a new translation. Booksellers generally thought of those who read newspapers as a domestic, vernacular audience, so few Latin texts destined for universities or international markets were advertised. Then there were other Latin texts, titles which were so ubiquitous that every bookseller would be expected to carry them. Only a new edition by a distinguished scholar would merit advertisement, or a new edition which was differentiated from the pack by new features, illustrations, or topical content.

Lubienieczki's, *Theatrum Cometicum*, a remarkable work by a controversial and unorthodox author, clearly fits that profile. It was very expensive: two volumes in folio. This was the sort of project that brought out the big guns, the Blaeus, Elzeviers and Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge. If this sort of book was advertised in the papers more frequently, we would see more of these luminous names in the newspaper advertisements. The books which were generally advertised were books aimed for a middling class of book buyers, books which generally cost between 3 stuivers and 2.5 gulden. A set of the *Theatrum Cometicum* would set a buyer back twenty or thirty gulden at a minimum. Only booksellers and publishers in the highest echelons of the trade could be expected to stock it.

In some parts of Europe, consortia of this type were an established part of the landscape, often sustained over many years. Both Paris and Lyon had formal associations of this nature; in the case of Lyon, the *Compagnie des libraires* held a virtual lock on the market in large legal texts for more than fifty years. In Amsterdam, such a long-standing arrangement seems never to have been contemplated until the end of the seventeenth century; the informal association that came forward to challenge the Leiden monopoly to the States Bible was

21 OHD 52, 24.12.1668.

very much a response to an emergency. This apart, publishers enjoyed the freedom to develop their own publishing programmes. It still made sense, however, to take steps to mitigate risk in the case of particularly complex projects.

Between 1601 and 1650, some 400 works commissioned by Amsterdam publishers were undertaken on their behalf by printers in other cities.²² The system so carefully crafted by Cornelis Claesz was too successful simply to be let go. But over the course of the century, we see a subtle change in the relationship between metropolitan publishers and their colleagues in the provinces. Provincial publishers increasingly teamed up with Amsterdam booksellers to ensure their own new book would be readily available in the heart of the Dutch book world. In 1665 a new text by the minister in Wormerveer, Hermanus Witz, was published by Isaaq Reynersen Coster in Enkhuizen, but it was also, according to the advertisement, available in Amsterdam with Gerrit Sweerman.²³ We have already met H.J. Kraegh, pursuing his lonely vocation in De Waal and Oosterend on the island of Texel. If he wanted these books to be widely read, even after they had been published by the local bookseller on Texel, Lodewijck Vermeulen, it made sense to place part of the stock with an Amsterdam bookseller, in this case Jan Bouman.²⁴ The publisher Johan Arcerius, working in Franeker, had a standing arrangement with Gillis Kock in Amsterdam to distribute his books. His edition of Johannes Jacob Wissenbach's legal commentary, published in 1658, is advertised as 'available, like all publications by Arcerius, with Gillis Kock in Amsterdam'.²⁵

Maintaining a publishing business in places like Franeker, Deventer, Zutphen and Arnhem, depended to a large extent on the sort of printing projects that would never be advertised in the papers. In Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht and to a lesser extent Harderwijk, publishers could make a decent living servicing the needs of the university, publishing student dissertations and the ephemeral publications of academic administration. Student dissertations, usually paid for by the student, were distributed free to those attending the event, so were seldom offered for commercial sale. This was also obviously the case with the ordinances turned out in huge numbers by printers all over the Dutch Republic, for exhibition on the city gates and doorways of official buildings or distributed as pamphlets. This was hugely lucrative work for

22 Arthur der Weduwen, 'Fear and Loathing in Weesp. Personal and political networks in the Dutch print world', in Graeme Kemp and Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *Negotiating Conflict and Controversy in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 88–106.

23 *De Practijck des Christendoms, ofte eenvoudige Verklaringe van de voornaemste Gronden der Godsaligheydt*. OHD 37, 08.09.1665.

24 TVQ 34, 21.08.1666.

25 WCE 17, 27.04.1658.

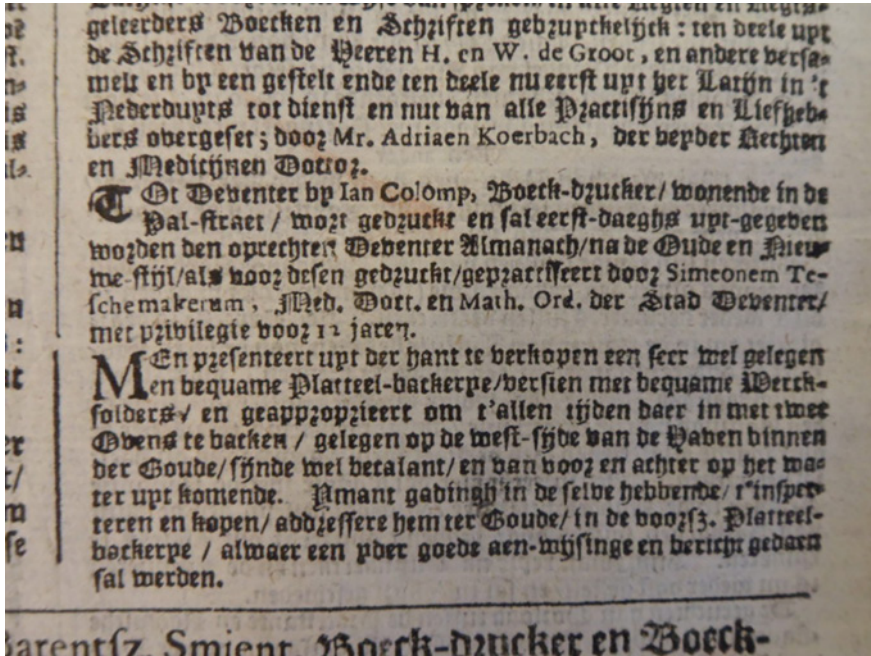


ILLUSTRATION 3.2 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, no. 41 (Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient, 11 October 1664). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

For publishers in the east of the Netherlands, placing an advertisement in one of the Amsterdam newspapers brought their titles to the attention of the entire country. Here Jan Colomp advertises one of the specialties of Deventer printing: an almanac. The publication is protected, as the advertisement highlights, by a twelve-year privilege.

publishers, especially the favoured individual lucky enough to be designated *Stadsdrukker*, city printer, but again, this sort of work, although the mainstay of the industry outside the major metropolitan centres, makes little impact on the newspaper advertisements.²⁶

It is only when the provincial publishers venture into more ambitious projects, the devotional texts of their local ministers, for instance, that they feel it worthwhile going to the expense of placing an advertisement with Casteleyn's *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante*, or one of the Amsterdam papers. Many gifted and cerebral ministers spent most of their career far from the more glamorous charges in the largest Holland cities, and their presence in a place like Zutphen or Arnhem was a source of considerable local pride. Local publishers felt a strong obligation to bring their work to the notice of a broader

26 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 172–218.

reading public; nor was the local audience likely to be sufficient to exhaust the whole edition. A newspaper advertisement in this case, particularly when combined with an arrangement with an Amsterdam publisher to assist with distribution, thus performed a double purpose: honouring an author respected in the local community by sharing his works with the wider reading public and insulating the publisher from risk.

Auctions

It is time to turn our attention away from the publishers to that other major community in the book industry, the booksellers. It must often have seemed to the hard-pressed publishers that the rewards and risks in the industry worked very much to their own disadvantage: that is that the publishers took all of the risk, while the booksellers made much of the profit. There was a measure of truth in this. Printers and publishers had significant fixed cost, not least the rent of the print shop and warehousing stock. Distributing the stock to the booksellers could also be an expensive business (perhaps less so in the Dutch Republic, where books could be moved by barge). It was much easier for booksellers to expand their stock to take advantage of rising demand or downsize in leaner times.

If success proved elusive, booksellers could exchange their shop for a market stall, or move on. In smaller places, books could be sold as part of a larger range of goods; even in the major cities, many booksellers also carried a variety of other stationers' supplies, paper, ink, blank note books, forms and labels. For some, the sale of books was clearly only a sideline. In 1669, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* advised its subscribers that copies of an imported legal text could be found in Amsterdam at the premises of the hat-seller Hendrick Gailliaert.²⁷ Two months later the same paper had notice of a new emblem book, 'consisting of more than 300 illustrations from the Old and New Testament, enriched with captions, mostly written by a great enthusiast of the Holy Scripture' which could be purchased at the house of Jan Ysbrants de Jonge, a pewterer.²⁸ A devotional text, *De Oeffeninge der Godtzaligheydt* [The Practice of Godliness], translated from German, was being sold by Nicolaes van Turnhout, a glazier.²⁹ The position of booksellers was further strengthened when

27 Johannes Fredericus ad Omfal (treasurer of the Elector of Brandenburg), *De summa Imperiorum sub Christianis in Litibus*. OHD 9, 26.02.1669.

28 *Den grooten Emblemata Sacra*. OHD 14, 02.04.1669.

29 OHD 17, 23.04.1669.

they initiated, without much consultation with the publishers, a system of sale and return.

It was possible for the publishers to mitigate the impact of their dependence on the bookselling network by running their own bookshop, as many in fact did. Johannes Janssonius, the ambitious Amsterdam publisher who did much to open up the Scandinavian market to Dutch books, would eventually have a string of shops all over Europe. But this too carried its risks, the need to trust managers who could not easily be closely supervised, and the danger of accumulating too much immovable stock. Life is never fair, and no one brought up in the stern Calvinist creed of the Dutch Reformed church would have expected otherwise.

This asymmetry of opportunity and risk was never more evident than in the auction market. The auction was a distinctively Dutch contribution to the business of selling books, and one that had a transforming impact on the Dutch and European book market. Between 1599, when the first auction of books with a printed catalogue took place in Leiden, and 1700, we can now document at least 4,000 auctions in the Dutch Republic: there were probably many more.³⁰ Auctions can be documented in at least twenty-seven different cities throughout the Republic, though the overwhelming proportion, probably seventy per cent of the total, took place in three Holland towns: Amsterdam, Leiden and The Hague. Here collectors came to find rare books to add to their libraries, booksellers shopped for bargains to add to their stock or pass on to a valued client, and grieving widows and heirs realised the value of a loved parent's library for cash.

This was a booksellers' world. Though publishers had their own sub-strata of closed auctions to move surplus stock around the market, the so-called *sorteringen*, the open public market was dominated by booksellers. The auction market gave booksellers unprecedented opportunities to make money without risk, in the process exploiting the networks established by the publishers to

30 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 33–37. See also Bert van Selm, 'The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue', *Quaerendo*, 15 (1985), pp. 16–53, 115–149, and his *Een menighe treffelijcke boecken*, pp. 9–173. Berry Dongelmans, 'Book Sale Catalogues in the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800', in Lotte Hellinga (ed.), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 263–276. O.S. Lankhorst, 'Dutch book auctions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2001), pp. 65–88. Rindert Jagersma, 'Dutch printed private library sales catalogues, 1599–1800: a bibliometric overview', in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (forthcoming, Leiden: Brill, 2020).

publicise the forthcoming auctions. Even the publication of auction catalogues relied on booksellers prepared to help distribute them, for perusal by potential buyers, often from all over the Republic, in advance of the sale.

The newspapers also played their part. The first advertisement for the auction of a private collection that we know of from a surviving newspaper issue appeared in the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* in 1638. It gave notice that the library of the Amsterdam lawyer Abraham vander Meer was to be sold at the house of Isaac Commelin, bookseller in Leiden, on 4 October. The library, it assured potential viewers, 'consists of many beautiful and rare books in various disciplines'.³¹ This admirably succinct notice could stand for many. It makes no mention of a printed catalogue, though one was certainly published, and it is unlikely that this was the first notification of the forthcoming auction in the papers. The *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren* carried this notice on 2 October, only two days before the auction. This is probably a prompt to members of the local trade, to remind them to attend. In the future, notices for auctions were placed weeks before the event, to allow the catalogue to circulate widely.³²

By 1638, it was expected that every auction would be accompanied by a printed catalogue, though many can no longer be located. The first advertisement for an auction which explicitly mentions a catalogue appeared in 1644, when the guardians of the heirs of Nicolaus Molinaeus notified that the sale would proceed 'according to the catalogue, available at the house of [Desiderius de] La Tombe', a bookseller on the Vijgendam in Amsterdam.³³ Many similar advertisements in the 1640s and 1650s list only one or two distributors of the catalogue. In the second half of the century, these sorts of circulation networks became ever more ambitious, as we can see from this advertisement of 1 October 1667:

On 31 October there will be sold in the Great Hall in The Hague, by Theodorus Duurcant, the library of the late Dirck Graswinckel, Lord of Holy, lawyer of Holland and greffier of the Chambre de Mi Partie, consisting of many remarkable books, especially jurisprudential works. The catalogue is available in Delft with Jacob Plantenburg, in Rotterdam with Arnout Leers and Jacobus Hackius, in Dordrecht with Jasper and Jan Goris, in

31 TVQ 40, 02.10.1638.

32 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Amplissimi & Clarissimi Viri, Abrami Vander Meer Delfensis* (Leiden: s.n., [1638]), USTC 1122203.

33 CID 3, 16.01.1644.

Middelburg with Willem Goeree, in Leiden with Pieter Hackius and Felix Lopez de Haro, in Utrecht with Pieter Elzevier, in Amsterdam with Joan Blaeu, in Haarlem with Abraham Casteleyn, in Franeker with Hendrick Prigge, in Leeuwarden with Lambert Dronrijp, in Harlingen with Hero Galama, in Groningen with Frans Bronchorst and Jochem Frilingh, in Enkhuizen with Jacob Plantenburg [sic], in Hoorn with Abraham Isaacsz van der Beeck, in Arnhem with Johan Frederich Hagen, in Nijmegen with Reynier Smetius and in Tiel with Cornelis Breunis.³⁴

This sale was something of a marquee event.³⁵ The first advertisement for the sale was posted in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant* of 20 August 1667, at which point the date had been fixed, but it was not yet known when the catalogue would be on sale.³⁶ This omission was corrected by the notice of 1 October. On 18 October, two weeks before the date of sale, it was further announced that copies of the catalogue could be found in more of the Holland towns, and in the Southern Netherlands: 'in Ghent with Francois d'Arkel, in Bruges with the widow Clouwet, in Mechelen with Jean Jaye and Gerrit Lintes, in Gouda with Cornelis Dyvoort and in Alkmaar with Hermanus vander Heyden'.³⁷ For the largest collections (and Graswinckel was both a serious collector and a well-known jurist and legal author) it became routine to advertise the sale abroad, most usually in Germany.³⁸ This advertisement, incidentally, provides further evidence for the circulation of the Haarlem paper in the Southern Netherlands. Finally, in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant* of 22 October the following week, came this further notice:

All are advertised that a hand-written appendix has been made by P. Cor. Bookenbergius to the catalogue of the library of Dirck Graswinckel, which contains many rare and curious manuscripts. This appendix is available in all cities where the printed catalogue is also available.³⁹

34 OHS 40, 01.10.1667.

35 The catalogue survives: *Catalogus insignium in quavis facultate librorum Theodori Graswinckel* (The Hague: Theodoor Duurcant, 1667), USTC 1803845.

36 OHS 34, 20.08.1667.

37 OHD 42, 18.10.1667.

38 For one famous German buyer at Dutch auctions see Marika Keblusek, 'Gekocht in Den Haag. Hertog August van Wolfenbüttel en de Haagse Elzeviers', in B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer, and O.S. Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa: het 17de-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), pp. 211–224.

39 OHS 43, 22.10.1667.

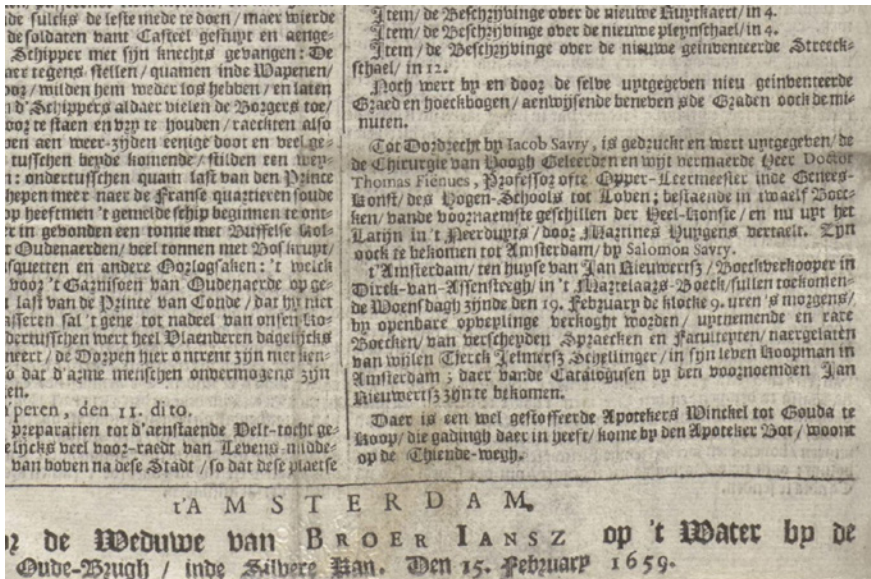


ILLUSTRATION 3.3 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren*, no. 7 (Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz Bouman, 15 February 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

Advertisements for book auctions began to play an important role in the newspapers from the later 1650s onwards. Here Jan Rieuwertsz advertises the auction of the library of the late Tjerck Jelmertsz Schellingier, merchant of Amsterdam, who owned 'exceptional and rare books of various languages and faculties'. The sale commenced, like most auctions, at 9 am.

It is always useful to be reminded that for the serious scholar, manuscripts continued to have a special allure. One can only hope that after this sustained advertising campaign, engaging the energies of a large bookseller network throughout the Republic, that the heirs of Graswinckel were rewarded with a successful sale.

Not all the auctions received the sort of media attention that we see here. Most auctions were advertised only once in the newspapers, if at all. Of course, here we are at the mercy of the accidents of survival, and many other auctions will have been advertised in issues of newspapers that are now lost. Conversely, around 60% of the advertisements for auctions that do survive, refer to auctions that we cannot otherwise document from a surviving copy of the catalogue. It is these advertisements that have largely allowed us to build the corpus of known auctions from the two thousand we know of from surviving catalogues, to the four thousand we can now document.⁴⁰

40 See also J.A. Gruys, 'Rijklof Michael van Goens. Het mysterie van de 24.200 verdwenen catalogi', in Ton Croiset van Uchelen and Hannie van Goinga (eds.), *Van pen tot laser: 31 opstellen over boek en schrift* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1996), pp. 150–156.

In addition to the newspapers, we can also comb through the records of the archival registers kept in Leiden and Amsterdam, where booksellers were obliged to seek permission for an upcoming book auction. Booksellers were quick to spot the potential of this new method of sale. While the first auctions were usually disposing of the libraries of distinguished collectors, auctions were also held to dispose of the stock of a deceased bookseller or publisher, or one who wished to retire from the business. As the advantages of the auction as a method of sale became ever more apparent, booksellers also looked to auctions to clear out unwanted stock. Sometimes, notoriously, they confused the two forms of sale, adding some of their own bound books to a sale that purported to be of a single distinguished collection. If the profits of the auction market were to be apportioned fairly, and the reputation of the industry not irreparably tarnished, the need for regulation was all too apparent.

TABLE 3.3 The number of book auctions advertised in Dutch newspapers, 1638–1675, divided by town, compared to the known number of auctions held in those towns.

Town	Auctions advertised	Known auctions held
Alkmaar	6	7
Amsterdam	171	277
Breda	1	1
Culemborg	1	1
Delft	3	9
Den Bosch	4	5
Deventer	3	9
Dordrecht	6	22
Enkhuizen	10	13
Franeke	4	13
Haarlem	19	27
Heemstede	1	1
Hoorn	10	11
Leeuwarden	6	12
Leiden	101	838
Maastricht	2	3
Middelburg	6	22
Monnickendam	1	1
Nijmegen	1	3
Rotterdam	23	42
Sneek	1	1
The Hague	34	184

TABLE 3.3 The number of book auctions advertised in Dutch newspapers, 1638–1675, divided by town, compared to the known number of auctions held in those towns. (*cont.*)

Town	Auctions advertised	Known auctions held
Utrecht	16	74
Vlissingen	1	1
Zutphen	1	1
Unspecified	11	42
Ghent	5	5
Total	45 ⁰	1,625

In the Saleroom

It is somewhat ironic, given their later importance to the health of the book trade, that booksellers had initially been quite suspicious of the new auctions. The auction of the library of Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde in 1599 could be treated as a special event, honouring one of the heroes of the Dutch Revolt, an intimate of William of Orange who had played a major role in crafting the new state. But as the number of auctions grew, sometimes for far less distinguished collections, booksellers grew uneasy. With so many books on the market, auctions might spoil their trade. The auctions, they insisted, should be regulated with strict limits on what could be sold. The booksellers of Leiden wished to limit auctions in their city to the collections of local residents, together with a ban on the sale of unbound books, the cornerstone of the booksellers’ trade from their shops.⁴¹

Over the years, as the new market took root, these regulations proved unenforceable. Those with collections to sell generally found ways to circumvent the restrictions on whose books could be sold in Leiden, claiming that someone should be eligible if they had studied in Leiden even if they had settled elsewhere. For a distinguished scholarly collection, it was only logical to sell it in the university town, where the professors, scholars and university library could have first pick of the books. This made good sense, but mostly the

41 Van Selm, ‘The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue’, pp. 119–121. See more broadly, Laura Cruz, *The paradox of prosperity: the Leiden booksellers’ guild and the distribution of books in early modern Europe* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009).

regulations were relaxed because the booksellers themselves recognised an opportunity to make a good income. Late in his career, but early in the history of auctions, Louis I Elzevier made 1,000 gulden in commission from two auctions.⁴² This was the equivalent of two years' income for a minister of the church or a prosperous craftsman. His industry brethren took note and dived into the market.

New regulations issued in 1669 reflect this more tolerant atmosphere, while being careful to reserve for the Leiden booksellers the bulk of the spoils:

The magistrates of Leiden give notice that they have resolved to approve all sorts of auctions of books in their city, whether the books belong to citizens of Leiden or further afield, as long as the auctions are held by booksellers of Leiden. The magistrates have resolved that the same booksellers will prepare the auction, the composition and printing of the catalogue, as well as manage the auction and sale of the books, for which they will receive the sum of one stuiver and four penningen for each gulden of books sold at auction. If the proceeds of the auction exceed 2,000 gulden then the booksellers will receive one stuiver for every gulden only.⁴³

These new regulations, published in *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* in the safe knowledge that the bookselling community were among the most assiduous readers of the newspapers, united in one person several stages of the auction process, all of which could generate income for the responsible bookseller. The first opportunity of profit came with the assignment to create an inventory of the collection to be sold. This was a familiar task for members of the book trade. When a householder died, the value of their goods would need to be assessed for division among members of the family. If the estate included a substantial number of books, it made sense to bring in a specialist who could move rapidly around the shelves, estimating the resale value. In the sixteenth century this skill had taken on a darker hue when a bookseller fell under suspicion for selling heretical books. Here an industry brother would be called in to prepare a full, careful inventory of stock. It was up to them to decide whether to let their eye slide over a heretical text, and leave it unrecorded, or whether to take the opportunity to eliminate an industry competitor.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

⁴³ *OHD* 13, 26.03.1669.

⁴⁴ Pierre Delsaert, 'A bookshop for a new age: the inventory of the bookshop of the Louvain bookseller Hieronymus Cloet, 1543', in Lotte Hellinga, et al. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 75–86.

By the 1630s, thankfully, such considerations no longer applied, and the inventory of the library could be turned over to a print shop for the printing of the catalogue. It can safely be assumed that a printed catalogue was a feature of every book auction; in Leiden the obligation to print such a catalogue had already been stipulated in municipal regulations in 1636, and this simply codified an already accepted practice; in Amsterdam auctioneers had the same obligations.⁴⁵ In the case of a large collection, the intention was to seek the widest possible publicity, stressing any special features of the sale on the title-page of the catalogue, and in any accompanying newspaper advertisement. The likely clientele would generally depend on the owner's profession: jurist, physician, professor or minister of the church. These four main groups account for more than half the auctions of personal libraries sold during the century.

To assist potential purchasers, who might not be able to sit through the whole sale, the catalogue would be ordered either by size (with the largest books, the folios, first), or by subject, with the traditional university faculties, theology, jurisprudence and medicine, leading the way. If the collection was too small to justify the organisational expense of a separate sale, two or more collections could be sold together. A special case was the auction of the remaining stock of a deceased bookseller. This generally offered a more varied inventory than the libraries of professional men.

With the catalogue compiled, this would generally be the moment to place an advertisement in the newspaper, and distribute copies of the catalogue to bookshops, where they could be consulted, or purchased, by those who might attend the sale. There is no indication that the catalogues were distributed for free, as seems to have been the case in England towards the end of the century.⁴⁶ Rather, the interested purchaser would pay much the same for a copy of the catalogue as for any quarto book of similar size.

The sales of the catalogues offered a nice source of additional income for those who assisted their colleagues in this way. In Amsterdam, Hendrick and Dirk Boom, Adriaen van Gaesbeeck, Johannes van Ravesteyn, Johannes van Someren and Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge were frequently named in the distribution networks advertised in the newspapers. Felix Lopez de Haro, himself a frequent organiser of auctions, performed the same role in Leiden, as

45 Hannie van Goinga, 'Books on the move: public book auctions in the Dutch Republic, 1711–1805, mainly in Amsterdam, Groningen, The Hague and Leiden', *Quaerendo*, 35 (2005), pp. 65–95, here pp. 70, 76. I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725* (vol 5., Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1978), pp. 237–274.

46 See, for example, the catalogue printed for the auction of the library of Mr Baulgy in 1697: the catalogue states that 'catalogues are distributed gratis, by Nevil Simmons bookseller, in Sheffield'. ESTC R236592.

did Theodoor Duurcant and Arnout II Leers in The Hague. This beneficial side line was also available to booksellers in towns that did not themselves host a large number of auctions: Abraham Casteleyn in Haarlem, Jacob Plantenburg in Delft, Jan Goris in Dordrecht, Arnout I Leers and his widow in Rotterdam, and Johannes Ribbius and Gysbert van Zijl in Utrecht. The Leers family, father and son, and Ribbius were frequently named together as one established distribution network. These were probably the shops to which interested parties would repair when newspaper advertisements offered more vague assurance that the catalogues could be found with the 'booksellers of the principal cities' or 'various booksellers in different cities'. For auctions in the northern towns of Franeker and Groningen there was an alternative northern circuit of distribution.⁴⁷ At some time or other in the years before 1675, this network of sales embraced over 250 booksellers in some 35 towns, 28 of them in the Dutch Republic.

The day of the sale was now approaching, sometimes postponed for a few days because of bad weather or some other glitch in the organisation.⁴⁸ Because it was prudent to circulate the catalogue as early as possible, sometimes before the date of the auction was fixed, it was not unusual for the date to be left blank on the catalogue title-page: in these cases the newspapers would offer a vital service in steering potential purchases to the correct location on the right day. From the 1650s onwards, a high proportion of the auctions for which we have a catalogue were indeed advertised in the newspapers: if we take into account the high rate of attrition of individual issues of newspapers in this particular decade, almost all the auctions may have been advertised in this way.

Many auctions took place in the house of the deceased; where this was not possible, the auctioneer was responsible for finding appropriate premises. This was sometimes the bookseller's own shop, less frequently a tavern or other well-known city landmark. The days of the auction were when the auctioneer reaped the benefit of this organisational effort. The 1669 Leiden ordinance laid down a standard five per cent fee for the auctioneer, rising to around seven per cent for the smaller collections. This is common, but towards the lower end of expectations: the auctioneer premium sometimes went as high as eight or ten per cent. Crucially, the terms of sale at the auction demanded payment in cash: successful bidders were expected to settle their account before removing their books. It was relatively straightforward for the auctioneer to subtract their percentage before handing the balance to the family. In a business otherwise functioning through a complex web of credit and debt, this one fact

47 For a good example, see *OHS* 9, 03.03.1671.

48 *OHD* 50, 11.12.1674.

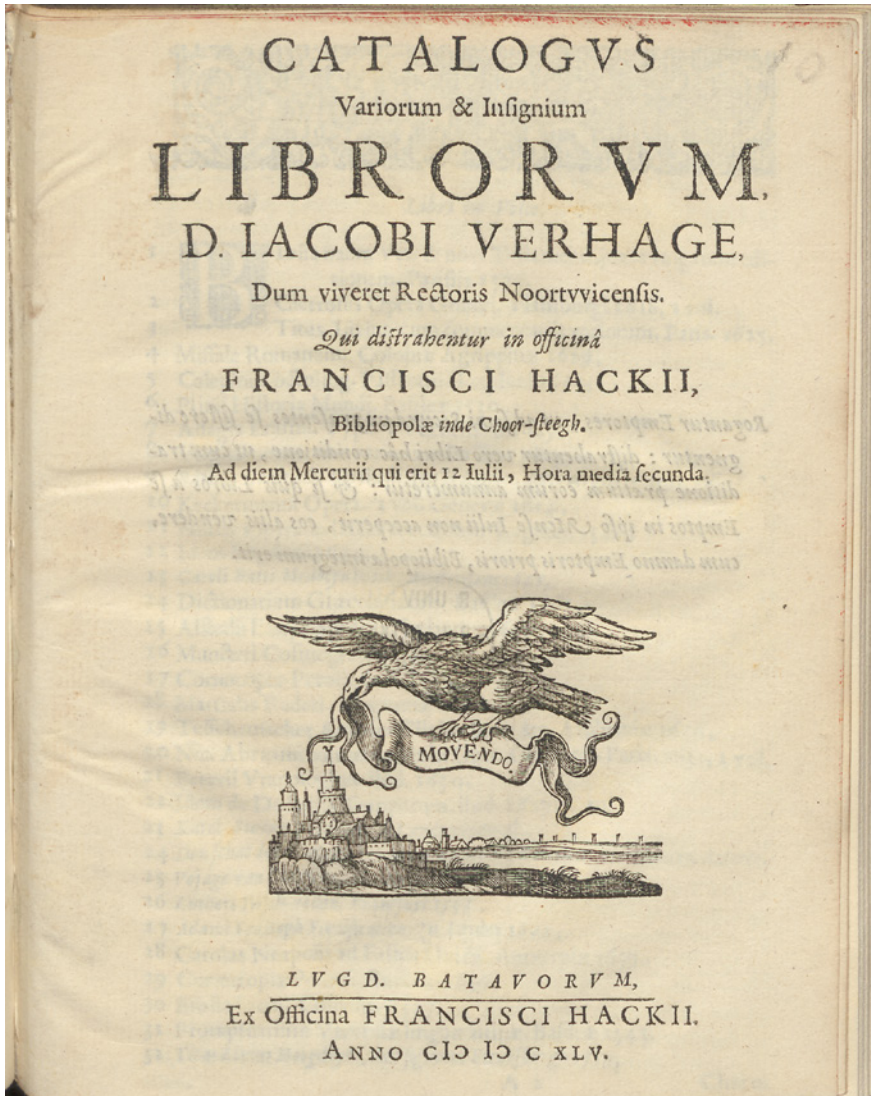


ILLUSTRATION 3.4 *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum, D. Jacobi Verhage* (Leiden: Franciscus Hackius, 1645). Leiden University Library
 A Dutch refinement of the second-hand book trade was the introduction of printed auction catalogues. By the 1630s, it was established practice that every book auction required a printed catalogue: here the library of Jacob Verhage, rector of the Latin school of Noordwijk, is presented for sale by Franciscus Hackius in Leiden.

TABLE 3.4 The number of named distributors of auction catalogues in advertisements, organised by town, 1644–1675. Towns in the Dutch Republic are listed first.

Town	Number of named distributors	Total instances
Alkmaar	5	6
Amsterdam	68	367
Arnhem	2	9
Culemborg	1	1
Delft	7	50
Deventer	2	3
Dordrecht	11	54
Edam	1	1
Enkhuizen	4	8
Franeker	3	3
Gorinchem	1	3
Gouda	4	6
Groningen	8	25
Haarlem	13	112
Harderwijk	2	2
Harlingen	2	6
Hoorn	4	12
Kampen	1	1
Leeuwarden	7	20
Leiden	25	146
Middelburg	8	26
Nijmegen	2	7
Rotterdam	13	180
The Hague	18	135
Tiel	1	1
Utrecht	18	135
Zutphen	2	4
Zwolle	1	1
Antwerp	2	4
Bruges	1	1
Brussels	3	4
Ghent	3	8
Mechelen	2	2

TABLE 3.4 The number of named distributors of auction catalogues in advertisements, organised by town, 1644–1675. Towns in the Dutch Republic are listed first. (*cont.*)

Town	Number of named distributors	Total instances
Emden	1	2
Frankfurt	1	1
Total	247	1,346

does much to explain the popularity of auctions in the book trade. The auctioneer was also well placed to make an offer to the family for any unsold lots, no doubt at a suitable discount. These books could then be added to the bookseller’s own stock.

For a small cadre of booksellers who embraced the auction market most enthusiastically, auctions must have provided the largest, and most reliable, portion of their income. By the 1660s, Felix Lopez de Haro of Leiden seems to have had a fairly regular monthly sale; in the 1670s, the Boom family in Amsterdam did much the same. These sales were not always of a distinguished library, but more often of a mix of varied stock. Sometimes the newspaper advertisement leaves the source of the books unclear: ‘a collection of fine books in many faculties’ may well be an amalgamation of books from several different libraries.

It was known that booksellers would game the market by adding books from their own stock to the auction sale of distinguished libraries.⁴⁹ This was particularly frustrating for customers who could not attend the sale in person but made bids through agents or by correspondence. It is hard to say how frequent this practice was: certainly, it did not reach the epidemic proportions of some notorious sales in England or the Southern Netherlands, where the name on the collection seems to have been little more than a snare to lure the unwary.⁵⁰ Though it no doubt happened that some books were disposed of in this way, in the competitive and intimate Dutch book world, booksellers had to weigh the limited benefits of such a practice to the likely reputational damage if their

49 Lankhorst, ‘Dutch book auctions’, pp. 72–74.
50 Pierre Delsaerdt, *Suam quisque bibliothecam. Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16^{de}–18^{de} eeuw* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001), pp. 286–232.

deceptions were revealed.⁵¹ Given that other booksellers were likely to be among the most regular attenders of the sale, this consideration would have been a more effective deterrent than any official regulation.

A Community Resource

On 27 March 1670, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* advertised a sale of a different type.

On Tuesday 1 April the widow of the late Carel van den Bogaert in Haarlem, means to sell her cloth-refining equipment, as well as all sorts of pieces of cloth, as is stated on the affixed posters.⁵²

Here, again, was a nice additional source of income for the print trade, printing up the posters that accompanied sales of this nature. Very few of these broadsheets now survive, though they must have plastered doorways and public buildings all over the city. To bring order to this practice, some cities, like Haarlem, required that private citizens advertising sales hand their notices in at the town hall, where, in return for a fee, the appropriate municipal official, the *Stadsaanplakker*, would add the private advertisements to his bundle of official notices to be pasted up. Such officials were often themselves connected to the book industry – it might indeed be the responsibility of the city printer, a lucrative and much coveted office, to ensure good order in the posting of such notices.

With this we are entering a different world, of official notification and private commerce, that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. But before we leave the publishers and booksellers, their profits and networks, we should note one further service frequently alluded to in the newspaper advertisements. When private citizens advertised a sale, or more frequently appealed for the return of lost property, they frequently named a bookshop as the place to which the lost goods should be taken.

On Monday 6 February there was lost on the barge from The Hague to Rotterdam via Delft a sack with 600 gulden. Whoever finds it or knows of

51 Marieke van Egeraat, 'How to sell left-over stock? Lessons from Mattheus van Nispen's book sale catalogue of 1681', in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (forthcoming, Leiden: Brill, 2020).

52 *EHD* 13, 27.03.1670.

its whereabouts can address Simon de Putter, bookseller in The Hague, from whom they will receive a good reward.⁵³

On Friday 9 February there was stolen in Amsterdam three pieces of Ras de Cypre, two of which are 63 ell long, and the third around 53 ell long. Whoever can return the cloth to Jan Rieuwertsz, bookseller in Amsterdam, will receive a great reward.⁵⁴

A well-stocked apothecary shop in Utrecht is advertised for sale. Any interested parties are to address Arnoldus van den Enden, bookseller on the Oude Kerkhof in Utrecht.⁵⁵

Sometimes the lost property was decidedly exotic, and sometimes it was the newspaper office that was named as the place to which it should be returned.

All are notified that due to the invasion of the troops of the Bishop in Friesland, there has been lost in the Grietenij of Smallerlandt a proclamation book or *boden consent-boeck*, with various receipts and bills in it. If anyone finds the same, then they are requested to deliver it to Focco Fockens Eringa, secretary of Smallerlandt in Drachten, or to Lodewijck Cres, bookseller in the Bagijnestraat in Leeuwarden, from whom they will receive a good reward.⁵⁶

A woman, named Marritjen Maers, left Breda on 30 April, and has not been seen since. She was wearing a *chargie* chest piece, a blue skirt, white stockings and a ribbon around her neck. She has a flat nose, is small of stature, has a wart on her cheek, and has weepy eyes. Whoever finds her, dead or alive, is to inform the newspaper publisher, or present themselves in the Bloemstraat to the 'Crowned Owl', from whom they will receive a good reward.⁵⁷

No doubt the bookseller would receive a small consideration from the relieved householder for the return of a prized keepsake; in the case of a sale, a more substantial commission could be expected. But the real point here is not the

53 OHS 6, 11.02.1673.

54 OHS 6, 11.02.1673.

55 ASC 7, 17.02.1674.

56 OHS 11, 18.03.1673.

57 ASC 35, 01.09.1674.



ILLUSTRATION 3.5 Dirck de Bray, *Mannen in een boekenwinkel* (c. 1630–1678). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-T-1884-A-291

The bookshop: a place to browse, buy and read books, but also to share information, appeal for help, and distribute rewards to citizens who returned lost and stolen goods. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the bookshop was a true community hub.

further opportunity for pecuniary gain, though that no doubt would have been welcome, but the evidence these cases offer for the special place that bookshops held in the life of the local community. This was a fixed location that all citizens could be expected to know, even the slightly dodgy, marginal figures who might have ‘found’ the mislaid watch. These notices not only offer a glimpse into a burgeoning consumer society, but evidence of the extraordinary place that books, newspapers and other print now placed in the everyday life of the Dutch Republic.

Commerce and Public Information

In their first three decades, advertisements in Dutch newspapers were almost entirely orientated towards the book market. In the 1630s and 1640s we see the first advertisements for the sale of ink or paper, printer's equipment and even a few schoolmasters advertising their services; but these all fall squarely within the same book world or education industry.¹ For the most part, the advertisements remain focussed on the retail sale of newly published books.

Around 1650, things begin to change. The advertisements for books are interwoven with notices placed by other professionals offering their services: a broker, advertising his good offices in finding young men jobs, a tavern-keeper who now offers overnight accommodation, an apothecary selling his business.² Public bodies also took to the newspapers to give notice of improved barge services, or, as we have seen, lambasting the publishers of almanacs for misstating the dates of their market. Private citizens increasingly used the newspaper to appeal for help in locating a mislaid state bond, raging against an absconding servant, or appealing for the return of a missing child.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, citizens of the Dutch Republic were enjoying the fruits of a century of rapid economic growth. Despite the storm clouds of war (which also make their impression on the newspaper advertisements), a higher proportion of Dutch citizens lived in reasonable comfort than in any other European society. Negotiating the streets of Holland's busy cities, you would still receive many reminders of those to whom this society of opportunity had not been kind. The problem of the poor was one which exercised the magistrates and ministers of the Dutch Republic on a regular basis. But the rising tide of wealth gave many more Dutch families than ever before a degree of disposable income, after the necessities of life had been paid for. They used this income, as we have seen, to buy books, but also clothes, household furniture, choice morsels for the table, and small luxuries to decorate the home. Much of this new prosperity was concentrated in the small circles of merchants and magistrates who dominated this new society, who

1 *CID* 49, 04.12.1638 (ink). *CID* 37, 10.09.1639 (schoolmaster), *CID* 10, 07.03.1643 (new school). *CID* 46, 16.11.1641 (writing paper).

2 *CID* 42, 17.10.1643 (employment broker). *OMWC* 49, 01.12.1648, *CID* 3, 16.01.1649, *CID* 8, 25.02.1651 (apothecary shops). *ODC* 30, 25.07.1662 (boarding at an inn).

accumulated, often in the space of a single generation, astonishing wealth.³ The desire for the finery associated with the prestige of this burgher aristocracy, opulent homes, horses and furniture, generated a large amount of work for tradesmen and craftsmen. A great deal of money was also invested in public works, building bridges and improving roads, reinforcing the dykes and perfecting Holland's famous barge network.⁴

How much of this 'Embarrassment of Riches' can we see advertised in the newspapers? Here, the results of this survey, which covers most of the period of rapid economic expansion before 1650 and the whole period of Republican rule to 1672, delivers many surprises. In so far as advertisements have been studied by earlier scholars, the main interest has been to chart the birth of a consumer society. Readers of the *Spectator* in early eighteenth-century London were tempted by a splendid array of the accoutrements of an opulent (or idle) life. These included smartly tailored suits, pets, playing cards, carriages and fine wines, not to mention the ubiquitous coffee shops in which to flaunt their new finery.⁵ Readers of English newspapers were also able to avail themselves of an extraordinary proliferation of financial investment schemes, 'the million-pound adventures', that brought their spectacular nemesis in the South Sea Bubble.

Historians of medicine have also had a good deal of entertainment from the variety of potions and nostrums pressed on the anxious and hypochondriac by silver-tongued medical practitioners, often described as quacks or charlatans.⁶ Given that the first, last and often only remedy of learned medicine in the period was bloodletting, it seems somewhat unfair that these exotic potions have brought opprobrium on their makers. Despite all the flummery, the basic ingredients were often familiar herbal remedies which might well have brought some relief.⁷ But these medical advertisements were certainly a leading feature

3 Kees Zandvliet, *De 500 Rijksten van de Republiek. Rijkdom, geloof, macht en cultuur* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2018).

4 Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch economy (1632–1839)* (Utrecht: H&S, 1981). Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987).

5 Lawrence Lewis, *The Advertisements of the Spectator* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

6 Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1660–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989). David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

7 As Johannes van Duren, one of the first medical practitioners to advertise in a Dutch newspaper, pointed out in 1668. See also Dick Kranen, *Advertenties van kwakzalvers en meesters in de Oprechte Haerlemse Courant uit de periode 1656–1733* (Ede: Kranen, 2008).

of the English newspapers, useful as space fillers when news was short because they were often very wordy.⁸

The most striking feature of the Dutch advertisements, at least for the period to 1675, is that we see few of these features. That there are virtually no advertisements for the basic foodstuffs that made up the Dutch diet, is not unexpected. In most prosperous Dutch homes, bread, beer, meat, fish, milk and vegetables were either brought to the door or taken care of by the servants. More striking is the virtual absence of advertisements for more luxury commodities. Clothing, shoes, curtains and furniture are seldom advertised for sale; coffee, tea and chocolate are entirely absent. Very few shops advertise their wares. We hear of shops only when they are for sale, and more than 80% of the businesses changing hands were apothecary shops. These sales are also almost all we see of the medical market. Few medical practitioners advertise their services, and the potions and doubtful remedies that have so entertained historians are hardly to be seen.

How do we account for this strange disjunction: the obvious growth of a consumer society and the unexpected absence of evidence of this in the newspaper advertisements? It must here be acknowledged that the data considered in this chapter dates from a rather earlier period, 1620–1675, than that of most studies that have interrogated newspaper advertisements for evidence of a blossoming market in consumer goods. In a later chapter we will consider how far the continuing development of an advertising market in the last quarter of the century brings some change in the patterns described for this earlier period.

On the other hand, the Dutch Republic did experience an extraordinarily rapid and precocious improvement in the standard of living of a substantial stratum of its population, and one would expect this to be reflected in the newspaper advertisements. The Dutch were adept and nimble in exploiting new commercial opportunities, as we have seen in our exploration of advertising in the book market. Why was this not extended to the market in commodities?

Partly this must reflect confidence in the existing infrastructure of commerce. The Dutch Republic was a land of markets, annual or biennial, established in an extraordinary network embracing the whole of the country. Even in the normal weeks of the years, face-to-face trading worked smoothly for most commodities. It is striking that when we do find commodities like wheat, barley or beer mentioned in the advertisements, this is largely in the context of

8 John Jefferson Looney, 'Advertising and Society in England, 1720–1820: A Statistical Analysis of Yorkshire Newspaper Advertisements' (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1983), p. 57.

a merchant looking to unload a major consignment. It was wholesale trades of this sort that dominate the newspaper advertisements for commodities: for shopkeepers and stall holders, the path to prosperity lay in building a customer base of regular customers, and word of mouth recommendation clearly counted for more than an advertisement in the papers. A tradesman who consorted with gentlemen aspired to the manners of gentility: the conduct of business needed to appear casual and elegant, however cut-throat it was in reality.⁹ Placing an advertisement might have compromised this careful cultivated market.¹⁰

In this period, at least, advertisements, rather like the news reports that preceded them, were still largely driven by events. The sale of an apothecary shop, a schoolmaster moving location, the auction of a cargo seized from an English ship captured in time of war: all of these events justified an advertisement. The hum of day-to-day trade did not.

We do see incidental evidence of the growth of consumer choice in this expanding economy. The cargoes of seized enemy ships bring Virginia tobacco and cardamom. Elephant tusks and other exotic goods arrive with returning East Indiamen. But it is mostly in the private notices, or the appeals for help in identifying fugitives, that we find most information on the growth of consumer society. A villainous suspected thief may be recognised by his fine clothes; inappropriate luxury, in this context, provides further evidence of his depravity. The best evidence of how the Dutch enjoyed the fruits of their virtuous industry comes when goods are stolen, lost or mislaid in luggage on the barge between Amsterdam and Haarlem. Newspaper advertisements appealing for their return are a regular feature in the newspapers. It is indeed through these notices that we find our window into the life and soul of these busy shoppers, along with the evidence of a multitude of state institutions playing their part in the creation of an ordered society. Dutch men and women could enjoy the best this creative and expanding world could deliver – so long as they paid their taxes.

9 The contemporary art world springs to mind. For a jaundiced eye, see Philip Hook, *Rogues Gallery. A History of Art and its Dealers* (London: Profile, 2017).

10 Looney, 'Advertising', pp. 207–214. It is significant that trade cards, which became a major mode of cultivating the market in the eighteenth century, were offered to clients after a transaction, rather than distributed to potential customers. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 'Selling Consumption in the Eighteenth Century', *Cultural and Social History*, 4 (2007), pp. 145–170. Philippa Plock, 'Advertising Books in Eighteenth-Century Paris: Evidence from Waddesdon Manor's Trade Card Collection', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books For Sale: The Advertising and Promotion of Print since the Fifteenth Century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009), pp. 87–108.

Newspapers and their Clients

Once we take out the advertisements for new books and book auctions, most of the remaining notices in the newspapers were placed by public bodies rather than private citizens. That was highly significant for the financial health of the newspapers. Even if Abraham Casteleyn had undertaken to run public information notices for the Haarlem magistrates free of charge, and the Amsterdam burgomasters had insisted on a similar service from their own papers, this would not have burdened them unduly. Most advertisements were placed by other jurisdictions. And for readers, these notices, of a contract available for public works, new barge timetables or a sale of the cargo of a recently captured English merchantman, were often the most urgent and time-sensitive information in the newspapers. Even in the absence of local political news, still dangerous territory for newspapers, one can imagine customers turning straight to the bottom of the reverse side to search for urgent commercial notices of this type; or indeed, for the tales of misfortune or heinous crimes that we will investigate in the next chapter.

The *London Gazette* often opened with an extended summary of an official proclamation, and one can read similar extended extracts of official despatches in the *Paris Gazette*. This was never the case with the Dutch newspapers. This was not only because the format of the Dutch papers provided insufficient space for long reports of this type. By this point, in any case, all of the official bodies in the Dutch States General, provincial States and the town magistrates, had smoothly operating systems to share new regulations or tax demands with their own citizens.¹¹ The rare echoes of States General edicts in the newspapers deal with very specific instances, such as a notification that military deserters would be pardoned if they returned within six weeks (1638). Presumably, in this case, it was hoped that the family of deserters reading the papers would persuade them to give themselves up.¹²

The States General and provincial States would despatch consignments of their new ordinances to be publicised along with the cities' own municipal instructions. These would be proclaimed from the town hall in the traditional way. Indeed, such an oral proclamation was still regarded as essential for such regulations to have legal standing. The proclamation would then be repeated around the town by the town crier, and printed copies of the text affixed in prominent public places.

11 Arthur der Weduwen, *Selling the Republican Ideal. State Communication in the Dutch Golden Age* (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2018).

12 *TVQ* 38, 18.09.1638. See also *CID* 12, 22.03.1653 (ordinance suspending whaling).

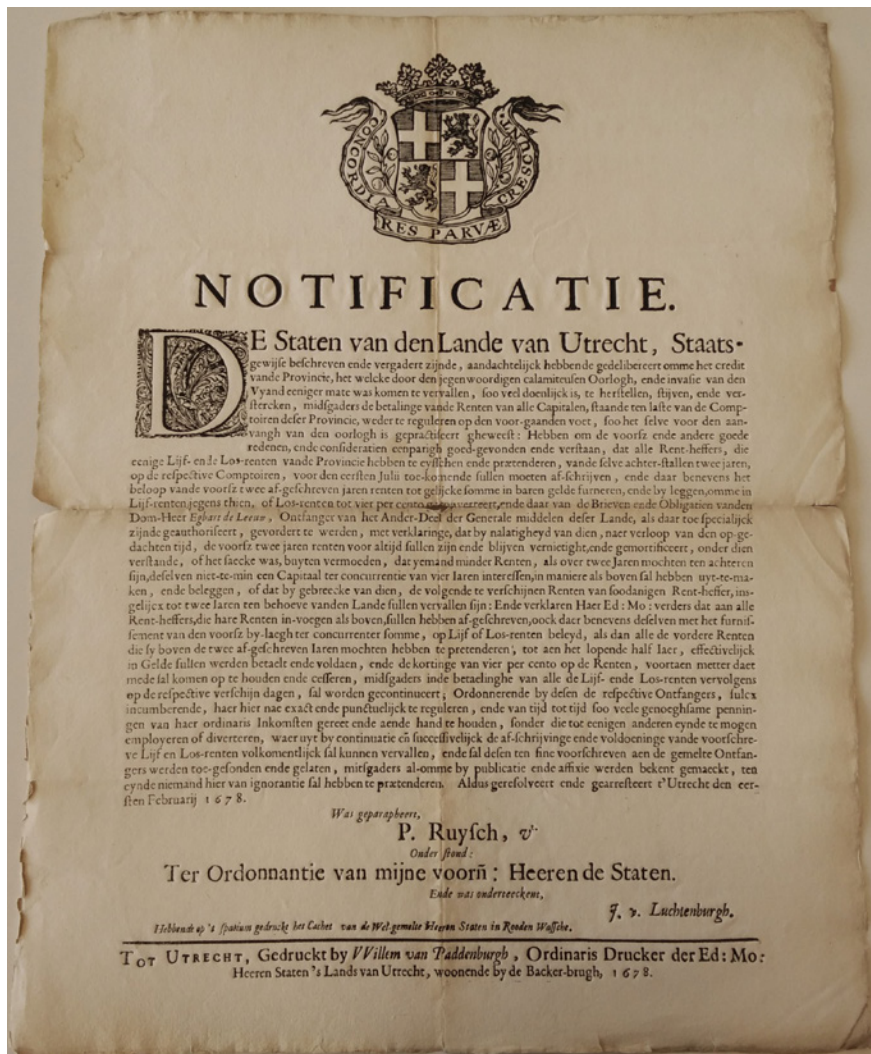


ILLUSTRATION 4.1 A broadsheet placard issued by the States of Utrecht on 1 February 1678. Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht

A typical seventeenth-century government placard. This example was issued by the States of Utrecht on 1 February 1678, and bears all the familiar features of official print, including a large woodcut coat of arms, a prominent header, a formulaic opening address and legal paraphernalia at the end. Government placards would have been proclaimed by town criers, and then distributed freely, exhibited at all notable locations within towns and villages. They offered one of the most efficient means available to government to communicate with a broad segment of the population, much broader than the limited pool of newspaper readers.

Most of these new ordinances were addressed primarily to the town's own inhabitants. Any travellers or tradesmen coming to conduct business could read copies exhibited on the city gates, the town hall or the doors of churches and prominent public buildings. For regulations requiring wider circulation, such as the announcement of a new market, copies would be despatched to the magistrates of other cities with the request that they would post this notice along with their own proclamations. Before the coming of the newspapers, this would have been a laborious and expensive business. Now newspapers could reach a wider circle of interested merchants, contractors and tradesmen far more directly. Indeed, the national reach of the Amsterdam papers, and then of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante*, provided a far wider circulation than most cities could afford with printed ordinances despatched by messenger. In cases where publicity was particularly urgent, as with the new Zutphen market discussed in chapter one, the council would invest in both.

This dawning realisation, that newspapers offered the most expedient way to reach a widely dispersed audience, largely determined what was advertised in the newspapers, and what was not. This principle applies equally to advertisements posted by private citizens. The search for an absconding apprentice, or a missing child, radiated further afield with every passing day: an announcement from the town crier would not help catch fugitives who had swiftly left town. Only a widely circulated wanted poster, or a newspaper advertisement, could assist in these cases. The only possible exception to this was Amsterdam, which constituted on its own such a vast market, that some matters of purely local concern could usefully be consigned to its advertising columns. Even so, the local council scarcely troubled the newspaper office with its ordinances. Amsterdam's papers, in any case, were gradually losing their previous status as the national papers of record to Casteleyn's *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante*. It is noteworthy that from the 1660s onwards, notifications of book auctions outside Amsterdam were sent almost exclusively to Casteleyn, leaving the Amsterdam papers to advertise the auctions held locally (admittedly a large market in itself). It is no wonder, with such a marketplace at his disposal, that by the 1670s Casteleyn's tri-weekly paper was finding space for five, six or even eight notices and advertisements in each Tuesday and Saturday issue.

By this point, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courante* had a circulation of at least two thousand copies, a significant number in the age of the hand press. We can say this with some confidence, since enough issues survive in two or more copies for us to be able to compare typography and layout. This demonstrates that already by the late 1660s, Casteleyn was routinely printing the Tuesday and Saturday editions on two presses. This gave him considerable flexibility, since with late coming news he could then stop one of the presses, presumably

the one printing copies for local distribution, to squeeze extra reports onto the reverse side. This sometimes meant sacrificing one of the advertisements, at least temporarily.¹³

Advertisers had no reason to complain; if an advertisement was left out of the late edition, it was carried in full in the next paper; that way, Casteleyn could balance his role as the newsman of choice for subscribers at home and abroad, while keeping faith with those who paid for space in his columns. There seem to have been few complaints. The prosperous figure who looks confidently out of the double portrait with his wife and business partner Margaretha van Bancken exudes authority and reliability.¹⁴ He has the look of a man who knew that his great gamble launching his Haarlem paper after Jan van Hilten's death had triumphantly succeeded.

Public Works, Private Profit

By the 1660s, the great network of barge services that connected the Holland towns with gateways to the interior and the markets of the Southern Netherlands, was coming close to completion. Even so, the potential for public works to absorb some of the surplus venture capital that would otherwise have overheated this buoyant economy is still very evident in the notices placed in the newspapers. There were marshes to be drained, roads to be built, bridges to be repaired. Some of this work was offered by private contractors, as when Otto Jouriaensz, Pieter Hendricksz and other partners undertook to construct two sea dykes at Petten and Den Helder, and sought to attract labourers with the promise 'that they will be granted a daily wage and meals if they gather to either location to work with wagon, cart or shovels'.¹⁵ For the most part, however, the works were undertaken by public bodies.¹⁶ Sometimes the contractor would be the States of Holland, which took a measure of responsibility for the travel infrastructure; they also drew income from the various road tolls, which they rented out to a private contractor who would then operate the toll for their own profit.¹⁷ On other occasions, the local authority would shoulder the expense of necessary infrastructure projects:

13 For one such example, see the surviving variant issues of *OHS* 50, 11.12.1666. See also the methodological introduction to the survey of advertisements in Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information*.

14 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-3280.

15 *OHS* 28, 10.07.1666.

16 *OHS* 30, 29.07.1673, for the States of Holland as contractor.

17 *OHS* 50, 11.12.1666. *OHD* 50, 14.12.1666. *OHS* 3, 15.01.1667.

The schout and governors of the village of 's Gravendeel, around Dordrecht, have decided to pave their village with 600 to 700 cobbles, and the work will be allocated on 3 June at 10 am, in whole, or in part, with the stone and labour included, or only the labour costs. The conditions are to be found with the Secretary of 's Gravendeel, or at Dordrecht at the factory of Mr Gillis van der Pijpen.¹⁸

The magistrates of Kollum in Friesland give notice that they mean to auction off the draining of the flooded Kollum sluice trench on 25 January/4 February, according to the conditions read out on the day of auction in Kollum by Gajus van Broersma, secretary of Kollumerland.¹⁹

The council and the delegates of the dyke in the Nieuwe Bilt in Friesland give notice that they seek to allocate the repair of the hole in the sea dyke.



ILLUSTRATION 4.2 Esaias van de Velde, *Herstellen van de doorgebroken dijk bij Vianen* (1624). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-81.070A

A breach in the dyke: here citizens are hard at work to repair the dyke at Vianen in 1624. In the second half of the seventeenth century, many Dutch authorities, including the so-called water boards, would announce their intention to allocate the works for construction works and infrastructural improvements in the newspapers.

18 OHD 21, 26.05.1665.

19 HPT 7, 22.01.1666.

Interested parties are to go to the house of the beach-master on 19 February/1 March at 9 am, where the conditions will be read out.²⁰

It is interesting that the authorities undertaking these works were not the great cities, but small settlements with relatively modest resources at their disposal. But the improvement of the streets, the draining of polders, and especially the maintenance of the sea dykes were community responsibilities, and clearly the money had to be found.

The need for investment capital spurred a number of towns to establish their own bank. The foundation of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609 is always seen as milestone in the sophistication of the Dutch economic system, but this was intended largely for those operating at the very top of the market, often in international commodity trading. The municipal banks established in other towns have attracted far less attention, but between 1649 and 1665, the newspapers carry advertisements for new banks in Groningen, Haarlem, Leeuwarden and Tiel.²¹ The magistrates put their weight behind these foundations, but did not undertake to run the banks themselves. Instead, the right to open a bank was offered for sale, accompanied by a privilege that, presumably, prevented any local competition. Municipal financial involvement also extended to intervening in the property market, managing interest rates and thus ameliorating the impact of any rapid increase or weakening of house prices.²²

The foundation of these municipal banks, often in quite small places not normally seen as hubs of industrial or commercial enterprise, was one more sign of the extraordinary financial power of the Dutch Republic. We see this too in the speed with which infrastructure projects, once undertaken, could be completed. In February 1657, the magistrates of Haarlem and Leiden advertised the contract for work on a new canal and canal path to link the two cities. This was a distance of some 30 kilometres, and a complex piece of engineering work in low-lying land susceptible to flooding. But already by that same October the magistrates could announce that the work was complete and advertise a timetable for the schedule of passenger barges.²³

The Dutch were prepared to invest not only in their transportation infrastructure, but in the physical infrastructure of their cities. The most tangible example was the planned expansion of Amsterdam, with the great ring of

20 OHD 7, 16.02.1666.

21 OMWC 5, 26.01.1649. ODC 11, 17.03.1654. OHS 6, 07.02.1660. CID 29, 18.07.1665. OHD 33, 11.08.1665. OMWC 23, 05.06.1663.

22 TVQ 22, 27.05.1656.

23 CID 42, 20.10.1657.

canals built on virgin land, and swiftly filled with the mansions of the rich, on plots carefully regulated for size to prevent too offensive a display of opulence. Amsterdam was also one of the first cities to install street lighting. With people flooding into the cities, often creating a major problem of crime and public order, reclaiming the night was an issue exercising urban authorities all over Europe.²⁴ In 1659, the watchmaker Stevanus Keus advertised a newly-invented lantern with ‘fantastic light, most appropriate to use in churches or grand halls, as well as for partridge and bird hunting’. By the following year he had decided there were more buildings needing illuminating than partridge hunters and a second advertisement concentrated only on the former.²⁵ But ultimately it would be the painter Jan van der Heyden who would scoop the pool, with an oil lamp, where a cunningly designed air vent maintained the flame from below. This was a huge improvement on the candle-lighted lanterns slung across the streets in Paris, and its ingenuity persuaded the burgomasters of Amsterdam to provide the necessary investment capital. Once again, the speed with which this major public construction project was achieved is remarkable. Between September 1669 and January 1670, 1,800 iron lanterns were erected. In the next ten years another nine cities in the Netherlands, including Dordrecht, Gouda and The Hague, would adopt street lighting.²⁶ As ‘director of the municipal lights’, Van der Heyden received a princely salary of 2,000 gulden per annum, which he drew until his death in 1712, sufficient compensation for the shameless copying of his patent lamp in cities throughout Europe.²⁷

The painter turned inventor Van der Heyden, who also went on to revolutionise municipal firefighting by inventing new fire hoses, demonstrated that for the ingenious and ambitious, there were fortunes to be made in a nation prepared to contemplate expensive and complex engineering projects. Other projectors and engineers would demonstrate their eagerness to assist these great national projects, and in the process make their own reputation. When in 1656 Jan Jansz Hutte and Johan van Eysde in Dordrecht advertised a newly invented drainage mechanism, ‘modelled on the one presented in Liège and which received a seventeen-year privilege in the Archbishopric of Liège from the Prince-Bishop’, they promised a giant leap forward in water technology. ‘This drainage system allows one to use only one mill to drain a body of water

24 Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire. A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

25 *ODC* 2, 14.01.1659. *TVQ* 1, 03.01.1660.

26 Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, pp. 130–140.

27 Lettie S. Multhauf, ‘The Light of Lamp-Lanterns: Street Lighting in 17th-century Amsterdam’, *Technology and Culture*, 26 (1985), pp. 236–252.



ILLUSTRATION 4.3 Anonymous, after Jan van der Heyden, *Toepassing van de nieuwe brandspuitslangen* (1677–1699). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: 1699 RP-P-1910-3632

Inventors were some of the first commercial advertisers in the newspapers who were not affiliated with the book trade. Although numerous inventors tried to impress their readers with the novelty of their mechanical ingenuity, none were as successful as Jan van der Heyden, who acquired fame with his streetlamps as much as with his firehoses. Van der Heyden's firehoses were publicised in many illustrated broadsheets like this, available with text in Dutch as well as French.

where otherwise five mills would be required'.²⁸ Ten years later Steven Bucquet advertised 'a *Charcque d'Estonnement*, or a wondrous scoop wheel, with which one man can lift 1,000 tonnes of water five feet high within an hour, or with a horse one can lift 4,000 tonnes of water in the same time'.²⁹ The authorities took these sorts of claims very seriously. According to the advertisement in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant*, the States General had awarded Bucquet a twenty-five year privilege, or monopoly, for the use of his ingenious device. If successful, the inventor could have made a great fortune from such a machine. Projectors defended their patents with some determination, necessarily so in a land where the rights to intellectual property were seldom respected. But here the authorities were keen to encourage innovation which would help them in the Herculean task of draining the wetlands and holding back the sea. Thus when the inventor of a new hammer mill posted this notice in the *Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante* in 1658, he knew that the threat had some force:

The inventor of the new hammer mills, who recently gained a twelve-year privilege to construct and sell these mills, warns his competitors that they will be fined 300 gulden if they are found to be reproducing the said mills, and their material will be confiscated. A copy of the privilege can be read in Amsterdam in the Voetboogstraat, in the 'Diamond Necklace'. Any informer who notifies the inventor of a breach of privilege will enjoy a cut of the fine.³⁰

How publishers must have wished that their privileges for new books had been so energetically defended.

In 1666, Christian Martini Anhaltin advertised yet another new mill, 'ideal for deepening canals or waterways, as can be read in greater detail on the printed advertisement'.³¹ The network of canals may have been largely completed, but the perfection of the system, and the promotion of the passenger barge services, occupied a considerable amount of space in the newspapers. Some of the earliest commercial advertisements in the surviving papers were those posted to advertise newly opened services: the barge between Delft and Leiden, departing every two hours between 5 am and 6.30 pm, or the new

²⁸ *OMWC* 41, 17.10.1656.

²⁹ *OHS* 5, 30.01.1666.

³⁰ *ODC* 5, 29.01.1658.

³¹ *CID* 37, 11.09.1666. Not surprisingly, no copy of the printed advertisement has yet been traced.



BEKENTMAKINGE.

Wet hy desin aan alle grintverreder van grintverreder
 Kanten / Alleen en pleidres behen gemaake; dat bap-
 ten Amsterdam / ober den Overtoom / aan de Schinkel /
 han werden gesien een nieuwe grintverreder en goocroper-
 de Watermolen / die meer dan viermaal soo veel water / als een andere re-
 gertwooydig in hier getuygh sijnde Watermolen / van de sette grootte /
 getijk mede veel viermaal soo diep / han upemaalen: Alsoo daermen maake
 een Molten in plaats van vier tot van voothen heiden; toe dan grun-
 gen moeter sijn een griseke Molten te sien maalen / han selc behooren
 ter plaatsse booyen. Menand onderstuytighen begertig sijnde een so-
 vanigen Molten / T is grove ofte hien te heiden / verwoege selc tot
 Amsterdam / op den Overtoomstij in t' opont kerfens heef / alwanne hem
 onderstuytighen selc worden gebaan.

AVERTISSEMENT.

CEux qui ont des Lacs, des Mares ou des Terres
 inondées à desiccher font avertis, que par Privilege de
 N.S.S. les Etats Generaux & des Provinces de Hollande,
 d'Utrecht, Frise &c. on a fait un Moulin à vent d'u-
 ne nouvelle invention, qui tire plus de quatre fois autant d'eau,
 que les Moulins ordinaires de pareille grandeur, lequel peut
 aussi puiser de plus de quatre fois aussi profond que ceux dont
 on se sert, de maniere qu'en place de quatre Moulins, il
 n'en faudra qu'un de cette nouvelle invention. L'Experien-
 ce s'en fait actuellement au de la de l'Overtom sur le Schinkel
 à une demy heure de la Porte de Leyden. Ceux qui voudront
 faire construire de semblables Molins, grands ou petits doivent
 s'adresser à Amsterdam sur le *Nieuwstijl* à la grande Court de
 l'Emperceur.

ILLUSTRATION 4.4 Caspar Luyken, *Bekendmaking van een nieuw soort watermolen* (c. 1691).
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1896-A-19368-899

The mill was a quintessential feature of the Dutch landscape. In a period marked by numerous land reclamation projects, there was a throng of engineers ready to present to the public the latest improvements in mill technology. Characterised by grandiose claims concerning the volume of water that could be pumped, inventors went to great lengths to demonstrate the prowess of their innovations. Mill inventors often took to the newspapers, and, as this example shows, also published placards: this example, by an anonymous inventor based in Amsterdam, offers a sales pitch in Dutch and French, accompanied by two elegant engravings.

canals between Amsterdam and Weesp and Gouda and Rotterdam.³² Local municipalities advertised timetables, improvements to the service, and the resumption of services after brief interruptions. In 1674, the magistrates of Gouda advertised a new connecting service, so that local customers could catch the night barges between Leiden and Utrecht.³³ And when circumstances permitted, that is, when England and the Dutch Republic were not at war, private contractors stepped forward to offer a cross-channel service, often in open rivalry, as with these two new routes opened in 1661:

32 CID 20, 15.05.1638. TVQ 23, 04.06.1639. CID 42, 19.10.1641.

33 OHS 23, 09.06.1674.

All gentlemen, merchants, and other passengers are notified that Frans Denick, former burgomaster of Maassluis, will commence a barge service from Maassluis to Harwich, sailing once or twice each week. Anyone interested in travelling with Denick is to address him in Maassluis, where they will be ferried across for a decent price. Denick highlights the fact that the road from Harwich to London is much shorter and in better condition than the road from Dover to London.³⁴

Hendrick Jacobsz van der Heyden, postmaster for England in Hellevoetsluis, advertises a regular postal service sailing between Harwich and Hellevoetsluis. The barge is sailed by 10 capable sailors, and is extremely well-equipped. The barge also takes passengers for the sum of 6 gulden. The barges depart from the inn called 'The Court of Holland' in Hellevoetsluis, and from the post house in Harwich. The barge leaves Hellevoetsluis every Saturday at 8 am, and from Harwich every Saturday at 3 pm. Passengers travelling to Hellevoetsluis from Holland are advised that they can embark on a barge at Rotterdam each Friday evening at the closing of the gate, so that they can reach Hellevoetsluis in time.³⁵

Yet a third route, between Vlissingen and Dover, was advertised in the very same paper.³⁶ Let us hope that potential clients were not put off by Frans Denick's opinion on the state of the Dover-London road.

This was a competitive business, and contractors were not above a little bit of dirty dealing to damage a competitor, as the following indignant advertisement makes clear.

Some people have spread the rumour to prospective passengers that the barge from Hellevoetsluis for Harwich is no longer departing. All are hereby notified that the barge continues to depart every Wednesday and Saturday before noon, and that the barges are well equipped with suitable tables, beds, mattresses and linen. Prospective passengers should present themselves in Hellevoetsluis in the morning, or by Tuesday and Friday night in Brielle, in the 'Large wine vat', with Dirck Kevelaer, where the master of the barge lodges, and where all passengers will be accommodated for a civil price.³⁷

34 ODC 18, 03.05.1661, TVQ 19, 07.05.1661.

35 CID 22, 28.05.1661, OHS 22, 28.05.1661.

36 OHS 22, 28.05.1661.

37 OHD 43, 23.10.1668.



ILLUSTRATION 4.5 Reinier Nooms, *Trekschuit naar Haarlem* (1652–1654). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-20.550

By the middle years of the seventeenth century, the provinces of Holland and Friesland were home to integrated networks of canals, serviced by regular barge services, often known as the *trekvaart*. The canal barges encouraged the rapid transportation of people and goods, and had a remarkable influence on Dutch public life. The newspapers feature many notifications announcing the times of departure of barge services, and an occasional glimpse of possessions left or lost in the barge.

Not only was the service still running, it allowed its customers to travel in considerable luxury. A number of advertisements, mirroring the printed ordinances and commercial advertisements invited readers to spread the word, '*segget voort*', but of course this could cut two ways.³⁸ Oral communication could spread the news of a new service or sale, or it could spread false information. Advertisements, as here, were often used to set the record straight, and not just when almanacs had misprinted the dates of markets.

In a nation that lived from the sea, and commerce, upholding the network of communications was almost as important as maintaining the dykes and the sea wall. The first advertisement placed in the papers by a foreign jurisdiction was a notification by the burgomasters of Emden, in northern Germany, announcing that they would shortly publish a chart of the harbour entrance. They were aware that the entry to Emden was vulnerable to shifting sandbanks and silting, and desperately anxious that Dutch ships might in consequence

38 For an example, *OHS* 1, 07.01.1662.

abandon Emden, and choose to sail on to other German ports.³⁹ A year later the map was ready. The burgomasters posted another advertisement to announce the chart's availability, adding the reassuring note that they had installed a new sluice to improve the passage through the Ooster-Ems.⁴⁰

Readers of the papers also received a glimpse of the opportunities in more far-flung lands. In 1670, governors of the VOC gave notice that all those who might wish to emigrate to the East Indies, alone or with their family, would receive free passage on an upcoming East-Indiaman to the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Batavia or Ceylon. They were invited to enquire for further details of the voyages at the chambers of the company at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. This invitation to embark on a new life was posted in both the Amsterdam and the Haarlem papers.⁴¹ Free passage to the West Indies and North America, where the Dutch struggled far more to gain a foothold, was advertised with greater regularity, and even greater incentives.⁴² The States of Zeeland, which had an interest in the exploitation of the colony of Surinam, announced in 1668 that

Since 1 May the castle and province of Surinam has been reinstated under their control, surrendered to Captain Abraham Crijnsen, who was sent by the Council to restore all order. The Council gives notice that everything has now been brought to such good order that prospective colonists are able to travel to Surinam to occupy suitable plots of land for the cultivation of sugar cane and other crops, and find themselves in an amenable climate, much more pleasant and fertile than neighbouring territories, and free from dangerous storms, named hurricanes. All citizens who wish to settle in Surinam, with or without their families, to cultivate crops or practice any other trade, will not only enjoy free transport, but will also be accommodated in Surinam with suitable plots of land for the cultivation of crops and the maintenance of people and cattle, and will also enjoy exemptions from all taxes and duties for a period of five years, to be calculated from their date of arrival in Surinam, while the current colonists of Surinam only enjoy two years exemption.⁴³

39 *CID* 9, 01.03.1642.

40 *CID* 28, 11.07.1643.

41 *OHS* 36, 06.09.1670. *ADC* 35, 02.09.1670.

42 The WIC advertised at least five times for free travel to New Netherland in 1658 and 1659.

43 *EHD* 29, 19.07.1668.

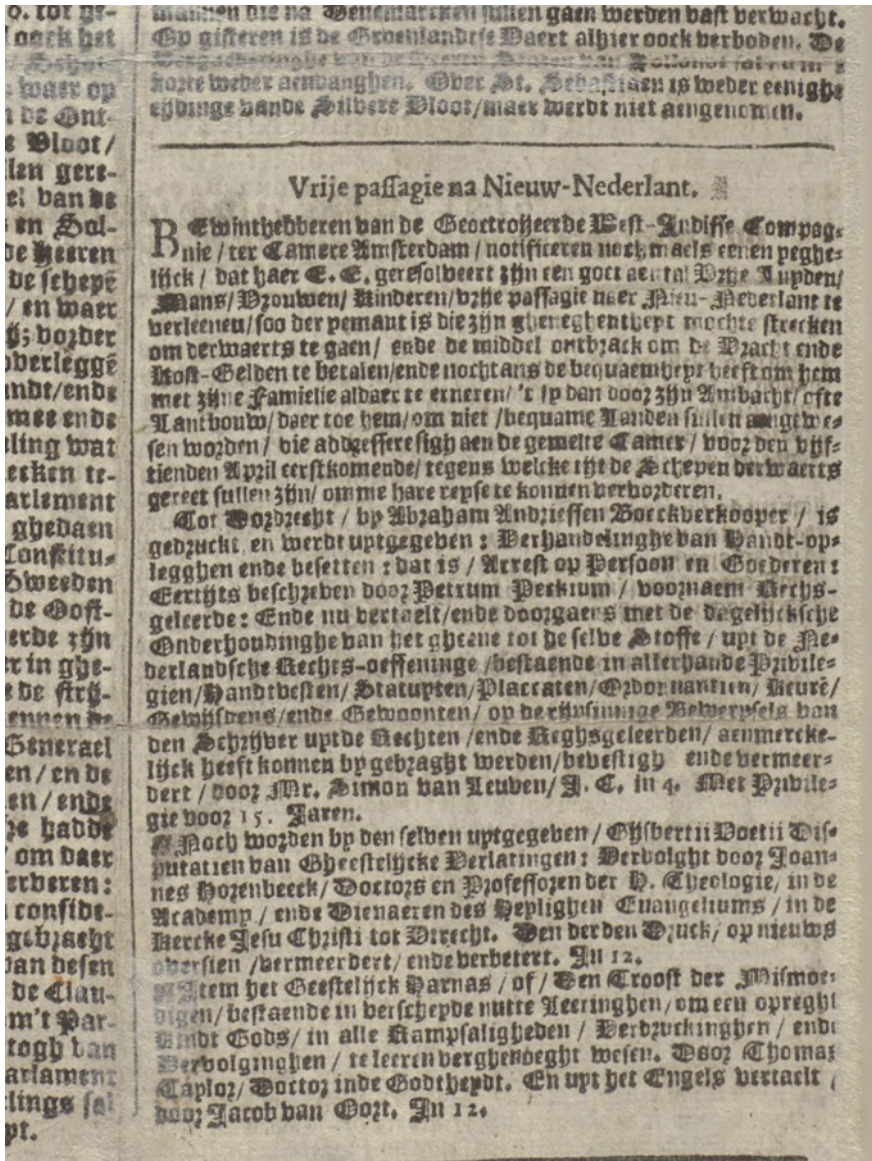


ILLUSTRATION 4.6 *Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant*, no. 11 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 15 March 1659). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

During the 1650s, after the West India Company had lost control of Brazil, repeated efforts were made to encourage migration and the development of the company's possessions in New Netherland, on the east coast of North America. The company placed a number of announcements like this, offering 'free passage' to New Netherland. Several years later, in 1664, the colony was lost to England after an unexpected assault on the capital, Nieuw Amsterdam, quickly renamed as New York.

One can only hope that the current colonists of Surinam did not read the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* as well. It is interesting to note that the anticipated audience for such notices did not overlap greatly with the traditional spectrum of newspaper subscribers. In another advertisement, the skipper Adriaen Claesz offered 'very favourable conditions' to 'carpenters, builders, blacksmiths, coopers, foresters or farmers' to travel with him to Surinam in March 1671 to build a new life.⁴⁴ One imagines that these groups were also targeted more directly by printed notices, distributed in public places and posted up around town. The text of these advertisements often reads as if they have been copied directly from such a poster. For those seeking the chance of betterment, but not wishing to risk the voyage and the tropical climate, they could always go to Kampen, where the magistrates were offering free citizenship. Opportunity came in many shapes and sizes.⁴⁵

Post-haste

In 1655, a travelling merchant introduced the reading public to a new sort of advertisement:

All gentlemen and merchants are notified that Alexander Hanshelmi of Venice will return to Venice on 20 January. He advertises for a travelling companion, and offers for a civil price the convenience of horses and a carriage, and offers to take any wares or goods as well. Fellow travellers can also journey as far as Cologne or Frankfurt. Interested parties are to address Jeronimo Rigo (broker), living on the Lauriergracht, in the 'Castle of Rome', who can also be found after noon at the Bourse.⁴⁶

The broker, Jeronimo Rigo, is an interesting figure in this transaction, and he will crop up again ten years later, this time seeking travelling companions for a German merchant heading for Nuremberg and Augsburg, onwards to Venice and then back to Paris.⁴⁷ Despite the occasional theft on board the passenger barges, and the even more occasional drunkard who toppled into the canal and drowned, no-one could doubt that the internal waterways were an infinitely safer and more comfortable way to travel than the roads. Despite this,

44 *EHD* 10, 05.03.1671.

45 *ADC* 35, 28.08.1674.

46 *CID* 51, 18.12.1655.

47 *OMWC* 39, 05.10.1666.

this same period witnesses the growth of an extensive network of carriage services, which advertise their services almost as frequently as the barges.

The elaboration of this service was closely connected with the continuing development of the postal network. Since the sixteenth century and the completion of the Imperial post, a reliable postal network had linked Europe's commercial hubs and political capitals. This was, of course, fundamental to the development and continuing existence of the newspapers. In the buoyant economy of the Netherlands, those living outside the major information centres also desired adequate connections to these essential networks of commerce and communication, and private entrepreneurs were quick to seize the opportunity.

The level of detailed information in these announcements made them ideal material for the newspapers, mirroring the printed posters that would also be exhibited at the post offices, and at coaching inns and taverns.

All are notified that the Osnabrück postal carriages, having commenced service on 22 May, will continue to depart twice a week, on Wednesday and Sunday, at 11 am precisely, from Zwolle for Lingen, Osnabrück, Bremen, Hamburg and Braunschweig. Each passenger pays a fare as follows: from Zwolle to Osnabrück (30 hours), 3.5 rijksdaalders, for Bremen (48 hours), 6 rijksdaalders, for Hamburg (66 hours), 8 rijksdaalders, for Minden (42 hours), 4.5 rijksdaalders, for Hannover (53 hours), 5.5 rijksdaalders.⁴⁸

Carriage services were particularly vital where the system of inland waterways did not provide a natural link between cities, as with this itinerary from Zwolle into northern Germany. What is even more impressive is how the carriage services became integrated with the barge network.

The postal carriages from Naarden to Wesel depart every Wednesday from 2 pm, even if there is only one passenger, and will arrive in good time in Wesel on Thursday. If one takes the barge [from Amsterdam] at 10 am, they will arrive in time for the departure of the carriage. Parcels to be sent along can be delivered to Jan van Oyen in Naarden. Once in Wesel one can take a postal carriage on Friday morning towards Westphalia, and carriages depart from Wesel back to Naarden on Monday and Friday mornings at 8 am, in order to be on the 10 am barge for Amsterdam.⁴⁹

48 OHS 27, 04.07.1665. A rijksdaalder was 2.5 gulden.

49 OMC 23, 05.06.1663.

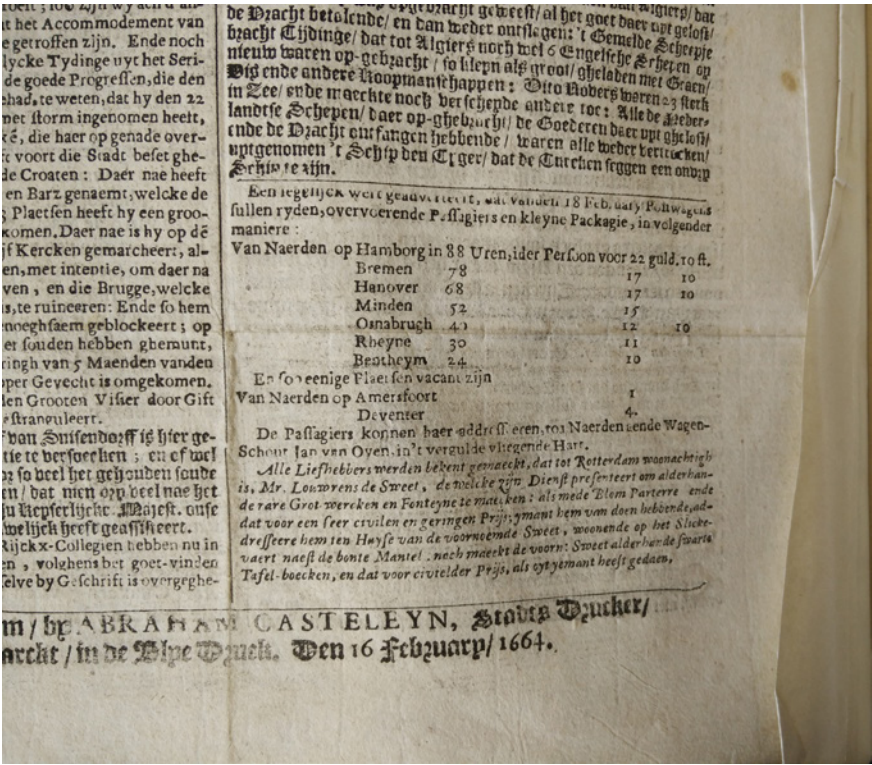


ILLUSTRATION 4.7 *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant*, no. 7 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 16 February 1664). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem

This announcement offers a helpful breakdown of the times and rates of travel of the post carriage from Naarden for North Germany. Naarden was only a few hours from Amsterdam with the barge, so a merchant travelling from Amsterdam to Hamburg would arrive within four days, although they would have to surrender the royal sum of 22.5 gulden. A quick trip to Deventer, in Overijssel, would take less than a day, and cost 4 gulden. The carriage routes, in contrast to the barges, were generally a service that could only be afforded by the political and mercantile elite of the Dutch Republic.

All are given notice that the postal carriages from Rotterdam for Antwerp are so well organised that they arrive via Numansdorp, Willemstad and Roosendaal at their destination three hours quicker than before, so that those who leave at 6 am in the morning will arrive around 5 or 6 pm in the evening. Some gentlemen recently travelled from Mechelen to Rotterdam in a single day over this route. If one travels with the regular Delft barge at 4.30 am one will reach Rotterdam in time for the departure of the carriage to Antwerp.⁵⁰

50 OHD 22, 27.05.1664.

This second service was managed by Jacob Quack, postmaster in Rotterdam, who also took on the infinitely more complex task of ensuring that post reached sailors serving on the Dutch fleet.

Jacob Quack, postmaster in Rotterdam, gives notice that while the fleet is anchored around Goeree, he will despatch every day from Rotterdam at 8 am (after the arrival of the post from Amsterdam and Delft) a postal carriage to deliver letters to the fleet via Hellevoetsluis. Letters from the fleet will arrive back in Rotterdam the same day, and will be despatched onwards immediately, so that one can send and receive a letter from The Hague, Delft or Rotterdam within a day, and from Amsterdam within 36 hours. All letters to the fleet are to include six stuivers for postage, but the letters from the fleet are free of additional charge. A special postal barge has been commissioned to ferry letters between the ships of the fleet and Hellevoetsluis.⁵¹

Quack was providing a vital service, but he was also a businessman, as this further elucidation one week later makes clear:

Jacob Quack, postmaster in Rotterdam, gives notice that the postal barge for the fleet continues to depart daily, but that many writers continue to despatch letters to the fleet with the special six stuivers charge enclosed but forget to pay the charge for the letters to arrive in Rotterdam. They are hereby reminded that the six stuivers charge is for the despatch of the letter from Rotterdam to the fleet only. If the fleet departs suddenly then all undelivered letters can be found with the postmaster in Rotterdam.⁵²

When this notice was posted, the Republic was marshalling its forces for the Second Anglo-Dutch War which would erupt the following March. In this time of national peril, the anxious regents must have been unusually susceptible to the blandishments of Pieter Camerlingh, doctor of medicine in Rotterdam, who claimed to have created a new navigational device, 'which allows ships of all size to sail faster than any other ship, be they before or against the wind'.⁵³ Not surprisingly, the States General had rewarded this invention with a privilege. More surprisingly, they had not reserved it for their exclusive use; on the contrary, the proud physician was here advertising its sale to all comers. But that was the Dutch way, and if this remarkable invention was placed in the hands of enemy forces, that was how the market worked.

⁵¹ OHS 45, 08.11.1664.

⁵² OHS 46, 15.11.1664.

⁵³ OHD 3, 19.01.1666.

To Market

Of all the notices in the papers, it is a very traditional part of the commercial infrastructure that commands most space: the network of markets. At some point between 1620 and 1675, at least 104 towns and cities in the seven provinces placed notices in the newspapers, and the vast majority of these relate to markets. New markets established, markets postponed or rearranged, or just a reminder of a familiar date on the annual calendar: all of these notices provided essential information to traders who may have travelled many miles with their goods or cattle. Dates were sometimes changed to avoid a clash with another fair.⁵⁴ Mandated special days of prayer could cause havoc with a long established schedule; in 1668, the Haarlem magistrates dealt deftly with this problem by dividing their leather market, with the market for tanned leather on the Tuesday, and the untanned leather on the Thursday, with the prayer day in between.⁵⁵ For this type of information the newspapers became an indispensable service, though in some cases, like the new Zutphen market discussed in an earlier chapter, cities still continued to issue printed notices, despite the expense. One of the earliest notifications of a market in the newspapers was an advertisement for the horse market in Rhenen, a small town in the province of Utrecht not far from Arnhem. The magistrates were keen to remind readers of the *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* that this market had held an Imperial privilege since 1552. It would 'take place on 13 June (OS), and the following two days, as can be seen in greater detail on the distributed forms'.⁵⁶

The larger cities had a sequence of markets through the year, with a general market followed by a special horse market and cattle market: sometimes these two were combined. A market for leather and hides was not unusual, and the occasional cheese market was also advertised: presumably these were a more regular occurrence, but traders were not expected to come long distances to sell cheese, so there was no need for them to be advertised except locally. For the cattle market, drovers brought herds from Germany to the great square of Deventer and other towns in Gelderland and Overijssel for onwards transportation and slaughter for the hungry families of Holland. Like everything else in the commerce of the Dutch Republic, this was a highly competitive business. It mattered a great deal to attract both plentiful trade, and goods of

54 OHS 6, 11.02.1668.

55 OHS 24, 16.06.1668. On prayer days in the Dutch Republic see N.C. Kist, *Neêrland's Bededagen en Biddagsbrieven* (2 vols., Leiden: Luchtmans, 1848–1849).

56 TVQ 19, 12.05.1646.

PAERDE - MARCKT.
Binnen de Stadt
G O U D A.

DE Heeren Burgermeesteren en Regeerders der Stadt
G O U D A. maechen by desen kond ende hemelyck / allen ende een yegelycken /
hoe dat / in gevolge van hare privilegien / om te mogen ende konnen houden /
drie jaerlyckche drie Paerde - Marckten : hare E. Achtbaerheden goet ge-
dacht hebben / by desen gantsch vrienelicken te verdoeken / ende noodigen al-
len Paerdehooperen / ende Ziefhebberen van de selve / ten eynde sy haer jaerlycks met hare
Paerden geliebente verboegen binnen de voornoemde Stadt G O U D A.

Op den negenden ende den tienden dagh der
Maendt Junij,

En ware dat den negenden dagh in Junij quame / ofte gevele opeen Sondag / dat in sulcken
gevalle de voorschrebe Paerde - Marckten sin aenbaugh sal nemen op den tienden / ende den vol-
genden dagh : Dat oock de vyfde van de voorschrebe Marckten ingaen sal den negenden , en-
de eyndigen den leventenden der selver Maendt Junij.

Ende op dat een ygelijck des te krachtiger daer toe worde geani-
neert ende aengeprielt / soo hebben opgamelte Heeren Burgermeesteren , by desen / allomme
wel willen bekend maechen / dat de gemelte Heeren hebben doen maechen bequame gelegentheyte
op de Marckten / om de Paerden aldaer te stellen.

Aldus gedaen ende gearresteert by de Heeren Burgermeesteren ende Regeerders der Stadt
Gouda, den 15. April 1670.

In kennisse van my Secretaris
A. van GROENENDYCK.

Ter Goude, Gedrukt by Cornelis Dyvoort, Stads Drukker, op de Markt, in't ABC.

ILLUSTRATION 4.8 *Paerde-Marckt, binnen de stad Gouda* (Gouda: Cornelis Dyvoort, [1670]).
Streekarchief Midden-Holland, Gouda
Municipal announcements for markets, a staple of the newspapers, would have been accompanied by lavish placards. This rare surviving example advertises the dates of the Gouda horse market. The text of the poster corresponds closely to the text found in the newspaper advertisements, including the attention to the provision for 'suitable stabling'.

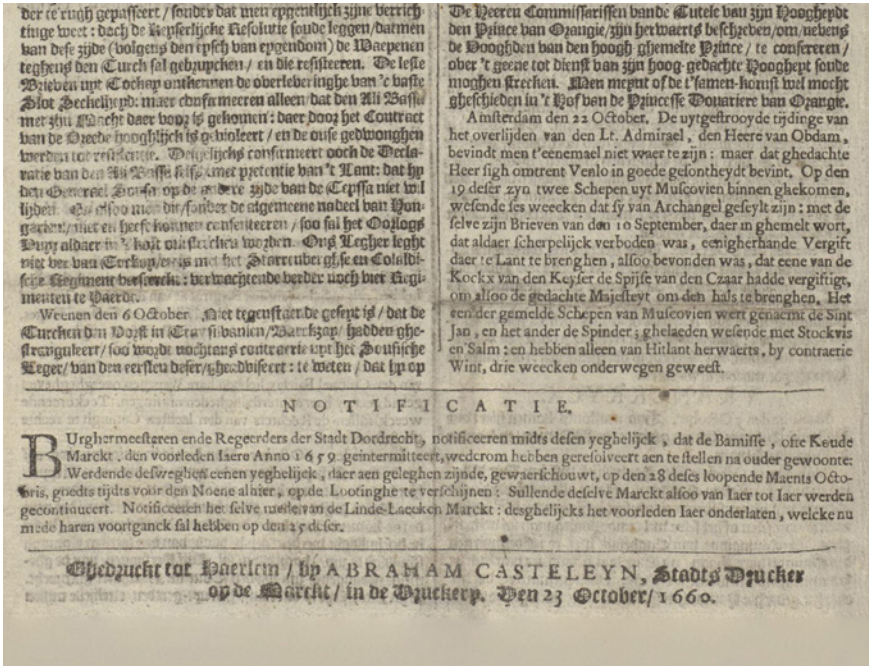


ILLUSTRATION 4.9 *Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant*, no. 43 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 23 October 1660). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

A typical example of a market announcement displayed prominently in the Haarlem newspaper. The magistrates of Dordrecht here give notice that their *Bamisse*, or 'cold' market will be held once more after a brief suspension in 1659. They also announce that the annual cloth market will be held three days earlier, on 25 October.

high quality. Magistrates strove to offer the best stabling for the horses and other inducements:

The magistrates of Schoorl and Kamp give notice that they have resolved, with approbation from the bailiff of Brederode, to hold their horse and cattle market for two days instead of one, to take place on the Monday after Pentecost. Visiting horse merchants will find suitable stables at the house of Schout Hogenkamp, and the houses of Jan Rijntjes, Claes Jacobsx, Dirck Pietersz Wagenmaker and Barent Cornelisz, and will receive free hay for the horses for two days.⁵⁷

The magistrates of Kampen give notice that their two annual cattle markets, to be held on the Monday and Tuesday before Palm Sunday and the Tuesday and Wednesday after Easter, will continue to be held as usual, and that all traders will be exempt from local toll, and that thanks to the concession of the magistrates of Hasselt, all traders will pay only half toll on the road and barge from Hasselt to Kampen.⁵⁸

The magistrates of Gouda give notice that their annual horse market will take place on Tuesday 10 May and the two following days, and that the magistrates have made available to all traders suitable stabling near the market, and a pasture for grazing, which will be free of charge for all horse traders.⁵⁹

The magistrates of Delft constructed accommodation for the horses with grazing and stabling for 100 stables, available for six stuivers a day for each horse. They were very proud of this convenience, and repeatedly reminded newspaper readers of these arrangements.⁶⁰ Their announcements also frequently included the incentive that 'the horse trader who presents the largest team of horses at the upcoming Delft horse market ... will receive a pair of silver spurs'.⁶¹ The magistrates of other towns, like those of Purmerend, Grave and Den Bosch, offered similar prizes.⁶² As this competition suggests, many cities developed their market into a festival or fair, with performers and tumblers and special local rituals. None could match, at least for singularity, the rolling of the Amersfoort stone in 1661, a great boulder excavated from a nearby hillside and paraded into the town for the entertainment of baffled bystanders.⁶³

The market network was robust, and would only be seriously disrupted by calamitous events. In 1666, Holland was visited by the plague.⁶⁴ When the symptoms were first recognised, some towns took measures to shield their business by banning outside traders. When it became clear that the epidemic could not be controlled, towns cancelled their markets altogether. The French invasion of 1672 caused another rash of cancellations, not least because the

58 CID 11, 12.03.1667.

59 OHS 18, 30.04.1667.

60 The magistrates of Delft were one of the most prolific advertisers of all public bodies: no fewer than thirty-seven announcements have been identified.

61 OHS 20, 14.05.1667.

62 TVQ 39, 26.09.1643. TVQ 9, 27.02.1649. OMWC 21, 18.05.1649.

63 TVQ 23, 04.06.1661.

64 Leo Noordegraaf, *De gave Gods: de pest in Holland vanaf de late middeleeuwen* (Bergen: Octavo, 1988).

occupation of Gelderland and Utrecht cut Holland's communications with the drover routes to Germany.⁶⁵

The ban on outside traders was also extended to acrobats, conjurers and the performers of plays. Although such performers added to the merriment, they also threatened an increase in petty crime and disorder; their peripatetic life also made the players obvious vectors for infectious disease. Troupes of actors were not much respected for their character or morals. Many city magistrates regarded them as little better than vagrants and the decision to ban them from the markets was easily taken. Sometime this ban was maintained even when the infection had passed and the markets reopened.

A Merchant's World

While auctions of books have attracted most of our attention, the new sales mechanism also proved a useful tool in other branches of commerce. During the middle years of the century, newspapers advertised auctions for a wide range of commodities, including birds, cloth, hides, sugar and tobacco. The variety of goods auctioned, which extends to some seventy different commodities or businesses, is perhaps deceiving. Many commodities, or types of business premises, appear only once. It is also sometimes not entirely clear from the phrasing of the advertisement whether many of the commodities advertised for sale would actually have been disposed of by auction. This may be the case, for instance, for many of the houses and estates advertised as sales.

There is another important distinction to be made between the book auctions and other commodities traded in the saleroom. While book auctions were open to all, and indeed encouraged the widest participation, many other sorts of auctions were purely for wholesale rather than the retail trades: they would have been frequented by merchants and brokers, rather than citizens filling their own larders. This would have been as true of the oil mill offered for auction in 1667, and the brewery on sale in 1672, as the marble pillars, dredging mills and bakery. The sale of the cargoes of English and French ships taken in time of war might have attracted a few curious onlookers, but the buyers would have been merchants and tradesmen buying to build inventory.

Most of the sales advertised in the newspapers, whether in the auction room, the warehouse or down by the quayside, were for commodities traded between merchants: an advertisement was scarcely ever placed by a tradesman

65 See chapter 6, below.

seeking to entice customers into their shop. Even so, auction sales can offer a vision of expanding worlds, with tobacco from Virginia, cardamom from Guinea, sugar and ginger, indigo and elephant tusks. Much of the tobacco came from captured English ships. The varied contents of the prize cargoes sometimes include a few books: the cargo of an English ship to be sold on 19 December 1667 included a load of English books and Bibles.⁶⁶ We see the Dutch passion for their gardens in the frequent sales of trees, and dealers in birds, especially canaries, ply their trade with regularity.⁶⁷ But the exotic is always balanced by the mundane accoutrements of pragmatic manufactures: a drapery, cloth-refining equipment, a dye-house, a foundry, timber, firehoses and a grain mill. It is a reminder that the good things in life were generated by years of honest toil: and that for many Dutch people it was the toil that dominated their lives.

For those who escaped the constraints of their working life, there were always fine things to be found in the art market. Here lay the opportunity to signal new wealth and fine taste, and the newspapers were on hand to give assistance. The advertisements give notice of a steady stream of sales of prints, paintings and other artistic collectables.⁶⁸ That said, this seems not to have been anything like as large a market as the trade in books, and depended far less on newspaper advertising to stimulate trade. We have ten advertisements for book sales for every one advertisement for art. This may go very much against our first expectations, given the emphasis, in virtually all published work on the Dutch Golden Age, on the ubiquity of art, and the enormous amounts that decorated the walls of even the least bourgeois homes.⁶⁹ Yet not only does this market make comparatively little impact on the newspapers, it seems to have been far less systematically organised than the carefully structured and highly regulated book market.

The newspapers do advertise a few sales dedicated entirely to painting. On 21 April 1636, the widow of Cornelis Boyssens offered for sale in Leiden art, prints, drawings and paintings of distinguished masters. From this economical advertisement, the first for the sale of art in a surviving newspaper, it is not certain whether the widow Boyssens was a dealer, or liquidating the collection,

66 *EHD* 28, 15.12.1667; *OHS* 51, 17.12.1667.

67 *ODC* 8, 16.02.1649.

68 Menno Jonker, 'Drawing Attention to Works on Paper in the Haarlem Newspaper, 1660–99', *Master Drawings*, 57 (2019), pp. 325–348.

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

or stock, of her recently deceased husband.⁷⁰ The same may be said of the widow of Cornelis de Bruyn who offered for sale in 1648 'various rare and beautiful paintings, of diverse old Masters', as well as drawings, prints and woodcuts, by artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Roelant Savry.⁷¹ There is less ambiguity about the advertisement placed in 1650 by Martin Cretzer, one of Amsterdam's leading art dealers, for 'a remarkable collection of exceptional paintings and drawings, of various Italian masters and others'. Here he was clearly acting as agent for the sale of a private collection. This was also the first auction of art that explicitly mentioned a printed catalogue, distributed, as with book auctions, through the network of booksellers.⁷²

This was, however, the only occasion that Cretzer advertised in the newspapers, and such public auctions do not seem to have played a major part in his business model. The relationship between dealer and client, the discussion of the choice of paintings and the search for desired artists, the intimate understanding of a collector's taste, seems to have been too personal a relationship for the hurly burley of the auction room. It is also the case that the more serious collectors were on the whole still wedded to the Italian masters or the Netherlandish greats of previous centuries. The most collectible of the moderns were the great artists of the Southern Netherlands, especially Rubens and Van Dyck. On the rare occasions when individual painters were named, these were seldom contemporary Dutch artists. The 1657 sale of 'various exceptional paintings of many talented masters' named Paolo Veronese, Van Dyck, Firaen, Antonis Mor, Marten de Vos, Vincent Malo, Jan van Hemessen, Pieter Paul Rubens, 'and many other Italian masters'. There was no room for Rembrandt or Frans Hals in this sort of company.⁷³

The art market was also characterised by a far higher degree of miscellany than the market for books. While it is not unknown for a collection of books to be sold with some prints or engravings, this sort of combination, along with other artistic artefacts, is entirely routine in the art market. This was partly because artists were themselves collectors of engravings and prints, essential as models and inspiration. On 20 March 1658, the collection of the painter Pieter Soutman was auctioned in Haarlem, 'consisting of many remarkable and wonderful engravings and paintings, as described on the circulated bills'.⁷⁴ This was the first mention of posted fliers in connection with an art collection,

⁷⁰ TVQ 15, 12.04.1636.

⁷¹ CID 18, 02.05.1648.

⁷² TVQ 12, 19.03.1650. No copy survives of the catalogue, USTC 1515723.

⁷³ CID 42, 20.10.1657.

⁷⁴ OMWC 11, 19.03.1658.

a cheaper alternative than a catalogue for a sale of lower value. We know, from a surviving copy, that the sale of Rembrandt's property in 1656 after his bankruptcy was accompanied by a similar flier. In 1663, the 'paintings, engravings, drawings, statues, books, and rarities' of the deceased Adriaen van de Venne were sold for the benefit of his children; six years later Pieter Saenredam's superb collection of prints and drawings was sold over several days in April 1669.⁷⁵ Saenredam was unusual in that he was one of the few painters who had assembled a substantial library of books, as we know from the surviving catalogue of the auction sale.⁷⁶ For most artists, a library was an entirely pragmatic work tool, consisting of prints, engravings and a few illustrated volumes. In this, Rembrandt, who had only 22 books at the time of the sale of his remaining property in 1656, was far more typical of his trade than the learned and cautious Saenredam.

In April 1669 there was sold in Rotterdam a collection of many rarities, 'furniture, porcelain, gold and silverwork, medals, a large quantity of copperplates, prints, drawings, books, watches, two organs and a clavichord (all three easily playable), and a large quantity of valuable and rare paintings'.⁷⁷ This was no doubt a house sale, such as occurred four years later at Vlissingen in Zeeland, 'at the house of gentleman Delkorne', comprising 'a large quantity of porcelain, paintings, silver and gold medals, shells of various sizes, and some beautiful books and prints, and many engravings by renowned masters, and many other rarities'.⁷⁸ In these collections we see not only the image of a wealthy household, but the embodiment of the old collecting tradition of the cabinet of curiosities, a mixed collection of paintings, antiquities and curious inventions.⁷⁹

Such collections would always have included a library of sorts, but the same was not true in reverse. By the seventeenth century, it was perfectly possible to assemble a large collection of books, without also curating a collection of art or antiquities. This was one further sign that by the seventeenth century the book world had largely emancipated itself from dependence upon the collecting mania of the rich and powerful, the requirement to own beautiful and curious

75 TVQ 18, 05.05.1663. OHD 15, 09.04.1669.

76 *Catalogus, Van verscheide treffelijke uytnemende Boecken, Bestaende in alderhande Faculteyt, daer onder veel met schoone Figueren. Naergelaten van zaliger Pieter Saenredam. Welckers verkoopinghe sal werden gehouden, op Woensdag den 20 April, 1667* (Haarlem: Robbert Tinneken, 1667). USTC 1846491. The only surviving copy is in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: Bc Kapsel 7:15.

77 OHD 15, 09.04.1669.

78 EHD 45, 09.11.1673.

79 R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

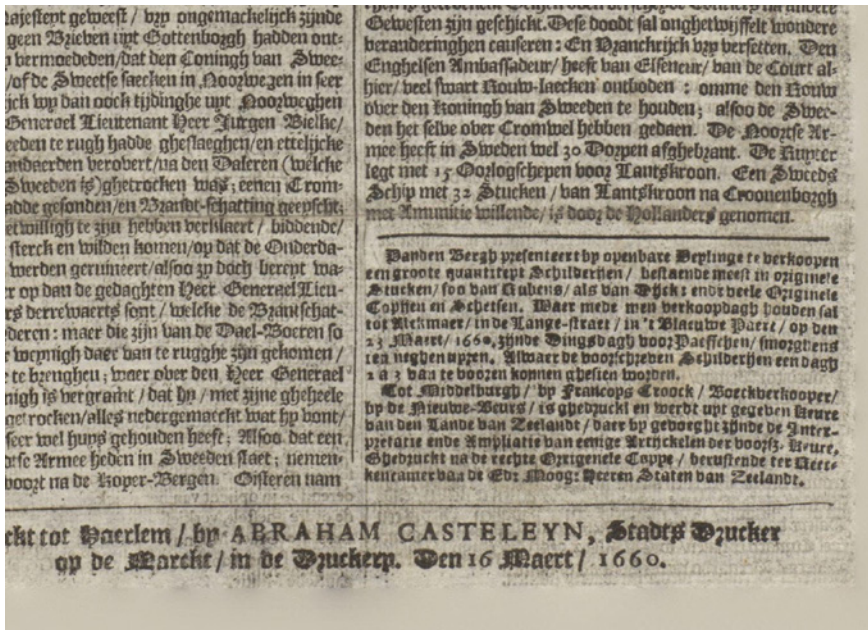


ILLUSTRATION 4.11 *Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 11 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 16 March 1660). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

An example of a relatively rare phenomenon in the newspapers: an advertisement for an art auction. Although the market for paintings, prints and drawings was highly developed in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, and has always captured the attentions of modern scholars, art dealers generally stayed away from the newspapers. Here a man named Vanden Bergh offers for auction in Alkmaar a large quantity of paintings, 'including various paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck, as well as many sketches and copies'.

things as the props of an opulent life. It was a significant coming of age in the history of western culture.

Lessons for Life

We should not end this chapter without looking briefly at the market for services. Indeed, this discussion is necessarily brief, since the range of services on offer is comparatively narrow. A few taverns change hands, but otherwise shops are thin on the ground. Almost all of the businesses advertised for sale are apothecary shops; these are very frequently advertised. The apothecary shop was a community resource, and an information hub as well as a branch of

the medical services. People came in person or sent their servants; once the patient's symptoms had been described, the customer would normally wait for the potions to be mixed or ground. Conversation inevitably filled the waiting time, but perhaps the important information had already been conveyed. The apothecary held all the community's medical secrets, and these too were a marketable commodity. It is no surprise that the owners of apothecary shops included influential citizens, like the burgomaster of Gouda, Gerard Cincq.⁸⁰ The health of the patient impacted on the health of their business, whether their credit was good, or whether they would ever be in a position to call in the loans due to them. In place of rumour and gossip, the apothecary could offer hard intelligence.

This apart, the newspapers offer slim pickings for the trade in services. In 1672, the master bricklayer Jacob Jansz van Klintom advertised his services to repair leaking basements and storage spaces, but this was a solitary instance.⁸¹ For building works on the houses of the rich, the builder would know where to recruit a joiner, bricklayer or glazier, so these trades had no need of the newspapers. In 1668, the city of Amsterdam announced the establishment of 'a new general carpenter's workshop, where one can find for sale a large quantity of various painted wooden cases, tables and other pieces of furniture'. This was intended to replace the former carpenter's market, 'previously held on the Singel near the Jan Roonpoortstoren', so this should be seen as the replacement of an outdoor market with a permanent indoor hall.⁸²

Those trades that do rate a mention in the advertisements come from the luxury end of the market: gold leather, for instance, an opulent wallpaper. Coenraed Harmansz Brouckman, clockmaker in Delft, advertised a variety of clocks made according to the inventions of Christiaan Huygens, who had produced the first pendulum clocks only three years earlier. Brouckman was keen that his customers should know that his clocks 'have recently been installed in the New Church in The Hague and on the tower of Scheveningen'.⁸³ This apart, we have few instances of clock or watchmakers advertising their wares. We will learn far more about the Dutch fascination with watches in the following chapter, when we consider advertisements for lost, missing or stolen goods.

In 1660, Johannes Wright invested in a notice in the Amsterdam paper to trumpet his 'ability to repair any type of silk stocking, whatever the state or type of material, and to clean and restore the colour of the stocking, using the

⁸⁰ CID 6, 09.02.1669.

⁸¹ ADC 14, 05.04.1672.

⁸² OHS 27, 07.07.1668.

⁸³ OHD 6, 11.02.1659.

latest imports from England'.⁸⁴ Jan Hendricksz de Vries advertised for sale at his house in Amsterdam, custom-made gold and silver decoration for carriages and chairs: 'Any interested buyers can pass by the workshop to inspect the cloth, and those buyers living outside Amsterdam can request samples'.⁸⁵ The addition of 'pass on the word' at the end of the advertisement, an admonition common on official city ordinances, suggests that here, and in other similar cases, the copy in the newspaper had been adapted from a printed broadsheet. A newspaper advertisement for the sale of a cloth-refinery in 1660 was accompanied by the notice that 'the conditions of the properties are further detailed in placards pasted up in various cities'.⁸⁶ These rare references to printed advertisements for private sales are a reminder that there must have been a vast amount of such notices, posted up and competing for space with municipal ordinances and barge schedules. Some towns attempted to bring order to this paper assault on public space by insisting that any such private notices should be delivered to the *Stadsaanplakker* to be posted up along with official placards. Given that this involved both bureaucracy and expense, one can assume that such regulations were widely ignored.

Doctors plying their services are noticeably thin on the ground, given the importance attached to medical advertising in the modern literature, and their ubiquitous place on the seventeenth-century stage, where the mischievous quack and the obsequious physician were both stock characters.⁸⁷ In 1662, Clemens Poth, surgeon in Amersfoort, advertised his services for 'healing blindness, deafness, removal of kidney stones, cancers, and also healing cuts, bruises, bumps, buboes, and other malformations, whatever they may be'.⁸⁸ This, remarkably, was the first advertisement placed in a paper by a medical practitioner. Poth was the city-surgeon in Amersfoort, but the fact that he took space in the Amsterdam paper to advertise his credentials suggests he thought he could also attract patients from Holland. This was not impossible: those who suffered intolerable pain would contemplate long journeys in the hope of a miracle cure. Peter Loos of Utrecht, described rather lyrically as *Breuck-meester* (literally, master of broken bones), advertised in terms more redolent of the quack at work:

84 ODC 22, 01.06.1660.

85 ASC 8, 25.02.1673.

86 OHS 30, 24.07.1660.

87 Kranen, *Advertenties van kwakzalvers*.

88 OMWC 45, 07.11.1662.

Peter Loos, *Breuck-meester* in Utrecht, advertises to all gentlemen, nobles, merchants, and other persons his experience and unfailing record in the craft and science of healing and mending any broken bones or torn muscles, even within forty days. He has practiced his craft for twenty years in Utrecht and surrounding areas, where he has healed by God's Grace numerous upper and lower-class persons of any age. The master is most civil, and asks a fair price, so that all will pay according to their means. The master can be found in Utrecht in the Joffrouwstraat, opposite the major of the militia.⁸⁹

Close on his heels was the offer of miracle tonic:

The son of Guilliam de Rijck advertises for sale an *Elixir arboris vitae*, as described by the doctor Joh. Ludovicus à Frundek in his tract *De Elixire arboris vitae*, which is available in The Hague with the bookseller Adriaen Vlacq. Guilliam de Rijck the younger can be found behind the Old Church in Amsterdam, in the 'Flemish Surgeon', where he also continues, like his father, to heal poor blind people of their blindness for free. The best months of the year for the blind to seek him out are April, May and June.⁹⁰

Here we have all the ingredients for success: the use of Latin to blind with science (and the book does indeed exist), and the good-heartedness of treating the poor for free. It is interesting also to see the connection with the bookseller and newspaper publisher Adriaen Vlacq. It would not be unusual for a bookseller to stock both the tract, and a few bottles of the elixir, another sideline that kept the cash coming in.

Both these advertisements reek of the boastful over-familiarity we associate with this genre. To judge from their virtual absence from the newspapers, it may well be that the relatively sophisticated Dutch consumer market was less susceptible to these sorts of blandishments. Perhaps for the sales pitch to be effective, it had to be done in person before a rapt crowd, preferably a crowd well lubricated by drink and excitement during a fair or festival. Learned physicians, or lawyers for that matter, never condescended to allow their names to decorate the pages of a newspaper, unless, that is, as the authors of books. This was the respectable way to draw one's name to the attention of

89 ODC 17, 26.04.1667. UM 3, 10.01.1667.

90 USTC 1844607: Johannes Ludovicus à Frundek, *Tractatus de elixire arboris vitae* (The Hague: Adriaen Vlacq, 1660). ODC 17, 26.04.1667.



ILLUSTRATION 4.12 Jan Havicksz Steen, *De kwakzalver* (1650–1660). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-387

Travelling quacks and healers relied for much of their business on publicity, as well as the desperation of their clients. Here the quack plies his trade in the best available location, on the market square, grabbing the attention of passers-by, while an operation in progress adds to the spectacle. In direct contrast to England, medical practitioners did not advertise often in the newspapers, with the exception of a few noted individuals like Johannes van Duren.

potential clients, and both physicians and lawyers were happy to avail themselves of these opportunities.

The most persistent medical presence in the advertising pages of the newspapers was the oculist and author Johannes van Duren. Van Duren's career epitomises the growing complexity of the medical marketplace. His works were admired in polite circles, and he swapped endorsements and compliments with leading exponents of learned medicine. For all that, he was not afraid to advertise his services in the newspapers, and his expertise clearly extended far beyond his knowledge of eyesight:

Johannes van Duren, oculist, apothecary and doctor of medicine, with recognition from the Court of Holland, advertises his medicine against

blindness, which will improve sight within fourteen days. He also advertises a medicine against the plague, and a medicine against fever. He is resident in Rotterdam, fifteen or sixteen houses from the fish market, in 'The Crowned Face'.⁹¹

Perhaps the claim to a cure for plague would have been best left out, as this was a field well tilled by quacks and dispensers of ineffective secret remedies. In repeat advertisements, Van Duren widened his claims to treat other ailments of the head, including deafness. He also echoed Peter Loos in his promise 'to heal out of compassion orphans at all orphanages in Holland and Zeeland', and treat the registered poor in his home town of Rotterdam free of charge.⁹² A poetic soul, and something of a gasbag, Van Duren also advertised 'to both rich and poor that he has opened a wondrous apothecary, stocked with various medicinal herbs, wines, waters, roots and flowers, where Van Duren will give his advice to all unfortunate and afflicted souls'.⁹³ So it went on, eighteen advertisements in all. Still, on balance one would perhaps prefer to put one's health in the hands of the energetic and sympathetic Van Duren than Cornelis van Room, master harness-maker in The Hague, who 'advertises his services to manufacture iron instruments to help set or bend mis-formed or injured joints, in the feet, knees, shoulders, spine or neck. He is able to fit these instruments discreetly, so that they fit under one's clothes'.⁹⁴ No doubt, he too received his share of visitors from the credulous and the desperate.

Medical advertisements always make for good copy, but one must not confuse this with a buoyant market. Here we have cited almost all the advertisements placed by medical practitioners, as opposed to the more than two hundred notifications for markets and the 3,500 for books and auctions. Of the professions, it was schoolmasters who were most willing to use the pages of the newspaper to promote their business. Schoolteachers could be considered a natural extension of the book market, which had dominated the advertising space in the newspapers since their first decade. Schoolteachers were often authors, and frequently kept stocks of both their own books and other text books to sell to their pupils. The first advertisement placed by a schoolmaster appeared as early as 1639 (twenty-three years before the first medical advertisement), giving notice that Hendrick Meurs, French schoolmaster in Amsterdam, was selling a variety of *Materie-Boecken*, 'most useful to use in

91 ODC 21, 24.05.1667.

92 OHS 12, 22.03.1664.

93 OMWC 12, 24.03.1665.

94 OHS 28, 09.07.1667.

schools'.⁹⁵ *Materie* books were books with blank spaces for the pupils to practice their writing, and were an absolute staple of the schoolroom. A year later, the French schoolmaster at Abcoude, Master G. van Schyndel, was selling 'various *Exemplaren* [Exemplars], in French and Dutch, written and cut by him, as well as a *Rekenboeck* [book of arithmetic], to be used in schools'.⁹⁶ This is a pattern quite common in the newspaper advertisements, that after one brave pioneer, a schoolteacher, broker or medical man, tests the water with an advertisement, a little flurry will follow. Either members of the profession have been reassured that this is a respectable way to do business, or they do not wish to miss out to a rival.

From these early beginnings, advertisements for schools followed in a rich profusion. This was an extremely diverse market: French schools, Latin schools, Dutch schools, girls' schools; all sought pupils.⁹⁷ Advertisements were also placed to reassure parents that a school would be continued after the death or retirement of a celebrated teacher. In the case of Van Schyndel at Abcoude it was his widow who, in 1650, took out an advertisement to provide reassurance that she would be maintaining the school in partnership with her son Willem.⁹⁸ Most schools were guided by a single master, sometimes, as here, assisted by his wife and son. Husband and wife teams were particularly common if schools admitted both boys and girls. Beyond this, few of the schools advertised were large enough to require further staff: we have only a handful of advertisements for an assistant or deputy teacher.⁹⁹

It is also interesting that Van Schydel had opened his school for polite accomplishments at Abcoude, a tiny village fifteen kilometres from the centre of Amsterdam. In 1643, Samuel Borard, French schoolmaster in Amsterdam, was also moving out of town. He took space in the in *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* to announce that he was setting up a new school in Alphen aan den Rijn, fifteen kilometres east of Leiden. He invited parents to enrol their children 'to learn writing, calculations, Italian accounting and the basics of music'. They could find him at a convenient location close to the Amsterdam Bourse.¹⁰⁰ This was not in fact the first notice placed to advertise a new school, as distinct

95 CID 37, 10.09.1639.

96 CID 14, 07.04.1640.

97 P.Th.F.M. Boekholt and E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987).

98 CID 10, 05.03.1650.

99 OHD 26, 29.06.1660, placed by Mr Jacq Couvry, French schoolmaster in Zaandam. OHS 5, 09.02.1664, for a school in Beverwijk, where the deputy bought the school after the death of his employer. This was a relatively large establishment, with space for thirty boarders.

100 CID 10, 07.03.1643.

from a schoolmaster-author advertising their books. Borard had been beaten to the punch by Magdalena Six, currently residing in Beverwijk, who advertised her services to teach young girls ‘various handicrafts, as well as reading, writing, copying and French’.¹⁰¹ This was not only the first advertisement for a school, but the first commercial advertisement placed by a woman. Madame Six was also able to offer boarding to any pupils recruited from the major cities of Holland.

A surprisingly high number of the schools advertised in the newspapers offered boarding places. This was partly because it was disproportionately



ILLUSTRATION 4.13 Anonymous, after Abraham Bosse, *Gereformeerde school* (c. 1650). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-76.883
The market for private education was very competitive in the Dutch Republic. The proliferation of ‘French schools’ encouraged many schoolmasters to advertise the range of subjects that they could teach proficiently, as well as the convenience and elegance of their school, where students could often board. Here we see a very grand, idealised depiction of a mixed school, a common feature of the Dutch educational system.

101 TVQ 34, 23.08.1642.

schools outside the main metropolitan centres that availed themselves of the newspapers to make their existence known. In many small towns, the local grammar school was a monopoly provider; yet even in Amsterdam, where there were plenty of schools, we find advertisements more frequently when a schoolmaster was leaving Amsterdam to set up elsewhere, often in a smaller town where they could offer more space, stabling for horses and boarding facilities. The school in Zaandam boasted a playing field.¹⁰² Schools in Amsterdam, Leiden or Rotterdam could recruit by word of mouth; most parents of school-age children would know the reputation of the schools in their vicinity, and of their schoolmaster.

Even with these qualifications, the number of schools offering boarding facilities is striking.¹⁰³ These were generally not large establishments, sometimes not more than a large family house, with eight or ten boys crammed into a couple of rooms and the attic. In Hoorn, the magistrates even provided a house to allow a schoolmaster to offer boarding places.¹⁰⁴ One schoolmaster advertised that pupils would be accommodated two or three to a room as if this was unusually luxurious. In the better-known English boarding schools, it certainly would have been.¹⁰⁵

These boarding schools must have been spartan enough even for the most austere Calvinist parents. One can only think that this must have been part of the appeal. In such households, elementary schooling began around the age of six, with Latin schools occupying the years between about ten and sixteen after which boys either entered the family firm or continued to university. These were just the years when boys became youths, caught the eye of a local girl (or the kitchen maid at home) and made unsuitable friends among older boys happy to introduce them to the pleasures of the city's taverns. Boarding schools could provide preventative isolation for the wayward, or a stern response to idleness in the classroom. Professors in the Dutch universities complained that students arrived with a woefully insufficient command of Latin: the Holland school order, so lucrative to the Leiden printers, was a direct response to such concerns.¹⁰⁶ One entrepreneurial schoolmaster, feeding off such anxieties,

102 OHS 14, 08.04.1662.

103 OHD 37, 16.09.1657 (Charlois, near Rotterdam); WCE 33, 17.08.1658 (Culemborg); OHS 2, 14.01.1662 (Beverwijk); OHS 13, 26.03.1661 (Sint-Maartensdijk); OHS 14, 02.04.1661 (Naarden); OHS 29, 22.07.1661 (Velsen).

104 TVQ 14, 02.04.1667.

105 Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 103.

106 Ernst Jan Kuiper, *De Hollandse 'Schoolordre' van 1625* (Groningen: Wolters, 1958).

guaranteed clients that four years in his school would ensure that his pupils were adequately prepared for university.¹⁰⁷

The unexpected prominence of boarding schools in a country with no modern tradition of fee-paying education, must be understood in a context where many children left home at a very young age to live in another household. Among the well-off, this might be to live with a merchant uncle, in poorer households, to enter domestic service. Apprenticeships, where strength was an issue, tended to begin later, at around the age of thirteen, but here too the child would live in the house of their master. Many pupils who came to the larger urban grammar schools also boarded with a local family: this established a pattern that often continued into university, where the wealthiest or best-connected students were able to board with one of the professors. At least pupils in these distant boarding schools could rely on an excellent postal service to keep them in touch with home. Perhaps when they returned home and embarked on a life lived between the family warehouse, the bourse and the harbour, some may have looked back with nostalgia on their only experience of country living.

As varied as the schools themselves was the roster of professionals ready to try their luck as teachers. Thus the Amsterdam *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante* carried an advertisement by Johannes Backx, doctor of philosophy, advertising his services as a Latin schoolmaster 'to all who wish to learn Latin, whether young or old. Backx holds his school in Amsterdam on the St Lucien burgwal in the "Shepherd", but is also able to teach pupils at their home'.¹⁰⁸ Claes Hendrickse Gietermaker of Medemblik, advertised himself as a former ship's captain, though he was also a published author; he was now a schoolmaster on the Brouwersgracht in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁹ Michiel Hart, surveyor and son of the late Jan Michielsz Hart of Haarlem, advertised his intention to open a school on the west side of the Herengracht in Amsterdam, where he intended to teach the French language, reading, writing, arithmetic and accounting according to the methods of Sybrant Hansz Cardinael. Logically enough, he also intended to teach surveying. Less predictably, he was also prepared to take

107 OHS 14, 02.04.1661.

108 OMWC 45, 07.11.1662.

109 OHS 10, 08.03.1659. His books were 't *Vermaeck der stuurlieden, inhoudende de voornaemste stucken der see-vaert*, 'most useful for all skippers and helmsmen' (USTC 1840078) and *De Proportie ofte Grondtregulen, waer doer de principaelste werckstucken der groote zee-vaert kan mede uyt gereeckent werden* (no copy identified. USTC 1531558). Both were published in Amsterdam by Hendrick Doncker.

female pupils, who would be taught various handicrafts. Like many, he offered boarding places.¹¹⁰ For the most esoteric subjects, private tuition was the best solution, such as when Jacob Ellegoor advertised his services to teach anyone Hebrew, as well as Latin and Greek. Since Ellegoor was at this point living in Maarssen, in the province of Utrecht, it was unlikely he could assemble a large class eager to avail themselves of his skills.¹¹¹

The most assiduous in their use of the newspapers, the school teaching equivalent of the garrulous oculist Johannes van Duren, was Mademoiselle Anna Thibaut. We first hear from Mademoiselle Anna in a February 1667 edition of the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, where she already describes herself as an experienced schoolteacher: it is likely she ran a school with her late husband, Jacob Lambertsz. Now she intends to begin her own venture, a girl's boarding school in Amsterdam, on the Singel behind the city hall. 'Here she will instruct her pupils in all aspects of the French language, including speaking, reading, writing and calculating, and will also teach various crafts and music, all for a civil price'.¹¹² In 1668 she advertised again, this time to assure potential patrons that her school was already a great success, and that she taught many girls 'to the great satisfaction of their parents'. Sewing, drawing and singing were added to the list of her advertised talents. In 1672 came a change:

The schoolteacher Madame Lambert or Anna Thibaut advertises her services to instruct girls at her boarding school in Amsterdam on the Herengracht at the Wolvenstraat, in the 'Five Virgins'. Pupils can enrol in full or half board, and will be instructed in French, reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, knitting, needlework, and all sorts of civilities – and this in pious fear of God.¹¹³

Interestingly, Thibaut was also ready to take in boys between the ages of five and eight, who would be taught the fundamentals of Latin. Let us hope that her versatility, persistence and piety were all rewarded. This was a crowded market, and Anna Thibaut had worked hard to establish this independent enterprise making imaginative use of the new opportunities that the advertising market offered to the self-employed entrepreneur. If the newspapers

110 CID 17, 23.04.1667.

111 OMWC 10, 08.03.1667.

112 CID 7, 12.02.1667.

113 ADC 21, 22.05.1674.

helped parents distinguish between the capable and the frankly incompetent, this was a useful service, and one that had never previously been available. Whatever the virtues of Mademoiselle Thibaut, it is certain that during this period the Dutch Republic had built an educational system that for its quality and versatility was unrivalled in Europe. And this, of course, could only help build demand for the books turned out by its equally market-leading publishing industry.

No Saints and Precious Few Heroes

No one could doubt that the modern newspaper presents a mass of moral contradictions. The contrast between the sententious tone of the editorial and the gleeful exposure of the foibles of private citizens is glaring. One can also remark the discordance between the thunderous denunciation of the missteps and inconsistencies of politicians, with the journalists' own insouciant ability to walk away from their own confidently expressed judgements and false predictions.

The newspapers of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic can be absolved of many of these sins. The absence of editorial comment, the insistence that the news should be presented unadorned and interpretation left to the judgement of the readers, is a guiding principle of the first newspapers.¹ These principles were maintained in the Dutch case almost to the end of the eighteenth century. The fidelity to factual accuracy is also unshakeably maintained. This concern for scrupulous accuracy also embraces the newspaper advertisements, as we see from the occasional necessary correction.

On 19 June there was printed in the *Courante uyt Italien* an accusation that a person named Claes Jansz, living in the Warmoesstraat in the 'White Post-Horse', now living on the Zeedijk, had run off with 500 ducats. This accusation is most false, and Claes Jansz can be found at his home on the Zeedijk.²

All gentlemen and merchants are notified that there is an inaccuracy in an advertisement of the Saturday [Amsterdam] newspaper of 21 May. In this advertisement Trijntje Klaes van der Werf gives notice that she is the niece of Ms. Meures, and hosts a tavern in the Warmoesstraat, in the 'Crowned Liesvelt Bible'. This is incorrect, and Jan Meures warns all gentlemen that he has divorced his wife, and is resident in the 'Liesvelt Bible' in the Sint Anne-straat [where it is presumed that he has a tavern or a place of entertainment].³

1 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014).

2 TVQ 26, 26.06.1655. This is the first advertisement correcting a previous announcement.

3 ODC 21, 24.05.1667.

We can also find an apology to a statesman unfairly traduced, though the editor denies personal responsibility for the error.

All are notified that a report published by Abraham Casteleyn in the Haarlem newspaper on 5 September, datelined Amsterdam, 4 September, concerning the Lord of Dorrewaert's arrest, has been found to be false and fabricated, and given to Casteleyn by an evil-doing person, to the detriment of said Lord. All are hereby instructed not to believe the said report, given that Dorrewaert is found to be a free man in The Hague, without knowing anything of his supposed arrest.⁴

All of these advertisements have interesting features that lead us into the world of criminality, dirty dealing and family heartbreak that characterises this portion of the newspaper advertisements. Firstly, for all that the first generation Amsterdam newsmen rubbed along politely with their competing Saturday editions, one can well imagine that Jan Jacobsz Bouman, the publisher of the *Tijdinghen*, would have had a certain guilty pleasure in being invited by the aggrieved Claes Jansz to correct the slur on his character printed in the pages of his Amsterdam rival. Jansz was a common patronym, so Van Hilten would have been acting in good faith in accepting the initial accusation, but with a sum of money this large involved, one can well understand the Zeedijk Claes investing to clear his name.

In the third advertisement, Casteleyn is correcting one of his own errors, albeit one imposed upon him by an 'evil-doing person'. In the case of a person of influence like the Lord of Dorrewaert, this was a considerable embarrassment, and an uncharacteristic slip of Casteleyn to commit such a blunder: this was the danger of a newspaper with more than one issue a week, drastically shortening deadlines and the opportunities for seeking corroboration. The second advertisement offers us a rare voyeuristic peep into the lives of warring and unhappy families. One can imagine how much it must have cost emotionally, and how far relationships must have become degraded, to post an advertisement of this type. This is the seventeenth century at its most tabloid, very different from the accounts of army manoeuvres and papal diplomacy at the other end of the papers.

One could also say that these infrequent corrections represent relatively slim pickings. There is little of the back and forth accusations of inaccuracy and unreliability that litter the pages of the partisan London press by the turn

4 OHS 38, 12.09.1665, repeated in OHD 38, 15.09.1665.

of the century.⁵ For all that, the Dutch papers do offer their own jarring gear changes. This is less in the news reports, with their stately procession of diplomatic despatches from Rome, Paris and Vienna, than in the recitation of the follies of humanity exposed in the advertisements and public announcements. Because these notices mix the publication of new books and other forms of announcements in a rich profusion, the contradictions of Dutch society are immediately evident. To judge from their reading matter, the Dutch were pious, inventive and deeply committed to self-improvement. To judge from these other notices placed in the same columns, they were scheming, absent-minded and covetous. They mislaid surprising quantities of the gifts bestowed by a benevolent Providence, and could not expect their neighbours to help recover them without pecuniary reward. They certainly did not trust their servants and apprentices, often with good reason. When the household gathered around the family Bible, to hear Holy Scripture and to sing psalms from their delicately embossed church books, the master and mistress were well advised to keep one eye on the silverware.

The advertisements and notices placed in the newspapers expose a fair array of the problems of abundance, along with some heartrending stories of families torn apart by the loss of a child or the wandering of a missing parent, clearly out of their wits. These too add to the kaleidoscope of human experience revealed in the newspaper advertisements. In reading them, we must be aware always that the colourful is not always typical. Many newspaper readers will have read these reports and silently given thanks that their children were not missing, that the dog was cheerfully napping by the fire, that they had not mislaid a five thousand gulden bond (and perhaps they thought anyone so stupid probably would not miss it). This, too, was part of the guilty pleasure of a newspaper subscription.

True Crime

In some respects, the Dutch Republic does seem to have been a remarkably law-abiding society. Levels of crime were low, which allowed the magistrates to tackle social problems that would in other societies simply be left to disfigure

5 Pettegree, *Invention of News*, pp. 264–266. William B. Ewald, *The Newsmen of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956). For some examples in the Dutch press at the end of the seventeenth century, see Arthur der Weduwen, ‘Competition, choice and diversity in the newspaper trade of the Golden Age’, *The Early Modern Low Countries*, 2 (2018), pp. 7–23, here pp. 19–20.

their public places, such as indigence. In some years in Amsterdam, the magistrates dealt with fewer than 300 crimes a year: an astonishingly small number in a huge commercial metropolis. Many of these cases were relatively trivial; executions were infrequent events, with an average of only three a year between 1650 and 1700.⁶ This was nothing like the number of executions at London's Hanging Tree at Tyburn; but whereas the English parliament kept adding to the number of offences that carried the death penalty, in Holland, the number of capital offences was very limited.⁷ In the circumstances, it is no surprise to find the city of Maastricht having to advertise for a new executioner.⁸ This was never likely to be a full-time job, even with the occasional opportunity to conduct ritual burnings of suspect books.

There were two main reasons why the Dutch Republic enjoyed an enviably low crime rate: the close attention paid by the governing powers to the food supply, and their relative success in managing the problem of the poor.⁹ The Dutch Republic, with its large urban population and relatively infertile land, was always going to be a major importer of food. This meant that large imports of grain were the norm, rather than an emergency measure when crops failed. The main source of grain was Poland, then the breadbasket of Europe, imported on Dutch ships through Danzig. Since the Dutch Republic dominated the Baltic trade, food imports continued smoothly even when yields were poor. The Dutch could pay the necessary price premium to secure their usual supply; even if Polish peasants starved, the Dutch would eat. Famous improvements in fertilisation, gathering up the human waste of the cities through the network of night soil barges, improved yields in Dutch fields, providing vegetables and dairy produce for the Dutch table. The Dutch ate well, and even the poor ate far better than elsewhere.

The abundant economic opportunities attracted a steady flow of immigrants, from Germany as well as the famous waves of religious refugees from the Southern Netherlands and France. Most found work, though some fell through the cracks. Here, the Dutch could be judgemental and unforgiving, often confusing misfortune with idleness. Stern Calvinist precepts encouraged

6 Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering. Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 149–152.

7 Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Douglas Hay, et. al., *Albion's Fatal Tree. Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Allen Lane, 1976).

8 *HPT* 30, 27.10.1671.

9 Anne E.C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age. Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

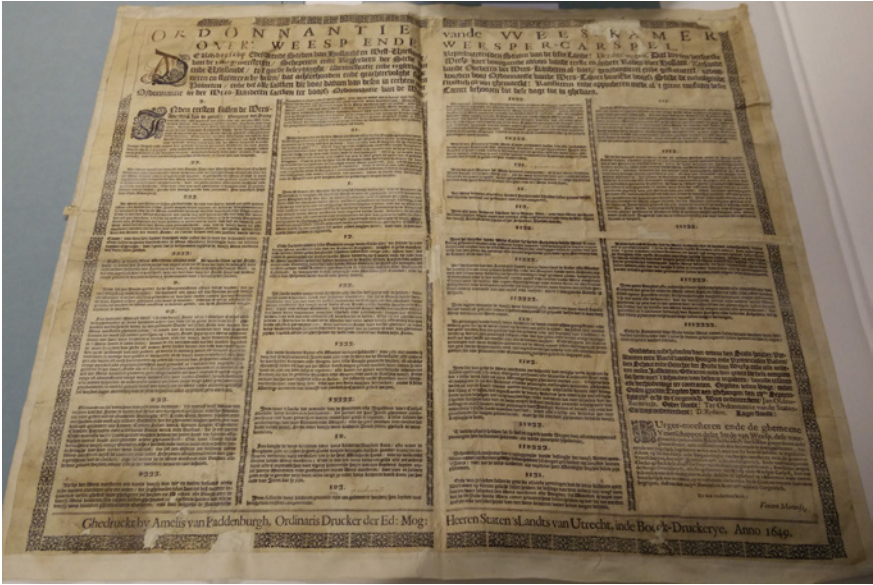


ILLUSTRATION 5.1 *Ordonnantie vande wees-kamer over Weesp ende Weesper-carspel* (Utrecht: Amelis van Paddenburgh, 1649). Regionaal Archief Vecht en Venen, Weesp

The magistrates of the Dutch Republic were proud of their orphanages, public institutions that paid tribute to the generosity of the regents. This magnificent broadsheet, composed of two sheets of paper, contains the regulations governing the orphanage of Weesp: the regulations date from 1598, but the broadsheet was printed in 1649, in nearby Utrecht. Undoubtedly the regents required successive reprints over the years, given that this broadsheet would have been exhibited at prominent locations throughout the town.

firm distinctions between the deserving and undeserving poor. The criminal and indolent could be swept away to the *Rasphuis* (for men) or the *Spinhuis* (for women), for many years of improving, back-breaking toil. On the other hand, for the children of misfortune, the Dutch created the most remarkable and comprehensive network of orphanages in Europe. Even towns as small as Tholen and Weesp had their orphanage, and these institutions were well regulated and well supported by the local community. By offering a new start to these children, the magistrates also kept from the streets vagabond children that might otherwise have been swept up into criminal gangs.

Walking through Dutch cities at night, unwary citizens were as like to meet their end toppling drunk into a canal than being robbed for their purse. Crime makes its way into the newspapers partly because serious offences were so unusual. The first announcement concerning crime in a Dutch newspaper is

for a murder, and an unusual case, for here the victim was a member of the civic elite.

This week the magistrates of Amsterdam proclaimed that Adriaen Jacobsz Ruycht, a shoemaker, tall and thin with a pale face, long blond hair and a blond beard, a stutter, a cut on his forehead and fingers, and dressed in bombazine, murdered Gerrit Jansz Moriaenshoof, late burgo-master of Weesp, on Monday 2 July, around 6 pm. Whoever can bring Ruycht to the magistrates of Weesp, dead or alive, will receive a reward of 500 gulden, and will have their name kept secret.¹⁰

Murders, though infrequent, were disproportionately likely to make their way into the papers, for obvious reasons. The crime of murder attracted particular horror, and the authorities were prepared to offer a large reward to bring the perpetrator to justice. In this case, a neighbour or a fellow shoemaker who knew the accused could enjoy a windfall the equivalent of more than a year's income, and have his identity protected. This assurance of anonymity, not infrequent in high profile cases, anticipated that either the perpetrator or informant might be part of the criminal underworld, where 'peaching' on an offender might carry its own death sentence. In March 1672, readers of the Amsterdam and Haarlem papers were even informed of a cold-blooded murder which had taken place as far away as Stockholm: a 1,000 gulden reward was offered for any information that led to the arrest of Johan Hendrick Vooght, who had

shot his victim through the head with a pistol, then covered his mouth with cloth and strangled him, afterwards placing the body in a bedstead, and taking the keys to his victim's room and suitcases, rummaged through them to steal all his money.¹¹

In this case the murder was even more sensational because Vooght was a man of good standing, the secretary of Göteborg, and the son of a renowned mathematician.

Most advertisements in the papers, it must be said, focus on far less sensational cases. A citizen took out a notice in the papers to declare valued property

10 TVQ 27, 07.07.1635. See also Joop W. Koopmans, 'Research in Digitized Early Modern Dutch Newspapers and the News Value of Advertisements', in his *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 119–137, here p. 128.

11 ASC 11, 12.03.1672. OHS 11, 12.03.1672.



ILLUSTRATION 5.2 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Nachtelijke moord* (1648–1650). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-12.802

A corpse discovered in the night: because the crime rate was relatively low in the Dutch Republic, gruesome crimes were newsworthy events. When murders are announced in the newspapers, they tend to concern criminals on the run, and large rewards are offered to those who will bring the perpetrators to justice.

lost or stolen; sometimes the advertisement elides the distinction. The more distinctive cases revealed by these notices focus on two particular themes: financial crimes, and thieving servants. Despite the endemic corruption of public life, where fortunes were made through payments for favours, those who embezzled the public purse too egregiously were sternly dealt with.¹² And everyone, it seemed, lived in fear of their servants, that ubiquitous, watchful presence in every burgher home, entrusted with much yet trusted very little.

The magistrates of Holland were on the whole reluctant to submit their internecine feuds to public gaze: political divisions, and the factional squabbles that lay behind them, were in general kept out of the newspapers. Editors who strayed too far into this realm, not least by suborning clerks and other officials to provide them with access to confidential documents, could expect to have their papers closed down. A rare exception came in 1666, when with the war in England at something of an impasse, some in the circle of the young Prince of Orange were prepared to entertain peace feelers from the English court. Their emissary was a cavalry officer, Henri Buat, who proved a better horseman than plotter, since he accidentally mixed his letters and handed one of Lord Arlington's despatches to Johan de Witt, the leading figure in the Republican regime. Buat was arrested and condemned to death; the only two magistrates who had identified themselves with the conspiracy, Johan Kievit and Ewout van der Horst, fled to England. On 9 September Van der Horst was warned, through the pages of the *Oprechte Rotterdamse Zee-en Post-tijdingen*, that if he did not turn himself in within fourteen days, he would be banished and his property confiscated.¹³ Having predictably failed to return, Van der Horst and Kievit were tried in absentia and condemned. Most unusually, the States General allowed a version of their edict of condemnation against the two to be published in the *Haegse Post-Tydingen*.¹⁴ This could only have been intended to damn the Orangists in the eye of the reading public: this was both an unmistakable warning to the young prince and a gross breach of political precedent. There was a certain justice that when the tide turned against the Republic hierarchy in 1672, Kievit's return should have been greeted by wild public celebration. Those who court public opinion can easily become its victims.

¹² Jan Hartman, Jaap Nieuwstraten and Michel Reinders (eds.), *Public Offices, Personal Demands: Capability in Governance in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009). Mary Lindemann, 'Dirty Politics or "Harmonie"? Defining Corruption in Early Modern Amsterdam and Hamburg', *Journal of Social History*, 45 (2012), pp. 582–604.

¹³ *ORZP* 32, 09.09.1666.

¹⁴ *HPT* 76, 21.09.1666.

Those denounced in the newspapers were far more likely to be the henchmen than the great men they served. A more characteristic advertisement in this regard is the denunciation of the fugitive Johan Breugel, former commissary for Receiver-General Doubleth, who had fled from arrest. Given his position in the financial hierarchy, Breugel was likely to have been a familiar figure. Still, the authorities took no chances, offering a full description of a man 'around 35 years old, tall and lean, speaks quickly, has a long pale face, a pointy nose and short curly black hair'. A reward of 2,000 gulden was offered for his apprehension.¹⁵ Jacob Felle, a grain broker, was another who had attempted to defraud one of the country's most important financial institutions, making off with a considerable sum from the Bank of Amsterdam. A reward of 1,000 silver ducats was offered for a man whose inelegant appearance suggests that his business success had been hard won. Felle, originally from Zeeland, was around fifty years old, of moderate height and size, 'and he has black hair, a full beard, collapsed cheeks, an underbite, and he has no teeth, and therefore speaks quite badly'.¹⁶

Not all fraud involved people in positions of public trust. In 1669, readers of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant* were warned to beware a woman from 'Dutch Brabant, probably from around Bergen op Zoom, who pretended to be the servant of a great lady', telling the lady's friends 'that various parcels would be arriving for them, all with the intention of misleading various people and defrauding them of money'.¹⁷ Scams of this sort seem to have been relatively frequent. We have already cited the outraged reaction of Otto Barentsz Smient, when he discovered that a fraudster had been collecting subscriptions for his newspaper, pretending to be his agent.¹⁸ Needless to say, newspapers were particularly exercised when they were the victims, as well as the reporters, of this sort of deception. In another notorious case, a man named Hans Henrich Friese had visited several places claiming to be collecting charitable donations for the town of Langborgh in Hessen, stating that the town had burnt to the ground. This was a well-organised fraud: 'He pretends to have been sent by the magistrates of the town to raise financial assistance, and produces an impressive letter and seal from the magistrates for this purpose'.¹⁹ This was particularly reprehensible, for charitable collections for suffering co-religionists abroad were a well-established feature of church and civic life, and could

15 OHD 28, 10.07.1668.

16 OHD 5, 31.01.1668.

17 OHD 48, 26.11.1669.

18 Chapter 3, above.

19 OHD 10, 06.03.1668.

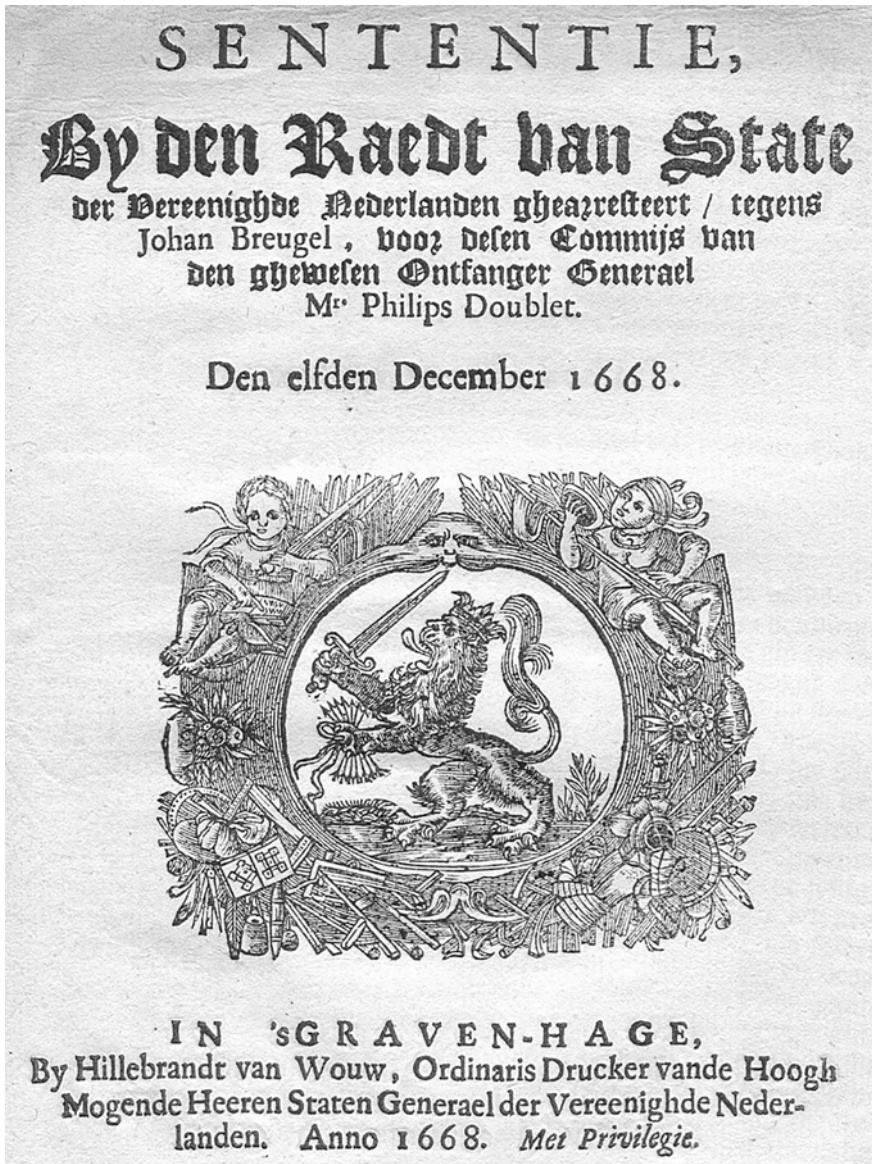


ILLUSTRATION 5.3 *Sententie, by den Raedt van State ghearresteert, tegens Johan Breugel* (The Hague: Hillebrant van Wouw, 1668). University Library, Free University of Amsterdam

Johan Breugel had a price of 2,000 gulden on his head, which may have played a role in his apprehension. His flight from justice was announced in the Haarlem paper in July 1668, but by December, as can be seen in this published ordinance, he had been caught and sentenced to perpetual banishment from the Dutch Republic.

raise considerable sums.²⁰ A scam of this nature could only make citizens more suspicious and less generous in the case of genuine fund-raising efforts.

Diamonds, Watches and an Old Black Mare

The most remarkable fraud reported in the newspapers was a case of feigned sickness.

All are warned that a certain woman, of large stature, with a very large bosom, who seems by speech to be from South Holland, has been traveling through Amsterdam and other cities for the last four years, stopping by many houses to request financial assistance to help her pay for treatment for breast cancer. She claims this will be cured by Mr Fey van Oorschot, or sometimes by a certain Mr Pieter in Amsterdam. This has been found to be fraudulent, as she does not have breast cancer, but only a certain type of herpes or blemishes around her nipples, which make her breasts look hideous, and with which she seeks to scare many weak-willed women and others into paying her money.²¹

This case demonstrates the ingenuity of the Dutch poor in turning misfortune into an opportunity, but also offers us a warning of the dangers of too great a reliance on the anecdotal approach in describing the variety of advertisements in the newspapers. It is always tempting to pick out the most interesting, outrageous or singular stories from sources like these; but we have always to keep in mind that the most colourful stories may not be representative of life as a whole. Most cases of theft were much more mundane, though those that merited an advertisement in the newspapers usually involved goods of high value. The first offer of reward recorded in a surviving issue of the Dutch newspapers was for the recovery of lost diamonds: 'in total twenty-four, of which six are red, totalling 36.5 carats, six are *Nyve* stones, three are yellowish, one is large and round, two are imperfect, one a Malacca diamond and two others'. The detailed description is undoubtedly provided so that fellow diamond dealers could recognise them if they were offered the chance to purchase them.²² Another theft in the diamond trade prompted another milestone, the first

20 See here Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: a Calvinist network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

21 *ADOC* 26, 27.06.1675.

22 *CID* 25, 20.06.1643.

illustration in a Dutch newspaper. This was a woodcut sketch of a gold case with a large diamond: 'Whoever finds this case and diamond advertised for sale is kindly requested to address John Webster'. In this case, the reward was the remarkable sum of 4,000 gulden.²³ Although many aggrieved victims of theft were generous, and willing to issue 'good rewards' for the return of their possessions, the sums advertised for the return of stolen jewellery and cash did not generally exceed one hundred gulden. Even if apparently generous, the reward sometimes paled in comparison to the value of the stolen property: the jewellery stolen from the Countess of Solre in December 1672 in Brussels was valued at more than 30,000 gulden, yet the reward was no more than 180 gulden.²⁴

In some cases, the circumstances of the theft made the offence particularly egregious. There was nothing more likely to outrage the pious than a theft in church. In this particular instance, the worthy victim was standing, listening to the sermon, and must have drifted too far into a pious reverie:

Last evening there was stolen in the Old Church in Amsterdam, during the sermon, an English pocket watch, the size of a Rijksdaalder, to be wound every fourteen hours, and with a dial to turn it on and off, in two silver cases. The watch was made in London. Whoever finds it is requested to deliver it to Huybert Beeck, watchmaker on the Rokin, at the Bourse, for which they will receive a reward of 8 Rijksdaalders.²⁵

Note, again, the detail of the description, intended to make the watch unsaleable in any respectable shop. The client who could afford this sort of timepiece would certainly be a man of means.

Silverware, jewellery and watches: these were the goods most frequently stolen, because they were the most portable and, in principle at least, relatively easy to turn into hard cash. The advertisements, as we have seen, did their best to place barriers to their circulation in the honest trade. These advertised crimes were just the tip of an iceberg of considerable size. There must have been many such cases where the owner did not think the cost of an advertisement justified in view both of the limited chance of recovery, and the embarrassment of publicising their own vulnerability to theft: victims rarely include their own name when they appeal for the return of stolen goods. The magistrates of Haarlem accumulated two chests and a box full of stolen goods,

²³ *CID* 3, 15.01.1667.

²⁴ *EPT* 1, 03.01.1673. *OHD* 1, 03.01.1673.

²⁵ *OHD* 10, 06.03.1668. Eight rijksdaalders was the equivalent of 20 gulden.

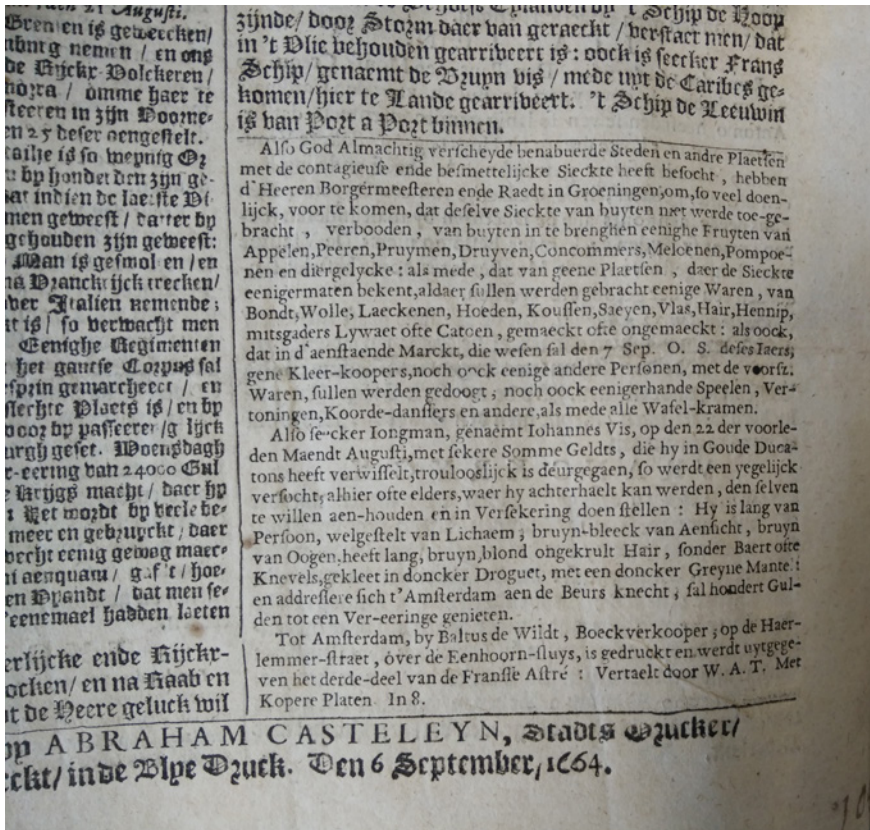


ILLUSTRATION 5.4 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 36 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 6 September 1664). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem
A typical wanted notice found in the Haarlem newspaper: Johannes Vis, a young man, 'stole a sum of money which he exchanged for gold ducats. He is tall, well-built and tanned, with brown eyes, long, brown-blond hair, no facial hair, and was dressed in dark clothes, including a dark grey coat. Whoever locates him is requested to address the Knecht of the Bourse in Amsterdam, from whom they will receive reward of 100 gulden'. The victim of this theft is, as is often the case, not named.

'including cloth, lace, wool, men and women's clothes, bed linen and other sorts of cloth, as well as jewellery, including two diamond bracelets, golden rings, and so forth', which they wished to reunite with their rightful owners.²⁶

These were mostly thefts from private citizens, in their homes or on the move. Theft from shops and other business premises were also not uncommon. The newspaper advertisements also record a large number of thefts of

cloth and silk, perhaps removed from a market stall, more often, if the quantity was large, from the warehouse. The *Ordinaris Amsterdamse Dingsdaegsche Courant* records the theft of a flat-bottomed peat barge, a theft that one might imagine was quite difficult to conceal. Again, the stipulation that the informer might have their name kept secret suggests that this was suspected of being an inside job.²⁷ A most extraordinary advertisement, tribute to the importance of navigation in Dutch seafaring life, was the theft of a 'sailing stone':

On Sunday evening 16 November there was stolen in Amsterdam from the house of Thunis Reyersz, in the Oude Teertuin, in the 'Three Compasses', a magnetic stone, also known as a sailing stone, around the size of a man's fist, a little flat on the north side, and longer on the south side, coloured brown-grey as if it was new iron, very smooth, but a little worn on the ends by the compass needle. The stone is encased in a piece of elm wood, from which one can easily take the stone out.²⁸

This was the sort of device that had been employed since the first blue water voyages, without any real evidence of its reliability. Even so, the owner valued it sufficiently to offer fifty gulden for its return.

We should reserve a special place here for the theft of horses. These were important possessions, quite likely the most valuable work equipment many families owned. They played a vital role in the *trekvaart*, pulling the passenger barges on their way, and in the delivery of goods to customers in the cities: on rare occasions the wagon was stolen as well. Horse markets, as we have seen, were one of the most important parts of the national commercial infrastructure. Naturally some horses went missing, removed by a covetous neighbour or professional thief for onward sale. The advertisements for missing horses often offer detailed descriptions, very much like those for human fugitives.

Between 16 and 17 July there was stolen from the pasture of Joost Bos, just outside the Muiderpoort of Amsterdam, a five-year-old black mare, with a round star, a broad neck, black mane, a long tail and four black feet. Whoever can retrieve the horse will receive a reward.²⁹

The detail here suggests that the desire to retrieve the horse was not always wholly commercial. Sometimes the horse in question has only one eye, or is a

²⁷ ADC 48, 27.11.1674.

²⁸ EHD 47, 20.11.1670.

²⁹ OHD 30, 24.07.1668.

broken down nag that has probably been put out to pasture. These advertisements reveal a sentimentality that we do not always associate with the commerce of the Golden Age. We will see the same when we come on to advertisements for missing dogs.

Beware the Maid

In August 1649 the *Ordinaris Dinghsdaeghsche Courante* included the following troubling announcement:

The magistrates of Rotterdam give notice that they found the corpse of Ms Helena vander Hooge, widow of the late Pieter van den Meyde (late burgomaster of this city), around 10 am, on her bed. They have found that she was murdered by being choked and stabbed in the throat. The bailiff has information which leads the magistrates to believe that the widow was murdered by her maidservant, who had only worked for her for six days, and who has now fled the city. Her name is Cornelia or Neeltje, and had recently worked in Woerden in the tavern 'The Fleece', and before that in Gouda in the port, at the house of a person named Aelbert. The maid is around 26 or 27 years old, of medium height, has a large chin, large teeth, a lisp, brown eyes, and was dressed in a coat with velvet sleeves and a satin body, and a bright apron. She usually walks across the street with a little bucket with copper bands, and she commonly wears a large handkerchief around her neck. Because the magistrates are determined that a horrible crime like this should be punished most severely as an example to all, they prohibit anyone from sheltering the said Cornelia or Neeltje, and put a price of 600 gulden on her head. As was proclaimed in Rotterdam on 8 August.³⁰

This is an unusual notice in a number of ways: not least that it was so long and detailed. There seems little doubt that the details were transcribed into the newspaper from a copy of the printed version of the public proclamation made in Rotterdam on 8 August (a supposition strengthened by the fact that the two Amsterdam papers in which this announcement was placed had near identical texts).³¹ The magistrates of Rotterdam were sparing no effort to bring the

³⁰ ODC 33, 10.08.1649, repeated in OMWC 33, 10.08.1649.

³¹ Broersz's *Ordinaris Dinghsdaeghsche Courante* and Lieshout's *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante*.

perpetrator to justice, including this princely reward. Murder, as we have already noted, was in these days an unusual crime, so the perpetrator could expect no mercy if caught. The extremely precise description of the fugitive's physical characteristics, her dress and deportment, suggest that the other servants had given up a great deal of useful information.



ILLUSTRATION 5.5 Jan van Troyen, *Dame en haar dienstmeid*, beiden gekleed volgens de mode van 1660 (c. 1660). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-2002-430
The lady of the house and her maid: the wealthier urban ladies of the Dutch Republic did not always see eye to eye with their domestic servants. This certainly helps explain the frequent notices for stolen household goods, especially silverware and cloth, and runaway maids.

Unusual though this is – not least that crime had here touched the household of the widow of a former burgomaster – it offers several features already familiar from the crime notices in the newspapers. Firstly, the key suspect in this case was a domestic servant. The newspapers are littered with runaway valets, maids and other domestic servants. Most Dutch households that enjoyed even a modest level of prosperity were home to an extended community of family and servants. In the home of a craftsman, this would be a single servant girl, often a young girl with little family of her own. In the grandest houses, like that of the widow vander Hooge, this might be a whole community of servants, with their own precisely defined duties and hierarchy. The presence of so much resident non-family caused obvious tensions. Even in the largest homes, the servants would be in and out of private family space to perform their duties; they would work in close proximity with many valuable, portable objects. The temptations were obvious. In the smaller artisan homes, restrictions of space threw family and servants into close physical proximity, with the normal tensions of family life now embracing temporary residents with no blood relationship and in a clearly subordinate position. The printer's shop was a sweaty, noisy jumble of workmen and family, with apprentices for whom the best hope of advancement often lay in catching the eye of the printer's daughter. The printer's wives played a critical role in seeing that fraternisation did not get out of hand: the number of sons-in-law that took over Dutch print shops suggests they were not always successful.

In this particular case, as with all the accusations against servants ventilated in the newspaper advertisements, a relationship that depended on trust had gone seriously array. The report of Helena vander Hooge's murder hints at one of the reasons why. This maidservant had only worked for the burgomaster's widow for six days. One might find it peculiar that someone who played such a critical role in the household of a member of the Rotterdam elite was an unknown newcomer. The lady's maid enjoyed a special position in such establishments, and with the passage of time might expect to learn many of her mistress's secrets. Yet the turnover in such households was also massive. Servants served for a term of three or six months, and many would have welcomed the opportunity to move on. Servants were also aware that they could be summarily dismissed for real or imagined offences, cast out onto the streets with no resources or family to fall back on. This too, did not inspire loyalty, or do much to inhibit the pilfering that many with access to the family stores regarded as their due.

Finally, this was a crime – and a serious crime – committed by a woman. This is not as unusual as one might think. In the two centuries after 1600 as many as 40% of the crimes prosecuted in the Dutch Republic were committed by

women.³² This is wholly uncharacteristic of modern crime rates, and unusual too for early modern Europe as a whole.³³ Yet in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Leiden, 47% of property crime and 31% per cent of public order offences were committed by women. This is rather in defiance of the common trope that the crimes of women were more likely to go undetected. Women were also surprisingly likely to be involved in quarrels that led to physical violence, as revealed in the well-named Rotterdam *vechtboek* (fight book).

How do we account for this unanticipated female crime wave? The Dutch Republic was, in this as so much else, a singular society. Holland enjoyed a higher level of urbanisation than any other region in Europe, and scholarship on England suggests that women in towns were far more likely to commit crimes than women in the countryside.³⁴ Holland also had an unusual number of women separated from the nuclear family. Much of the population consisted of recent immigrants, either new to the town or new to the Dutch Republic. The first advertisement that explicitly names a family servant as the thief, posted in 1643, identified the culprit as a servant named Anna, who had stolen from her employers a box with gold rings, silver spoons, bedding, clothing, kitchenware and more: 'She is twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, speaks Clevish or Geldrian, is short, and has black hair'. This linguistic particularity might not have marked her out on the streets of Amsterdam, where there would have been many such immigrants: the fact that the spoons were marked with the name Geurt Konings (and the offer of a reward) probably offered the best hope of recovery.³⁵ It did, however, make it more difficult for servants like Anna to integrate into the family circle. If she decided instead to disappear into the anonymity of the teeming city, then she certainly had a better chance of escaping detection than in a village where everyone knew everyone.

As was frequently remarked by contemporary observers, women enjoyed a much greater degree of empowerment in Holland than in other parts of Europe. Many women had to become used to running the household in the absence of a husband on the herring fleet or in the East Indies. This absence could easily become permanent. Between 1602 and 1795, a million sailors boarded VOC ships, and less than half would ever return. This represented a

32 For what follows, see Manon van der Heijden, *Women and Crime in Early Modern Holland* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). Previously published in Dutch as *Misdadige vrouwen: Criminaliteit en rechtspraak in Holland, 1600–1800* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2014).

33 See, by way of contrast, Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

34 J.M. Beattie, 'The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 8 (1975), pp. 80–116.

35 *TVQ* 33, 15.08.1643.

demographic drain of between 2,000 and 3,000 men every year.³⁶ Women were obliged to stand up for themselves in circles dominated by men; this might involve fighting their corner in a quite literal sense. When the matron of the household led, servants would follow. Of course, the advertisements will never tell us about the many thousands of servants who did uncomplaining service, and developed bonds of friendship with the families in whose home they lived. The newspapers will tell us only when these relationships went wrong. But the readers of the newspapers, sitting in their parlour or the study, would have read these notices as attentively as they did the reports from Vienna and Danzig. They knew that without close watching, they too might see their spoons disappearing with their own Anna, even if they were unlikely to suffer the fate of the unfortunate Ms vander Hooge.

The problem with servants was that they knew exactly what to steal. On Sunday 25 November 1668, an Amsterdam maid stole a pair of diamond earrings, consisting of ten small roses each, hanging on a hook of gold and silver.³⁷ This sounds very much like the pick of her mistress's jewel box. Like all jewellery, it was valuable and portable, but not necessarily easy to dispose of. In this announcement, anyone who came into possession of the diamonds was asked to surrender them to the *knecht* of the goldsmiths' guild, from whom they would receive twenty gulden in reward. Clearly other dealers in jewellery were the intended audience for this advertisement. They would swiftly have recognised that the maid Engel Kroon was unlikely to be the real owner of such a piece, and the wide publicity given to the theft would now make it much more dangerous than to attempt to sell it on. The twenty gulden reward would have allowed them to recoup what they paid the maid and offload what was now a rather dangerous piece of inventory.

Widows seem to have been especially vulnerable, as when Otto van Balck, servant of the widow of Jacob Sibbertsz Blauer in Amsterdam, ran off with a large sum of money, or as it was expressed in the advertisement 'penningen, which he has exchanged for ducats'. In this case the reward was promised not for the return of the money – that was a lost cause – but so that the widow could wreak her vengeance on a young man who had violated her trust.³⁸ A remarkable jailbreak occurred when a young prisoner befriended the jailor's maid. The fugitive, about to be executed for manslaughter, was said to be 'short, with a lean face, and he has all his hair cut off and was last wearing a wig', but obviously had worked his magic with the maid, who had run off with him. The

³⁶ Van der Heijden, *Women and Crime*, p. 19.

³⁷ *OHD* 48, 27.11.1668.

³⁸ *CID* 5, 04.02.1651.



ILLUSTRATION 5.6 Nicolaas Verkolje, after Godfried Schalcken, *Vrouw voor een spiegel, bij kaarslicht* (c. 1700). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-17.584
Jewellery, the pride of the urban burgher, was easy to steal and relatively easy to monetise. Luckily many owners were able to describe their lost or stolen jewellery in great detail when advertising their prize possessions in the newspapers.

magistrates of Vlissingen saw no romance in this story: 'All are urged to do their utmost to ensure that this evil is punished properly, in order to divert God's wrath from this land'. Anyone assisting the absconding couple was threatened with dire punishment, and a reward of 3,000 gulden was offered for the capture of the fugitive prisoner. Even Margriete, the maid, rated a reward of 1,000 gulden.³⁹

While servants were frequently mistrusted for their wandering fingers and giddy emotions, apprentices also made good use of their opportunities to make free with their masters' goods. In Gouda, it was reported that 'a surgeon's apprentice has stolen from his master a pack of Turkish clothes, which he has put on, including a black silk cape, a scarlet tunic lined with red and white'. He also made off with five gold rings, two silver spoons, six tunics and some cash.⁴⁰ Obviously, opportunities varied with the master's profession. A broker's apprentice, 'a sly Walloon', stole many thousands of gulden.⁴¹ In Kampen, a Polish apprentice named Fredrick stole 'a variety of silverware, including a silver dish, twelve spoons, twelve forks and six gilded goblets with a coat of arms with four bands'.⁴²

One feature of these advertisements was the unsparing nature of the physical descriptions. The surgeon's apprentice was 'short, with a pale face and pinkish eyes, freckles on his face, and he has large feet, with spindly legs, which swing out when he walks, as if he is lame'. Jean del Beecq, the sly Walloon, was 'of moderate height, with short curled hair, like a Moor. His face is red, round, and full, and he has thick lips, broad shoulders and large legs'. This was a theft of sufficient seriousness to justify a specific proclamation by the Leiden magistrates. No doubt the description in the newspaper was copied from the text of the printed poster. Polish Fredrick proved more difficult to describe: 'not very tall, or fat, he does not have a beard, but he has blue eyes, pale blond hair, and was wearing a leather gambeson with a pair of dirty trousers, woollen stockings and a black hat'. So long as he changed his clothes, he might well have got away.

Thieving servants did not fare any better in these virtual wanted posters. Engel Kroon, thief of the diamond earrings, had 'a pale face and two front teeth which stick out'. Hendrick, who stole a bag of money containing 200 ducats, 'has a flat nose, reversed lips, like a Moor, small brown eyes set deep in his

39 *OHD* 50, 11.12.1668.

40 *OMWC* 28, 07.07.1648.

41 *OMWC* 28, 07.07.1648.

42 *ASC* 17, 28.04.1674.

head, brown hair, and a reddish face'.⁴³ Marye van Aurick, who made off with her master's silver and linen, was 'tall and ugly with many pockmarks, small eyes, thick lips and large breasts. She is from East Friesland, and was wearing a black dress and a blue apron'. It is notable, as here, how many of these descriptions draw attention to the thief's foreign origins. When trust was breached, the employer discovered faults that had not troubled them when they hired the servants in the first place.⁴⁴

Lost and Found

In 1642, one of the first appeals placed in a newspaper offered a 'drinking penny' in return for help.⁴⁵ This was an experiment that was not often repeated.

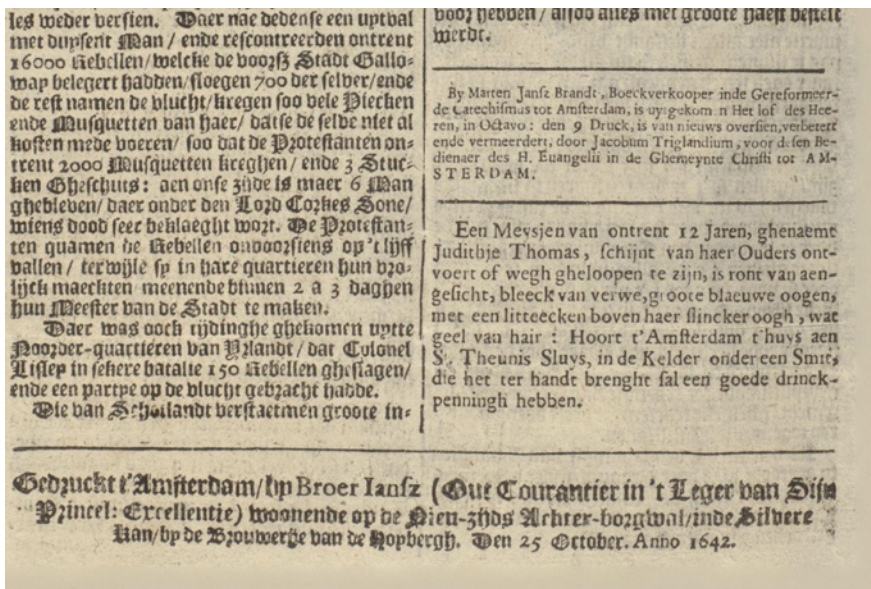


ILLUSTRATION 5.7 *Tijdinghen uyt verscheide Quartieren*, no. 43 (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 25 October 1643). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

The first announcement for a missing girl: Judithje Thomas, twelve years old, has run away or has been abducted. A drinking penny is due for her return. The parents, dwelling in a cellar, were obviously not wealthy, and it is possible that Broer Jansz placed this prominent announcement in his newspaper for free.

43 OHS 13, 25 [=26].03.1672.

44 OMWC 41, 17.10.1656.

45 TVQ 43, 25.10.1642.

Dutch citizens who had mislaid precious possessions soon learned that they had to do better than a few mugs of beer if they wanted the help of strangers in retrieving them.

Some of these rewards could be very large indeed, though seldom reaching the exemplary sums offered by the magistrates for help in tracking down dangerous criminals. Mostly the rewards reflected the value of the goods lost. The Dutch seem to have been especially careless with their watches, though the number that went missing may also reflect their vulnerability, attached to outer garments or kept in a pocket, from which they could easily be detached. The rewards specified, between twelve and fifty gulden, reflected the replacement value of such expensive timepieces, though there may have been a premium for sentimental value.⁴⁶ The items reported lost also give us a glimpse of collectables that do not turn up among goods reported stolen. On 12 April 1661, a sack containing one hundred ancient coins was mislaid in The Hague.⁴⁷ Antiquities of this sort really belonged in a specially designed chest in a cabinet of curiosities, so this may have been the stock of a dealer. The collecting of coins and medals was very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and embraced both the coins of the Roman Empire and modern commemorative medals like the portrait of King Gustavus Adolphus reported missing in 1665.⁴⁸

By the second half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the most taxed people in Europe. In the absence of an extensive stock market and restricted opportunities to create landed estates, purchasing of interest-bearing government debt became one of the most popular ways to re-invest spare capital. We see echoes of this new class of rentier wealth in the number of government bonds reported missing by their owners, especially in the newspapers published in The Hague, where most government bonds would have been issued. These bonds were worth anything between a few hundred and many thousands of gulden.⁴⁹ The cost of a newspaper advertisement of around 1.5 gulden must have seemed trivial set against the hope of recovering a financial instrument of this value, and the owners must have had a reasonable chance of success, so long as they offered a sufficient reward. With these complex financial instruments, it was difficult for a third party to realise their value without the appropriate documentation. An opportunist pickpocket could melt down a gold ring or pawn a watch, but they could hardly circulate in the world where bonds of this sort were traded. Best to take the reward and move on.

46 ODC 26, 29.06.1660. ODC 2, 09.01.1662.

47 OHS 17, 23.04.1661.

48 OHS 39, 19.09.1665.

49 HWM 72, 18.08.1656. HWM 73, 22.08.1656. OHS 6, 05.02.1661. OMWC 34, 20.08.1647.

Many of the goods reported missing in the newspapers had been mislaid somewhere on the transport network. Purses, luggage and briefcases containing money or important papers could be left behind on a barge or carriage in the press of business.⁵⁰ In 1667, a visitor to Rotterdam somehow mislaid a sackful of letters, bills and contracts. They must have been important, because the owner advertised the loss, with increasing desperation in newspapers in four different cities:

On Wednesday 1 June there was lost in Rotterdam a sack of letters, bills and contracts. If anyone finds the sack, then it is to be delivered to the lawyer Basius on the Boterflood in Rotterdam, from whom will be due a good reward.⁵¹

On Wednesday 1 June there was lost in Rotterdam a sack with letters, bills and contracts. If found it is to be delivered in Rotterdam to the lawyer Basius, in Utrecht to the printer of the *Courant*, in Amsterdam to Sr Jan van den Bosch and in Haarlem to Sr Jacob Walles. A good reward will be due to the finder.⁵²

Letters also went missing in the post.⁵³ This was a longstanding problem: what was new, was the opportunity to call for their return through the pages of a newspaper.

These appeals for the return of lost goods also give us a glimpse of the busy commercial traffic criss-crossing the country: a barrel of unknown goods accidentally despatched from Amsterdam to Haarlem, or three rolls of shoe leather mistakenly loaded on the wrong shop after the Beverwijk leather market.⁵⁴ Sometimes it was the ship itself that went missing, like the small vessel that slipped its moorings in Hoorn.⁵⁵ One advertiser hoped to retrieve a canvas parcel filled with blue English silk bedding, another some Bremen timber beams, lost on the road between the timber mills in Nek and Venesser.⁵⁶

Most of these goods must have been definitively lost, but on a few occasions the advertisements give hope that they may find their way back to their rightful owners. Occasionally, citizens used the newspapers to publicise goods that they had found, either out of a sense of civic duty, or in hope of a reward. The owner of two leather sacks, containing linen, mathematical instruments and

50 OHD 3, 18.01.1667. ADC 30, 24.07.1674.

51 ORZP 45, 06.06.1667.

52 ODC 23, 07.06.1667 also UM 46, 09.06.1667 and OHD 24, 14.06.1667.

53 OHS 40, 05.10.1669.

54 ODC 34, 21.08.1668. OHD 41, 09.10.1668.

55 OHD 14, 03.04.1668.

56 TVQ 22, 03.06.1645. OHS 21, 26.05.1668.

books, was offered the opportunity to retrieve them if they produced the keys to the attached locks. Clearly the locks had not prevented the finder from carefully examining the contents.⁵⁷ Certainly the person who had lost their marriage certificate and proof of citizenship in Amsterdam would have been delighted to retrieve them.⁵⁸ The discovery of a bag of money in Amsterdam was advertised around town by the town crier: only when this failed to reveal its owner was an advertisement placed in the papers.⁵⁹ Of course, anyone could claim to have lost money. The person who lost a small purse on the way from The Hague to Maassluis was asked to describe the weight and quantity of the gold coins contained before they would be returned to him.⁶⁰

When honest citizens found abandoned possessions, they had to know where to take it. Sometimes this was to the premises of the appropriate guild, or the town hall; often it was to the office of the newspaper publisher.

On 30 August 1656 a gold chain with four pearls was lost, which has now been found by a gentleman here. The owner is requested to address the courantier, Otto Barentsz Smient, in order to retrieve the lost chain and present a reward to the finder.⁶¹

On 16 September 1659 there was ordered by Michiel van Eycken, bleacher in Amsterdam, twenty pieces of bombazine from Haarlem, which never arrived. If anyone can locate the bombazine then they are to address the courantier in Haarlem or the directors of the barges.⁶²

If anyone has lost a sack with various valuables in the middle of May in the Haarlemmerhout, then they can address themselves to Abraham Casteleyn.⁶³

On 21 July there was lost in the barge from Leiden to Amsterdam, or in the passage before or after the barge, a little moleskin purse, containing a few pieces of gold and two diamonds rings. Whoever finds the purse is requested to deliver it to the house of courantier Johannes van Ravesteyn in Amsterdam, for which they will receive [20–50, illegible] gulden reward.⁶⁴

57 *ASC* 42, 21.10.1673.

58 *CID* 13, 26.03.1667.

59 *OHS* 51, 21.12.1669.

60 *EHD* 16, 18.04.1669.

61 *CID* 6, 10.02.1657.

62 *OHS* 22, 29.05.1660.

63 *OHD* 23, 05.06.1663.

64 *ADC* 30, 24.07.1674.

Once again, we see the newspaper office acting as an informal community hub. Let us hope some of the grateful owners of recovered goods were gracious enough to take out a subscription.

Pieternelle Comes Home

It is difficult for any parent to imagine the agony of a child gone missing. In the crowded streets of Holland's cities, it was an all too frequent occurrence, prompting some of the most painful and deeply personal advertisements in the newspapers.

A girl named Judithje Thomas, around twelve years old, has been stolen or has run away. She has a round pale face, with large blue eyes, a scar above her left eye, and is blond of hair. She lives in Amsterdam on the Sint Theunissluis, in a cellar below a smith. Whoever brings her home will receive a drinking penny.⁶⁵

On 23 July, around noon, a girl of around five years old went missing in Amsterdam. She walks a little awkwardly, has a small round blemish on her cheek, is quite thin, and was dressed in an old Kasante cloth, with green sleeves, and a blue skirt of kersey. It is believed she was taken by a beggar. Whoever can bring her home to her father, Jacob Helmichsz Brinck, tailor, living on the Prinsengracht at the Westerkerk, will receive a good reward.⁶⁶

A child named Jan Bartelsz, seven years old, is missing. He has a few pockmarks on his nose, with a blemish on his right thigh, and was wearing muscus coloured clothes, and an English hat. Whoever finds him, dead or alive, is kindly requested to bring him to the Schapensteeg, across the *Rasphuis* in Amsterdam, for which they will be rewarded.⁶⁷

Three children, three families, three worlds of pain. Cellar-dweller Judithje Thomas was clearly not the child of a prosperous family. Is it possible that the newspapers were prepared to run advertisements for lost children free of charge? Perhaps a kindly neighbour paid the fee.⁶⁸ These were some of the first

65 TVQ 43, 25.10.1642.

66 TVQ 30, 25.07.1643.

67 ODC 43, 23.10.1646.

68 Manon van der Heijden, *Civic duty: public services in the early modern Low Countries* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2012).

advertisements that appeared in the newspapers for a lost child, all placed in the 1640s, and they are also the first to use the term 'drinking penny'. It is significant that five out of six occasions on which this expression was used, instead of 'reward', the notice related to lost relatives, usually children. This may have been the one occasion on which Dutch citizens might have been expected to rally round and act out of altruism, or Christian duty, rather than through hope of gain.

The pain of loss was all the more intense if it was feared that the child had been deliberately stolen. Sometimes a beggar or vagrant was named as the likely culprit. If so, the chances of retrieving the child were very slim. The widespread perception that vagrants were capable of such acts stoked resentment of the poor, and helped justify their rough handling in the eyes of the community. Other children were agents of their own misfortune, storming out after a family row. This was probably even more frequent in an age when parenting was strict, and children expected to take part in adult work at an earlier age. This, too, could sometimes have tragic consequences.

On 25 April a ten year-old boy named Hendrick Dircksz, ran away from home after a reprimand from his parents. Hendrick has a pale face with brown hair, grey eyes, and was dressed in bombazine. His father died of grief two weeks after his disappearance. Any information is to be supplied to the mother in Amsterdam, named Barbar Harmens, living on the Vinkenstraat, where a good reward will be due.⁶⁹

In this case, even the return of Hendrick would not bring closure; the family circle that he had impetuously abandoned could not be rebuilt. In such cases, the reader longs to know whether the child was ever recovered. That must have been as true for the contemporary reader of the newspaper as it is for the modern scholar. But these are not novels: a newspaper advertisement was an investment in a service. No one in this era took out an advertisement to celebrate a happy event, be that an engagement, a wedding, a return of a much-loved son from campaigning or a long voyage; or even the return of a lost child.

Newspaper subscribers also invested a great deal of their emotional energy in their dogs. How else can one explain the offer of a good reward for the return a black dog with white spots, 'thin with a little hair at the end of its tail but bald all over'.⁷⁰ This sounds like an old dog with not much longer to live. The owner is here appealing for the return of a much-loved friend, rather than a hound of

69 *TVQ* 20, 16.05.1654.

70 *CID* 25, 20.06.1665.

great monetary value. The Lord of Sommelsdijk was prepared to invest two ducats to recover a dog with a blind red eye, 'red ears and face, and a limp on the front left leg'. A hunting dog must have put in many years of good service to earn this sort of devotion.⁷¹ Then we have this in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant* of 10 January 1668:

Last week there was lost in Amsterdam a partridge dog, around half an ell tall, with a chestnut coloured skin, with spots, and a short, hairy white tail, and one more claw on its rear paws than most dogs. Her name is Filander. If you try to catch her then she will try to bite you, and during the night she cries out frequently, and scratches on the door. She is around two years old, and she also has a long, pointing snout. Whoever finds her is requested to bring her to the town crier, from whom they will receive a good reward.⁷²

It is interesting here that it is the town crier who must take responsibility for the retrieval service. Most likely none of the printers were prepared to risk being bitten or having the ill-trained dog scratching their doors.

So it goes on: one lost watch even has the image of a dog cut into its case.⁷³ Perhaps the Dutch are a more sentimental people than has been allowed. They certainly loved their horses, several of which are reported as missing, along with the rather larger number reported stolen. It is worth pausing to consider why this distinction was made. A dog quite often runs off, following a scent or snuffling for rabbits or food. A horse generally does not. So the 'missing' horses are much more likely to be stolen. The same goes for many missing watches and other precious possessions. Yet the choice of word may be quite deliberate. Those who were in possession of stolen goods, or horses, were much more likely to return them if they were offered the chance to pass them off as a chance find, or a wandering horse retrieved out of a sense of Christian charity. This also explains why printers, or the town crier, were often nominated as the intermediaries for the return of stolen goods. The marginal characters and genuine rogues induced to return goods and claim their reward would think twice about turning up at the grand house of the owner, and risk being detained by sturdy servants while someone called the constable. The printer's shop or newspaper office provided safe, neutral space for such a transaction.

⁷¹ OHD 27, 06.07.1666.

⁷² OHD 2, 10.01.1668.

⁷³ ADC 37, 12.09.1673.

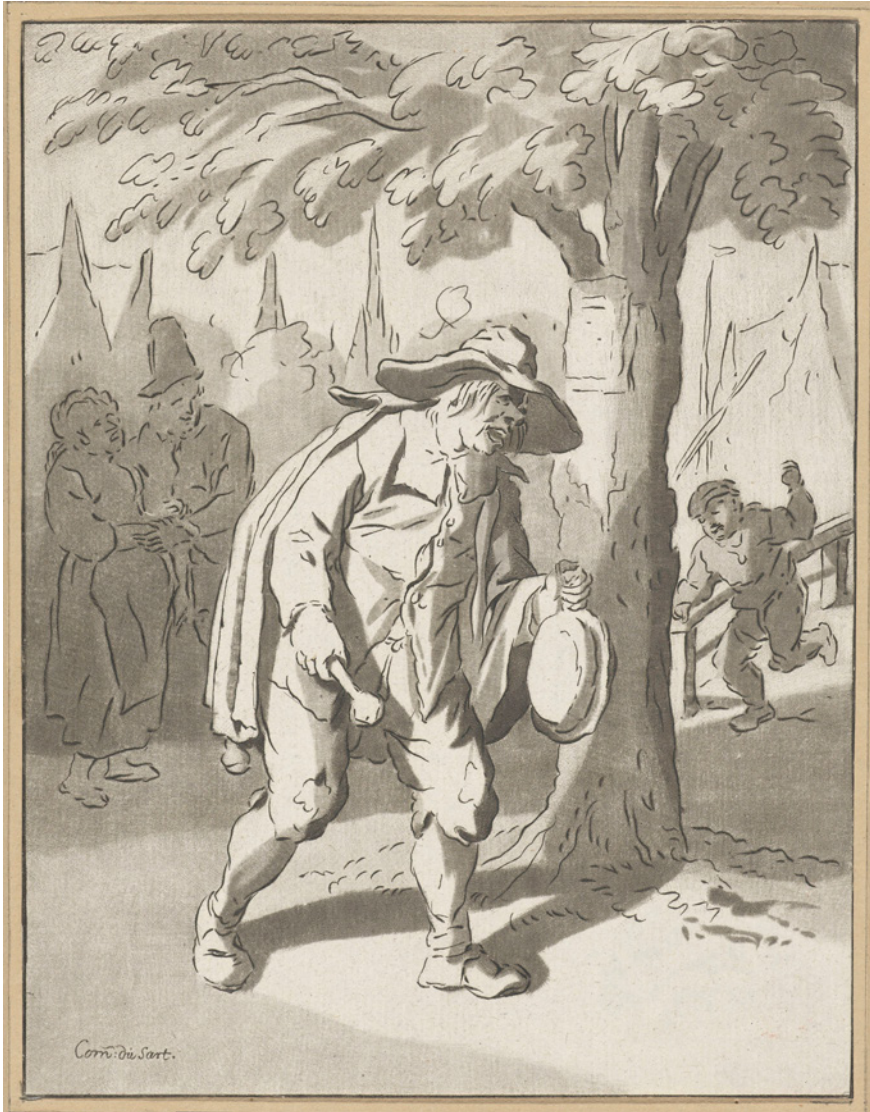


ILLUSTRATION 5.8 Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, after Cornelis Dusart, *Omroeper* (1776–1777). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1944-36

The town crier, a common sight in every Dutch city, offered his services to the municipality as well as to private individuals. He would proclaim his news on a regulated perambulation, accompanied by a drum or trumpet. The crier would be the ideal person to communicate any personal or public matters which pertained to the city in which he worked: for notices requiring a wider network of communication beyond the city walls, citizens would turn to printed placards and the newspapers (note here the placard attached to a tree). The town crier was well-informed and extremely recognisable, so could also be relied upon as a point of contact for the return of lost possessions.

One might therefore wonder why stolen goods were advertised in the newspapers at all. Obviously, such advertisements made sense if there was a suspect who could be named or described, and the newspaper set people on their track. Otherwise, it seems these advertisements were essentially a warning to those in the trade to refrain from selling them on. It was possible that a perfectly respectable shopkeeper may have accepted a piece of jewellery, silverware or a watch, without having realised that it was stolen. Alerted to this fact by the newspaper advertisement, the opportunity to return it to the *knecht* of the guild might, for a dealer in good standing, be the sensible choice.

As the century wore on, lawyers began to use the papers for one further purpose: as a means to trace the rightful heirs of someone recently deceased. These were almost always cases of some complexity, as the newspaper advertisements spelled out in some detail.

All are notified that last May there passed away in Danzig, in Prussia, Martin Pauli, citizen and merchant of the same city, who named in his will as his heirs all the descendants of his father's brothers and sisters. Because it is not known whether three of the same descendants are alive or dead, all are notified that if they are able to find the same, whether dead or alive, and address themselves to the heirs of Martin Pauli in Danzig or in Amsterdam to the *knecht* of the bourse, then they will receive a substantial reward. The three heirs in question are: Adriaen Martini, born in Danzig around 1605, who left there in 1647 for Transylvania, where he lived in the city of Făgăraş with a woman and children; Henricus Pauli, a student of law, who was last seen in Danzig in 1650, and thereafter lived in England for a long time; and Johan George Pauli, who travelled in 1668 as a surgeon's apprentice to Prague, and from there went onwards to Crete.⁷⁴

In the world of commerce, such a family diaspora was not uncommon. That the members of this family should have lost touch with each other is more unexpected. It says a lot for the Dutch newspapers, and especially the status of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, that the Dutch papers seemed the appropriate clearing house for such an international story. It is nice to think that one of the three men might have read the paper in London, or on Crete, and discovered their good fortune.

74 OHD 29, 18.07.1673.

One of these notices has a tale redolent of the return of Martin Guerre.⁷⁵ When a gentleman expired in Workum in Friesland, he was not well known locally, having only recently moved there, a refugee of the war following the French invasion of 1672. A man appeared from Vianen claiming to his heir, but the magistrates had their suspicions, and appealed, through the pages of the Amsterdam paper, for the true heirs to identify themselves.⁷⁶ Again, we are simultaneously fascinated and tantalised. In all of the instances we have discussed in this chapter, magistrates or private citizens invest in the costs of a newspaper advertisement because they are seeking help from the general public or a particular occupational community, the jewellers, watchmakers or clothiers. This may be help recovering lost or stolen property, help in finding a missing horse, dog or child, or help tracking down the rightful heirs of a deceased relative. They do not return to the paper to share the good news that a favourite brooch, or much-loved dog, has been recovered.

We can find only three cases where we see a case resolved, one only temporarily. In February 1669, the magistrates of Nijmegen warned citizens against one Jan Cramer, who was passing off counterfeit ducats, 'minted with the coat of arms of the United Provinces'. 'The coin feels heavy, but is not worth more than 1 gulden, 8 stuivers and 12 penningen'. A detailed description followed, both of the coin, dated 1666, and Cramer. This publicity seems to have been successful. Seven weeks later, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant* could report that Cramer had been apprehended in Essen, Germany.⁷⁷

On the night of Wednesday 24 February, a horse was stolen in Leiden. This was not a great prize. The horse was described as 'a mare with black feet, around ten years old, with a good physique, but with one diminished ear'. A reward was offered for anyone returning the horse to the brewery 'The Garden of Holland'. Three months later, there was another theft, this time of a large black mare, 'with a white star on its head, with large feet, around ten or eleven years old, and with a little white hair on the right side'. Once again the horse was to be returned to the brewery 'The Garden of Holland'. Since the advertisement goes on to say that 'the horse was stolen already once last winter', this was presumably the same horse, though the differences in the descriptions are also striking.⁷⁸ What was going on here? The horse was hardly likely to win prizes in a show, and probably did not have many more years of work

75 Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

76 *ADOC* 32, 09.08.1674.

77 *OHD* 7, 12.02.1669. *OHD* 14, 02.04.1669.

78 *OHS* 9, 27.02.1672. *EHD* 22, 02.06.1672.

ahead of her. This seems more like a stubborn feud between two persons in the same trade, over a transaction gone wrong, of which the horse might have been part.

The final case concerns a stolen child. In July 1674 the *Amsterdamse Saturdaghe Courant* and the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant* simultaneously reported the theft of a child named Pieternelle. Pieternelle was four years old, though 'she can name her father perfectly if asked after him': this was Jan van Breda, a soldier living in Dordrecht.⁷⁹ This was very material to the case, since it was believed that the child had been stolen by a beggar named Ariaentje van Rotterdam, who claimed that the child was hers. The distraught parent offered a clear and appealing description of his daughter: 'The girl has a small wart on her right forearm, a blushing face, and she is short, and was dressed in a cotton tunic with flowers, and a white hat'.

Five weeks later, the *Amsterdamsche Saturdaeghe Courant* had the following heart-warming message, placed by the magistrates of Enkhuizen:

The magistrates of Enkhuizen give notice that they have arrested two beggars, a man and a woman, who have with them two stolen children. The boy is around six or seven years old, is named Martijn, and says that he is from Utrecht, and that his father is a cooper. The girl is around four years old, pale of face, with platted blond hair, and called Marijtjen by the beggars, although she calls herself Pieternelle, and seems to be of high upbringing. Whoever knows the children is requested to address the magistrates of Enkhuizen.⁸⁰

It seems almost certain that this was the same girl who had been taken from Dordrecht earlier in the year, though the magistrates of Enkhuizen had clearly not yet drawn the connection. If so, the newspaper advertisement would have enabled Jan van Breda to hurry up to Enkhuizen to claim his precious child. Let us hope that Pieternelle did find her way back to her father; that, at least would be a comforting thought in a chapter that, inevitably given the nature of the newspaper advertisements, is decidedly short of happy endings.

79 ASC 29, 21.07.1674. OHS 29, 21.07.1674.

80 ASC 36, 08.09.1674.

Disaster and Recovery: Advertising in 1672 and the Williamite Republic

The year 1672 should have been a time for celebration in the Dutch Republic. It was exactly one hundred years earlier, in 1572, that the Sea Beggars had taken Brielle, and that the rebellion against Spain took hold in Holland. To local patriots it was 1572, not the ‘wonder year’ of 1566, that marked the true start of Dutch liberation. On 29 March 1672, a few days before the centenary of the capture of Brielle, one Dordrecht bookseller placed an advertisement in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* for a new book named *Jubeljaer der vrye Ver-eenigde Nederlantse Provintien, zijnde ‘t jaer 1672. en ‘t hondertste jaer der Reformatie en Vryheyt derselven* [Year of Jubilation for the Free United Netherlandish Provinces, it being the year 1672, the 100th year of the Reformation and the Freedom of the same].¹

Symon onder de Linde, the publisher responsible for the new book, should have read the newspapers with greater care. For several years the Dutch Republic had lived under gathering clouds. The sense of national pride generated by the victories in the later part of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) had been replaced by dread anticipation of renewed conflict. This time the enemy was France, whose king, Louis XIV, was openly courting the assistance of King Charles II of England. Political rivalry and mercantilist competition were fuelled by the personal desire of both monarchs to inflict humiliation on the bourgeois regents of the upstart Republic. The secret Treaty of Dover (1670) bound France and England together, whilst Louis also marshalled the support of two German neighbours of the Republic, the Prince-Bishops of Münster and Cologne. This diplomatic scheming would not have been on show in the weekly papers, but they contained enough news of military preparations and manoeuvres to warn citizens of impending conflict. Yet nobody could have foretold the disastrous course of events that would unfold during the summer of 1672. The centenary of liberation soon came to be known by a different name: the *Rampjaar*, the Year of Disaster. In this chapter we will see what role newspaper advertising played during this turbulent time, and the enduring consequences of this existential trauma for both the book industry and the newspapers.

¹ OHD 13, 29.03.1672.

A Nation Stunned

In 1672, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* contained just over 300 advertisements and announcements, or around two per issue. Statistically speaking, this was not a poor year. The character of the advertisements was, however, unlike those of any year before it. The cycle of advertising reflected political developments closely. The newspaper year began in familiar fashion: the Haarlem newspaper advertised the usual miscellany of book auctions, newly published books, schoolmasters looking for pupils, changes in the barge schedules, notifications of thefts and lost property, and a high-profile murder.

War erupted on 6 April 1672, with the French declaration of war, followed a day later by that of the English. The political consequences of these lightning strikes were echoed in the newspaper advertisements within a fortnight. On 19 April, Jacob Benjamin, an Amsterdam bookseller, advertised for the *Neerlandts Vreugde Basuyn* [The Netherlands' Joyous Trumpet], a small octavo which celebrated the appointment of William III as Captain-General of the army, an event which had taken place two months earlier, on 25 February. For good measure, Benjamin had added to this laudatory piece 'a tract on military drill in the infantry forces of the Prince of Orange, with engravings'.²

Business, it seems from the advertisements, was flourishing as usual. The magistrates of Breda announced on 17 May that they had cancelled their Pentecost festival 'for various [unspecified] reasons', but the magistrates of Delft merrily advertised their horse market a week later.³ Estates were offered for sale on 2 June, and on 31 May an advertisement went out for the auction of the library of Christianus Schotanus, the recently deceased professor of theology at Franeker.⁴ The sale would take place at the start of July. In Maassluis, a long-awaited lottery was finally prepared, with the prizes exhibited for six weeks before the lots would be drawn.⁵

Yes, there was war, but war was good for commerce too. For decades the Dutch had supplied the armies of Europe with cannon, rifles and pikes. This time war was closer to home than preferable, but that should not have stopped many of its citizens from making a profit. On 24 May, a sergeant named Pieter van der Hage, living in Haarlem, advertised his skills to prepare 'sulphur, and to multiply one's supplies, at least doubling it if one makes a large enough

² OHD 16, 19.04.1672.

³ OHD 21, 24.05.1672.

⁴ OHD 22, 31.05.1672.

⁵ OHS 23, 04.06.1672.

quantity'.⁶ Sulphur was an important constituent of gunpowder. In the same issue, a Rotterdam publisher announced for sale the entire print run of a newly printed octavo:

Pyrotechinia ofte kunstige Vier-wercken [The art of fire or curious fire-works], in which is clearly described the methods of making all sorts of fireworks for entertainment, as well as an introduction to the manufacture of fireworks for war, including fireballs, grenades, stinking-pots, petards, etc., most useful for all officers and other connoisseurs who wish to practice the art of fireworks, all extracted and translated from the works of various authors, enriched with thirty engravings.⁷

On 14 May, the citizens of Holland and Utrecht were also advised that special postal carriages would despatch letters to the army in Gelderland, and that commissary Andries de Visscher in Rotterdam would take care of all letters for the fleet.⁸ Similar services had been put in place during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and proved extremely popular. These advertisements provided information on generous arrangements to keep in touch with loved ones at the front, though the underlying need for such a service threatened heartbreak for many households with serving soldiers or sailors.

In mid-May the war front was still safely beyond Dutch borders, and there was no reason to expect it to move anytime soon. What turned 1672 into the Disaster Year were the crucial events of the next six weeks, which saw the Dutch army routed, pulling back beyond Utrecht, French and German forces in full possession of three Dutch provinces and laying siege to the remaining four.⁹ Fortresses which had been deemed impregnable had suddenly surrendered, or had been left undefended. Panic spread uncontrollably. The wealthier citizens of the eastern provinces tried to flee to Holland, clogging the roads with carriages and wagons, but most citizens stayed where they were, anxiously awaiting the victorious French. Riots broke out in cities not yet occupied by the French, clamouring for some demonstration of resistance: most of all, for the return of the Prince of Orange. On 4 July William III was finally appointed *Stadhouder* of Holland, and the end of the True Freedom was formally declared. Almost two months later, the leading architect of the Republican

6 OHD 21, 24.05.1672.

7 *Ibid.*

8 ASC 20, 14.05.1672. OHS 20, 14.05.1672.

9 The events of the year have recently been retold in superb fashion in Luc Panhuysen, *Rampjaar 1672. Hoe de republiek aan de ondergang ontsnapte* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2012).

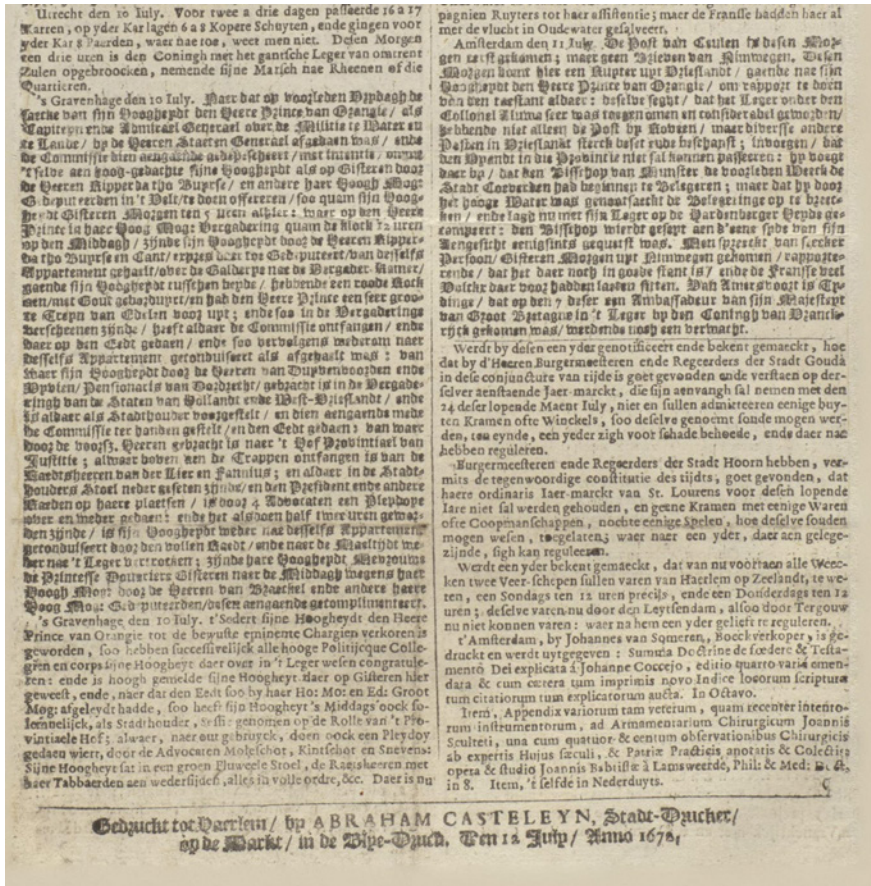


ILLUSTRATION 6.1 *Oprechte Haarlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 28 (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 12 July 1672). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

This issue of the Haarlem paper, of 12 July 1672, appeared in the middle of the crisis which had engulfed the Dutch Republic. The magistrates of Gouda and Hoorn, like many other municipalities, have cancelled their market, but Johannes van Someren in Amsterdam continues to advertise several new books for sale. He was one of the few to do so during the summer of 1672.

regime, former Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, was lynched in The Hague by a furious mob, along with his brother, Cornelis.¹⁰

Who, one might ask, would have goods to sell, let alone advertise, in a time of such despair? On the same day that an English merchant in Rotterdam

10 Luc Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid: de levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2005).

notified newspaper readers that he could assist citizens with the exchange of prisoners if a loved one had been captured at sea, one Monsieur Germain, in The Hague, had 'all sorts of unusual and rare Burgundy wines' he was willing to part with.¹¹ This was a brave, reckless or wholly ignorant announcement, but Monsieur Germain is also distinguished for another reason. Between his advertisement, placed on 25 June, and 20 October, not a single commercial advertisement was placed in a Dutch newspaper: his was the last of a fateful summer.

The disappearance of commercial notices did not leave the newspapers without copy. Instead the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* and the *Amsterdamsche Courant* were filled by a miscellany of notices, mostly placed by the authorities of the unoccupied towns and cities of Holland and Zeeland. What can one make of the fact that in July 1672, with the country nearly on its knees, the magistrates of Amsterdam took out at least three announcements to notify citizens of a theft committed by two Jewish bankers in their city?¹² Was this really such an important matter, or the ugly resurgence of an instinct to turn on the Jewish community for scapegoats in times of calamity? Announcements like these did little to address some of the most pressing issues of the Disaster Year. The newspapers carried no announcements concerning the imminent threat of French troops, and did not comment on the removal of magistrates loyal to De Witt in many of the Holland towns. The riots and disturbances that accompanied the forced renovation of the urban magistracies received little attention in the newspapers, despite the fact that many subscribers might have witnessed these disturbing events on the way to the bookshop to pick up their copy; some subscribers were no doubt among those thrown out of the city council. The newspapers betray no reverberations of the streams of refugees fleeing into Holland, and nothing noteworthy concerning the constant coming and going of soldiers, of fortifications being erected, or of assistance required with the flooding of the Holland plains. These were the political and social events that decided the fate of the Dutch Republic in 1672, but they found little resonance in the newspapers.

This absence can be explained by the general understanding that newspapers did not comment on domestic political affairs in any meaningful manner beyond military reports from the front. The authorities were happy with this arrangement, and did not use the newspaper for the sorts of political and commercial notifications, printed in the form of placards, with which they bombarded their citizens. It should also be remembered that the power of the

11 OHS 26, 25.06.1672.

12 EHD 27, 07.07.1672.

magistrates of Holland and Zeeland was very much reduced by the events of the summer of 1672. Most of the military preparations were in the hands of the Prince of Orange, and the political initiative lay with his followers in the citizenry, who clearly did not think to use the newspapers for these purposes. They operated very effectively without the newspapers, relying on traditional guild and militia networks within their own city to communicate with one another; and if they wanted to draw the attention of the Prince then they wrote to him directly. The citizens of Holland and Zeeland were also well served by other forms of print: the summer of 1672 saw the greatest production of printed pamphlets in the Dutch Golden Age.¹³ Citizens were kept up to date easily on what events took place in other cities through such pamphlets, which could be printed at a moment's notice, and were not constrained by any notion of periodicity.

The newspapers did have some use, not least to clear the reputation of two wrongfully accused merchants:

Notification. On Friday 21 June some ammunition was found in Amsterdam, in a yacht on the Singel, and a merchant named Dirck Duysent, living on the Nieuw Waalseiland, was accused of loading this on board. But it has now been found, after proper investigation by the magistrates, that the same ammunition was loaded by order of the College of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, to be transported from Amsterdam to Ostend, with Paul Dircksz Boendermaecker of Hoorn, who was also falsely accused. Both men are fully absolved of any wrongdoing.¹⁴

This was the only instance of its kind. Instead, the magistrates of Holland and Zeeland used whatever remained of their authority to cancel their markets and fairs, often the highpoint of their commercial calendar. In normal times, the authorities were always concerned that the dates of their markets were accurately reflected in the yearly almanacs. During the summer and autumn of 1672, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* was instead filled with a sad, repetitive sequence of cancellations and suspensions, issued by thirty-two jurisdictions in all. Although the magistrates of Breda had been early to cancel their fair on 17 May, the real spate of cancellations began on 7 June, the same day that Admiral Michiel de Ruyter secured a victory over the English fleet at the Battle of Solebay. The magistrates of Haarlem made the solemn announcement that

13 Michel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium. Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650–1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

14 *OHD* 27, 05.07.1672.

AANSpraak

Aan de BATAVIERS.

Zeg, geroemde Batavieren,
Slaapt gy noch, of zijt gy blind,
Dat gy moedloos en ontzint
Traag en loom zijt tot laurieren?

Is het Helden-bloet bevroren?
Is de Godtsdienst, huys en haart,
Nu voortaan geen liefde waart,
Dat het Landt dus gaat verloren?

Kunt gy zoo van Stam verbaft'ren,
Dat gy dus den oorlogs-dorst
Van dien geylen **LELY-VORST**
Lefschien wilt, en u doet last'ren?

Ziet hoe dat schier sestig Steden,
Pas in vijftig dagen tijdt,
Meest door gelt, en minst door strijdt,
Van uw Staat zijn afgesneden.

En dit was noyt voorgekomen,
Zoo gy recht de Pijlen-bant
Hadt gehouden in uw handt,
En uw plicht wel waargenomen.

Doch het is noch tijdt tot waken,
Daarom gesp het harnas aan,
Voeg u by d'**ORANJE**-vaan,
En wilt eens het duffen staken.

Treedt dien Flaauw-hert onder d'oogen,
Die sijn oorlog en geweld
Slechts rust op verraat en gelt,
En daar in stelt sijn vermogen.

Die, om dit kleyn Landt te winnen,
Ider Vorst om hulpe badt,
En byna geen Hof betradt,
Of bracht daar Louyzen binnen.

Wil men mè uw Steen verkoopen,
Ziet dat gy het lev'ren stuyt,
Kant u tegen siel en guyt,
Schoon hy was in 't Fulp gekropen.

Doch de rechte Burger-vaders,
Die met trouwe raadt en daadt
Zorgen voor uw Stadt en Staat,
Houdt die nimmer voor verraders.

Voeg u na haar heufche wetten.
Ga malkand'ren iv'rig voor
Op het ware Helden-spoor,
Om meer inbreuk te beletten.

Zoo zult gy in 's hemels zegen,
Krijgen weêr die Vrygheyt,
Die met bloet en braaf beleyt
Door onz' Ouders is verkrigen.

NAMEM der STEDEN en STERKTEN, die by de Koning van Vrankrijk zijn ingenomen.

Orfuy.	Borkeloo.	Harderwijk.	Kuylenburgh.	Lepper-schans.
Rijnberck.	Oldenzael.	Amersfoort.	Leerdam.	Grevecaur.
Wezel.	Zutphen.	Naarden.	Tiel.	Coeveden.
Burick.	Deventer.	Arnhem.	Asperen.	St. Andries.
Rees.	Swol.	Rhenen.	Heuckelen.	Roveensechans.
Emmerick.	Hattem.	Wijk.	Wageningen.	Dyler-schans.
Schenck-schans.	Halselt.	Utrecht.	Buren.	
Doesburgh.	Steenwijk.	Woerden.	Schans te Voren.	
Dautecom.	Vollenhoven.	Oudewater.	De Graaf.	
Grol.	Blockziel.	Ysselsteyn.	Nimwegen.	
Breervoort.	Elburgh.	Montfoort.	Bommel.	
Lochem.		Vianen.	d'Ommer-schans.	

*Te samen 54 Steden
en Sterkten.*

ILLUSTRATION 6.2 *Aanspraak aan de Bataviers* (S.l.: s.n., 1672). Fagel Collection, Trinity College, Dublin

The Disaster Year was characterised by an outpouring of printed broadsheets and pamphlets, many denouncing the Republican regime of the True Freedom. Some publications, like this *Aanspraak aan de Bataviers* (Exhortation to the Batavians) sought to mobilise public opinion by highlighting the severity of the crisis. This broadsheet lists at the end the names of fifty-four towns and fortresses which have already fallen into enemy hands.

they have decided and resolved, due to the constitution of the current times, that no vendors, players or others will be admitted to their forthcoming St John's market and fair.¹⁵

This announcement was followed throughout the summer and autumn by notifications from some of the largest cities of the province, including Delft, Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Rotterdam and Gouda, all the towns of Zeeland, and small rural townships like Sommelsdijk, Noordwijk and Heemstede. The formulas used for these announcements were the same for all municipalities: the 'constitution' or 'conjuncture' of the times had forced the magistrates to suspend the market, and no-one was allowed to attempt to sell their wares, perform their juggling stunts or stage plays. It will not have escaped the citizens of Holland and Zeeland that the severity of the crisis disrupted their usual commercial schedule. The cattle and horse markets of the western provinces were dependent on drivers from the east, along routes which were now blocked by hungry enemy troops. An attempted Anglo-French naval blockade also impeded shipping. For many, this was an anxious and idle time: that may explain why the magistrates were so particularly insistent on the prohibition of public performances and games. If vendors or onlookers arrived on the day of the cancelled market, this newspaper announcement provided legal ammunition to turn away unwelcome visitors. The newspaper advertisements in any case probably echoed notices posted at the town gates to be seen by any hopeful traders or entertainers arriving in the city and circulated in the normal way to other towns.

It is noteworthy that the notices of market cancellations were placed exclusively by the authorities of Holland and Zeeland. Citizens from Holland would of course have had little motivation to travel to Utrecht for a market, so such markets required no formal suspension. But even magistrates or traders from the province of Friesland, which remained unoccupied, did not place any notices. It is possible that the distribution networks of the newspapers were so disrupted that the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, which usually served a national audience, never made it to readers beyond Holland and Zeeland during the summer and autumn of 1672. This suspicion is strengthened by the evidence of the few book advertisements that were placed in the papers during the Disaster Year, all of which came from publishers in Holland.

The Dutch book trade, one of the most dynamic sectors of the Republic's economy, was briefly paralysed by the invasion of the summer. The auction market collapsed: although at least thirty-nine book auctions were held in

15 OHD 23, 07.06.1672.

the first six months of the year, we know of only five which took place in the second half of the year, in November and December. No book auction was advertised in the newspapers between that of Christianus Schotanus on 31 May 1672 and 11 February 1673: a remarkable silence when one bears in mind that in normal times book auction advertisements were a staple of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*.

The international trade in books was disrupted too, as was the importation of paper, but that did not stop some printers cashing in on political turbulence. No-one had ever seen such a flood of pamphlets and broadsheets as in the summer of 1672: 'Everywhere, pamphlets come down like rain', exclaimed one commentator.¹⁶ A recent survey has identified at least 1,600 editions, and more continue to be found today.¹⁷ Often no longer than four or eight printed pages, these pamphlets could be dashed off and out on the streets within a couple of days. Pamphlets, it turned out, could still reflect the urgency of events far more effectively than newspapers. The most successful titles – those which wished death upon the brothers De Witt – could sell out within the space of a week. The printers behind these titles, most of whom kept their name off the imprint, had little incentive to advertise them in the newspapers.

The few publishers that did advertise for new titles in 1672 did so for books with acute relevance to the events of that year. Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge and Jacob van Meurs, two major players in the export trade who will have suffered from a downturn in business, advertised on 3 September 1672 for a duodecimo manual on fortifications, in three parts, with around 300 engravings, with French, Dutch and German texts.¹⁸ With so many new engravings, this would have been an expensive book, and required substantial investment. In the same newspaper issue, the Amsterdam publisher Marcus Willemsz Doornick, responsible in calmer times for literary works and practical handbooks, advertised a new edition of Johan le Hon's drill manual, the *Ordres van batailjen, gepractiseert in de legers der Vereenigde Nederlanden* [Order of battle maintained in the armies of the United Provinces]. Reformed ministers also took up their pens, and their efforts made up a fair share of the new titles advertised in the autumn of 1672. Guilielmus Saldenus, a minister in Delft, gathered his reflections on the state of the Dutch Republic in

16 *Wederlegging-gedicht, van het lasterschrift, genaemt, verhael van 't voornaemste* (Middelburg: Jan Neffendeweg [=s.n.], 1672), p. 7.

17 Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, especially pp. 97–121.

18 *OHS* 36, 03.09.1672, variant A. The edition is USTC 1808315. The sons of Janssonius van Waesberge would reissue the same in 1684 (USTC 1826485), and another two editions would appear in The Hague in 1696 (USTC 1828876 and 1828899).

Neerlans Tranen, of hertelijke Ziel-zugt, over de tegenwoordigen toestant onses Vaderlands [The Tears of the Netherlands and sadness of the soul over the present condition of our Fatherland], to which has been added a daily prayer to be said in times of plague, war, decline of trade, and so forth, as well as to give the pious courage in bad times.¹⁹

By the autumn of 1672 some magistrates had taken Saldenus's prayers to heart. At least three municipalities used the newspapers to announce that they had decided to open some of their markets. Goes cancelled its annual fair, but its grain market was in business 'with the same freedoms as is customary year by year'.²⁰ In Oud en Zuid Beyerland it was the lamb market of 18 September which was still open, and in Edam the cattle market.²¹ The greatest gesture of defiance in times of adversity came from an unexpected quarter: on 27 August 1672, a week after the murder of the brothers De Witt, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* contained the notice that

The Rector and Senate of the University of Leiden give notice that, despite the critical times, all public and private lectures, disputations and other teaching exercises will continue at the university as usual this September.²²

Not to be outdone, the rectors and professors of Groningen, whose city had been subjected to an enervating siege by the Bishop of Münster, notified readers of the same paper a month later that

Since the city has been relieved from siege thanks to God's mercy, and everything is brought back to the accustomed order, that they have resolved to commence their lessons immediately, and serve the youth with their teaching.²³

Although the universities of the Republic rarely used the newspapers for official communications, these two notices provided a statement of resolve when it was most needed.

19 EHD 49, 08.12.1672.

20 OHD 33, 16.08.1672.

21 EHD 36, 08.09.1672. OHD 37, 13.09.1672.

22 OHS 35, 27.08.1672.

23 OHS 39, 24.09.1672.

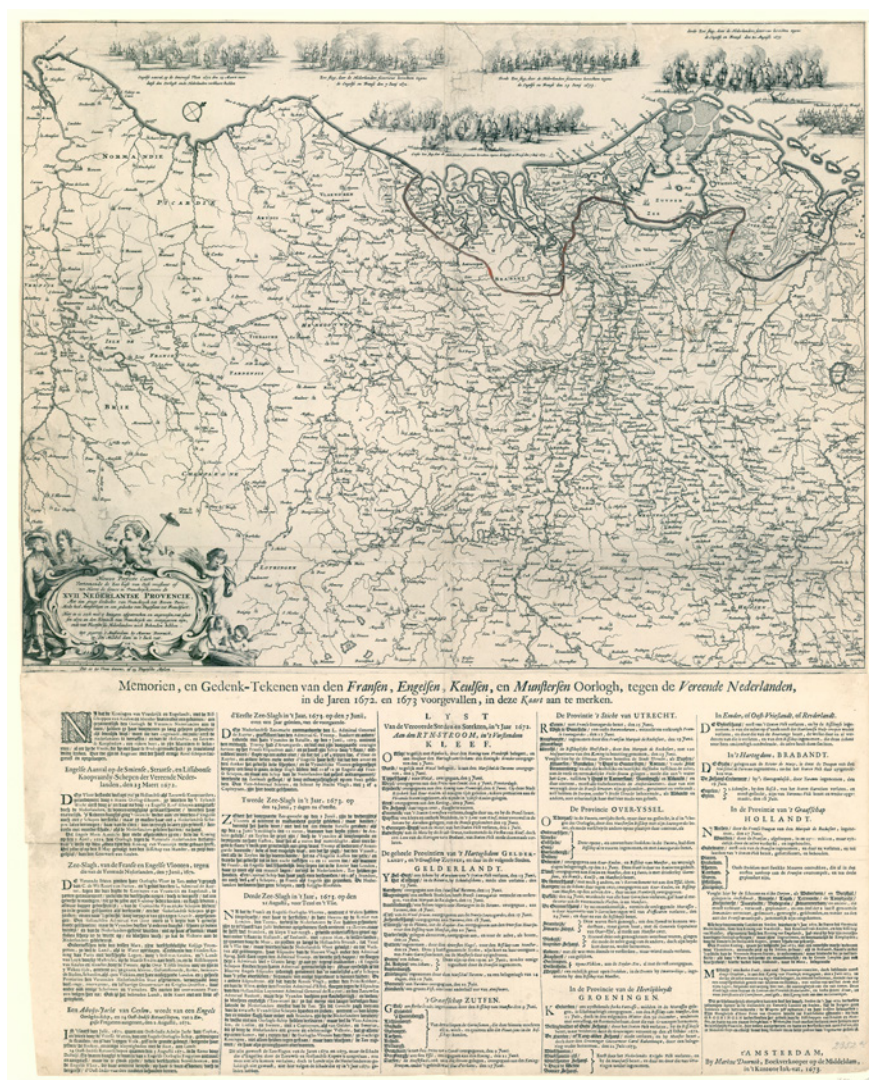


ILLUSTRATION 6.3 *Memorien, en Gedenk-Tekenen van den Fransen, Engelsen, Keulsen en Munstersen Oorlogh, tegen de Vereende Nederlanden in de Jaren 1672. en 1673 voorgevallen* (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz Doornick, 1673). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-77-336

Marcus Willemsz Doornick was an Amsterdam publisher who took advantage of the tumultuous events of the Disaster Year, and the constant demands for news from the front. In this magnificent illustrated broadsheet, he offers a map of the Dutch Republic, complete with a menacing frontline, demonstrating the advance of the French and German troops. He would reissue the same broadsheet again in 1675, with the frontline removed, and a triumphant note on the expulsion of the enemy.

Reverberations and Recovery

The province of Holland was spared a foreign occupation in 1672. Two small towns on the border of the province, Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, were the victims of a French attack. French forces rampaged through the towns, murdering and pillaging. The brutality of the raid rapidly became the face of the French invasion, thanks in part to the success of several graphic engravings by Romeyn de Hooghe, and numerous printed accounts documenting the attack.²⁴ While these accounts standardised the narrative of 'French tyranny', the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* carried a more personal plea:

The magistrates of Zwammerdam give notice that if anyone entered the house of the schout of the same village after the sad destruction of the village, and took with them out of curiosity or for any other reason any papers, books or other writings, then they are kindly requested to return them to any of the people listed below, as the schout would like to see them returned, and there is not much use for anyone else in them. All magistrates and officers are also requested that if they come across any of the papers then they are to keep them and return them to the house of Pieter de Witte in Amsterdam, on the Nieuwendijk, in Alkmaar to Reynier Nieuhusius, rector of the Latin school, in Haarlem to procurer Pieter Baes, in Leiden to Evert van Alsem, inn-keeper in the 'Three Herrings', in The Hague to lawyer Ewout Schowels in the Nieuwe Molstraat, in Delft to the widow of Ad. de Bocq, in Rotterdam to Wouter van Ommes at the Bourse, and in Gouda with N. Mont, inn-keeper in the 'Deer-House' on the market.²⁵

This announcement, placed on 6 February 1673, provides a glimpse of the chaos that engulfed the Republic in 1672, and the emotional effects on its citizens. The loss of trade, property and goods, not to mention friends and family, affected citizens across the entire country. Attempts to restore a sense of order would sometimes take many years. Like most newspaper sagas, we never find out if the schout of Zwammerdam managed to retrieve his papers; or, indeed, if the secretary of Smalingerland in Friesland, who lost 'a proclamation book

24 Henk van Nierop, 'Profijt en propaganda. Nieuwsprenten en de verbeelding van het nieuws', in Henk van Nierop, et. al. (eds.), *Romeyn de Hooghe: de verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), pp. 66–85. See also Abraham de Wicquefort, *De Fransche tyrannie* (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1674).

25 OHD 6, 07.02.1673.



ILLUSTRATION 6.4 Romeyn de Hooghe, *Spiegel der Fransse Tyranny, Gepleeicht op de Hollandsche Dorpen* (1673). Rijksmuseum: Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-77.183
The events of 1672 were canonised as soon as they took place, thanks to a range of publishers, printers and engravers operating in Holland. Romeyn de Hooghe was responsible for this depiction of French atrocities, which became a staple of Dutch print culture deep into the eighteenth century.

or *boden consent-boeck*, with various receipts and bills in it ... due to the invasion of the troops of the Bishop in Friesland', found his administrative register again.²⁶ One army officer lost a souvenir from the battle of Seneffe (1674):

There has gone missing a blue linen tunic, lined with fine broad silver thread, and red charge, which was riddled in several places with bullet holes, and which was acquired by a captain from a Frenchman who died during the battle of Seneffe. If anyone has found or bought the same tunic, then they are kindly requested to deliver it in Antwerp to the house of Guilliaem Kempenaer, lodging with Dominicus Port, inn-keeper in the 'Three Princes', on the Bosch, from whom they will receive a good reward.²⁷

In 1673 and 1674, the newspapers included notices that give us some indication of how difficult it was to rebuild shattered lives. Pieter le Clerc, French schoolmaster in Naarden, advertised his return to the same town, and the 'reopening of his school after a temporary closure due to the late war'. He now taught French, arithmetic and Italian accounting once more, all for a civil price.²⁸ Pieter Matthijssen, a surveyor from Zwolle, never bothered to return: he announced in February 1674 that he had settled in Haarlem, where he taught 'the art of mathematics, surveying, geometry, trigonometry, the art of fortification building, in practice and in theory, using logarithms, as well as algebra'.²⁹ As these schoolmasters jostled for new customers, other traders used the same space in the newspapers to make money from the continuing fighting. In Rotterdam, merchants were encouraged to attend an auction where they could purchase 'a load of some 150 lengths of wool, of various colours, light and dark, most suitable to be turned into soldiers' clothes or otherwise', while Hendrick Corf and Paulus Gijsbers in Amsterdam advertised 'for sale to all colonels and captains, 400 blue and red military uniforms, available for a civil price'.³⁰ An anonymous 'inventor of the patented hose water mills' also took the chance to advertise his new inventions to all those who owned 'any polders which they cannot clear of water'.³¹ Given that Holland had been saved only from French occupation by the breaking of the dykes along its entire frontier, the inventor had a captive audience.

26 OHS 11, 18.03.1673, variant B.

27 EHD 42, 18.10.1674.

28 ADC 18, 01.05.1674.

29 EHD 5, 01.02.1674.

30 OHS 50, 16.12.1673. ADC 45, 06.11.1674.

31 OHS 6, 11.02.1673, repeated in OHS 7, 18.02.1673.

The regents of the Dutch Republic were the most persistent users of the newspapers in the aftermath of the Disaster Year. Their announcements became more frequent than before 1672, perhaps representing an effort to reaffirm their authority. The magistrates of Utrecht, who had surrendered their city without a single shot fired, had much to repent for. They issued several apologetic publications in which they sought to explain their conduct before and during the French occupation, and they also turned to the newspapers to highlight their renewed activity to labour on the part of their citizens.³² On 9 January 1674, several months after the liberation of Utrecht, the magistrates announced that

They bought from the French a variety of plundered boats and vessels, taken from the Waal, Rhine and IJssel rivers. The magistrates mean to auction the same on Monday 12 January (OS) at 2 pm. Whoever has any right to the vessels should make their claim known. The conditions of the sale can be found with the secretary of Utrecht.³³

One can only hope that the readers of this issue of the *Amsterdamsche Courant* had enough time to make their way down to Utrecht to claim ownership of their confiscated vessels, before they were sold on. The States of Holland announced the allocation of public works to dredge two dams broken by the French near Woerden. The French invasion would prompt numerous large infrastructure projects in Holland in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, to repair dilapidated fortifications and erect new defences.³⁴ The authorities rarely used the newspaper to disseminate the text of ordinances or regulations, but in 1673 and 1674 the States of Holland and the Council of War both used the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* to communicate recent notices. These ordinances had direct relevance to the ravages of war. The States of Holland announced that

There has been taken into consideration numerous daily complaints from the good inhabitants of this province, in cities as in the countryside, concerning the damage and harassment by the state's cavalry and infantry, whilst passing through, lodging or by stealing cattle, grass, hay, oats and other crops, and also considering that the captains of the same troops are not as vigilant as they could be in remedying the same, and having found that no suitable and exemplary punishments have been

32 For the most notable example, see *Deductie van de Staaten van den Lande van Utrecht* ([Utrecht]: s.n., 1673).

33 *ADC* 2, 09.01.1674, repeated in *EHD* 2, 11.01.1674.

34 *OHD* 1, 02.01.1674.

meted out when such complaints have been raised, it has, therefore, after deliberation, been agreed, as their Noble Mightinesses agree and issue hereby, that all damages and harassment which is done by the aforementioned cavalry and infantry to the inhabitants of cities and the countryside, are to be recorded by the same victims under oath before the magistrates of their residence, and that the same damages will then be paid out by their Noble Mightinesses from the salary of the captains whose troops committed the same damage. All commanders of the same companies are to be handed out as many printed copies of this order as is required, in order that every captain will receive a copy, and that the same will also be despatched or handed to all commissaries and accountants of the treasury, for their respective instruction. As accorded with the aforementioned resolution, and signed by Simon van Beaumont.³⁵

An announcement of this length took up considerable space in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, and one can only hope that Abraham Casteleyn was compensated by the authorities. The Council of War placed a much shorter announcement on 15 February 1674, in which they called for the apprehension of Colonels Coetis and Nieulandt, the commanders of Doesburg, 'who surrendered the same city with their subordinate officers on 21 June 1672 to the enemy without reason, to the great disrespect and considerable damage of the state, and in direct contradiction to all military and disciplinary regulations'. The announcement in the paper revealed that 'they are now issued with a fourth and final call by public drumming and crying' to appear before the Council of War – clearly the Council had already made significant efforts to apprehend these fugitive officers. The newspaper announcement was only placed as a final warning.³⁶

Most notices placed by the authorities of the Dutch Republic were far less sensational. In 1674, numerous municipalities inserted lengthy notifications in the Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers for the distribution of state bonds. Since 1672, the regents of Holland had imposed successive forced loans upon their citizens to pay for the defence of the province. A 200th penny capital wealth tax, targeting individuals with a capital of 1,000 gulden or more, was imposed no fewer than twenty-eight times between 1671 and 1678.³⁷ In 1674, the

35 OHS 33, 19.08.1673.

36 EHD 7, 15.02.1674.

37 Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 107. See also Wantje Fritschy, 'The Efficiency of Taxation in Holland', in Oscar Gelderblom (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic* (Abingdon: Routledge,

authorities repeatedly tried to encourage citizens who had made small contributions to join with their friends and neighbours to acquire state bonds. On 3 July, the magistrates of Amsterdam advertised in the Amsterdam and Haarlem papers that they

give notice that all citizens who possess receipts worth less than 200 gulden from the four capital loans raised in 1672 in Amsterdam, and are interested to transform their credit into provincial bonds, then they can present themselves to the office of Joan Uytenbogaert, receiver-general in this city, in the month of July. In order to do so the credit-holders must accrue credit worth more than 200 gulden through amalgamating or purchasing more credit. The credit can also be sold at a rate of 80% at the treasury of the city.³⁸

Judging by the increasingly desperate tone of these announcements placed by numerous Holland municipalities, many citizens were slow to take up the offer. The magistrates of Amsterdam would repeat their announcement again on 20 October, stating that this was the last opportunity to acquire the bonds.³⁹ Another month later, the closing window for this 'final opportunity' had been extended once again.⁴⁰ Similar postponements were also frequently announced by the directors of the West India Company. The WIC, the younger of the two Dutch India Companies, had never been able to mirror the success of the VOC. In 1674, after struggling for two decades, the company declared bankruptcy. It was relaunched and reorganised the same year under the same name, but marketed as the 'New West India Company'. While the downfall of the WIC had received no attention in the newspapers, its reformation enjoyed copious publicity in the newspapers, as the directors of the chambers appealed to potential investors. All former stakeholders in the WIC were encouraged, and then urged, to transfer their investments to the new company; the terms and conditions under which they could do so were carefully stipulated in lengthy announcements that took up significant space in the newspapers:

All are notified that following the authorisation of the directors of the Old West India Company, and in accordance with the first article of the

2016), pp. 55–84, especially pp. 64–75 and Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Tax Morale and Citizenship in the Dutch Republic', in the same, pp. 143–165.

38 *ADC* 27, 03.07.1674. *OHD* 27, 03.07.1674.

39 *ASC* 42, 20.10.1674. *OHS* 42, 20.10.1674.

40 *OHD* 48, 27.11.1674. *ADC* 48, 27.11.1674.

privilege granted to the new Company, that the directors from Dordrecht, Delft and Rotterdam will present themselves every week in Rotterdam at the West Indian House of the Maas chamber, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, between 9 and 11 am and 3 and 5 pm, until 1 December, to examine the bonds of all participants from the three members of Dordrecht, Delft and Rotterdam, in order to transfer shares and issue bonds to the new company, at the rate of 4% interest, and so all shareholders can present themselves there, as all old bonds in the West India Company have been reduced to 15% in the new Company, in conformity with the thirteenth article of the new privilege, and if anyone wishes to become a chief participant in the new company, and enjoy the right to vote in company meetings, then they will have to invest 2,800 gulden, or 18,700 gulden in old company bonds.⁴¹

This enormous write-down of the value of the old company bonds would scarcely have instilled confidence in the new venture, yet still the directors

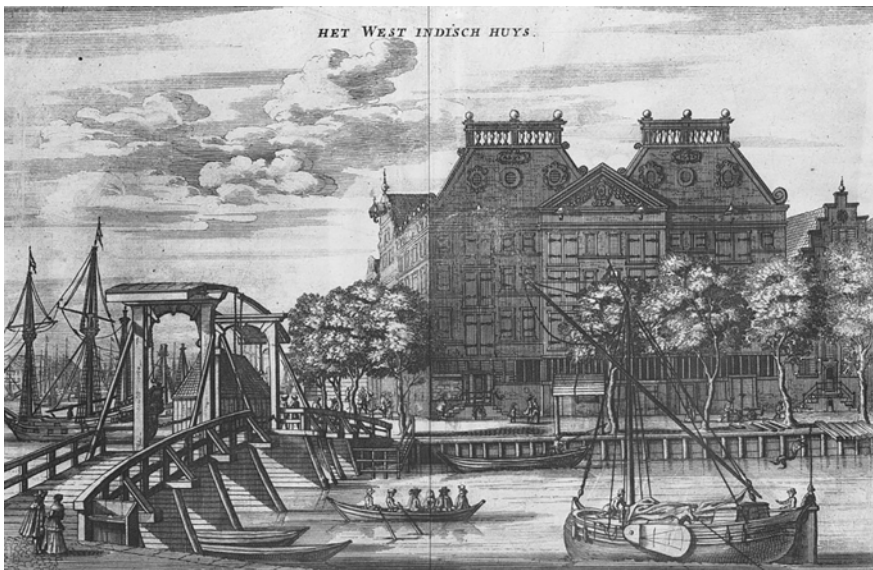


ILLUSTRATION 6.5 *The West Indian House in Amsterdam (c. 1663).* Wikimedia Commons
The West Indian house in Amsterdam, where the new directors of the WIC tried to attract investors for their resurrected company after its bankruptcy in 1674.

41 OHS 45, 10.11.1674.

persisted. More than two dozen similar announcements were placed in 1674; the following year, some of the chambers also announced publicly that they would auction off the bonds of investors who had not kept up with their payments.⁴² But the directors were fearful that these auctions would also suffer from a lack of interest, and postponed the events by several months. Far more popular than the auctions for new WIC bonds were the auctions of prize goods, which, thanks to Dutch naval successes against the English and French, also returned to the newspapers. On Thursday 11 January 1674, the Admiralty of Amsterdam sold two prizes and their cargoes: a French pinnace, with six cannon, carrying 5,000 bales of tobacco, 70,000 pounds of sugar, 15,000 pounds of white ginger and a vat of indigo, and a much smaller Scottish vessel, containing 150 loads of coal and two packs of goat hides.⁴³

These notices of prize goods auctions served a dual purpose. They might draw the interest of local merchants and brokers, but they also inserted welcome news of military victories into the advertising sections of the newspapers. Although 1673 brought renewed triumph at sea, and the recruitment of an international alliance, including Brandenburg, Austria and Spain to fight Louis XIV, the economy was still very fragile. The French occupying forces remained in the eastern provinces for most of the year. The market cancellations in Holland and Zeeland also continued unabated. In the spring of 1673, another thirty municipalities advertised the suspension of an annual market or fair; some of these jurisdictions had done so already in 1672. Even if they did not cancel their market, jurisdictions like Oud en Zuid Beyerland were keen to stress that 'no cord dancers, players, *Rijselaars*, turn-tables, jugglers and others' were permitted to attend their market, 'and that no inn-keepers are allowed to have any violin players or other musicians playing in their establishments, on pain of a fine of 25 gulden'.⁴⁴ The authorities were determined to ensure that this would remain a time of sober reflection upon the disaster of 1672.

The commercial advertisements found in the newspapers in 1673 and 1674 also indicate that recovery was, at times, slow. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* contained even fewer advertisements in 1673 than in 1672. Although one book auction was advertised in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* already in February 1673, there were otherwise slim pickings.⁴⁵ Book auctions only picked up again towards the end of 1673, and then only in the largest Holland towns. Virtually all advertisements in the years following the Disaster Year were placed by

42 See, for example, *EHD* 34, 22.08.1675.

43 *ADC* 2, 09.01.1674.

44 *OHS* 36, 09.09.1673.

45 *OHS* 6, 11.02.1673, repeated in *OHD* 7, 14.02.1673.

Holland tradesmen. There were no cheerful announcements from magistrates in the liberated provinces to notify traders that their markets were open once more. The University of Harderwijk, occupied by the French for over a year, would only reopen in the summer of 1678, when the senate tried to recruit students through the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*.⁴⁶ As the youngest and smallest of the Dutch universities, Harderwijk would always struggle to attract professors and students.⁴⁷ A rival university in Gelderland, at Nijmegen, was also dealt a deathblow by the occupation. In August 1674 the magistrates of Kampen even took out a notice in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* to announce that anyone who moved to their town before 1675 would receive free citizenship.⁴⁸ The liberation of the town had not reversed the exodus of the wealthier citizens and traders who fled in 1672.

In many eastern towns the printing trade also suffered a serious blow. Some printers had stayed afloat during the occupation by printing ordinances and placards in the name of the occupying forces, a commercial decision which did not seem to have any repercussions after the liberation. But the balance of the book trade swung even more in favour of the large Holland towns. Publishers from Arnhem, Zutphen or Zwolle, who had previously advertised whenever they had an important work on the press, disappeared from the newspapers altogether; even those of Utrecht, hitherto a formidable printing town, advertised less than before.

In Holland, publishers happily took on projects which reflected a newfound obsession with the Disaster Year and the ongoing war. Johannes Tongerloo in The Hague advertised an apologetic refutation by the magistrates of Zaltbommel 'portraying what took place before, during and after the siege of Zaltbommel, and how the magistrates of the same city did everything in their loyal and unwavering efforts to serve the fatherland'.⁴⁹ It seems likely that the magistrates, who undoubtedly paid Tongerloo to publish the pamphlet, also paid for the advertisement. In Amsterdam, publishers competed for a share of the market for contemporary history, providing narrative accounts of the recent war. As the war dragged on until 1678, some of these works, like the *Ontroerde Leeuw* [Stunned Lion] of Steven Swart, became fat annual instalments, successively updated with the progress of the war. The *Ontroerde Leeuw* and Marcus Willemsz Doornick's rival publication, the *Ontroerde Nederlandt*, went through

46 OHD 25, 21.05.1678 and EHD 26, 30.06.1678.

47 J.A.H. Bots, et al. (eds.), *Het Gelders Athene. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Gelderse universiteit in Harderwijk (1648–1811)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000).

48 ADC 35, 28.08.1674.

49 OHS 2, 13.01.1674. USTC 1810340, a pamphlet of 41 leaves.

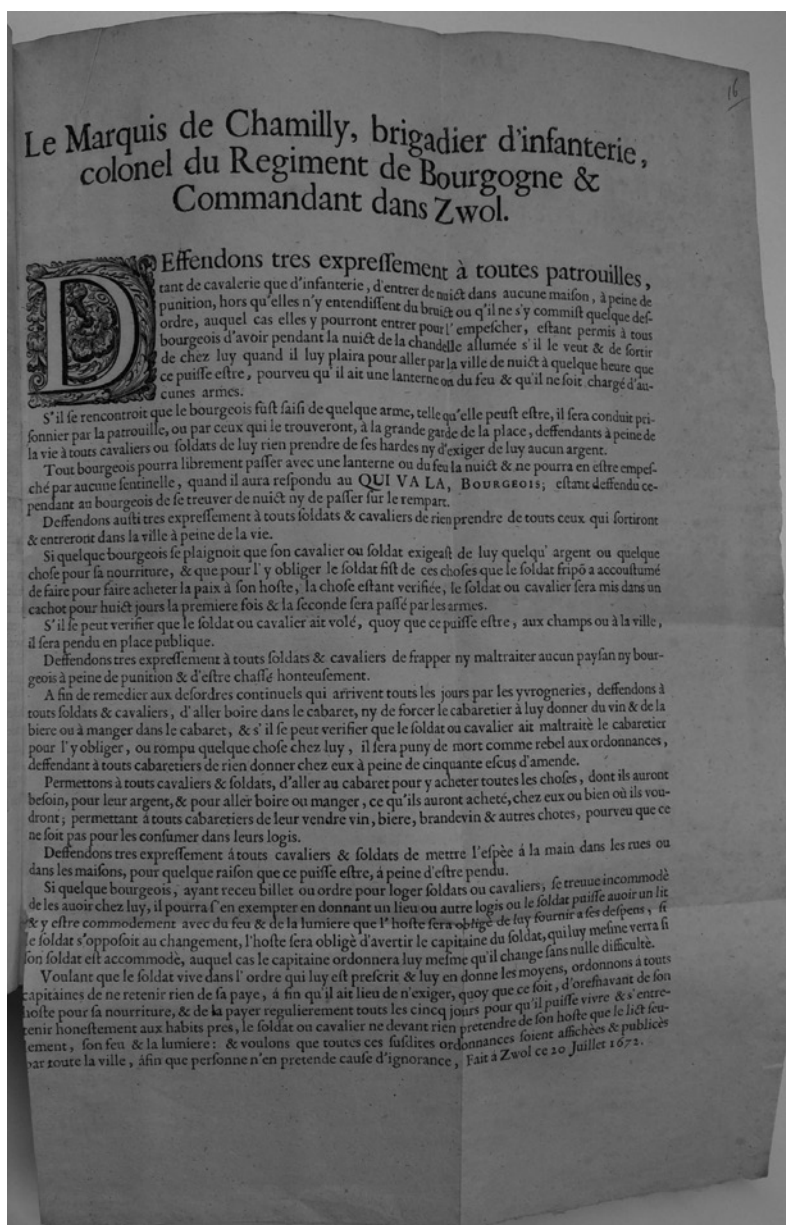


ILLUSTRATION 6.6 *Placard published by the Marquis de Chamilly, French commander of Zwolle (20 July 1672). Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Zwolle*

A placard issued in French by the Marquis de Chamilly, commander of the occupying forces in Zwolle. The printers of Overijssel, Gelderland and Utrecht stayed in business during the occupation by printing placards and other works, often in French, for the occupiers. Most of these works are no longer extant, and can only be inferred from archival sources or contemporary catalogues.

twenty-four editions in six years, and were advertised at least twenty-eight times in the Amsterdam and Haarlem papers. Petrus Valckenier's *Verwerd Europa* [Europe Disturbed], published by the Booms in Amsterdam as a large, three-part history of the war in 1675, went through two editions within the space of several months.⁵⁰

As with all publishing sensations, other printers tried to join in and outdo their rivals with ever more grandiose claims. Jacob van Meurs and Johannes van Someren assured potential customers that their new work, Lambert van den Bos's *Toneel des Oorloghs* [Theatre of War], was 'composed most accurately, truthfully and objectively, from authentic documents and oral reports, adorned with many exceptional engravings, including portraits of the most prominent characters involved'.⁵¹ Some publishers embraced the opportunities of war to reissue old favourites. Adrianus Severinus in Leiden brought to market a reflection on the siege of Leiden of 1573–1574, to which had been added a discussion 'of the most recent unrest and wars of the Netherlands'.⁵² In 1674, Jan ten Hoorn, Jacobus Konijnenberg and Jacobus Bouman all advertised for editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeught, ofte Fransche Tiranny* [New Mirror of Youth, or French Tyranny], a school book dialogue filled with French atrocities, which had been updated from a perennial favourite which recounted similar Spanish atrocities from the Dutch Revolt. None of the three editions survive.⁵³

This dynamic appropriation of the war by publishers and printers in the Dutch Republic hints that the book trade had recovered. Although their colleagues in the eastern provinces had seen their business ravaged by occupation, the publishers of Holland embarked on great new projects. In 1674, Daniel Elzevier produced his magnificent stock catalogue, containing more than 18,000 titles.⁵⁴ This was a landmark publication, defiantly publicising to the world that Amsterdam was back in business as the centre of the international book trade. On 9 October of the same year, a colleague of Elzevier, Johannes van Someren, advertised in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* to all 'learned gentlemen' that

50 OHS 4, 26.01.1675, EHD 21, 22.05.1675.

51 OHD 15, 10.04.1674.

52 OHS 39, 29.09.1674.

53 USTC 1532744, 1532745 and 1532746. The advertisements were placed in ASC 22 and ASC 26 (Ten Hoorn), ADC 35 (Bouman) and ADOC 36, ASC 39 and ADOC 44 (Konijnenberg), all in 1674.

54 *Catalogus Librorum qui in Bibliopolio Danielis Elsevirii venales extant* (Amsterdam: Daniel Elzevier, 1674).

the printing of the *Opera* of [Johannes] Coccejus, which was interrupted during this sad war, has once again been taken up, and is now so far advanced, that the whole work will be ready by 1 January 1675. Until that time anyone will be able to register their names with J. van Someren in Amsterdam to purchase a copy, although almost all copies on large paper have already been sold.⁵⁵

The appearance of this multi-volume folio set, containing the works of one of Leiden's most renowned professors of theology, indicates that the book trade was one of the most resilient sectors of the Dutch economy. Judging by the newspapers, it would remain so for decades to come.

The Consolidation of Advertising

The market for newspapers in the final quarter of the seventeenth century was dominated by the tri-weekly papers of Haarlem and Amsterdam. The *Haegse Post-Tydingen*, the survivor of a dynamic newspaper market in The Hague that flourished in the 1650s and 1660s, disappeared around 1677, after struggling for several years. In 1675, Broer Appelaer, an Amsterdam publisher and scion of the newspaper dynasty of Broer Jansz, moved to Utrecht, where he established the *Utrechtse Courant*.⁵⁶ This bi-weekly newspaper was published until the early eighteenth century, but never acquired the status of its competitors in Amsterdam and Haarlem, and catered predominantly for local readers. A more serious challenge was launched from Leiden, where the tri-weekly *Oprechte Leydse Courant*, first published in 1686, appealed to a similar customer base as the Amsterdam and Haarlem titles.⁵⁷

Although the newspaper trade at the end of the century was not as competitive as during the 1650s or the 1660s, when newspapers were printed in up to six towns, Dutch readers in the 1680s and 1690s could potentially avail themselves of eleven newspaper issues every week. Such a selection would only have been available to the wealthiest class of readers; most regular readers would have subscribed to one or at most two newspapers. The increasing number of issues did offer more opportunity for potential advertisers. If there was one significant change in the Dutch newspaper market at the end of the seventeenth century, then it was the expansion of advertising (see table 6.1). Before

55 OHD 41, 09.10.1674.

56 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, II, pp. 1394–1441.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 1446–1517.

TABLE 6.1 A statistical overview of the survival and loss of Dutch newspapers, and the number of advertisements and announcements placed.

Dutch newspapers in the Dutch Republic, excluding variants and special issues					
	Surviving issues	Advertise-ments	Ratio per issue	Announce-ments	Ratio per issue
1618–1675	5,777	4,339	0.75	1,717	0.3
1676–1700	7,233	18,136	2.6	7,851	1.1
Total	13,010	22,475	1.7	9,568	0.74
	Surviving issues	Minimum lost issues	Minimum total issues	Max % survival	
1618–1675	5,777	8,239	14,016	41%	
1676–1700	7,233	4,862	12,095	60%	
Total	13,010	13,101	26,111	50%	
	Possible total ads	Possible total announce-ments			
1618–1675	10,512	4,205			
1676–1700	31,447	13,305			
Total	41,959	17,510			

1675, the average number of advertisements and announcements found in a newspaper was just one; in the final quarter of the century it was close to four. At least 25,000 advertisements and announcements appeared in the four Dutch newspapers between 1676 and 1700, compared to the 6,000 earlier in the century, published between 1621 and 1675.

This discrepancy is not entirely the consequence of survival rates. Although newspapers have survived better in the final years of the century, with complete runs available of the Amsterdam and Haarlem papers from the 1680s onwards, the maximum survival rate is no higher than 60%, compared to 41% for the period 1618–1675. Instead we can only explain the rise in advertisements and announcements – at least a tripling – through the growing popularity of

TABLE 6.2 The number of advertisements and announcements found in the most prominent Dutch newspapers of the seventeenth century.

Town	Newspaper	Surviving issues, excluding variants and special issues	Advertisements and announcements	Ratio per issue
Amsterdam	<i>Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.</i> (1618–1669)	1,093	1,019	0.93
	<i>Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren</i> (1618–1671)	639	577	0.90
	<i>Europische Courant</i> (1642–1646)	188	8	0.04
	<i>Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante</i> (1639–1671)	250	414	1.7
	<i>Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante</i> (1638–1669)	276	281	1.2
	<i>Amsterdamsche Courant</i> (1670–1700)	2,984	10,217	3.4
Haarlem	<i>Oprechte Haerlemse Courant</i> (1656–1700)	5,212	16,943	3.3
Leiden	<i>Opregte Leydse Courant</i> (1686–1700)	699	1,804	2.5
Rotterdam	<i>Oprechte Rotterdamse Zee- en Posttjdingen</i> (1666–1668)	108	44	0.41

TABLE 6.2 The number of advertisements and announcements found in the most prominent Dutch newspapers of the seventeenth century. (*cont.*)

Town	Newspaper	Surviving issues, excluding variants and special issues	Advertisements and announcements	Ratio per issue
The Hague	<i>Post-tydingen uyt 'sGraven-Hage</i> (1656–1660)	308	19	0.06
	<i>Haegsche Weekelycke Mercurius</i> [II] (1655–1658)	203	57	0.28
	<i>Haegse Post-Tydingen</i> (1663–1677)	269	73	0.27
Utrecht	<i>Mercurius</i> (1658–1667)	134	15	0.11
	<i>Utrechtse Courant</i> (1675–1700)	200	222	1.1
Weesp	<i>Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlant, &c.</i> (1656–1660)	10	7	0.7

the service, and the increased willingness on the part of publishers to place them in their newspapers. One should be mindful that this growth of advertising was not equally spread (table 6.2, above). In the 1640s, the most established Amsterdam newspapers, those of Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz, received the lion's share of advertisements. Their rivals François Lieshout and Joost Broersz, whose newspapers appeared only from the 1630s, included fewer advertisements, but they did adopt advertising far earlier in the lifespan of their newspapers than Van Hilten and Broer Jansz. In contrast, the *Europische Courant* of Mathijs van Meininga (1642–1646) rarely included any advertisements. By the 1660s, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* of Abraham Casteleyn generally included two or three advertisements and announcements per issue, while rival papers in Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht typically often had none.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the four available papers sustained different advertising profiles. The Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers

contained on average 3.5 advertisements and announcements per issue, the *Opregte Leydse Courant* had 2.5 per issue, and the smaller *Utrechtse Courant* had just over one per issue. But even these figures have to be interpreted with caution, because almost all surviving issues of the *Utrechtse Courant* date from the late 1670s, when the Haarlem and Amsterdam papers too contained fewer advertisements. In 1678, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* included 180 advertisements and 82 announcements; in 1683 this had increased to 303 advertisements and 191 announcements, and in 1687 to 490 advertisements and 144 announcements. Within a decade, the paper, which was already by that point well established, had tripled the number of advertisements. Although it is uncertain what prompted the general increase during the 1680s and 1690s, it is safe to say that advertising was on an unstoppable trajectory of growth. This may not have been obvious in the 1660s, but it was certainly so in the 1690s.

This was not the only significant change in the advertising market. In the 1640s, publishers often chose to publicise their new titles in several competing weekly Amsterdam papers. By the 1670s, most advertisers chose one newspaper over another, and preferred to place repeat advertisements in a single paper. In 1674, a year for which we have complete runs for the tri-weekly Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers, there was minimal overlap between the advertisements placed. Only eighteen notices, a tenth of the commercial advertisements that appeared in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in that year, were also placed in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*. Five of these advertisements were inserted by the widow of Joan Blaeu, who was selling off the stock of her late husband; most of the other overlapping advertisements also concerned high profile auctions taking place in Amsterdam.

In 1674, around a quarter of the non-commercial notices placed in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* also appeared in the Haarlem paper. Many of the local authorities, like the magistrates of Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Wormerveer and Purmerend, and the States of Holland, wanted to reach the audiences of both newspapers. During the final decades of the seventeenth century, this overlap would diminish, as the Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers increasingly catered to divergent audiences. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* would retain its role as the favourite national paper of the Dutch Republic, selling well throughout Holland and the other provinces, whereas the *Amsterdamsche Courant* sold the majority of its copies in Amsterdam and its hinterland.⁵⁸ This divergence applied to advertisements and announcements alike, but it is especially pronounced in the profile of books advertised in each paper. In the

58 I.H. van Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse Courant in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 44 (1950), pp. 31–58, here pp. 48–49.

Oprechte Haerlemse Courant, books printed in Amsterdam never make up more than half of all titles publicised; in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, virtually all books advertised were published by Amsterdam printers. Subscribers to the Haarlem paper would be exposed to a rich array of titles, not least those financed by a burgeoning print trade in The Hague and Rotterdam, whereas those in Amsterdam would only learn about books printed locally. This was a significant development, which indicates that the newspaper and book markets had become more fractured than before.

Nevertheless, the character of books advertised in the 1680s and 1690s had changed very little from the first emergence of advertising in the 1620s. Around half of all new titles advertised in the papers were religious books, and almost all books were vernacular works. Publishers still used the newspapers to target the domestic market, in which they tried to sell a range of new bestsellers, generally in small formats. The most common advertisers from the first half of the seventeenth century were no longer in business by the 1680s, but they were replaced by new names: the brothers Jan and Timotheus ten Hoorn in Amsterdam, who specialised in a broad range of vernacular works, advertised 27 titles in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* in 1683, and another 19 titles in the same paper the next year.⁵⁹ At the same time, Dutch publishers who dominated the international book trade continued to stay away from the papers, as they relied on printed catalogues and their extensive contacts abroad to sell their stock.

The newspapers, especially the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, remained the preferred medium for booksellers to communicate with other members of the trade. In an exchange and credit-based trade, booksellers always had to watch out for fraud. One of the more inventive fraudsters who attempted to make a quick profit from the book trade was a young boy, who

is cheating merchants and traders by taking books, prints, papers and stationery from bookshops and selling them on for three times the price, and directs angry customers to hapless booksellers who did not know what prices the boy was charging.⁶⁰

Publishers frequently used the newspapers to warn their colleagues of their intentions to publish a new edition of a popular work, and particularly to alert them that they had obtained a privilege to protect a new book, which they intended to defend. This worked very effectively, and on the whole the Dutch

59 On the Ten Hoorns see most recently Michiel van Groesen, 'The Atlantic World in Paperback: The Amsterdam Publisher Jan ten Hoorn and His Catalogue of Popular Americana', in his *Imagining the Americas in Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

60 *ADOC* 16 [=15], 15.04.1677.

book trade was a closely networked community which regulated itself carefully. In 1687, during a legal conflict between the Rotterdam publisher Isaac Naeranus and his Amsterdam colleague Pieter Arentsz, newspaper advertisements were cited as crucial evidence.⁶¹ Arentsz had published a new edition of Dirck Rafaelsz Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke Rijmen* [Pious Rhymes], a popular devotional work, for which Naeranus held a privilege. Arentsz called to his defence the fact that Naeranus had advertised for one of his new editions in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* on 11 March 1687 without mentioning a privilege and repeated this advertisement two days later, only adding notification of the privilege on 18 March.

The case between Arentsz and Naeranus was settled behind closed doors, but sometimes feuds between publishers spilled into the public eye via the newspapers. On 16 January 1683, the Amsterdam publisher Jan Rieuwertsz advertised in the Haarlem paper for a promising new project, a quarto edition of Abraham Munting's *De ware oeffening der planten* [True cultivation of plants].⁶² This book appeared in April, when Rieuwertsz announced its completion.⁶³ Several days later, another advertisement in the same paper announced that

All gentlemen and enthusiasts are notified that Abraham Munting, professor of botany in Groningen, has recently died, but that there are plans to publish in folio an edition of his *Herbarius*, with 300 illustrations; all are also warned not to buy the recently-published quarto edition of his *De ware oeffening der planten*, which was produced without his permission [by Jan Rieuwertsz] and was not, in contrast to the publisher's claims, enlarged or improved.⁶⁴

Unfazed by this anonymous attack, Rieuwertsz merrily took out another advertisement on 3 August, urging readers to buy his quarto edition and not to pay any attention to the notice placed by his rival. Rieuwertsz would have the last laugh, because it seems that the folio edition of Munting's *Herbarius* did not appear until 1696 – with 250 illustrations, rather than the promised 300.⁶⁵

61 M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. Van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw: biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen* (2 vols., Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914–1916), p. 1133.

62 OHS 3, 16.01.1683.

63 OHD 17, 27.04.1683.

64 OHS 18, 01.05.1683.

65 Abraham Munting, *Naauwkeurige beschryving der aardgewassen* (Leiden/Utrecht: Pieter van der Aa and François Halma, 1696).

Rieuwertsz knew that it was easier to win the advertising battle when one actually had a book to sell.

One noticeable addition to the advertising profile of the newspapers was the appearance of Catholic books. The sale of Catholic devotional literature had always been a feature of the Dutch book trade, as Catholics made up a large minority of the population.⁶⁶ This was a part of the book world that was begrudgingly tolerated by the Dutch Reformed Church, and went largely unsupervised by the secular authorities. In any case, the trade had always been entrusted to a select number of Catholic publishers with strong connections to the Southern Netherlands, and a few irreverent nonconformist Protestants: these were publishers who had little need for the newspapers to sell their works. But by the end of the seventeenth century, as more Dutch publishers engaged in a growing market, we find the first few advertisements for Catholic works. On 21 January 1683, François Halma in Utrecht, a respected publisher who became Utrecht's university printer, advertised for a devotional work by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the court preacher to King Louis XIV.⁶⁷ A year later, Arnoldus van den Enden, also in Utrecht, advertised a new Catholic missal in eight parts.⁶⁸

Undoubtedly the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, who already had their misgivings about the virtues of newspaper reading, would have looked upon these new advertisements for Catholic books as the latest manifestation of irredeemable vice.⁶⁹ Their resolve to oppose this can only have been bolstered by the increasing frequency with which French Huguenot books were advertised in the exact same papers. The expulsion of the Huguenots from France in the 1680s led to a notable growth of French publishing in the Dutch Republic, by French émigrés and native Dutch traders alike.⁷⁰ Rotterdam and The Hague became important centres of the French book trade. Although French books would never come close to outstripping the number of Dutch books advertised in the newspapers, their presence is more pronounced: after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, French books made up approximately 15% of new titles advertised in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*. Before the revocation of 1685, French books made up no more than 3% of new books

66 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 338–344.

67 *EHD* 3, 21.01.1683.

68 *EHD* 12, 23.03.1684.

69 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 60–61.

70 David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile. Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 51–62. See also, more broadly, I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel, 1680–1725* (5 vols., Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960–1978).

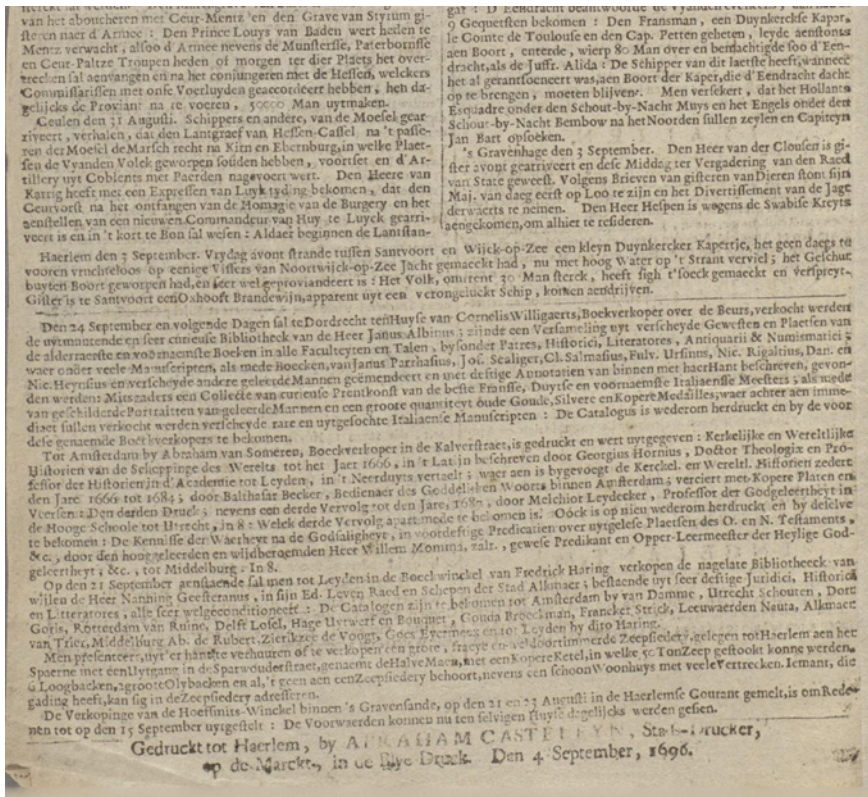


ILLUSTRATION 6.7 *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 36 (Haarlem: Abraham [=Gerard] Casteleyn, 4 September 1696). Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm

A typical issue of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* from the 1690s, with numerous advertisements set across both columns. Advertisements, including those for books, tend to be longer than those found in newspapers of the first half of the seventeenth century. In this issue we find advertisements for a Dordrecht book auction, two new books published by Abraham van Someren in Amsterdam, a Leiden book auction, the sale of a soap refinery in Haarlem, and the sale of a farrier's shop in 's Gravesande, close to The Hague.

announced in Dutch newspapers.⁷¹ This increase in the number of French books understates their growing impact on the Dutch book trade, as many French Huguenot works also appeared in Dutch translation.

French publishers also brought with them to the Dutch Republic a vogue for periodical review journals, which took over some of the functions of newspaper

71 See Chapter 2, above.

advertising for larger and more scholarly works.⁷² The more successful Huguenot publishers frequently placed their new publications in these journals before turning to the newspaper press. And some, like Claude Jordan in Leiden, were happy to use both: on 19 December 1686 Jordan advertised in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* that he had available for sale all the latest instalments of two of the review journals, the *Republique des Lettres* and the *Bibliothèque Universelles & Historiques*, and 'all new French and Latin books'.⁷³ Dutch booksellers would never have thought to place such a general, all-encompassing advertisement in the newspapers, but Jordan was a new man who had to make a name for himself in the Dutch Republic.

New Markets

Newspaper advertisements in the final decades of the seventeenth century provide evidence of several important technical developments taking place in the Dutch book trade. One was the rise of subscription publishing, through which publishers appealed for investors to express their interest in a particular work and make an upfront payment for its publication. This sales strategy was more common in England, and had thus far made little inroads into the Dutch book trade. But by the end of the seventeenth century several publishing consortia adopted subscription sales, and used the newspapers to attract interest. On 15 May 1683, three Utrecht booksellers announced in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* that they were looking for subscribers for the publication of their five-volume folio edition of Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*.⁷⁴ They were evidently successful, because on 10 August they placed another advertisement to announce that printing had started, and that the proofs of the title-page could be found with various booksellers around the country.⁷⁵ The work appeared in the first months of 1684, when another subscription sale was announced, this time for a new edition of Pieter Bor's monumental history of the Dutch Revolt.⁷⁶

The inclusion of prices in advertisements for new books was another gradual development. For most of the seventeenth century, it was an unspoken rule amongst booksellers that the retail prices of books were not publicly

72 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, p. 350.

73 *ADOC* 51, 19.12.1686.

74 *OHS* 20, 15.05.1683.

75 Matthew Poole, *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae interpretum et commentatorum* (5 vols., Utrecht: Ribbius, Van de Water and Halma, 1684–1686).

76 *OHD* 2, 11.01.1684.

announced in printed catalogues or newspapers.⁷⁷ There were a few booksellers, like Hendrick Laurensz, who experimented with priced catalogues, but they were very much the exception.⁷⁸ Although the price of a book was largely determined by the number of sheets of paper required to produce it, booksellers preferred to keep prices flexible. A colleague in the book trade would be charged a lower price than might be asked of a wealthy collector; and given that newspaper advertisements appealed to both sorts of customers, it was generally unwise to fix a price by announcing it openly. The first mention of cost in a book advertisement appears only in 1646, when a Harderwijk publisher announced a new edition of Gellius de Bouma's bestselling catechism, available 'for a reasonable price'.⁷⁹ The next time that price was mentioned came fifteen years later, in 1661, when a Gouda bookseller advertised the publication of

Gregor Horst, *Opera omnia*, newly revised and improved, most suitable to bind in a quarto *Sammelband*, and all booksellers can buy copies against books, or for cash, for a most reasonable price.⁸⁰

This was an especially odd advertisement, given that it was widely established practice that the book trade functioned both by book exchange and cash purchases.

The first time a book was advertised with a fixed price was in 1666, when Dirck van Ackersdijck and Salomon Wagenaer announced for sale a Latin devotional work by Andreas Essenius, in quarto, for twelve stuivers a copy.⁸¹ By the 1680s, this practice became more common, and we find more publishers advertising the price of new works. Pieter Mortier announced for sale copies of Calvin's *Institutiones, epistolae et vita*, in folio, for thee gulden, unbound; while Jacobus Scheltus, the printer of the States in The Hague, was selling copies of the *Derde Deel van 't Groot Placcaet Boeck* [Third part of the Large Book of

77 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 19–21.

78 Bert van Selm, 'Some Amsterdam stock catalogues with printed prices from the first half of the seventeenth century', *Quaerendo*, 10 (1980), pp. 3–46. See also his, *Een menighte tref-felijke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987).

79 ODC 28, 10.07.1646.

80 OHD 21, 24.05.1661.

81 OHD 37, 14.09.1666. The book was Andreas Essenius, *Triumphus Crucis sive de satisfactione Christi* (Utrecht/Leiden: Dirck van Ackersdijck and Salomon Wagenaer, 1666), USTC 1545322. No surviving copy has been identified, but multiple references to this edition can be found in auction catalogues.

Placards], a large folio compendium of placards and ordinances, for five ducats on large paper, and four ducats on regular paper, again unbound.⁸² Scheltus owned a privilege for the publication and sale of these substantial legal reference works, so perhaps it was less risky advertising his prices in this manner. Mortier, however, would be drawn into a price war with a rival publisher, Estienne Roger, during the early eighteenth century. Both men, specialist music publishers, used newspaper advertisements to undercut each other's prices.⁸³ As a direct result, the price of new music books printed in Amsterdam dropped by almost 50% between 1708 and 1711. Although this was an extreme example of the consequences of advertising prices, it was a cautionary tale for many other publishers, who were rightly slower in taking up this practice.

By the end of the seventeenth century, large folio projects were increasingly published not by individual publishers, but by consortia or companies. On 11 November 1683, a consortium of six Amsterdam publishers advertised for a new edition of a popular Mennonite martyrology, which included over one hundred engravings. The newspaper advertisement also specified that interested buyers could subscribe to the book with another eighteen named booksellers throughout the Dutch Republic, and 'numerous others'.⁸⁴ Distributors of new books were rarely mentioned in early newspaper advertisements. Amsterdam booksellers, acting as the main distributors for books published in smaller towns outside Holland, might be named occasionally. The Dutch book trade was so integrated that it was not necessary to refer to specific distributors, but this practice nevertheless became more common towards the end of the seventeenth century. Whether it represents a decisive shift in the organisation of the trade seems unlikely, but it is noteworthy that the lists of booksellers distributing auction catalogues also became longer. The auction of the library of Arnold van Citters, sold in Leiden on 5 May 1699, was advertised three times in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, in which the catalogue was stated to be available with twenty-one booksellers in twenty towns, including London and Hamburg.⁸⁵ An Amsterdam auction which took place a month later, the sale of the library of Bartholomaeus Cromhout, was advertised five times in the same paper, and the catalogue was available in thirty-five towns,

82 *EHD* 19, 09.05.1686. *OHS* 23, 05.06.1683. Five gold ducats were the equivalent of 25 gulden; if these were silver ducats then this would have been 12.5 gulden.

83 Rudolf Rasch, 'De muziekkoorlog tussen Estienne Roger en Pieter Mortier (1708–1711)', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 89–96.

84 *EHD* 45, 11.11.1683.

85 *Excellentissima in quovis studiorum genere bibliotheca Quam Collegit Vir Illustrissimus Arnoldus A Citters* ([Leiden]: Johannes du Vivié and Isaac Severinus, [1699]).

including several in the Southern Netherlands and a number in Germany.⁸⁶ Another Leiden auction later in the year was advertised six times, with the catalogue available in thirty-one towns, including Paris.⁸⁷ Remarkably, the advertisement for the auction of the collection of the famous Leiden Orientalist scholar Jacobus Golius explicitly mentioned that the catalogue had been printed in a very small format so that it could be sent abroad by post.⁸⁸

The presence of these international distributors is a good indicator of the vibrancy of the Dutch auction market. Indeed, this is a sector of the book trade which continued to grow unrestrained. During the final quarter of the seventeenth century, at least 2,000 book auctions were held in the Dutch Republic, an average of 78 per year. Over 1,200 of these were advertised in the newspapers, mostly in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*. Many of the rest we know only from the records of authorisations granted for these auctions by the magistrates in Leiden and The Hague. All of these would have had a printed catalogue, though in many cases a surviving copy can no longer be traced.

The naming of international distributors of catalogues for some high-profile auctions also confirm that the Dutch papers continued to circulate widely

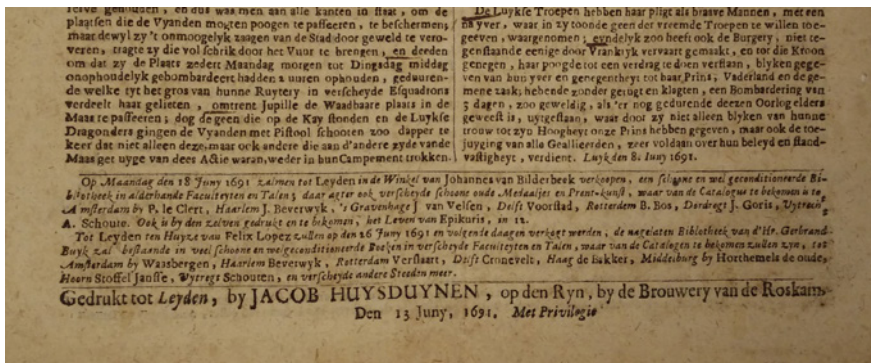


ILLUSTRATION 6.8 *Oprechte Leydse Woensdagse Courant* (Leiden: Jacob van Huysduynen, 13 June 1691). Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem

Two advertisements for book auctions in the *Oprechte Leydse Courant*: both advertisements feature lengthy lists of catalogue distributors. The second advertisement concludes with the common refrain that the catalogue is also available 'in various other cities'.

86 *Praestantissima, & maximè curiosa bibliotheca* (Amsterdam: Abraham van Someren, 1699).

87 *Copiosissima Ac Lectissima Bibliotheca Continens Libros in quovis studiorum genere praestantissimos ac rarò occurrentes; optimèque compactos* ([Leiden: Johannes du Vivie and Isaac Severinus, 1699]).

88 Lankhorst, 'Dutch book auctions', p. 68.

abroad. Archival records from the early eighteenth century demonstrate that the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* had a modest number of subscribers in most Southern Netherlandish towns, and also in London and some German cities.⁸⁹ Advertisements placed by foreign customers began to appear in the Haarlem paper in greater frequency by the end of the seventeenth century. The sale of the bookshop stock of François Foppens in Brussels was advertised twice in July 1685, and in September of the same year the Haarlem paper carried an advertisement from a bookseller, art dealer and engraver based in Rome.⁹⁰ Notifications concerning crime abroad, especially in Germany, France and England, appear more prominently as well. Some of these announcements concerned audacious robberies, like the 18,000 gold Louis stolen from a bank in Paris in 1677.⁹¹ Other crimes were more sensational: on 22 March 1685 the readers of the Haarlem newspaper were informed that Henry Alexander, an employee of the Royal African Company of England, had disappeared with a company ship filled with elephant tusks, timber and wax, and sold off the goods in Boston, Norway, Scotland, Hamburg and Amsterdam.⁹² A reward of 100 ducats was offered for his capture.

The dominant role of the book trade in newspaper advertising had been steadily eroded over the course of the seventeenth century. Around 1650, book advertisements had made up over 90% of all notices placed in the newspapers; by the 1670s, this had decreased to around 50%, if one includes book auctions. In the 1680s and 1690s, this proportion decreased further to 25–40%, depending on the newspaper. At the same time, as we have seen, the total number of advertisements and announcements placed in the newspaper expanded significantly, so there was no absolute decline in the number of book advertisements. Instead, the final decades of the seventeenth century were characterised by a steadily growing number of advertisements for other goods and services, and notices relating to lost property, crime and other matters of importance to public bodies or private citizens.

Overall, there is little radical development in the content of these advertisements and announcements: they remain remarkably similar to those that we have discussed in chapters four and five. The most striking change is the increase in their number. In the 1680s and 1690s, we find more notifications repeated in successive issues of the same paper. If the authorities of the Dutch Republic had deemed it sufficient to place a notification once or twice in the

89 Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, Archief Enschedé, HBA 3523.

90 EHD 29, 19.07.1685. OHS 29, 21.07.1685. EHD 38, 20.09.1685.

91 ASC 31, 31.07.1677.

92 EHD 12, 22.03.1685.

newspapers in the 1660s and 1670s, this was no longer the case two decades later, as they increasingly placed the same announcement four or five times. One of the most frequently repeated announcements from this period was one by the Council of State, which gave notice that the fortifications of Grave, one of the crucial fortress towns of the Dutch Republic, had been sabotaged by the local commanders, and that all officials in charge of the works, including the local burgomaster and the chief engineer, had fled. This announcement was placed six times in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* in the autumn of 1683, and repeated multiple times in January 1684.⁹³ Perhaps it was the fear of a repetition of the events of 1672 that inspired such persistent advertising, but the example is symptomatic of a wider development. As the newspapers increased their print runs and reached wider audiences, it seems that the authorities began to pay closer attention to their potential use as vehicles of publicity.⁹⁴

Advertisements for commercial goods and services also increased in quantity, and they also changed little in character. Advertisements for entertainment appear more frequently, few as exotic as Jan vander Tas's Rotterdam pleasure yacht, where gentlemen and ladies could smoke, eat, drink and make merry for two ducats a day.⁹⁵ In 1678, an anonymous advertiser notified all 'potentates, gentlemen and connoisseurs' that a new cabinet of curiosities had opened in The Hague.⁹⁶ Another anonymous advertiser tried to whet the appetites of readers by announcing that he would be 'roasting an entire Danish ox, as well as numerous hares, rabbits, partridges, turkeys, fowls, pigeons, and so forth' at the upcoming Haarlem horse market, where all these delights could be purchased 'for a civil price'.⁹⁷

These examples should not distract us from the fact that, as before, commercial advertisements continued to be dominated by the wholesale trade, and especially by auctions, rather than retail transactions. There are more luxury possessions advertised than earlier in the seventeenth century, like 'an ebony cabinet, adorned with mother-of-pearl', but many products continue to be of a relatively unglamorous nature, like the sale of Irish butter and 'fat Irish meat' announced by two Rotterdam brokers.⁹⁸ Govert van den Bern, an expert Amsterdam broker, shows up repeatedly in the newspapers, often selling

93 *EHD* 38, 23.09.1683, *OHS* 39, 25.09.1683, *OHD* 39, 28.09.1683, *EHD* 39, 30.09.1683, *OHS* 40, 02.10.1683 and *OHD* 40, 05.10.1683.

94 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers* 1, pp. 85–87.

95 *EHD* 47, 25.11.1677.

96 *OHD* 13, 29.03.1678.

97 *EHD* 31, 05.08.1677.

98 *OHS* 12, 20.03.1683. *EHD* 7, 17.02.1678.

marble tiles, furniture, or other household items.⁹⁹ More extraordinarily, rival brokers were selling '500 Swedish cannon' in Amsterdam in March 1685, a sale which was much anticipated, and advertised on numerous occasions.¹⁰⁰

It is clearly brokers, rather than retail traders, who accounted for the rapid increase in commercial advertisements in the 1680s and 1690s. Brokers also played an important role in the sale of country estates, a developing branch of newspaper business that hints at the wealth of some newspaper readers.¹⁰¹ The regents of the Holland towns all had need for a summer estate, and they could turn to the newspapers to find information on properties as they came onto the market. Undoubtedly, the unnamed individual who lost his parrot in The Hague will have belonged to the class of readers who might have been



ILLUSTRATION 6.9 Pieter van Anraedt (ascribed to), *De Amsterdamse koopman Jeremias van Collen (1619–1707), zijn vrouw en hun twaalf kinderen (1655–1657)*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-2416

The Amsterdam merchant Jeremias van Collen poses here with his substantial family, with his magnificent estate looming behind them. Advertisements for the sale of such grand rural dwellings recur frequently in the Dutch newspapers towards the end of the seventeenth century.

99 OHS 9, 27.02.1683.

100 OHD 51, 19.12.1684. OHD 3, 16.01.1685. EHD 3, 18.01.1685.

101 See for example two advertisements for the sale of country estates around Heusden, in EHD 32, 12.08.1683.

interested in acquiring a new country house.¹⁰² Newspaper readers with money to spend would also have been encouraged to participate in the glut of lotteries which gripped the Dutch Republic in the 1690s, with prizes running into thousands of gulden.¹⁰³

There had been a long hiatus of lotteries in the Dutch Republic since the 1610s, but they returned gradually in the 1670s, generally marketed as charitable events to improve a civic institution like the local orphanage. The success of these lotteries required repeated advertising, as their viability depended on widespread publicity.¹⁰⁴ The newspapers provided a platform to publicise every stage of the process: the announcement of the opening of sales, reminders to customers to buy their lots, instructions to sellers to hand in the proceeds of the sales and the list of subscribers, and announcements for the days of the lottery itself. Postponements, changes in the price of tickets or the prizes offered all called for further advertising as well. The organisation of large municipal lotteries could take years, and demanded immense efforts on the parts of their directors. Much smaller lotteries, like a jewellery lottery in The Hague with lots of 3 gulden a piece, offered a better chance on the rapid return on the sums invested.¹⁰⁵

The newspapers of the 1680s and 1690s offered plenty for gamblers, including those who sought to provide for their future through the new life insurance schemes. One scheme, advertised three times in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in 1686, encouraged readers to insure their lives, and those of their family, friends and neighbours – potentially a group of up to 50 people – against a sum of 10,000 gulden.¹⁰⁶ Compared to investments in state bonds or the India Companies, such schemes had a dubious reputation, and it may not have been a coincidence that these sorts of advertisements appeared more regularly at the same time as newspapers carried an increased number of appeals for claimants to the estates of deceased individuals to come forward.¹⁰⁷ Most likely the best way for concerned parents to invest in the future of their children was through securing them a fine education. Schoolmasters had been the first

102 OHS 13, 29.03.1687.

103 Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede, 1672–1713: publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 227–262. Anneke Huisman and Johan Koppenol, *Daer compt de lotery met trommels en trompetten! Loterijen in de Nederlanden tot 1726* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991).

104 Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 374–378.

105 EHD 10, 11.03.1683. EHD 12, 25.03.1683.

106 ADOC 28, 11.07.1686, ADOC 29, 18.07.1686 and ADOC 32, 08.08.1686.

107 OHD 44, 02.11.1683. EHD 45, 11.11.1683.

350 gulden for tuition and accommodation.¹⁰⁸ For that price he promised parents to have their children ready for university within two years of enrolment.

By the end of the seventeenth century, medical advertisements also appeared with greater frequency. The first doctors to advertise in the newspapers, like Johannes van Duren, marketed their skills as healers, but now medical remedies were also advertised. The chemist Laurens Ponsteen advertised his own 'oil vitriol', for 18 stuivers the pound, whereas 'English medical pills' could also be found in the 'Royal Coffeehouse' in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁹ The doctors that advertised their services became ever more inventive, and preyed on the universal terror of surgery among potential customers. Eldert Rog advertised on 8 May 1685 in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* his services 'to heal all red and pockmarked faces, without bloodletting or prescribing any medicines'.¹¹⁰ He was outdone on 1 November of the same year, by a French doctor, a 'former surgeon of the King of France', who announced that he 'now resides in Rotterdam, where he advises all ladies that he is able to treat breast cancer without any invasive medicines or operations'. Several months later the same surgeon advertised that he had moved to Rijswijk, outside The Hague, because it had much cleaner air than Rotterdam.¹¹¹

We should not overestimate the impact of these medical notices. When Dick Kranen made a survey of all medical advertisements placed in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* between 1656 and 1732, he was able to identify 333 notices.¹¹² The Haarlem newspaper contained at least 40,000 advertisements during that same period, if not more, which makes it clear that doctors, surgeons and medical remedies played a relatively insignificant role in its advertising profile, certainly when compared to London newspapers of the seventeenth century.¹¹³

Medical advertisements seem to have played a more prominent role in French-language newspapers published in the Dutch Republic around the end of the seventeenth century. The history of French newspapers in the Republic was long and distinguished, since the first title, the *Courant d'Italie et d'Almagne*, had been published in Amsterdam as early as 1620. But the French papers had always enjoyed a different advertising profile from that of their Dutch counterparts. Until the 1660s, all French newspapers which appeared in the Dutch

108 OHS 29, 17.07.1683. EHD 34, 24.08.1684.

109 EHD 1, 04.01.1685. OHD 21, 21.05.1686.

110 OHD 19, 08.05.1685.

111 EHD 44, 01.11.1685. OHS 17, 27.04.1686.

112 Dick Kranen, *Advertenties van kwakzalvers en meesters in de Oprechte Haerlemse Courant uit de periode 1656–1733* (Ede: Kranen, 2008).

113 McElligott, 'Advertising and Selling in Cromwellian newsbooks', p. 475.

Republic were direct and faithful translations of Dutch issues, with the exceptions of the advertisements. These were generally left out, because, as we have seen, they advertised Dutch books and Dutch products, whilst most copies of the French newspapers were destined for an audience abroad. So whilst Broer Jansz's *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* contained at least one advertisement in each issue during the 1640s, his *Nouvelles de divers Quartiers* rarely contained any.¹¹⁴

In the 1660s and 1670s, when publishers like Cornelis Jansz Swol established French newspapers independently from a Dutch venture, demand from advertisers was also slow to increase. Most advertisements in Swol's *Gazette d'Amsterdam* were placed by the publisher himself. It was only with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 that the French newspaper trade in the Republic underwent a radical change. Multiple papers appeared in Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague and Rotterdam, mostly edited and published by Huguenot immigrants. The advertisements placed in the newspapers make clear that their customers were spread between the Dutch Republic and France. The books advertised in the Huguenot papers are almost all French books, published in Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam or Paris. The character of these books reflects a fascination not only with religious controversy, but especially with drama, history and literature. On 22 August 1695 the Parisian bookseller Thomas Guillain advertised *Les effets de la jalousie ou la Contesse de Chasteaubriant*, available for 30 sols in calf binding, at the same time as *Un nouveau recueil des plus beaux secrets de medicine*, for 2 livres and 5 sols, also bound.¹¹⁵ If book advertisements were to be taken as the only available guide to cultural tastes, then Dutch readers were pious, self-improving citizens, while French readers swooned over court dramas while lying sick in bed.

Doctors advertising miracle cures are invariably French, some, like Sieur Bernier and Sieur Gervais, based in Paris.¹¹⁶ Other advertisers, like the Sieur du Tems, a dancing master in Amsterdam, were also of French stock. Although there will have been some newspaper subscribers, certainly including many diplomats and officers of state, who bought both French and Dutch newspapers, the advertisements placed in the Huguenot papers indicates that the intended audience was in large parts non-overlapping. The authorities of the Dutch Republic did not place notices in the French newspapers, except during

114 Der Weduwen, 'Booksellers, newspaper advertisements and a national market for print', pp. 426–428.

115 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* 67, 22.08.1695. The approximate equivalence of a French livre was a Dutch gulden. There were 20 sols in the livre.

116 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* 11, 07.02.1695. *Gazette d'Amsterdam* 18, 03.03.1695.

the great lottery year of 1695, when at least twenty-six municipal lotteries took place in the Republic.¹¹⁷ In such a crowded market it paid to try and generate as much publicity as possible.

Similar to the Dutch newspaper market, there were significant differences between the advertising profiles of the Huguenot papers. During the 1690s, over half of the issues of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* featured at least one advertisement; the *Gazette de Rotterdam* had one advertisement in every third issue, whereas the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* of Leiden barely had any. Only around 5% of the Leiden gazettes featured an advertisement. The Leiden advertisements were generally for local book auctions, or those held in The Hague, whereas the *Gazette de Rotterdam* featured many advertisements from Huguenot booksellers in the Dutch Republic, numerous announcements for lotteries, and also notices from French doctors, parfumeurs and apothecaries, a number of them located in France. The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* had a similar profile to its Rotterdam rival, but tended to include more advertisements from France, as well as a larger number of personal notices concerning crime and loss of goods.

All the Huguenot newspapers included many more repeat advertisements than their Dutch counterparts: theirs was in all aspects a more limited market, but one with advertisers willing to pay for four or five advertisements in the space of one or two months. In a distinct departure from the Dutch model of advertising, the Huguenot publishers also began to place advertisements at the end of news reports, in the main body of the newspaper. This was especially common with advertisements for goods or services in Paris or London.¹¹⁸ With this, we see the first instances of what would later develop into sponsored content. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, newspaper advertising was developing in unexpected ways, towards an ever-brighter future.

¹¹⁷ Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 261–262.

¹¹⁸ For some examples, see *Nouvelles solides et choisies*, 26.02.1688, 01.04.1688, 10.06.1688 and 24.06.1688.

The Dutch Republic and the Future of Advertising, 1: Home Thoughts

The absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. This, if not the first rule of historical scholarship, is still one of the most important, particularly for those of us who study periods of history where the archival base, though abundant, is still quite fragmentary. This, as we have repeatedly emphasised, is particularly true of the first century of the newspapers. Titles that we know were published for a considerable span of years may be known from only a handful of copies; we have fewer than ten surviving issues for at least a dozen newspapers published in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century.¹ For other parts of Europe, Germany, provincial England, Italy and Spain, the situation is often even more dismal. We should be grateful that close to half of all Dutch newspaper issues have survived, largely because the Amsterdam papers and the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* were valued by foreign powers and long runs have been preserved in archives abroad.

Questions of survival and loss are not, of course, confined to the newspapers. Whole genres of print, important in their day, now scarcely survive. What this means for our interpretation of the early modern book world is a question only just beginning to be addressed.² But here the study of newspapers, and their advertisements, does not suffer from the most crippling deficiencies we face in reconstructing the whole corpus of printed books. For while rates of loss in the book population clearly fell disproportionately on certain classes of literature, there is no reason to believe that the presence or absence of advertisements impacted on the chances of survival of individual newspaper issues. That is, it is reasonable to regard the surviving population of newspaper notices as reasonably representative of the whole. The lost issues are not particularly likely to contain a disproportionately large or small number of different types of advertisements, compared to the surviving copies from which we have drawn the examples in this book. The larger the sample, the more reliable such conclusions are likely to be.

¹ Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, 1, pp. 175–176.

² Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Thus the contrast between the large number of advertisements for book auctions (around seven hundred before 1676) and the small number of auctions of art and other forms of collecting (fewer than fifty), is likely to be real, rather than a statistical aberration. We can make far less of the fact that Rembrandt is never mentioned among the most distinguished artists whose works are offered for sale, because no artist is mentioned more than four times (Van Dyck has this distinction).³ Nevertheless, it is an interesting general phenomenon that connoisseurs favoured Italian masters and the great names of the Catholic south, rather than the artists we most admire in the Golden Age. Nor should we make too much of the fact that the bankruptcy sale of Rembrandt's remaining goods in 1656 does not feature in the advertisements. This is not only because losses of the newspaper issues are particularly acute in the 1650s (a decade of relative peace when foreign powers had less incentive to archive Dutch papers), but because this particular jurisdiction, the Trustees of the Bankruptcy court, do not seem to have used the papers to advertise their sales at all.

In the remaining part of this chapter, and the next, we will place our survey of Dutch advertisements in the wider context of the further development of advertising. In what ways do the Dutch anticipate the uses to which later generations of advertisers and newspaper readers would put the developing news market? How far do the key themes established in this book stand the test of time?

A variable cocktail of local custom, economic and social developments, and the state of the local economic infrastructure would determine the answers to these questions. The development of printing technology would also play a role. The progressive introduction of the steam press from the nineteenth century would allow an exponential growth in both the size and circulation of newspapers, and with it, the capacity to carry an ever larger number of advertisements.⁴ Even before this, however, the advertising market had evolved significantly, introducing features we do not see in the first generation of Dutch newspapers.

What then, are the leading features of the Dutch market that we have explored in this book? In raw statistical terms, we have excavated a total of 4,339 advertisements and 1,717 announcements placed by public bodies or

3 See the indices in Arthur der Weduwen and Andrew Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information. Advertisements and Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1675* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

4 Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge. William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).

private citizens between 1620 and 1675. Of the advertisements, the vast proportion relate to the book trade: around 2,740 book advertisements and 700 notifications of book auctions, as against 900 advertisements for other commercial goods and services. The book advertisements advertise some 3,500 titles. This book market was for the most part largely traditional, reflecting the overwhelming demand for religious literature, a characteristic of the early book market throughout Europe. The distinctiveness of the Dutch market can be seen in the huge variety of editions of the Bible, New Testament and psalms, promoted in no fewer than 270 advertisements, each often advertising separate editions. A new feature of the seventeenth-century book world, however, or at least that portion of it advertised in the newspapers, is the involvement of so many contemporary and living authors. All told something like 1,500 different authors are identified in the newspaper advertisements, many writing devotional texts or catechisms. The advertisements identify over a hundred authors through the churches they served, and many of the most successful authors were professors at one of the Republic's five universities. This buoyant trade engaged the energies of at least 705 different publishers and booksellers; at least 250 booksellers around the Republic were involved in the distribution of the catalogues of forthcoming auctions.⁵

Turning away from the books, to the public and commercial announcements, we see a strikingly large number of advertisements for the Republic's network of markets, and at least 340 instances of the offer of a reward for the return of stolen goods, or help in tracking down a missing dog or fugitive servant. These too have their own fascination, not least for what they tell us of the wealth, life and social environment of this busy, sophisticated society.

Shadow Army

The advertisements in the Dutch newspapers tell us much about the book world of the Dutch Republic, as we have explained in the earlier chapters of this book. They hint, tantalisingly at much, much more. In particular, they open, fleetingly and in a very incomplete manner, a window onto the most elusive netherworld of the printing industry, printed notices, labels and handbills. Sometimes, though very rarely, the advertisements studied for this volume explicitly state that the details will also be found on a printed handbill, placard or poster. To determine what this means for the wider universe of

5 See the indices in Der Weduwen and Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information*.

advertisements that do not mention an accompanying poster requires careful thought.

This is an area of the print world in which we will never obtain certainty. This is not like traditional material bibliography where we have the reassuringly present physical book to be described and catalogued. We have already put a toe into these dangerous waters with our identification of books advertised that cannot be matched to a surviving copy – lost books. Now we have to see how these techniques can be extended to the most elusive of all classes of print, printed ephemera. We will never determine with absolute assurance whether the advertisements for auctions, services, sales and fugitive servants in the newspapers were the only paid publicity, or part of a wider media campaign. But we can certainly establish some plausible cases for the existence of now lost printed handbills, and the degree of likelihood varying with different types of advertisement.

Let us start with the forty advertisements that specifically mention handbills, placards or posters. Of the nine advertisements that mention handbills (*biljetten*), one relates to a book sale, two to sales of art and other collectibles, and three to postal schedules.⁶ One announces a market, one the sale of land and the last the sale of an oil mill.⁷ Of the sixteen that refer to a poster, three relate to the sale of a house or estate, one to the auction of gardens and one to the sale of trees. Three more deal with art sales and one to a book industry auction. Two are related to the construction industry, the sale of equipment or the auction of a contract; one more announces the sale of a cloth refinery. There is one further poster announcing a postal schedule, and one routine States General ordinance for which publishing of a broadsheet version was a matter of course. The fifteen notices that mention placards are most issued by official bodies, four by the States General, two by the Admiralty (including one for the auction of prize goods), one by the West India Company and one each from the States of Zeeland and Overijssel. Two municipalities mention posters when advertising markets. But there are also a number of private sales that mention an accompanying placard: one for a shop selling rarities from the East Indies, one for an auction of books and art, and one for a second cloth refinery:

The widow of Berent Reyniersz in Zwolle means to sell her house and cloth refinery, together with three other properties under one roof. The

⁶ TVQ 48, 01.12.1663 (book sale), OHS 11, 13.03.1666 (art), OHD 27, 07.07.1665, OHS 31, 01.08.1665, OHS 39, 25.09.1666 (art).

⁷ OHD 12, 24.03.1665, TVQ 34, 26.08.1662, ODC 23, 07.06.1667.

refinery is currently used by Christiaen Sajen, and the licence of the refinery expires in Easter 1661. The conditions of the properties are further detailed in placards pasted up in various cities.⁸

The advertisement for the art collection offers a rich array of 'paintings, prints, drawings and books, including pieces by the most celebrated Italian, French, German and Dutch masters, as can be seen according to the placard and the catalogue'.⁹

The critical question is how far we take these examples, which allude specifically to printed posters or fliers, as indicative of the existence of similar additional forms of advertising accompanying other transactions advertised in the newspapers. For proclamations of the States General and most other jurisdictions, the existence of a printed poster can generally be assumed, even if surviving examples can be traced only for a proportion of them (and more for the States General than some of the municipal authorities). In the case of cities advertising markets, the use of printed posters to spread the word seems more likely than not. We have seen how much effort the magistrates of Zutphen put into the advertisement of their new market, a campaign that involved sending messengers with stacks of the printed poster to be affixed in towns and villages all over the Republic.¹⁰ In a competitive market, it is hard to imagine other cities not making an effort to see that their market was also advertised on the walls and municipal notice boards of other cities. The newspaper notifications for other classes of commercial advertising, the sale of books, art and houses, might also be accompanied by printed fliers or other leaflets. And what of the classes of commercial advertising not represented in this admittedly small sample, like schoolmasters offering their services, or the hunt for absconding servants or escaped felons?

Here, of course, a larger sample would have been helpful; continuing the search beyond 1675 might well turn up instances of the publication of printed handbills for these other classes of advertisement. But even with the advertisements we have, that do not specifically allude to a printed handbill or poster, we can find further clues embedded in the advertisement texts. In addressing whether these newspaper advertisements would have involved other forms of printed notices, it is helpful to be guided by two main considerations: the complexity of the information offered in the advertisements, and whether the target audience for a particular form of announcement or sale extended beyond

⁸ OHS 30, 24.07.1660.

⁹ OHD 13, 29.03.1667.

¹⁰ Above, Chapter 1.



ILLUSTRATION 7.1 Cornelis Dusart, *Boerenkermis* (1680–1704). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: SK-A-99

A placard is posted up on the side of this house: judging by the faint image at the top of the placard, this is likely to be a poster for a cattle market. Public buildings and houses in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic would have been covered with print, a phenomenon which is now almost entirely lost to us. We can reconstruct this ephemeral sector of the print trade thanks to paintings like this, a few occasional surviving examples, archival registers and also newspaper advertisements.

those who would have been subscribers or readers of the newspapers. In such case it is very likely that a placard or poster would have been needed to spread the word.

Let us address this second consideration first. One can easily see why schoolmasters advertised in the newspapers. Newspaper readers came from exactly the sort of prosperous families where parents and guardians might have been contemplating where best to send their offspring to school. Resort to other forms of publicity, such as printed notices affixed on street corners, might have been thought demeaning for a professional man offering his services – the same went for physicians or lawyers. In the case of book auctions, printed catalogues were the principal form of publicity, working alongside the newspaper advertisements that announced the date of the sale and pointed potential bidders to the bookshops where the catalogue could be obtained. Sometimes, the title-page of the catalogue was also printed in a larger, separate print run, so that it could be used as a small poster or handbill.¹¹ Schooling and book auctions, it seems, were the two cases where the readership of the newspapers and the client base for the services on offer were most perfectly aligned.

On the other hand, it seems clear that when a town changed the date of a market, a newspaper advertisement would scarcely have been sufficient to reach those who needed to know this information. On 14 February 1668, the magistrates of Haarlem announced that to avoid a damaging clash of dates with the market at Culemborg, they were moving their market back a week. It would now take place on Monday 12 March, rather than Monday 5 March.¹² The people who most needed to know this information were those who in a couple of weeks' time would be trundling their goods or driving herds of oxen along the roads to Haarlem. Not all of these would have been habitual readers of the newspapers. They needed this information to be exhibited in familiar places in their own towns and villages, where stallholders, sellers of produce and entertainers could read them before they set off. The last thing cities wanted was bad tempered tradesmen, afraid they would now not be able to sell their goods, milling around the gates, jostling other visitors, or bribing the guards to let them through so that they could sell their goods illegally. Magistrates prescribed heavy fines for those who sold their goods before the market began, but in this case the visiting traders could justifiably feel aggrieved if the regents had not made every effort to publicise the change widely. So it seems almost inevitable that when a town announced that its market was postponed

11 Van Selm, 'The introduction of the printed book auction catalogue', pp. 117–118.

12 *OHD* 7, 14.02.1668.

Van al wat wenslijk is, is 's *Menschen* hoogste goet, Dat hy mach sijn gesont van *Lighaem* en *Gemoet*.

W Oord by desen bekennt gemaect, dat J. M. P. Operateur, Scut, en Breuck-snijder, Oogh-meester, Chymicus, en Pracijsen in de Medicijnen; na dat hy nu den tyt van achten jaren zoo in Italiÿ, Vrandrijck, Spangien, Engelandt, Duytlandt, en meest in al de voornaemste Steden van Europa zijne Konst ge-exerceert heeft ten dienste van veel Gebrekelelycke Menschen, voornamelyck in die Gebreken welke meest voor Oogenefeelyck worden gehouden, waar in hy tot zyn Loft, en profijt van sijnen Even-Naeften, ontbare Proeven gedaen heeft, als deide bovenstaende Al-beelding of Figur, by de Cijffer Number aen-wijlt.

Ten eerste / sijnt hy den Steen aen Ende en Jonge Personen / doch de Vrouwen genseft hy sonder snijden / als dooz middel van Medicamenten; En helpt noch alle soeten van Chabert dooz t selve / hoedaeng het machst sijn. *Figura, Nom. 1.*

En curesen / helpt noch alle soet van Vrouwen op een nietuer manier / soo als noch hy siemandt anders gedaen is; gelijck alle Warm-heuten / Water-heuten / Wrees en gedoyste Ader-heuten; dese sijnt den Operateur sonder eenighe perijckel / op soo een gemackelijcke maniere / dat den Patient daer niet reus van en behoeft te Zoo te leggen; maer dat hy haen gaen en haen sonder dat siemant gewaer haen wordet; dat hy van biergelijck gebrich geccomodeert is: Doch genseft hy alle heuten dooz gemackelijcke Banden / en Medicamenten daer toe dienstigh / sonder snijden in houten tijdt. *Figura, Nom. 2.*

En derde / helpt hy die eenige Blindheyt der oogen gebrich / als Paeren / der stoppeling der Oogen-zenuten / Wiesen op of in de Oogen / gelijck Cataracten / dese neemt hy wech dooz de hand van een flarde / ja helpt die diekmans in een half quaeter uers: En curesen noch alle andere gebricken der Oogen meer. *Fig. Nom. 3.*

En vierde / sijnt hy / en neemt wech alle soeten van Wemen / ofte hyt-waels op 's Menschen Lighaem / hoedaengh / en waer de selve mochten sijn. *Fig. Nom. 4.*

En vyfde / Genseft en curesen hy alle maniers dooz en sonder snijden; en ontsiet selvs dooz in-gebende Medicamenten. *Fig. Nom. 5.*

En sonder / Genseft hy op een sonderlinge manier de Water-sichige Siecken / t zo dooz af-tappinge / ofte dooz Walsen / na de selve in t Lighaem is. *Fig. Nom. 6.*

En sechste / Sijnt / en genseft hy alle soeten van Waze-monden / sonderlingh darsel selver geen Alrechtenen behouden. *Fig. Nom. 7.*

En achste / Genseft hy alle inwendige gebricken die uyt de Wersenen en t dooz doort komen; als alle pijnne / duytsinghe en boersinghe des doozels; Flantsingheden / Dooreuten / en reedlinge der Zenuuten; Wallende Siecken

en wat dies aengaende meer is. *Fig. Nom. 8.*

En negenste / Genseft hy de Klammegeheyt / het zo in waer deel des Lighaems het soude mogen wesen / en al had het noch soo langh gewaert; ja al had men geen geboeten meer in de ledematen / en dattmen selvs op geen heuten en hande gaen. *Fig. Nom. 9.*

En tiende / Genseft hy ooch tot verwondringe het Flerschen en Dobagra / mits dat de basse Deelen / ofte het Gebente / noch in goede oorde is; luypt het welcke geen gensefinge is te hoopen / maer wel een stillinge van pijn te behouden. *Fig. Nom. 10.*

Dooders genseft hy alle Klap-siecken / Melancholie en ingedreide Siecken / Geraethen in Aem / der stam en Memorie: Curreet meede alle ballingen en siuchingen der Oogen / Oogen / Brus / Wrom / en died; des gelijck het Duris / pijn in de zijde / smacture / heyt in t Aem-holen / Flumpen / Wode en Watere / spanten / Que / kloppinge / alle soeten van Kooz / en alle Maaghecken / als berlooyen Apperij / Walging / Walingh / Gal-siecke / Dupel-loop / Kiede en Charteuwe Kooz / Gellueche / Schynen / en alle Siecken die daer uyt doort komen.

Genseft meede noch alle Wroeten ofte Schockere gebricken / so uyt het smacture-bed of anders behouden / die ich om reden alhier niet en noem; als ooch alle andere siecken. Dooz alle Chullen die dooz t onbedienelijck bemis-sel wordet vercofsche / t zo met waer toe-ballen het Lighaem mach bereydt of oederwaegen sijn / dese helpt hy op soo gemackelijck en spoedigh maniere / als hy te want oort is geuen.

Desen heer selvt veel andere Chullen meer / dooz sijn verseyt alhier niet gemenct worden: Zoo van siemant niet dese of andere Chullen machjen geccomodeert sijn / het zo Allen of Wonen / Oot / of Jongh / konst bysonderlijck hy hem in sijn Kooz / altoer en Alder heu in t particulier haen siucheren: Die niet konen en konen sinen meer sijn Water / t gen van Houdende / gemackel is / toer uyt het des Waken / Siecken en Siecken sal sijn / en soo oortbecken / dat een Ieder daer van vercomodeert sal sijn; En sijn t gebrich aengemerkelich is / t waer siemant daer mackelijck ontsiet t Dooren / het sel sijn in teide uier en verlooyen; maer helpt hy haen konst / so hiet ghy het Alere van Ende en hem groeten verseytich sijn / en hy sijn seijdelijck siecke / aen sijn dore-flaete bolghen sijn.

Desen Heer en Operateur, J. M. P. is tegenwoordig alhier in Amsterdam, op de Reguliers Bree-stract, achter de Broewery van de Lely, op de hoek van 't Water-steegje, alwaer de Lely in de Gerdel staet, en het Wapen van de Statte Generaal voor het Hays te sien is: Is alle Dagen te sproken van 's Morgens ten 8. tot 10. uers, en anders niet.

ILLUSTRATION 7.2 Johannes van Bevoort, *Advertisement for the services of doctor J.M.P.* (1700). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1901-A-22233

A rare example of a broadsheet advertising the services of a medical practitioner, the 'surgeon and physician' J.M.P. The anonymous doctor, found in Amsterdam every day between 8 and 10 am, has included on this broadsheet a list of the operations that he can perform, which are cross-referenced to the illustration above.

or cancelled, or that outside vendors would not be allowed to take part, that these newspaper advertisements would also be accompanied by a printed poster, widely distributed by the city messengers.

The same considerations apply to the newspaper advertisements that offer detailed descriptions of lost family members, absconding servants or fugitives from justice. Notices of this sort, as we will see, were perennial features of the newspapers in all cultures that embraced newspaper advertising. The merchant and his wife reading these descriptions in the comfort of their parlour might have their curiosity piqued, but they were most unlikely to frequent the taverns or roadside inns where such fugitives were likely to be apprehended. The best chance of an arrest, or the recovery of a lost child, lay in posting copies of these notices in public squares, down at the harbour and at barge stations, and in taverns and inns. This would have been the case with the notice of the sale of the goods of the bankrupt Rembrandt, which no doubt pursued him into any tavern in which he sought solace from his troubles. We can be certain too, that when appeals for the return of stolen goods, or help apprehending a criminal, promised anonymity for those who helped find them, they were not thinking of the respectable burghers sitting at their breakfast table. Here they were reaching down into the dubious world of traders who ran a legitimate business but were not above taking on some silver or jewellery of doubtful provenance if they thought they could get away with it. Here, too, a printed poster to be exhibited in taverns or in the quarters where the jewellers gathered might have accompanied the newspaper advertisement.

The sheer level of detail offered in the newspaper advertisements for the return of stolen goods, including descriptions of the physical characteristics and clothing of the suspected perpetrator, suggests that the newspaper copy may often have been set up using a copy of a printed poster. Some of the advertisements, for instance those for the sale of prize goods, are so long and detailed that some sort of printed notice seems inevitable.

The council of the Admiralty of Amsterdam gives notice that it means to sell around 28 pipes of wine, 24 pipes of vinegar, 77 anchors of brandy, 22 barrels of oil, 600 to 700 pieces of linen, a load of fine white knitting yarn, a load of sailcloth yarn, a load of black and grey Spanish vellum, 429 staves of iron, 5 barrels of steel, 2 balls of steel, 81 barrels of *Harpuy*s, a load of kamps, some keys, pickaxes, nails and other iron goods, 2 barrels of copper, 3 bales of wool, some woollen blankets, some black hats, a load of *Loock*, 4 barrels of ship's bread, some rapiers, and other wares, including a load of English books and Bibles. The abovementioned goods can be found in a warehouse on the Oude Schans, under the sign of the 'Swan'.

The sale will take place on Monday 19 December, at 3 pm, at the house of Jan Karstemans, inn-keeper in the *Nieuwe Heerenlogement*.¹³

It is likely, in this case, that the compositor in the print shop set up this notice with the printed poster to hand. Where there was no such printed poster, and potential clients were expected to make their own arrangements to find out the goods on offer, this was specifically stated in the newspaper advertisement. Thus when the Council of the Admiralty of Zeeland gave notice of intention to sell 1,000 barrels of tobacco 'and many other goods', first in Vlissingen then in Veere, it stipulated that the inventory of the goods could be inspected at the office of the Admiralty in Middelburg.¹⁴


Barge, carriage and postal schedules would almost inevitably be set out on a printed poster. These feature strongly among the listed examples we have cited where a poster of handbill was specifically mentioned, precisely because the information they contained, of times, routes and prices, would also need to be consulted by potential passengers that would not all have been subscribers to the newspapers.

All are notified that the post from Rotterdam will depart every evening at 8 pm for Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Gouda, The Hague and Utrecht, and all Tuesdays and Saturdays at the same time for Kampen, Deventer, Zwolle, Hattum, Leeuwarden, Groningen and Ommelanden, Emden, Delfzijl, and other places in Friesland, Overijssel, Gelderland and Drenthe, and that the post will depart each morning at 8 am for Delfshaven, Schiedam, Vlaardingén and Maassluis, and each evening for Breda at 11 pm, as long as the gentlemen ambassadors are there. The letters can be posted at the boxes at the bourse, and elsewhere. Letters for Amsterdam can arrive within 7 hours for 12 gulden, or within 6 hours for 15 gulden, or in a shorter time for more. Letters for Hellevoetsluis can arrive in 4 hours for 8 gulden, for Breda in 6 hours for 15 gulden, and for Antwerp in 11 hours for 22 gulden and 10 stuivers. Letters for Zeeland, which are despatched at 6 am, can arrive by evening for 20 gulden. These rates, times and more can be seen on the printed posters, most suited to be posted up in offices, which can be bought with the widow of Matthijs Wagens in Rotterdam, or with Boudewijn de Prijs in Amsterdam.¹⁵

13 EHD 28, 15.12.1667.

14 TVQ 36, 03.09.1667.

15 OHS 23, 04.06.1667. OHD 24, 14.06.1667.



NOTIFICATIE

VAN VERKOPINGE TOT DALEN.

DE Heeren Geconmitteerden van Burgermeesteren Schepenen en Raaden / mitlgaders van de Gezwojen Gemeente der Stad Zwolle / willen op expresse authorisatie van hare Heeren Principalen aan de meestbiedende verkoopen / binnen Dalen op den 24. Augustus 1698. O. S. zynde Woensdag / des morgens ten tyen uren precise / de Stads Geestelyke Goederen en Landen / tot het Erve Grimminge gehorende / in den Carpele van Dalen in de Landtschap Drentche gelegen / in deze navolgende Parcellen bestaande.

1. ¹ Huis / Schuize / Hof of Gaarden / met 4 Akkeren / op de Es tegen over het Huis.
2. ² De Woerte / de tynde Galt gaat met hier een einde van deze Akker.
3. ³ De Schepel-stuk / of Type-akker.
4. ⁴ De Akkerkamp.
5. ⁵ De Hoof-akker.

De Koper van dit Parcel zal tot syn last nemen / zonder daar boog te koop / een jaarlykse Uitgang van een schat flogge / Drentse maat / aan de Wed. Huisinge, een schat flogge aan Jan Hiddinge, een Ems van twee Golt-gulde op Aker-avond, en een halve Mude spater aan de Eys.

Op Oosterholt.

1. ¹ De Eit-akker.
2. ² De grote Akker tegen Sterdingen-beem of Baam-akker.
3. ³ De Dier-kamp by de Wierink / of lange Akker.
4. ⁴ De Akkerkerten / of lange Akker.
5. ⁵ De flogge-kamp.
6. ⁶ De twee kleine flogge kampjes.

Op Westert.

1. ¹ De Boek-akker / of Klobben-akker.
2. ² De Midden-land aan de Sieger-weg.
3. ³ De Baggen-akker / of Bagge-bro.
4. ⁴ De groote Akker boog Wijnjes Boog.

Op de Zuid-Es.

1. ¹ Een Akker agter Vaken Gaarden.
2. ² De Moeten-pad.
3. ³ De Glasen-akker of Glafenberg.
4. ⁴ De Glas-akker.

Wie aan deze bovengenoemde Parcellen syn aangezwette / zal op de tyd van de verkopinge woogen bekent gemaakt.

De Conditien en Voozwaarden van deze verkopinge zullen konnen gezien worden tot Zwolle aan 't Stadhuis by Gerrit Hermans, Stads Roedensdager. Tot Dalen by de Schultes Bortichius, Tot Koevoorden by de Schultes Frankena. Tot Oosterholt by de Schultes Brants, Tot Sleen by de Schultes Emmen by de Schultes.

Zo iemand hier inne eenige gadinge mogte hebben, kan zig vervoegen op tyd en plaatse voorn: en doe zyn profyt.

D'En zegt d'ander boogt.

Tot ZWOLLE. by GERRIT TYDEMAN ordinaris Drukker van de Wel-Edele Hoog-Agthare MAGISTRAAT derzelver Stad. 1698.

ILLUSTRATION 7.3 *Notificatie van verkopinge tot Dalen* (Zwolle: Gerrit Tydeman, 1698).

Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Zwolle

A placard issued by the magistrates of Zwolle for the sale of several estates, including the exhortation at the end, *D'een zegt d'ander voort* (Pass on the word).

This example specifies not only that a printed schedule was published and exhibited in public, but that customers could buy their own copy. Several copies of such schedules, with their impressively elaborate routes, have survived today.

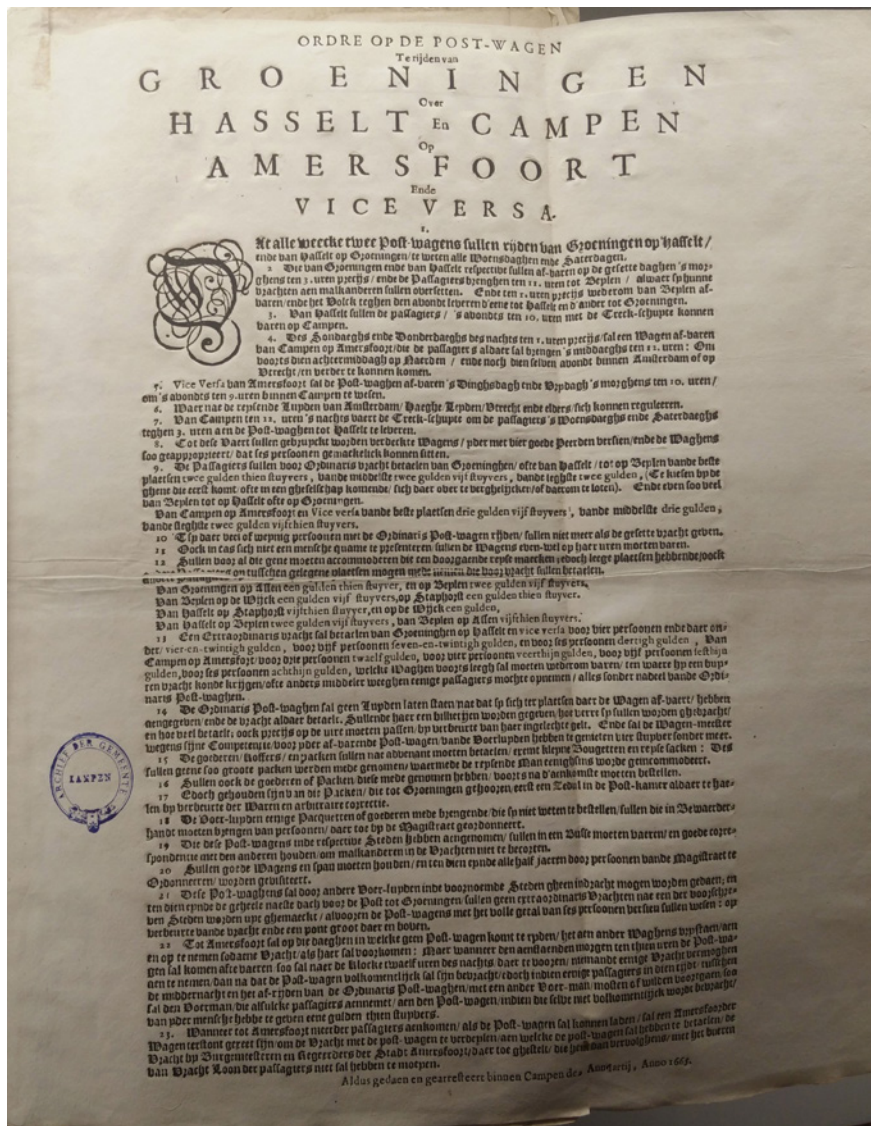


ILLUSTRATION 7.4 *Orde op de post-wagen te rijden van Groeningen over Hasselt en Campen op Amersfoort ende vice versa* ([Kampen, s.n., 1665]). Stadsarchief Kampen A placard containing the regulations, including the departure times and rates, governing the post carriages which travel between Groningen and Amersfoort, via Hasselt and Campen. Elaborate placards would have been required for complex information of this sort, and we can presume that most newspaper announcements for post carriages were based on the printed placard.

Newspaper advertisements also serve up some useful textual cues, pointing to the existence of a lost print version. Take this announcement of the restoration of a barge service with England after the Second Anglo-Dutch War:

Since, thanks be to God, peace has been published between England and this state, all are notified that henceforth an extraordinarily sleek, fast and seaworthy barge will depart each Saturday morning from Brielle, with the morning tide, to Harwich in England, for the convenience of all gentlemen and passengers, who wish to travel with the safest, quickest, shortest and cheapest passage. The barge service will commence on 10 September. Please spread the word.¹⁶

There are two significant features here that suggest this text may simply have been copied from a print exemplar. One was the orotund language, quite typical of a printed proclamation but unusual for a newspaper. The second was the inclusion at the closing exhortation, 'Please spread the word', an injunction frequently included in bold type at the end of a printed proclamation or commercial announcement. This directly addressed the issue that many needed to know the contents of a proclamation who might not have seen it, or could not read. Those advertising commercial sales traded on this convention for their own purposes. Less conclusive, but still tantalising, is the large number of book auction advertisements that conclude a list with the airy formula 'and so forth'. Does this indicate that a printed poster, for an auction like that of the library of Paulus ter Haar's books in 1667, contained a longer list of booksellers stocking the catalogue, for which the newspaper did not have sufficient space?¹⁷ We see the same formula, 'and so forth', truncating lists of stolen goods, or items in a house sale.¹⁸

In seeking to reconstruct this lost world of ephemeral print, we must keep in mind that the survival of such commercial or private notices is microscopically small, compared to what must have been printed.¹⁹ When in 1674, the States of Holland raised a tax on paper (including newspapers), one of the classes of ephemera singled out for taxation was printed advertisements for funeral invitations. Although the implication is that this was a common use of printed handbills, very few examples can now be identified. If these sorts of

16 OHD 36, 06.09.1667.

17 OHS 41, 08.10.1667.

18 OHS 13, 31.03.1668, for examples of both.

19 James Raven, *The Business of Books. Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).



Een vvonderlijke ende van-felfs-loopende
Wagen te sien.

Alfoo seker Practilijn heeft gepractiseert ende gemaeckt een Spiel-wagen/ op den welcken men bequamelijck vier Menschen kan voeren/ welke Wagen voort gaet sonder van eenige Paerden/ windt/ water/ ofte van pe- mant voort getrocken te werden/ ende dat soo snel ende ras in alle schijn ende maniere als men een Wagen met twee Paer- den soude kommen doen voort-gaen. Den selven Wagen wert oock door den genen die als Voer-man daer op sit gekeert/ gelieft ginds- waerts ende herwaerts/ achterwaerts ende voorwaerts/ waer dat men wil/ beter als men eenige wagens soude kunnen doen.

Soo daer eenige Zief-hebbers zijn die den voort-noemden / raren/ ende wel besciens-waerdighen wagen ghelieven te sien / die komen

Inventie van Iacop Mayer van West-Vrieslandt, Wont Int P^{re} Hof des Leyden.

alwaer deselve wagen van smorgens tot 's avonds den Zief-hebbers verthoont wert.

Den eenen segge het den anderen voort.

ILLUSTRATION 7.5 *Een wonderlijke ende van-selves-loopende wagen te sien* (c. 1600–1650).

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-2006-262

A printed advertisement for a 'wondrous and automated wagon'. Space has been left blank on the poster for the location where the wagon can be seen: presumably the inventor travelled around the country, so he could reuse the copies of this poster wherever he went. At the end he also exhorts his readers to 'pass on the word'.

forms survive at all, then they are usually for the funeral of the great and famous, like Admiral Michiel de Ruyter, or the poet Joost van den Vondel. The same legislation required tax farmers to use printed, rather than manuscript receipts; and the regulations also mentioned placards posted up by quacks, surgeons 'and other artisans'.²⁰ A similarly evocative document emerges from London in 1621, when Thomas Symcock and Roger Wood obtained an unlikely monopoly on the production of broadsheets. Unrealistic and unenforceable this may have been, but it does provide an evocative list of the purposes to which print could be put: indentures for apprentices, licences, bonds and receipts, writs and warrants, articles for church visitations, commercial notices.



ILLUSTRATION 7.6 *Uitnodiging voor de begrafenis van Michiel de Ruyter (1677).* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: NG-29

The printed invitation to attend the funeral of Admiral Michiel de Ruyter, national hero, and arguably the greatest Dutch admiral of the seventeenth century. Funeral invitations were an common, but now exceptionally rare form of print.

²⁰ *Ordonnantie, na de welcke in den lande van Hollandt en West-Vrieslandt sal werden geheven een impost op eenige gedruckte soo inlantsche als uytlandsche papieren* (Den Haag: Jacobus Scheltus, 1674).

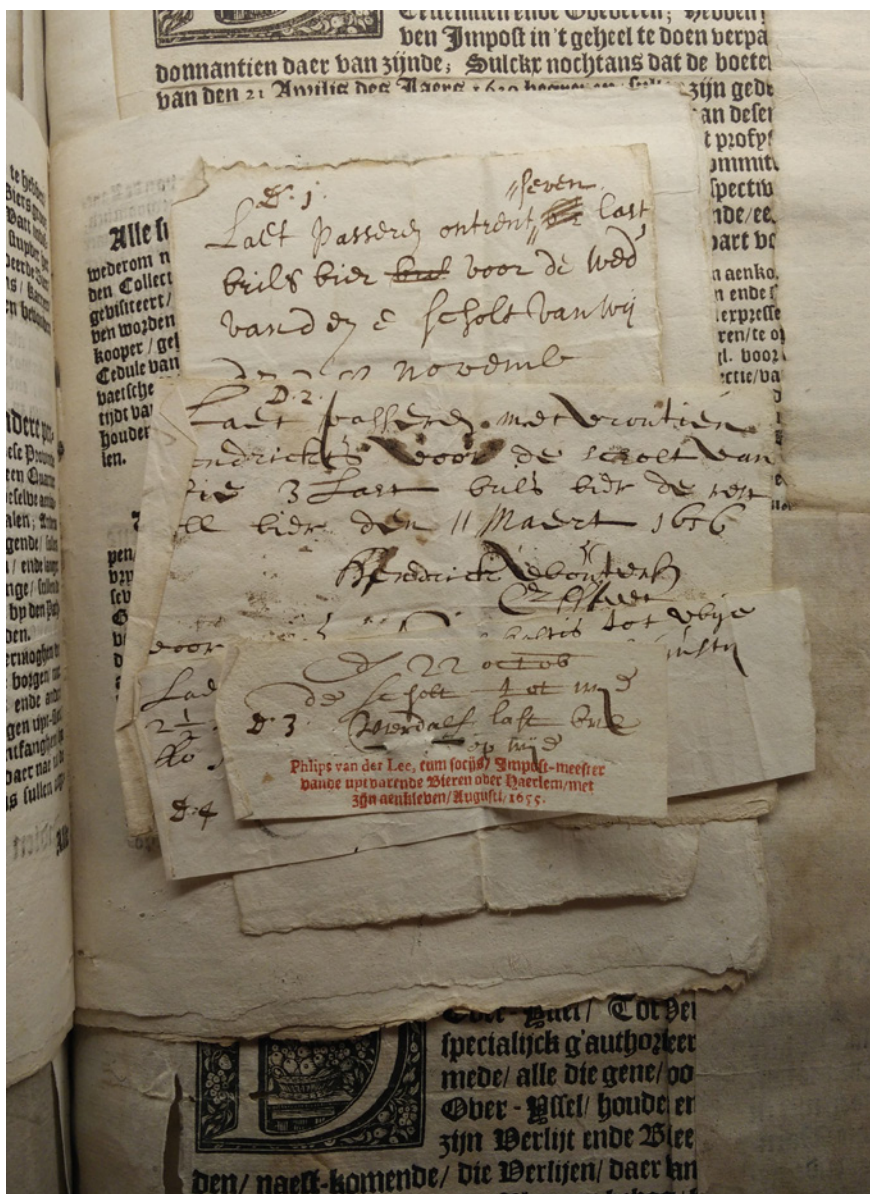


ILLUSTRATION 7.7 Printed tax form slips for the farmer of the tax on imported beer (Kampen, c. 1655). Stadsarchief Kampen

An example of a printed slip, issued by Philips van der Lee, the tax farmer of imported beer in Kampen. Tax farmers were encouraged, and later obliged by the state to use standardised printed forms of this sort. Surviving examples are generally found only in archives.

Playbills, advertisements for sporting events and shows and fliers posted by schoolmasters seeking pupils were also specifically mentioned.²¹

Such a monopoly could not be contemplated in the Dutch Republic: this sort of jobbing work was what kept the presses running throughout the Republic, from Breda to the island of Texel, from Zutphen to Middelburg. Fragments of this huge output of bills, receipts, posters and leaflets will continue to emerge as we scour the archives, and sometimes in family papers, where manuscript and print are piled up together. In the meantime, the evidence of the newspaper advertisements, and the netherworld of print that lay behind them, will provide the best evidence of the versatility of print in serving commerce and the work of government, and how commerce and public information sustained print.

No Marginal Affair

We have described the particular context of the Dutch papers in their first fifty years of advertising. In the centuries that follow the newspaper world would evolve very considerably, with the establishment of a competitive and highly polemical newspaper culture in London, and then a new newspaper world in the English provinces and the American colonies. These created new contexts, political, economic and journalistic, for the development of advertising. It remains to be seen how other newspaper cultures would follow the Dutch lead. The Dutch newspapers provided a clear model for emulation: this was, after all, the first sustained exploration of the concept of newspaper advertising, and the unique example for the best part of four decades. Given the popularity of the Dutch newspapers abroad, these advertising columns must have been read and studied by merchants and publishers throughout the continent.

In order to investigate how these other markets imitated or deviated from the Dutch model, it might be helpful to recapitulate briefly the leading characteristics of this Dutch advertising culture in the seventeenth century. Firstly, an initial concentration on the book world, with a gradual expansion into other products and services. Secondly, the widespread use of advertisements by both official bodies and individual citizens to bring matters of concern to wider public attention, largely targeting audiences outside their own urban domicile. Thirdly, the virtual absence of retail sales, notwithstanding a buoyant consumer market. Additionally, we should note in terms of typographical design, that

21 Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640. An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 147–148.

the advertisements are always placed at the end of the newspaper, which, in the characteristic Dutch form of the double-sided half sheet, meant on the bottom of the reverse side. The typographical design is otherwise rather plain, without the use of illustrations, large headers or other decorative features beyond a plain line division which separates the advertisements from the news reports.

All of this took place in a Dutch newspaper context where the news content was focussed almost exclusively on foreign events: the prohibition on the coverage of domestic political decision-making showed no sign whatsoever of relaxation in the period under discussion here, or indeed, in the Dutch case, deep into the eighteenth century. This would not be the case in England or the American colonies, where the embargo on local politics was steadily eroded. This was bound to impact on the perceived news (or gossip) value of the public and private announcements. We must also be wary of a comparison between the Dutch advertising market of the mid-seventeenth century and the development of advertising in very different economic and political contexts a century later. Dutch newspapers also went through considerable evolution in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as we have seen, and the eighteenth century would bring new opportunities and challenges. How many of the features of the age of experimentation would survive this period of evolution, even in the Republic itself?

In 1752, the Frisian publisher Abraham Ferwerda produced the first issue of the *Leeuwarder Courant*, the earliest newspaper to appear in the province of Friesland. The *Leeuwarder Courant* first appeared as a weekly, but in 1757 Ferwerda added a second, mid-week issue, while he also secured a monopoly on newspaper publishing from the States of Friesland.²² Although we do not know the sales figures of the newspaper, Ferwerda himself was clearly not satisfied with the circulation. In 1758, he commissioned a popular but destitute author, Johann Hermann Knoop, the former gardener at the court of the Frisian *Stadhouder*, to write a promotional pamphlet for his newspaper. Knoop had recently been thrown out of the poorhouse, so he was only happy to oblige: in a short time, he produced the *Kort Onderwys, hoedanig men de Couranten best lezen en gebruiken kan* [Brief instruction, on how one can best read and use newspapers].²³

22 Marcel Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant, 1752–2002* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002), pp. 40–41.

23 Johann Hermann Knoop, *Kort onderwys, hoedanig men de couranten best lezen en gebruiken kan* (Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda, 1758).

Knoop's handbook, printed and published by Ferwerda, was written to encourage potential customers to subscribe to the *Leeuwarder Courant*. Knoop mused on the virtues of reading newspapers, arguing that any individual would improve their status, knowledge and education through the regular consumption of a newspaper. Towards the end of the guide he also touched upon the many benefits of newspaper advertising:

The newspaper not only serves to highlight news and reports of foreign occurrences, but also to notify the inhabitants of a country or province ... of public affairs which could be of interest to many sorts of people, and who would, without newspapers, not be aware of these things ... such as advertisements or notifications for the sale or rent of dwellings, houses, fields, farms, gardens, cows, oxen, horses, sheep, books, &c., prices of grain, bread, butter, cheese, meat, bacon and a hundred other things which concern general society or the communality, and which are especially useful and necessary for those who seek to engage in trade, and who wish to make an honest profit.²⁴

This puff indicates that the handbook was also composed to stimulate existing subscribers to advertise in their local paper. When the *Leeuwarder Courant* first appeared, many Frisian citizens subscribed to the rival Groningen newspaper, the *Groninger Courant*. The Groningen paper had been published since 1743, a full a decade before the *Leeuwarder Courant*, and many Frisian citizens were reluctant to change their subscription immediately.²⁵ Only by the 1760s did the Frisian population embrace Ferwerda's Leeuwarden newspaper, and fill its pages with advertisements.

Ferwerda's quest for subscribers had led Johann Hermann Knoop to write the first general reflection on newspaper advertising in the Dutch Republic. In fact, Knoop's laudatory musings fit within a broader eighteenth-century rhetorical tradition which praised the seemingly boundless potential of advertising.²⁶ In 1710, Joseph Addison classified one of the principal uses of advertising to 'inform the world where they may be furnished with almost every thing that is necessary for life'.²⁷ Although Addison was reflecting satirically on the vogue for advertising, and Knoop was writing to please his publisher, both men were grappling with the ideal that advertising could somehow

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁵ Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, p. 40.

²⁶ Blanche B. Elliott, *A History of English Advertising* (London: Batsford, 1962).

²⁷ *The Tatler*, no. 224, 14 September 1710.

balance economic supply and demand, the timeless equation underpinning all basic commercial transactions, and that advertising could satisfy cravings that one did not yet know one possessed. This was similar rhetoric to that which had accompanied the establishment of 'offices of intelligence' in London and Paris, and it displays remarkable similarities too to the ideals that advertisers present to us today.²⁸

If the inventors of newspaper advertising, Broer Jansz, Jan van Hilten and Abraham Verhoeven, had left for us their reflection on advertising, it would have been markedly different from that of Knoop, writing over a century later. To Verhoeven in Antwerp, advertising had been a natural extension of his prolific and sensational publishing career; to Broer Jansz and Van Hilten, it developed into a preferred medium for communication within the Dutch book trade. But even in the 1660s and 1670s, when newspaper advertising had matured substantially, the likes of Abraham Casteleyn would have been confounded to read Knoop's list of goods advertised in the papers. In Casteleyn's day, the business of newspaper advertising encompassed a wider range of goods, services and public notices beyond the book trade, but it remained a platform for very specific types of goods within defined markets. In the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic advertising developed further still, but it is difficult to see how Knoop's characterisation reflected reality: he was envisioning a future in which newspaper played a much more dominant role in publicity than in his own age.

In his handbook, Knoop highlighted predominantly retail sales, with a focus on real estate, farms and farm animals. Books, the staple of newspaper advertising, enter the list only as an afterthought. One can wonder if Ferwerda was perhaps attempting to win over well-off rural customers, more dominant in Friesland than any other Dutch province. Advertisements for real estate do become more common in eighteenth-century Dutch newspapers, especially for landed estates; retail sales, especially of luxury goods like coffee, tea, tobacco and medicine, appear more frequently also. There was nevertheless still a general absence of advertisements for the common staples like bread, beer, fish, dairy, shoe wear and common clothing, which, in Addison's words, were 'necessary for life'. Retail sales also continued to be dwarfed by advertisements for auctions and wholesale transactions. It was brokers, rather than

28 McElligott, 'Advertising and Selling in Cromwellian Newsbooks', pp. 467–469; Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science, and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France: The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 60–99. Mark Tungate, *Adland: A Global History of Advertising* (2nd edition, London: Kogan, 2013).

traders, who dominated the newspaper advertisements. And then there were the book auctions, 10,000 of which were held in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic.²⁹ At least 75% of these book auctions were advertised in the newspapers, in ever longer and more grandiose descriptions.³⁰ In 1750, the catalogue of the collection of the Count Wassenaar Obdam was advertised as available for sale in:

London, Edinburgh, Paris, Vienna, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Zürich, Bern, Basel, Lausanne, Geneva, Hannover, Copenhagen, Wolfenbüttel, Breslau, Gotha, Göttingen, Mannheim, Munich, Bayreuth, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Wentzler, Mainz, Lisbon, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Turin, Parma, Genoa, and the other principal cities of Europe.³¹

This was a scale of international distribution that auctioneers in the Dutch seventeenth century could only have dreamed of: it was also, it must be said, highly unusual for the eighteenth century.

During the eighteenth century, newspaper advertising in the Dutch Republic underwent few radical developments in terms of its content or rhetoric. The first obituary notices appeared only in 1793.³² In the 1770s, booksellers and publishers continue to advertise their latest publications much like they did in the 1640s.³³ The practice of highlighting prices in these advertisements, as mentioned in chapter 6, did expand, and some publishers would go as far to offer price reductions in the papers.³⁴ Ultimately the most notable change was quantitative. There was a general expansion of the market for newspapers: the

29 See chapter 3, above, and Hannie van Goinga, 'Books on the move: public book auctions in the Dutch Republic, 1711–1805, mainly in Amsterdam, Groningen, The Hague and Leiden', *Quaerendo*, 35 (2005), pp. 65–95, Hannie van Goinga, 'The Long Life of the Book: Public Book Auctions in Leiden, 1725–1805, and the Second-Hand Book Trade', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 243–274, and O.S. Lankhorst, 'Les ventes aux enchères des livres à La Haye dans la première moitié du 18e siècle', in C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, et. al. (eds.), *Le magasin de l'univers. The Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 199–210.

30 Hannie van Goinga, 'Enticing into Buying: Titles in Advertisements for Book Auctions in Eighteenth-Century Dutch Newspapers', *Quaerendo*, 42 (2012), pp. 241–248.

31 Cited in Lankhorst, 'Dutch book auctions', p. 67.

32 Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, p. 52.

33 Arianne Baggerman, 'Excitement and Sensation on a Postage Stamp. Dutch Book Advertisements as a Go-Between in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaerendo*, 42 (2012), pp. 274–285.

34 *Ibid*, p. 282.

most popular titles, like the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, could sell up to 7,000 copies per issue.³⁵ By the end of the 1750s, there were ten cities in the Dutch Republic with tri-weekly or bi-weekly Dutch papers: Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, Delft, The Hague and Rotterdam (in Holland), Utrecht, Groningen, Leeuwarden and Middelburg. Although not all of these papers achieved similar circulation figures as the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, and not all of them had a national audience like the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, it is clear that more people were reading newspapers than ever before. This development was accompanied by a rapid growth in newspaper advertising. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, it was not unusual for newspapers to include well over twenty advertisements per issue, as opposed to two, three or four a century earlier. Altogether the ten papers available around 1760 included on average over 20,000 advertisements and announcements in a single year.

There was so much demand for newspaper advertising that publishers pushed the boundaries of their format and design to accommodate advertisers.³⁶ Up until the early nineteenth century, most Dutch newspapers still appeared as single sheets, with reports printed in double columns on either side. Advertisements and announcements were traditionally found at the end of the back page. Since the 1680s they had generally been set horizontally across both columns. But in 1740, the publishers of the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant*, *Amsterdamsche Courant* and the *Leydse Courant* started placing additional advertisements on the empty margins of their paper, on the front and back. These marginal advertisements were placed vertically rather than horizontally, so readers had to turn their paper by ninety degrees to read them. The result was hardly elegant, but it enabled the papers to include another ten, fifteen or even twenty advertisements. By the end of the 1750s, almost all Dutch newspapers had taken to adding marginal advertisements, and some papers, like the Amsterdam and The Hague tri-weeklies, devoted as much text to advertisements as to news reports.

That advertising could steadily encroach into every nook and cranny of the newspaper suggests that subscribers valued the advertisements as much, if not more, than the actual news reports. It also indicates that newspaper publishers were reaping the financial benefits of this media transformation. But how important were the advertisements to the sustainability of the newspaper

35 I.H. van Eeghen, 'De Amsterdamse Courant in de achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 44 (1950), pp. 31–58, here pp. 45–46.

36 This paragraph is based on Joop W. Koopmans, 'Anything but Marginal: the Politics of Paper Use and Layout in Early Modern Dutch Newspapers', in his *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe. Perspectives from the Dutch Angle* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 138–169.

market? Did advertising expand because the newspapers were flourishing, or did the newspaper flourish because of advertising?

Although we cannot answer these questions fully, we are lucky to have much archival evidence concerning the revenues and expenditures of newspapers for the eighteenth century, in contrast to the dearth of information for the seventeenth century. We have a near-complete business archive for the Enschedé family, a prominent Haarlem dynasty which took over the publication of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* in 1737.³⁷ In these years the Haarlem paper still enjoyed its reputation as the leading national paper of the Dutch Republic, a position it maintained because the Enschedé family invested much more in a network of correspondents than its competitors. To judge by the newspaper accounts for these years, the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* was a successful business (see table 7.1).

During their first six years at the helm of the Haarlem paper, the Enschedé family received on average 14,000 gulden in revenue. Income from advertisements accounted for no more than 14% of total revenue. Although this may seem minimal, the income from advertisements represented a large proportion of the profit margins of the paper. If not for advertising, the Enschedés

TABLE 7.1 The advertising revenue of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* for the years 1737–1743, in relation to the overall revenue and profit margins of the paper. All figures are rounded to the nearest gulden.

Year (July-June)	Total revenue	Advertising revenue	Profit	Profit without advertising revenue
1737–1738	10,715	1,114	134	-980
1738–1739	12,069	1,776	1,036	-740
1739–1740	13,826	1,879	2,926	1,047
1740–1741	15,362	2,315	3,571	1,256
1741–1742	16,546	2,451	4,079	1,628
1742–1743	17,321	2,268	4,421	2,153
Total	85,839	11,803	16,167	4,364

SOURCE: NHA, ARCHIEF ENSCHEDÉ, HBA 4831.

37 Held in the Noord-Hollands Archief, in Haarlem. One of the few scholars who has made use of this marvellous archive is D.H. Couvée: see ‘The administration of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* 1738–1742’, *Gazette*, 4 (1958), pp. 91–110.

would have made a loss on the paper between 1737 and 1739. During the early 1740s, when profits were up to over 4,000 gulden a year, advertising income accounted for 50–75% of the total profit.

This analysis indicates that advertising may have played a more important role in the finances of the Dutch newspaper market than is obvious at first sight. In any case, the Enschedés were suitably concerned that they missed out on additional advertising revenue because of the fact that announcements placed by the Haarlem authorities were inserted for free, a condition they had been forced to accept when they took over the paper in 1737. A couple of decades later the family submitted a petition to the magistrates of Haarlem to have this clause terminated, to no avail.³⁸

Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* would have gone bankrupt if it were not for advertising. The Enschedés, like the Casteleyns before them, did not skimp on the expenditure necessary to preserve their reputation as purveyors of the best international news. Other newspaper publishers had fewer scruples and were able to make significantly larger profits than the several thousand gulden earned by the Haarlem paper. Competitors in Amsterdam and The Hague also provided much more space for advertisements. In the 1730s, the tri-weekly *'s-Gravenhaegse Courant* made annually just under 9,000 gulden from the sale of copies, less than the Haarlem paper, but around 3,400 gulden from advertisements.³⁹ A decade later, the *Amsterdamsche Courant* made 8,399 gulden in advertising revenue, quadruple the advertising income of the Haarlem paper.⁴⁰ All the indications are that Dutch newspapers, especially the larger titles, made substantial profits, and that advertising played an important but not vital role in these margins. In 1775, the Amsterdam paper made a whopping 28,772 gulden profit, to which advertising had contributed just over 18,000 gulden, or 62%.⁴¹

These were serious profits, but it seems that newspaper publishers could have made even more, if only they had raised their prices. Compared to newspaper advertising rates in England, Dutch publishers seem to have undercharged their customers. We have little information for the seventeenth century: in 1657 the Amsterdam *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* charged only 5 stuivers for a short book auction advertisement, while Broer Jansz had

38 Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, archief Enschedé, HBA 11773.

39 Maarten Schneider and Joan Hemels, *De Nederlandse krant 1618–1978: Van 'nieuwstydninghe' tot dagblad* (4th edition, Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1979), pp. 430–431.

40 W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De Amsterdamsche Courant', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, New series, 5 (1868), pp. 209–292, p. 260.

41 Steven Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', *Early Modern Low Countries*, 2 (2018), pp. 88–102, here p. 100.

charged the Zutphen magistrates 24 stuivers (1 gulden and 4 stuivers) for a range of services that included an advertisement in the newspaper.⁴² By 1683, the rates seem to have increased, as the magistrates of Weesp were charged 60 stuivers (3 gulden) for a large announcement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, running across both columns, concerning exemptions of excise duty for Huguenots who settled in their town.⁴³ The oldest extant account book of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, dating to 1719, reveals that an advertisement of six lines could cost anywhere between 30 and 43 stuivers, and an advertisement of twelve lines cost around 66 stuivers.⁴⁴ Booksellers were likely to receive cheaper rates than postmasters or other advertisers, a practice that was also adopted by the Rotterdam paper.⁴⁵

While the Haarlem and Amsterdam papers charged on average around two or three gulden for an advertisement, the *London Gazette* charged ten shillings, the equivalent of around five gulden.⁴⁶ These were exorbitant rates when compared to the up-and-coming *Leeuwarder Courant* of Abraham Ferwerda. Initially Ferwerda charged three stuivers per line, but after complaints from his customers, he reduced the rate to eight stuivers for the first four lines, with only one additional stuiver for each extra line.⁴⁷ When Ferwerda received his monopoly from the States of Friesland in 1757, he had to promise that he would never raise the price of advertising.⁴⁸ This decision is extremely revealing of the importance that the authorities attached to newspaper advertising. They perceived advertising as a service to the community, and they ensured that no monopolistic publisher would take advantage of his privilege to rob Frisian citizens of this public good. In the middle of the eighteenth century, newspaper advertising did not conform to Johann Hermann Knoop's vision of free trade in the cows, sheep and a 'hundred other things', but it had become a much-loved service that no one would conceive of abandoning.

42 Arjan Nobel and Otto van der Meij, 'De Luiden zijn daer seer begeerich na: de veiling van de bibliotheek van André Rivet in 1657', in Maurits Ebben and Pieter Wagenaar (eds.), *De cirkel doorbroken* (Leiden: s.n., 2006), pp. 215–238, here p. 230. On the Zutphen advertisement see chapter 1, above.

43 Regionaal Historisch Centrum Vecht en Venen, Weesp, GAWo28-01: Stad Weesp, 1355–1795 (1890), inv. 100. ADC 12, 16.03.1683.

44 Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, Archief Enschedé, HBA 3523.

45 Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, Archief Enschedé, HBA 03049.

46 Natasha Glaisyer, "'The Most Universal Intelligencers': the circulation of the London Gazette in the 1690s", *Media History*, 23 (2017), pp. 256–280, here p. 266.

47 Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, p. 39.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Southern Struggles

Despite the fact that the first newspaper advertisements appeared in a paper published in Antwerp, in the Southern Netherlands, it would be the publishers of the Dutch Republic who made the greatest contribution to the early development of newspaper advertising.⁴⁹ Given the porous border between the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands, not to mention their many shared cultural and economic attributes, it is worthwhile to reflect here on the substantial differences in the growth of newspaper advertising in the two states. While advertising flourished in the Republic, it stuttered and came to an abrupt halt in the south. Abraham Verhoeven's innovative but transitory experiment with advertising was in many ways a false start. He engaged in a great deal of publicity for his own publications, but no other advertisers ever placed notices in his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Verhoeven himself seems to have forsaken the practice soon enough too: he inserted twenty advertisements in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* in 1620, nine in the following year, but only twenty-three over the next seven years. The publishers who succeeded him, in Antwerp and Bruges, occasionally included a notice placed by the authorities, like the Admiralty of Dunkirk, or an announcement concerning a heinous crime, and there are a few instances of the publishers advertising for their own wares.⁵⁰ Otherwise we find no trace of advertising at all, with a complete absence of the many book or book auction advertisements, and commercial notices for other goods and services, that we find in the Dutch papers.

We should remind ourselves that our documentation of the Flemish press in the seventeenth century is much more fragmentary than for the Dutch Republic. With the exception of Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, the average survival rate of Flemish newspapers is no more than 1 or 2% of all the issues assumed to have been published. Almost all of these surviving issues can currently now be traced in a single copy. The bi-weekly *Den Ordinarissen Postilioen*, published in Antwerp between 1635 and 1678, a span of more than forty years, can be located in only twenty-three issues out of a putative 2,250 originally published. Its local rival, the *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe*, survives in 104 issues, but had a likely output of 4,000 issues.⁵¹ We therefore have a very incomplete picture of the development of newspaper advertising in the Southern Netherlands;

49 See Chapter 1, above.

50 *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyde ghewesten* (NTVG) 12, 24.03.1637. *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* (EPT) 62, 05.08.1639. EPT 80, 04.10.1639. EPT 1, 16.12.1639. NTVG 7, 17.02.1643. NTVG 51, 13.12.1644. *Nieuwe Wekelicksche Gasette* 3, 19.01.1666. EPT 60, 27.07.1668. EPT 1, 03.01.1673.

51 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, I, pp. 449–467.

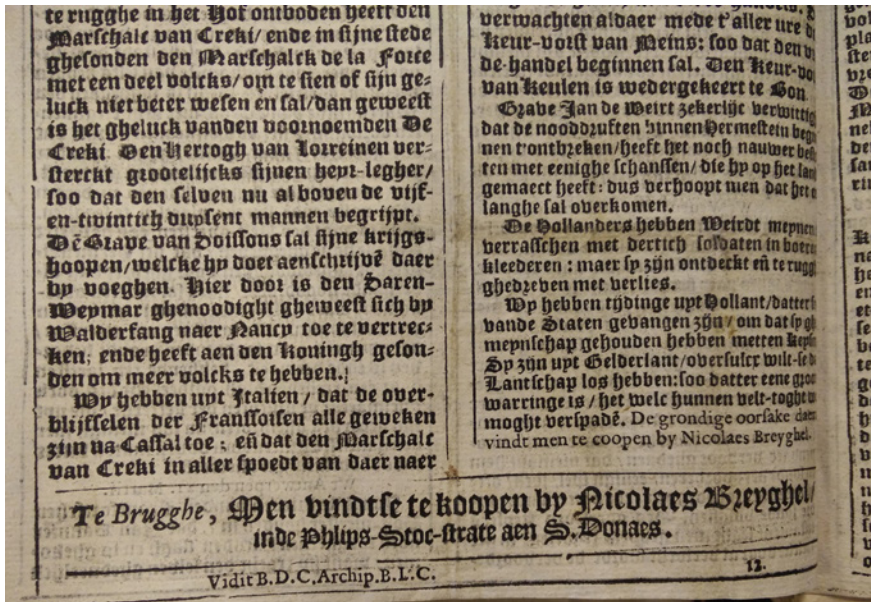


ILLUSTRATION 7.9 *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheide ghewesten*, no. 12 (Bruges: Nicolaes Breyghel, 24 March 1637). Stadsbibliotheek Brugge
This advertisement, one of the very few to appear in early Flemish papers, is so succinct that it is nearly invisible. At the end of the final column, the newspaper publisher, Nicolaes Breyghel, advertises for a separately printed news report, which he also published. The sentence is only highlighted because it is set in a roman typeface.

but not one that is entirely unfair. The fact that Verhoeven himself stopped advertising in his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* suggests that he found the practice of limited value. The city of Antwerp, although it had fallen a long way from its golden years in the middle of the sixteenth century, was still a formidable centre of the international book trade, especially in the trade in Catholic devotional works. Yet no publishers advertised newly published books in Flemish newspapers before the 1670s. It is particularly striking that the Verdussen family, one of the most important publishing houses in Antwerp, never advertised in the local *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe*, which was managed by Willem Verdussen and his descendants.⁵²

The lack of enthusiasm for newspaper advertising in the Southern Netherlands for most of the seventeenth century is unlikely to have stemmed

52 Stijn van Rossem, *Het gevecht met de boeken: de uitgeversstrategieën van de familie Verdussen (Antwerpen, 1589–1689)* (Antwerpen: Universiteit Antwerpen, 2014).

from any reticence on the part of the newspaper publishers. Many of the newspapermen in the south struggled financially, and would have welcomed a source of additional revenue.⁵³ Instead it seems more likely that the newspapers had a much more limited influence on Flemish commercial society, and less currency within the book trade, than in the Northern Netherlands. While the Amsterdam papers were read throughout the country, the newspapers of Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent had more restricted circulation, and were largely sold within the city of publication. That limited the pool of advertisers considerably, particularly deterring publishers who would have wanted news of their publications to be spread throughout the country. The one potential source of advertising directed to a more local audience, the host town's own city council, already had efficient means of getting their message out, including the use of town criers and printed posters. The authorities of the Habsburg Netherlands looked upon the early Antwerp and Bruges newspapers with a beady eye, and never took them seriously enough to place announcements for official communication. The near absence of advertisements and announcements in the few extant issues of the early Flemish newspapers is therefore more likely to be representative of the whole than not.

Newspaper advertising in the Southern Netherlands developed most in the final decades of the century. The bi-weekly *Ghendtsche Post-Tydingen*, published from 1667 onwards, had only one advertisement in every five issues, and these were generally placed by the newspaper publishers themselves, who had taken their cue from Verhoeven.⁵⁴ The Graet family, responsible for the newspaper, played a prominent role in the local book trade and produced many pamphlets, engravings and books. Only in the 1680s and 1690s does the advertising profile of the paper change substantially. In these decades we begin to find a few local surgeons, pharmacists and brokers placing advertisements, as well as announcements for markets, barge schedules, and even the staging of plays. It seems that by 1700, the *Ghendtsche Post-Tydingen* was appreciated by local citizens as a potential medium of publicity.

We can observe a similar development in nearby Antwerp, during this period the only other Flemish city with a newspaper. The bi-weekly *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* of the Verdussen family had been renamed the *Antwerpsche Post-Tijdinghen*, and in 1695 the paper was bought by Hendrik III Aertssens.⁵⁵ He published the *Antwerpsche Post-Tijdinghen*, rebranded as the

53 Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', pp. 88–91.

54 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, II, pp. 1134–1159.

55 *Ibid*, II, pp. 1518–1530.

Gazette van Antwerpen in 1719, until his death in 1741. While the Verdussens had struggled to turn the newspaper into a profitable venture, Aertssens became a wealthy man, and it seems that newspaper advertising had some role to play in this regard.⁵⁶ The first near-complete run of the paper dates from 1700, when we find 75 advertisements and announcements in 103 surviving issues. This is significantly less than the papers in the north: in the same year the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* contained 1,318 advertisements and announcements. Nevertheless, the subscribers to the Antwerp paper would find advertisements for newly published books, public lotteries, auctions of paintings, the sale of cloth-presses and other industrial machinery, and announcements concerning wanted criminals and annual markets: in short, advertisements and announcements which readers of the Dutch papers would have found very familiar. More unusually, the Antwerp paper also include many advertisements by musicians, and for music books. This particularity most likely stemmed from the early career of the Aertssens family, who were specialist music printers before Hendrik III bought the newspaper.⁵⁷

During the eighteenth century, newspaper advertising in the *Gazette van Antwerpen* would, like its Dutch counterparts, undergo a quantitative transformation. The 75 advertisements placed in the paper in 1700 had become 1,600 advertisements in 1790.⁵⁸ Already by the 1780s, no less than three-quarters of the paper was taken up by advertisements, a far higher proportion than most Dutch newspapers. The Antwerp advertisements were also distinguished by their local character. Antwerp was a metropolis, and the greatest proportion of the weekly print run of 1,500 copies was distributed and sold within the city itself.⁵⁹ The *Gazette van Antwerpen* would therefore never acquire a similar status to the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, with its national audience. The Antwerp paper could rely on some sales in the province of Brabant, but already encountered stiff competition from the *Gazette van Ghendt* in Flanders. Auctions held in Antwerp, together with real estate notices for property within the city, made up around half of all the advertisements placed in the

⁵⁶ Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', p. 97.

⁵⁷ Steven Van Impe, 'Mediamagnaten in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden? De uitgevers en redacteurs van de *Gazette van Antwerpen* in de achttiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 91 (2013) pp. 127–158, here p. 133.

⁵⁸ Dries Lyna and Ilja van Damme, 'A strategy of seduction? The role of commercial advertisements in the eighteenth-century retailing business of Antwerp', *Business History*, 51 (2009), pp. 100–121, p. 104.

⁵⁹ Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', p. 93.

Gazette van Antwerpen during the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ Local retailers, including booksellers and publishers, seem to have made little use of the paper.

By the 1770s, the *Gazette van Antwerpen* was a successful venture, which generated a far higher return on investment than the much larger Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers.⁶¹ Advertising was only responsible for around 30% of the revenue of the *Gazette van Antwerpen*, but it does seem that it played a significant role in the success of the paper. For some markets, like auctions and real estate, it had become a crucial platform. Although the Antwerp paper seems to have been influenced by the Dutch model for advertising around the end of the seventeenth century, it went on to develop a profile of its own in the Southern Netherlands. The publication of newspapers was tightly controlled in the Austrian Netherlands, but the popularity of newspaper advertising did prompt the foundation of numerous advertising sheets (*aankondigingsbladen* or *feuilles d'annonces*).⁶² These periodical advertising sheets were actually prohibited from including traditional news reports, and therefore dedicated entirely to commercial advertisements and public announcements. The advertising sheets could be found in Brussels, which had a French newspaper but no Flemish equivalent, and Mechelen, Louvain, Tournai and Herve, all towns without a local paper, but with plenty of advertisers wishing to publicise their wares and services.

With the appearance of the advertising sheets we find ourselves a long way from Abraham Verhoeven's self-promotion, advertising the maps and pamphlets available for sale in his shop. In the Dutch Republic, advertising developed as a by-product of the success of the papers, which were sold in bookshops around the country; but the Flemish papers always struggled for similar success, and so advertising took time to put down firm roots. It would take most of a century before the Southern Netherlandish public had enough interest in the periodical press to ensure its viability, and it would take an enterprising and determined figure like Hendrik Aertssens to cultivate a clientele that recognised the value of newspaper advertising.

60 Lyna and Van Damme, 'A strategy of seduction?', p. 104.

61 Van Impe, 'The Business and Profit of Newspapers in the Southern Netherlands', p. 97.

62 T. Luykx, 'De aankondigingsbladen in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden (1713–1792/4)', in *Bijdragen tot de communicatiewetenschap. Liber Amicorum ter nagedachtenis van Prof. Dr. N. De Volder* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, 1970), pp. 119–135. Stefanie Beghein and Goran Proot, 'Book auctions in Mechelen, 1773–1800', *De Gulden Passer*, 89 (2011), pp. 97–183, here pp. 100–101.

The Dutch Republic and the Future of Advertising, II: Beyond the Netherlands

In 1688, when Dutch military muscle secured the removal of King James II from the throne of Great Britain, the prospect briefly dawned of an extraordinary cross-channel union, dominating the economy of northern Europe. The steely determination and unbending will of William III of Orange had achieved what had eluded Europe's most powerful monarch, Philip II of Spain, exactly a century before: the invasion of England. The amphibious landing, led by William and financed by Amsterdam, was an astonishing feat of daring, logistical organisation and raw economic power. The meticulous planning extended to production, in great secrecy, of over 50,000 copies of William's declaration of intent, to liberate but not to rule. Such a printing operation exceeded the capacities even of the States printer, so other trusted firms were brought in to the commission. William's *Declaration* would be one of the most successful compositions of the century, with over 20 editions in four different languages.¹

In the end, the *Declaration* would prove something of double-edged sword, as its protestations of altruism would allow the English Parliament to turn supine capitulation to Dutch military power into a 'Glorious Revolution'. In the debates that followed the expulsion of James II, the high-minded promises of the *Declaration* were frequently cited as the lodestone of new parliamentary liberties, to William's private frustration. Yet for the moment all parties got something from the bargain. London and Amsterdam could profit from the mutual exchange of intellectual and financial capital, technology and business innovation; William could continue to call on Dutch resources for his struggle against Louis XIV. With the passage of years, the balance of advantage edged remorselessly towards London and Britain. With William's death in 1702, the personal link was broken. By 1713, when the war with Louis was brought to an end, the government of Queen Anne would largely ignore Dutch interests in concluding the Treaty of Utrecht.

The impact of this shifting balance of economic power can also be read in the history of the newspapers. While Groningen and Leeuwarden had to wait until 1743 and 1752 respectively for their first newspaper, twenty-eight English provincial towns had established a newspaper by 1758, and several had more

¹ Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, pp. 387–390.



ILLUSTRATION 8.1 Romeyn de Hooghe, *Overwinning van Willem III aan de Boyne, 1690* (1691). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-68.281A
 William III, triumphant at the Battle of the Boyne, pictured by Romeyn de Hooghe. De Hooghe had been a supporter of the Prince of Orange since his elevation to power in the Dutch Republic in 1672, but his artistic talents truly came into their own with the invasion of England in 1688, and William's subsequent struggle against James II and Louis XIV.

than one paper. Even in Holland, the diversity of the 1640s and 1660s was a distant memory, as the magistrates of the major cities each restricted the local market to a single approved paper, whose editor paid a substantial annual fee for the privilege of this local monopoly. The contrast between the exuberant variety of the London newspaper market after 1695 could not be more marked. All this had its impact on the advertising market. If the advertisements in the eighteenth-century Dutch newspapers were largely more numerous examples of types of advertisement familiar from the first age of experimentation, London took a different path. It was here that we see a more vivid image of the future of advertising, for good or ill.

Mr Packwood Presents

If we want to see how different an advertising market could be, a quick trip on one of the regular barge services across the Channel to London (via Dover or Harwich), would have brought this home. It is not immediately obvious why the advertising industries of Amsterdam and London should have developed in such different ways. From the late seventeenth century, the financial infrastructure of the two cities was closely connected, and in many respects – not least in books sales practice, auctions and lotteries – London took its cue from Amsterdam. The English newspaper industry had been slower to develop than that of the Dutch Republic, but the English Civil Wars of the 1640s had prompted a very rapid expansion of the periodical news market.² The publishers of the highly partisan newsbooks of the Civil Wars only began to take up advertising seriously towards the end of the 1640s.³ While the number of competing titles was whittled down by Oliver Cromwell's Republican government, around a dozen newsbooks started to accept large numbers of advertisements, mostly placed by fellow members of the London book trade. A recent survey has identified close to 4,000 advertisements placed in twenty-nine London newsbooks between 1649 and 1660; most appeared in the state-sanctioned papers of Marchamont Nedham, who was granted a monopoly on newspaper publishing in 1655.⁴ Nedham took advantage of this monopoly by raising the price of advertisements from six pence to two shillings and six pence. After a short period in which advertisers all but abandoned his papers, they returned in even greater numbers. In 1658, Nedham's *Mercurius Politicus* regularly included more than ten advertisements per issue.⁵

After the restoration of the Stuart monarchy it looked like London might adopt the Parisian model, with a single state-sponsored news service sucking the oxygen out of the commercial market. Established in 1665, the *London Gazette* enjoyed several decades as a monopoly provider, providing the usual round of foreign reports and court news and very little advertising. With access to diplomatic despatches, the quality of its news sources allowed it to take a

2 Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

3 R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650–1750', *Business History*, 15 (1973), pp. 112–130, here p. 113.

4 McElligott, 'Advertising and Selling in Cromwellian Newsbooks', pp. 467–486. See also Marcus Nevitt, 'Books in the News in Cromwellian England', *Media History*, 23 (2017), pp. 218–240, especially pp. 219–225.

5 McElligott, 'Advertising and Selling in Cromwellian Newsbooks', p. 473.

certain high-minded tone not possible for mere commercial papers, as demonstrated in this announcement of 1666:

Being daily pressed to the publication of books, medicines and other things, not properly the business of a paper of intelligence, this is to notify once for all, that we will not charge the *Gazette* with advertisements, unless they be matters of state.⁶

This seems quite definitive, but it lasted less than five years. By 1670, advertisements for books and medicines had elbowed their way into the *Gazette* along with news from the court, announcements from the London guilds and educational institutions. What ultimately distinguished the *Gazette* was not the absence of commercial notices, but the prevalence of advertisements of interest to those close to the court: luxury goods, horses stolen by 'two gentlemen pretending to be persons of quality' and even looting after a fire at the royal palace of Whitehall:

Whereas during the late fire at Whitehall, a walnut chest of drawers with several papers in it, prints and drawings, some colours and pencils for painters, with some few pieces of plate, were lost out of my Lord Rutland's lodgings; these are to give notice, that whoever shall bring the same to Mr Cornelis Gronvelt at his Lordships said lodgings, shall have 5 guineas.⁷

It seems when it comes to sharing in the new commercial wonders of Britain's capital city, not everyone was content to come by their new pleasures honestly.

Historians have long noted the extraordinary vigour of the new commercial market in London in the eighteenth century. This was characterised both by its extent, and by the almost religious fervour with which new products were sought. Consumers not only added new conveniences to their houses, and sported better and more flamboyant clothes, they also changed them much more regularly. Material possessions once valued for durability were now prized for their fashion.⁸ This was something that, for all the wealth available

6 Michael Harris, 'Timely notices: The uses of advertising and its relationship to news during the late seventeenth century', *Prose Studies*, 21 (1998), pp. 141–156, here page 145.

7 *London Gazette* 2652, 13.04.1691.

8 Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), p. 1.

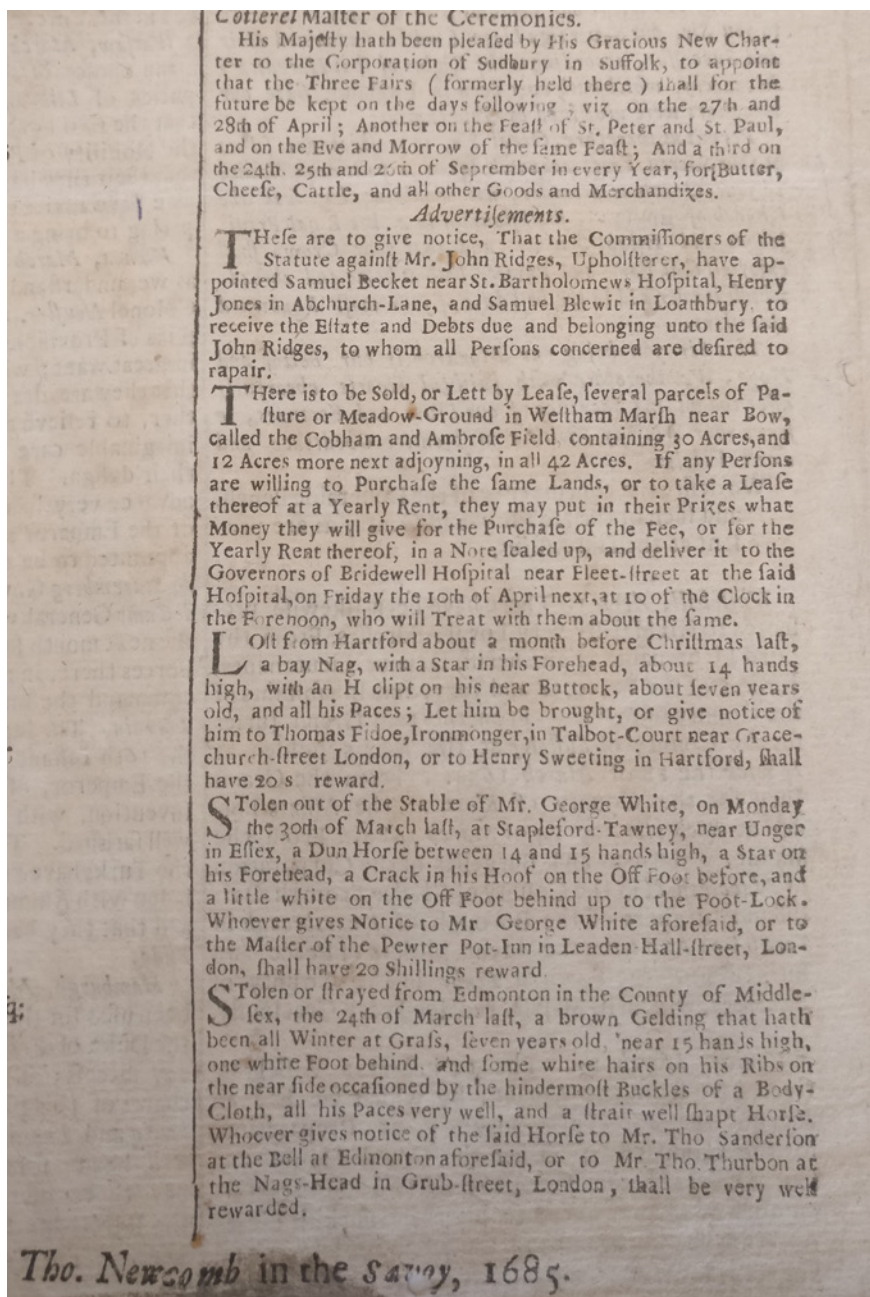


ILLUSTRATION 8.2 *The London Gazette*, no. 2021 (London: Thomas Newcomb, 2 April 1685). Private Collection Arthur der Weduwen

A typical sample of advertisements found in the *London Gazette* at the end of the seventeenth century. Although the *Gazette* initially eschewed paid advertising, the paper was quickly filled with a liberal quantity of notifications, especially those for lost and stolen horses and announcements of bankruptcies.

for household goods, never really occurred in the Dutch Republic. London had not achieved the democratisation of luxury that characterises the twenty-first century consumer market, but certainly the democratisation of consumption was well under way.

In the two centuries between 1600 and 1800, the population of London leapt from 200,000 to 900,000. In 1750, London housed 7% of the population of England. When we take into account population mobility and the seasonal effects of the social season and Parliamentary sittings, 1 in 6 adults would at some point in their lives have experienced living in London.⁹ This combination, of a huge population, a rapidly developing economy, the new goods flowing into the port of the Imperial city, and the diversity of competing newspapers, created the perfect conditions for the flowering of newspaper advertising.

The newspaper market advanced by stages with the steady erosion of the *Gazette* monopoly after the Dutch Invasion of 1688. In 1689, James Welwood, a Scottish physician, inaugurated the *Mercurius Reformatus or the New Observer*. This combined news with a steady flow of advertisements for religious books and political pamphlets. This was a strategy very familiar from the Dutch Republic; what was here original was the close alignment between the editorial political of the paper and the books advertised. Some of them, indeed, were Welwood's own works.¹⁰ The *Mercurius Reformatus* closed in 1691, and the real leap forward for the London market came only in 1695, with the final lapse of the Licensing Act. The vice of the Stationers' company was finally loosened: what resulted was a free-for-all unique in the European newspaper market.

The sudden arrival of unbridled competition brought a wave of new papers. The *Flying-Post*, the *Post Boy* and the *Post Man* were on the streets within a year: the use of post in the title was an evocation both of the historic link between the postal service and news supply and the aspiration to seek subscribers in the provinces. By 1702, London had its first daily paper, the *Daily Courant*. By 1712, about twenty weekly papers were published in the capital. Most used the double-sided single-sheet format familiar from the *London Gazette*: in this respect the Amsterdam model proved enduring. Papers would come and go, particularly after the restraints on growth imposed by the Stamp Act of 1712, with its tax both on paper and newspaper advertisements, but it did not take long to demonstrate that profits could still be made. By mid-century the aggregate sale of the London papers reached 100,000 copies a

9 E.A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650–1750', *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 44–60.

10 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, 'Grub Street Commerce; Advertisements and Politics in the Early Modern British Press', *The Historian*, 63 (2000), pp. 35–52.

week, or five million copies a year.¹¹ By 1760, London had four dailies, eight tri-weeklies and four weekly papers, rising to sixteen daily papers by 1794. This was a market that grew inexorably through all the twists and turns of party politics and political crisis.¹²

The London newspapers were favoured in a number of ways: a huge local market, many subscribers outside London, and a steady drip of news from Parliament. They also recognised fewer restraints on the range and variety of news they might include. The London papers included a far greater quantity of domestic news than could ever have been contemplated in the Dutch Republic. Most was political, but the London papers never underestimated the public's appetite for gossip. The author of this piece in the *Free Briton* was being satirical, but this exaggeration still contained the grain of truth:

Our economy of intelligence is also most wonderful. In foreign kingdoms, a man may hang and drown himself with all desirable silence and security. But here, if a lover is seen pendent on a willow-tree, it is known in a week from the Land's End to Berwick-upon-Tweed and thence it runs all over Europe.¹³

The newspapers also greatly expanded both the number and range of advertisements. In 1728, the advertising revenue of the *Daily Post* was estimated at £1,200 a year, the approximate equivalent of the sale of 150,000 copies of the paper.¹⁴ Some papers carried over fifty advertisements per issue: the *General Advertiser* included more than 1,300 notices within its first twenty-four issues in 1749. The advertisements carried by the papers were more numerous, more diverse, and much, much longer. These were widely regarded, as we have argued in the Dutch case, as in many instances more interesting than the news. A contributor to *Fog's Weekly Journal* confided that in his regular coffee-house he would not surrender his paper until he had

with great accuracy perused the advertisements, which take up the latter end of it, for I look upon them as pieces of domestic intelligence much more interesting than those paragraphs with our daily historians generally give us under the title of home news.¹⁵

11 Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1987), p. 191.

12 Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621–1861* (Stroud: Sutton, 2011), p. 74.

13 Quoted in Harris, *London Press*, p. 162.

14 Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers', p. 130.

15 *Fog's Weekly Journal* 380, 14.02.1736. Quoted in Harris, *London Press*, p. 176.

That is not to say that all advertisements were equally admired. Advertisements for medical remedies grew tedious, partly because they made their claims of miraculous healing properties at such inordinate length and were placed with monotonous regularity. The newspapers risked losing their delightful miscellany in return for easy profits, and some took steps to impose limits.

Whereas one fourth part at least of all the papers that are now extant, is filled with quack advertisements; to prevent the like in this and to give room for matter of importance no advertisements will be admitted, but such as relate to books and pamphlets.¹⁶

This was echoed five years later in *Old England*: 'in order to make room for other advertisements ... the medical advertisements shall be occasionally confined to the last page'. But these were bumps in the road, a hiccup in the development of a market of a size and variety that would not be rivalled elsewhere until well into the nineteenth century. In 1759, Samuel Johnson would comment with evident admiration that 'the trade of advertising is now so near perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement'. But Johnson was at heart a journalist, and fully exploited the journalist's privilege to express contrary opinions without a second glance. Two years later he was taking a much more critical view:

Advertisements are now so numerous that they are very negligently perused, and it is therefore become necessary by magnificence of promises and by eloquence sometimes sublime and sometimes pathetic.¹⁷

By this point the market was so sophisticated that readers might be invited to pay for information (often about their private lives) to be left out of the papers. This was known as selling paragraphs, and the practice, apparently unique to the London papers, may have had a lot to do with the low esteem in which journalism would be held in England until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁸

Against this, one has to admire the ingenuity, nerve and sheer persistence with which London's tradesmen, ably assisted by the newspapers, sought to make their way in a crowded market. To illustrate the range of rhetorical

¹⁶ *The Publick Register or The Weekly Magazine*, January 1741.

¹⁷ Elliott, *A History of English Advertising*, pp. 109–110.

¹⁸ Harris, *London Newspapers*.

strategies employed in this new commercial market one could do no better than investigate the ingenious career of Mr George Packwood, of Gracechurch Street, London. In the space of three years between 1794 and 1796, Packwood posted a remarkable sixty advertisements in twenty-six different newspapers. To sell his miracle product, Packwood engaged a range of different strategies: he placed in the newspapers imagined dialogue in which his product proved to be the cure for a painful problem, riddles, jokes and jingles, a spoof announcement of an election result, advertisements disguised as sports reports or law reports. All this to advertise a leather strop, which sharpened a razor.

No doubt these were excellent strops, though to read some of his advertisements, Packwood might just as easily have been a frustrated playwright; certainly, he was witty and inventive. Some of the advertisements would have taken up an extraordinary amount of space, such as the dialogue in the *Times*, summarised here:

Good morrow friend, how do you do this morning?

I have been shaving myself uncomfortably this morning, my face smarts with pain.

Ho! Ho! You are not in the secret then. Have you not heard of a strop that leaves so smooth an edge as to shave yourself with that ease as is not to be described? They are vended wholesale and retail by the sole proprietor, G. Packwood.

My best friend and comforter, if I find it as true as you assert, I'll treat you with a bird and a bottle of the best.¹⁹

The whole dialogue was a daunting 550 words, with ten exchanges before the essential information was conveyed. The election notice was more economical of space: 'George Packwood we hear, is returned for the county of Strop, with very little opposition'.²⁰ Nor were the wonders of his invention confined to the capital:

Good news for Northampton and its environs, looked for upwards of one thousand years back, a method to get a comfortable shave, which now is happily discovered in the use of Packwood's new invention.²¹

19 *The Times*, 15.10.1794. The full text at McKendrick, *Birth of a Consumer Society*, pp. 155–156.

20 *Telegraph*, 01.06.1796.

21 *Northampton Mercury*, 26.09.1795.

Good news indeed, and there was more of the same for Gloucester, Edinburgh, Cork and Dublin. As for the sports news:

Packwood is a good shot, as evident from the excellence with which he always takes aim when practicing his favourite diversion. The town has witnessed this on more accounts than one, but particularly when he takes his favourite piece (the Razor Strop) which brings down his game at a greater distance than can be imagined.²²

Here we can appreciate not only Packwood's virtuosity, but the variety of news that now regularly filled the pages of the London papers. Sporting news was relatively new to the newspapers, a trail blazed by invitations to witness aristocrats racing their thoroughbred horses for extravagant wagers.²³ Election news was also unique to the English papers, since only Britain had a Parliament that played such a regular public role in the life of the nation. This, undoubtedly, was a further driver of the expansion of the newspaper market, for all that the House of Commons fought fitfully, and without much conviction, to keep verbatim reports of its debates out of the London papers.

Not all retailers shared the titanic ambitions of George Packwood, but that the British, and particularly the London papers would accommodate such a campaign made the great city unique in the eighteenth century. No other city had such variety of papers; no other city was experiencing such a profound commercial revolution, encompassing such a wide range of its population. In other parts of Europe, even in other parts of the British Empire we see only distant echoes of this advertising fury. In the eighteenth century, London set a pace that none could yet match.

Country Matters

The relative lack of innovation in the Dutch advertising world is not ultimately a surprise. The eighteenth century was a period of consolidation in the Dutch economy, if not actual stagnation or decline. The dynamism in the eighteenth-century economy lay elsewhere, not least across the Channel in Britain. While the historian's attention has primarily been captured by the emergence of London as the world's economic capital, the Anglophone newspaper world was

²² *Oxford Journal*, 11.06.1796.

²³ Andrea T. Cook, *A History of the English Turf* (London: Virtue, 1901–1905).

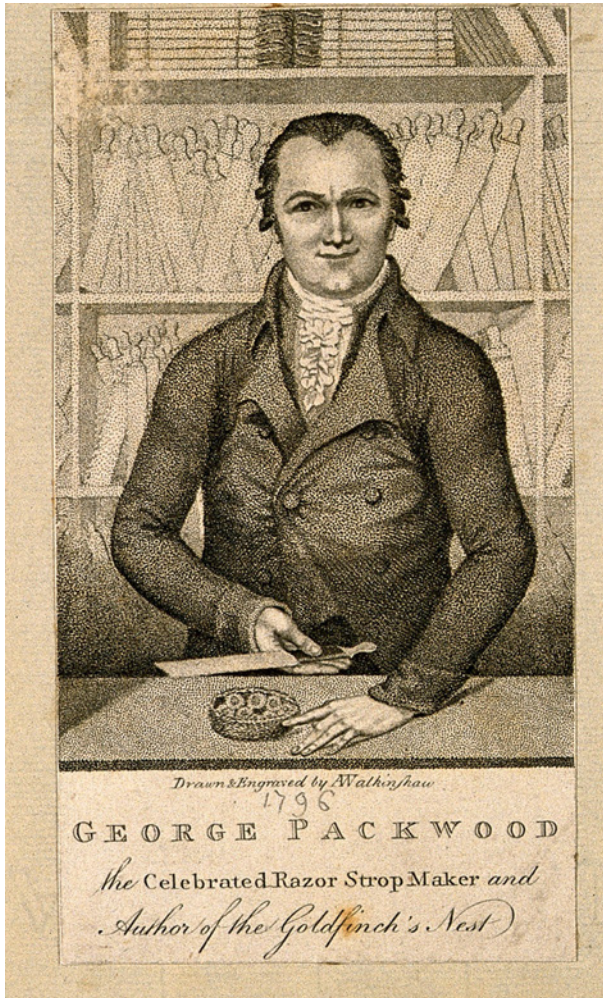


ILLUSTRATION 8.3 *Portrait of George Packwood (1796)*. Wellcome Collection, London
 George Packwood, the imaginative razor-strop seller. Packwood stood at the forefront of a significant transformation in advertising, the emergence of narrative story-telling.

not all London. Instead, we can identify three distinct segments: London, the English provinces together with Scotland and Ireland, and the American Colonies. In the eighteenth century, a network of new newspapers, each serving a county town and a wider hinterland of smaller towns and villages, honey-combed the English counties. It was hard graft to make a newspaper pay, deprived of the political subsidies on which London newspapers could rely. In these circumstances, advertising revenue was absolutely crucial to their

survival, in contrast to most of the newspapers published in the Low Countries: the editor of the *Reading Mercury* in 1797 went as far as to state that 'the profits of a newspaper arise only from advertisements'.²⁴ This was all the more the case since the news offered in papers in Norwich, Exeter or Bristol was a more or less brazen precis of the London papers: some of the earliest provincial papers were actually published in London.²⁵ The advertisements, along with a few letters to the editor, often provided the totality of what was actually local.

Norwich, Bristol and Exeter all had newspapers by the first years of the eighteenth century, though precisely when these were first established is difficult to say given the appallingly low rates of survival. The first surviving issue of the *Bristol Post-Boy* is number 287. An early Shrewsbury paper, said to have been published in 1705, has vanished completely.²⁶ These early foundations reveals the beginning of a pattern, since all of these newspapers were established on main roads some way from London. The same was true of the next wave, in Worcester, Stamford, Newcastle, Nottingham and Liverpool. Presumably the Home Counties were thought to be sufficiently well served by the London papers. The country papers also developed a similarly expansive regional network of subscribers, often overlapping with that of the newspaper in another city some way distant. Indeed, boasting of subscribers in neighbouring counties, other major cities and even in London itself was fundamental to the newspapers' pitch to potential advertisers.

By 1758, twenty-eight provincial towns sustained thirty-six newspapers. These served around forty thousand customers, all desirous of sampling the sophisticated fashions and consumer goods they imagined to be freely available in London. Many of the newspaper proprietors obligingly stocked a wide variety of these goods themselves. This was less artful opportunism than a strategy for survival. For the first two centuries of print, London had enjoyed a near monopoly of printing in England, firmly policed by the London Stationers' Company. This was a situation unique in the European book world, only really

24 *Reading Mercury*, 10.07.1797. C.Y. Ferdinand, 'Selling it to the Provinces: News and Commerce round Eighteenth-Century Salisbury', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 393–411, here p. 410, n. 29.

25 R.M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2010), p. 7. The following section draws heavily on the work of Wiles, along with more recent investigations by our postgraduate student James McCall, currently engaged on doctoral research on the English news market in the early eighteenth century.

26 Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, pp. 16–17.

challenged at the very end of the seventeenth century. So the birth period of the provincial press was also the incunabula age of English provincial print.

It had long been customary for stationers and booksellers to augment their retail trade selling pens and paper, notebooks, music paper and sealing wax. Printed forms probably made up more of the business of the provincial presses than publishing books. The offices of the English provincial newspapers went well beyond this traditional stationers' business. Many papers published in their own pages long lists of the articles they kept in stock, including tooth powder, lottery tickets, lemons and chocolate, and a good range of pills and medicines. No doubt, they would also have stocked the medical remedies most energetically advertised in their papers. In 1730, the printer of the *Northampton Mercury*, William Dicey, informed his readers that he had purchased a 'choice and large quantity of violins', which he proposed to sell at the London wholesale price. Always London: the inevitable, unreachable point of comparison.²⁷

If we are to assess the role of advertising in this new provincial market, we should first recognise its primary characteristics: the market was large, elastic, but difficult. In aggregate, the provincial trade reached many customers with sufficient disposable income and eager to sample what the new consumer market had to offer. But these customers were widely dispersed and delivering their purchases put heavy pressure on the established carrier trade. Even maintaining the newspapers was a constant struggle against insolvency. Indeed, it is with the English provincial newspapers that we meet the most overt claims that advertising revenue was absolutely necessary if these ventures were to turn a profit. A brisk calculation suggests that even if such a paper sold the largest plausible number of copies, the entire cover price would easily be expended on costs associated with publishing the issue. Buying the stamped paper, paying the press workers, added to the cost of obtaining the news and distribution of the finished copies, left nothing over, and probably left the publisher in debt. Only paid advertising offered a route to solvency. The papers that eschewed advertising quickly folded.²⁸

We can chart the growth of advertising through the duty raised by the Stamp Act of 1712, which in addition to the tax on stamped paper imposed a flat tax rate of one shilling on advertisements. By 1756, this brought in £8,955, the equivalent of 179,100 paid advertisements. Fifty years later, the revenue had

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

multiplied four-fold, with the help of a rise in the standard fee to two shillings. Significantly, half this sum was now collected outside London.²⁹

Finding local traders willing to advertise their wares seems not to have been a problem. As early as 1709, the *Norwich Gazette* gave up the whole of its fourth, final page to advertising. The *Stamford Mercury* in the 1730s had five full columns out of twelve given over to such notices. Tax receipts suggest that an average of between fifteen and twenty advertisements quickly became the norm. Editors were of course not obliged to charge for access to their pages. Some papers briefly offered to take advertisements for free, presumably to build circulation, an important acknowledgement of the contribution advertisements made to the vivid miscellany of the contents. Other editors were keen to stress their civic-mindedness, by admitting public service notices at no charge, as when the *Liverpool Advertiser* promoted subscriptions for a fund for the family of men impressed into the navy.³⁰ This was not the only such newspaper that incorporated 'advertiser' into its name. For the most part, publishers were happy to follow the example of the Bristol newspaper, which in 1725 required four shillings for an advertisement of ten lines, repeated in following issues for three shillings each week. Other papers charged two shillings or half a crown.³¹

We can easily mine these advertisements for amusing or diverting eccentricities, even the occasional case of an advertisement rejected on grounds of vulgarity: 'its wit is really too coarse for our paper: so wou'd recommend it to the author to have it carefully filtered against some other opportunity'.³² For our purposes it is more fruitful to examine how far this interesting market followed the prototype laid down by the Dutch. The two markets did exhibit some similar characteristics, with an interlocked network of urban centres, though these cities were generally smaller in the English case, and without the swift internal transport network of the Dutch canals. In one respect, the Dutch prototype prevailed, in that the advertisements were generally grouped at the back of the paper. In some English papers they began to creep forward, partly because they took up so much of the paper; sometimes they were interwoven with sections of news. By 1750, and occasionally earlier, advertisements began to infiltrate the front page. The English newspapers also experimented with line breaks and decorations to pick out a favoured advertisement; occasionally advertisements were disguised as news items. On the whole, however,

29 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

32 *Coventry Mercury* 887, 03.07.1758.

customers seem to have been happy with the wild profusion of different advertisements, 'the wilderness of strange but gay confusion', in the words of William Cowper.³³ It would require the further step-change of the nineteenth century before the sheer number of advertisements required separation into discreet sections.

The greatest divergence from the Dutch prototype is the large number of notices for sales of houses and estates carried by the English provincial papers. These accounted for a full 50% of the advertisements in the *Ipswich Journal*.³⁴ In Salisbury, about a quarter of the advertisements dealt with real estate, and by the 1760s the number of houses for sale outstripped the advertisements for books.³⁵ The situation was much the same in Newcastle, where readers of the local paper were tempted by houses and estates dispersed across a wide area of northern England.³⁶ The rural hinterland served by many newspapers helps explain this. Whereas local businesses could advertise their goods locally by word of mouth, handbills or the newly fashionable trade cards, news of the availability of a far-flung rural estate could only effectively be made known through the newspapers. Local traders also made increasing use of the newspapers to advertise their wares, notwithstanding the continuing vitality of England's network of markets. By the 1750s, more than 30% of the advertisements in the Salisbury paper related to moveable goods, patent medicines, or tradesmen offering their services.³⁷

What we do note in the English country papers is the comparative eclipse of the notices, public and personal, that made up such a large proportion of the Dutch advertisements. In Christine Ferdinand's analysis of Salisbury, notices of meetings and markets, robberies and so on, averaged about 10% of the total. Most were placed by private bodies and individuals, rather than the local authorities.³⁸ This was partly a result of the very different governmental structures of England and the Netherlands, with the large number of Dutch jurisdictions issuing ordinances for the regulation of trade and exercising their responsibility for gathering local excise duties. The far more centralised English state, with no long-established tradition of provincial printing, created a very

33 Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 181.

34 Emma Hart, 'A British Atlantic World of Advertising? Colonial American "For Sale" Notices in Comparative Context', *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism and Bibliography*, 24 (2014), pp. 110–127.

35 Ferdinand, 'Selling it to the Provinces', p. 399.

36 Personal communication of James McCall.

37 Ferdinand, 'Selling it to the Provinces', p. 399.

38 *Ibid.*



ILLUSTRATION 8.4 *Three eighteenth-century patent medicine bottles, including a bottle of Duffy's Elixir.* Wikimedia Commons

Medical elixirs, including the famed *Duffy's Elixir*, were a staple of English advertisements, and many booksellers took the opportunity to sell these bottled medical remedies alongside books and newspapers.

different context for public communication. The collapse of the ban on domestic news in the last decade of the seventeenth century also meant that common themes in notices posted by public bodies, such as the hue and cry for an escaped prisoner, could be smoothly absorbed into the news section.

Most of all, the unexpected reticence of Dutch retail traders in advertising their wares finds no sympathy in England. In the first issue of the *Liverpool Chronicle* of May 1757, the editor muses that not so many years since 'it was thought mean and disreputable in any tradesman of worth and credit to advertise the sale of his commodities in a public newspaper'.³⁹ Was something of the same mental constraint operating in seventeenth-century Amsterdam? If so, by the mid-eighteenth century, the English provincial papers had long overcome such scruples, and the same would be true of the burgeoning newspaper trade in the American colonies.

39 Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 150.

Patriots and Tea-drinkers

After the first successful establishment of a news serial in British America, the *Boston News-Letter* of 1702, the newspaper network developed only very gradually: by 1720, there were still only three newspapers in the colonies. This changed rapidly from mid-century, coinciding with a booming market in consumer products. By 1740, there were a dozen weekly papers, and by the mid-1760s, twenty-four: at this point only one of the thirteen colonies, New Jersey, did not have its own paper. Between 1763 and 1775, under the pressure of revolutionary events, the number of newspapers would double, and it would double again with the excitement of nation building and the birth of party politics before 1790.

The emergence of an American consumer market in the eighteenth century was not without parallels to the sudden, unexpected transformation of the Dutch Republic a century before. Each of these societies had to accommodate a new taste for material things within a relatively austere Protestant culture. The very different ways in which the newspapers facilitated this transition are both instructive and surprising. For the American colonies the complicating factor, moral, political and logistic, was that the source of this vast array of new consumer goods lay four thousand miles away across the Atlantic, in the motherland, Britain. This required the development of extended supply lines from the ports to the interior, and a new sales infrastructure for what soon became a highly competitive market. Newspapers and advertising would play a crucial role in this.

We can take the temperature of this new commercial world by accepting the invitation offered by Mordecai Yarnell to visit his shop in Philadelphia. In September 1752, Yarnell took advertising space in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to inform customers of the arrival of his autumn consignment of dry goods. The advertisement offers no blandishments, and none of the arch wordiness that often characterises eighteenth-century trade: Yarnell comes straight to the point. His list begins with a range of fabrics, muslins, taffetas, silk, calicoes and linens. This represents a carefully stratified ecology of different fineness and durability, cloth for all purposes and all weathers. The silver watches, shoe and knee buckles are the highlights of more than fifty items shipped from England, to be found at his shop along with 'sundry other goods, too tedious to mention'.⁴⁰

40 This paragraph, and much of what follows, draws heavily upon T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), here at p. 54.

Yarnell was inviting his customers to visit a veritable Ali Baba's cave of imported delights and conveniences for the home, and his shop must have been one of many in 1750s Philadelphia. And the inventory kept growing. In New York in the 1720s, local merchants may have listed five or six imported items in their advertisements: by the 1770s this had grown to some 300–1,000 items in a single issue. Sometimes a single advertisement occupied most of a page. Charleston's *South Carolina Gazette* exhibits the same phenomenon, with the same mid-century take-off in the range and quality of imported goods available.⁴¹

Most surprising of all, in this robust colonial society, was the obsession with clothes. When the Reverend Jonathan Boucher moved from the north of England to Virginia in 1759, he was surprised to find himself decidedly underdressed. 'I assure you', he wrote home rather ruefully, 'the common planter's daughters here go every day in finer clothes than I have seen content you for a summer's Sunday'. The satin waistcoat the reverend had sported with some pride, had not had the effect for which he had hoped.

I'm nothing amongst the lace and laced fellows that are here. Nay, so much does their taste run after dress that they tell me I may see in Virginia more brilliant assemblies than I ever could in the north of England, and except royal ones perhaps in any part of it.⁴²

As this example makes clear, the desire for the best that Europe could provide was not limited to the larger urban centres. Archaeological digs at the distant frontier post at Fort Massachusetts have found plenty of evidence that fine goods were carted out to those on watch to help them while away the weary hours with imported wine in British glasses, salt-glaze stoneware and pipes made by Roger Tippet of Bristol.⁴³ The hierarchies and class divisions that so inhibited social mobility in European societies had not been transported across the Atlantic. These included the sumptuary restraints evident in seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture. Even if a Dutch tailor had been tempted to advertise in the Amsterdam paper, the prospect of the Sunday sermon taking a personal turn was sufficiently terrifying to give him pause. The egalitarian society of the colonies encouraged status competition without imposing limits on dress defined by social station; to the sterner commentators,

⁴¹ Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*. pp. 55–56.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 49–50.

this was the democratisation of vice. The desire to strut about in colourful clothes extended to both servants and slaves. Complaints were raised that slaves were stealing to finance the purchase of fine coloured garments.⁴⁴ And consider this description of William Smith, a runaway servant whose disappearance was advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*:

He had on ... a light coloured broad cloth coat, which is broke at the elbows, and with very few buttons on it, a pail blue duroy waistcoat, a pair of deep blue sagathy breeches, course shoes, several pair of stockings, steel buckles, course felt hat, a Newmarket coat of light bath coating, not bound, but stitched on the edges, with death head buttons on it, a pail blue duroy waistcoat, a pair of wrappers, rather of a darker colour than the Newmarket coat. He likewise carried off with him a black satin capuchin, a piece of new Virginia cloth, containing eight yards, striped with blue and copperass.⁴⁵

Leaving aside the physical discomfort of wandering about the Virginia countryside in so many layers of clothing, this fineness of the American eye reminds us of what was always said about the difficulty of escaping from an Italian POW camp. Whereas in Germany the difficulty lay in forging plausible documents, in Italy it was the crudity of the camp-made clothes which inevitably betrayed the escapee.

Not all the runaways were men; women too, attracted attention through their garish gear as they made their bid for freedom.

Run away on the 4th instant, from the subscriber, living in Moreland township, Philadelphia county, a servant girl named Mary Williams, about 17 years of age, of a low size, but middling thick; had on, and took with her, a long calico gown, a short ditto, two other short gowns, once lincey and the other a striped linen one, a blue skirt and two lincey petticoats, four shifts of home made linen, a black bonnet and a pair of shoes. Whoever takes up said girl, so that her master may get her again,

44 David Waldstreicher, 'Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 56 (1999), pp. 243–272.

45 *Virginia Gazette*, 1774. Cited in Bernard Bailyn, 'Voyagers in Flight: A Sketchbook of Runaway Servants, 1774–1775', in his *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986), chapter 10. This insert, with coloured representations of the fugitives, is included only in the American edition.

check shirt, and a pair of ofsnabrug trouters. Also JAMES MARTIN, an *Irisb-man*, about 25 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, dark complexioned, and a little marked with the small-pox; had on when he deserted a brown sailor's jacket, a white linen shirt, ofsnabrug trouters, and a new hat. Whoever apprehends the said deserters, and secures them so that they may be returned to the said galley, shall receive 20s. for each, and reasonable charges, from

GEORGE MUTER, capt. of the *Hero*.

76. **D**ESERTED from my company of the 6th regiment of continental regulars, two soldiers, viz. JOHN PHILLIPS, a likely young man, of the middle size, well made, has black hair and eyes, a forward talkative person, and in common drestes tolerably well; he carried off with him a silver watch, the property of lieutenant *Dunn*, also a gun and bayonet, and cartouch box full of cartridges, and a blanket, belonging to the country. He has been seen crossing *Shirley Hundred* with all his clothes. JOSIAH CREW, about 24 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, has red eyes, of a swarthy complexion, and wears his own light hair tied behind. EDWARD PARKER, a stout well made man, wears his own light coloured hair, which curls behind. Whoever apprehends the aforesaid soldiers, and conveys them to their company, shall have a reward of 5l. for Phillips, and 40s. for each of the others.

2 || NICHOLAS HOBSON.

SWAN'S POINT, July 7, 1776.

ER. **D**ESERTED from my company of the 6th battalion of continental regulars, JOHN CHAMBLIS, 38 years old, 5 feet 10 inches and a quarter high, is well formed, has a thin face, short brown hair, dark complexion, wants some of his fore teeth, of a downcast look, has dark eyes, which are commonly sore, occasioned by hard drinking, and when drunk has a very simple look; he was but indifferently drest. Whoever delivers the said deserter to me at *Springfield camp*, in *York county*, shall have 40s. reward.

JAMES JOHNSON, captain.

the vessels and slaves at *Fredericksburg* will be at that place on Thursday the 15th day of August, and of the vessel at *Port Royal* at that place on Saturday the 17th of the said month.

(2) CHARLES WASHINGTON.
JOHN TENANT.
THOMAS LOMAX.
JAMES TUTT.

A BOUNTY of 10l. will be given by the officers of the first regiment to any person, well qualified, who will undertake to be FIVE-MAJOR to their regiment.

2 ||

RUN away from the subscriber, the 6th instant, a negro man named GEORGE, of a yellowish complexion, whom I purchased of Mr. David Meade. He took with him a bay mare, about 14 hands high, with a star in her forehead, and paces naturally. I believe he has steered his course towards *Isle of Wight*, or *Nansemond*, as he was seen at *Westover ferry* two days after he went off. Whoever will deliver the slave and mare to the subscriber, near *Richmond*, in *Henrico*, shall have 5l. reward.

MILES SELDEN.

WILLIAMSBURG, July 25, 1776.

STOLEN from the pasture grounds adjoining this city, last Saturday night, a blood-bay horse about 14 hands and a half high, and is very stoutly made. He has lost one of his eyes, his two hind legs are white a little way up, and are very thick and clumsy, from hard service; but his having only one eye makes a very particular description of him unnecessary. I will give a reward of ten shillings to any person that will deliver him to me in *Williamsburg*; but if he should be taken up at a considerable distance from this place, the taker up may depend on being handsomely rewarded. Five pounds shall be paid on conviction of the thief.

WILLIAM PASTEUR.

TAKEN up on *Lynch's creek*, in *Pittsylvania*, a bay horse about 15 or 16 years old, 4 feet 8 inches high, has on a small bell, and branded on the near shoulder P. Posted, and appraised to 8l. 10s.

|| JOHN DALTON.

ILLUSTRATION 8.5 *Virginia Gazette*, no. 78 (26 July 1776). Private Collection Andrew Pettegree
The *Virginia Gazette*, according to its banner heading, was 'always for liberty', but not when it concerned runaway slaves. Here 'a negro man named George' has fled on horseback from his master, David Meade. A reward of five pounds is offered for his return. The notice is accompanied by several announcements concerning deserters.

shall have six pence reward and seven pence for their trouble in bringing her home, paid by Edward Eaton.⁴⁶

This was one of many such advertisements, particularly in the Pennsylvania papers: on occasions a single issue might contain ten or a dozen.⁴⁷ Pennsylvania was frontier country, with settlers travelling through Philadelphia and the settled township in search of virgin land in the west. Even so, one can only wonder at the cruelty and abuse that would have tempted vulnerable young girls to leave their home to tramp the roads alone.

Then there was tea: not just the precious leaves, imported under a monopoly of the East India Company, but the whole ceremony that evolved around it. The drinking of tea required both the finest imported porcelain, and the correct clothes.⁴⁸ Tea and its accoutrements occupied an inordinate amount of space in the newspaper advertisements, sometimes as much as auction sales. Auctions featured largely in the colonial papers, not least because the networks of markets that lubricated sales in England and the Dutch Republic had never taken root in the Americas.⁴⁹ These auctions or 'vendues' were used in particular for house sales and the sales of land, which took place often on the properties themselves. It made sense with these far-flung properties, like the house sales advertised in the Newcastle papers, to alert potential purchasers through an advertisement in a newspaper which, very often, served the whole colony and not just the town in which it was published.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, tea might have been considered a luxury, but as the century wore on, more and more took to tea drinking. 'By habit', insisted a writer in the *New York Mercury*, 'it has become necessary, and it has been found as cheap as almost anything that could be substituted in its stead'.⁵⁰ This extended even to the inhabitants of the poor house who may have fallen on hard times, but saw no reason to be deprived of their tea, as they made robustly clear. The consumption of tea and its attendant ceremonies fell into the domain of the mistress of the house, which brings home the extent to which the American consumer revolution was driven forward by the empowered choices of women. We lack this perspective in the seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers because of the relative absence of consumer goods

46 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14.08.1776.

47 Don N. Hagist, *Wenches, Wives and Servant Girls: A Selection of Advertisements for Female Runaways in American Newspapers, 1770–1783* (Baraboo, Wisc.: Ballindalloch Press, 2008).

48 Rodris Roth, *Tea Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: its Etiquette and Equipage* (Washington DC: United States National Museum Bulletin, 225, 1961).

49 Hart, 'British Atlantic World'.

50 *New York Mercury*, 06.08.1770.

from their advertisements. We see Dutch women at work, in shops, and the printing house, but we do not yet see how they spent their earnings. Even so, it is a Dutch historian, Jan de Vries, who points out the crucial role women played in an awakening consumer society, since the wife found herself 'in a strategic position, located ... at the intersection of the household's three functions: reproduction, production, and consumption'.⁵¹

For this same reason, when relations between the colonies and the imperial power frayed in the second half of the eighteenth century, it would be women who bore the brunt of the colonies' determination to break the resolve of the imperial power through a consumer boycott. To this point, the colonies had been utterly dependent on England for the supply of almost everything that brought levity and a touch of style to life across the Atlantic. With the passage of years, it became increasingly clear that this dependence was mutual: an increasing proportion of English industrial employment, and much of its shipping, depended on the colonial trade.

A consumer boycott was first proposed in response to the Stamp Act of 1765. The levy of a tax on paper, proved by the imposition on an embossed stamp, had the effect of both uniting the newspapers in outrage and sensitising them to the economic beneficial effects on their circulation of a more robustly political editorial line. The Stamp Act was withdrawn too quickly for the boycott to amount to much, but it did bring forth one of the most memorable articulations of the new power of the market, when in February 1766 Benjamin Franklin appeared to answer the questions of the House of Commons in London. In careful responses to 174 questions, Franklin made clear that if Americans chose to set aside their love of fashion, and instead wear their old clothes, the economy of the mother country would be deeply wounded. The Stamp Act was withdrawn a month later. Rather incongruously, Franklin celebrated this victory by sending his wife a bulging parcel of 'the baubles of Britain'.

a fine piece of Pompadour satin, 14 yards cost 11s a yard. A silk negligee and petticoat of brocaded lute string for my dear Sally, with 2 dozen gloves... I send you also lace for two lappet caps, 3 ells of cambric, ... 3 damask table cloths, a piece of crimson morin for curtains, with tassels,

51 Jan de Vries, 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 85–132, here p. 119. See also Neil McKendrick, 'Home Demand and Economic Growth. A New View of the Role of Women and Children in the Industrial Revolution', in McKendrick (ed.), *Historical Perspectives. Studies in English Thought and Society* (London: Europa, 1974), pp. 152–210.

line and binding. A large true Turkey carpet, cost 10 guineas, for the dining parlour.⁵²

Notwithstanding this speedy recidivism on the part of the triumphant emissary, when the English authorities closed the port of Boston in reprisal for the destruction of the East India Company's shipment of tea (the Boston Tea Party of 1773), a colonial boycott was swiftly identified as the weapon of choice to fight back. These were nervous times in Massachusetts, since the solidarity of the other colonies could not be relied upon. In fact, the boycott was widely observed. Those who found it hard to kick the tea-drinking habit might find their sitting rooms invaded and their porcelain smashed. Patriots also abandoned their highly-coloured imported clothes for wholesome plain American worsted. Grey became the signal of civic virtue, red the colour not of festivity, but of the hated occupying troops.

All of this had a profound impact on the advertising columns of the colonial newspapers. In the *Virginia Gazette* of the years between 1775 and 1777, the long lists of imported wares had vanished, to be replaced by notices of departure by merchants who thought it more prudent to sit out the war in England. Spirits are raised by a little horse racing, one of the comparatively few instances of the intrusion of entertainment culture into the advertisements. The good citizens continue their relentless pursuit of runaway servants, apprentices and slaves. The newspapers remind us that slave-owning was not confined to the south. In 1773, Francis Perkins of Boston, normally thought of as a stronghold of abolitionism, advertised for the return of Nancy, an African woman of about twenty-two years.⁵³ Most of the slave runaways predictably came from the southern states. For the modern reader it is always grating to contrast the masthead of the *Virginia Gazette*, 'always for liberty and the common good', with these appeals for the return of runaway slaves, or advertisements of human property for sale. Not that the word slave is often used in this connection: the notices prefer 'negro' or 'mulatto'. Most discussions of 'slavery' in the Colonial newspapers occur in patriot discourses reproduced from pamphlets denouncing the alleged determination of King George to reduce his American subjects to this state. Such are the ironies and complexities of Enlightenment discourse, as Thomas Jefferson, slave-owner, would later explore more fully in the Declaration of Independence. It is interesting to note in this connection, that in the seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers, slavery is only ever raised in the context of Dutch sailors captured by Barbary pirates, for whose release

52 Breen, *Empire of Goods*, p. 199.

53 *Boston Evening Post*, 30.08.1773.

large sums were raised in the Dutch towns.⁵⁴ Whether the Dutch were guilty of treating the inhabitants of their new colonial possessions with a similar lack of compassion has recently been much debated in the Netherlands.⁵⁵

Shopping our Way to Modernity

Before we close, we should briefly consider the dogs that did not bark in the early advertising world. The absence of advertisements in the *Paris Gazette* is not hard to explain.⁵⁶ A national monopoly along with access to government sources for news, this was already a lucrative cash cow for the editors, the family Renaudot. There was no reason to dilute its relentless projection of French majesty by taking on paid advertising. French-language newspapers published in the Netherlands provided an alternative source of news, though they never had as many advertisements as the Dutch or English newspapers, partly because their audience was more diffuse and ill-defined. The notices in these French-language papers addressed customers in Paris and the Dutch Republic in about equal numbers, with a marked propensity to highlight the skills of travelling surgeons and the availability of high-quality confectionary. For books, the new review journals provided a partial substitute, though in a more rarefied area of the book world.

Théophraste Renaudot was also the proprietor, again as a monopolist, of the *Bureau d'adresse*, an institution much celebrated in histories of advertising, though in practical terms it was a limited success.⁵⁷ The *Bureau* offered customers a central location to match goods and services, and for masters to seek servants and apprentices, not unlike the brokers advertising, with far less fanfare, in the Dutch newspapers.⁵⁸ The fact that it was a physical location limited the bureau's usefulness, though Renaudot did from time to time issue printed sheets notifying subscribers of the *Gazette* what was currently available; these were not unlike the advertising sheets handed out on the streets of London. Even in London it swiftly became clear that such sheets could not be sustained

54 ODC 27, 04.07.1656. ODC 26, 29.06.1660. There was even a broker who specialised in securing their freedom: OHS 39, 27.09.1670.

55 Piet Emmer, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Slavenhandel* (2nd edition, Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2019). Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

56 Gilles Feyel, *L'Annonce et la nouvelle: La presse d'information en France sous l'Ancien Régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000).

57 Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science, and Propaganda*, pp. 60–99.

58 CID 46, 14.11.1643. CID 22, 28.05.1661.

without news content. In Paris the advertising sheets were occasionally renewed in the eighteenth century, with little more success.

Potentially more promising was the *Mercure Galante*, another of Renaudot's ventures, first issued in tandem with the *Gazette* as a literary miscellany, offering essays, book reviews and poetry. The advertising potential was obvious, and the *Mercure* did carry advertisements, particularly after it was re-branded as the *Mercure de France* in 1724. The advertisements were, as one might expect with a largely Parisian literary clientele, orientated very much to the luxury market: wine, confectionary, coffee percolators and so forth.⁵⁹ They also dealt with the consequences of over-indulgence, with a bewildering variety of remedies for all possible medical conditions, not least teeth rotted by the ingesting of large quantities of sugary treats.

In the last pre-Revolutionary years, theatre listings made their impact on the Parisian advertising market, as they had in London. This is worth attention because, apart from London and its sports-mad clientele, the early newspapers seldom found a great deal of space for public entertainments. In the Dutch newspaper advertisements surveyed in this study, we can cite only a handful of instances, even if one included the dubiously diverting rolling of the Amersfoort stone. In 1661, readers of the Amsterdam paper were reassured that the garden of the celebrated Fonteynhof in Gorinchem would remain open, even though its owner had passed away.⁶⁰ In Leiden, a civic-minded citizen opened his picture gallery to the public, with twenty-nine paintings by Gerard Dou, in return for donations to the local poor.⁶¹ For a less refined audience an extraordinary sea monster was exhibited in an Amsterdam tavern, and a wondrous two-legged East-Indian beast, was offered for sale, presumably so that it could also be hauled around the fairs and markets for profit.⁶² In 1662, the opening of the new theatre in The Hague was advertised. Subscribers were asked to 'pass on the word', a phrase often added to the end of a printed flier, and possibly here copied from a flier used as the model for the advertising copy in the Haarlem and Amsterdam newspapers.⁶³ These are thin pickings. Perhaps in a society with such ambiguous attitudes to the pleasures of the playhouse, the

59 Christopher Todd, 'French Advertising in the Eighteenth Century', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 266 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1989), pp. 513–547. Cissie Fairchild, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 228–248.

60 TVQ 27, 02.07.1661.

61 OHS 40, 26.09.1665. ODC 39, 29.09.1665.

62 TVQ 49, 03.12.1661. OHD 27, 08.07.1659.

63 OHS 1, 07.01.1662. ODC 2, 09.01.1662.

soothing of a troubled soul through devotional reading was seen as relaxation enough.

As for France, the relative failure to develop a commercial market for advertising seems all the more extraordinary when one considers the size of the market, and the influence of French taste throughout Europe in the eighteenth century. This was not for want of trying: a bewildering number of start-ups in niche commercial markets flickered and were swiftly abandoned. *Les Affiches de Paris*, an attempt to reproduce in periodical form the commercial notices posted up on Parisian streets, lasted only nine issues.⁶⁴ It is though a useful reminder, that newspaper advertising had to compete not only with very familiar forms of advertising, such as these handbills, handed out on the streets or posted up, but also the increasingly fashionable trade card. These elaborate engraved cards were all the rage in both Paris and London, and exceptional in the history of advertising as the cards were handed out to customers *after* they had made their purchase.⁶⁵ In a world of fashionable tailors and ingenious

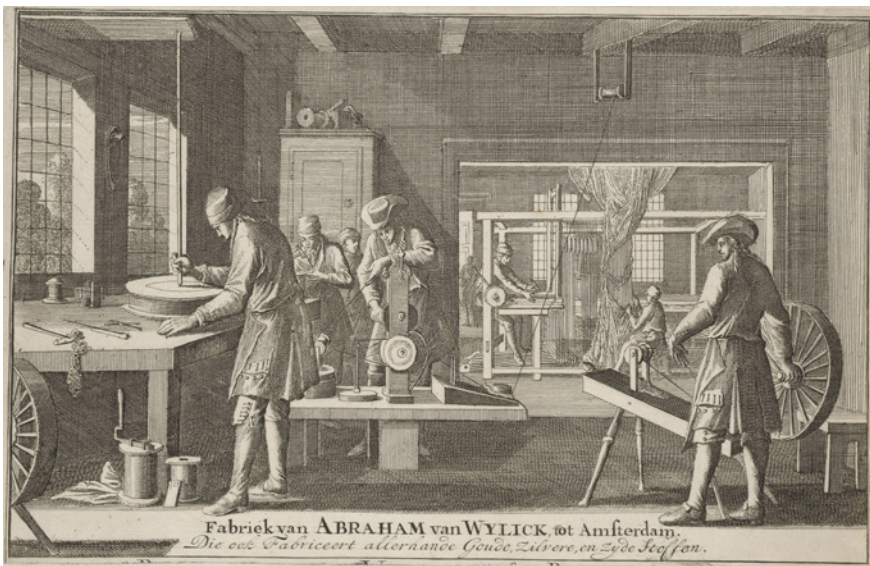


ILLUSTRATION 8.6 Caspar Luyken, *Adreskaart van Abraham van Wylick* (1706). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1896-A-19368-2441

A rare surviving example of an engraved trade card, advertising the cloth and silk refinery of Abraham van Wylick in Amsterdam. Trade cards were a fashionable and popular form of publicity in eighteenth-century London and Paris. It is difficult to tell to what extent these were as common in the Dutch Republic.

64 Todd, 'French Advertising', p. 526.

65 Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 'Selling Consumption in the Eighteenth Century', *Cultural and Social History*, 4 (2007), pp. 145–170.

shoemakers, ensuring the loyalty of your existing clientele was a first priority: encouraging the idle rich to pay their bills an equally necessary task, requiring both tact and persistence.

The case of Germany is also difficult to fathom: in this instance it is harder to see why newspaper advertising did not catch on.⁶⁶ One can cite a number of possible explanations, none truly satisfactory. This was a land of numerous relatively small territories, many with their own newspapers. These served local markets, whereas the book trade operated within Europe's largest integrated vernacular market. News of new publications circulated smoothly through the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs and their periodical catalogues, which remained effective tools of the German market even when their importance for the international Latin trade was in decline. With Frankfurt and Leipzig serving the network of booksellers most likely to stock their books, publishers probably reckoned they had little to gain from advertising through the newspapers. These newspapers were, in any case, often situated in towns that were not major centres of publishing, and some major publishing centres were slow to establish a newspaper. Lacking the initial impetus that elsewhere came from advertising for the book trade, it was more difficult to build the rationale for advertising other goods and services. It was also the case that many papers established in the smaller centres were, even if not as feather-bedded as the *Paris Gazette*, kept solvent by the local prince. The complexities of the advertising market, receiving copy and collecting fees, were probably avoided because it was not necessary to advertise in order to make a decent living.

The spoils were reserved for those countries that had embraced the advertising market early, and were content to see it develop. This was particularly true of Britain, where at the turn of the nineteenth century advertising became a major source of growth in the industry. According to James Perry, the editor who oversaw the financial renaissance of the *Times* of London, in 1815

it is by advertisements only that the independence of a Journal can be maintained. A sale of 4,000 copies per day would not pay the moiety of our expense. If it were not for advertisements, the paper must be sold at one shilling instead of sixpence halfpenny.⁶⁷

66 For the limited number of advertisements placed in German newspapers, see Peter Ukena, 'Buchanzeigen in den deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhundert', in Albrecht Schöne (ed.), *Stadt – Schule – Universität – Buchwesen und die deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 1976), pp. 506–522.

67 Quoted in Ivan Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle*, 1790–1821', *Historical Journal*, 18 (1975), pp. 703–724, here p. 705.

This was towards the end of a long period of advertising growth. In 1800, the *Times* garnered £4,000 from advertising, rising to £7,200 in 1806 and £12,400 in 1819. Other local papers had become similar cash cows. The profits of the *Courier* averaged between £12,000 and £15,000 in the years before Waterloo; the *Morning Herald* and *Star* made £8,000 and £6,000 respectively. This was a quantum leap from the 1760s or 1780s, when annual profits of £1,000 were unusual.

In the eighteenth century, the London papers had been more or less the obedient tools of political faction. In the nineteenth century, they became powers in their own right. There is some dispute how much this owed to advertising.⁶⁸ True, the wealth that accrued from advertising allowed a degree of independence. But investment in the new steam press, which allowed for far larger print runs and bigger papers, played a far greater role in increasing circulation and with it, political influence. The *Times* also profited from the retreat from the shrill, mean-spirited abuse of the paid papers in the eighteenth century, to the more Olympian tone that made its reputation. The concept of advertising as a driver of press freedom is also potentially undermined by the concentration of advertising revenue on papers that shared the policy priorities and social instincts of the business class. The radical papers fared far less well when it came to advertising revenue. The relationship between newspapers and their advertisers could easily become one of mutual dependence, in some ways similar to the fractious bonds that tied Britain and Colonial America. Dependence on advertising revenue placed constraints on editorial independence, if the editorial line diverged in any way from the interests of its business customers.

The *Times* of London also became famous for turning over its entire front page to advertising, a practice it abandoned only in 1966. The front page of the issue of 21 April 1926 found room for over three hundred advertisements, with similar small notices populating a further ten pages of the 32-page paper. These were the classified ads that represented the latest transformation of the advertising world, notices of births, marriages and deaths, businesses for sale, house sales and automobiles. Other pages had illustrated block advertisements, sometimes occupying as much space as thirty or more small notices, and commensurately expensive. Meanwhile, the personal columns preserved something of the spirit of miscellany that is such a notable feature of the earlier papers, with a peep from behind the lace curtains at the lives of others that had

68 Contrasting perspectives are set out in James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without responsibility. The Press, Broadcasting and New Media in Britain* (6th ed., London: Routledge, 2003).

so fascinated the first newspaper readers. The three columns of the personal columns in the issue of 21 April 1926 began with an assurance from ‘C’ that ‘I am prepared to pay the sum named’. Blackmail in the *Times*! Who would not want to know what this payment was for, and what was the sum to be handed over.

It is the collapse of the steady, recurrent income from the classified advertisements that, along with falling circulation, has so ravaged the finances of the newspapers in the digital age. To this point the worst fears of the consequence of freely available online news have not been realised. Newspapers still publish, often with a highly profitable digital edition attracting millions of readers. The Netherlands, the birthplace of newspaper advertising, still sustains a large range of serious-minded daily newspapers. The expertise of trained journalists is still very much in demand. These are uncertain times, and adversity can make strange bedfellows. The transformation of the *Guardian* into one of the most widely read newspapers in the world through its online edition was largely financed by the profits generated by *Autotrader*, a trade journal gradually transformed into an online tool for car dealers that had been speculatively acquired by the Guardian Media Group. The online tool, based on proprietary

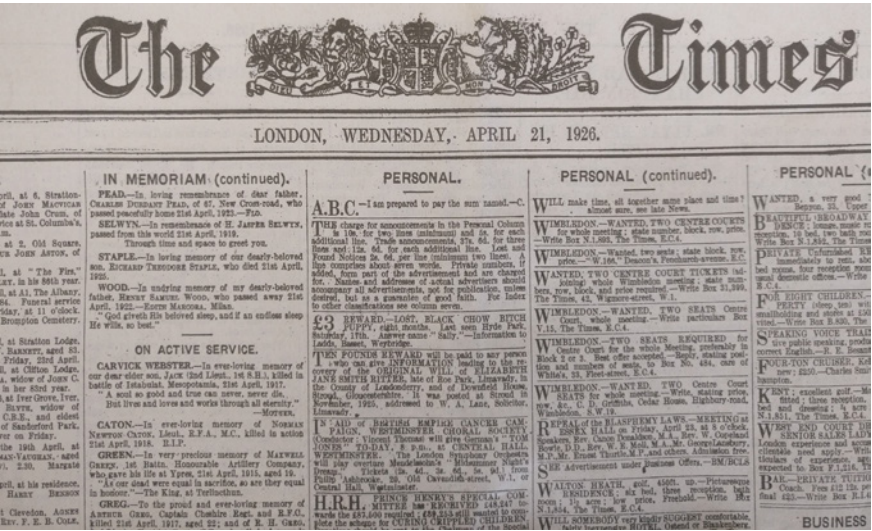


ILLUSTRATION 8.7 *The Times* (London, 21 April 1926). Private Collection Andrew Pettegree
The front page of *The Times* of 21 April 1926, entirely taken up by advertisements and personal notices. This issue included the elliptical notice that ‘I am prepared to pay the sum named. – C.’, as well as the communication, possibly between two lovers, ‘Will make time, sit together same place and time?’

software used by most UK car dealers, made enormous sums that could then be reinvested to subsidise journalism, and the complex creation of a global digital paper.⁶⁹ Once again, and now in the digital age, advertising had rescued the newspaper.

As this quirky episode in the history of Britain's most high-minded newspaper makes clear, the history of communication has always been a story of unintended consequences. Those who promote technological change never correctly anticipate the uses to which their ingenuity will be put and the same holds for the inventors of serial news in the seventeenth century. The evolving history of the newspaper was always likely to depend on finding a path to financial viability; in the end this route lay through exploiting the human urge for ownership, comfort and experimentation.

The millions of decisions we make as consumers, nudged and guided by advertising, are neither as independent nor as political neutral as those who make them imagine. Whether we buy, where we fly, where we shop, all have consequences both for the fragile economic communities that depend on our custom for survival, and on our increasingly fragile planet. We are all part of communities of consumers, conservatively brand loyal, prodded into experimentation by a whimsical desire for novelty, a culture of emulation or attraction to products that have successfully advertised themselves. Of course, we are more able to indulge our impulses, in our voting or our shopping, than the peoples of the seventeenth century, many of whom could not vote, and whose spending decisions were likely to be far more carefully considered. Yet whether the product of hours of online research, or snatched from the shelves, the shiny object on which our eye falls is always the product of a complex chain of creation, designed with minute attention to specification, target group and evolving taste.

The beginnings of advertising in the newspapers of the seventeenth century may look in retrospect like an age of innocence, a relatively simple transactional extension of normal business in the Dutch book industry. Yet when publishers decided to add a few announcements calling attention to their new publications in the flimsy sheets of the Amsterdam weekly papers, this was the first link in a chain of developments unbroken to the present. The lure of the new, the comfort of the familiar, the promise of a better, improved version, the key to a more prosperous life: all these were present in the Dutch advertisements, along with the excitement of lives that could be lived vicariously through reading. Whatever the challenges that newspaper readers faced in their own

69 Alan Rusbridger, *Breaking News. The Remaking of Journalism and why it Matters Now* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2018), pp. 150–151.

lives, they were seldom as grim as the predicament of parents seeking a lost child, or the captain of an English merchant vessel whose cargo was about to be auctioned in Amsterdam. The papers gave plenty of opportunity for sympathy or *Schadenfreude*, as well as pious reflection on the fragility of God's favour.⁷⁰ These basic human emotions have ruled the advertising markets ever since. The Victorian clerk scanning the personal columns of the London *Times*, the mother in Williamsburg, Virginia, upgrading the family tea service, the Newcastle coal baron seeking his new country estate, were all part of the same human community of aspiration. The human desire for accumulation and display may not always be our better self, but it has certainly been laid bare over the last four centuries by the evolving history of advertising.

70 Tiffany Watt Smith, *Schadenfreude. The Joy of Another's Misfortune* (London: Profile, 2018).

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Index

- Abcoude 67, 147
accountancy, accounting 65–6, 75, 147, 150,
154, 198, 200
Ackersdijck, Dirck van 217
actors, players 137, 192, 203
Addison, Joseph 246
Admiralty 190, 203, 231, 236–7, 254
Aertssens, Hendrick III 256–8
Aitzema, Lieuwe van 68
Albert, Ids 78
Alberts, Dirck 48
Alexander, Henry 220
Alkmaar 23–27, 82, 97–99, 105, 141, 196, 211
almanacs 53–60, 71, 93, 110, 125, 190
see also calendars
Alphen aan den Rijn 82, 147
Alssem, Evert van 196
America 70, 126–7, 244–5, 269, 274–5, 277,
279–81, 286
Amersfoort 82, 135–6, 143, 239, 283
Amsterdam 6–8, 13–14, 16–33, 35–6, 39–42,
44–6, 48–56, 58, 64–7, 70–82, 84–99,
102, 105–6, 108, 113–4, 116, 119–120, 122–3,
126, 129–31, 139, 142–4, 146–7, 149–51,
153–4, 156, 158, 161, 163–7, 170–1, 176–80,
182–4, 186, 188–90, 192–3, 195–6,
198–204, 206–13, 215, 218, 220–3, 225–8,
235–7, 249, 252–3, 256, 258–9, 261, 264,
274, 276, 283, 288–9
Admiralty 190, 203, 236
Athenaeum 16
Bank 119, 161
Bourse 128, 147, 150, 164–5, 182, 196, 237
Rasphuis 157, 178
Spinhuis 157
Amsterdamsche Courante 33, 189, 199, 209,
211–12, 223, 249, 252
Amsterdamse Saterdagse Courante 35, 184
Andriesz, Abraham 47, 85
Anglo-Dutch War, Second 131, 185, 187, 240
Anhaltin, Christian Martini 122
Anne, Queen of Great Britain 259
Anraedt, Pieter van 222
Antwerp 8, 10, 16, 54, 71, 79, 83, 105, 130, 198,
237, 247, 254–8
Antwerpse Post-Tydingen 256
apothecaries 108, 110, 112–3, 141–2, 145–6, 227
Appelaer, Broer 207
apprentices 79, 88, 150, 155, 169, 182, 242, 282
fugitive 116, 281
thieving 173
Aranda, Emmanuel d' 74
Arcerius, Johan 92
Arentsz, Pieter 74, 85, 213
arithmetic 61, 68, 76, 147, 150–1, 198
Arkel, Francois d' 97
Arlington, Lord 160
Arndt, Johann 46, 48
Arnhem 9, 12, 16, 21, 23–5, 27, 82, 86, 92–3,
97, 105, 204
Arnobius 62
art 138–9, 220
see also auctions, paintings
astrology 54, 56
Atlantic 275
atlases 71, 86
auctioneers 87–8, 102–3, 106, 248
auctions 118, 137–41, 146, 198–9, 203, 221, 231,
247, 250, 257–8, 261, 279
art 139, 229, 231–2, 257
book 19, 37, 41–2, 45, 52, 61–2, 79, 94–106,
114, 116, 137, 186, 192–3, 198, 203, 211, 215,
218–20, 227, 229–31, 234, 240, 248, 252,
254
catalogues 8, 37, 61–2, 64, 68, 81, 86,
95–8, 101–6, 139–40, 218–21, 227, 230–2,
234, 240, 248
prize cargoes 113–4, 137–8, 203, 218–19,
231, 236, 289
sorteringen 95
Augsburg 4, 128
Aurich, Marye van 174
Austria 203
Autotrader 287
avvisi 5, 9
Axel 72

Baart, Thomas Pieter 24, 26
Backx, Johannes 150
Baes, Pieter 196

- Balck, Otto van 171
 Baltic 69, 156
 Bancken, Margaretha van 32, 89, 117
 bankers, banks 119, 189, 220
 bankruptcy 1, 37, 140, 161, 201–2, 229, 236, 252, 263
 Barbary pirates 281
 barges 31, 33–4, 57, 94, 107, 110–11, 113–4, 117, 119, 122–5, 128–31, 135, 143, 156, 166, 176–7, 186, 236–7, 240, 256, 261
 Bartelsz, Jan 178
 Bartjens, Gerrit 64–5
 Bartjens, Willem 64–5, 76
 Basel 248
 Basius, lawyer 176
 Batavia 70–1, 126
 Baudartius, Wilhelm 77
 Bayreuth 248
 Beaumont, Simon van 200
 Beck, David 65
 Beeck, Abraham Isaacksz vander 97
 Beeck, Huybert
 Beecq, Jean del 173
 beer 112, 175, 243, 247
 Belot, Jean 65
 Benjamin, Jacob 186
 Bergen op Zoom 25, 161
 Bergh, Johannes van den 49
 Berlin 248
 Bern 248
 Bern, Govert van den 221
 Bernier, Sieur 226
 Berwick-upon-Tweed 265
 Beverwijk 25, 45, 82, 147–9, 176
 Bevoort, Johannes 235
 Bibles 37–8, 40–3, 155, 230
 English 138, 236
 French 84
 Gutenberg 1
 Liesvelt 153
 States 38–9, 43, 45–6, 89, 91
 stolen 42
 Blaeu, family 64, 80, 91
 Blaeu, Joan 86–7, 90–1, 97
 Blaeu, widow Joan 211
 Blaeu, Willem Jansz 79, 86
 Blauer, Jacob Sijbertsz
 blindness 143–4, 146, 180
 Blom, Dirck de 42
 Bocq, widow of Ad. de 196
 Bodegraven 67, 196
 Boekholt, Baltes 48
 Boendermaecker, Paul Dircksz 190
 Boenes, Johann 88
 Bogaert, Carel van den 107
 Bolsward 82
 Bon, Arnout 90
 bonds 110, 155, 175, 200–3, 223, 242
 Bontekoe, Willem 71
 book clasps 42
 book formats
 duodecimo 40–41, 193
 folios 7, 39, 46, 56, 72, 84, 90–1, 102, 207, 213, 216–8
 octavo 40–41, 186–7
 quarto 6, 41, 62, 102, 213, 217
 book prices 216–8
 Bookenbergius, P. Cor. 97
 book-keeping 65–6
 booksellers 2–6, 13, 16, 18, 21–28, 35–8, 42–3, 45, 52, 62, 67–68, 80, 82, 84–86, 88, 91–2, 94–6, 98–103, 106–8, 139, 144, 186, 212, 218, 220, 224, 226–7, 230, 240, 248, 253, 258, 271, 274, 285
 bookshops 22, 36–7, 45, 62, 70, 80, 84, 95, 102, 107, 109, 189, 212, 220, 234, 258
 book stock catalogues 4, 36, 61–2, 79, 84, 87, 206, 212, 217
 Boom, Dirk 102
 Boom, family 106, 206
 Boom, Hendrick 102
 Boom, widow Jan Hendricksz 89
 Bor, Pieter 216
 Borard, Samuel 147
 Borculo 60
 Borstius, Jacobus 52
 Bos, Joost 166
 Bos, Lambert van den 52, 206
 Bosch, Jan van den 176
 Boshol 67
 Bosse, Abraham 148
 Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne 214
 Boston 220, 281
 News-Letter 275
 botany 213
 Boucher, Jonathan 276

- Bouma, Gellius de 45, 217
 Bouman, Jacobus 67, 206
 Bouman, Jan 51, 92
 Bouman, Jan Jacobsz 18, 22, 28, 51, 64, 98, 154
 Boyne, Battle (1690) 260
 Boyssens, widow Cornelis 138
 Brabant 67, 69, 72, 81, 161, 257
 Brandenburg 203
 Brandt, Marten Jansz 43, 45–6, 51, 85
 Braunschweig 129
 Bray, Dirck de 109
 Breda 73, 82, 99, 108, 186, 190, 224, 237, 244
 Breda, Jan van 184
 Breda, Pieternelle van 178, 184
 Bredero, Gerbrand 69
 Brederode, bailiff of 134
 Breen, Gilles van 45, 49, 52
 Bremen 84, 129, 176
 Breslau 248
 Breugel, Johan 161, 162
 Breunis, Cornelis 97
 brewers, breweries 75, 137, 183, 262
 Breyghel, Nicolaes 255
 bridges 111, 117
 Brielle 82, 124, 185, 240
 Brinck, Jacob Helmichsz 178
 Bristol 270, 272, 276
Bristol Post-Boy 270
 Britain 259, 262, 268, 275, 280, 285–6, 288
 see also England
 broadsheets 3, 8–10, 15, 17, 22, 36, 54, 56, 70, 73, 107, 115, 121, 143, 157, 191, 193, 195, 224, 231, 235, 242–3
 see also handbills, placards
 Broersma, Gajus van 118
 Broersz, Joost 17–18, 22, 210
 brokers 41–2, 110, 128, 137, 147, 161, 173, 203, 221–2, 247, 250, 256, 282
 Bronchorst, Frans 97
 Brouckman, Coenraed Harmansz 142
 Bruges 84, 97, 105, 254–6
 Brussels 8, 84, 105, 164, 220, 258
 Royal Library 8
 Bruyn, Lodewijck 76
 Bruyn, widow Cornelis 139
 Buat, Henri 160
 Bucquet, Steven 122
 Burch, Abraham van den 51
 burgomasters 14, 114, 120, 124–6, 142, 158, 167, 169, 221
 see also magistrates
 Caesar, Julius 61
 calendars 54, 56–7, 132, 190
 calligraphy 65
 Calvin, Jean 38, 217
 Calvinism 38, 69, 95, 149, 156
 see also Reformed Church
 Camerlingh, Pieter 131
 Camphuysen, Dirck Rafaelsz 213
 canals 119–20, 122, 125, 128, 157, 272
 cannon 186, 203, 222
 Cape of Good Hope 126
 cardamom 113, 138
 Cardinal, Sybrant Hansz 150
 Carolus, Johann 5–6, 29
 carriages 111, 128–31, 143, 176, 187, 237, 239
 cartography 71–2
 see also maps
 Casman, Otto 43
 Casteleyn, Abraham 28–33, 36, 41, 47, 56, 68, 82, 89, 91, 93, 97, 103, 114, 116–7, 127, 130, 134, 141, 154, 165, 177, 188, 200, 210, 247, 252
 Casteleyn, Gerard 215
 Cateleyn, Jan 90
 Casteleyn, Pieter 85
 Casteleyn, Vincent 56
 catalogues *see* auctions, book stock
Catalogus Universalis 16
 Catalonia 18
 catechisms 45, 48, 50, 217
 catholics, Catholicism 8–9, 11, 16, 38, 57, 136, 229
 books 56, 87, 214, 255
 Cato 61
 Cats, Jacob 36, 52, 68
 Caxton, William 2–4
 Ceylon 126
 Chamilly, Marquis de 205
 Channel, English 72, 123, 259, 261, 268
 Charles II, King of England 185
 Charleston 276
 children 42, 147, 149–50, 157, 182, 223, 225
 lost, missing 34, 110, 116, 155, 178–9, 183, 236, 289
 stolen 184
 see also schools

- chocolate 112, 271
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 61
Cijfferboecken 65
 Cincq, Gerard 142
 Claessen, Tjerk 22
 Claesz, Adriaen 128
 Claesz, Cornelis 79–80, 92
 clocks, clockmakers 142
 Cloppenburgh, Evert 43, 77
 Cloppenburgh, Jan Evertsz 11
 Cloppenburgh, widow Evert 39
 cloth 3, 166, 168, 275
 cloth refinery 231–2
 clothes, clothing 27, 70, 110, 112–3, 146, 165,
 170, 173, 178, 198, 236, 247, 262, 276–7,
 279–81
 Clouwet, widow 97
 Cocq van Enkhuysen, David 65
 Coetis, Colonel 200
 coffee 112, 247, 283
 coffee shops 111, 225, 265
 coins 175, 177, 183
 collectors 4
 Collen, Jeremias van 222
 Cologne 87, 91, 128, 185
 Colomp, Jan 93
 colophon 3
 comedies 36, 56, 68
 comets 90–1
 Commelin, family 80
 Commelin, Isaac 96
 Contra-Remonstrants 45
 Copenhagen 84, 86, 91, 248
 copperplates 48, 65, 140
 Corf, Hendrick 198
 Cork 268
 Cornelisz, Barent 134
 Coster, Isaaq Reynersen 92
 Coster, Laurens Jansz 5
 cotton 184
Courant d'Italie et d'Almagne 225
Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c. 6–7, 11,
 17–18, 20, 22, 26–8, 45, 93, 147, 151, 153,
 209–10
 Weesp edition 33, 35, 210
 Couvry, Jacq 147
 Cowper, William 273
 Cramer, Jan 183
 Cres, Lodewijck 108
 Crete 182
 Cretzer, Martin 139
 Crijnsen, Abraham 126
 crime 114, 120, 137, 155–63, 167–74,
 220, 227, 232, 236, 254, 257, 262–3,
 274
 Cromhout, Bartholomaeus 218
 Cromwell, Oliver 261
 Culemborg 82, 99, 105, 149, 234
Daffy's Elixer 274
Daily Courant 264
Daily Post 265
 dancing master 226
 Danzig 91, 156, 171, 182
 De Koog 51
 De Rijp 25
 De Waal 51, 92
 Delfshaven 237
 Delft 9, 16, 21, 23, 25–7, 82, 90, 96, 99, 103,
 105, 107, 122, 126, 130–1, 135, 142, 186,
 192–3, 196, 202, 249
 Delfzijl 237
 Delkorne, gentleman 140
 Den Bosch 23–7, 52, 82, 86, 99, 135
 Den Burg 51, 82
 Den Helder 117
 Denick, Frans 124
 Denison, John 48
 Deventer 21, 23–27, 57, 83, 86, 92–3, 99, 105,
 130, 132, 237
 devotional literature 37, 39, 42–6, 48, 50, 52,
 93–4, 213–4, 217, 230, 255, 284
 diamonds 122, 163–5, 171, 173, 177
 Dicey, William 271
 Dircksz, Hendrick 179
 Dircksz, Jacob 76
 divorce 153
 doctors 77, 131, 143–5, 226–7, 235
 quacks 111, 143, 145–6, 242, 266
 see also physicians, surgeons
 Doesburg 200
 dogs 155, 167, 179–80, 183, 230
 Dokkum 83
 Doll, Christoffel 74
 Doll, Jasper 74, 91
 Doncker, Hendrick 70, 75, 90, 150
 Doornick, Marcus Willemsz 76, 193, 195, 204
 Dordrecht 21, 23, 25, 27, 35, 38, 41, 47, 56, 83,
 85, 88, 96, 99, 103, 105, 118, 120, 134,
 184–5, 192, 202, 215

- Dorrewaert, Lord of 154
 Dort, Synod of 38–9
 Dou, Gerard 283
 Doubleth, Receiver-General 161
 Dover 124, 261
 Treaty (1670) 185
 Downs, Battle of the (1639) 22
 Drachten 108
 drainage projects 117–20, 122
 Drelincourt, Charles 45–6, 48–9, 52
 Drenthe 237
 Dresden 248
 drinking penny 174, 178–9
 Dronrijp, Lambert 97
 drummers, drums 55, 58–9, 71, 181, 200
 Dublin 268
 Dunkirk, Admiralty 254
 Duren, Johannes van 145–6, 151, 225
 Dürer, Albrecht 139
 Dusart, Cornelis 181, 233
 Dutch Revolt 67, 69, 79, 100, 185, 206, 216
 Duurcant, Theodoor 90, 96–7, 103
 Duysent, Dirck 190
 Dyck, Anthony van 139, 141, 229
 dykes 111, 117, 119, 125, 198
 Dyvoort, Cornelis 97, 133
- East Friesland 174
 East India Company (Dutch) 223
 see also VOC
 East India Company (English) 279, 281
 East Indies 87, 126, 170, 231, 283
 Eaton, Edward 279
 Edam 105, 194
 Edinburgh 248, 268
 elephant tusks 113, 138, 220
 Ellegoor, Jacob 151
 Elzevier, Abraham 87–8, 90
 Elzevier, Abraham II 88
 Elzevier, Bonaventura 87–8
 Elzevier, Daniel 84, 86, 88, 206
 Elzevier, family 61, 64, 80, 87–8, 90–1
 Elzevier, Isaac 87
 Elzevier, Jacob 87
 Elzevier, Johannes 87
 Elzevier, Joost 88
 Elzevier, Louis I 87, 101
 Elzevier, Louis II 87
- Elzevier, Louis III 88
 Elzevier, Matthieu 87
 Elzevier, Pieter 85, 88, 97
 Emden 84, 106, 125–6, 237
 Enden, Arnoldus van den 108, 214
 engineers, engineering 75, 119–20, 123, 221
 England 12, 16, 18, 31, 48, 61, 86, 102, 106,
 123–4, 127, 143, 145, 160, 170, 182, 185,
 216, 220, 228, 240, 245, 252, 258–76,
 279–81
 English Civil War 17–18, 261
 English (language) 4, 16, 47–8, 64, 72
 engravings 22, 48, 68, 72, 74, 79, 88, 90–1,
 123, 139–40, 186–7, 193, 196, 206, 218,
 220, 256
 Enkhuizen 23, 25, 27, 68, 83, 92, 97, 99, 105,
 126, 184
 Enschedé, family 251–2
 Episcopius, Simon 52
 Erasmus, Desiderius 61
 Eringa, Focco Fockens 108
 Essen 183
 Essenius, Andreas 217
 estates, real estate 222–3, 231, 238, 247,
 257–8, 273, 279, 289
Europische Courant 17–19, 209–210
 executions 67, 156, 171
 Exeter 270
Extra Europische tijdingen uyt verscheyde
 Quartieren 18
Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe 254, 256
 Eycken, Michiel van 177
 Eysde, Johan van 120
- Făgăraş 182
 fairs, festivals 58, 60, 132, 135, 144, 186, 190,
 192, 194, 203, 283
 see also markets
 Felle, Jacob 161
 Ferwerda, Abraham 245–6, 253
 Flanders 67, 69, 257
 fliers *see* handbills
 Florence 248
Flying-Post 264
Fog's Weekly Journal 265
 Fonteyn, Thomas 65
 Foppens, François 220
 forms, printed 22, 51, 94, 132, 242–3, 271

- Fort Massachusetts 276
 France 6, 19, 33, 61, 67, 87, 156, 185, 214, 220,
 225–7, 247, 283–4
 Franeker 23–26, 78–9, 83, 92, 97, 99, 103, 105,
 186
 University 23
 Frankfurt 84, 87, 106, 128, 248
 Frankfurt Book Fair 1, 3–5, 87, 285
 catalogue 4–5, 16
 Franklin, Benjamin 280
 Franklin, Sally 280
 fraud 28, 161, 163, 212
 Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange 22, 28, 72
Free Briton 265
 French (language) 33, 49, 61, 64, 74, 84, 121,
 123, 147–8, 150–1, 193, 198, 205, 214–6,
 225–6, 258, 282
 books 214–5
 Fries, Jan Jansz de 21
 Frieze, Hans Henrich 161
 Friesland 17, 23, 27, 55, 79, 108, 118, 125, 174,
 183, 192, 196, 198, 237, 245, 247
 States 245, 253
 Frilingh, Jochem 97
 Fronde 18
 Frundek, Ludovicus à 144
 furniture 110–12, 140, 142, 222

 Gaesbeeck, Abraham van 90
 Gaesbeeck, Adriaen van 102
 Gaesbeeck, Daniel van 90
 Gailliaert, Hendrick 94
 Galama, Hero 97
 Galen 54
Gazette see London, Paris
Gazette d'Amsterdam 226–7
Gazette de Rotterdam 227
Gazette Ordinaire (Amsterdam) 35
Gazette van Antwerpen 256–8
Gazette van Ghendt 257
 Gelderland 22–3, 27, 61, 132, 137, 187,
 204–205, 237
General Advertiser 265
 Generality Lands 23, 27, 81, 86
 Geneva 248
 Genoa 42, 248
 Germain, Monsieur 189
 German (language) 5–6, 64, 94, 193

 Germany 3, 6, 19, 55, 61, 80, 84–5, 87, 97, 125,
 129–30, 132, 137, 156, 183, 219–20, 229,
 277, 285
 Gervais, Sieur 226
 Geselle, Daniel 90
Ghendtsche Post-Tijdingen 256
 Ghent 84, 97, 100, 105, 256
 Gijsbers, Paulus 198
 Glazemaker, Jan Hendricksz 52
 Gloucester 268
 Goeree (island) 131
 Goeree, Willem 97
 Goes 83, 194, 203
 gold 42, 140, 143, 164–5, 170–1, 173, 175, 177,
 218, 220
 gold leather 142
 Golden Age, Dutch 69, 71, 86, 138, 167, 190,
 229
 Golius, Jacobus 219
 Gorinchem 25, 83, 105, 283
 Goris, Jan 96, 103
 Goris, Jasper 96
 Göteborg 158
 Gotha 248
 Göttingen 248
 Gouda 21, 23, 25–7, 56–57, 76, 83, 97, 105,
 120, 123, 133, 135, 142, 167, 173, 188, 192,
 196, 217, 237
 Graet, family 256
 grain 138, 156, 161, 194, 246, 265
 Graswinckel, Dirck 90, 96–8
 Grave 135
 's Gravendeel 118
's Gravenhaegse Courant 249–50, 252
 's Gravesande 215
 Greek 61–2, 151
 Greenwood, Frans 59
 Groningen 21, 23–27, 55, 60, 83, 86, 92, 97,
 102–3, 105, 119, 149, 194, 213, 237, 239,
 246, 249, 259
 Province 23
 University 194
Groninger Courant 246
 Gronvelt, Cornelis 262
 Groot, Michiel de 66
 Groot, Stephanus de 250
 Grootebroek 224
 Grotius, Hugo 52

- Guardian* 287
 Guerre, Martin 183
 guilds 1, 171, 177, 182, 190, 262
 Guillain, Thomas 226
 gunpowder 187
 Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden 175
 Gutenberg, Johannes 1
- Haar, Paulus ter 240
 Haarlem 21, 23, 25–33, 41, 43, 47, 50, 55–6, 65, 76, 82–3, 85, 88, 90–1, 97, 99, 103, 105, 107, 113–4, 117, 119, 125–7, 130, 132, 134, 139, 141, 150, 154, 158, 162, 164–5, 176–7, 186, 188, 190, 196, 198, 200–201, 206–13, 215, 219–21, 225, 234, 237, 249, 251–3, 258, 283
 Habsburgs 256
 Hackius, Cornelis 88
 Hackius, family 64, 88
 Hackius, Franciscus 104
 Hackius, Jacobus 63, 88, 96
 Hackius, Pieter 88, 90–1, 97
Haegse Post-Tydingen 32, 160, 207, 210
Haegse Weekelycke Mercurius 210
 Hage, Pieter van der 186
 Hagen, Johan Frederich 97
 Halma, François 214
 Hals, Frans 139
 Hamburg 84, 86, 129–30, 218, 220, 248
 handbills, fliers 3–4, 139, 230–32, 234, 237, 240, 273, 284
 Hannover 129, 248
 Hanshelmi, Alexander 128
 Harderwijk 83, 92, 105, 217
 University 204
 Harlingen 83, 97, 105
 Harmens, Barbar 179
 Hart, Jan Michielsz 150
 Hart, Michiel 150
 Hartgers, Joost 78
 Hartlib, Samuel 80
 Harwich 124, 240, 261
 Hasselt 135, 239
 Hattum 237
 Hebrew 62, 151
 Heda, Willem Claesz 53
 Heemstede 99, 192
 Heermans, Franciscus 78
 Heidelberg University Library 6
- Hellevoetsluis 124, 131, 237
 Hemessen, Jan van 139
 Hendricksz, Pieter 117
 Herford 84
 herrings 69, 170, 196
 Herve 258
 Hessen 161
 Heusden 23–7, 83, 222
 Heussen, Frans Esauz den 50–2
 Hexham, Henry 72
 Heyden, Hendrick Jacobsz van der 124
 Heyden, Hermanus vander 97
 Heyden, Jan van der 120–1
 Hilten, Caspar van 6–9, 13, 17
 Hilten, Jan van 6–9, 13, 16–18, 22, 24, 26, 28–9, 32–3, 35, 45, 69, 85, 117, 154, 210, 247
 Hogenkamp, Schout 134
 Holland 19, 23, 27–8, 32, 38, 50, 55, 60–1, 68–9, 79, 81–2, 85, 89–90, 93, 95–7, 110–11, 117, 124–5, 132, 135, 137, 143, 145–6, 148–9, 156, 160, 163, 170, 178, 183, 185, 187, 189–90, 192, 196–201, 203–4, 206, 211, 218, 222, 249, 260
 Court 124, 145
 States 60, 89, 117, 199, 211, 240
Hollandse Mercurius 68
 Homer 61
 Hondius, Hendrick 72
 Hondius, Willem 72
 Hooft, P.C. 52
 Hooge, Helena vander 167, 169, 171
 Hooghe, Romeyn de 196–7, 260
 Hoogstraten, Samuel van 159
 Hoorn 21, 23, 25, 27, 40, 48, 50, 67, 83, 97, 99, 105, 126, 149, 176, 188, 190, 196, 206, 212, 194, 196
 Hoorn, Jan ten 67, 206, 210
 Hoorn, Timotheus ten 210
 Horace 61
 horses 77, 111, 122, 128, 149, 153, 180, 246, 268, 278
 market 14–15, 57–8, 60, 132–5, 166, 186, 192, 221
 racing 268, 281
 stolen 34, 166, 183–4, 262–3
 Horst, Ewout van der 160
 Horst, Gregor 217

- Horthemels, Gilles 86
 Houcke, Daniel van 65
 Huguenots 33, 214–6, 226–7, 253
 Hulst 58, 72
 Hutte, Jan Jansz 120
 Huygens, Christiaan 142
 Huysduynen, Jacob van 219
 hymns 40
- IJssel, river 199
 illustrations 2, 35, 56, 67–8, 91, 94, 164, 213
 see also engravings
 immigrants, immigration 79, 156, 170, 226
 Ingolstadt 91
 ink 94, 110
 inn-keepers 196, 198, 203, 237
 inns, taverns 72, 103, 110, 129, 141, 149, 153,
 167, 236, 283
 insurance 223
 inventions, inventors 1, 3–5, 120–3, 131, 140,
 142, 155, 198, 241, 247, 267, 288
Ipswich Journal 273
 Ireland 269
 Italian (language) 64
 Italy 5, 19, 55, 87, 228, 277
- Jacobsz, Claes 134
 Jacobsz, Nicolaes 32–3, 35
 Jacobsz, Theunis 39
 Jacott, Johannes 42
 James II, King of Great Britain 259–60
 Janssonius, Johannes 80, 95
 Jansz, Antony 41
 Jansz, Broer 6–17, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32–3, 39, 77,
 85, 174, 210, 226, 247, 252
 Jansz, Claes 153–4
 Jaye, Jean 90, 97
 Jefferson, Thomas 281
 jewellery 164–5, 171–2, 182, 223, 236
 Jews 189
 Johnson, Samuel 266
 Jonge, Jan Ysbrants de 94
 Jordan, Claude 216
 Josephus, Flavius 88
 Jouenneaux, Guy 2
 Jouriaensz, Otto 117
 journals 215–16
 jurisprudence 21, 102
 Justinus 63
- Kamp (district) 134
 Kampen 23, 25, 27, 83, 86, 105, 128, 135, 173,
 204, 237, 239, 243
 Kampen, Dirck 56
 Karstemans, Jan 237
 Kempenaer, Guillaem 198
 Keus, Stevanus 120
 Kevelaer, Dirck 124
 Kievit, Johan 160
 Klintom, Jacob Jansz van 142
 Knoop, Johann Hermann 245–7, 254
 Knuyt, Francoys de 43
 Kock, Gilles 92
 Kollum 118
 Kollumerland 118
 Konijnenberg, Jacobus 67, 206
 Konings, Geurt 170
 Kool, Cornelis Dircksz 56
 Kraegh, H.J. 51, 92
 Krommenie 83
 Kroon, Engel 171, 173
- La Tombe, Desiderius de 96
 Lambertsz, Jacob 151
 Land's End 265
 Langborgh 161
 Later, Antoni de 48
 Latin 1, 60–2, 64, 90–1, 144, 149–51, 216–7,
 285
 see also schools
 Laurensz, Hendrick 46, 79, 85, 217
 Lausanne 248
 Lauwick, Jacob 90
 lawyers, jurists 96, 102, 144–5, 176, 182, 196,
 234
 Le Clerc, Pieter 198
 Le Hon, Johan 193
 Le Mans 2
 Lee, Philips van der 243
 Leers, Arnout I 96, 103
 Leers, Arnout II 103
 Leers, widow Arnout I 103
 Leeuw, Cornelis de 40
 Leeuwarden 21–25, 27, 48, 78, 83, 97, 99, 105,
 108, 119, 237, 246, 249, 259
Leeuwarder Courant 245–6, 253
 Leeuwen, Cornelis van 75
 Leeuwen, Symon van 88
 legal publishing 91, 94

- Leiden 21, 23–7, 33, 39, 45, 50, 61–3, 75, 79,
 82–91, 95–7, 99, 100–106, 119, 122–3, 132,
 138, 147, 149, 170, 173, 177, 183, 194, 196,
 206–7, 209, 215–6, 218–9, 226–7, 237,
 249, 283
 university 61, 100, 194
 Leipzig 248
 Book Fair 285
 Lescaille, Jacob 85, 90
 letters 58, 61–2, 74, 77, 131, 160–1, 176, 187,
 237, 270
Leydse Courant 207, 209, 211, 219, 249
 Leyniers, Abraham 22
 libraries 4, 6, 52–3, 61–2, 75, 95, 99, 102, 106,
 140, 186, 218, 240
 public 61
 Liefde, Joan Evertsen de, Vice Admiral 74
 Liège 120
 Lieshout, François 17–18, 22, 167, 210
 Limburg 72
 Linde, Symon onder de 185
 linen 124, 165, 174, 177, 198, 236, 275, 277
 Lingen 129
 Lintes, Gerrit 97
 Lisbon 248
 Lissius, Johannes 45
 literacy 60–1
 Liverpool 270
Liverpool Advertiser 272
Liverpool Chronicle 274
 Livy 61
 Loenen 67
 London 12–13, 16, 69, 80, 86, 111, 114, 124, 154,
 156, 164, 218, 220, 225, 227, 242, 244,
 247–8, 259–72, 280, 282–7, 289
 Courier 286
 Gazette 114, 253, 261–4
 Morning Herald 286
 Times 267, 285–7, 289
 Star 286
 Stationers' Company 264, 270
 Loos, Peter 143, 146
 Lopez de Haro, Felix 90, 97, 102, 106
 lost goods 37, 42, 107–9, 113, 125, 142, 160, 163,
 172, 175–83, 186, 196, 198, 220, 222, 263
 lotteries 186, 223–4, 227, 257, 261, 271
 Louis XIV, King of France 67, 185, 203, 214,
 259–60
 Louvain 258
 Lubienieccki, Stanislaw 90–1
 Luther, Martin 3
 Lutherans 38, 52
 Luyken, Caspar 123, 284
 Lyon 2, 91
 Maarssen 151
 Maassluis 124, 177, 186, 237
 Maastricht 71–2, 99, 156
 Macht, Gerard Lodewyck van der 32
 Maers, Marritjen 108
 Magirus, Abraham 51
 magistrates 9, 14–15, 22, 29, 32–4, 35, 39,
 57–8, 60–1, 101, 110, 114, 116, 118–9, 123,
 128, 132, 134–5, 137, 149, 155–8, 160–1,
 164, 167, 173, 175, 183–4, 186, 188–90, 192,
 194, 196, 199–201, 204, 211, 219, 232, 234,
 238, 252–3, 260
 Mainz 248
 Malo, Vincent 139
 Mannheim 248
 manuscripts 2–3, 5, 9, 97–8, 242, 244
 news services 29, 32
 see also avvisi
 Manutius, Aldus 5
 maps 8, 11–12, 21, 69–73, 79, 126, 195, 258
 markets 3, 31, 54, 57, 60, 110, 112, 116, 125,
 131–7, 166, 186, 190–1, 194, 230–4, 236,
 256–7, 273, 279, 283
 cancellations 135, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194,
 203, 236
 cattle, oxen 57, 60, 132, 134–5, 192, 194,
 233
 cheese 132
 cloth 134
 grain 194
 horse 14–5, 57–8, 60, 132–5, 166, 186, 192,
 221
 lamb 194
 leather 132, 176
 Marnix van St Aldegonde, Philips van 100
 Martensz, Gerbrant 48, 50
 Martensz, Jan 48, 50
 Martini, Adriaen 182
 martyrology 218
 Massachusetts 281
 Matthijssen, Pieter 198

- Maurice, Prince of Orange 38
 Mauritius 126
 Meade, David 278
 Mechelen 84, 90, 97, 105, 130, 258
 medals 140, 175
 Medemblik 25, 83, 150
 medicine 54, 77, 102, 111, 131, 145–6, 225–6,
 247, 262, 271, 273–4
 advertising 111, 146–6, 225–6, 247, 262,
 266, 271
 see also physicians, surgeons
 Meer, Abraham vander 96
 Meininga, Matthias van 17–19, 22, 210
 Mennonites 38, 218
 merchants 3, 29, 54–6, 58, 65–6, 76, 87, 98,
 110, 113, 116, 124, 128, 130, 134, 137, 144,
 150, 153, 182, 188, 190, 198, 203, 212, 222,
 236, 244, 276, 281, 289
Mercure de France 283
Mercure Galante 283
Mercurius Politicus 261
Mercurius Reformatus 264
 Meures, Jan 153
 Meurs, Hendrick 146
 Meurs, Jacob van 193, 206
 Meuse 72
 Meyde, Pieter van den 172
 Meyster, Everard 136
 Middelburg 21, 23, 25–7, 43, 48, 73, 86, 97,
 99, 105, 126, 237, 244, 249
 Milan 248
 militia 55, 144, 190
 mills 120, 122–3, 127, 138, 149, 176, 198, 231
 Minden 129
 Moerbeek, Jacob Pietersz 44
 Molinaeus, Nicolaus 96
 monopolies 2, 6, 22, 24, 26, 39, 54–5, 91, 122,
 149, 242, 244–5, 253, 260–1, 264, 270,
 279, 282
 Mont, N. (inn-keeper) 196
 Montanus, Arnoldus 52
 Mor, Antonis 139
 Moreland 277
 Moriaenshooft, Gerrit Jansz 158
 Mortier, Pieter 217–8
 Moulin, Pierre du
 Muiden 60
 Munich 248
 Münster 185, 194
 Munting, Abraham 213
 murder 38, 158–9, 167–9, 186, 194, 196
 music 40–1, 76, 147, 151, 203, 218, 257, 271
 Naarden 129–30, 149, 198
 Naeranus, Isaac 213
 Naeranus, Joannes 42, 85, 90
 Nantes, Revocation of the Edict of
 (1685) 214, 226
 Naples 18
 Nedham, Marchamont 261
 Nek (district) 176
 New Jersey 275
 New Netherland 126–7
 New Testament 40, 42–3, 94, 230
 New York 127, 276
 New York Mercury 279
 Newcastle 270, 273, 279, 289
 Newcomb, Thomas 263
 newspapers
 English language 13, 16, 111–2, 244,
 261–74, 282
 finance 12–14, 249–53, 257–8
 French language 33, 35, 225–6, 282
 Saturday 17–18, 29, 33
 Thursday 17–18, 29, 35
 Tuesday 17, 29, 33
 Nichtevecht 67
 Nieuhusius, Reynier 196
 Nieulandt, Colonel 200
 Nieuw Amsterdam 127
 Nieuwe Bilt 118
Nieuwe Tijdinghen 8, 10, 16, 254–5
 Nijmegen 22, 25, 83, 86, 97, 99, 105, 183, 204
 University 204
 Nispen, Mattheus van 56
 Nooms, Reinier 125
 Noordwijk 104, 192
 Northampton 267
Northampton Mercury 271
 Norway 220
 Norwich 270
Norwich Gazette 272
 Nottingham 270
Nouvelles de divers Quartiers 226
Nouvelles extraordinaires 227
 Numansdorp 130

- Nuremberg 3, 84, 128, 248
 Nuremberg Chronicle 3
- Obdam, Count Wassenaar 248
 obituaries 248
 oculist 77, 145, 151
Old England 266
 Oldenbarnevelt, Johan van 38
 Ommelanden 237
 Ommes, Wouter van 196
 Oorschot, Fey van 163
 Oost, Jacob van 47
 Oosterend 51, 92
 Oost-Zanen 50
 Ooster-Ems 126
- Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* 29–30, 33, 36, 47, 55, 68, 88–9, 93–4, 101, 107, 116, 128, 182, 185–6, 189–90, 192–4, 196, 199–200, 203–4, 206, 209–16, 218–21, 225, 228, 249, 251–3, 257
Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant 29–30, 41, 50, 90, 122, 141, 161, 165, 180, 183, 188, 215
Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdagse Courant 29, 47, 50, 97, 122, 127, 130, 134, 184
Oprechte Rotterdamse Zee-en Post-tijdingen 74, 160, 209
Opregte Leydse Courant 207, 209, 211
 ordinances 15, 22, 31, 55, 71, 29, 103, 114, 116, 125, 143, 162, 199, 204, 218, 231, 273
 see also proclamations
Ordinaris Amsterdamse Dingsdaegsche Courant 166, 209
Ordinaris Dingsdaegsche Courante 17
Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante 17, 150, 209
Ordinarissen Postilioen 254
 Orlers, Jan Jansz 79
 orphanages 146, 157, 223
 Osnabrück 129
 Ostend 190
 Oud en Zuid Beyerland 194, 203
 Ousterhout 224
 Overijssel 23, 27, 130, 132, 205, 237
 States 231
 Oxford 86
 Oyen, Jan van 129
- Packwood, George 267–9
 Paddenburgh, Amelis van 157
 paintings 88, 138–41, 233, 257, 283
 Palafox et Mendoza, Joannes de 90
 Palatinate 11
 pamphlets 3, 5–6, 8–9, 11–12, 32, 92, 190–1, 193, 204, 245, 256, 258, 264, 266, 281
 paper 6, 13, 41–2, 90, 94, 218, 271
 manufacture 81
 tax 240, 264, 271–2, 280
 trade 81, 193
 waste 54
 wrapping 53
 writing 55
 Paré, Ambroise 77
 Paris 2, 48, 80, 86–7, 91, 120, 128, 155, 164, 219–220, 226–7, 245, 247, 248, 261, 282–4
 Gazette 6–9, 114, 282, 285
 Parliament, British 156, 259, 264–5, 268, 280
 Parma 248
 parrots 222
 Pauli, Henricus 182
 Pauli, Johan George 182
 Pauli, Martin 182
 Pennsylvania 279
Pennsylvania Gazette 275
 pepper 3, 53
 Perkins, Francis 281
 Perry, James 285
 Pers, Dirk Pietersz 79
 Petten (district) 117
 Philadelphia 275–7, 279
 Philip II, King of Spain 259
 physicians 54, 77, 102, 131, 143–5, 234–5, 264
 Pietersz, Roelof 45–6, 52
 placards 14–15, 115, 123, 133, 143, 181, 189, 204–5, 217–8, 224, 230–4, 238–9, 242
 see also broadsheets
 plague 135, 146, 194
 Planque, Johannes de 75
 Plantenburg, Jacob 96–7, 103
 playing cards 111
 plays, playbooks 2, 69, 137, 192, 203, 226, 244, 256, 267, 283
 Pleytner, Quartermaster 71
 Ploos van Amstel, Cornelis 181
 poetry 68, 283

- Poland 156
 polders 119, 198
 Ponsteen, Laurens 225
 Poole, Matthew 216
 porcelain 140, 279, 281
 Port, Dominicus 198
 post, postal routes, services 18, 31, 129–31,
 150, 176, 187, 237, 264
 carriages 239
 charges 58
 offices 58, 129
 schedules 231
Post Boy 264
Post Man 264
Post-tydingen uyt 's Graven-Hage 210
 posters 3–4, 14, 55, 107, 116, 128–9, 133, 173,
 230–4, 236–7, 240–2, 242, 256
 postmasters 124, 131, 253
 Poth, Clement 143
 poverty 110, 144, 146, 150, 156–7, 163, 179, 245,
 279, 283
 Prague 182
 prayer days 57–8, 132
 Preston, John 48
 Prigge, Hendrick 97
 Prijs, Boudewijn de 237
 printers 1–3, 15–6, 21, 32, 35, 40–1, 43, 45, 48,
 50, 75, 79, 88–90, 92–4, 107, 110, 149, 169,
 176, 180, 193, 197, 204–6, 212, 214, 217,
 257, 259, 271–2, 285, 288
 printing, two-colour 56
 privileges 2, 39, 64, 76, 88, 93, 119–20, 122,
 131–2, 202, 212–3, 218, 253, 260, 266
 see also monopolies
 proclamations 31, 70, 108, 114, 116, 167, 173,
 196, 232, 240
 professors 50, 61–2, 100, 102, 149–50, 186, 194,
 204, 207, 213, 230
 proofs, proof-reading 35–6, 89, 216
 Protestantism, Protestants 11–12, 38, 47, 67,
 72, 214
 see also Reformed Church, Dutch
 Prussia 182
 psalms, psalters 40–3, 46, 155, 230
 publishers 1–5, 12–4, 16–7, 21–7, 33, 35–43,
 45, 47–8, 50–1, 54, 56–8, 61–5, 67–77,
 79–85, 87–95, 99, 107–8, 110, 122, 144,
 154, 177, 185, 187, 192–3, 195, 197, 204,
 206–7, 210–8, 226–7, 230, 244–6, 248–9,
 252–6, 258, 261, 271
 puritans 48
 Purmerend 57, 60, 135, 211
 Putman, Eduard 74
 Putter, Simon de 108

 Quack, Jacob 131

 rabbits 180
 Ravesteyn, Johannes 111 van 91, 102, 177
 Ravesteyn, Paulus Aertsz van 40, 85
Reading Mercury 270
 Reformed Church, Dutch 38, 40, 42, 95, 193,
 214
 refugees 156, 183, 189
 Regensburg 248
 Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn 139–40,
 229, 236
 Remonstrants 38, 43
 Renaudot, family 282
 Renaudot, Théophraste 282–3
 rewards 28, 42, 108–9, 155, 158–9, 161, 162–6,
 168, 170–1, 173, 175–80, 182–3, 198, 220,
 230, 278–9
 Reyersz, Thunis 166
 Reyniersz, Berent 231
 Rhenen 132
 Rhine, river 199
 Ribbius, Johannes 85, 103
 Ridderus, Franciscus 42, 52
 Rieuwertsz, Jan 85, 98, 108, 213–4
 Rigo, Jeronimo 128
 Rijk, Guiliam de 144
 Rijntjes, Jan 134
 Rijswijk 225
 Rivet, André 52
 roads 1, 72, 85, 111
 Roermond 72
 Rog, Eldert 225
 Roger, Estienne 218
 Roman Empire 175
 Rome 91, 128, 155, 220, 248
 Room, Cornelis van 146
 Roosendaal 130
 Rotterdam 21, 23–5, 27, 32, 50, 65, 74, 83, 85,
 88, 90, 96, 99, 103, 105, 107, 123–4, 126,
 130–1, 140, 146, 149, 160, 167, 169, 176, 184,

- Rotterdam (cont.)
 187–8, 192, 196, 198, 202, 209–10, 212–4,
 221, 225–7, 237, 249, 253
 Rotterdam, Ariaentje van 184
 Rubens, Pieter Paul 139, 141
 Ruffen, Jacob 77
 Rutland, Lord 262
 Ruycht, Adriaen Jacobsz 158
 Ruyter, Michiel de 190, 242

 Saeghman, Gilles Joosten 54–6
 Saenredam, Pieter 140
 sailors 70, 74, 124, 131, 170, 187, 281
 St Petersburg 80
 Sajen, Christiaan 232
 Saldenus, Guilielmus 193–4
 Salisbury 273
 Salmasius, Claudius 62
 Sande, Johan van den 21
 Sas van Gent 72
 Saumur 84
 Savry, Jacob 88
 Savry, Levinus 88
 Savry, Roelant 139
 Savry, Salomon 88
 Scamozzi, Vincent 90
 Scandinavia 61, 80, 95
 Schalcken, Godfried 172
 Schellinger, Tjerck Jelmersz 98
 Scheltus, Jacob 217–8
 Scheveningen 142
 Schiedam 83, 237
 schools 34, 60–1, 64, 77, 110, 147–51, 223–5
 boarding 147–51
 French 61, 146–8
 girls 147, 151–2
 Latin 60–1, 104, 147, 149–50, 196, 224
 ordinances 60–1, 149
 schoolteachers 65, 67, 75, 110, 113, 146–8, 186,
 223–4, 232, 234, 244
 female 147–8, 151
 French 146–7, 198
 Latin 150
 Schoonhoven 83
 Schoorl 134
 Schotanus, Christianus 187, 193
 Schowels, Ewout 196
 Schyndel, G. van 147

 Schyndel, widow G. van 147
 Schyndel, Willem 147
 Scotland 203, 220, 269
 Scriverius, Petrus 90
 Semeyns, D.M. 69
 Seneffe, Battle of (1674) 198
 sermons 43, 164, 276
 servants 112, 142, 155, 168–71, 180, 282
 fugitive 110, 230–2, 236, 277, 281
 murderous 167
 thieving 160–1, 170–1, 173–4, 277
 Severinus, Adrianus 206
 shoes, shoemakers 112, 158, 247, 275, 277, 285
 Shrewsbury 270
 Sibema, Bouritius 50
 silk 3, 142, 166, 173, 176, 275, 280, 284
 silver, silverware 42, 108, 135, 140, 143, 155,
 161, 164, 168, 170–1, 173–4, 182, 198, 236,
 275
 Six, Magdalena 148
 slaves, slavery 29, 74, 277–8, 281
 Sluis 224
 Sluys, Guilliaem van der 88
 Smallerland 108, 196
 Smetius, Regnerus 97
 Smient, Adriaen (imposter) 27–8
 Smient, family 88
 Smient, Otto Barentsz 27–8, 33, 35–7, 58, 60,
 68, 93, 161, 177
 Smith, William 277
 Sneek 26, 99
 soap 215
 soldiers, troops 70–1, 184, 187, 189, 199–200
 Solebay, Battle of (1672) 190
 Solre, Countess of 164
 Someren, Abraham van 215, 219
 Someren, Johannes van 85, 91, 102, 188,
 206–7
 Sommelsdijk 180, 192
 songs, song-books 36, 40, 44, 68, 75–6
South Carolina Gazette 276
 South Sea Bubble 111
 Southern Netherlands 8–9, 82, 90, 97, 106,
 117, 139, 156, 214, 219, 254, 255–8
 Soutman, Pieter 90, 139
 Spain 185, 203, 228, 259
 Spanish (language) 64, 90
Spectator 111

- spoons 170–1, 173
 sports news 34, 244, 267–8, 283
Stadsaanplakker 107, 143
Stadsdrukker (city printer) 15–6, 93, 107
 Stam, Jan Fredericksz 39
 Stamford 270
Stamford Mercury 272
 Stamp Act (1712) 13, 264, 271–2
 Stamp Act (1765) 280
 States General 39, 89, 114, 122, 131, 160, 217, 231–2
 stationers 94, 212, 271
 Steen, Jan Havicksz 145
 Stichter, Jacob 55, 71
 Stockholm 80, 158
 stolen goods 34, 37, 42, 108–9, 133, 142, 160, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172–3, 175, 178, 182–4, 220, 230, 236, 240, 262–3
 Stralen 72
 Strasbourg 5–6, 29
 students 56, 61, 65, 77, 148–50, 192, 204
 dissertations 16, 88, 92
 Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius 61
 sugar 126, 137–8, 203, 283
 surgeons 54, 74, 77, 143–4, 173, 182, 225, 235, 242, 256, 282
 Surinam 126, 128
 surveying 150, 198
 Swammerdam 67
 Swart, Steven 204
 Sweerman, Gerrit 92
 Swol, Cornelis Jansz 35, 56, 85, 226
 Symcock, Thomas 242
- Tas, Jan vander 221
 Tavern *see* inn
 tax 12–3, 114, 81, 113–4, 126, 175, 200, 240, 242–3, 264, 271–3, 280
 Taylor, Thomas 47
 tea 112, 247, 279, 281, 289
 Teellinck, Willem 43, 52
 Tens, Sieur du 226
 Terence 2, 61
 Terschelling 51
 Texel 51, 70, 92, 244
 The Hague 21, 23–8, 32, 72, 74, 82–3, 85, 87, 89–91, 95–6, 99, 102–3, 105, 107–8, 120, 131–142, 144, 146, 154, 162, 175, 177, 188–9, 193, 196, 204, 207, 201, 212, 214–5, 217, 219, 221–3, 225–7, 237, 248–50, 252, 283
 theatre 69, 283
 Thibaut, Anna 151–2
 Thirty Years' War 9, 11, 18
 Tholen 26, 157
 Thomas, Judithhe 174, 178
 Tiel 83, 97, 105, 119
Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren 6–9, 11, 15–17, 20, 24, 26–8, 75, 96, 98, 132, 154, 174, 209, 226, 252
 timber 138, 176, 220
 Tippet, Roger 276
 title-page 2
 tobacco 113, 137–8, 203, 237, 247
 tolls 1, 117, 135
 Tongerlo, Anthony Jansz 43, 90
 Tongerlo, Johannes 85, 91, 204
 Tournai 258
 town crier 114–6, 177, 180–1, 256
 trade cards 273, 284–5
 tragedies 36, 68
 translation 2, 4, 45, 47–9, 91, 187, 215, 226
 Bible 38–40, 43, 45–6
 Transylvania 8, 182
 travellers, travels 55, 61, 116–7, 124–6, 127–8, 130, 132, 145, 163, 182, 192, 239–41, 279, 282
 Triglandius, Jacobus 50, 52
 Tromp, Admiral 22
 Troyen, Jan van 168
 True Freedom 28, 32
 Turin 248
 Turnhout, Nicolaes van 94
 Tydeman, Gerrit 238
 type, typefaces 35–6, 40, 89
- universities 50, 61, 91–2, 230
 disputations 194
 see also dissertations, professors, students
 Utrecht 9, 16, 21, 23, 25–8, 32–3, 55, 67, 79, 82–3, 85, 88, 92, 97, 100, 103, 105, 108, 123, 143–4, 151, 157, 176, 184, 187, 192, 199, 204, 207, 210–11, 214, 216, 237, 249
 Province 23, 132, 137, 205
 States 115
 Treaty of (1713) 259
 university 214

- Utrechtse Courant* 207, 210–11
 Uytenbogaert, Joan 201
- Valckenier, Petrus 206
 Valerius, Adriaen 75–6
 Valtellina 11–12
 Veere 76, 83, 237
 Velde, Esaias van de 118
 Venesser 176
 Venice 2–3, 128, 248
 Venlo 72
 Venne, Adriaen van de 140
 Verdussen, family 255–7
 Verdussen, Willem 255
 Verhage, Jacob 104
 Verhoeven, Abraham 8–10, 12, 16, 19, 71, 247, 254–6, 258
 Verkolje, Nicolaas 172
 Vermaarsch, Joost 75, 90
 Vermeulen, Lodewijk 51, 92
 Veronese, Paolo 139
 verse 8
 Vianen 183
 Vienna 155, 171, 248
 Vietnam 70
 violins 203, 271
 Virgil 61
 Virginia 113, 138, 276–8, 289
 Gazette 277–8, 281
 Vis, Johannes 165
 Visscher, Andries de 187
 Visscher, Claes Jansz 12, 16, 22, 72–3, 90
 Vlaardingen 237
 Vlacq, Adriaen 144
 Vlieland 51
 Vlissingen 83, 100, 124, 140, 173, 237
 voc (Dutch East India Company) 70–2, 126, 170, 201
 Voetius, Gisbertus 52
 Vondel, Joost van den 52, 68, 242
 Vooght, Johan Hendrick 158
 Vos, Jan 52
 Vos, Marten de 139
 voyages 69–70, 72, 126, 128, 166, 179, 277
 Vries, Jan de 280
 Vries, Jan Hendricksz de 143
 Vries, Hendrick Tjercksz 65
 Vroilingh, Abraham Leendertsz 74, 77
- Waal, river 199
 Wachter, Jacobsz Pietersz 39
 Wadden Islands 51
 Waesberge, Johannes Janssonius van 91, 102, 193
 Wagenaer, Salomon 217
 Wageningen 61
 Wagenmaker, Dirck Pietersz 134
 Wagens, widow Matthijs 237
 wagons 117, 166, 187, 241
 Walles, Jacob 176
 Waningen, Hendrick 66
 warehouses 1, 137, 150, 166, 236
 warfare 9, 11, 34, 67, 69, 71–4, 185–7, 199–200, 203, 205–6, 222
 watches 109, 140, 142, 163–4, 175, 180, 182, 275
 watchmakers 120, 142, 164, 183
 Waverveen 67
 Webster, John 164
 Weesp 33, 35, 123, 157–8, 210, 253
 Welwood, James 264
 Wentzler 248
 Werf, Trijntje Klaes van der 153
 Wesel 84, 129
 West India Company 127, 201–2, 223, 231
 West Indian House 202
 West Indies 126
 Westerman, Adam 70
 Westphalia 129
 Whitehall 262
 widows 17, 39, 65, 88–9, 95, 97, 103, 107, 138–9, 147, 167, 169, 171, 196, 211, 231, 237
 Willemstad 130
 Willer, Georg 4
 William I, Prince of Orange 100
 William II, Prince of Orange 28
 William III, Prince of Orange 88, 186–7, 190, 259–60
 Williams, Mary 277
 Williamsburg 289
 Williamson, Joseph 31
 wine 111, 124, 146, 189, 236, 276, 283
 Wissenbach, Johannes Jacob 92
 Witt, Cornelis de 188, 193–4
 Witt, Johan de 32, 160, 188–9, 193–4
 Witte, Petrus de 48, 50
 Witte, Pieter de 196
 Witz, Hermanus 92

- Woerden 167, 199
 Wolfenbüttel 248
 women 17, 32, 89, 113, 147–8, 151–2, 157, 163,
 165, 167–172, 277, 279–80
 Wood, Roger 242
 Worcester 270
 Workum 183
 Wormerveer 83, 92, 211
 Wouw, Hillebrant II van 162
 Wouw, widow Hillebrant Jacobsz van 89
 Wright, Johannes 142
 Wtenbogaert, Johannes 43
 Wylick, Abraham van 284

 Yarnell, Mordecai 275–6
 York 18

 Zaandam 26, 83, 147, 149
 Zaltbommel 204
 Zeeland 23, 27, 55, 140, 146, 161, 189–90, 192,
 203, 231, 237
 Admiralty 237
 States 126, 231
 Zierikzee 23–4, 26–7, 83
 Zijl, Gysbert van 103
 Zuiderzee 51
 Zürich 77, 248
 Zutphen 14–15, 25, 83, 86, 92, 93, 100, 105,
 116, 132, 204, 232, 244, 253
 Zwammerdam 196
 Zwolle 23–7, 64–5, 83, 105, 129, 198, 204–5,
 231, 237–8